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MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

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erned by continued postwar shortages.*

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

BY
RAY E. BABER
*Professor of Sociology
New York University*

FIRST EDITION
SIXTEENTH IMPRESSION

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To
MY FATHER AND MOTHER

PREFACE

This book has two aims: (1) to make a sociological analysis of the family which will contribute to an understanding of its origin, structure, and functions; (2) to select from what reliable data are available those factors that are likely to be of some practical help to young folk who are seeking guidance in the choice of a marriage partner and in the necessary adjustments of marriage and family life. Perhaps such a double aim is ambitious, but one may be forgiven more readily for aiming too high than for aiming too low.

The author is not concerned with the old fight over the division of responsibility between "pure" and "applied" science. In every conference of teachers of the family course the point is raised that students do not want the course to be wholly theory; they are everywhere demanding that it be intensely practical, for they have many personal problems on which they want help. Hence, there is no inclination on the part of the author to apologize for the more practical aspects of this work; rather, the apology should come from the fields of sociology and psychology for the paucity of scientific research in marriage problems, which makes available so little tested knowledge that can be offered to students. For this reason, there appears all through this volume an emphasis on the need of more and ever more research.

The question of method in such a volume is a perplexing one. Because the study of the family gives opportunity for observing, on a small scale, practically all the basic social processes found in society, it is easy for the sociologist to become so absorbed in his analysis of these processes that he neglects the more practical applications for which the student—sometimes with too little appreciation of the foundational value of theoretical analysis—is looking. There are two possible methods: (1) One might set forth such fundamental social processes as competition, conflict, accommodation, etc., and study family life from these concepts as points of departure. (2) One might point out and treat systematically the usual (and some unusual) interactions involved in courtship, marriage, and family life, treating the basic social processes only secondarily as they occur in the interactions mentioned. In the former method, the framework of sociological theory is emphasized; in the latter, marriage and family relationships are dealt with in experiential form and sequence, with a minimum of sociological theorizing as such. The latter method has been followed in this book.

It is only natural that my teaching of the course Marriage and the Family at New York University over a period of years should largely determine the viewpoint and organization of this text. Each year the students have been asked what subjects they wanted included and on which ones they wanted to spend the most time. In the class discussions the frank and thoughtful interchange of ideas has been highly stimulating, and I hereby acknowledge with genuine gratitude my debt to the many students who helped make the course so challenging to me, and whose ideas doubtless appear in many places in these pages.

I was fortunate in having made available to me the impersonal suggestions of some forty teachers of the family course regarding certain features they preferred in *any* text on the family. Among other items, a heavy majority favored the following: placing references (to works quoted or cited) at the bottom of the page where cited instead of at the end of the chapter; a number of *short* cases in certain appropriate chapters; a few topics for discussion or reports, and selected readings for further assignments, at the end of each chapter; a few chapters—not more than a fifth of the book—on the origin and historical development of the family. It is hoped that these features, though not of major importance, may be of value to both teachers and students.

In the brief historical section which I have included, I have sought to supplement rather than to parallel other texts by omitting the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, so admirably treated by other writers, and selecting the less known Chinese, Indian, and Egyptian family patterns. Furthermore, I have made no attempt to bridge the wide gap between ancient and modern family patterns, for it would require too much space to trace the family, even briefly, through the intervening historical stages, and would serve little purpose in a text of this kind.

I wish to thank the editors of the following magazines for permission to use certain parts of my own articles previously printed in their publications: *American Sociological Review*, *Social Forces*, *Sociology and Social Research*, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, *Journal of Social Hygiene*, and *Forum*. I am also greatly indebted to many other publishers and authors for their kind permission to quote short passages from their books or magazines. I am particularly grateful to The Macmillan Company for its generosity and courtesy in this respect, for I have made more requests from it than from any other publishing house.

To many colleagues and others from whom I have received ideas that appear in this book, I am grateful. I have sought to give credit for definite concepts borrowed, whether quoted or not, but, because one's thoughts are so inextricably intertwined with the thoughts of others gathered all through the years, it is impossible to make all the acknowledgments I should like to make. For the friendly criticisms and helpful

suggestions of my own colleagues at New York University I am very grateful, particularly to C. G. Dittmer, on whose generous and unfailing counsel I have unduly imposed, and also to E. A. Hoebel. To my wife, Elizabeth Baber, I owe even more gratitude for her critical judgment than for her unceasing help in the mechanics of typing and proofreading. Any expression of appreciation would be incomplete without also mentioning the generous assistance of Miss May Goldberg, our office secretary.

RAY E. BABER.

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MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

CHAPTER I

THE FAMILY IN TRANSITION

Most people grow up in families and imbibe from infancy a loyalty to family ideology. The word "home" is so laden with meaning that its very mention sets off an emotional flash momentarily illuminating a whole group of values clustered about it. That the home is the common meeting place of so many values is due to the long period of human infancy which produces a broad overlap of generations. With man the transmission of culture patterns from one generation to another is accomplished more through social than through biological inheritance, and social inheritance is not an instantaneous meeting of genes but a slow, continuous process. In the home the child gradually acquires a subjective emotional attitude toward the family which makes it difficult for him to view it objectively thereafter.

This broad overlap of generations is what makes the family, under our present type of social organization, the most basic of all social groupings. It is the institution recognized by society as being chiefly responsible for biological survival and social well-being, for it provides a socially approved method both of bearing and of rearing children. The family provides almost the total social environment of the child for the first five years of its life and a very considerable portion of its environment for many years thereafter. To this small primary group the state entrusts the initial care and training of its future citizens in the most formative period of their lives. This makes home and family the center of our total culture pattern.

There are, therefore, two main reasons for our concern over the family: first, the personal, emotional response to childhood experience; second, the rational recognition of the strategic position of the family in the social scheme of things. The first is not without value, for sentiment is one of the most powerful motivating factors known. It is, however, frequently in need of guidance, and therefore the increasing tendency to turn to rational thinking is a healthful sign.

The Difficulty of Securing Objectivity.—We have long taken the family for granted. It seems to meet certain basic needs to an extent not otherwise met and hence has persisted all through the ages. One can take either of two extreme views of a mode of human behavior that

is very old: (1) that it must be wholly adequate or it would not have survived for so many centuries, or (2) that its very age is evidence that it cannot fit modern conditions. Neither view is necessarily correct. A mode of behavior that performs a needed function even *passably* well may survive for many centuries from the sheer inertia of custom. Likewise the fact of its age is no argument against it *per se*, for the need it serves may be as eternal as mankind. The rise of the scientific method has subjected all human behavior to the light of critical analysis. This forces social institutions to measure their claims against *rational* rather than *traditional* standards and tends to bring them into closer touch with human needs. Even the conception of private property is slowly being made to conform to the current needs of society by a constant process of reinterpretation.

But in matters concerning the family our turning toward objectivity has been slow and hesitating. The family, like religion, is tied up so closely with certain emotions that to challenge any of its basic concepts is to raise the charge of heresy and sacrilege. Any suggestion that children might be better reared in carefully supervised institutions than in their parental homes, that monogamy is not necessarily the best form of marriage, or that there should be divorce by mutual consent is as blindly and hysterically condemned by some people as was the theory of evolution twenty-five years ago. Yet all these suggestions have been made, not only by cynical iconoclasts but also by sincere thinkers whose purpose is constructive. It is difficult for some persons to give such suggestions a fair hearing. They seem to fear that the very utterance of such heresy will undermine the institution so dear to them. They do not perceive the fundamental truth, pointed out by Emerson nearly a century ago, that no institution is too sacred to criticize, that all institutions must be periodically examined and overhauled. Indeed, criticism may be more friend than foe, for without it there would be little stimulus to self-examination. An institution that can stifle all criticism soon settles into a rut and usually plods along in the same old track even after human needs have blazed a new trail. For a time it may survive by going through the motions, but its days are numbered if it refuses to adjust to the ever-changing patterns of life.

A belated change of attitude is beginning to appear. More and more we are acquiring the ability to view marriage and the family with a degree of objectivity. We are becoming convinced at last that the mere fact that the family has survived thus far in human history is no assurance that it will survive forever. It is possible to overestimate its power of resistance to antagonistic forces. This realization is doing much to encourage research in family functions, which is absolutely essential to genuine progress.

What Is the Family?—Definitions do not always define, especially when the relationship which one is analyzing is so flexible and variable that it assumes many forms. The term "family" has been loosely used to cover several types of groupings: (1) the traditional group of married father and mother and their children; (2) one parent and children, if the other parent has died, deserted, or been separated or divorced; (3) the married childless couple; (4) the unmarried couple, with or without children, who have lived together long enough to be considered man and wife by common law; (5) a man with several wives, with or without children, or a woman with several husbands, with or without children; (6) a group of related persons (brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts, etc., as accepted by the census) living together as a household. There are possibly still other groupings.

To define accurately and concisely a grouping capable of such variable characteristics is difficult indeed. Avoiding the more cumbersome definitions let us consider a short and workable one that is used by MacIver: "The family is a group defined by a sex relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children."¹ This definition avoids the question of whether the parents have been legally married; the word "group" is capable of including monogamy, polygyny, and polyandry; "sufficiently enduring" neatly side-steps all argument as to lifelong or extremely brief duration of the relationship; and "to provide for" the procreation and upbringing of children is broad enough to include childless couples by implication. In fact this short definition appears to cover all the essentials of a sociological definition.

MacIver goes on to amplify his notion of the family by naming five common characteristics that are almost universally recognized: "(1) a mating relationship, (2) a form of marriage or other institutional arrangement in accordance with which the mating relation is established and maintained, (3) a system of nomenclature, involving also a mode of reckoning descent, (4) some economic provision shared by the members of the group but having especial reference to the economic needs associated with childbearing and child rearing, and generally (5) a common habitation, home, or household, which, however, may not be exclusive to the family group."² These characteristics have manifested themselves in different times and places in a host of ways, as is seen in the following chapter. It is sufficient here to note that their *essence* has been recognized wherever man has lived, in spite of the variety of their outward forms.

In one sense it is illogical to apply the word "family" both to a childless couple and to a couple with children, but the term has so com-

¹ From "Society: A Textbook of Sociology" by Robert M. MacIver, p. 196. Copyright 1937. Reprinted by permission of Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., Publishers.

² *Ibid.*, p. 197.

monly been used to include both types of union that it seems best so to use it in this text. To attempt a distinction on this basis in the following discussions might make for confusion rather than clarity, for according to popular conception marriage normally results in children; even when no children appear for a good many years there is still the assumption that they may appear.

CULTURAL CHANGES AFFECTING THE FAMILY

No social institution¹ can make a *final* adjustment to society if it wishes to survive. As long as there is social change, so long will there be need for adjustment and readjustment. It is social change that creates social problems, for a change in one phase of culture disrupts the balance that has been maintained and requires that a new balance be worked out. This means a shifting of weights, which is the same as saying that social problems exist where human needs are out of adjustment with the factors that could satisfy them. Actually, social change never ceases, though in some areas of our culture it is much slower than in others, so that frequently while wrestling with an evident problem we are confronted with an unsuspected maladjustment in an area which we had considered relatively stable. It has been thus with the family.

Today we hear much of the "bewildered" family. The family was so old, so stable, so seemingly indispensable—as well as beloved—that we thought it needed no attention while we struggled with profound economic, religious, and political changes that were literally making nations over. But to our dismay we have found that the family is so much part and parcel of these culture complexes that it, too, has been torn loose from its familiar connections. Its readjustment is far from automatic; in fact, it is proceeding so slowly that the bewilderment is growing rather than diminishing. This fact is sharpening social concern on every hand, for only the radical few are hoping that the family will be abolished before it can reestablish itself. The vast majority continue to hope, and an energetic few are beginning to work, for the adjustment of enduring family values to the profound changes in our mode of life. Since continuous social change necessitates constant adjustment, there is bound to be some social lag; the most that can be hoped for is to shorten this lag.

Several areas of social change that have greatly affected the family are indicated briefly in the following pages. The emphasis here is upon changes in *form* rather than *function*, for the latter are discussed elsewhere.

¹ Most sociologists consider the family to be a social institution, and it is so considered in this book. MacIver, however, calls the family an *association* and marriage the related *institution*. This difference of viewpoint is mentioned to avoid confusion in definitions by those who have studied MacIver.

The simpler changes in form are frequently quite obvious, but their results, though occasionally predictable to a certain degree, are often too far reaching to be mapped out in advance with any assurance. Only a vast program of research in every area of family life can give hope of rescuing the family from its present state of bewilderment.

The New Basis of Marriage.—In ancient civilizations it was common for the parents, with the help of go-betweens, to select the marriage partners of their children. The parents decided whom, when, and under what circumstances the young should marry; the latter, although presumably the most interested parties, had no voice in the affair. Furthermore, once married, the wife particularly had little chance for withdrawal if the marriage proved unhappy. Today in most civilized countries marriage has shifted from a coercive to a voluntary basis. Young people do not get married unless they wish to, when they do marry they choose their partners themselves, and if they find adjustment impossible they need not continue the marriage.

This new basis of marriage is the result of various forces, such as the increasing pressure of young folk for a voice in determining their own future, the spread of democratic ideas through better facilities for communication and travel, and the rise of romanticism in literature. The result is less *stability* in marriage, but whether less *happiness* it is difficult to say. Nowadays people do not stay married unless they wish to, while formerly there was nothing to do but make the best of it.

The Decline of Male Authority.—The patriarchal principle of the past is rapidly giving way to democracy. The ancient Greek or Roman father, who could kill his wife for serious offense or sell his children into slavery, was early shorn of such extreme authority. Yet the husband retained many despotic powers until very recent times. This is typified by a relatively late English law which stated, "The husband shall treat and govern the aforesaid wife well and decently, and shall not inflict nor cause to be inflicted any injury upon the aforesaid wife, except in so far as he may lawfully and reasonably do so in accordance with the right of a husband to correct and chastise his wife." It is surprising how recently the husband was the sole member of the family who could hold property, make contracts, sue or be sued, vote, and hold various offices, to say nothing of his right to demand the earnings of wife and children. Not until the present generation were many of these privileges and rights shared.

This decentralization of authority has brought increased satisfactions to various members of the family, but also increased responsibilities and the need of self-control. In some cases where adjustment has been slow it has meant confusion rather than order, for greater freedom does not automatically bring greater happiness or efficiency. There has been

strain upon the husband in losing authority and strain upon the wife in acquiring a larger share. The old familiar pattern is gone, and until both parties get adjusted to the new there will be some measure of disorganization.

The New Status and Activities of Women.—This is the concomitant of the preceding factor. Woman has at last emerged from a man-made world into one that is more to her liking. But the new status is not all pleasant. New privileges have brought new responsibilities, and new activities have been followed by new problems. Woman now has a chance at a good education, once a male prerogative, but education has increased her duties. She now has political rights, but these have brought added tasks. New lines of work are open to her, but often at the expense of former values or sometimes in the form of new tasks *added* to the old. On the other hand many women have an increased amount of leisure, though the pleasant task of spending it creates still further problems.

A few of the questions the new woman is asking reveal the many adjustments yet to be made.

1. Now that she is equipped with a business or professional education equal to man's shall she forgo marriage and seek a career? If so, is she prepared to face the many obstacles still placed in the way of women by men who resent, for one reason or another, their invasion of the male hunting preserves? Is she willing to accept her handicaps and receive only grudging recognition as she advances?

2. If she cannot bear to give up marriage and home, shall she marry and seek happiness in the intelligent management of her household? Or will her well-trained mind stagnate in the solitary, repetitious tasks of housework? Or can she apply her training to lifting it from unimaginative drudgery to creative work which better administers to the happiness and well-being of every member of the household?

3. If she has married and finds her home work palling, shall she seek a full-time outside position, thus carrying a double burden? Or shall she take a part-time outside task that cannot lead so high but will leave more time for home duties? Or shall she devote her leisure to non-remunerative pursuits deliberately chosen for their pleasure, cultural value, and contribution to the welfare of the other members of the household?

4. What of children in these plans? Shall she remain childless in the interests of her career or for fuller opportunity for companionship with her husband? Or shall she have a small family or a larger one? Not long ago there was only one pattern—a large family. How will her working out affect the health, happiness, and general well-being of her children, as well as the satisfactions of her affectional relationship with

them? Can she keep a full-time outside job and still be a "good mother"? A few years ago she did not have to make such a decision. There was but one answer—her place was at home with her children.

These and many other questions are facing women today. Those who are forced to work out in factory or elsewhere to support themselves or to supplement their husbands' wages may find a certain satisfaction in their work and the association it provides, but they realize that the change from the older pattern is not all gain. Some are well pleased but determined to consolidate the gains still further; others are dissatisfied and would be willing to trade some of their new rights for old privileges. But the majority would not turn back, even though the results of the new status are not up to expectation. They are facing the new problems it has brought with a determined but puzzled air. They, too, are bewildered.

The Shrinkage in Family Size.—In colonial days the typical family had seven or eight children; today it has two or three. The trend toward small families has brought some strains of our stock below the replacement level, so that certain family lines are dying out. In one large sample of native stock there was found to be a shrinkage of between 35 and 40 per cent in one generation. Is this an index of family pride? When well-educated and well-to-do couples have only two children (not enough to replace themselves, for not all will survive, and not all who survive will marry), does it mean that they have lost some of their will to survive? Have their family loyalty and solidarity, their sense of racial continuity weakened? Or is it merely that today, with scientific contraception available, they know how to limit their families, whereas their ancestors did not? Are small families today, then, a cause or a result of family disintegration?

The small family enjoys a higher standard of living under our present type of economy than does a large family. This means better opportunities for two than for six children. Does it also mean that the parents of two or three children will have more time for each child and will be better companions to them? The testimony is conflicting. On the other hand the small family denies children the comradeship and discipline, the give and take of the large family that creates its own little society. Does this juvenile society develop a child more normally than when he is thrown too constantly in adult company, as is so often the case with an only child? One definite result of the small family is that the mother is subjected less often to the risks of pregnancy; she is through with her childbearing early and has her child rearing (always a period of strain) out of the way while still young enough to enjoy leisure profitably.

Occupational Changes.—The effects of the industrial revolution on almost every phase of our culture have been pointed out by many writers.

The effects in the special area of family life need little more than mention here. The wife who used to work side by side with her husband, whether at farming or handicraft, while the older children cared for the housework and the little ones, found herself facing a new problem when the factory system came in. Some women of the working class entered the factory before their husbands, to supplement the latter's nonfactory earnings. Others followed their husbands into industry. In either case the companionship of working side by side was gone. Making a living at home gave way to earning a living outside the home, the center of family production being thus transferred from house to factory.

When the mother worked in a factory, the problem of the children's welfare was far more acute than for homes with business and professional mothers, for she could employ no help. Often this situation meant neglect, delinquency, and an increased morbidity and mortality rate. Furthermore, the home itself, in its material as well as affectional aspects, suffered from lack of care by a mother too weary from long hours of labor to do her housework well or to give her husband and children the companionship they wanted. The factory was reaching into the home, interfering with its affairs and determining its activities and outlook.

The Trend to Urban Living.—The change in the prevailing type of economy from farming to industry necessarily brought a shift in residence from country to city, for factories grew up in cities. This attracted workers to the city, which attracted further factories, in an endless chain of cause and effect. It is doubtful whether any element of social change in the past century has had more profound effects on the family than has this residential shift.

1. It has subjected the family to a new system of housing that is crowded, uncomfortable, and irritating to frayed nerves. Fresh air and sunlight are at a premium, whereas noise, dirt, and darkness are plentiful. Overcrowding fosters ill-health, encourages immorality through lack of privacy, and creates a psychology of hopelessness. Children no longer have spacious yards to play in, trees to climb, and horses to ride but must roller-skate or play ball on crowded streets where death lurks behind each speeding car.

2. In the city the art of neighboring, a powerful family cohesive force in country and small town, is reduced to a minimum. There may be a few friends in near-by flats, but in general the social contacts are secondary rather than primary. Proof that true socialization is difficult in the city is seen in the fact that primary groups there must be organized and supervised by professional efforts (such as social settlements), whereas in country and village they form spontaneously by the simple fact of acquaintanceship. Family solidarity is most easily maintained in a fellowship with other families all having common acquaintance and interests

3. In rural districts the family is a producing unit, interested in the common task of making a living. The city scatters the interests and activities of the family members, so that they are pulled in many directions. The centrifugal forces often outpull the centripetal, and family solidarity begins to give way. The family has too much competition.

4. In the city the family is constantly bombarded with sales appeals, direct and indirect. The higher standards of living flaunted before its eyes are a subtle temptation to extravagance, and the innumerable stimuli of advertisements and show windows encourage spending. To live beyond one's means is much easier than to cultivate the stern discipline of sales resistance.

5. In small communities much of the fun is homemade, especially the play of children, but in the city commercialized recreation outbids the home variety. Huge numbers of people to draw on make it possible to offer commercialized amusement for every age and on such a dazzling scale that the home cannot compete on equal terms. This robs the home of one of its most cohesive forces, the family fun produced by the members themselves. The moving picture is now carrying this challenge even to small towns, but in the city it is multiplied by a variety of movies, shows, dance halls, pool halls, bowling alleys, swimming pools, skating rinks, and other amusement places. Many of these have distinct values, but the commercial motive of their promoters is a constant challenge to the home in the amount of time and money they take, the transfer of interest from home to recreational centers, and the adjustment of the programs and activities by the dollar scale rather than by the effects upon the participants or spectators. Every increase in leisure time merely sharpens this issue.

6. The city also strikes at the family by making it difficult for young people to find suitable mates. In small places where all families are known to each other there is not the same gamble in choosing a marriage partner as in the city where many of the young people have come from homes in other places and have little or no opportunity to meet one another's families. Newcomers are lonesome but find it difficult to meet others of their kind; for the city is large and impersonal, and kindred souls are hard to locate.

7. Furthermore, the anonymity of the city is an invitation to prostitution and illicit unions that offer temporary, and sometimes permanent, substitutes for marriage and family life. Those who are disposed to do so may avoid the responsibilities of marriage yet satisfy their sex appetites (at least the physical part) through clandestine affairs. There are some in every society who avail themselves of these modes of sex life, but the city provides a peculiar conjunction of factors favoring such behavior in contrast with small places where normal contact with family and neighbors is maintained.

Apartment Dwelling.—The one-family dwelling has always been the dominant type of housing in America. A new country affords plenty of space for separate houses, and the individualism and self-sufficiency of the frontier promote such living. Despite our rapid urbanization in the last fifty years we have retained our fondness for separate living, for in 1930 more than three-fourths of our 29,904,863 families lived in one-family houses. Even of urban families nearly two-thirds occupy separate houses; but it must be remembered that the census defines as "urban" any town of 2,500 or more, and as the population becomes increasingly urban the proportion living in multiple dwellings¹ is increasing. Naturally the states vary enormously in this respect, according to their degree of urbanization, New York, for example, having 41 per cent of its families living in three-or-more family dwellings, but Mississippi only 1 per cent. Even large cities vary greatly; New York has 67 per cent of its families living in multifamily dwellings (mostly large apartments), but Philadelphia (third largest city in the country) has only 10 per cent so living. Philadelphia spread out as it grew, whereas New York piled up. The dominance of the apartment in New York City is shown particularly in the Borough of Manhattan, where 95 per cent of the 468,956 families live in multiple dwellings.

The millions of families living in city apartments have a very different environment from that of town dwellers. They are modern "cliff dwellers," who live in little concrete cubicles. They are surrounded by a thousand people under the same roof, who are utter strangers even though separated from them by only a 10-inch wall. The anonymity of apartment dwelling is in sharp contrast with the fellowship of neighbors in the small town. Habits of housework are changed to fit the new environment. With no sunny yard and clothesline the housewife's passion for "airing things" is kept from frustration only by filling the windows. In the city on a bright day one can see whole blocks of middle-class apartment houses with bedding bulging from a hundred windows in search of the sun. From other windows dust mops flutter vigorously, while the hapless pedestrians below receive the grayish precipitation. The private lawn and flower garden are no more, and the cartoonist portrays the hunger for flowers by picturing the rapturous wife, bending over a drooping flower in a seventeenth-story window box, calling, "Come quickly, Oswald, a wild flower!"

In town and village even a family of moderate means can have a house large enough to meet its needs, but in the city apartment where each added room means much higher rent the tendency is to get along with the fewest possible rooms. The resultant crowding is a serious

¹ The census divides dwellings into three classes: one-family, two-family, and three-or-more family dwellings.

handicap to family life. There is little opportunity for each to pursue his own activities without interfering with the others. The typical "three-room-and-kitchenette" apartment affords little opportunity for privacy but plenty for friction. In fact such an apartment is sometimes little more than one good-sized room flanked by "ettes"—a kitchenette the size of a modest clothes closet, a "dinette" or dining alcove just large enough for a small table and chairs, and bedrooms so small that they too might be called "ettes." It is no wonder that when the family members are all present at once each steps on the other's toes and rushes out as soon as possible to his separate amusements. The living room is becoming a "waiting room" which merely receives and discharges travelers.

Children are particularly hard pressed when living in city apartments. They are either in the house or on the street—there is no yard in between. Few apartments have playgrounds, and the superintendent will not allow children to play in the court. The only place left is the street, where they must dodge cars as best they can. But the number of juvenile diversions afforded by city streets is limited at best, and one is reminded of the father who promised his cooped-up little boy that if he were good he would "take him down town tomorrow and let him see the accidents." Even pets, so dear to children, are denied them in many instances because of the difficulty of keeping them. Dogs must be kept on a leash when out, and even the small, "animated-mop" variety must go out sometimes. So finally even "Fifi" gives way to goldfish and guppies, which need not be curbed.

Overcrowding sometimes results in personal disorganization. The necessity of protecting one's self from complete invasion of privacy develops a defensive attitude, an irritability and touchiness making for continual mental strain and producing resentment in others, which in turn merely heightens the tension. The increased efforts to build protective walls about one's personality are in vain, and the result is a depressing sense of frustration. Psychiatrists point out that under such conditions a child's sense of individuality is challenged, and he may not be able to achieve self-sufficiency. There is a distinct mental strain from having to get along with people in such close contact, and he is unable to get far enough away from the group to objectify his problems.¹ Such living reminds one of Irving Cobb's famous remark about having "no more privacy than a goldfish." Certainly such constant contact with others gives little opportunity for perspective.

Thus the family is caught in the grip of urban living, and unless the urban trend stops and decentralization begins it must either relinquish

¹ J. S. PLANT, Some Psychiatric Aspects of Crowded Living Conditions, *Amer. Jour. Psychiatry*, 9: 849-860, March, 1930.

the old idea of spacious living or else develop more adequate means of city living. The trend toward suburbia gives a quieter and more spacious home for the family but allows the breadwinners far less time to spend in it. Thousands of men who work in such cities as New York and Chicago live from 20 to 50 miles away and spend several hours each day getting to and from their work. This can hardly be called a "solution." Some more fundamental plan for family living must be found if certain long-cherished values are to be preserved.

The Influence of Inventions.—Invention is the sworn enemy of custom. It is constantly disturbing the *status quo*, requiring institutions as well as individuals to reshape their way of life. Inventions are seldom single. A basic invention may so arrest the social attention that thought is channelized along that line and related inventions come pouring in as naturally as tributaries feed the main stream. Such an invention can force an institution from its comfortable and familiar habits into ways that are strange and disquieting. The effects at first may be direct and limited in scope, but as the whole complex develops the results multiply, many being indirect and drawing from far afield. Soon a new basis of thought has been established, only to be disturbed again by still further invention. Many wistful glances are cast back at the simpler patterns of the "good old days," but there is no turning back. Even if it were possible, it would hardly be wise; for when we take an objective rather than a sentimental view and compare all features of past and present instead of placing the best of the past against the worst of the present, we see that the past might be called the "not-so-good old days." When a fair degree of accommodation to a new invention has been achieved, we are likely to find ourselves somewhat better off than before, although we have some new model problems on which we traded in our old models.

1. Electricity has revolutionized home tasks. Electric lights have removed at one stroke the labor of caring for kerosene lamps. Electric vacuum sweepers are making brooms obsolete. Electric toasters, grills, waffle irons, and percolators make it possible to prepare part of the meal while at table. Electric stoves need no wood box or coal scuttle to keep them going. Electric refrigerators reduce the work and disorder of the kitchen by their quiet efficiency. Electric washing machines and wringers remove most of the back break from "washday," and the electric iron lightens the next day's task. The electric sewing machine speeds the needlework, and the electric dishwasher promises relief from one of the most irksome of household tasks.

These laborsaving devices have affected the family in many ways. They tempt to extravagance, for they are hard to resist whether the budget justifies them or not. It is difficult to refuse a machine that will lighten one's work, especially when demonstrated by a high-pressure

salesman. Installment buying, itself an invention, completes the appeal—and frequently the sale. But though household machines cost money they may also save money. They have so lightened home tasks that only the most affluent now employ regular household help. Furthermore, they release much of the homemaker's time, giving her more leisure for outside activities. Frequently this encourages her to accept part- or full-time work outside the home, which in turn leads to a whole series of other changes.

One effect that household inventions have, together with city dwelling, is to abolish most of the tasks formerly performed by the older children of the family, which gave them recognition as essential agents in the family's functioning. With no wood to cut and carry, no water to bring, and not even a furnace to fire or ashes to remove, boys are freed from the "chores" of the past. Girls are somewhat less affected, but with no lamps to clean and fill and with broom and dustpan headed toward extinction, they find their tasks quick and easy. The results are mostly good, for increased leisure is a universal goal. But even this unquestioned gain is lessened slightly by the loss of responsibility and of the sense of sharing in the common task of maintaining the comfort and well-being of the family. To be sure, substitutes can be devised, but they constitute a new problem along with the gain in leisure.

2. The radio brings mixed blessings to the home. Thus far it is more recreational than educational and so must be classed as a semiluxury. It is capable of bringing into the home the choicest music, as well as the worst that crooners and saxophones can concoct. It brings to the drawing room the rare scholar or dramatist or the shots of gangsters and the screams of their victims. There is an appeal to every age and taste, which makes the radio truly of family interest.

The genius of the radio is that it brings lecture, concert, drama, or light entertainment to the home, whereas before its advent these pleasures could be had only by going to theater, auditorium, or concert hall. On the face of it the radio should materially reduce the family's entertainment bill, but it is doubtful to what extent it does so. In fact it may even increase it, for many of the programs mentioned are accompanied by frequent advertising broadsides that blast the more vulnerable from their chairs and send them scurrying out for the services or articles which they are convinced are essential to their happiness.

Also, the conflict of interests between different members of the family may result in quarrels over the choice of program. Small children are fascinated by bloodcurdling adventures that keep them shivering long after they have gone to bed. Parents oppose such programs, to the very vocal dismay of the children. Teen-age youths desire an endless procession of jazz programs that threaten the sanity of the adults. The

latter, in their limited period of control over the dial, may find their enjoyment of the more serious programs lessened by the injured attitude of their offspring. On the other hand, programs that are enjoyed by all alike provide good fellowship and strengthen the bonds of family affection.

3. The automobile, with its numerous following of subsidiary inventions, has probably caused more social change than any other invention of this generation, if not of this century. The family has shared in this change. Again the element of expense comes in, for no other invention has tempted more people to live beyond their means than has the automobile. Family purses have been sadly depleted, heavy debts incurred, and many necessities of normal living denied for the sake of the family car. The automobile has become almost a symbol of self-respect in this country, and many a depressed soul banishes his feeling of social inferiority by driving a shining car down the street, even when the sheriff is not far behind.

The automobile has greatly increased the mobility of the family and widened its range of activity and contact. It furnishes pleasure even for brief recreational periods, but still more important it makes family vacationing reasonable in cost. Most people, whatever their age, love to travel. The automobile has brought hard roads and more parks, camping places and tourist homes. The subsidiary invention, the trailer, has added new joys. A moderate-sized family can now travel long distances for its vacation with maximum comfort and minimum expense. The automobile has made travel—and much of it family travel—the national pastime. As a socializing force in family life it has made a distinct contribution.

Like the radio the family car can be a bone of contention when needs and wishes clash. Likewise it can whisk young folks beyond the reach of parental control in a few moments' time, increasing the problems of discipline and youthful responsibility. It has within it tremendous power to serve or harm the family, and like many other inventions it is good or bad according to the use made of it.

The Need for Research.—There are numerous other ways in which the family is being forced to adjust to new patterns of thought and action. Outside agencies bid successfully for some of its customary tasks. The bakery, cannery, packing house, and delicatessen bring their products, all prepared, to the family table. But even the family meal is giving way before the forces of change. In urban families, whose members have diverse activities, breakfast is staggered to fit the rush of getting off to school or office, lunch is taken at home, school, or restaurant, and the evening dinner offers the only opportunity for a common meal. Even this may not be a home affair, for in many middle- and upper-class families, particularly if the mother is a business or professional woman,

the evening meal is frequently taken out. From 1920 to 1930 the number of restaurant, café, and lunch-room keepers increased 88 per cent, whereas the population increased only 16 per cent.

Some of the changes we have mentioned seem insignificant, others important, yet they are all part of one pattern. In a later chapter, where the emphasis is on function rather than form, the ultimate values of family life are sought. In this introduction we are concerned with the wide scope of change, how little is known about it, and the need for intensive, systematic study. We have taken the family too much for granted; we have been too ready to assume that it will easily and naturally adjust to the socioeconomic changes as they take place. It has hardly occurred to us that perhaps these socioeconomic factors may have to do their share of adjusting if the family is to remain a vigorous and satisfying institution. Our near acceptance of economic determinism, in spite of the official demise of that theory, makes us consider the "job" as sacred, no matter what living conditions it imposes upon the family. If the family is a basic institution, essential to society under its present form of organization, it must not be left to trail the procession of change, keeping up when it can and lagging when it must. Its welfare must be placed at least on a par with the social and economic activities with which it is so indissolubly joined. Anything less than this invites increasing maladjustment with its attendant ills. Chance and circumstance must give way to rational thought. This calls for extended research, followed by decisive action as values and ways of conserving them are made clear.

THE MARRIAGE TREND

The idea has become prevalent, because of our high divorce rate and the publicity given to sensational extramarital adventures, that marriage has fallen into disrepute and is on the decline. But such a belief is far from the truth. Not only are we one of the "most married" peoples in the western hemisphere, but for several decades we have been steadily

TABLE I.—PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION 15 YEARS OLD AND OVER MARRIED, BY SEX, 1890-1930

Year	Per cent married		
	Both	Males	Females
1890	55.3	53.9	56.8
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

becoming "more married"; that is, the percentage of the population married has risen.

Table I shows that for both sexes, in the 40 years from 1890 to 1930, there was an increase of 5.2 in the percentage married. Since there have always been more males than females in this country, the percentage of females married has always been greater than the percentage of males, but as the sex ratio approaches par the two percentages are coming closer together. Probably about two-thirds of the 5.2 per cent increase in the percentage of the population married was due to the changing age composition of the population.¹ For some time, and recently at a growing rate, the proportion of the middle and upper age groups in our population has been increasing. Since the mid-life groups (age 35-54) always have a larger percentage married than do the young age groups (15-24), any relative increase in the former means a higher proportion married of the population 15 years old and over. However, after age 54 the percentage married drops rapidly because of the increase in widowhood, and this tends to retard the rate of increase in the percentage married caused by the growth of mid-life groups. For the older age groups are increasing their proportion of the total population faster than any others. From 1920 to 1930 the 15-24 age group increased its proportion of the total population approximately 3 per cent, and the 35-54 age group about 6 per cent. But the 65-69 age group increased its proportion 15 per cent, and the 70-74 age group 23 per cent. These are remarkable increases and are bound to affect the percentage of the population married.

If we consider also the age groups *under* 15, we get some further significant possibilities. Within the last few years the birth rate has fallen so rapidly that the change in our age composition is being accelerated, and this will of course affect the marriage rate. There are today far fewer children under 5 years of age than there were a decade ago, in spite of the increase in our total population.² In 15 years all of this small "under-5" group will be in the first marriageable age group, 15-19 years old. Five years later they will be in the 20-24 age group, and so on up the age scale. This group will be followed by successive groups each of which may be smaller than the preceding. If so, this will tend to *decrease* the actual number of marriages each year, for there will be fewer

¹ Ogburn has painstakingly calculated that the changing age composition of our population from 1890 to 1920 accounted for 3.1 per cent of the actual 4.6 per cent increase in the proportion married of those 15 years old and over. E. R. GROVES and W. F. OGBURN, "American Marriage and Family Relationships," New York, Holt, 1928, pp. 159-162.

² There were a million fewer children in our elementary schools in 1938 than there were in 1930.

persons coming to marriageable age; but it will tend to *increase* the percentage of the population 15 years old and over married, for the average age of the population will be rising. But of course other factors may enter in. For example, the marriage rate always drops during an economic depression and rises as prosperity returns. But suppose times remain hard, what will the marriage rate do? Will changing sex mores strike a blow at the prestige of marriage and thus decrease the marriage rate? Will marriage loans be made available, as in several other countries, which might raise the marriage rate to some extent? These are questions that cannot yet be answered for this country.

Table II shows clearly what happens to the marriage rate in "good times" and "bad times." Though 1929 shows 4.2 per cent more mar-

TABLE II.—THE TREND OF MARRIAGE FROM 1929 TO 1935

Year	Marriages per 1,000 population	Percentage increase or decrease in the number of marriages as compared with the preceding year
1929	10 14	+ 4.2
1930	9 15	- 8.6
1931	8.55	- 5.9
1932	7 87	- 7.4
1933	8.74*	+11.8
1934	10 28*	+18.6
1935	10 41*	+ 1.9

* Estimated. The 1933-1935 figures are the result of careful estimates by Samuel A. Stouffer and Lyle M. Spencer, *Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years*, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science*, 188: 56-69, November, 1936.

riages than 1928, 1930 shows 8.6 per cent fewer than 1929.¹ The average decline was over 7 per cent for each of the three years following 1929. The number of marriages per 1,000 population dropped from 10.14 to 7.87, a decline of one-fifth in three years. This rate of 7.87 for 1932 (the trough of the depression) set a new all-time marriage low. Since the annual marriage statistics were first gathered in 1887, the rate had never before fallen below 8.5.

As soon as there was an economic upturn, some of the accumulated postponed marriages began to turn from hope to fact, and when added to the normal unpostponed marriages the result was a sharp rise in the marriage rate. In the three years following the trough of the depression the marriage rate made up all its loss during the three years preceding the trough, and with a small margin to spare. But even with a surplus of

¹ It should be remembered that the figure 60.5 for 1930 in Table I is a figure taken early in 1930, whereas the figure for 1930 in Table II represents the completed year.

marriages in 1934 and 1935 (which Stouffer and Spencer estimated at 15,000 and 31,000, respectively, above the arbitrary norm of the 1925-1929 average), the accumulated deficit was not greatly reduced. This deficit was 125,000 in 1930, rose to 794,000 in 1933, and had dropped only to 748,000 by the end of 1935. Many of the postponed marriages will never take place, and so the rise of the marriage rate in 1935 to its 1929 level gives a fictitious appearance of having evened the board.

The percentage of the population married in various sections of the United States is influenced by a number of factors, such as: (1) the sex ratio; (2) the age composition; (3) nativity (the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage have a considerably lower percentage married than have either the native whites or the foreign born); (4) race; (5) urban or rural residence (in general, city people are less married than country people); (6) standard of living, opportunity for work, social traditions, etc. In New England only 55.8 per cent of the women fifteen years old and over are married, whereas in the Mountain states 64.9 per cent are married. Of the men only 57.2 per cent in the Pacific states are married, but 62.7 per cent in the East South Central states are married. Individual cities vary so much in sex ratio that they are sometimes called "he-towns" and "she-towns," and of course the sex ratio affects the marriage rate. For example, in Lowell, Mass., where women's work prevails and the sex ratio is 86.1, only 49.3 per cent of the women are married; but in Flint, Mich., a man's town with a sex ratio of 113.6, 71.1 per cent of the women are married. San Francisco has the highest sex ratio of the cities over 100,000 in population (116.7), and fewer than half its men (48.9 per cent) are married. Wichita, Kan., in the heart of a farm belt, has 66.3 per cent of its men married, which is the highest proportion for large cities.

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. In the Marital Condition chapter in the 1930 Census (Vol. 2, Chap. 11), find the table showing your own city's figures on the percentage married, for both males and females.¹ Is your city above or below the average for the United States? For your state? Now compare your city with the United States as to sex ratio, age distribution, and race and nativity (see other chapters in Census volume), and see if you can account for at least part of the difference in the marital status as compared with the marital status of the United States population as a whole.
2. What illustrations can you give from your own experience or observation that people do not think objectively about dangers to marriage and family ideals but react emotionally?
3. Make a list of the ways in which the invention of the automobile has affected the family—whether in courtship or in family relationships and activities. Compare the effects that tend to strengthen the family bonds with those that tend to weaken them. Has the net result of the automobile been cohesive or disruptive to the family?
4. List the different types of amusement and recreation to be found in your city or town, in three groups as follows: (a) those that definitely help support the standards taught in the typical home; (b) those that definitely tend to tear down such standards; (c) those that you consider neutral.
5. Write a review of Louis Bromfield's novel "The Farm," stressing the profound changes in the family life of the several generations. Which changes, even though outwardly conspicuous, were superficial, and which were deep and fundamental?
6. From what your parents have told you of their own childhood, compare your childhood status in the family with their childhood status; on such factors as discipline, responsibility, affectional security, etc. How do you account for the differences, if any?

¹ Not given if your city has less than 25,000 population, in which case compare your state, instead of your town, with the United States, and add "urban or rural residence" to the other items of comparison.

CHAPTER II
THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE FAMILY
THE OBSCURITY OF FAMILY ORIGINS

Twenty centuries ago Lucretius, the philosopher poet, peering speculatively into the uncertain mists shrouding the emergence of earliest man, sang of the softening influence of family life upon this new creature:

Yet when, at length, rude huts they first devised,
And fires, and garments; and, in union sweet,
Man wedded woman, the pure joys indulged
Of chaste connubial love, and children rose,
The rough barbarians softened. The warm hearth
Their frames so melted they no more could bear,
As erst, th' uncovered skies; the nuptial bed
Broke their wild vigor, and the fond caress
Of prattling children from the bosom chased
Their stern ferocious manners.¹

A fascinating picture, but what of its origin? Just *how* did this family life come into being? What was its earliest type? What was its prototype? What forces brought about the change from one to the other? These are questions we still cannot answer with certainty. True, there are anthropologists who answer them dogmatically, to their own satisfaction, but others of equal repute hold opposite theories. And in the end both must admit they are dealing with theories only, that definite proof is and possibly always will be lacking. For family relationships are essentially psychic and in their very nature would not be so likely to leave material evidence for the enlightenment of anthropologists thousands of years later as would the practical arts. The beautiful flint implements of the early Cro-Magnons reveal many secrets of their economic life, and the wealth of drawings and paintings by the later Cro-Magnons show us the animals on which they preyed and which preyed on them. The piles of the Swiss lake dwellers and the dredgings below give a clear-cut view of many phases of their economic life. But what of their family life? Were their matings casual or permanent? Did they marry and give in marriage? If so, was there monogamy,

¹ LUCRETIUS, "On the Nature of Things," metrical version by J. M. Good, Bohn's Classical Library, London, 1890.

polygyny, polyandry, or what? We do not know. The impenetrable curtain of antiquity baffles the keenest eyes, and we can only speculate on the enticing mystery so effectually hidden from us.

Yet the theories of anthropologists are not mere random guesses unsupported by any evidence. Most of them are plausible hypotheses arrived at after exhaustive study of widely scattered primitive peoples. Their method is to study marriage forms and family relationships among these primitives, searching for indications of change and particularly for characteristics that might point to earlier types. But the very diversity of their findings and the resultant contradictory generalizations make one hesitate to give unqualified acceptance to any one theory.

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS

Man seems never to have been free to mate absolutely as he pleased, at least not in the times and places of which we have knowledge. As far back as we can trace marriage, whether in the brilliant civilization of the ancients or the most primitive of preliterate peoples, we find man hedged about with restrictions in the choice of a wife. Reasoning from the tenets of evolution it would appear logical that primitive man, being nearer his animal ancestors, would have fewer restrictions than civilized man; yet in general the exact opposite is true. Some of the lowest tribes on the face of the earth have the most elaborate restrictions on marriage, whereas most civilized peoples have reduced them to a minimum. Between the two extremes we find an amazing variety of rules and practices. Most of the prohibitions can be placed in two general classes pertaining to *exogamous* and *endogamous* marriage.

Exogamy.—This type of social organization prohibits a person from marrying anyone within his group. The boundaries of such a group vary among different peoples; but whether it be family, clan, village, tribe or other group, the mate must come from outside it. Exogamy is such a common social phenomenon and has been studied so carefully in numerous tribes that it seems surprising that no satisfactory explanation of it has ever been produced. To be sure it is tied up closely with man's abhorrence of incest, but that does not explain it; it merely pushes the query back a step. Why the abhorrence? Furthermore, exogamous prohibitions sometimes go far beyond the most remote possibilities of incestuous union. However, among the various attempts to throw light on the origin of exogamy, man's attitude toward incest has been most frequently advanced, so it is here given first consideration.

1. *The Horror of Incest.*—Practically every people, savage or civilized, has a horror of sexual intercourse between close blood relatives. This common repugnance toward incest is one of the few culture complexes practically universal in historical time and place, and the unanimity of

attitude is all the more remarkable because it is inexplicable. Its *raison d'être* did not bother early writers who were free from the restraint of scientific method. They merely advanced some philosophical reason that seemed logical. But today we are left with no satisfactory explanation, despite the many attempts that have been made, some of which follow.

a. INSTINCT.—Hobhouse and Lowie attribute the horror of incest to instinct and let it go at that, the latter neatly side-stepping the difficulty by claiming that it is the function, not of the ethnologist, but of the biologist and physiologist to find the cause of this deep-seated horror. Such an explanation, however, seems strangely illogical, for if the revulsion of feeling against incest were instinctive we should expect it to be of natural origin and therefore reach back into the animal world. But such is not the case. Animals in general seem to have no aversion to close in-mating; indeed, among some—for example, certain species of antelope—brother-and-sister mating is the usual procedure. Westermarck quotes a few breeders to the effect that among dogs and horses there is only a slight tendency for brothers and sisters to couple, but his evidence is meager and unconvincing in the face of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Indeed, if one is uncritical of testimony one may go back to Pliny, who tells of a horse that was so overcome with remorse on finding that it had unwittingly been guilty of incest that it committed suicide by throwing itself over a cliff!

b. THE ADVERSE BIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF INBREEDING.—Early writers such as Sir Henry Maine and Lewis Morgan claim that primitive man very soon perceived the ill effects of inbreeding and, survival being the first principle of life, forbade incest as inimical to group welfare. Sumner also followed this theory. But there are two objections that cannot be ignored. First, the theory attributes to preliterate man too much intelligence, for the proof of such a biological principle would require close and long-sustained observation and analysis. Second, the principle itself is unsound. This second objection is not so weighty as the first, for many primitives have adopted erroneous explanations of phenomena. It appears improbable, however, that an error in a prohibition so obstructive of powerful natural impulses as this one, should have been almost universally arrived at on the theory of group welfare and maintained through the ages.

The merits and demerits of inbreeding have been carefully studied in recent years. Inbreeding has been of inestimable value to stockmen in producing the finest breeds, and biologists have shown that among human beings, as among animals, inbreeding is biologically helpful or harmful according to what characteristics are combined. The long practice of close inbreeding did not make for royal weaklings among the

Ptolemies; in fact in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties the incest of brother marrying sister was extremely common, and yet Egypt's most brilliant line of rulers was the result.

C. FAMILIARITY LESSENS SEXUAL ATTRACTION.—Havelock Ellis and Westermarck agree essentially (though not in all details) that the erotic feeling is generally absent between persons living in the same household from childhood. The sensory stimuli of vision, touch, and hearing have been so dulled among brothers and sisters by constant companionship from infancy, and they take each other so much for granted on the basis of calm affection, that the stimuli which arouse sexual desire are usually lacking. It can be seen how such a theory would help explain a sexual *indifference* between brother and sister, but would it equally well account for the horror and powerful *prohibition* against such union in cases where it might be desirable to both parties? Westermarck thinks it would, chiefly on the grounds that anything looked upon as unnatural will be discountenanced and finally prohibited.

The most nearly universal rule against incest is the prohibition of marriage between father and daughter or mother and son, although there have been rare exceptions for royalty and high nobility. The early Hawaiian chiefs are said to have married their daughters, but this in no way excused such a practice among the common people. The next most frequent prohibition is that regarding marriage between full brother and sister, with exceptions somewhat more numerous. Breasted¹ claims that in ancient Egypt it was customary *in all ranks of society* for a youth to marry his sister. Other common prohibitions are: marriage with a half sister; marriage between uncles and nieces or aunts and nephews; marriage between cousins of varying degree.

2. *Female Infanticide and a Scarcity of Women*.—McLennan, who coined the word "exogamy," accounted for it on the basis that primitives were always at war with neighboring tribes and therefore sons were valuable as food getters and warriors but daughters were chiefly consumers and constituted a liability. Hence female infanticide would be almost universal, resulting in a scarcity of women. This would lead to the capture of women from other tribes. This theory is easily refuted, for McLennan greatly exaggerates both female infanticide and marriage by capture, neither practice being anything like universal. In fact, if marriage by capture were universal, each tribe would have to capture as many women as it lost to others, and all would end up in somewhat the same predicament as the twenty persons shipwrecked on a desert island who made a living by taking in each other's washing. Among no people is marriage by capture known to have been the *usual* method of securing

¹ JAMES H. BREASTED, "History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest," 2d ed., New York, Scribner's, 1909.

a wife. But McLennan's theory, even if true, would explain only why *some* men would need to get wives from other tribes, but not why *no* men could marry within their tribe even when women were available.

3. *Marriage by Capture Due to Male Vanity*.—Herbert Spencer attributed exogamy to wife capture, but from a different motive from the one given above. He believed that primitives were almost constantly warring with the groups about them and that the capture of booty (including women) became a commonplace. Thus would grow up the idea that the only red-blooded, he-man way to get a wife was to capture her from the enemy, thereby proving one's prowess, and that only weaklings would take wives from their own tribe. From this it would be but a step to the prohibition of marriage within the tribe. But this explanation is no better than McLennan's, for if a man had established his valor by capturing one wife from the enemy there should be no objection to his taking a second from his own tribe, and yet exogamy would forbid that also.

4. *Wife Capture Linked with Communal Marriage*.—Lord Avebury advanced the naïve theory that, assuming communal marriage in which all the men of a tribe were the husbands of all the women, no one could appropriate one woman exclusively without impinging on the rights of all the other men. But if he could capture a woman from another tribe she would be entirely his, for no other male would have any possible claim on her. This opportunity for exclusive possession of women would bring about a change from communal marriage to the general practice of wife capture and individual marriage. But such a theory, as Westermarck points out, rests upon three erroneous assumptions: (1) that man once lived in a state in which individual marriage was unknown—which theory is certainly not yet established; (2) that wife capture was the general method of securing a wife; (3) that a wife so procured would be recognized as individual property. Regarding the third error, it can easily be shown that the capture of women is usually a *group* act and that such captives are often looked upon as the common booty of the raiding group and held in common by its members. But here again, even if the theory were correct, it would not explain why the men lost their communal rights over the women of their own tribe.

5. *The Blood Tabu Arising from Totemism*.—Durkheim explained exogamy by the religious sentiment attached to certain magical virtues attributed to blood (especially menstruous blood), the awe of which he traced to totemism. But this quite overlooks the fact that exogamous clans are by no means always totemic and that totemism can exist without clan exogamy.

6. *Patriarchal Jealousy*.—Darwin, assuming that primitive man originally lived in small groups as do some of the primates, including one

male and his one or more wives with offspring, suggested that the overbearing jealousy of the old male (the father) would drive the young males away as they came to the age of puberty. Hence they would be forced to seek mates elsewhere, thus establishing the custom of exogamy. But this theory overlooks two important factors: (1) If the father were jealous of his own sons, why would he not be equally jealous of strange young men who came seeking his daughters? (2) While such a practice might help explain the common prohibition of brother and sister marrying, it affords no explanation whatever of the even more common rule that the father cannot marry his own daughters.

7. *Marriage by Purchase*.—Hose and McDougall, perceiving the gap in Darwin's theory, sought to bridge it. They argued that the old man's jealousy would drive his sons from his home but that if they were not replaced their departure would greatly weaken the group. Hence he would yield his daughters to strange young men, but only if they paid him a bride price. They in turn would give the bride price only if he would consent to have no intercourse with his daughters when they took them to wife. Thus ingeniously did Hose and McDougall seek to explain the father-daughter prohibition that Darwin left untouched. But if the old man must maintain the strength of the group by keeping some young men in it, why not keep his own sons and give them his daughters? They would be more familiar with his needs than would strangers, and more dependable. Starcke seeks to answer this by saying that the sons had no bride price to offer their father. But this is unsatisfactory, for if the bride price were universally demanded, the father would stand as good a chance of collecting from his own sons as from other young men who had been driven from their homes. In either case the young men could work it out if they could not pay. Finally, how would such a theory account for incest rules among savages who have no custom of bride price or concerning whom there is no evidence that such a custom ever existed?

8. *Matriarchal Jealousy*.—Briffault,¹ not to be outdone by the colorful theories of others merely because they entered the field ahead of him, puts forth the idea that in the matriarchal group (which he always presupposes) the jealousy of the mother would force her sons into exogamous marriage. These sons, as they approached puberty and began to seek sexual satisfaction, would not dare to approach their elder sisters who were feared and respected only second to the mother. If they approached their younger sisters, the latter might object and seek the protection of the mother; even if they did not object, the mother would be likely to discover the relationship. In either case the sons would incur the jealous wrath of the mother, who could not bear to see their affection transferred from herself to her daughters. There would be no alternative for them

¹ ROBERT BRIFFAULT, "The Mothers," 3 vols., New York, Macmillan, 1927.

other than to seek greener fields elsewhere. Briffault's theory has several weak points. First, it is based on the assumption of universal matriarchy, which many scholars will not admit. Second, it fails to account adequately for the prohibition of mother-son marriage. If the mother were so attached to her sons that she could not bear to see their affection alienated and had absolute power over them as matriarch, why could she not marry one of her favorites even if she drove the others out? To answer that the son would not consent to any but a wife of his own age does not meet the facts, for in Australia, where patriarchal authority is so supreme that the elders monopolize the younger women, many of the young men have to content themselves with the old *lubras*.

9. *The Lure of Strange Women*.—Walter Heape,¹ following up Westermarck's and Ellis's theory that those who are familiar companions from childhood have no sex attraction for each other, goes considerably further in his statement that "the origin of exogamy is to be found in the instinctive sexual impulse of the male to find a mate who will stimulate him sexually and insure for him the greatest amount of sexual gratification." To this Briffault² makes reply that "such subtle refinements in epicureanism appear more suggestive of the psychology of a rake than of an unsophisticated savage." The lure of strange women has always been a factor too powerful to overlook, and yet it is far from being an adequate explanation of exogamy. First, the desire for new experience may lead to sex affairs with strange women but does not necessitate marriage with them, for illicit relations are often considered more exciting than are licit unions. Second, it offers no reason why the more timid men, who were anything but intrigued by the thoughts of subduing a strange wife from another tribe, *could* not marry women within their own tribe even when such were available.

Thus we are left still groping among the mysteries of exogamy. But though its origin remains hidden, we can note some of its effects in actual practice. (1) It prevents inbreeding. As has already been noted, carefully supervised inbreeding may produce excellent results, but the same cannot be said of indiscriminate inbreeding. (2) By the same token exogamy increases crossbreeding, thereby assuring continual variation for nature's tests of survival. This variation is limited, however, for socially required cross-mating does not occur between groups that differ greatly, as in race. (3) Hobhouse thinks there is a third effect, *i.e.*, that the horror of incest makes for a stronger and more socially adequate parental attitude, resulting in the better protection and social development of offspring. This may be true, but it would be difficult to prove.

¹ WALTER HEAPE, "Sex Antagonism," London, Constable, 1913, p. 194.

² *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 248.

The nature and size of the group within which marriage is prohibited under exogamy varies greatly with different peoples. In some cases the central aim seems to be the avoidance of marriage between blood relations; among others, whatever the original intent may have been, prohibitions are so extended that persons who could not possibly have any blood relationship are forbidden to marry. Thus kinship, whether near or distant, is usually the first basis of the exogamous group. At one end of the scale brother-sister marriage is almost universally prohibited, but the other side of the scale extends almost indefinitely. Among the Paviotso Indians of Nevada the most distant cousins are considered too closely related to marry. A Paviotso calls all his cousins, however remote, brother and sister; hence a tenth cousin would be as much forbidden as a first cousin. Lowie asserts that through the magical potency of the group name the legal fiction that members of the same social group are ultimately descendants of the same ancestor prevents marriage between people who could not possibly be related. For example, in Australia a man of the Emu group in one tribe would not think of mating with an Emu woman of an alien tribe a hundred miles away, even though blood kinship is absolutely precluded by the very nature of their social organization. In cases where sibs (unilateral kinship groups) are exogamous a man's choice of a mate is expanded or restricted according to the number of sibs. Thus a Crow, being permitted to marry in any of the 13 sibs except his own, has twelve-thirteenths of the marriageable women of his tribe from which to select his mate, but a Winnebago must choose his spouse from only half the eligible women of the tribe, there being but two exogamous divisions.

Among many of the North American Indians, exogamy was based upon totemism, members of the same totem being forbidden to marry. Among the Iroquois, who had eight totems (Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk), a Bear man could not marry a Bear woman, but could marry a Beaver woman or one from any of the other six totems. Since these totems were widely spread in North America the Iroquois buck had an almost unlimited choice, as far as legal restrictions were concerned. In some cases two totems are paired for marriage purposes—i.e., the men of one totem must choose wives from their complementary totem only—but such a rule is the exception. The clan is the common exogamous unit, illustrations being found in all parts of the world. Sexual intercourse between persons of the same clan is frequently considered with the same horror we have of incest and has sometimes been punished by death. Even as large a unit as the tribe may be exogamous, as among the Rotuma whom Hobhouse mentions. Or the village, as among the Batta, may constitute the exogamous boundary line. Among some Australian tribes, geographic proximity by birth, regardless of the absence of blood

relationship, is considered an absolute barrier to marriage. Persons born in the same locality are said to be "too near each other," or in Africa they say "too close to flesh," to be permitted to marry. Another frequent bar to marriage is the artificial relationship created by adoption, this prohibition reaching down to the present in many civilized countries. Among civilized people in general the only remains of exogamy are the universal laws against incest.

Endogamy.—That form of social organization which prohibits marriage outside the group is called "endogamy." In one sense it appears the reverse of exogamy; yet the two are by no means mutually exclusive, for among the same people they may apply to different groups. In fact it is almost a universal custom for man to live under both rules, for nearly every people recognizes an "outer circle"—as Sir Henry Maine calls it—*outside* of which marriage is considered improper or prohibited, and an "inner circle," *inside* of which marriage is forbidden. The endogamous group within which a man must find his wife may be the tribe, the clan, the caste or class, or even the family. Most civilized peoples today are endogamous (by custom and occasionally by law) on lines of race, caste or class, and religious faith. A number of our states have laws against whites marrying Negroes, which constitutes a sort of negative endogamy. The unthinkable of marriage between the castes still persists in India, and in most countries it is a disgrace (only a few years ago it was still a crime) for persons of widely different rank or social position to marry. But it is among primitive peoples that endogamous rules are important for this study, and hence they will be given primary consideration in the following discussion of the causes for certain endogamous groupings.

1. *Racial Endogamy.*—This is extremely common and is probably due chiefly to a double cause: aversion to those who are greatly different physically or culturally, and pride in real or assumed superiority.

2. *Tribal Endogamy.*—This form is also widely spread, ranging in strictness from the Seri Indians among whom it is absolute and the Papuans who are almost entirely endogamous but make occasional exceptions, to numerous tribes among which the custom is the approved guide to marriage but need not be rigidly followed. Isolation which breeds suspicion, the unfamiliarity of language and custom, and conversely the comfort of the familiar and the assumption of superiority are some of the explanations of tribal endogamy. When marriage between tribes is permitted, it is likely to be for political purposes, such as cementing a peace treaty.

3. *Clan Endogamy.*—This often exists within the same tribe, having been the common rule in Madagascar and many other places. In some cases it leads to the extreme of family endogamy. Among some peoples

not only are cousins permitted to marry, but it is considered so much the natural and proper marriage that a man has the first right to his cousin's hand. Among the Arabian Bedouins a man is not *obliged* to marry his cousin, but she cannot marry anyone else without his consent.¹ There are supposedly good reasons for cousin marriage, the chief ones being that it keeps the property within the family and the family blood pure. But such marriage also has the advantage of the modern cafeteria—one sees what one gets—or, as the natives express it, marrying a strange woman is like drinking out of a jug, but marrying a cousin is like drinking from an open dish. Furthermore, as Westermarck points out, such a wife cannot curse her husband by cursing his ancestors (a common practice among savages) without implicating herself!

4. *Village Endogamy*.—This is practiced by the Sernatta Islanders and was also common among the natives of ancient Peru, the Chaymas of New Andalusia, and others. It may be due to the isolation of certain villages, the immobility of the people, or the possible coincidence of other group boundaries with village boundaries.

5. *Caste Endogamy*.—The people of India are not primitives, but they offer one of the most rigid examples of caste endogamy in the world. With them a caste is sometimes divided into subcastes, also strictly endogamous. So deep-rooted is the system that even Gandhi, with his passionate desire for sympathetic brotherhood among his people, does not seek to abolish the system. The milder *class* endogamy has been common in all ages. Among the Hovas of Madagascar the three classes—nobles, commoners, and slaves—could not, with few exceptions, intermarry. Even the slaves were divided into three classes which did not intermarry. Among the Tedas and the Masai certain classes and occupations are synonymous, the smiths being allowed to marry only from among the smiths. Among the Tedas this rule is so strict that the smiths constitute practically a hereditary caste. In the Ladrone Islands a nobleman marrying a girl of the common people would be killed. Europe had similar rules at one time. Until 445 B.C. plebeians and patricians in Rome could not intermarry. Even in the nineteenth century German civil law considered the marriage of a nobleman to a woman of inferior birth as a *disparagium*; she was not entitled to his rank, nor did she or her children have the right to full inheritance.

Thus endogamy, in most of its forms, is not difficult of explanation; at least some of its causes are clear. Racial pride, repugnance at physical differences—particularly color—a sense of cultural superiority, a desire to keep the group blood pure, the advantage of keeping property within the group, isolation resulting in fear and suspicion, and religious prejudice

¹ EDWARD WESTERMARCK, "The History of Human Marriage," 3 vols. London, Macmillan, 1921, 5th ed., vol. 2, p. 69.

all have their place in the explanation of endogamous rules. The economic factor has doubtless been to the fore time and again; among the Israelites we find Moses ordering the daughters of Zelophehad to marry men of their father's tribe so their inheritance would remain in the tribe.¹ But among the same people religion also played an important role, as is shown in the prohibition against marrying among the Canaanites because of the fear that they would lead the Israelites to serve strange gods.² But whatever factor appeared dominant for the moment, the underlying motives for endogamy were usually multiple and intertwined.

MARRIAGE FORMS

Marriage and the family are so commonly associated that we often think of them as inseparable; yet in reality they are distinct, neither depending upon the other. The family, in its minimum form, is that unit of human association which consists of parent (or parents) and offspring; in its maximum form it may be extended to include various other relatives and even adopted members. Marriage, on the other hand, is essentially a form of relationship between the sexes, socially approved and regulated. Biologically the family can function efficiently without recourse to marriage; likewise marriage may produce a lasting companionship without resulting in children. Family life, due to the helplessness of human offspring, has been necessary to survival; marriage has not. Hence we must assume that the family existed long before marriage forms were invented and that marriage grew out of the family rather than the family out of marriage.

In this discussion of marriage the pairing of animals, no matter how permanent it may be in a few cases, is excluded, for the concern here is strictly with human mating, which has evolved from indefinite practices and understandings to definite forms involving group sanctions. Likewise marriage ceremonies are not discussed, for although there is a vast and interesting array of them among various peoples, ceremony is not always essential to socially approved marriage relationships. In a few cases the ceremonies used by a given people throw some light on their earlier marriage relationships and hence would be germane to this discussion if space allowed. But the present discussion must be limited to existing marriage forms and their possible reasons.

As to when and how marriage first came about we have little knowledge. The family, whatever its form, seems always to have been a natural and satisfying human grouping, and the intrusion of outsiders into such a satisfying relationship is sure to cause conflict and eventually

¹ Num. 36: 12.

² Deut. 7: 3.

lead to social regulation. But advances in social psychology and social anthropology have made us certain that marriage did not originate in the deliberate appraisal of individual satisfaction and group welfare involved in the regulating of mating. It was inevitable that any passion as powerful as that arising from the sex urge, and any function as fundamental, mysterious, and awe-inspiring as reproduction should ultimately come under a system of deliberate control, but this process of control could hardly have been deliberative at the very beginning. There is good reason to believe that the usual course of social evolution was followed; *i.e.*, certain forms and practices gradually grew up and became a part of the folkways, this part of the process being largely unconscious. In time these practices, through the prestige of antiquity, would become so established that they would be looked upon as "right" and to go contrary to them would be considered "wrong." Thus by conscious social approval and perpetuation they would become a part of the mores. Finally they would come to be considered so essential that they would be institutionalized by fixing them in a definite and formal structure. The development of norms regarding the relationship between the sexes may have followed a negative rather than a positive course. Selfish desire would seek to perpetuate a satisfying relationship and would resist any interference by others. Personal vengeance and, later, group retaliation would raise barriers to certain kinds of conduct, and in time superstition would strengthen these barriers. But by whatever route primitive man arrived at the regulation of sex relations, he arrived—and that right early. That the forms adopted are so numerous should occasion no surprise, for Nature is too original in this or any line of endeavor to be confined to a single pattern. A glance at any of her handiwork shows her penchant for variety.

There are four main forms of marriage. Opinion is sharply divided on their order of importance and frequency, but we can be fairly sure that the first two here treated are in their proper order as far as frequency is concerned. This applies to them, however, only as *voluntary* forms, and not as the *only permitted* forms. The last two may or may not be in their proper order of frequency.

1. Monogamy.¹—The mating of one man with one woman for a more or less extended period seems to have been the most common type of marriage as far back as we can trace man. This does not mean that most

¹ Briffault claims that it is as necessary to distinguish between monogamy and monogyny as between polygamy and polygyny (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 269). But the analogy is so strained and his attempted distinction between monogamy and monogyny so ambiguous when compared with the clear-cut distinction between polygamy and polygyny that it is thought best to hold to the generally accepted meaning of the word "monogamy."

groups on the face of the earth have recognized monogamy as the *only* approved form of marriage; it means that, no matter what other forms of marriage were recognized as valid among a given people, monogamy was usually the prevailing one. The chief reason for this is that the number of males and females is in most places about the same, and therefore pairing (with the exception of the comparatively rare form called "group marriage") is the only form of marriage which provides a mate for practically every person. This balance between the sexes can be disturbed by such factors as war, female infanticide, occupational hazards, etc., but the general balance is maintained in most times and places.¹ Briffault seems to overlook this fact, especially when engaged in his favorite pastime of assailing the theories of Westermarck. In his zeal to show that Westermarck is wrong on certain tribes which he claims are strictly monogamous, Briffault makes himself the easiest of targets for his critics. Concerning the Tuareg of the Eastern Sahara, who are said to be monogamous, he quotes Buchanan and Jean, the former declaring that the Tuareg "usually have from two to four wives," and the latter asserting that "they scarcely ever have less than four wives."² Without any intention of disparaging the reputation of these courageous males it might be pointed out that for every man to have four wives it would be necessary (assuming the sexes to be approximately equal) for every man to purchase or capture three women from surrounding tribes, in addition to taking a wife from his own tribe. This presupposes either exceptional valor on the part of all males or else equally exceptional wealth, to say nothing of the necessity of an amazing oversupply of women in surrounding tribes from which to draw.

The term "polygynous" has been very loosely used. It is a popular but erroneous assumption that in a tribe described as polygynous every man has two or more wives. Nothing is further from the truth. The powerful and the wealthy can have more than one wife, but this merely makes some of the very poor go wifeless, while the majority limit themselves to one. Careful study of peoples known to be polygynous has revealed that monogamy is far more common with them than is polygyny. Among the Greenlanders, for example, who are known as a polygynous people, Cranz found only 1 man in 20 with two wives and Captain Holm never found a man with three.³ This should not prevent us from calling

¹ Among most peoples male births outnumber female births, usually about 106 to 100. However, the mortality rate for males is higher at every age than for females, and this tends to equalize the sexes above the childhood age. Among women the risks of maternity partly offset the risks of hazardous occupations for men, though other factors in a given case may easily tip the balance one way or the other.

² *Op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 287.

³ ROBERT H. LOWIE, "Primitive Society," New York, Liveright, 1920, p. 41.

them a polygynous people, but it should lead to a better understanding of that term.

Monogamy has other advantages than that of providing mates for the largest number of persons when the sexes are approximately equal. It constitutes the simplest grouping of parents and children and has a relatively high degree of mobility and adaptability. Furthermore it facilitates the exclusiveness so often sought when mates find complete satisfaction in each other, though this point does not have so much weight among primitive as among civilized peoples.

On the other hand there have always been certain natural disadvantages to monogamy. Briffault asserts that in the animal world pairing is invariably associated with segregation and isolation and that had it been universal among human beings it would have made impossible the development of the mind, which could arise only from the social interaction produced by the group. This argument is weakened, however, by the impossibility of proving the premise. Every sociologist will admit that human characteristics could develop only by the mental interstimulation of group life, but there seems to be no proof that sex pairing necessarily precludes group life.

Another drawback to monogamy, from the viewpoint of the male, is that it limits his sex activity to one female. Since her desire is far more periodic than his, and also because of the common primitive custom of refraining from intercourse during pregnancy and the long period of lactation (lasting from one to five years), the male's sex life under monogamy is greatly limited. Among some peoples this restriction is mitigated by rather free extramarital relationships, but among others such activities are severely condemned. Briffault further points out that biologically, from the standpoint of nature alone, the function of the male, whether in the vegetable or animal kingdom, is to impregnate as many females as possible and that monogamy strictly adhered to would baffle this natural function. However, such an argument falls flat, for monogamy allows the full fecundity of women to be used, which is all nature is interested in. The period of gestation remains nine months, and the wife cannot bear a child oftener than once a year no matter how much intercourse she has, nor whether she is impregnated in a monogamous, polygynous, or polyandrous marriage.

It must also be remembered that monogamy does not necessarily denote any more *permanent* mating than do other forms of marriage. When only one wife at a time is permitted, or even when more than one is permitted but the man is able to support only one, the result is sometimes a succession of wives. Cases have been known of such a frequent change of wives that among some—the Guaycurus, for example—the term “successive polygyny” would be more applicable than “monogamy.”

Among certain civilized peoples the high divorce rate shows something of a similar tendency.

In summary it may be said that *socially enforced monogamy* is very rare among primitives, far rarer than Westermarck supposes, but that *voluntary monogamy*, whether from poverty or personal choice, has been the commonest form of marriage on the face of the earth. Westermarck maintains, as does Wissler, that monogamy is the *only* form that has always been permitted among *all* peoples. Briffault denies this and asserts that, in the pure communal relations which he assumes to have once been universal, exclusive pairing would have been considered contrary to the rights of all other members of the tribe and hence prohibited. Spencer and Gillen support the latter view, for they state that among the Urabunna of Australia, who practice what is known as "group marriage," there is no such thing as one man having the exclusive right to one woman. But other peoples having group marriage are definitely known to permit monogamy also; in fact, among some, monogamy is the common rule and group marriage the exception. It is safe to say that with very few exceptions monogamy has been permitted by every known people, that it has existed side by side with every other form of marriage, and that in most of these cases it has been more common than the form for which the people are best known. From the lowest preliterate to the highest literate, monogamy has led the marriage procession.

2. Polygyny.—The word "polygamy" has been frequently misused. It is a general term denoting plural mating either way and hence embraces both *polygyny*, a plurality of wives, and *polyandry*, a plurality of husbands. Polygyny has been almost universally permitted among primitive people. Together with polyandry it has one sharp difference from monogamy; for though possibly a few primitive peoples and certainly many civilized peoples have allowed no other form than monogamy, no people has ever been known to permit only polygyny or polyandry. Rather, men have been free to take more than one wife if they were able and so inclined.

As we have already seen, the general numerical balance of the sexes makes it impossible in groups of any considerable size for every man to be even a bigamist, to say nothing of possessing the generous number of wives frequently mentioned by casual travelers. It has been claimed that the number of wives a man could take was sometimes limited by tribal custom. The Wasania of British East Africa are said not to allow a man to have more than 3 wives, the Lendu 4 (the same limit as prescribed by Islamic law), the Kugamma of Northern Nigeria 6, and the Chandel Raj puts a maximum of 7. Kings and chiefs, however, are treated more generously, the number of wives allowed the king of Ashanti being fixed at 3,333, which would seem to be an ample supply. Such

set limitations, however, were the exception rather than the rule, the number of wives a man could take usually being determined by his economic circumstances and personal wishes. In fact he knew better than to take more women than he could properly support; for not only was such a procedure condemned by group opinion, but also a wife not receiving adequate support might easily change over to a more competent partner. In a few cases the near monopoly of the women by the chiefs and elders made it so difficult for young men, especially if they were poor, to get any wife at all that it may have encouraged the idea of limitation. At any rate, we find that among certain Australian tribes a man who is unable to procure a wife has the right to challenge another who has several.¹

Sororal polygyny—the marriage of one man to several sisters—was a common type. Its main virtue was supposed to lie in the fact that sisters would be more likely to live together in harmony than would strangers, although probably its roots lie more in the group-contract character of primitive marriage. Among some tribes having the sororate all the sisters in a family automatically became the wives of the man who married the eldest. It is doubtful whether this custom was always strictly adhered to; for unless there were a preponderance of women it might leave a considerable proportion of the men without any possibility of marriage, particularly if this rule applied at the same time as the rule that no younger sister could marry until her eldest sister had married.

At least some of the reasons for the wide prevalence of polygyny are quite evident.

1. Among many primitives, women are prized as much for the work they do as for their companionship, in some cases more. The mores often provide ample opportunity for extramarital sex indulgence through such channels as the temporary exchange of wives and sexual license at feasts, but the economic value of a wife is a constant source of comfort and well-being. Where the wife is the chief producer, the taking of a second wife often means an increase in income.

2. A man's prestige is sometimes measured by the number of wives he has. Not only do numerous wives add to his income, but they are visual proof of his prosperity which might otherwise not be sufficiently known to earn him the honor due him.

3. The taboo on intercourse during pregnancy and the nursing period is a drawback to monogamy; conversely, it favors polygyny.

4. An excess of females due to the hazards of war, the chase, or other dangerous occupations invites polygyny. Indeed, in certain European countries after the World War there were serious proposals to legitimize polygyny because there was such a preponderance of women.

5. Man's powerful sex urge, coupled with the desire for variety and new experiences in the realm of sex, favors polygyny, especially in those tribes where extramarital satisfaction is not so freely obtainable as in others. Also, the lot of women among savages is frequently so hard that they age quickly and lose their beauty all

¹ BRIFFAULT, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 268.

too soon. Yet, contrary to popular conception, excessive libido is undoubtedly a minor rather than a chief cause of polygyny.

6. The desire for offspring may account for a man's taking a second wife if the first wife is barren; or the desire for many offspring, as is the case in China under ancestor worship, may cause him to take several wives and concubines.

7. Finally, strange as it may seem, a man is often constrained to take another wife by the pleading of his first wife. The addition of a second wife not only enhances the position of the first but also lightens her work. Female jealousy does not assume the proportions in such a case that monogamous Westerners would suppose, for where polygyny is common the women take it as a matter of course. Jealousy, like romantic love, is not instinctive but is a social product, and like other emotions it is subject to conventional control.

There are also a number of factors operating against the custom of polygyny.

1. Where bride purchase is the rule, the cost of more than one wife is prohibitive to all but the well-to-do.

2. Among those peoples who desire numerous wives not as workers but as ornaments and sex partners, the "cost of upkeep" must be added to the "first cost." However, this point probably applies less to taking a second wife than to placing an ultimate limit on a harem.

3. The custom of long service for the bride discourages polygyny. The period of service varies from 1 to 10 years and in some cases cannot be commuted by purchase. Among the Koryaks even the wealthy suitor must personally serve his father-in-law as herdsman from 3 to 10 years. Jacob served Laban 7 years for Rachel, only to find himself blocked by the custom that did not permit the younger daughter to marry until her elder sister was married; so he had to take Leah first and serve another 7 years for Rachel.

4. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny (except the sororal type) extremely difficult, for the bride remains with her own people and the husband must travel from place to place to live with his wives. Polygyny has been known under such a system, but it is very unusual. The Hopi and Zuni practice matrilocal residence, but Lowie says they are strictly monogamous.

5. A scarcity of females is unfavorable to polygyny.

In conclusion we may say that the extent of polygyny has been greatly influenced by the type of economy under which man lived; it could not flourish in the hunting and fishing stage where it required considerable vigilance and activity to support adequately even one wife but would come into its own in the pastoral stage and agricultural stage where a more abundant and dependable food supply was assured and wealth could be accumulated. Polygyny became almost universal among primitive peoples, but it is essential to remember that among any one of these peoples it was of necessity practiced by the minority rather than the majority.

3. Polyandry.—This form of family organization—the marriage of one female to two or more males—is comparatively rare. It was known to ancient Sparta and at present exists to some extent among certain

Eskimo tribes, among the Wahuma of East Africa, in Ceylon, Assam, and a few other places. The best-known examples, however, are the Tibetans, the Nairs of the Malabar coast, and the Todas of India, and what little study polyandry has received has been mostly among these three peoples.

There are two general types of polyandry: the *fraternal* (sometimes called the Tibetan), and the *non-fraternal* (sometimes called the Nair). In the former the husbands are brothers, whereas in the latter they may but need not be brothers. The fraternal type seems to be the more common. Among the Todas the husbands are nearly always brothers, according to Rivers;¹ in fact when a woman marries a man she becomes the wife of his younger brothers also. Even a brother born after the marriage can share his elder brother's marital rights when he is old enough. A study of Toda genealogies shows that in a few cases in which the husbands are not own brothers they are clan brothers. Rivers found only one instance of a woman having at the same time husbands from different clans, and in this case the men were half brothers on the mother's side.

Probably there is no form of marriage about which there are more contradictory reports than about polyandry. There is little agreement on its causes, and not much on its characteristic features. Those who have lived among polyandrous peoples often present diametrically opposed views. For example, Rockhill was frequently told by Tibetans that polyandry was practiced only among the poor and scorned by the wealthy, who were either monogamous or polygynous; but Turner reported that polyandry was frequently found even in the wealthiest families. Again, some writers say that although polyandry is fairly common in Tibet it is not the prevailing type of marriage; but Ahmad Shah says that it is much more prevalent there than is polygyny in any Mohammedan land and that, though all forms of marriage coexist, the "right" form is polyandry. Rockhill further asserts that polyandry exists only among the agriculturists and is not known among the nomads, but E. C. Baber claims that polygyny prevails among the farmers in the valleys and that polyandry is the common form among the shepherds of the uplands.

Probably some of these seeming discrepancies are due to faulty observation, but undoubtedly others are due to the wide differences in certain social customs in various parts of the same country. This variation of custom may account for the fact that in one part of Tibet a man's younger brothers automatically acquire marital rights over his wife. But Earle assures us that in Eastern Tibet the wife has the right but not the duty of cohabiting with the brothers, being free to exercise

¹ W. H. R. RIVERS, "The Todas," New York, Macmillan, 1904.

her own pleasure in the matter. Also, if the eldest brother does not marry but the second brother does, the younger brothers only will share the common wife of the second brother, the elder brother leaving the family and having no claim to the wife. One writer cites the case of a father, whose wife had died, becoming the joint husband of his son's wife and says this custom is apparently orthodox in Western Tibet. In societies where patrilocal residence prevails all the husbands live in the same household with their common wife. In some cases it seems that a younger brother leaving such a group loses his right to any share of the common wife; but in other cases a younger brother leaving to set up for himself and take a wife of his own does not lose his right to his brothers' common wife, but they have no right to his because he alone is supporting her. In Eastern Tibet when several husbands share a common wife each lives with her for a month or more at a time, and in some sections of the Punjab the husbands have a daily rotation of rights regarding the wife. Among the Tibetans the man chooses his wife (though of course family choice plays a large role), but among the Nairs, who practice matrilocal residence, the woman chooses her own husbands and they come in turn to live with her along with her mother and brothers. Among some groups the younger brothers seem to have no access to the wife except when the elder brother is away; among others the younger brothers, who may have gone out to establish occupations of their own, are accorded the exclusive right to the wife when visiting the elder brother with whom she lives. Usually in fraternal polyandry the eldest brother is considered the principal husband, and his authority is either supreme or nearly so.

Regarding paternity and responsibility for children there is also a variety of practice. Among the Todas, when the wife of two or more brothers becomes pregnant, arrangement is made whereby one of the husbands shall perform the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow, which makes him for social purposes the father of the child. Biological paternity is disregarded. When another pregnancy occurs, another husband may perform the bow-and-arrow ceremony and thus become the father, though the general practice is to have no ceremony for the second child, thus allowing the first husband to claim the first two or three children, the second husband the next two or three, and so on. If the husbands separate, each takes the children which by the above method have been allotted to him. Among the Nairs, kindred is traced through the mother's line, property descending by the same route, for a Nair does not know his father.¹ In some cases all the children belong to the eldest brother who is called "father" by them, whereas the other brothers are

¹ G. E. HOWARD, "A History of Matrimonial Institutions," University of Chicago Press, 1904.

called "uncle," though sometimes the distinction is "great father" and "little father." In other cases all the brothers are considered equally as fathers, and in still others, the brothers divide the children among them according to seniority. In a few cases, the mother designates the father.

The causes of polyandry are quite obscure. For polygyny it is comparatively easy to find a number of explanations that not only are theoretically logical but also fit the experience of primitives as established through ethnological research. But to discover the true causes of polyandry is quite another task. It is a simple matter to point out several causes that appear logical, but they have a disconcerting way of refusing to square with the facts. One can therefore do no more than set forth the various explanations that have been advanced, together with what supporting or contradictory evidence is available to date.

1. *Scarcity of Females*.—It is obvious that a considerable excess of males over females is favorable to polyandry, but the conclusion of some writers that it is the primary cause does not necessarily follow. Westermarck enumerates 33 peoples or districts reputed to have an excess of males, but among them there were more polygynous than polyandrous, the others being chiefly monogamous. Briffault¹ maintains that, although it is commonly accepted that Tibet has a scarcity of women, such is not the case. He quotes Puini, Rockhill, and Risley as considering the sexes approximately equal in number, and Cunningham, Moorcroft, and Trebeck to the effect that in Ladakh, where polyandry flourishes, the females actually outnumber the males. Hence we must conclude that since polyandry can and does occur where there is no excess of males and does not occur even in the majority of cases where there is an excess of males the scarcity of women cannot be given as its fundamental cause.

2. *Poverty*.—Sumner thinks that among the Tibetans polyandry is due to "poverty and a hard habitat," and Lowie² cites the same reason for the Wahuma, among whom a very poor man wishing to buy a wife is assisted by his brothers, who then share his marital rights until the woman becomes pregnant. This appears logical, for in China, which is certainly not a polyandrous country, instances have been known of several coolies, too poor to support a wife each, sharing a woman. Even in the United States, among certain immigrant groups in which the males greatly outnumber the females, cases have been known of several men living with one woman and holding her in common.

But the trouble with such argument is that cases of this kind do not constitute true polyandry; in the first place they are exceptions rather

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 667.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

than the rule, and in the second place such practice (as in the American immigrant groups) is not socially approved. It constitutes polyandrous *practice* rather than polyandrous *marriage*. Furthermore, the polyandrous Nairs are certainly not a poverty-stricken people, and it has already been shown that polyandry exists in some very wealthy families in Tibet. Did the vast majority of these two peoples once live in abject poverty that necessitated polyandry, and, when their economic status improved did they retain their old marriage forms through the sheer force of custom? Such an explanation would be mere conjecture. Economic welfare is sometimes linked to the stage of economy in which a people lives, but this fact throws no light on polyandry, for it is found among the Eskimos who are hunters, the Wahuma and Todas who are pastoral, and the Tibetans, both agricultural and nomadic.

3. *A Natural Phase of Group Marriage*.—Briffault, spurning all previously suggested explanations, is convinced that polyandry is not a separate and distinct type of marriage, but merely a phase of group marriage, from which common root either polygyny or polyandry sprouts, according to the particular circumstances involved. The argument is not entirely clear, but the implication is that polyandry arises chiefly in places where matriarchy has prevailed in the not very distant past. Parts of Tibet, claims Briffault, not only were matriarchally organized, but "were under a complete system of gynococracy." Sororal polygamy is the basic relationship out of which polyandry grows. In the province of Ladakh he thinks the form of marriage depends on the number of sons and daughters in the families contracting the marriage. If in the one family there is only one son and in the other family three daughters, the resulting marriage will be polygynous; if three sons and one daughter, it will be polyandrous; if one son and one daughter, monogamous; if three sons and three daughters, it will be in the nature of group marriage.¹ In spite of the evidence presented by other writers, he declares nonfraternal polyandry to be nonexistent at present and to have been impossible at any earlier time. He insists that Nair polyandry, commonly accepted as nonfraternal (by which is meant that it could but need not be fraternal), is strictly fraternal at heart and that any apparent deviation is not general or of spontaneous origin. He says, "It thus appears that polyandrous marriage has its root in the fact of relationship and not in adventitious circumstances; that it is a manifestation of traditional organization, and not of local conditions."²

In support of his theory that what is commonly called polyandry in Tibet is really group marriage, Briffault quotes Savage Landor as follows:

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 650.

² *Ibid.*, p. 707.

A Tibetan girl on marrying does not enter into a nuptial tie with an individual, but with all his family, in the following somewhat complicated manner: If an eldest son marries an eldest sister, all the sisters of the bride become his wives. Should he, however, begin by marrying the second sister, then only the sisters from the second down will be his property. If the third, all from the third, and so on. At the same time when the bridegroom has brothers, they are all regarded as their brother's wife's husbands, and they one and all cohabit with her as well as with her sisters, if she has any.¹

This theory is an interesting one but must be regarded somewhat skeptically until it is supported by more convincing evidence. It is entirely true that in some sections where polyandry is common it is not by any means the only form of marriage in use, but it has already been indicated that the same is true of polygyny, and frequently of monogamy as well. There is no doubt that monogamy, polygyny, and even group marriage can be found side by side with polyandry; but this does not prove that polyandry, polygyny, or both are merely offshoots of the parent stock, group marriage. Among the Ladakh, who are of Tibetan stock, when the eldest brother marries he must support the two brothers who are next to him in age, sharing with them his wife, though they remain only minor husbands and are under his complete authority. The significant thing, however, is that the common wife can take another husband entirely outside the family and that this husband is completely under her control. Such a "husband" is called a *mappa*, and at any time he can be dropped at the wish of the woman, with or without excuse or ceremony.² This smacks somewhat of group marriage, but on closer inspection it appears to be more in the nature of a compensation to the woman who may have to marry several brothers who are not her choice, the marriage being arranged by the families. The *mappa* is evidently as much lover as husband, and the easy dissolution of the woman's relationship with him is not in line with the descriptions of group marriage of the recognized type. Among the Todas a similar custom is found. The wife of one or more husbands may become the formal mistress of another man (or even of several), and this lover, in spite of the fact that he is not the official husband, actually takes precedence over the lawful husbands when he visits their wife.³ Whether this is a recognized system of long standing or a more recent development from growing laxness in sex relations is not definitely known, but it is interesting that Rivers could find no word for "adultery" in the Toda language.

¹ A. H. SAVAGE LANDOR, "In the Forbidden Land," New York, Harper, 1899 and 1909, Vol. 2, p. 63.

² WESTERMARCK, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 122-123.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

The Todas also have monogamy, polygyny, polyandry, and group marriage existing side by side. Yet what appears to others as true group marriage is seen by Rivers, one of the best authorities on the Todas, as an extension of polygyny. He says, "It seems to me that the correct way of describing the present condition of Toda society is to say that polyandry is as prevalent as ever, but that, owing to the greater number of women, it is becoming associated with polygyny. When there are two brothers, it does not seem that each takes a wife for himself, but rather that they take two wives in common."¹ Others think that the brothers take another wife as the economic status improves.

Thus, while there is some evidence that tends to support Briffault's theory, it is inconclusive. In fact there seems to be no more evidence that polyandry grows out of group marriage, merely because it can be found side by side with it, than that group marriage grows out of a combination of polygyny and polyandry when those two forms happen to exist side by side, a theory to which Westermarck strongly holds. If polyandry grows out of group marriage and if group marriage was once universal (as Briffault assumes), why should there be so few remnants of polyandry today? And if it could flourish only in places where the matriarchate has until recently existed, why should it not be found among most peoples who show some evidence that at one time they may have been matriarchal? Finally, the writer recently quizzed a man who had worked in Tibet for six years and who spoke the language fluently. He stated that he had seen a great deal of polyandry, yet not a single case of group marriage. If the latter were the parent form in Tibet and polyandry a mere offshoot, it does not seem likely that in a given section polyandry would be plentiful but group marriage so scarce that six years of residence would not reveal a single case. There still seems to be room for a scientific study of polyandry and its causes.

4. Group Marriage.—In its commonly accepted meaning, "group marriage" is the marriage of a group of men with a group of women, all having sexual access to each other. Such a definition reduces this form of relationship to its simplest terms, taking no account of the qualifying interpretations of its various aspects mentioned by different writers.

There is so much dispute over the terminology used in describing this general type of marriage that it is difficult to steer a clear course in discussing it. For example, Westermarck² considers the group marriage found side by side with polyandry to be the only genuine group marriage in existence. What many others call group marriage, he calls "sexual

¹ *Op. cit.*, quoted by W. I. Thomas, "Source Book for Social Origins," University of Chicago Press, 1909, p. 486.

² *Op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 228.

communism." Rivers, Lowie, and certain others also avoid the term "group marriage," though Lowie thinks "sexual communism" just as inaccurate. No one seems to be certain of the best term to apply to some of the varying practices. For example, some argue that the possession of several wives in common by several brothers does not necessarily denote group marriage, but that each brother has his own wife, and the mutual sharing is merely a license allowed without the sanction of marriage. Others would charge that such an explanation is merely a juggling of terms.

Many have been led astray on this question by accepting the false assumption that the right of sexual intercourse always presupposes marriage. Such is not the case. Among some primitives a man may have a socially recognized right to the sexual favors of a woman, under certain restrictions, without necessitating the implication that he is married to her. It must be remembered that economic advantage is frequently the primary motive in the marriage of savages, sex being a secondary factor that can find satisfaction, if necessary, in extramarital relationships. It is therefore clear that if a group of men make an agreement whereby under certain conditions they will share their wives with each other it is not a sure sign that all the men are married to all the women. For example, the Chukchi are said to practice group marriage, but a close examination of their system shows that in their case the term is a misnomer. Several men (anywhere from 2 to 10), usually from different camps and never brothers, may decide to become "companions-in-wives." This arrangement, which may but need not be accompanied by a ceremony, merely means that when one of the men visits the camp of a companion the latter gives the visitor his wife as a temporary bedmate and is accorded the same right when he repays the visit. They may even exchange wives for a period or permanently. Bogoras calls this group marriage, but Lowie disagrees on two grounds: (1) The agreement is almost always limited to members of different camps, who can therefore exercise their theoretical rights only on the rare occasions when they visit other camps; it is therefore merely for the purpose of providing a temporary bedmate for the man when traveling. (2) The members entering such an arrangement never live together in the same household. Bogoras never found several companions simultaneously sharing their several wives' favors. Lowie¹ concludes, "Chukchi marriage is individual marriage tempered with the occasional and temporary extension of the husband's purely sexual rights to his fellow contractors."

We have already seen that what appears to be group marriage exists among the polyandrous Todas. Here several brothers may have one or several wives, apparently in common. Rivers calls this a combination

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

of polygyny with polyandry, Westermarck calls it the only true type of group marriage and considers it an outgrowth of polyandry, and Briffault also calls it group marriage but insists that it is the source rather than the result of polyandry. With these three distinctions in mind let us examine the marriage arrangements of the Australians, who for years have been held up as the best illustration of group marriage in the world. Spencer and Gillen¹ describe these people in great detail. Their tribal organization is very complex, which Briffault thinks is due not to extraordinary ingenuity but to abnormal development, perhaps from isolation. Since the chief object of their intricate social organization is to regulate sexual relations, a very complex system of such relationships has resulted. The Urabunna divide their tribe into two exogamous classes, each of which is further divided into four groups. The method by which this group division is achieved does not concern us here; the important point is that for any given group of men there is a corresponding group of women with whom they may marry and who are called their *Nupas*. As Hobhouse² describes the arrangement,

. . . there are in the tribe a group of men and of women who are *Nupa* to each other—that is, potential husbands and wives. . . . A man will have one or more of his *Nupas* assigned to him as his wives. He will also have others to whom he is *Piriaungaru*—that is, he has access to them under certain conditions. Similarly, a woman may be *Piriaungaru* to several men, and lastly, a man may lend his wife to any of her *Nupas*, and on the occasion of a visit, for example, is expected as a matter of courtesy and good feeling to do so. Thus the husband has only, so to say, a preferential right in his wife, and the wife in the husband. The husband will have a secondary right to other women as his *Piriaungaru*, while his wives are in turn *Piriaungaru* to other men.

Hobhouse calls this scheme of marriage not the marriage of two groups but "a form of polyandry combined with polygamy, such as we have already met with among the Nairs, only complicated by the taboos which limit the intercourse of the sexes to the two groups which are *Nupa* to each other." On the other hand, Spencer and Gillen³ are convinced that the marriage system of the Urabunna is true group marriage, in which "a group of women of a certain designation are actually the wives of a group of men of another designation." They point out that

. . . every woman is the special *Nupa* of one particular man, but at the same time he has no exclusive right to her, as she is the *Piriaungaru* of certain other men, who also have the right of access to her. There is no such thing as one man having the exclusive right to one woman. The elder brother . . . of the

¹ W. BALDWIN SPENCER and F. J. GILLEN, "The Native Tribes of Central Australia," London, Macmillan, 1899.

² L. T. HOBHOUSE, "Morals in Evolution," 4th ed., New York, Holt, 1924, p. 136.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

latter, in whose hands the matter lies, will give one man a preferential right, but at the same time he will give other men of the same group a secondary right to her. Individual marriage does not exist either in name or in practice in the Urabunna tribe.

The last sentence of the preceding statement is taken by Briffault¹ as evidence in support of his theory of an earlier stage of universal promiscuity of which group marriage is merely a survival. He admits that individual marriage is at present found among all Australian tribes but says that it is for economic purposes only and that in no case does it carry with it *exclusive* sexual rights. Therefore, it is not the individual marriage associated with the idea of monogamy. Lowie, on the other hand, looks upon the Australian system as individual marriage to which, in the case of influential men, concubinage is added. Basing his opinion on Howitt's² authoritative description of the Dieri, whose marriage institutions Briffault considers "exactly similar" to those of the Urabunna, Lowie concludes that Dieri marriage is neither group marriage nor sexual communism. In the first place "no woman is ever the affianced wife of more than one man." After marriage she may become the concubine of several other men, but not all men fare alike, the elders seemingly determining who shall be most favored. Only the distinguished are likely to have several concubines, the elders allowing the others only one. Also, when both wife and concubine are in the same camp the former always takes precedence, and the husband "enjoys an undisputed preemptive right over his wife." Lowie insists that the only marriage form that could rightly be called "group marriage" would be one in which "groups of men shared marital rights *on equal terms* over corresponding groups of women," and this the Dieri do not do. Neither can their marriage properly be called sexual communism, for the husband has almost absolute authority over the sexual life of his wife, and communism is more suggestive of equality than of a wide difference in rights. Lowie's final conclusion is important, for it represents one influential school of thought. Because so very few cases of group marriage have been reported and because the so-called "sexual communism" of the Chukchi and the Dieri are not true communism, he asserts that "no evidence has been adduced to show that any people in the world have in recent times practiced sexual communism in a manner destructive of the individual family."³

Thus we are left in an unhappy quandary: Does either group marriage or sexual communism actually exist anywhere, or are those forms that

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 731-732.

² A. W. Howitt, "The Native Tribes of South-east Australia," London, Macmillan, 1904.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

most nearly approach it either a combination of polygyny and polyandry or merely an elaborate system of concubinage? Reputable scholars are aligned on both sides of the question, and, since the difference seems to be interpretive rather than factual, the reader will have to content himself with an easy but unsatisfying solution—that of accepting the argument which for him is most convincing, but with the admission that it has not been proved beyond question.

THE DIVISION OF AUTHORITY BETWEEN THE SEXES

Nature decrees the differentiation of biological function in man and woman, but in all the other activities of life they must make their own division. Their work, and certainly their authority, have seldom been identical. How did this difference come about? In the earliest human society, how were the functions divided, and who had "first draw"? We can be pretty certain that there was little holding back on either side through courtesy to the opposite sex. It is generally agreed that the division of authority was in all probability not equal, but there is a sharp difference of opinion as to whether man or woman first held the upper hand. Certain basic functions were doubtless divided according to a fairly common pattern. The female, being usually somewhat weaker than the male and handicapped by her function of parturition, was at a decided disadvantage in certain activities. Furthermore, childbirth was followed by a long period of lactation and care of the helpless offspring. These functions rendered woman less efficient in the chase and limited her usefulness in time of war; hence, it would seem only logical that hunting and fighting should be looked upon as the natural prerogatives of man. When fire was discovered and used, but before it could be produced at will, someone had to tend it and keep it from dying out. What more natural than that woman should be the fire tender and that from this firmer establishment of a central gathering place woman should gradually derive new duties? Mason¹ shows how her tasks may have multiplied as man's activities increased.

Such is the commonly accepted picture of primitive division of labor. But Briffault, after setting forth the well-known fact that among many of the lower animals the female is larger than the male, claims that although among most peoples the women are somewhat smaller than the men there are several African tribes with women taller, better developed, and more muscular than the men; that the difference between the sexes is less pronounced among primitives than in civilized society; that primitive women have often been skillful hunters and frequently they share the actual fighting in war. But neither picture shows much more than

¹ O. T. MASON, "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture," New York, Appleton-Century, 1894.

the *division of labor*, which is often an entirely different thing from the *division of authority*. Lowie¹ reminds us that woman's labor, her treatment, her legal status and her opportunity for public activities are all different things, often occurring in surprising combinations. The economic interpretation of social development may help explain the scope of woman's work, and even show some cause for matrilineal residence, but it does not necessarily explain the *status* of woman. "The Amur River fishermen, the Chinese agriculturists, the Turkic horsemen and cattle breeders, and the Ostyak reindeer nomads, all share essentially the same conception of the female sex." The only explanation of an identical view of woman being held by tribes of such utterly diverse economic life is that man's attitude toward woman and his treatment of her constitute a culture complex, a social pattern, that may be as truly diffused and wholly or partly adopted as a material pattern such as hoe culture or basket weaving.

Patronymic vs. Matronymic Descent.—The usual method of tracing descent today is through the male line, though instances are fairly common of tribes in which descent is traced through the female side of the family, which is called either "matronymic" or "matrilineal" descent. It is important first to note that patronymic and matronymic societies are not usually as different as their names would indicate; certainly, their characteristics are not mutually exclusive. Both paternal and maternal kindred are regularly recognized, and the fact that the family name is derived from one parent does not leave the kin on the other side without important social relations. For example, among the matronymic Hopi the family name is transmitted through the mother, but the personal name is always given by a woman of the father's kin and is symbolical of that group. However, among the Thongas, who are patronymic, the maternal uncle holds a remarkable position.² Furthermore, while the term "matrilineal" may theoretically denote a better status for woman than does the term "patrilineal," actually this may not hold true. Among the Australians some of the tribes are patrilineal and some matrilineal, but the actual lot of woman seems to be no better in the latter than in the former.

Matrilocal and Patrilocal Residence.—Among most peoples it is the custom for the bride to leave her family and reside with her husband in the group to which he belongs. But the reverse procedure is not uncommon. Under the custom of matrilocal residence, as found among the Pueblo Indians, the bridegroom takes up his abode with his wife's parents. But in reality these two opposite customs represent the extremes of varying practices. For example, if in a patrilocal society a

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 193.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

young man cannot raise the bride price, he may be compelled to remain with his father-in-law and mother-in-law as their servant, and his children will belong to them. Also, *permanent* matrilocal residence, such as the Pueblo Indians have, is the exception rather than the rule, the usual type requiring the bridegroom to remain with his wife's people for a season only—perhaps until after the birth of children—when he can set up an independent household. This is the case with the Hidatsa Indians. But whatever the mode of residence, it has a profound influence on the total family life, for it affects the alignment of kin and hence the status of both parents and children.

Matriarchate vs. Patriarchate.—Bachofen's early work, "Das Mutterrecht" and Briffault's recent work, "The Mothers" both assert the superior role of woman in primitive society, though Briffault arrives at his conclusions by a different route from the earlier writer and scoffs at Bachofen's theory of the "revolt" of women. Sir Henry Maine, in his "Ancient Law," sought to prove that there never was a matriarchal stage but that man had always been dominant. Although this school of thought has probably always been in the majority, the other school has a considerable following. To Briffault the whole process is so clear that he wonders how others can fail to "see the light." He finds no trace of patriarchal organization in the animal world; it is entirely matriarchal. Because such is the family organization out of which the human social group is supposed to have arisen and because of certain archaic customs that cannot otherwise be explained, he thinks matriarchal organization *must* be assumed. He asserts that maternal love in primitive woman, growing out of the maternal instinct in the higher mammals, became a constant, permanent factor long before the more or less periodic sexual impulse had evolved into love between the sexes. Coupled with this maternal love and making the union of mother and young almost inseparable is the attachment of the young to the mother. This attachment at first is due, not to any sentiment of tenderness, but to a sense of dependence on the mother and a fearful panic in her absence. Among human beings this period of dependence of the young is so long that the mother and her offspring form a relatively permanent social unit, strongly resisting disintegrating forces. When the children approach puberty and the mating impulse begins to show, the test of the cohesive force comes. As we have seen in the discussion of exogamy, Briffault believes that the mother was too jealous of the allegiance of her sons to permit its transfer to her daughters when she saw her sons making sexual approaches to their sisters. This channel of intercourse being forbidden by the mother, there was no other way than for the sons to seek mates elsewhere, which they did. But the mother could retain control over her daughters by insisting that whoever mated with them should come into her group and

remain under her control. Such authority made the *mother group* a permanent cohesive unit, with no corresponding father group. In a few cases this authority gradually extended to property and political rights, when such arose, but *this was not the rule*. For matriarchy existed from the very first, becoming a complete and well-defined social grouping before private property ever came into being; in fact it was perhaps private property that more than any other factor caused its downfall. Wherever private ownership and transmission of property began to assume importance the matriarchal order rapidly gave way to the patriarchal. For "the primitive ascendancy of women is not founded on artificial economic control arising from proprietary rights, but on the functional constitution of the social group."¹

Such, in bare outline, is the basis of Briffault's theory of the original universal type of social organization. It appears, then, that when Lowie declares vehemently that modern anthropologists are almost unanimously agreed on the inadequacy of the matriarchal theory, the two are not talking about exactly the same thing. Briffault says we should not think of the matriarchate as the reverse of the patriarchate, with men in as helpless, degraded a position as are women in the patriarchate. But Lowie contends that the true matriarchy involves the complete control of family, property, and state by the women and as such is nowhere to be found. It is not even approached by more than four or five tribes out of all those who have matrilineal residence, matrilineal descent, or both. The cases best known are the Khasi of Assam, the Pueblo Indians, and the Iroquois, the latter approaching most nearly to complete matriarchy. Among the Khasi the houses, real estate, and jewels are not only transmitted through the mother, but from mother to *daughter*. But in reality man plays the dominant role; even though the woman owns the house, her elder brother ranks as its head. Also, the matrilineal residence of the husband is only temporary, and after he establishes his own household his authority is undisputed; he even has the right to kill his wife if taken in adultery. As to political power, sovereignty is transmitted through the mother's line, but from male to male. Only when there is no male heir does she have the chance of succession, but at her death the authority passes to a son, not a daughter. Thus the property rights of women among the Khasi give the appearance of a true matriarchy without its substance.

Among the Pueblos the wife owns the home and can banish her husband from it if she so wishes, in which case he goes back to his mother's home. But among the Iroquois the women not only own the houses and land but also have considerable political power. They manage some of the most important ceremonial organizations, they nominate a candidate

¹ BRIFFAULT, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 434.

for a vacancy in the council of chiefs, and they can even impeach an unworthy chief-elect. Yet no woman belongs to the supreme council of the league.¹

Thus, to one school, the matriarchate was first, and from it came naturally the tracing of descent through the mother and matrilocal residence by the male. To the other school, matrilocal residence came first, followed by an improved status of women and here and there by matrilineal descent. To this latter school, matrilocal residence results not so much in the superiority of the wife herself (though it may do that too) as in that of the *wife's kin*. Yet personally the wife frequently gains from the system, for it sometimes raises her status and often adds to her security. When the husband is forced to live with his wife surrounded by her own relatives, it would require either great courage or unusual stupidity to refuse the wife a new leopard skin if her heart were set on one.

THE THEORY OF ORIGINAL PROMISCUITY

The theory that man was at first entirely promiscuous in his sex relations has long been held in some quarters. The discussion of this theory is helpful not only because the question is an important one but also because it discloses a wide variety of sex practices among primitives, the knowledge of which is essential to an understanding of the natural history of the family. The following exposition of the theory is necessarily highly argumentative in form.

When Morgan first set forth his theory of the evolution of the family form, he attracted a considerable following. Those who could never stomach the idea of our animal origin were shocked to think that man had ever been promiscuous but were somewhat relieved when told that man had not remained in such a state but had advanced to higher stages, finally reaching the ultimate and most ethical form—monogamy. Morgan did not definitely state that the first stage was promiscuity but claimed that such an assumption was logical in the light of the following stages. The second stage was the *consanguine family*, founded upon the intermarriage of brothers and sisters, and the third stage the *punaluan*, in which groups of brothers shared their wives in common and groups of sisters shared their husbands in common. Later followed the better known forms, polygamy and monogamy. His thought is clearly summed up in these words:²

Wherever the middle or lower stratum of savagery is uncovered, marriages of entire groups under usages defining the groups have been discovered either in absolute form or such traces as to leave little doubt that such marriages were

¹ LOWIE, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

² LEWIS H. MORGAN, "Ancient Society," Chicago, Kerr, 1877, p. 57.

normal throughout this period of man's history. . . . If then community of husbands and wives is found to have been a law of the savage state, and, therefore, the essential condition of society in savagery, the inference would be conclusive that our own savage ancestors shared in this common experience of the human race.

No one today holds to Morgan's system of cultural stages, not because we any longer shudder at the "depravity" of primitive man but simply because we have learned so much more about primitive customs than was known when he wrote. We are now convinced that, whether in the field of family relationships, government, or other phases of culture, man did not everywhere go through the same steps.

But though many of Morgan's theories have been outmoded, his idea of man's early promiscuity has never lacked support, such names as Bachofen, McLennan, Lord Avebury, Giraud-Teulon, Kropotkin, and Bloch being arrayed with his, to say nothing of Briffault and the newer school. Gerrit S. Miller, a mammalogist, brings testimony from his field that there is no evidence that a true family bond exists among primates but that as a rule monkeys and apes roam about in promiscuous bands. He asserts:¹

. . . the common possession by men and monkeys of a type of sexual behavior which perfectly harmonizes with the need of promiscuous life throws a heavy burden of proof on those who insist that the forerunners of existing men lived under a group formation totally different from that which appears to be the prevalent one among nonhuman primates. Furthermore, when human sexual behavior is looked at as it is and not as it is conventionally supposed to be, we have little difficulty in detecting beneath the surface of the cultural structure unmistakable traces of the framework of the promiscuous horde.

Perhaps the most uncompromising opponent of the theory of promiscuity is Westermarek, who devotes more than 200 pages of his first volume to its refutation. He points out that the evidence used in support of the theory comes from two sources: (1) the accounts of both ancient and modern writers regarding peoples said to be living or to have lived in a state of promiscuity, and (2) certain surviving customs which are supposed to point to an earlier stage of culture when marriage did not exist. Concerning the general credibility of the ancient writers he shows that in the same chapter in which Pliny describes the Garamantians as being promiscuous, he tells of another African tribe, the Blemmyans, who have no head but have mouth and eyes in the breast! To modern writers he gives careful attention but can find no case of proved promiscuity.

¹ GERRIT S. MILLER, Some Elements of Sexual Behavior in Primates and Their Possible Influence on the Beginnings of Human Social Development, *Jour. Mammalogy*, 9: 273-293, November, 1928.

Westermarck's¹ main arguments come in his discussion of seven customs which have been set forth by various writers as survivals from an earlier stage of promiscuity and which he seeks to show are due to other causes.

1. Prenuptial Unchastity.—The fact that among many uncivilized peoples both sexes enjoy complete freedom of intercourse before marriage has frequently been offered as proof of previous promiscuity. But, says Westermarck, other causes may explain this. (a) Laxness in sex conduct is frequently due to contact with foreigners, the first visitors to a tribe often describing them as chaste, whereas a generation later they are found to be saturated with the white man's vices. (b) Sexual relations between a boy and girl are often a preliminary to marriage, a part of the courtship. Among some it is a sort of trial marriage which can be terminated if there is dissatisfaction. (c) Ability to bear children is considered so essential among primitives that frequently a man will not marry a girl until she either is pregnant or has borne a child; the premarital relationship is a test of fertility. (d) Among other tribes, where such relations do not necessarily denote intention of marriage, pregnancy is promptly followed by marriage. The very fact that the father of the expected child is known shows something very different from promiscuity. (e) Even among tribes where sex play between boys and girls is considered by their elders as merely amusing, such freedom usually comes to an end at marriage; but even if considerable laxness is winked at after marriage, it does not prove that once there was a stage without *any* marriage, least of all that *every* tribe went through such a stage. (f) Prenuptial unchastity is nothing like a universal characteristic of the lower peoples. Among many tribes such conduct is punished severely, sometimes by death. (g) If premarital freedom were a survival from an earlier state of promis-

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, Chaps. 3-9. Of these seven customs that Westermarck discusses we are omitting one, the *classificatory system of relationship*. The reader will find this system fully discussed in Westermarck, *op. cit.*, Chap. 7. It is omitted here for several reasons: (1) An adequate discussion of the system would be too long. (2) The system is too complicated to be of much interest except to a very few. (3) It is inconclusive. Morgan did not claim that the system *proved* earlier promiscuity, but he said its assumption was necessary if the system were to be regarded as having a natural origin. But Rivers, though admitting this possibility, thinks it much more likely that the classificatory system originated in a previous form of definite group marriage, i.e., sexual communism *within hard-and-fast group lines* such as the punaluan family, and that such a theory lends no real support to the theory of an earlier state of wholly unregulated promiscuity. But omitting promiscuity from the picture for the moment, it is not safe to assume even that the classificatory system grew out of group marriage, for though the classificatory system is rather common, group marriage is comparatively rare. Also, the classificatory terms for *husband* and *wife*, as Rivers points out, do not lend support to the theory of previous communism but are much more likely to be the result of the status of certain men and women as *potential* husbands and wives.

cuity, we should expect to find it most prevalent among the lowest types of savages; on the contrary, chastity is more common among the lower tribes than among the higher.

2. Jus Primae Noctis.—It has been claimed that, since individual marriage resulted in exclusive possession where previously all had enjoyed communal rights, a temporary recognition of these preexisting common rights was acknowledged by according the *jus primae noctis* to a priest, king, chief, or nobleman who was looked upon as representing the community. In other words the giving of this right was a sort of expiation for the antisocial breaking (by marriage) of the natural system of communal relationships. The opponents of this theory admit that the custom is fairly widespread but deny that it is a relic of communal marriage. Usually the service of the priest or other person chosen for the purpose is paid for, though not always. Among some tribes the groom is willing to pay handsomely for this service, for he fears the first intercourse with the bride. The superstitious dread of pollution by hymenal blood prompts him to seek a substitute who is not susceptible to the danger as is the bridegroom. In fact if the priest performs the rite, this has the force of sanctifying the marriage and perhaps ensuring fertility. If the service is rendered by the king, it is considered a great honor by the groom. On the other hand there may be present in the custom the right of might, the king demanding the *jus primae noctis* even as he demands the first fruits in all else. There are plenty of peoples among whom every girl, before marriage, must be given to the king if he so wishes.

A variation of the custom, in some tribes, permits the male guests at the wedding to have access to the bride before the bridegroom consummates the marriage, in which case the men usually present gifts to the bride. This latter custom complicates the argument, whether of Westermarck or his opponents, for how can an act that is feared and avoided by the principal, and for which he is willing to pay a substitute, be one and the same in origin with an act so pleasurable and sought after that it requires gifts in return?

3. Religious Prostitution.—The temporary prostitution of a girl before marriage, or of a matron in the service of religion, is a very common custom. Various explanations for it have been advanced, one of the commonest being that it is a development of vegetation ritual, a simulation of all the reproductive forces of the earth, ensuring fruitfulness of earth, beast, and man. Frazer accepts this theory, but insists with Avebury and others that the taproot of the whole explanation is promiscuity. Says Bachofen:¹

¹ J. BACHOFEN, "Das Mutterrecht," 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1897, quoted by V. F. Calverton (editor), "The Making of Man," New York, Modern Library, 1931. pp. 164-165.

Marriage itself seems as the violation of a religious commandment. . . . Such a theory alone can account for the belief that marriage requires the propitiation of the godhead whose law it violates by its exclusive character. . . . The deviation from natural law which is implied in marriage must be expiated by temporary prostitution, thus winning anew the favor of the god.

This theory Westermarck rejects, accounting for religious prostitution on the ground that intercourse with a holy man is considered beneficial; it is not only a safeguard in the case of brides but may be a positive cure for sterility in the case of matrons.

4. The Lending and Exchange of Wives.—The custom of the host lending his wife to his guest seems to Avebury and others a recognition of the inherent right of every man in the community and of male visitors as temporary members. Briffault considers wife lending an act of clan (or tribe) brotherhood. Since one is either a tribal brother or an enemy, acceptance of a stranger means granting him the same rights—sexual as well as other—that a brother has, and refusal of sexual hospitality is resented as an insult. But would not such explanations of this widespread custom logically permit the offering of a meal or bed to a guest to be interpreted as a relic of communism in food and shelter? To Westermarck the lending of wives to guests is merely an incident of the general rule of hospitality. Indeed, it was not always the wife who was offered, but perhaps a daughter, a sister, or a servant. Such an offer in many places is considered an act of extreme courtesy and generous hospitality.

The temporary exchange of wives with friends, likewise accounted by some a relic of past promiscuity, is often in reality merely a matter of good will and friendship. Sometimes it is frankly a matter of temporary enjoyment as in the case of the Negroes of Angola who excuse themselves on the ground that they were “not able to eat always of the same dish.” Among the Eskimos such exchanges are often for practical purposes. If a man cannot easily take his wife on a journey because she is encumbered with a small child, he may exchange wives, as a matter of convenience, with a friend who is remaining in camp. Again, the exchange may be made when the men are angry or displeased with their wives, or in case of adultery when an exchange is sometimes made with the guilty man. In some cases, exchange is connected with superstition and takes place only after certain solemn ceremonies. Thus the practice can be traced to several causes; and since it seems to be a voluntary agreement, and not due to the claim that one man has on another’s wife, there is no reason to regard it as a survival of promiscuity.

5. Sexual License at Certain Festivals.—This is a common practice, often being a feature of religious festivals connected with the idea of the fertility of the earth and all things thereon. Among some, these occasions

are in the spring, at planting time, and among others in the fall, at the harvest. In Madagascar licentious orgies accompanied the birth of a child in the royal family, and for days "the streets and lanes of the capital appeared like one vast brothel," during which time the law could not condemn.¹ But there seems to be no reason why the loosening of the marriage tie on specific occasions should be taken as evidence that at one time the tie did not even exist.

6. Mother-right.—Bachofen, the Swiss jurist, in 1897 produced the classic work "*Das Mutterrecht*," in which he pointed out that a system of mother-right prevailed among some peoples and that there was sufficient evidence available to assume that the system everywhere preceded the rise of father-right. A few years later McLennan independently reached the same conclusion, and very recently Briffault brought forth his huge work "*The Mothers*," purporting to show the dominant role of women in primitive society.

One phase of this role—which does not necessarily involve either greater power or an easier lot for women than for men—is the tracing of descent through the mother only. Bachofen thinks this custom is due to the actual supremacy of women, whereas McLennan thinks it due to uncertain paternity. Hartland accepts the theory that mother-right everywhere preceded father-right, but he does not think it was rooted in promiscuity. Hobhouse, however, maintains that the patrilineal system is much more prevalent among pastoral than among agricultural savages, which would seem to be a point against the priority of the matrilineal system. But in spite of these distinctions most of the adherents of the mother-right school assume an original state of promiscuity. Westermarck, unconvinced, suggests the possibility that the early ignorance of the existence of paternity might logically account for mother-right, which in such case would be practically inevitable. But, he continues, if that be true why does the system prevail so long after the role of the father in procreation has become known? The question forces him to fall back upon certain social conditions for his explanation. He points out that among savages the relationship is much stronger between mother and child than between father and child for several reasons: (a) the long sucking period so common among primitives, often lasting four or five years; (b) the frequent cases of separation, with the children always following the mother; (c) the customary practice in polygynous families of providing each wife with a separate hut for herself and her children; (d) matrilineal marriage. It is apparent that on this question Westermarck is in danger of confusing cause and effect.

After thus disposing of these customs as proof of previous promiscuity, Westermarck gives as his last argument against the theory the fact of

¹ WESTERMARCK, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

masculine jealousy, which, he claims, would be a positive obstacle to such a state. He denies the statements of Giraud-Teulon, Le Bon, Hartland, and others to the effect that savages are little addicted to jealousy and that such as there is springs from a sense of property ownership rather than jealousy as we know it. He maintains that jealousy, even among savages, springs from sexual desire and hence this sexual jealousy is strongly opposed to the idea of promiscuous intercourse, as far as one's wife is concerned. Malinowski agrees that a jealous protection of a man's sexual rights is very common among savages, very severe laws regarding adultery often being found. The wife, among some people, belongs to her husband not only in life but after his death. In some cases, she must die with him; in others, she may live but is prohibited from remarriage either for a specified period or permanently.

This summary of the whole question of primitive promiscuity has necessarily touched upon only the main arguments, omitting the detailed supporting arguments on either side and the endless citations to the customs of specific tribes in every quarter of the globe. To the reader who is likely to want every question definitely settled once and for all, it is not very satisfying to have to admit that neither side has a monopoly on the truth. Westermarck's arguments are in places contradictory, and he appears unable to see relationships between certain facts that are easily apparent to others. He never even approaches an admission that promiscuity was anywhere *probable*, and only grudgingly—with reservations—admits that it was *possible*. His final conclusion is that "the hypothesis according to which promiscuity has formed a general stage in the history of mankind . . . is one of the most unscientific ever set forth within the whole domain of sociological speculation."

To the impartial observer, it appears that Westermarck's critics have the better of the argument on the question of whether human promiscuity ever existed *anywhere*. There can be little doubt that it did. The practice is so common in the animal world, and among men the social patterns in this field of relationship are so varied, and environmental and economic factors so diverse, that it would be strange indeed if such a custom had never come into being anywhere among primitives. There is good reason to suppose that it existed in various places, but there is just as good reason to believe that it was *not universal*. Westermarck's main thesis, that whether it ever existed or not there is no proof that it was a general stage in the social history of all mankind, has yet to be successfully challenged.

CONCLUSION

In spite of the many questions which of necessity have been left open, this brief review of the natural history of the family leads inevitably to a

significant conclusion—that the human family has not universally gone through a uniform series of stages in its evolution. There is every reason to believe that the development of the family was sometimes random and sometimes opportunistic, as has been the case in the evolution of many other phases of culture. It was once thought that mankind everywhere came up through the Paleolithic, Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages, always in the same order, but now we know that certain African peoples entirely skipped the Bronze Age, going directly from polished stone to iron. Also, it appears logical (how distasteful it is to give up logic for the truth!) that all men first went through the hunting and fishing stage, next the herding stage, and finally entered the agricultural stage; but we have found peoples who advanced from hunting to agriculture, omitting the herding stage. The acts of earliest man were frequently inconsequential, and then, as now, sheer accident might determine his course for a considerable time, till his opportunism led him into a new line of action.

Nor must we overlook the role of borrowing in the development of family forms. Family relationships, sex mores, the status of woman, the tracing of descent—all these are as truly culture patterns as are agriculture, flint implements, basket weaving, or pottery. The diffusion of culture is not limited to material forms; in the last analysis, *ideas* are the only things transmitted, and a form of regulating the sex relationship could be as truly transmitted as religious beliefs or maize culture.

We must therefore admit primitive man's ingenuity in inventing new family relationships, and his adaptability in modifying existing forms as he came into contact with other forms which for one reason or another intrigued him. We must give him credit for the fact that in spite of his notorious conservatism he managed to try out, at one time or another, in one place or another, nearly every conceivable form of family relationship.

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In addition, the marriage and family patterns of a wide variety of cultures can be studied through such socio-anthropological reports as: A. R. Radcliffe Brown, "The Andaman Islanders"; George B. Grinnell, "The Cheyenne Indians"; A. W. Howitt, "Native Tribes of South-east Australia"; Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Sexual Life of Savages"; Margaret Mead, "Coming of Age in Samoa" and "Growing Up in New Guinea"; Hortense Powdermaker, "Life in Lesu"; W. H. R. Rivers, "The Todas"; Spencer and Gillen, "The Arunta" and "Native Tribes of Central Australia"; and many others.

Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. Compare the lower and more advanced primitives on the matter of consent as a condition of marriage (for source material, see Edward Westermarck, "The History of Human Marriage," Vol. 2, Chap. 22).
2. List a wide variety of marriage rites and ceremonies found among primitives and civilized peoples, and work out a rough classification according to the dominant characteristics (for source material, see Edward Westermarck, "The History of Human Marriage," Vol. 2, Chaps. 24-26).
3. In comparing our marriage and family patterns with those of the Trobriand Islanders (see J. K. Folsom, "The Family," Chap. 1) list: (a) the customs that are very similar to ours; (b) those that are very different. Do you consider any of their practices more sensible than ours, and would you be willing for us to adopt these particular ones? If so, give reasons.
4. Describe fully the family organization of the Iroquois, the Cheyenne, or some other well-known American Indian tribe.
5. Report on puberty initiation and the training of the novice among several primitive tribes (see Hutton Webster, "Primitive Secret Societies," Chaps. 2-4).
6. Show the important part played by women in a number of specific developments in primitive culture (see O. T. Mason, "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture").

CHAPTER III

ANCIENT FAMILY PATTERNS

THE FAMILY IN ANCIENT CHINA

Family solidarity is the cornerstone of Chinese culture. For many centuries the family pattern has dominated every phase of social organization—government, labor, religion, and education. To the Westerner the Chinese conception of the family is almost inexplicable. Our impatient, grasping individualism can scarcely compass the group loyalty and self-sacrifice that the Chinese ideal involves. This primacy of the family calls not for self-negation but for self-development—but self-development for the good of the family rather than of the individual. This means a different type of living, a different type of thinking than the West has, a familial “we feeling” for which the Chinese seem to have a peculiar genius. Rudd¹ has pointed out that, just as the Romans specialized on law and government and the Greeks on philosophy and art, the Chinese focused their attention on the social order. Their constant reflection on human relationships, their sensitiveness to personal attitudes and responsibilities, and their conception of private and public duty all have their roots in family life. Chinese society has been defined as an aggregate of families; for the sovereign was known as the “head of all families,” and a district magistrate was called the “father and mother” of the district.

Some Early Practices.—Chinese history purports to go back more than 2,000 years B.C., but not all of the earliest part is authentic. In the early feudal period (circa 2357-1122 B.C.), fact and myth blended in interesting but bewildering confusion. The “Book of History” claims that the Chinese once lived in promiscuity, knowing their mothers but not their fathers. Whether this is true or not, the *cowade* existed in several parts of China. Marco Polo found it in Yunnan, stating that after the birth of a child the man remained in bed 40 days, during which time all his kin visited him. There is evidence that it also existed among the Liaos of Taiping, and that during the *cowade* the father cared for the child in every way except nursing.

There is still trace of a previous matronymic society in at least one section of China, though whether there was ever true matriarchy is not

¹ HERBERT F. RUDD, “Chinese Social Origins,” University of Chicago Press, 1928, p. 72.

known. Simcox¹ thought that matrilocal residence was once practiced and quoted Confucius as condemning the custom that required the son to join the family of his parents-in-law. But Doolittle² contended that this custom prevailed only in the cases of rich families who had a daughter but no son and who insisted that whoever married their daughter must come and live with them as a son, a procedure which is found even today. There are also traces in the "Book of Odes" of marriage by capture, but there is nothing authentic on the subject. The successors of the mythical emperor Fu Hsi were supposed to have introduced marriage. Concubinage seems to have been common from earliest times.

Marriage Prohibitions.—One of the earliest marriage prohibitions, which survived to the twentieth century, was that forbidding persons of the same surname to marry. An imperial decree of A.D. 484 states that this rule was promulgated far back in the Chou dynasty, which was from 1122 to 255 B.C. Anyone marrying within his clan received 60 blows, and the marriage was declared null and void. It was feared that such mating would produce weak offspring, in spite of the fact that the bearing of the same name often did not afford the slightest presumption of a common ancestor.³ In early times there was an effort to prevent interclass marriage. Particularly were officials forbidden to marry actresses or singing girls. But these prohibitions were nowhere strictly observed, and no caste system resulted therefrom. Officials and nobles heeded them least of all. Said Marco Polo, speaking of Kansu Province, "No matter how base a woman's descent may be, if she have beauty, she may find a husband among the greatest men of the land, the man paying the girl's father and mother a great sum of money, according to the bargain that may be made."⁴

A man could not marry his sister's or brother's daughter, on pain of severe punishment. In fact, marrying within the prohibited degree of relationship might bring the death penalty; decapitation was the fate of the man who ventured to marry any of the father's or grandfather's former wives. Marriage was prohibited during legal mourning time, but this was often disregarded except when mourning was for a father or mother.⁵

The proper age for marriage, in the later feudal period (1122-221 B.C.), was fifteen for the girl and twenty for the young man. Celibacy was

¹ E. J. SIMCOX, "Primitive Civilizations," London, Sonnenschein, 1897.

² JUSTUS DOOLITTLE, "Social Life of the Chinese," London, Low & Marston, 1868.

³ CHRISTOPHER GARDNER, Chinese Laws and Customs, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, n.s., 15: 221-236, 1883.

⁴ HENRY YULE, "The Book of Ser Marco Polo," London, Murray, 1875, 2d ed., p. 267.

⁵ RAY E. BABER, Marriage in Ancient China, *Jour. Educational Sociology*, 8: 131-140, Nov. 1934. Parts reproduced by permission.

severely frowned upon and in some sections not permitted, for it reflected on the rule of the local officials. Werner¹ tells us how Emperor Cheng Kuan (A.D. 627) effectively disposed of the leftovers in the matrimonial market. He issued a decree that, if a young man over twenty and a girl over fifteen were single, the local magistrate should marry them with due ceremony. If they were poor, rich neighbors or relatives were obligated to present them with enough money to get them started.

Betrothal and Marriage.—Marriage was not a personal matter but the fulfillment of one's duty in preserving the family line. Said the old "Book of Rites,"² "Marriage is to make a union between two persons of different families, the object of which is to serve, on the one hand, the ancestors in the temple, on the other hand, the coming generation. . . ." It was a great disgrace for any family name to die out, and this was prevented, when necessary, by adoption, even posthumous adoption being possible. A man took great care that his name and those of his children were entered in the *chia pu* (family register) which was kept by the head of the great-family. If a man became a Buddhist priest, he gave up both surname and secular name and received in their place a holy name. With his surname, he gave up all his rights and duties in the clan.

Children were usually married off according to seniority. Though marriage took place quite early, there was no child marriage such as there was in India. Girls very seldom married before fifteen, but betrothal usually took place a number of years before marriage. The betrothal of unborn children was forbidden, but between families of long-established friendship the custom was quite common. The usual age for affiancing children was between seven and fourteen. The selection was made chiefly by the grandparents, if living, or by the parents, aided by a go-between.

The Go-between.—The matchmaker's profession was honorable and called for much discretion. He was charged by the parents to look for a girl more remarkable for virtue than for beauty or for a man more renowned for wisdom than for wealth; but he knew that a match of economic advantage would seldom be rejected. The negotiations were frequently carried on in the ancestral temple, which lent a religious sanction to the marriage. Heredity was not neglected. The *san-tai*, an account of one's people for three generations back, was first exchanged, and if the families were not well acquainted each would send a confidential agent to verify the *san-tai* of the other.³ Also, the day of birth was

¹ E. T. C. WERNER, "Descriptive Sociology of the Chinese," London, Williams and Norgate, 1910.

² Legge's translation, quoted in Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao, "Village and Town Life in China," London, Allen and Unwin, 1915, p. 106.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

important; for each day represented some animal, and if the boy happened to have been born on the day of the fox and the girl on the day of the goose, they could not marry, for the fox would devour the goose. But if no trouble was encountered on birthdays, the horoscopes were consulted to see if all was propitious. Preliminary presents were then exchanged, the most suitable gift being a wild goose. Wild geese represented a good match, for they were always in pairs and, living in the North in summer and the South in winter, had acquired the harmonizing power of the male and female principle.¹

The Marriage Contract and Wedding.—To be valid the marriage required the consent of the parents on both sides, written into the contract. Also, the bride's parents must have accepted the regular marriage present from the groom (really from his family) to repay them somewhat for their trouble in rearing the girl. (Possibly this was a survival of bride purchase.) Likewise the groom's parents must have agreed to the amount of the dowry offered with the bride. The contract made the whole affair binding as soon as signed, but the exchange of gifts seems to have been the essential element. Once these had been accepted there was no turning back. After betrothal either party could sue for a conclusion of the marriage, and the party refusing was punished with 50 blows, after which the marriage was enforced.² If, after the contract was signed but before marriage, it was discovered that the bride's father had practiced deceit, he was punished with 80 blows, the contract was voided, and the presents returned. If the groom's father was guilty of such misstatement, the punishment was even more severe, and the bride kept her presents. If fraud was discovered after marriage, it constituted grounds for divorce.

The marriage day was fixed by the bride's parents, and between betrothal and marriage there must elapse for the emperor one year, for great vassals six months, and for the common people one month. If the bride's family delayed unduly after the wedding date agreed upon, the groom had the right to kidnap her with the help of friends. This was occasionally permitted in poor families in order to avoid the expense of an elaborate wedding; for the ceremonies lasted for several days, and families of small resources were sometimes bankrupt when they were over. But forcible abduction of the bride *before* the set wedding day was a punishable offense.³ Betrothal was considered almost as binding as marriage, and if a betrothed girl died, mourning could be performed as for a married woman.

¹ WERNER, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

² P. G. VON MÖLLENDORFF, *The Family Life of the Chinese*, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, North China Branch*, n.s., Vol. 13, 1879.

³ DOOLITTLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

For the young man, marriage was the "completing of this house"; for the girl it was a "going out of the door," that is, leaving the household of her parents to enter that of her parents-in-law. During the ceremony the couple knelt together before the ancestral shrine of the groom, the bride thus signifying her allegiance to his household and his family line. All the other ceremonies being finished the bride and groom ate together of the same food, to show that they were now one body. Passing from the house the husband preceded the wife, establishing at the beginning the right relationship.

Concubinage.—In the later feudal period (1122-221 B.C.) when the emperor married he was to marry 9 women at once—1 wife and 8 concubines or secondary wives. During the absolute monarchy (221 B.C.—A.D. 221) the number of wives the emperor should marry was increased to 12, 1 for each of the 12 months of Heaven, but all must be married at once "to avoid lewdness." It appears, however, that this legal number was often exceeded, for in the Han dynasty even a prince was permitted 40 concubines. Lesser persons were strictly limited. A great minister could have 1 wife and 2 concubines, a scholar 1 wife and 1 concubine. The legal wife became a member of her husband's clan and worshiped his ancestors. She brought with her a portion from her family, over which, in many cases, she retained control. In case of widowhood, she became the natural administrator of her husband's individual estate, with certain rights in the clan property should his estate be insignificant. She was mistress of the household and held sway over the concubines, or secondary wives. Among the noble and official classes, she shared her husband's honors and even wore his uniform, sometimes helping him in the performance of his official duties. No noble, no official, and no person with a literary degree could give his daughter in marriage except with the status of a wife.

The concubine, or secondary wife, was of distinctly lower status than the wife. She was frankly purchased, and the contract, which had to be in writing, was called "an agreement for selling a person." The price was always stated, though often it was nominal. No marriage ceremony was necessary, the marriage being consummated by the residence of the concubine in her husband's household. She was subordinate to the wife, and could not be raised to the status of wife during the lifetime of the primary wife. Nor could the latter be degraded to the rank of concubine. However, the concubine worshiped her husband's ancestors, and her children were legitimate.

The Patriarchal Form of the Family.—The patriarch was the absolute head of the family. There is no term in China corresponding to that of *patria potestas*, but the Chinese father had practically as much power over his family as had the Roman father. He could sell, expose, or even kill

his children, though public opinion would not tolerate the selling or killing of a grown son. The father could lose his absolute authority over his children in four ways: (1) by marriage (of the daughter), (2) by sale into adoption, (3) by allowing a son or daughter to enter a religious order, (4) by exposing the young child. (The finder could lawfully adopt any such child under three years of age.) Thus the father's power over his daughter lasted only till her marriage, but over his son it normally continued through life, unless the son went into government service. There was no such thing as the son legally "becoming of age" during the lifetime of his father. Indeed, the father was subject to the authority of the grandfather, if he were still living. It was the custom for sons, on marriage, to bring their brides home and raise their families under one roof as long as their parents lived. The head of this great household was the oldest male member. It was not uncommon for a household to consist of four or five generations.

But in spite of the fact that the father was practically absolute in authority, in theory the land belonged to the family rather than to the individual, and the "Book of Rites" stated that fields and lands once assigned could not be sold. Probably this meant they could not be sold without the consent of the clan council, for such seems to have been the common practice.

Ancestor Worship.—Perhaps the strongest factor binding the Chinese family into a unit was ancestor worship. The commonest man prayed to his ancestors even as the emperor prayed to his. From infancy the child's nurture was filled with reverence for his forebears. When young he was bound with intense loyalty to the service of his ancestors, and when old he looked forward to receiving such honor from his descendants. This was the *summum bonum* of life.

Most of the Chinese population lived in villages, which greatly facilitated family solidarity and ancestor worship. Frequently, a village was wholly or mostly composed of one clan and was called after the name of the clan inhabiting it. A clan sometimes lived in the same village for centuries, while other clans less gregarious were scattered in various villages. The ancestral hall was the magnet that drew the loyalty of every member of the clan. In addition to the property separately owned by the various families, the clan as a whole sometimes possessed property, the income from which went for the upkeep of the ancestral hall and the repair of graves. Twice a year—spring and autumn—the tombs of the ancestors were visited by the whole clan, and each family in addition visited the tombs of its immediate ancestors. Such days were public holidays for the whole clan; feasts were provided and pocket money distributed.¹

¹ LEONG and TAO, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff.

Each family kept a *chia-li-pu* (book of family laws) recording the family genealogy back to the most remote common ancestor known. The moral rules for clan members were posted, together with their penalties, in the ancestral hall and were enforced by the tribunal of elders. Any income from ancestral property had to be divided equally among all the male members of the clan, regardless of age, and all widows. These benefits might be in money or in food; but whether the value was great or small, they were prized more for the fact that they linked the person with the great-family than for their intrinsic value. The bond was strengthened by the fact that only those present at the ancestral gathering received such benefits. In South China a double portion of the benefits from ancestral property went to clan members who were over fifty-nine years of age. Some clans even had a sort of progressive old-age pension, those who had reached sixty-nine receiving a treble share, those of seventy-nine a quadruple share, and so on.¹ Some clans also provided for maternity benefits, widows' pensions, free medical aid, and free burial, thus anticipating our modern social insurance. Among prosperous clans the benefit given by the ancestral hall even included free education for the children of the clan.

The government of the ancestral hall rested in the hands of 12 members elected annually and representing in proper proportion the several lines of descendants. They managed the ancestral property and every three years rented out any land it included. They could not dispose of any of this land unless three-fourths of the fathers of families in the clan approved, the proceeds to be invested in other land or else divided equally among all the male members of the clan, regardless of age, and the widows.

The Position of Women.—The status of women in China was a paradox. Chinese literature is full of admirable sentiments regarding the relation between husband and wife, and yet nothing could hide the wife's low estate. She might be loved and treated kindly, but she was of an entirely different order from the male. She was honored in the home, and yet she had no authority except through her mate. Her name was even placed on the ancestral tablet with that of her lord, but more as his complement than as a person in her own right. She was sometimes well treated and contented, but sometimes, too, her lot was unbearably hard. How firmly established her inferiority was may be seen by the fact that it was embedded in the religious beliefs. The "I Ching," which receives the veneration accorded to scripture, teaches that the original principle out of which heaven and earth evolved was a united male and female principle, the *Yang* and the *Yin*. But these two parts separated, the male becoming the heavenly principle and the female the earthly. "The

¹ *Ibid.*

male principle is represented by light and the female by darkness; the male by strength, and the female by weakness; the male by wisdom, the female by ignorance."¹

Confucius did his share to hold woman down. "Women are as different from men as earth is from heaven . . . women are, indeed, human beings, but they are of a lower state than men. . . . It is a law of nature that women should be kept under the control of men and not allowed any will of their own." Finally, he made it clear that woman could never hope to change her status, all through eternity. "In the other world the condition of affairs is exactly the same, for family laws govern there as well as here."² Confucius also enunciated the three obediences of woman, whereby when young she must be obedient to her father and elder brother; when married, to her husband; when her husband died, to her son.³

A stupid wife was by no means undesirable, for a wise woman was more likely to be a curse than a blessing. One of the odes⁴ expresses this idea thus:

A wise man builds up the wall,
But a wise woman overthrows it.
Admirable may be the wise woman,
But she is no better than an owl.
A woman with a long tongue
Is [like] a stepping stone to disorder.
Disorder does not come down from heaven—
It is produced by the woman.
Those from whom come no lessons, no instruction,
Are women and eunuchs.

The lot of the girl was harder than that of the boy from the very beginning. At birth she was likely to be much less wanted than the boy, and hence much more likely to be sold or killed. Some writers have undoubtedly exaggerated infanticide in China, but even the most conservative figures are startling. It was of course worse in some places than in others, and in some times than others, famine greatly increasing it. Between A.D. 221 and 589, female infanticide and the sale of children (usually girls) into slavery became so common that an imperial decree was issued against both practices, and yet both have persisted to some degree to the present time.

¹ JAMES W. BASHFORD, "China, an Interpretation," New York, Abingdon, 1916, pp. 127-128.

² *Ibid.*

³ J. LEGGE, "The Chinese Classics," London, Trubner, 1861-1872, Vol. 4, p. 41.

⁴ RUDD, *op cit.*

The hardness of life for the Chinese girl, among the poorer classes, was increased by the custom of the bride-to-be entering the household of her future mother-in-law at a very tender age, long before marriage. In this way the mother was eased very early of her daughter's support and, more important, evaded the expense of a wedding. The custom was also advantageous to the mother-in-law, for it gave her a new servant years earlier than otherwise and at such a young age that she could be trained easily to her method of work. Sometimes the girl was treated kindly and accepted in the new home as a daughter, but often she was treated as the meanest of drudges, a virtual slave. Even Chinese writers deplore the condition of such girls. When she finally married, and especially after she had borne a son, her status improved.

The double standard was fully recognized and practically never questioned by wives. The principle is clearly set forth in a passage from one of the odes:¹

Ah, thou young lady,
 Seek no licentious pleasure with a gentleman.
 When a gentleman indulges in such a pleasure,
 Something may still be said for him;
 When a lady does so
 Nothing can be said for her.

The wife could not leave the house without the husband's permission. He could beat her if she displeased him, but not severely enough to injure her. In case of adultery the husband could kill both his wife and her paramour, if caught in the very act, and for thus maintaining the purity of the family he was invariably rewarded by the local official and praised by the people.² He merely appeared before the magistrate and explained why he had killed the guilty parties. He then received a nominal punishment of 20 blows, a present of a roll of red cloth, and 20,000 *cash* (equal to 20 Chinese dollars). But the irate husband could have no help in the double slaying, for anyone helping him was guilty of murder. Neither could he do any halfway job, for if he killed only one of the guilty pair he himself was guilty of murder!³ The husband's right to destroy the guilty pair had to be exercised at once in order to be valid; otherwise, the offenders were brought before the court and bamboosed but not put to death. The wife could then be sold into slavery to recover her dowry. In any case the husband was required to divorce her, and in no case could she marry her seducer.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

² MÖLLENDORFF, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³ J. H. GRAY, "China, A History of the Laws, Manners and Customs of the People," London, Macmillan, 1878, Vol. 2, pp. 224-226.

Widows could remarry after three years of mourning, but it was considered such a disgrace that only the very poor with whom necessity overrode convention dared to disregard the moral law which bound the loyal wife to her husband even in death. If the widow returned to her own parents, she lost all her rights in her husband's property, including what she brought with her. She usually took over the management of his estate or, if his parents were living, remained with them as their daughter. It was a great honor to a family to have a widowed daughter-in-law who steadily refused to remarry, and conversely it brought great dishonor to the family if she married. If a wife became a widow after thirty years of age and remained one for 30 years, her virtue was so great that she was eligible for an imperial reward in the form of an arched gateway, erected where she lived. After receiving such a reward she could not change her mind and marry! Such arches were numerous in some parts of China.

Divorce.—It is not known when divorce was first legalized in China, but it was in existence when the code was promulgated in 253 B.C. Confucius is said to have divorced his legal wife, his son and grandson following his example, though some writers deny this. There were at least 10 grounds on which a man could divorce his wife: (1) fraud in the marriage contract; (2) adultery or dissolute conduct; (3) disobedience or unfilial conduct toward the husband's parents; (4) barrenness; (5) jealousy; (6) incurable disease (leprosy?); (7) talkativeness; (8) theft; (9) leaving the house against the will of the husband; (10) desertion. Legge's translation of the Chinese classics shows that most of these reasons for divorce might be overruled in court by any one of the following considerations: (1) if the woman had been taken from a home but now had no home to return to; (2) if she had passed with her husband through the three years of mourning for her parents; (3) if the husband had become rich after being poor. Furthermore, too frequent divorce was frowned upon. Kuan Tzu wrote that a scholar who had divorced three wives should be expelled from the district.

There is evidence that in the very early times (later feudal period, 1122-221 B.C.) divorce for trivial offenses was common and might even be considered commendable. Cheng Tzu, explaining the "Chou Rites," declared that the ancients were so honest and chivalrous that a man of honor would not divorce his wife for serious cause lest it ruin her life, but only for slight cause, in accordance with the old proverb: "In divorcing a wife one should make her marriageable." Divorced women usually were permitted to go back to their parents, but the preceding proverb would indicate that remarriage was common in that early day. It appears that divorced concubines at first were not allowed to remarry, for in the next

period (absolute monarchy, 221 B.C.—A.D. 221) a decree was issued giving them the right of remarriage.

But the wife also had some rights of divorce, though they were limited. She could divorce her husband: (1) if he became a leper; (2) if he deserted her, remaining away three years, and if meanwhile none of his relatives had offered her any support.¹ To these two commonly accepted grounds, Möllendorff adds three other causes for which the wife could *sue* for divorce, but with no assurance that it would be granted: (1) if she had been deceived by false statements in the marriage contract; (2) if her husband had beaten her cruelly; (3) if her husband was willing to divorce her at her own request. In support of the last-named cause, Werner tells of a woman who wanted to divorce her husband because he had become very poor. He consented and wrote her an ode which she took to the magistrate. The divorce was granted—after she had received 20 strokes of the bamboo.

Compensatory Factors.—But when all has been said of woman's low estate, the paradoxical fact remains that she often received a great deal of love and respect both from husband and children. Theoretically she was in complete subjection to her husband, but actually she often stood almost on a basis of equality with him. Frequently she ruled her domain as completely as he ruled his, and the division of labor amounted to a division of authority as well. As far back as the "Book of Rules" we find the admonition "Men should not speak of the inside nor women of the outside"; *i.e.*, although the men held complete sway on outside matters, they should leave the affairs of the household entirely to their wives. So in practice the mother was the center of the domestic life, and to a considerable extent she controlled the family. She usually decided when the children should start to school and had a large part in finding a wife or husband for her son or daughter and in arranging the betrothal. In addition to managing the affairs of the home she was responsible for directing the punctilious relations with relatives and friends and for the proper observance of all ceremonies in connection with birth, death, marriage, festivals, and the proper degrees of respect due from one member of the family to another. As the head of a large household, including her married sons and their families, she held considerable authority over no mean domain. In such circumstances the earnings of all went into a common purse, and sometimes (at least in agricultural families) the mother held the purse strings. Upon the death of the father his full authority as head of the family passed to her, in contradiction to the statement of Confucius that in such a situation she should pass under the authority of her eldest son. This authority of son

¹ *Ibid.*

over mother may have been true in earliest times, but it certainly did not obtain during the great stretch of recorded Chinese history. In any dispute between his wife and his mother a man was supposed to take his mother's side, on the grounds that he could get another wife but could never get another mother.'

But the greatest honor accorded woman was for her function of motherhood. Among a people whose whole system of living was based solidly on ancestor worship, the role of the mother in producing sons was bound to be glorified. The supreme gift of a wife to her husband was a son. It immediately raised her in his estimation as well as that of the community, for she had now performed her chief function, that for which she had come into being.

There are many passages in Chinese literature that indicate mutual love and respect between husband and wife. The fact of woman's low status legally, socially, and religiously did not prevent the normal working of loyalty and devotion, for, as Bashford remarks, human nature is often better than human laws. The odes present many pictures of such devotion: the loving thoughts of the wife whose husband is away in the war, and her great joy and pride at his return; the woman who excuses her husband's mistreatment on the ground that his mind may be unsettled; the man who considers his happiness with his own humble bride to be just as great as the happiness in famous families; and the soldier's lament because he could not fulfill his vows to his wife to grow old with her. This last was the conjugal ideal—to grow old together—a hope that gave dignity to life. In one of the odes the wife of a peasant speaks to her husband of the joys of working in daily fellowship with him and ends with the gentle assurance:

And I will hope to grow old with you.
Your lute in your hands
Will emit its quiet, pleasant tones.

Filial Relations.—Mencius declared that love for one's parents should take precedence over love for one's country. Perhaps no other saying could show more clearly the importance attached to filial devotion. It was the first duty of man, supreme and unchallenged. Children, from the dawn of understanding, were supposed to show the utmost respect, obedience, and devotion to their parents—the mother as well as the father. Pampered children are not entirely unknown among any people, but on the whole Chinese children showed their parents the greatest reverence, and it was seldom that a boy or girl, even when grown, would dare to oppose the parents in any important matter. Indulgence in small affairs did not diminish the insistence of parents on the most unquestioning obedience in major matters.

Mencius considered service to one's parents the "richest fruits of love." Countless stories are found in Chinese history and literature relating the devotion of children to their parents: of the boy who wept when punished by his aged mother because the feeble blows betokened her failing strength; of Tung Yung who sold himself into slavery in order to pay his father's funeral expenses; of Wu Meng who allowed the mosquitos to sting him so they would not worry his parents; and Wang Hsiang, who melted the ice with his naked body in order to secure fresh fish for his mother.

A beautiful example of filial devotion is shown in the laments of a soldier whose duties prevented him from performing his rightful service to his parents:

*Than to live an orphan,
It would be better to have been long dead.
Fatherless, who is there to rely on?
Motherless, who is there to depend on?
When I go abroad, I carry my grief with me;
When I come home I have no one to go to.*

*Oh my father, who begat me!
Oh my mother, who nourished me.
Ye indulged me, ye fed me,
Ye held me up, ye supported me.
Ye looked after me, ye never left me,
Out and in ye bore me in your arms.
If I would return your kindness,
It is like great Heaven, illimitable.¹*

Unbrotherly conduct was second only to unfilial conduct in baseness. The greatest respect and love were to be manifested at all times by the younger brother for his elder brothers. Indeed, unfilial and unbrotherly conduct was considered worse than outright crime. One of the early kings of the Chou dynasty, in his instructions to a prince, deplores the terrible crimes of robbery and murder but goes on to say that although such great criminals are greatly abhorred they are far less detestable than the unfilial and unbrotherly.

Property Rights and Inheritance.—The eldest male in the household (father, grandfather or great-grandfather, as the case might be) was the legal head of the family, and his signature, in the name of the family, was necessary on any transfers of property or other documents. Married sons were not entitled to hold property in their own name during the life of their parents, and no new family or household could be legally registered as long as either parent lived. Some families had budgets setting

¹ Quoted by Rudd, *op. cit.*

aside certain sums for dowries for the girls, prizes for scholarship, and pensions for the aged. The wife could not possess property of her own as long as her husband lived. If her husband divorced her, even what property she might have inherited remained with him, though in practice she was always permitted to take her silks and jewels with her. The husband was not liable for the debts of his wife contracted before marriage unless she had no family when he married her.

On the death of the husband his full authority passed to his wife, unless she wished to pass it on to a grown son. She could manage the estate, alone or with the help of one or more sons, but her right in the property was only a life interest. If she divided the property during her lifetime, she received a double share and her sons equal single shares. Any unmarried daughters remaining in the home received nothing but would be provided with a dowry at marriage. When both parents died, the authority temporarily passed to the eldest son. If there were younger brothers and sisters too young to marry, the household would be held together by this eldest son until there was no longer any necessity of so doing. When the property was finally divided, it went in equal shares to the sons, the daughters getting nothing but suitable dowries, which the brothers provided. In South China if the eldest son had male issue before his younger brothers did, and during the lifetime of either parent, he received a double portion of the estate. If any brother died before the division of the property, his share was divided equally among his male children. If the parents left no son, the nearest male relative (one generation younger than the deceased) became his son by fictitious adoption. Such a circumstance rarely occurred, however, for if a man's wife did not give him a son he might divorce her and marry again, or take a concubine, or even "hire" a widow for such time as was necessary to secure a son from her. This last practice was not so common as the other two. If any or all of these expedients failed, he could adopt a son. The most favored adoption was that of a nephew, who became for all purposes the same as a son.

FAMILY PATTERNS IN ANCIENT INDIA

India has long been a land of contrasts: the land of the holy Brahman and the degraded untouchable, of magnificent wealth and unspeakable poverty, of Taj Mahal and mud hut. Yet there was always one thing on which prince and pauper agreed—that sex was the central theme of life. Reproduction was the supreme fact of the universe, and marriage the first duty of man. The ceremony might vary according to district or caste, but whatever its form it marked the most important step in a man's life. An unmarried man (unless he remained single from pious

motives) had little social status and was not consulted on important matters, for he had shirked the duty of perpetuation.

Marriage was an impersonal matter, having nothing to do with the wishes or preferences of one man and woman and their pursuit of happiness. It was not the joining of two free wills in a personal relationship of their own choosing and for their own contentment, but rather "the connection of two incarnations of the world spirit during an unreal moment of illusory existence."¹ Thus marriage was not an individual contract, not even a family contract as in China; it was a sacrament. True, the family contract might be made, but it was secondary in importance to the fulfillment of duty to the Divine Spirit of the universe. Certain classes of priests were authorized by the sacred books to exercise the proper magical arts necessary to the right selection of mates. Cosmic harmony was further assured by the contribution of the astrologists, and religious rites gave final consecration to the union.

The Accent on Sex.—The Hindu preoccupation with sex should not imply that marriage was merely a mask for sexual indulgence and that passion ruled supreme. On the contrary the Hindu was adjured to shun passion, for it was considered earthly and debasing, and to maintain only a cool and controlled affection toward his wife. This sounds paradoxical and can be understood only in the light of Hindu philosophy and religion. Desire of every kind was to be suppressed, for only thus could one find peace and eventually attain *Nirvana*. To the Occidental it is the height of illogic to desire more than anything else to reach a state of desirelessness. Likewise, since life was considered a whole and individuality implied limitation, it would seem inconsistent that the desire to pass on the torch of life should be the highest motive for sexual intercourse, for birth separated one from the whole of life and subjected one to the errors of isolated action. Yet such was the doctrine, and marriage carried not only the privilege but also the obligation of sexual activity—but kept free from passion. But since ideal and practice seldom coincide, it is not surprising that the antithetical doctrine of stimulating yet spiritualizing the sex urge was difficult of attainment, and that sexual excess was a common result.

Fertility was considered so essential that no opportunity of ensuring it was to be neglected. The *ritu*—the period of the wife's monthly cleansing—could not pass by unused, for not only was her sex desire strongest at that period but also she was most likely to conceive. The husband was obligated to perform his marital duty at that time; to do so was one of the virtues leading to heaven. He who failed to cohabit with his wife during the *ritu* was guilty of sin, and especially horrible

¹ OTTO ROTHFIELD, "Women of India," London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton. Kent, 1920, p. 34.

punishments would befall him in the other world. Furthermore the wife, so lacking in rights in most matters, had a holy right to demand intercourse during the *ritu*, for she knew that she would be despised if she did not bear children.¹

The Position of Women.—The two great epics of ancient India—the “Mahabharata” and the “Ramayana”—are rich in data on the status of woman. The “Mahabharata” pictures the social life of India some 1,500 years ago. Then as now, girl babies were not welcome, but a good father made the most of his “misfortune” and sought to marry off his daughter fittingly. Misfortune she was indeed, for she brought danger to three families: her mother’s, her father’s, and the family into which she married. Various passages of the epic speak of the daughter as a misfortune to the family and as bringing shame on it by her very birth. A typical passage² follows: “The eldest brother is the same as the father, the wife and son are a man’s own body, his servants are the man’s shadow, the daughter is the bitterest woe.” This prejudice, however, was often modified by the natural affection of parents for offspring, and girls received kindly treatment in many families. Yet they were shown little of the attention showered on boys, and their lot was unenviable at best. They were quiet and submissive and early learned the duties of the household, knowing that while still of tender years they would be given over to the desires of a man usually several times their age. There was no thought of rebellion in their hearts, for they followed the only social pattern of which they had any knowledge.

In most respects the status of woman was even lower in ancient India than in China, and perhaps as low as among any people of whom we have knowledge. Woman was created for the propagation of the species and to minister to man’s wants. She had no existence outside of man. When she married, her husband was her god, and she yielded to his every wish. Hers was the passive role, her greatest virtue the worshipful adoration she accorded her husband. Nothing better illustrates her abject submission to her lord and master than the rules of wifely conduct prescribed in the well-known “Padmapurana.” These rules³ are reputed to have been formulated by the penitent Vasishta, who recommends their observance to every faithful wife.

There is no other god on earth for a woman than her husband. The most excellent of all the good works that she can do is to seek to please him by manifesting perfect obedience to him. Therein should lie her sole rule of life.

¹ JOHANN JACOB MEYER, “Sexual Life in Ancient India,” London, Routledge, 1930, Vol. 1, pp. 217-218.

² “Mahabharata,” xii, 243.20, quoted by Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³ J. A. DUBOIS, “Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies,” translated by Henry K. Beauchamp, 1st English ed. 1816, present ed., Oxford, 1924, pp 344-349.

Be her husband deformed, aged, infirm, offensive in his manners; let him also be choleric, debauched, immoral, a drunkard, a gambler; let him frequent places of ill repute, live in open sin with other women, have no affection whatever for his home; let him rave like a lunatic; let him live without honor; let him be blind, deaf, dumb, or crippled; in a word, let his defects be what they may, a wife should always look upon him as her god, should lavish on him all her attention and care, paying no heed whatsoever to his character and giving him no cause whatsoever for displeasure. . . .

If her husband laugh, she must laugh; if he be sad, she must be sad; if he weep, she must weep; if he ask questions, she must answer. Thus will she give proof of her good disposition. . . .

A wife must eat only after her husband has had his fill. If the latter fast, she shall fast too; if he touch not his food, she also shall not touch it; if he be in affliction, she shall be so too; if he be cheerful, she shall share his joy. . . .

If her husband go away anywhere and ask her to accompany him, let her follow him; if he tell her to remain at home, let her not leave the house during his absence. Until his return she shall not bathe, or anoint her head with oil, or clean her teeth, or pare her nails; she shall eat but once a day, shall not lie down on a bed, or wear new clothes, or adorn her forehead with any of the ordinary marks. . . .

In the presence of her husband, a wife must not look about her, but must keep her eyes fixed on him, in readiness to receive his orders. When he speaks, she must not interrupt him or speak to anybody else; when he calls her, she must leave everything and run to him.

If he sing, she must be in ecstasy; if he dance, she must look at him with delight; if he speak of learned things, she must listen to him with admiration. . . .

If her husband flies into a passion, threatens her, abuses her grossly, even beats her unjustly, she shall answer him meekly, shall lay hold of his hands, kiss them, and beg his pardon. . . .

From the above, as from innumerable other passages in Hindu literature, it is clear that woman had but one vocation in life—to minister to man's every comfort and pleasure and to bear him children. The husband frequently called his wife "servant" or even "slave," whereas she called him "my master" and "my lord"; to call him by his name was too familiar and would incur his anger.¹ There were two reasons why the wife should not eat until her lord had his fill. First, it showed her humility and emphasized his superiority; second, she could absorb virtue from his plate. In South India it was believed that the husband, by meditation and "severe austerities," became a storehouse of magnetic force, and during a meal his plate was saturated with his magnetism. By eating from his plate the wife absorbed into her system some of this vital magnetism, and thus became purer.²

¹ RAY E. BABER, *Family Life in Ancient India, Sociology and Social Research*, 18: 303-317, April-May, 1934. Parts reproduced by permission.

² P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR, "South Indian Customs," *Madras, Diocesan Press*, 1925, pp. 58-59.

With the exception of the courtesans who sang and danced in the temple and at public gatherings, women were not taught to read. For a respectable woman to learn to read was considered disgraceful, and even if she secretly learned she was afraid to admit it. Women were considered so inferior intellectually as to be incapable of thought on any higher matters. It was therefore all the more exasperating when a woman cleverly used her alleged low mentality as an excuse for her errors. If she found it difficult to give a reasonable explanation for some mistake for which she was being admonished, she would fall back upon the excuse "After all, I am only a woman," to which there was no possible retort.

Sutteeism.—The custom by which the wife was burned on the funeral pyre of her husband was fairly common in some times and places but was actually practiced far less frequently than some writers have implied, or else India could not have swarmed with widows as it has for centuries. Not all who made the gesture followed through to the end. Before a widow could attain the honor of such sacrifice, she had to pass several tests of determination in which most failed, doubtless to their secret satisfaction. If a woman expressed a desire to become *suttee*, her relatives immediately sought to dissuade her. If they failed, her friends interposed, and finally priests were called in to break down her will. As a last resort they pictured to her the horror of the flames; if she firmly withstood this prospect of suffering, she had her way. Having passed the tests, she became holy through her spirit of perfect devotion, and the awed spectators called upon her to bless them. She first worshiped at the temple, removing all personal adornments and laying them at the feet of the gods. Then she ascended the funeral pyre, where her friends adjusted her hair and adorned her with wreaths and garlands. After throwing handfuls of cowries, betel-nuts, and plantains to the crowd, she laid herself by the corpse of her husband, embraced him fervently, and gave the order. Fire was applied simultaneously in several places, and, the pyre having been saturated with oil, death came almost instantly.¹

The Brighter Side of Marriage.—The picture of womanhood in India was not entirely one of shadows; it had its light spots as well. A man might look down on his wife, but he was dependent upon her. He was not complete without her. She was the right half and her husband the left half of a whole individual. They were as "one soul functioning in two bodies." In fact many important Hindu ceremonies were null and void if a man performed them without the company of his wife. If the husband gave a gift to another, the wife made the transfer effective by pouring a spoonful of water on the gift; if a daughter was being given in marriage, the formalities were of no avail without her mother's partici-

¹ SHISHAR KUMAR GHOSE, "Pictures of Indian Life," Madras, Ganesh, 1917.

pation.¹ It was through his wife that a man did good works and acquired riches and honor. To a certain degree this was fiction, as was also the passage in the wedding hymn in the "Rig-Veda"² which charges the bride to be mistress over her father-in-law and mother-in-law. Such advice was a noble and generous gesture, but the "Mahabharata" in several places justifies lying to a woman, especially at a wedding!

Man's domination over his wife was complete enough to satisfy even the most consummate egotist, but it was often exercised in moderation. Conjugal exploitation was common but certainly not universal. Though couples were mated without the slightest respect to their wishes, they frequently became greatly attached to each other and lived in lifelong devotion. True, such unions occurred more often in poetry than in real life, but the ideal nevertheless existed and was occasionally approached. Quoting again from the epics, Meyer³ gives us a picture of the ideal relationship between husband and wife:

She is a wife who is skillful in the house; she is a wife who has children; she is a wife whose life is her husband. . . . The wife is the best friend of all. . . . He that has a wife accomplishes deeds; . . . he that has a wife has joy. . . . He that has a wife finds trust; therefore the wife is the surest refuge. . . . If the man is burning in sorrows of the soul and is sick with bodily ills, then does he find comfort by his wife, as that [which] is tortured in heat does in water. Even the man in the clutches of hot rage will do nothing harsh to women, if he considers that on them depend the pleasures of love, joy, and what is good. As the field on which the self grows up, women are an ever-holy thing; for what power have even the Rishis to produce children without a woman!

This advice to husbands smacks strongly of "enlightened self-interest," but at least it constituted a motive for good treatment and was not as self-calculating as the epics would lead us to believe. In another passage the husband, after showing how perfectly his wife ministers to all his physical wants and how respectful and submissive she is to him, speaks of her as the most tender and loving companion one could have. "He for whom a beloved wife lives, he has a home there, even if it be only on the root of a tree; even a palace without her is a wilderness."⁴

Attitude toward Polygyny.—Polygyny was tolerated among officials of high rank. Kings were allowed five legitimate wives, and rajahs, princes, statesmen, and certain others were permitted more than one. But even when practiced by the great, polygyny was looked upon as counter to law and custom and not to be easily condoned. Even the

¹ AYYAR, *loc. cit.*

² x, 85.46.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 340-342.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 342-343.

principal Hindu gods had only one wife, though they sometimes had extramarital adventures. If a man of inferior rank took several women, only one could be his legitimate wife, the others rating only as concubines. Not unless his wife proved to be barren or bore female children only, could a man legally take a second wife, and then only after he had obtained the consent of the first wife.¹

Betrothal and Marriage.—Marriage was not an individual matter; it was the race, not the individual, that counted. The parties supposedly most interested were not even consulted. Often they were too young to have any choice; and, besides, cosmic harmony and family advantage were far more important than personal wishes. In theory, harmony with the universe was first in importance, but in practice it frequently got badly mixed with family advantage. The father of the girl first sent a message to the boy's father, suggesting that the children be married. Among the Jats, if the boy's father found the offer attractive he sent the family priest to the girl's home to measure her height, judge her appearance, and observe any other important factor. If the report was favorable, the genealogies were next studied to see that no prohibited degree of relationship existed. Then the horoscopes were consulted by specialists to see that the marriage would not run counter to the appointed courses of the stars. Sometimes the astrologers prolonged their search as long as it was profitable to do so, being very skillful in judging the fees their clients would stand for. When the delay was too great, the exasperated parents bribed them into giving an acceptable decision.² When the betrothal was finally agreed upon, it was considered binding by both parties. There was usually a period of years between betrothal and marriage; an uneven number like 3, 5, or 7 was preferable, for the even numbers were considered unlucky. It was possible but undesirable to marry a woman of lower caste, for the husband dropped to her caste. However, if he first married a woman of his own caste and later one of a lower, he did not lose caste.

¶ In the double period 1000 B.C.—A.D. 500 there were from six to eight different forms of marriage recognized, though not all were considered orthodox. There was the form for the marriage of a girl with a priest, that for marriage of a girl with a student, and others. Marriage based on either seduction or sale was strongly condemned.³ Nevertheless, nuptial fees were common. Occasionally a man got a bargain; if another tried to deceive him by showing him one girl and giving him another, he

¹ DUBOIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208.

² G. T. LUSHINGTON, On the Marriage Rites and Usages of the Jats of Bharatpur, *Jour. Asiatic Society*, June, 1883.

³ ROMESH C. DUTT, "A History of Civilization in Ancient India," 3 vols. London, Trübner, 1889-1890.

was entitled to both girls for the price of one! As among various other peoples, a young man without the price of a bride could hire out to his prospective father-in-law, and for seven years' labor he received the daughter in marriage. There were seemingly four other ways in which the financial end of the marriage could be arranged. (1) A rich man sometimes refused the sum to which, as the father of the bride, he was entitled and paid all the expenses of the marriage. Such a course brought him great honor. (2) The parents of both parties might share the expenses equally. (3) The bride's parents might insist that the bridegroom's parents pay for the bride and all the wedding costs. (4) Very poor people who were not in any position to bargain could only hand over the girl to the boy's parents and implore them to pay at least something for her.¹

The wedding was always a religious affair, and the ceremonies involved were many and complicated. When the sacred hour approached, with an astrologer consulting the water clock for the exactly propitious time and the priests chanting Sanskrit verses, the bride and groom sat with joined hands. At just the right moment they arose, went around the sacred fire, and took the seven steps that bound them together forever. The bridegroom then turned to his wife, saying, "Oh, wife, give your heart to my work, make your mind agreeable to mine. May the god Brahaspati make you pleasing to me."² The festivities connected with the wedding lasted anywhere from a few days to a month. When at length all was over, the bride (usually extremely young) returned home with her parents, who kept her well secluded until she attained puberty and was able to fulfill all the functions of a wife. The bridegroom's parents then came for her. But in order that she might become accustomed to married life gradually, she was taken back to her parents after a month, and for the first few years (or until she had a child) she lived alternately with her parents and her husband.³ However, this seeming concern for the girl was not always so great as it appeared.

Marriage was practically indissoluble. Husband and wife did not even think in terms of separation. It was said that only the will of God, through the instrument of death, could grant divorce, but this was not literally true. In some sections, at least, a wife guilty of adultery could be divorced, but such an offense was so unthinkable in most castes that it was almost unknown. A marriage could be annulled if the parties to it were found to be related in the prohibited degree.

Child Marriage.—The marriage of young children was unusual in the very early history of India but later became extremely common. In the

¹ DUBOIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-215.

² ROTHEFIELD, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

³ DUBOIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-232.

period 1000–320 B.C. the prescribed age of marriage for girls was three years after puberty, but later it came to be a great disgrace to the parents if the daughter was not married *before* puberty. Meyer's¹ translation of the ancient instructions on this subject reads, "Each time a (ripe) unwedded maiden has her courses, her parents or guardians are guilty of the heinous crime of slaying the embryo." So seriously discountenanced was celibacy and so difficult was it for a girl to find a husband after she passed the proper age that if her parents neglected to marry her when they should she was free to act on her own initiative. "Three years shall a maiden wait after the first coming of her menses, but after the fourth has come let her get a husband herself."²

The most suitable age for the husband was three times that of the wife. A man 30 years old was advised to marry a girl of 10, and a youth of 21 should take a girl of 7. For a Brahman youth, 16 was the ideal age for marriage, though frequently it was postponed some years. The bride, accordingly, was usually from 5 to 7 but should not be over 9. This marriage of young girls was common in all castes, but most strictly observed by the Brahmins. It was not uncommon for a widower of 60 or 65 to marry a little girl 5 or 6 years old.³ Frequently this meant that she became a widow before she was old enough for the man to exercise his rights as husband. A younger brother could not marry before an elder, nor a younger sister before her senior sister.

Widowhood.—In the 1000–320 B.C. period the remarriage of widows was fairly common, though even then it was frowned upon except in the case of child widows. But later such remarriage came to be considered incompatible with virtue and was almost unknown except in the lower castes. Child marriage made the prohibition far more serious than it was in China, for in India many thousands of girls were widowed before reaching their teens. In fact many little girls became widows before they ever lived with their husbands, for they remained with their parents until puberty. Such girls, as well as those married to old men and widowed while in their teens, were sometimes tempted into a life of irregular relations, but considering the offers to which they were exposed it was remarkable how few widows departed from the path of virtue.

Filial Ideals.—As in China, the son brought his bride to the parents' home, where they lived together unless the parents permitted them to live elsewhere. Children were brought up to observe strict filial piety. The son was taught unwavering obedience to his father. "For the father the son is but a joy, but for the son the father is all. . . . Therefore a man shall act according to his father's words and never take thought

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³ Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

upon it; mortal sins even are washed away from him who follows his father's bidding." It was the son's special duty to make the sacrifices for the dead, or else his forefathers would fare badly in the other world. By properly observing the sacrificial rites he led them from hell to heaven. The forlorn Pandu wailed, "For him that has no offspring no door to heaven is known or is named; this torments me. I am not free of my debts toward my forebears. When my life is at an end, then it is the end of my fathers."¹

Children were likewise devoted to their mothers. Motherhood was so essential to the Indian ideal that it constituted one of the few grounds on which women could command respect. The epic sings the praises of the mother thus:

The cause of this body here with me in the mortal world. . . is my mother. . . . If one has a mother, one is sheltered, but unsheltered if one has her not. He does not grieve, age does not weigh on him, even though fortune betray him, who comes back home to his house and can say "Mother!" . . . Whether he is capable or incapable, unimportant or important, the mother protects the son. . . . There is no refuge like the mother, there is no beloved like the mother.²

Other passages testify to the tender regard in which the mother was held by worthy children.

Inheritance.—When a Brahman father died, his property was inherited equally by his sons, the daughters getting nothing but a dowry and the mother getting nothing, though her sons were jointly obligated to provide for her during life. If a man whose first wife was barren married a second wife and had a son by her, all his property would go to this son, who in turn was obligated to support both mothers. A man could by will leave property to his wife, but the amount was definitely limited. He could not leave all his property to one son, even by will. If for any reason the sons neglected to divide the estate after their father's death, they remained jointly responsible for each other's debts and jointly obligated to share their possessions. Thus the only safe procedure for a diligent brother was to see that the estate was divided promptly after the father's death. Otherwise he was likely to find his more slothful brothers descending on him as soon as they learned of his prosperity, demanding that he assume his share of their debts and grant them their share of his hard-earned wealth.

Adoption.—When a Brahman found that he had no son, either because of the barrenness of his wife or the death of the sons she had borne him, he was not only entitled but bound by the rules of his caste to adopt a son. Only thus could be fulfilled his debt to his ancestors. To fail to

¹ MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

leave a son behind him was an offense serious enough to deprive him of happiness in the next world. The usual method was to adopt a boy from among his own relatives, but if he found none he considered worthy he would secure a son from some poor father of his own caste who was burdened with too large a family. The adopted son renounced all rights to any share in the property of his natural father and acquired the sole right of inheritance from his adopted father. On the death of the latter the adopted son received the full inheritance, liabilities as well as assets, which meant that he was bound to pay any debts his foster father had left.

THE FAMILY IN EARLY EGYPT

Family life in ancient China and India in the East and Greece and Rome in the West had much in common. All four were similar in patriarchal form, horror of incest, and certain other features. The early Egyptians, however, had a family organization that differed greatly from these others in some of the most fundamental features. Authentic information on marriage and family forms among the ancient Egyptians is decidedly limited, but enough is known to permit one to sketch the main lines of the picture. The details cannot be filled in, but perhaps their omission will not prevent us from getting a general view of the family life of that time.

Matrilineal Descent and Inheritance.—That feature of the picture which first catches the eye is the fact that descent was traced through the mother and could always be traced back further on the female side of the family than on the male side. Property, also, descended through the female line, though it seems to have been controlled, at least for all practical purposes, by the men. This may or may not indicate that true matriarchy prevailed at an earlier time, for, as shown in the preceding chapter, matrilineal descent and inheritance do not necessarily imply female dominance over the male corresponding to the patriarchal system of male dominance.¹

In such a society, we might reasonably expect to find matrilocal residence, also, but there is no mention of it. It of course existed, without the necessity of being enforced, in the case of brother marrying sister, and it may have had wider scope than this. We do know, however, that the youth looked to his maternal grandfather, rather than to his own father, as his most powerful protector and the one most vitally interested in his success. As one of the old writings² puts it, "When he

¹ RAY E. BABER, *Marriage and Family Life in Ancient Egypt*, *Soc. Forces*, 13: 409-414, March, 1935. Parts reproduced by permission.

² Quoted by Adolf Erman, "Life in Ancient Egypt," translated by H. M. Tirard, New York, Macmillan, 1894.

is placed at the head of the court of justice, then the father of his mother thanks God."

The system of royal succession wavered back and forth from one line of descent to the other. Petrie¹ thinks that prior to the First Dynasty the succession was in the female line. In the First Dynasty it was a male succession; in the Second it was again female; but by the Sixth Dynasty the succession of sons was in force again. Fixed property descended by the female line, from mother to daughter or to the daughter's son. The kingdom itself followed the same rule for a considerable time. Theoretically, at least, it was the property of the royal daughters, and whoever became king acquired the kingdom by virtue of marrying the princess.

The question of legitimacy, in respect to the inheritance of property, is obscure. There was but one legal wife in most cases, and Breasted says the women of the harem had no legal claim upon their lord. Wilkinson,² however, definitely states that no distinction was made between the offspring of the wife and those of any other woman, all sharing the inheritance on equal grounds.

Brother-sister Marriage.—Another distinctive feature of Egyptian marriage was that the rule against union between close relatives—a rule so common among both primitive and civilized peoples as to be almost universal—was wholly lacking. In the love songs the words "brother and sister" have the same significance as "husband and wife." There was none of the common horror of incest. Indeed, not only was the brother *permitted* to marry his sister, but such marriage was *customary*. Several primitive peoples have been known to make exceptions for such inbreeding in the royal family, but in Egypt brother-sister marriage was not limited to royalty or nobility. It was considered the most suitable type of marriage in all ranks of society.³ Many of the Ptolemies married their sisters, and by the Roman period the custom had become so common that two-thirds of all the citizens of Arisnoc were said to be thus closely intermarried. This was evidently justified by the example of the gods, for Osiris set the pattern by marrying his sister Isis.⁴

The High Status of Women.—The position of the wife¹ in ancient Egypt was remarkably high. Most writers state that the wife was on an equality with the husband and was always treated with the greatest

¹ W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, "Social Life in Ancient Egypt," Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1923, p. 111.

² J. GARDNER WILKINSON, "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," new ed., London, Murray, 1878, Vol. 1.

³ JAMES H. BREASTED, "A History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest," New York, Scribner's, 1921, p. 85.

⁴ ALEXANDRE MORET, "The Nile and Egyptian Civilization," New York, Knopf, 1927.

consideration. This may have been due partly to the fact that property descended through the woman and courtesy paid dividends, and partly to the fact that often husband and wife were also brother and sister and had been reared together. But whatever the cause, the Egyptian wife held a position of honor and was respected by husband and children alike. The pictures frequently show the husband and wife in an affectionate attitude, seated together on the double chair so common in Egyptian houses, with the children grouped about them. The domestic life seems to have been unusually happy. In contrast with the seclusion in which Greek women were kept, Egyptian women shared the work and recreation of their husbands. They accompanied their husbands on their hunting and fishing expeditions, one of the most familiar scenes depicted on the monuments being that of husband and wife on the Nile fens, fishing and fowling from a papyrus skiff. The wife's role was chiefly that of spectator, but at least she was one of the party. Scenes of husband and wife entertaining guests are also common. The wife also shared the work and responsibilities of her husband, whether he were of high or low estate. In royal edicts and documents the queen's name was coupled with the king's, and if he died the queen continued as sole ruler.

But something can also be said on the other side. Glanville¹ thinks that, though women were very well treated, the men were the undisputed masters of their households. Both stelae and wall paintings show the womenfolk waiting on the men at the table. He asserts that the tendency to make the women so much smaller than the men in all the pictures was for the purpose of showing their inferiority. The women's quarters were separated from the rest of the house and were usually at the back. When the husband was displeased with his wife, he sent her to "the back of the house," and to be thus dismissed was considered a disgrace. A wise man of the very early period summed up the attitude toward women in his instructions² to his son: "If you are a man of parts, make a home for yourself and love your wife in the accepted way: fill her belly; clothe her back; and she must have oil for her body. Make her happy as long as she lives, for she will do you credit." This sounds like excellent treatment, but the last line also sounds like excellent *policy*. Was such benevolence merely enlightened self-interest again? Perhaps, or perhaps not. At any rate there follows almost immediately the warning not to let the wife get the upper hand! But whatever the modern skeptic may say about motives, the fact remains that nearly all the pictures and writings of the early Egyptians reveal a happy family life, with women on a near equality with men.

¹ S. R. K. GLANVILLE, "Daily Life in Ancient Egypt," London, Routledge, 1930, pp. 15-18.

² Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 17.

Polygyny.—Polygyny was known but was uncommon. Occasionally there was a double marriage in the royal family for the sake of political alliance. Diodorus claimed that a man could take as many wives as he wished, with the exception of priests who were limited to one. But the original records seem to bear out Herodotus's assertion that polygyny was very rare. This does not mean that the husband was necessarily confined to the favors of one woman. The harem very early became an accepted part of Egyptian culture. The man who could afford it would have a number of female household slaves (both black and white) who as a matter of course were considered his harem. There was no moral issue involved; his right to them was taken for granted. But only one woman was the legitimate wife.

The Marriage Contract.—The myths credit Osiris with revealing the institution of marriage when he married his sister Isis. Whatever formalities came to be essential, the contract was the important feature. Diodorus claims that in the marriage contract it was stipulated that the wife should have control over the husband, but later writers do not agree to such an interpretation. The wife's authority was doubtless considerable in the household; but in other matters, though receiving great consideration, she was not superior to her husband. Petrie¹ gives the provisions of the earliest known Egyptian marriage contract, dated 590 B.C. Since it is identical with one 40 years later, he assumes that it was an established type, probably of long standing. The young man first entered the house of his prospective father-in-law to make his "declaration of wife." The father then gave the youth a dowry of 6 ounces of silver and 50 measures of corn. The youth took oath that if he left the bride, either from dislike or because he preferred another woman ("apart from the great crime which is found in women"), he would return the dowry together with a share of all paternal and maternal property for the children she had borne. The dowry amounted to about \$100 (present value). This indicates that marriage consisted chiefly of a business contract; and, as will be seen, there were heavy penalties for breaking it and thereby causing the other party great inconvenience.

That the wife's status was very high in Coptic times is shown by the terms of a marriage contract of a priest's son.²

Since God willeth that we should unite one with the other in righteous wedlock, after the manner of every free man and every wise woman; therefore I have given thee \$40 [in present value] gold as a bridal gift, that thou mayest come and enter my home as a free woman. And for my part I will not neglect thee more than as it were my own body. Neither shall I be able to put thee forth without

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 114–115.

² *Loc. cit.*

a cause having legal ground. But should I wish to put thee forth, I shall pay \$150 for the matter [and conversely]. . . .

Divorce.—The divorce formula¹ was, "I have abandoned thee as wife, I am removed from thee. I have no claim on earth upon thee, I have said unto thee, 'Make for thyself a husband in any place to which thou shalt go.'" Also, the wife was penalized for abandoning her husband. Further provisions of the contract are revealed by the marriage contract of two Jews marrying at Elephantine in 442 B.C. The bride's father gave to her clothing and toilet goods and to her husband five shekels plus other presents, the value of each being listed. The agreement was that if the husband died without issue from his wife she would have full right to all his property, and conversely. If the wife stood up in the congregation and said, "I divorce my husband," the price of the divorce would fall upon her, and she would give him five shekels of silver in addition to everything he had given her. She could then go where she pleased. But if the husband drove her away without formal divorce (*i.e.*, presumably on grounds that did not fully justify him in such action), he was to pay her back a sum which Petrie interprets as being about fifteenfold.

Adultery was considered a heinous offense. The adulterous woman was sentenced to lose her nose, since that would detract most from her personal charm. The guilty man received 1,000 blows of the bastinado. The greater crime of rape was frequently punished by mutilation.² Immorality was strongly condemned by virtuous writers, and the wise issued special warning to youths against the wiles of strange women from abroad. But, nonetheless, gross immorality was widespread, especially among the working class, where assaulting strange women was a common crime.

Filial and Parental Obligations.—Children were expected to have the greatest regard for their parents. It was the duty of the son to maintain his father's tomb and to make ancestral offerings. The eldest son was called "the support of his mother." If the son was not prepared to help his parents in their old age (he was under no *legal* obligations to do so), the daughter was obliged by law to support them. This reversal of the common procedure amazed the Greeks, but it was logical in that the property descended through the daughter. However, such obligations probably had to be enforced very seldom, for filial devotion was strong. It was the son's duty to "cause his father's name to live," and presumably his mother's name also. He saw that their tombs were maintained according to the rank of the family. Frequently a statue of a man's mother would be placed in his tomb after his death. This

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² WILKINSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-304.

served the double purpose of showing his love for his mother and proving his descent. One father, after reminding his son of the continuous care his mother had given him during childhood, exhorted him, when married and master of his own home, to "cast thine eyes on her who gave thee birth and provided thee with all good things, as did thy mother. Let her not reproach thee, lest she lift up her hands to God and He hear her prayer."¹ The last line appears to suggest filial piety as a sort of prosperity insurance, but the records hardly bear this out as the chief motive. Sincere affection played the dominant role.

Parents were obligated to do their full share toward the welfare of their children. Their authority over their offspring did not extend to the power of life and death, as it did with the Roman father. The exposure of infants was not allowed, and the murder of a child was considered a vile crime. For such a crime the father was not punished by death, as it appeared to the Egyptians inconsistent to take away the life of the one who had given life to the child originally. But the punishment was a gruesome one, intended to induce grief and remorse. The corpse of the child was fastened to the father's neck in an embrace and left that way for three days and nights under the watchfulness of a public guard.² Even the rights of an unborn child were recognized. A pregnant woman guilty of a capital offense was not executed until after the birth of the child.

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¹ A. BOWELL GOSSE, "The Civilization of the Ancient Egyptians," London, 1915, New York, 1916, Stokes, p. 5.

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. From Pearl Buck's "The Good Earth" select a variety of items and incidents which, when put together, form a comprehensive picture of Chinese family life in the past.
2. Compare the status of women in China only a quarter of a century ago, vividly described by E. A. Ross in Chap. 7 of "The Changing Chinese," with the reports coming out of China today through reliable sources. What are the chief factors that have produced such rapid change?
3. Trace the practice of *suttee* in India, its prevalence, and the British effort to stamp it out.
4. What progress has been made in India in the last generation in dealing with the problems of child marriage, widowhood, the education of women and the general raising of their status?
5. Compare the status of Egyptian women today with that of the women of 500 B.C. What factors in Egyptian history might help account for the change?

CHAPTER IV

EARLY AMERICAN FAMILY LIFE

The settlers of a new country take with them many of the customs and traditions of the homeland. But these familiar ways of life, when transplanted to new soil and climate, often change considerably in the new environment. The American colonists, whether of New England, Virginia, or elsewhere, brought over their old-country patterns of courtship, marriage, and home life, but the new conditions of life soon transformed those patterns in various ways.

The Family Ideal.—Most of the New England colonists were of pure English stock, with the exception of the Scotch-Irish in New Hampshire and the Huguenots of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The Southern colonists also were English, and in between were found the Dutch and Germans of New York and Pennsylvania. The motives that brought such different peoples to a distant and inhospitable shore were varied; but whether driven by religious or political persecution or drawn by the hope of a better economic life, all but the sheer adventurers had one want in common—the establishment of homes. The joys and comforts of family life were doubly valued in the lonely wilderness far away from the Old-World marts with their variety of associations and activities. Writing of colonial life in the 1690–1763 period James Truslow Adams¹ says:

The dominant note in this social life was that of domesticity. In the somewhat romantic atmosphere with which Americans clothe this early period, it is perhaps the peace, simplicity, and unity of family life which contributes the elements of greatest charm. . . . It is noteworthy that although American cultural life was woven of many ethnic strands, all of those which at the end of the seventeenth century were most effective—English, Dutch, French, and German—were of races in which the solidarity of the family was strongly ingrained. To this home-making instinct, rooted in the inheritance of the settlers, was added the influence of environment. Under the conditions of a frontier existence the family tended to become greatly strengthened as a social, economic and even military unit.

The New England settlers came mostly by families, and a high premium was set on family life from the first. The strict Puritan ideals have often been represented as breeding an intolerance of spirit that

¹ JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, "Provincial Society," New York, Macmillan, 1927, pp. 10–11.

denied the genuine beauties of family life. But such was not the case. Strictness there was, but also dignity, integrity, and good-fellowship in family as in community life, though complete family comradeship was limited to moments of parental relaxation. Young folk established their homes early, for there was scant comfort for bachelors or maids in New England. In some sections, single persons of either sex were forbidden to live alone and could board or lodge only with families that had been approved and licensed by a magistrate. In several colonies, bachelors paid special taxes. All were expected to marry. Perhaps to heap ridicule on unmarried men the town of Eastham, Mass., issued the following order¹ in 1695: "Every unmarried man in the township shall kill six blackbirds or three crows while he remains single; as a penalty for not doing it, shall not be married until he obey this order."

As the settlers pushed farther west the frontier life favored early marriage more than ever. Without the companionship of a wife in his lonely cabin and deprived of her own sturdy help as well as that of the sons she might bear him, the bachelor's outlook was a rigorous one. The unmarried woman's lot was still less enviable, for frequently she was little better than a servant in the home of her parents or relatives, with little individuality allowed her. There was no career open to her but marriage, and this was usually entered into early and not always for love. One could not afford to pass up many opportunities to escape the dread of spinsterhood. Cheap land, simple living, and the necessities of life for all who were willing to work left no incentive for postponing marriage.

In the Southern states, at least, it was rather common for girls of thirteen and fourteen to marry, and one writer reports that in North Carolina grandmothers of twenty-seven years of age were to be found. Grandmothers at forty were common, mother and daughter frequently having infants at the same time. Various writers agree that most of the girls were married before they were twenty, and most of the young men by the time they were twenty-two. In the Middle West a youth could earn \$12 per month as a "hand," and with \$100 saved up he felt ready to marry. A century ago good uncleared land could be purchased for little more than \$1 an acre.

Families were large, one writer saying that when a pioneer couple established a home they were surrounded in an incredibly short time with a flock of urchins who seemed to spring up like mushrooms. Benjamin Franklin called attention to the rapid rate of increase and the ease with which parents could provide for their children. Poor parents could easily apprentice their children until the age of twenty-one, at a

¹ ALICE M. EARLE, "Customs and Fashions in Old New England," New York, Scribner's, 1893, p. 37.

profit large enough to enable them to purchase enough land to keep the rest of the family. Adam Smith pointed out that, whereas in Europe a young widow from the middle or lower class with four or five children would have little prospect of marriage, in America such a widow would be considered a regular fortune. Families of a dozen or more children were extremely common, and it is no wonder that a woman's beauty faded rapidly after marriage and she was old by middle life. Hard toil and incessant childbearing took heavy toll.

Courtship and Marriage.—The hardness of life in the new country necessitated that all members of the family work, and it was impossible to keep the women and girls as secluded as older customs might dictate. Efforts were made to preserve the more staid rules of courtship, but these steadily gave way before the new conditions which forced some changes and invited others. Young folk mingled quite freely at social gatherings and dances, and the young men were permitted to accompany the girls home afterward without the elders' chaperonage. In fact young people were trusted on long journeys together. The journal of two Quaker maidens relates in a matter-of-fact way their horseback trip through Virginia accompanied by two young men friends.¹ Even in Boston young couples could walk upon the town green in the evening, but the nine-o'clock curfew was their signal to go home.

The diary of Judge Sewall,² of Massachusetts, revealed some of the courting customs of the day. His daughter Mary was "set up in marriage" without much difficulty, after her suitor had courted her in her home nearly every night for some months; but another daughter, Betty, caused him much anxiety by refusing suitors acceptable to her father. But she was finally married to a previously rejected suitor. This was in 1700, and the fact that Cotton Mather performed the ceremony shows that the earlier insistence on civil rather than ecclesiastical marriage was breaking down.

Young folk "sparked" with enthusiasm, though sometimes the interest was a little one-sided when the suitor was considerably older than the maid. One Sarah Eve,³ of Philadelphia, wrote in her diary in 1772:

In the morning Dr. Shippen came to see us. What a pity it is that the Doctor is so fond of kissing. He really would be much more agreeable if he were less fond. One hates to be always kissed, especially as it is attended with so many

¹ ADAMS, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

² Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 5th series, Vols. 5-7, Boston, 1878-1882.

³ ALICE M. EARLE, "Colonial Dames and Goodwives," Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1895, p. 199. Copyright now held by The Macmillan Company. Used by permission.

inconveniences. It decomposes the economy of one's handkerchief, it disorders one's high roll, and it ruffles the serenity of one's countenance.

The rough-and-ready life of the country encouraged departure from the most established patterns, and the bolder youths frequently disregarded the rules almost altogether. A determined man in search of a bride might approach a young woman previously unknown to him, propose, be accepted, and arrange for the banns to be published, all within the same day. Kidnaping of a bride-to-be by a former lover was not unknown. The family was patriarchal in form, but paternal authority was not always exercised to the full. Daughters were allowed to refuse their suitors, although in certain instances the father might assert some pressure when a particularly promising suitor hove in sight. But if the paternal insistence was too strong, the girl could appeal to a magistrate. If unreasonable refusal of the parents to consent to a marriage chanced to result in fornication, the young folk were not alone in bearing the severe social disapproval; the opposing parents were charged with their share of the blame.

Bundling.—One method of courtship that was encouraged by frontier conditions was that of *bundling*. Many of the poorer families lived in one-room cabins, which made it necessary for young folk to do their courting in the presence of others. It required too much fuel to keep the fire going far into the night, and too many precious candles. Furthermore, it was too cold to sit up without a fire. The young lovers were therefore allowed to go to bed, partly or fully dressed, and continue their whisperings under the protecting covers. Frequently, the parents and the other members of the family were asleep in the same room. The common attitude toward bundling is shown by the reply of one man when asked whether he wasn't ashamed of it: "Why, no! What is the use of sitting up all night and burning out fire and lights, when you can just as well get under kiver and keep warm?"

This peculiar custom was fairly prevalent in New York, Pennsylvania, and some of the New England colonies before the Revolution. It seems to have been most common in Connecticut; indeed Diedrich Knickerbocker attributes its introduction among the Dutch lasses of New Netherlands to "pleasant-tongued varlets" from Connecticut who were more attractive to the simple lasses than were their "ponderous Dutch gallants." However, Stiles¹ resents this attempt to make the English wholly responsible for a custom that was doubtless brought over to this country by both Dutch and English. Among the poorer agricultural classes of Scotland a similar custom was prevalent, and the *queesting* custom

¹ HENRY R. STILES, "Bundling, Its Origin, Progress and Decline in America," Albany, N. Y., Knickerbocker Publishing Co., 1871. Reprinted by the Book Collectors Association, New York, 1928.

of the young *mynheers* and *jufvrouwen* in Holland was transplanted to America. Washington Irving¹ describes this "curious device among these sturdy barbarians" (the Connecticut colonists) as an evidence of Yankee shrewdness in being unwilling to "buy a pig in a poke." He was sure that it was not so innocent a pleasure as its defenders claimed, for he went on,

To this sagacious custom, therefore, do I chiefly attribute the unparalleled increase of the . . . Yankee tribe; for it is a certain fact, well authenticated by court records and parish registers, that wherever the practice of bundling prevailed, there was an amazing number of sturdy brats annually born unto the state, without the license of the law, or the benefit of clergy.

But this did not prevent them from growing up into hardy whalers, woodcutters, and "strapping corn-fed wenches."

Opinion was sharply divided upon the merits of bundling. Undoubtedly it was practiced by many young people of high character who took no undue advantage of the trust placed in them by their elders. Just as surely there were others whose conduct brought bundling into disgrace. This was particularly true of the young men back from the French and Indian wars. Used to the rough manners and low morals of camp life they took advantage of bundling and added to its disrepute. Some parents condemned the custom, but others upheld their daughters in it, as revealed by a few lines from one of the many "poems" on bundling that passed about the country. In protest at the attempts to stamp out bundling,

The country girls in clusters swarm,
And fly and buzz, like angry bees,
And vow they'll bundle when they please.
Some mothers too, will plead their cause,
And give their daughters great applause,
And tell them, 'tis no sin nor shame,
For we, your mothers, did the same.

One verse of another 20-verse masterpiece raises the economy defense.

Since in a bed a man and maid,
May bundle and be chaste,
It does no good to burn out wood,
It is a needless waste.

Even the clergymen were divided on the issue. The Rev. Samuel Peters, who was called by his enemies learned but unscrupulous, defended bundling stoutly, saying that the people thought nothing of it and that

¹ WASHINGTON IRVING, "Diedrich Knickerbocker's A History of New York," New York, Putnam's, 1880, p. 210.

the piety of the Puritan youths was so great that there was no danger of mischief. Said he:

It would be accounted the greatest rudeness for a gentleman to speak before a lady of a garter, knee, or leg, yet it is thought but a piece of civility to ask her to *bundle*; a custom as old as the first settlement in 1634. It is certainly innocent, virtuous and prudent, or the Puritans would not have permitted it to prevail among their offspring. . . . Bundling has prevailed 160 years in New England, and, I verily believe, with ten times more chastity than sitting on a sofa.¹

He went on to say that bundling took place only in the cold season of the year and that the sofa in summer was more dangerous than the bed in winter. He supported his argument with the statement that, about the year 1756, Boston, Salem, Newport, and New York, considering bundling rather crude for polite society, tried to abolish it by introducing the sofa to render courtship "more palatable and Turkish" (as the Reverend put it), with the result that far more "natural consequences" occurred than under the older system of courtship. He said bundling was infinitely better than the Spanish mode of "forcing young people to prattle only before the lady's mother the chitchat of artless lovers."

But other ministers opposed bundling. Jonathan Edwards thundered against the practice with all his fiery eloquence. In Dedham, Mass., the Rev. Jason Haven, convinced that the increase in immorality was largely attributable to "the custom, then prevalent, of females admitting young men to their beds," preached a powerful sermon against it. This was about 1782. When the grave and beloved pastor launched out on a "favorite custom" that had always been treated only with "mirth and merriment," the effect was great. "The females blushed and hung down their heads. The men, too, hung down their heads and now and then looked out from under their fallen eyebrows, to observe how others supported the attack." But it was evidently effective, for the writer says the custom was largely discontinued and cases of immorality became rare in that town.²

Bundling was encouraged by the rules of hospitality in a country where one could hardly turn a traveler away at night. A British officer, in a letter³ written in 1777, tells of his embarrassment in meeting with this "indelicate custom" when he stopped at a small log hut for the night.

There being only two beds in the house, I inquired which I was to sleep in, when the old woman replied, "Mr. Ensign, . . . our Jonathan and I will sleep

¹ STILES, *op. cit.*; see pp. 44-60.

² ERASTUS WORTHINGTON, "History of Dedham, Massachusetts," 1827. Quoted by Stiles, *op. cit.*

³ Quoted by Stiles, *op. cit.*

in this, and our *Jemima* and you shall sleep in that." I was much astonished at such a proposal, and offered to sit up all night, when Jonathan immediately replied, "Oh, la! Mr. Ensign, you won't be the first man our *Jemima* has bundled with, will it, *Jemima*?" when little *Jemima*, who, by the bye, was a very pretty black-eyed girl, of about sixteen or seventeen, archly replied, "No, father, not by many, but it will be with the first Britainer."

But the lieutenant, not having sufficient confidence in his self-control, chose to sit up and ponder "how great the test of virtue must be, or how cold the American constitution, when this unaccountable custom is in hospitable repute and perpetual practice."

Some writers state that bundling was confined entirely to the lower classes, but one or two contend that it penetrated all levels of society. There is little doubt, however, that it was practiced chiefly by the humbler classes and that it began to decline when larger houses were built and the standard of living rose. Also, the attacks of prominent men hastened its demise. In 1750 it was still very prevalent but declined in the latter part of the century, although surviving in a few places beyond 1800. In 1804 the New York supreme court ruled, in a seduction case, that since the girl's parents permitted her to bundle they had no right to complain of the consequences which "naturally followed it."

The Mercenary Element in Marriage.—Marrying for money, so common in Europe, died a slow death in this country. In a New England paper¹ J. Franklin lampooned marriage for gain as follows:

ON SYLVIA THE FAIR.—A JINGLE

A Swarm of Sparks, young, gay, and bold,
 Lov'd *Sylvia* long, but she was cold;
 Int'rest and Pride the Nymph control'd,
 So they in vain their Passion told.
 At last came Dulman, he was old,
 Nay, he was ugly, but had Gold,
 He came, and saw, and took the Hold,
 While t'other Beaux their Loss C'oudol'd.
 Some say, she's Wed; I say, she's sold.

Various diaries and letters of the early period show how calculating many fathers were in seeking a "varie good match" for their daughters and how they haggled and bargained over the dowries they were to allow. In some cases, suit was brought after marriage in an effort to collect the promised dowry that had not been forthcoming. Widows with means were looked upon as prizes, and even a widow without means might be approached by a lonely widower with an offer to settle upon her a certain sum (increased if necessary, in the bargaining process) if she would marry him.

¹ *New England Courant*, Dec. 11, 1721.

Poor old Judge Sewall, whose businesslike courtships recorded in his diary have provided so much amusement to students of colonial history, outlived several wives. When one died, he promptly shopped around among a number of widows until he found one who would have him and who also had some means of her own. He aimed high at first, seeking the more prosperous widows and offering a fairly high sum in case of his prior death; but when his wooings (including gifts of almonds, which were considered great delicacies) were rejected, he tried out lesser widows, reducing his own financial offers accordingly. That some of these widows were fully able to take care of themselves is revealed by their shrewd questions about the sums he had already settled upon his children and how much he had left. One of the recipients of his attentions criticized him for not covering his bald head with a wig and for his carriage being in such bad repair. After an evening by her fireside, when she made no move to throw on another log, he knew it was time to go; when she did not help him on with his coat, his hopes began to wane; when she did not send a servant with a lantern, he knew there was no use in coming back.

But the mercenary character of marriage gradually declined, for most people were relatively poor, and as the frontier pushed westward the settlers had little to offer in marriage but brave hearts and willing hands. The frontier was a great leveler and made its own values.

Marriage Regulations.—Strange as it may seem, until one remembers the Old World backgrounds at which they were protesting, the Puritans considered marriage a civil contract instead of a sacrament, and hence civil marriage for a time was the only legal form. A Boston clergyman was haled into court for solemnizing marriages. Later the law was liberalized to permit either ministers or magistrates to perform the marriage ceremony. But ministers sometimes preached sermons on marriage occasions, and there even grew up a ceremony (and sermon) at the half-way station of betrothal. Cotton Mather mentioned this custom. Also, on the first Sunday after marriage it was common for the bride to have the privilege of choosing a text for the minister.

Usually, in New England the banns had to be published three times before marriage, but in New Hampshire two guineas would produce an immediate ceremony for those who were in haste. There were a few runaway marriages, although they were looked upon by most as disgraceful. Irregular marriages sometimes brought heavy fines. But in New London, where a certain couple lived in common-law marriage and steadfastly refused to have their marriage regularized, a magistrate eased the scandal by the following conversation¹ with the couple when he met them on the street:

¹ ALICE M. EARLE, "Customs and Fashions in Old New England," New York, Scribner's, 1893, p. 71

"John Rogers, do you persist in calling this woman, a servant, so much younger than yourself, your wife?" "Yes, I do," retorted John. "And do you, Mary, wish such an old man as this to be your husband?" "Indeed I do," she said. "Then, by the laws of God and this commonwealth," was the disconcerting reply, "I, as a magistrate, pronounce you man and wife."

Husbands and wives could not live apart, for it was looked upon as an affront to family life. A Connecticut court, in 1660, even ordered that no person having a spouse in "forraigne parts" could remain more than two years without paying a fine of 40 shillings per month or more than three years without special permission of the general court. This was rather hard on those who had left their wives in the old country until they became better established and on those who could not persuade their wives to come over to such a wild country.

In New York the Dutch frowned upon bachelors as did the New Englanders, although they passed no laws, as did the latter, regulating their residence. The custom of long engagements prevailed, and the wedding sometimes did not take place for months after the banns were published. This sometimes led to living together before marriage, and laws were passed prohibiting such laxity. In general, marriage was early, and widows and widowers promptly remarried when they could. Maids who were brought over for household work, on contract of three years' service in payment of their passage, frequently married long before their term was up, to the great dismay of their mistresses, who sometimes sued for damages. But the court usually let the young couple off. Even children sent over from almshouses in Holland to be bound out had no trouble in making satisfactory marriages when they reached the proper age.

In Pennsylvania the Quakers predominated, although there were also Germans, Scots, and others. The Quakers were a hard-working, thrifty people, quiet and peace-loving. Their family life was genial but strict in discipline. Their own mutual-contract marriage ceremony was accepted as legal, although some of the young folk, impatient with the delay involved in Quaker procedure, would go to a magistrate or minister for marriage, a practice that was almost sure to bring upon the young couple disciplinary action by the Quaker meeting.

The Church of England early got control of the marriage ceremony in Virginia, and for a hundred years no magistrate or Nonconformist clergyman could solemnize marriage. But in 1780 and 1784 the regulations were relaxed to permit any ordained minister, under certain conditions, to perform the ceremony. Even certain "sober and discreet laymen" were given the authority so to act when no clergymen were available.¹ Other Southern colonies had similar experiences, with the

¹ WILLYSTINE GOODSELL, "A History of Marriage and the Family," New York, Macmillan, 1934, p. 387.

exception of Maryland. There, after the tolerant early period, strife became so bitter that in 1777 a law was enacted—and later adopted in the present code—forbidding any marriage by a civil magistrate.

In some sections the infrequent visits of either ministers or magistrates made it difficult to marry and resulted in extralegal cohabitation until a person with authority to marry came that way. In the Lake Tensaw district of Alabama, early in the nineteenth century, an interesting incident showed the desire for a marriage ceremony even if it was not wholly orthodox. A couple who were not willing to live together until properly married paddled over to Fort Stoddart, after a late social gathering, arriving early in the morning just as the good-natured commandant, Captain Shaumberg, was making his eggnog. He was astounded at the pleas of the young couple to marry them and disclaimed authority for that kind of work. But they reminded him that he had more authority than anyone else in that district, and after the eggnog had circulated freely he stood the young couple up in front of him and in stentorian tones performed the ceremony in these words: "I, Captain Shaumberg, of the 2d regiment of the United States army, and commandant of Fort Stoddart, do hereby pronounce you man and wife. Go home! behave yourselves—multiply and replenish the Tensaw country."¹ Sometimes, in the absence of any minister or justice of the peace, the father of the girl would assume the function, but such irregular marriages, although fully respected by the community as binding, were nevertheless regularized by the confirmation of the first minister or magistrate to visit the section.

New conditions create new standards. The rigid laws of older settlements are sometimes replaced on the frontier by common sense, and judgments are made to fit the peculiar circumstances. Theodore Roosevelt, in his "Winning of the West," describes the problem created by the unexpected return of a man long since captured by the Indians and given up as dead. If the man's wife meanwhile had married again, she was given her choice between the two men, the other being obligated to leave the community. Usually she chose her first husband, but in either case the legal irregularity seemed to disturb no one.

Sex Standards.—Every country, new or old, has its share of sex immorality, and early America was no exception; whether it had more than its share is difficult to say. In 1642 Governor Bradford complained of the incontinence of both married and unmarried persons in Plymouth. Early church records in many communities reveal frequent cases of discipline for fornication and adultery. Illegitimacy was not uncommon, and in Rhode Island it was said that "a young woman's prospects of marrying respectably and of moving thereafter in respectable society,

¹ A. J. PICKETT, "History of Alabama," 2 vols., Charleston, 1851, Vol. 2, p. 184.

do not seem to have been seriously impaired by her already having shown herself qualified to discharge the functions of a wife and mother."¹

Sex irregularity brought punishment ranging from public confession and admonition to fines and imprisonment. Whipping was quite common, for women as well as for men. Also, the stocks and pillories were used, and women were sometimes forced to wear the scarlet letter. In some sections a second offense of adultery theoretically brought life imprisonment, but it is doubtful whether this was ever carried out. Servitude and slavery, for the colonies had both, were sources of immorality in many cases. An indentured woman who bore an illegitimate child had her term of service lengthened. In 1698 the Chester County (Pennsylvania) court forbade intermarriage between whites and Negroes, and some time later a white woman was punished for having relations with a Negro.

David Lewis Constable of Haverford Returned A negro man of his And A white woman for having A Baster Childe . . . the negro said she Intised him and promised him to marry him; she being examined, Confest the same: . . . the Court ordered that she shall Receive Twenty-one laishes on her beare Backe . . . and the Court ordered the negroe man never to meddle with any white woman more uppon paine of his life.²

The morbid publicity given sex delinquency probably encouraged rather than discouraged it. The numerous church confessions were detailed and sensational and were juicy morsels to the congregation, which was unusually large on days when it was known that some guilty person was to bare his sins. Many seemed to receive a vicarious satisfaction from these "true confessions," and the public whippings and other punishments further served to keep such conduct in the minds of the people.

Weddings.—Weddings were usually boisterous affairs, with plentiful food and drink. A tub of homemade whiskey with a gourd beside it invited all to celebrate according to their ability. In fairness it must be said that such hospitality produced less drunkenness than might be supposed. Weddings in prominent families were great events and much enjoyed by the guests, for there was much feasting. Such a wedding in Connecticut in 1726 is described by Smith.³ The feasting—and what feasting!—lasted three days, and the guests included nearly everyone in the community for miles around.

¹ EDWARD FIELD (editor), "State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations at the End of the Century," Boston, Mason Publishing Co., 1902, Vol. 3, p. 397.

² MS Min. Chester County Courts, 1697-1710, p. 24, quoted by Edward R. Turner, "Slavery in Pennsylvania," Baltimore, Lord Baltimore Press, 1911, p. 30.

³ HELEN E. SMITH, "Colonial Days and Ways," New York, Appleton-Century, 1900, Chap. 10.

A common part of the bride's equipment was some cooking utensils and a spinning wheel, for of necessity girls learned early to spin and weave. Young men frequently received from their fathers a horse and harness, and perhaps a plow. When David Crockett married, he had hardly a cent to his name, but he and his bride set up housekeeping in a cabin on a small rented farm, helped by a wedding gift of two cows and calves, and a \$15 order for goods at the crossroads store. Few indeed were wealthy enough to follow the example of Anthony Morris who, when his daughter Sarah married, "placed her in one scale, balancing her weight with gold in the other for a marriage dower."¹

Family Patterns in the South.—In the Southern colonies the establishment of normal home life was a slower process than in the North. Families did not come at first so much as single men who hoped to make a quick fortune in the New World and return to England where they would live in ease. Women, therefore, were very scarce and in great demand. Female relatives of the few families already in the colonies were quickly married when they came over. Without homes, the unmarried men were restless in a land offering little of the gentler phases of life. Accordingly, those in command wrote back to England urgently asking that "woemen and maids young and vncorrupt" be sent over in sufficient numbers to provide wives for the "publiq ffarmers" before their restlessness took them back to England. Young women were found who were willing to come, and the first group of 90 was so enthusiastically received that more were sent for. The passage price was 120 pounds of tobacco and was paid by the men who married the girls. From the records it appears that the girls were well treated and given their free choice regarding marriage, none being forced to marry against her will.² Later, men with their families began to come over, and soon many homes were established in the new land. South Carolina even offered bounties for children, of £1 to £4 according to age, to encourage family immigration and the birth rate.

The checkered courtships of David Crockett typified the bold determination and alternate fears of the Southwestern frontiersman in search of a wife. His fiery, headlong methods, he ruefully admitted, were not always successful. "I reckon no poor devil in the world was ever cursed with such hard loving as mine has always been, when it came on me." His first love affair reduced the fearless hunter to a state of jitters. He said of a certain maid that he would "pine down to nothing" if he could not have her; yet when it came to speaking to her of his love he found that his heart "would get right smack up in my throat and choak me

¹ ANNE H. WHARTON, "Colonial Days and Dames," Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1908, p. 75.

² J. E. COOKE, "Virginia," Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1884, p. 119.

like a cold potatoe." When he finally got his courage up, he found that the girl was already engaged to another. "This news," he said, "was worse to me than war, pestilence, or famine; but still I knowed I could not help myself. I saw quick enough my cake was dough, and I tried to cool off as fast as possible; but I had hardly safety pipes enough, as my love was so hot as mighty nigh to burst my boilers." After an interval of time he decided that he couldn't do any longer without a wife, and "so I cut out to hunt me one." He found a young woman who pleased him, and after she had been convinced that he was willing "to fight a whole regiment of wildeats" if she would have him, she agreed to marry him. But, unfortunately, he had not told her parents his intentions. "I had put the evil hour off as long as possible; and, indeed, I calculated they knowed me so well, they wouldn't raise any objections to having me for a son-in-law." But he found that the parents thought much less of him than he thought of himself, and he was absolutely crushed to find out that the girl was pledged to marry another man. After this, he "continued down-spirited" for a long time; but finally at a social gathering he met another girl of whom he said, "I was plaguy well pleased with her from the word go." This time he took no chances of parental disapproval; he made up to the mother and flattered her, for, as he said, he had learned the truth of the old saying "Salt the cow to catch the calf." But when he called at the girl's home, he found a rival there. "I began to think I was barking up the wrong tree again; but I was determined to stand up to my rack, fodder or no fodder." To test out the girl, who seemed quite absorbed in the other young man, Crockett suggested that it was time for him to be starting home, which was 15 miles away. "I knowed she would then show some sign, from which I could understand which way the wind blowed." When the girl insisted "mighty hard" that he should not go until next day and made it clear to the rival that he could leave any time, Crockett was exultant and later said, "I saw she preferred me all holler." This suit, after a difficult period of winning the consent of the mother, was successful, and the marriage finally took place.¹

As the Southern colonies became settled and acquired stability, the plantation became the little family world. Slavery was introduced and flourished, and wealth accumulated. On the successful plantations the women could live in ease compared with the housewives of New England or Pennsylvania. The master rode over his broad acres superintending his work, and the mistress and her daughters, with plenty of servants to

¹ "Narrative of the Life of David Crockett, of the State of Tennessee," copyrighted by Crockett in 1834. For a much more complete adaptation see *The Courtships of David Crockett*, in Ernest R. Groves and Lee M. Brooks (editors), "Readings in the Family," Chicago, Lippincott, 1934, pp. 119-122.

care for the household, had time for such cultural pursuits as literature and music afforded. The plantation almost reproduced the medieval manor. This fostered the spirit of aristocracy and produced a particular type of culture that has been forever fixed in story and song. Yet tenants and squatters lived in poverty, and economic contrasts were sharp even in those early days.

The Church of England controlled the marriage ceremony in Virginia from the very first and soon changed the early liberalism of Maryland and North Carolina, which originally allowed a choice of either a civil or an ecclesiastical ceremony. However, there was much rebellion against the control of the church over marriage, and the civil ceremony was held legal, with certain restrictions, in various districts. In some localities the tendency of ministers to charge high fees was met by establishing a fixed legal fee, which was often a certain number of pounds of tobacco.

It was quite common for marriage notices to name the fortune that the bride took with her at marriage, and many loveless marriages took place for economic gain. But, also, rebellion at such marriages often flared up in the young folk, and they had their own way in most cases. George Washington wrote that marriage was such a powerful factor in producing either misery or happiness that he considered it unreasonable to force a union where there was no love or prevent a union based on affection.

Woman's Status in Early America.—Women were honored as housewives and mothers in New England, but they were not supposed to meddle in men's affairs. For this reason, they needed little formal education, and one Connecticut town voted not to "waste" money on education for girls. In 1788, Northampton made the same decision, and it was not until the nineteenth century that New England began really to favor education for girls. The male attitude was that women needed very little learning. A young man, who had had commended to him a wife who could speak French, Spanish, and Italian, replied that he considered even *one* tongue for a wife too much. As late as 1855, a college president said that the very idea of giving women an education similar to that of men was "too ridiculous to appear credible." In one of her letters Mrs. John Adams¹ said: "It was fashionable to ridicule female learning. . . . I never was sent to any school. . . . Female education, in the best families, went no further than writing and arithmetic; in some few and rare instances, music and dancing." The capable wife of Governor Hopkins of Connecticut read widely and did considerable writing, and when she lost her mind Governor Winthrop attributed it to her neglect of her household duties and her meddling in men's affairs.

¹ CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, "Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife Abigail Adams, during the Revolution," Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1875, pp. x-xi.

He said that if she had attended to the duties proper to women, and had refrained from meddling "in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her."¹

Married women withdrew from the few amusements afforded by the strictness of Puritan society, and "stale maids" of twenty-five likewise heeded the serious rather than the frivolous matters of life. Such maids often aroused great admiration for their virtues and domestic accomplishments. One John Dunton, of very early Boston, described the virtues of a "Superannuated Maid," aged twenty-six, who, though aware that singleness

. . . is thought such a curse as nothing can exceed it, and looked on as a Dismal Spectacle, yet she by her good Nature, Gravity, and strict Vertue, convinces all that tis not her necessity, but her Choice, that keeps her a Virgin . . . She never disguises herself by the Gayetys of a Youthful Dress, and talks as little as she thinks of Love; She goes to no Balls or Dancing Match. . . . Most of her time but what's taken up in Religious Worship, is spent in acquiring those Accomplishments, which become her Quality, as singing, Writing, Needleworks, Learning French, and the like. And I must tell you, she has so well learnt the Art of Domestick Government, as to be able to manage a large House of her own.²

The writer goes on to say that when he and a friend had persuaded her, after an hour of effort, to join a little excursion party (which she did only when allowed to bring *three chaperons* with her), she did not "waste much of her time in Dressing herself. She knew Time was a Dressing-Room for Eternity, and therefore reserves most of her Hours for better uses than those of the Comb, the Toylet, and the Glass."

Women suspected of witchcraft, according to a Massachusetts law, could be stripped by male "witch prickers" and their bodies examined for markings of the devil, though in Virginia in 1706 a woman suspected of witchcraft was examined by a jury of women. Women who were guilty of slander or gossip, whether in New England or Virginia, were punished by ducking, but even the constant threat of the ducking stool was not enough to silence the fast-working feminine tongues when a juicy bit of scandal was available. With so few other diversions, it was expecting too much of human nature to abstain from the self-righteous discussion of the savory misconduct of others and the vicarious sampling of its spicy flavor.

The men decried gossip by women, though they also did their full share of it. One early writer bemoaned the fact that "blabbing, babbling, tale-telling, and discovering the faults and frailties of others is a most

¹ ELIZABETH D. HANSOM (editor), "The Heart of a Puritan," New York, Macmillan, 1917, p. 51.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 261-262.

Common and evill practice" and was obviously indulging in wishful thinking when he gave as his ideal for woman that she be "a main store house of secresie, a Maggazine of taciturnitie." Offenses of the tongue were common and promptly challenged. In New Netherlands when one Grietje van Salee became angry at Anneke Jans Bogardus, wife of the dominie, she

. . . told throughout the neighborhood that Anneke had lifted her petticoats when crossing the street, and exposed her ankles in unseemly fashion. . . . Action for slander was promptly begun, and witnesses produced to show that Anneke had flourished her petticoats no more than was seemly and tidy to escape the mud. Judgment was pronounced against Grietje. . . . She had to make public declaration in the Fort that she had lied, and to pay three guilders.¹

So-called "chivalry" was not present in the South at first but developed later, probably for much the same reasons that it did in Europe. As wealth accumulated and leisure was acquired, women of the better families were free to develop the "feminine arts" and become "ladies." In such a society, manners of the wealthier classes abroad found lodgment, and trips to England and the Continent kept the channels of class imitation open. Young men of means were sent abroad for their education, and their conduct upon return reflected the male attitudes prevalent in Europe. Women of refinement were to be protected and honored, but withal they were frequently considered little better than playthings. Conversation with the ladies was in light vein, and stolen kisses—especially from unmarried girls by married men—formed a pleasant diversion for the men and, one suspects, for the girls as well. The following extract² from a letter written by a young lady in Virginia tells of her mild adventures:

I must tell you of our frolic after we went to our room. We took a large dish of bacon and beef; after that a bowl of Sago cream; and after that an apple-pye. While we were eating the apple-pye in bed—God bless you, making a great noise—in came Mr. Washington dressed in Hannah's short gown and petticoat, and seized me and kissed me twenty times in spite of all the resistance I could make; and then Cousin Molly.

But women of genuine ability made their influence felt, whether in North or South, and a few went into various kinds of work in which they made names for themselves. There were a few women teachers and skilled artisans and a good many women merchants in Boston and New York, who traded in almost every kind of goods from hardware to

¹ ALICE M. EARLE, "Colonial Dames and Goodwives," Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1895, pp. 90-91. Copyright now held by The Macmillan Company. Used by permission.

² *Ibid.*, p. 198.

drugs. As early as 1643, Mrs. Goose of Salem was selling groceries. Widow Copley ran a tobacco shop in Boston and advertised that she sold the best "Virginia tobacco, Cut, Pigtail, and spun of all sorts." In New York, Ann Sleigh offered "very good Canary Wine at Five Shillings and Sixpence the Gallon."¹ There were many other "she merchants" (as a letter in the *New York Journal*, Jan. 21, 1733, called them) dealing in jewelry, tea, dry goods, shoes, dishes, spectacles, etc. In the South, it was less common for women to go into business, but women frequently cared for all the affairs of large plantations for months at a time while their husbands were away. Several wives of editors carried on the publications upon the death of their husbands.

But whether in North or South, the majority of women were smothered with home duties. Few families were wealthy, and the gracious and hospitable life of the great plantations, affording leisure and luxury for the fortunate few who created an unforgettable culture, has been overstressed by many writers. The majority of the colonists of the South were middle- and lower-class people, from an economic viewpoint, and the women had to work hard. Not only did they spin, weave, and sew for the whole family in addition to carrying on countless other household duties, but also they did the dairy work and often helped in the field.

In the Northern colonies, woman's work was just as hard, and many succumbed under it before their allotted time. Paxson² points out that the frontier graveyards provide an index of the hardness of woman's lot, for the markings on the crude headstones show that many a patriarch was laid to rest beside two, three, or even four wives who had preceded him, but few women outlived several husbands.

Among the Puritans, women were not allowed even the comfort of a little finery in dress on the rare occasions of leisure and relaxation. The very early records, before 1700, show that they were warned against "wicked apparel." Such follies as lace, gold and silver thread, slashed sleeves, and embroideries were unwholesome, and the general court forbade "short sleeves whereby the nakedness of the arms may be discovered," and sleeves more than half an ell wide.³ As to the art of painting their faces, practiced by certain Boston women for a time, one minister in preaching against it said, "At the resurrection of the just there will no such sight be met as the Angels carrying painted Ladies in their arms."⁴

¹ ELIZABETH A. DEXTER, "Colonial Women of Affairs," Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1924, pp. 20-21.

² FREDERIC L. PAXSON, "History of the American Frontier," Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1924.

³ SYDNEY G. FISHER, "Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times," Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1913, p. 185.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

An advertisement¹ in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of Sept. 23, 1780, showed what women were expected to do in the way of work.

Wanted at a Seat about half a day's journey from Philadelphia, on which are good improvements and domestics, A single Woman of unsullied Reputation, an affable, cheerful, active and amiable Disposition; cleanly, industrious, perfectly qualified to direct and manage the female Concerns of country business, as raising small stock, dairying, marketing, combing, carding, spinning, knitting, sewing, pickling, preserving, etc., and occasionally to instruct two Young Ladies in those Branches of Oeconomy, who, with their father, compose the Family. Such a person will be treated with respect and esteem, and meet with every encouragement due to such a character.

Not only were the housewife's duties myriad; housework in colonial days was *heavy* work. The large fireplaces with their array of pots and kettles were symbols of drudgery. Holliday points out that the huge kettles holding 15 gallons and pots weighing as much as 40 pounds were better fitted to prehistoric giants than to women whose strength was sapped by a constant succession of childbirths. The "company" menus listed in some of the diaries—ducks, hams, chickens, beef, pig, tarts, creams, custards, jellies, fools, trifles, floating islands, whipped sillabubs, fruits, and "sweetmeats of twenty sorts"—give us respect not only for the gastronomic powers of the men but also for the skill and fortitude of the women in preparing such repasts over open fires and with such crude utensils. The good Dutch *huysvrouwen* were famous for their culinary accomplishments, though some of their dainties were highly indigestible to the uninitiated.

It is interesting to note that of the many colonial occupational titles used for women, according to their tasks, nearly all are now obsolete. We no longer hear the terms "webster," "shepster," "litster," "brewster," and "baxter"; only one has survived—"spinster"—as a widely accepted term denoting an unmarried woman.²

Children in Colonial Times.—Being a child was a serious business in colonial days, at least in some areas. Children everywhere, whether primitive or civilized, release their surplus energy in play, but this release varies widely in its expression among different peoples. Perhaps the status and treatment of children reflect the culture of a people as well as any other single factor. The following letter,³ written by a Quaker

¹ Quoted by Carl Holliday, "Woman's Life in Colonial Days," Boston, Cornhill, 1922, pp. 109-110.

² ALICE M. EARLE, "Home Life in Colonial Days," New York, Macmillan, 1900, p. 187.

³ HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, "Twelve Tests of Character," New York, Association Press, 1923, p. 117.

lady to a relative, reveals better than exposition the strictness of conduct required of children among the kindly Quakers:

Esteemed Friend: I send my brother Timothy to be under thy charge this winter, while he learns the store business. I know thee will be a faithful guardian, and though it grieveth me to unveil his faults, I must disclose them for thy friendly correction. I have discovered in the lad a worldly and evil spirit, having heard him imitate the unprofitable forms of the light folk of this town—even saying "Mr. Jones" to old Friend Thomas Jones, and though only sixteen years old, he boldly and audaciously directed the woman who maketh his garments to alter their shape. These are bad signs, but I hope thee will prune away such sprouts of sin, and curb these longings after vanity. In other matters thee will find the lad obedient and correct.

Among the Dutch in New York, paternal authority was great, but children were given more freedom than among the Puritans. They were expected to show respect and obedience to their parents and to all elders, but they were allowed many sports. Sometimes they overstepped the bounds of control and engaged in pranks that brought them before the magistrate. In 1713, the august legislators at Albany struck hard at the children's winter sports by passing the following ordinance:

Whereas y^e children in the s^d city do very unorderly to y^e shame & scandall of their parents ryde down y^e hills in y^e streets of the s^d city with small and great sleeves on the lord day and in the week by which many accidents may come now for preventing y^e same it is hereby publishd and declar'd y^t shall and may be lawful for any Constable within this City or any other person or persons to take any slee or sleeves from all and every such boys or girls rydeing or offering to ryde down any hill within y^e said city and breake such slee or sleeves in peeces.¹

The children of paupers were sold as apprentices, and several cargoes of children were sent over from the poorhouses of Holland and bound out for periods of two to four years, according to age on arrival.

In New England, children were expected to be seen and not heard, and judging by the responsibilities placed upon them they were truly "little men and women." The cold climate and crude homes in the early days contributed to the high infant-mortality rate. The records and letters of that day enumerate many cases of only 3 or 4 children surviving out of 14 or 15—or even 20—born to the family. Mather spoke not only of a woman who had borne 22 children of whom only 2 had reached maturity but also of a more fortunate mother of 23 children who had lost only 4. It is not unlikely that the inexorable rule of baptizing the infant on the first Sabbath after birth, no matter how cold the church or how icy the water, caused a good many deaths. Indeed,

¹ JOEL MUNSELL, "The Annals of Albany," Albany, 10 vols., 1850-1859, Vol. 7, p. 12.

Spartan treatment of children was supposed to toughen them against the hardness of life. Josiah Quincy, at the age of three, was dipped in cold water daily, even in the dead of winter. Locke's "Thoughts on Education," published in London in 1690, was popular in New England, and many of his precepts were reproduced in the widely circulated almanacs.

Trumbull¹ cites a law of the Connecticut colony which, following the harsh provisions of Mosaic law found in Deuteronomy, set the death penalty for sons sixteen or over who were "stubborn and rebellious," as well as for children who cursed or smote their father and mother. There is no record, however, that this severe penalty was actually inflicted for these offenses.

Children were taught to be very religious, and many a small boy agonized over his sins in the awful fear of hell-fire. Nor did little girls escape these fears. Cotton Mather took his little four-year-old daughter into his study and "sett before her the sinfull condition of her nature" and urged her to pray in secret places every day. Nathaniel Mather related that of his many sins the memory of none clung to him so much as that of whittling on the Sabbath, when he was a very small boy, which he considered was "a specimen of atheism" and a reproach to God. Instead of stories like "Peter Rabbit" and "Winnie the Pooh," children were adjured to read such books as "A Token for Children; being the exact account of the Conversation and Holy and Exemplary Lives of several Young Children," and Mather's "Some Examples of Children in whom the Fear of God was remarkably Budding before they died," which could hardly be expected to rouse enthusiasm in childish circles.

Such constant exhortations made it necessary for children to develop a certain imperviousness to the continual warnings of sin and death, if they were to keep reasonably cheerful. Judge Sewall at first met with little success in trying to impress on his son Sam, ten years old, the lesson to be found in the death of a little boy of about his age. He said he "told Sam of it and what need he had to prepare for Death," but Sam "seemed not much to mind, eating an Aple." But later the lad got worried and wept bitterly in fear of death, the judge "comforting" him by quoting such Scripture passages as "O death, where is thy sting?"

Correct manners for children were stressed. A book of manners for children, called "A Pretty Little Pocket Book," has the following delicious passage² on conduct at the table:

¹ JAMES H. TRUMBULL, "True Blue Laws of Connecticut and New Haven," Hartford, American Publishing Co., 1876.

² ALICE M. EARLE, "Child Life in Colonial Days," New York, Macmillan, 1899, pp. 215-217.

Ask for nothing; tarry till it be offered thee. Speak not. Bite not thy bread but break it. Take salt only with a clean knife. . . . Look not earnestly at any other that is eating. When moderately satisfied leave the table. Sing not, hum not, wriggle not. Spit nowhere in the room but in the corner. . . . When any speak to thee, stand up. Say not I have heard it before. . . . Snigger not.

But in spite of the stern teachings of parent and pastor the children could not entirely subdue the surplus energy bubbling up within them. It expressed itself in the forbidden sniggers during the interminable sermons at church and in furtive pinches and hair pullings that frequently interrupted the minister's discourse long enough to draw a stern rebuke. Young folk had their amusements, and when away from the watchful eyes of parents they were as boisterous and irrepressible as youths anywhere. Games and dances provided much jollity for those who were allowed to indulge in them, and the extremely strict discipline gradually relaxed as other standards filtered in from the outside. And for all its stern discipline, family life held strong loyalty and affection. Children realized that parental concern for their welfare was sincere, and the genuine love and respect did much to soften the more austere aspects of family relations. Some of the sternest men wrote tenderly of wife and children, and after supper the father frequently put aside the cares of the day, unbent from his dignity, and watched with pleasure and even joined the fun of the youngsters.

Education progressed more rapidly in the North than in the South. By 1649, every colony in New England except Rhode Island required all children to have some degree of learning. In the South, the well-to-do families employed tutors, though sometimes their more intelligent servants acted as teachers. Schoolmasters were hired in some places by several families together. One such (who also had to act as scribe for the lovelorn who could not write) was well pleased when the father of two sons he had taught gave him some money, clothing, and "a gallon at Christenmass." The wealthier sent their sons to England for their schooling.

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. Compare the attitudes in the New England and the Southern colonies on the marriage ceremony, divorce, status and activities of women, and sex morality.
2. Write a paper showing both the bright and the dark phases of childhood in colonial times (see Alice M. Earle, "Child Life in Colonial Days").
3. Show in what ways frontier life changed the courtship and marriage patterns brought over from the homelands by the colonists.
4. Describe the courtship and familism patterns in the Southern colonies (see A. W. Calhoun, "A Social History of the American Family," Chaps. 13-14).
5. Make as complete a list as possible of the regular duties of the colonial housewife. Which of these duties are never found, which of them are sometimes found, and which are nearly always found in the typical household today?

CHAPTER V

A MEDLEY OF MARRIAGE LAWS

It is a far cry from the primitive mating of the cave man to the pomp and ceremony of the modern wedding. The Sunday supplements frequently present lurid pictures of our shaggy progenitors dragging their captured mates to their caves. These contrast sharply with the descriptions, in the same supplements, of the beauty and solemnity of the wedding of today—the beautifully decorated church, the faultlessly garbed procession, the strains of the pipe organ, and the solemn ceremony with pledges given before witnesses in fulfillment of the social requirements. But these crude, imaginary journalistic pictures give many wrong impressions. True, the contrast is great between the first matings of man and the matrimonial customs of today, but one can get almost as great a contrast by comparing the most primitive tribes of today with the ancient cave man. For preliterate peoples everywhere have worked out regulations—some of them very complex—dealing with marriage. Perhaps the most nearly universal regulation is that regarding kinship, and frequently an intricate system of marriage prohibitions results from the fear of marrying a blood relation. But there are also definite restrictions regarding age, matchmaking, ceremony, purchase or dower, and duties and rights of husband and wife, including authority, property, divorce, etc. It appears, then, that civilized man is not hedged about with more marriage regulations than are primitives, but rather with different ones. This social regulation of mating is found as far back as we can trace existing primitive cultures. Its purpose has been, not to discourage marriage, but to protect all the parties concerned, including society. Thus, marriage regulations are similar to other laws and are usually so well grounded in human interests that they are not unduly irksome. In fact, they frequently cause almost no inconvenience. Once set in the mores, they are accepted without question by all but an occasional social rebel.

Certain writers, particularly those of Freudian leaning, deplore the numerous regulations on so many of our activities. They look upon such rules as just so many inhibitions painfully built up, which take the joy out of life by making it impossible to act on impulse. They question whether Nature, when she provided for reproduction and the survival of the species by means of the sex urge, ever intended that men and women should have to lay elaborate plans, get the consent of various parties (including the state), secure documents, pay fees, and go through various

ceremonies before they could mate according to their urge. They contend that finding and taking a mate is a purely personal matter and should be free from the stultifying effects of outside control.

Without being so bold as to claim inside information on "Nature's intention" we can be sure of our ground in stating that, as society is now organized, we *must* have social regulation of marriage. Our whole culture is built upon established norms; we insist upon knowing in advance what rights and obligations our actions will entail. We want dependability and predictability of conduct. Such being the case our marriage regulations do not seem excessive; on the contrary, they appear very few in number and relatively mild in form. The individual yields his privilege of acting on impulse on matters important to the group, thus relinquishing a measure of personal freedom but getting in return a compensating measure of personal security and social stability. A few may not be happy to make the trade, but it must be made nevertheless; for the group believes its welfare is at stake, and in the long run a clash between individual-will and group-will can end in only one way—the *group's way*. In the light of this group philosophy let us consider our marriage laws and see how they affect the welfare of all concerned.

The Confused State of Our Marriage Laws.—The public looks benevolently upon marriage and is pleased when the marriage rate is found to be rising. It frowns severely upon divorce, however, and is much disturbed over its great increase in the past few decades. This attitude is clearly reflected in our marriage and divorce laws. The front gate to the matrimonial state is wide and inviting, easily found and easily entered, but the back gate is narrow and forbidding, not always easy to find without a legal guide, and frequently difficult to pass through. Perhaps if there were more careful selection at the front gate there might be fewer disillusioned husbands and wives seeking the exit.

We have placed very few restrictions upon those wishing to wed. The few legal requirements seldom cause real inconvenience, for they are simple and inexpensive. In most cases, this is as it should be, for certainly there is no reason to discourage marriage in general. But in many cases grave errors could be avoided and the welfare of the interested couple, as well as of society, safeguarded by better marriage laws. Not only do we have a bewildering variety of marriage laws in the various states, but whenever attempts are made to improve them they are confused with the divorce laws, in which the public is more interested, with the result that the latter receive practically all the attention. This neglect of marriage laws in a country so convinced of the value of family life is surprising. Thirty-five years ago Howard¹ condemned our hodgepodge of marriage laws in the following severe indictment: "It may

¹ GEORGE E. HOWARD, "A History of Matrimonial Institutions," University of Chicago Press, 1904.

reasonably be doubted whether any people in Occidental civilization has marriage laws so defective as ours. Almost every conceivable blunder has been committed." Though improvements have been made in some states since Howard wrote, all in all we are still woefully lacking in any well-planned, coordinated system of marriage laws.

SOME PRESENT-DAY REGULATIONS

Although the main marriage regulations in the 48 states are quite similar, in no two are they the same, and in some the differences are great.

Marriage Prohibited Because of Relationship. 1. *Consanguinity, or Blood Relationship.*—In the discussion of the natural history of the family, we noted that among primitives the prohibition of marriage between close blood relatives was the general rule. The same rule holds for civilized peoples today. In the United States there is more uniformity on this point than on most of the other marriage regulations. In all 51 jurisdictions,¹ marriage is prohibited between brother and sister, mother and son, father and daughter, grandmother and grandson, grandfather and granddaughter, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew. Beyond this point of relationship there is no such uniformity. In 29 jurisdictions, first cousins may not marry. Nine states prohibit marriage to a grandniece (or grandnephew), and 6 states forbid marriage to a "first cousin once removed." Many states also extend prohibitions to relatives by half blood. In 29 states the prohibition applies to marriage with a half brother (or half sister), in 5 it applies to half cousins, and in 6 to half nieces (or half nephews).

Marriage within these prohibited degrees is considered incestuous, and the parties to it can be prosecuted criminally. However, our interest here is not in the possible proceedings against the crime of incest, but in its effect on the marriage. What happens to such marriages? In most states, they are considered void from the beginning, but there is a general confusion in terminology and approach. Eight jurisdictions have definite laws stating that marriages contracted within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity "shall be void from the beginning, without any legal process for annulment or divorce,"² and only three specifically state that such marriages are to be considered void only *after* they are annulled by proper judicial proceeding. Seven jurisdictions make no mention of the question; the remainder are ambiguous in their terminology, but they try to show that such marriages are considered either void or voidable.

2. *Affinity, or Relationship by Marriage.*—In the English law, affinity long constituted almost the same barrier to marriage as blood relationship, but in the United States there has been considerable progress away

¹ The 48 states plus District of Columbia, Alaska, and Hawaii.

² CHESTER G. VERNIER, "American Marriage Laws," 5 vols. and supplement, Stanford University Press, 1931-1938, Vol. 1, p. 175.

from such a strict and illogical stand. Whatever the roots of the horror of incest, its universality explains the strong condemnation of marriage between close blood relatives. But there seems to be no good reason why marriage between persons related only by affinity should be considered repugnant. Twenty-six of our jurisdictions have no prohibitions relating to affinity, and the other 25 vary greatly in their strictness. The most common prohibition (23 jurisdictions) is that against marriage between stepparents and stepchildren. Twenty forbid the marriage of father and daughter-in-law or of mother and son-in-law; 18 prohibit a man from marrying his wife's granddaughter, even though sprung from the wife's previous marriage (or a woman from marrying her husband's grandson by a previous marriage); 12 will not allow a man to marry his wife's mother (or a woman her husband's father).

Some of these prohibitions seem farfetched. When a man is forbidden to marry his grandfather's second wife, one's first thought is that such a case would never come up. However, it could arise very easily. Quite a number of well-to-do aged widowers marry very young women. If a widower of 70 married a young woman of 22 and the old man's grandson of 23 fell in love with the girl, he could not marry her even if his grandfather obligingly died.

Marriage Prohibitions for Eugenic Reasons.—Some of the prohibitions listed below are partly rooted in custom and therefore can hardly be called scientific attempts at eugenics. However, they all have some share in guarding the quality of the population.

1. *Insanity, Feeble-mindedness, and Epilepsy.*—Historically the prohibition of marriage of mental defectives is based upon the fact that an insane or feeble-minded person cannot contract a valid marriage because he is mentally incapable of understanding the situation and hence cannot give intelligent consent. Eugenically it derives its sanction from the fact that mental incapacity is to a considerable extent inheritable, and it is against public welfare that the mentally unfit should marry and propagate their kind. All the states have laws on this subject, but it is noteworthy that many of them do not positively forbid such marriages but are satisfied merely to provide for their annulment, thus showing that they are concerned much less with the protection of the public on eugenic grounds than with the legal question of the absence of intelligent consent by the mentally deficient party involved.

Only 17 states prohibit the marriage of epileptics, 7 of them making exceptions in cases where the woman involved is over forty-five years of age. Two states permit hereditary epileptics to marry after they have been sterilized by an operation.

2. *Physical Disease.*—The law does not consider physical disease as great a barrier to marriage as mental disease, if for legal purposes we

may make a crude distinction between the two. Three states prohibit the marriage of persons having tuberculosis in its advanced, infectious stages, and 2 forbid a person having any communicable disease to marry. Syphilis and gonorrhea are considered the greatest menace to marriage, though only 26 states either forbid or discourage, in one way or another, marriages in which either party has a venereal disease.¹

The weakness of these laws has been in their provisions for enforcement. Some states require no proof or even statement that the man and woman about to be married are free from syphilis and gonorrhea; the law merely makes it possible to prosecute later anyone who marries while infected. But proof of such previous infection would be difficult to obtain in most cases, and the likelihood of prosecution would be almost nil. A few states require the man to submit to a physical examination from 7 to 15 days before the license is issued and to present a physician's certificate stating that he is free from venereal disease. However, in every state there can be found a few physicians who will falsify such documents, for a price. Several states, though not asking for a physical examination, require an affidavit by the applicant (in a very few cases by a third party) that he is free from venereal disease. In one state the man must swear not only that he is free from such disease but also that he *believes* his intended bride to be free from it!

One of the most hopeful attempts to get at this problem is the recent passage in several states of the so-called "blood-test" laws, which make evasion very difficult. The present federal and state war against syphilis is giving such legislation much support. The pioneer law of this type was passed in Connecticut in 1935, and its provisions show the possibilities of such legislation. It requires both parties, within 40 days before the issuance of the marriage license, to submit to a Wassermann or Kahn or other standard laboratory blood test. The test must be made by a licensed physician, the laboratory work being done *by the state department of health or a laboratory approved by it*. To be eligible for marriage the applicant's laboratory test (a record of which must be filed with the registrar) must show that he "is not infected with syphilis or in a stage of that disease that may become communicable." In 1937 and 1938, eight other states² passed similar laws or amendments, some of them reducing the period between test and license issuance to 20 days. Such laws will not prevent the marriage of syphilitics in every case, for a person may be infected during the period between examination and marriage. Furthermore, the blood test by itself is not infallible. But they do greatly reduce the chances of evasion, thus protecting marriage

¹ Up to Jan. 1, 1939.

² Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Kentucky, New York, Rhode Island, and New Jersey.

and striking a telling blow at a deadly disease.¹ During the first six months of New York's law, 826 applicants for a marriage license (1.4 per cent) were found to have syphilis.

Interracial Marriage Forbidden.—It is not surprising that in those sections of the country where there are sharp race divisions there should be strong prejudice, particularly of the majority group, against intermarriage. Thirty states prohibit such miscegenetic unions. As might be expected, the Southern states are the ones most anxious to prevent marriages between Negroes and whites, "Negro" being variously defined, even to a person having one-sixteenth or more of Negro blood. In the West, however, the laws against miscegenation were prompted chiefly by the large numbers of Chinese and Japanese, though they were made to include Negroes also, doubtless to avoid the appearance of being too discriminatory. Altogether there are 14 states, not all of them being confined to the West, having laws against the marriage of whites and "Mongolians," the latter variously defined. That so few Central and Northeastern states have statutes against miscegenation is probably due to the fact that in most of them the colored minorities are too small to arouse the alarm of the white population. As a matter of fact, although these laws give the majority group that passes them a sense of security, they probably have very little effect on the question of race mixture. Most of the mixture between Negroes and whites, for example, is extramarital and therefore wholly unaffected by the laws against intermarriage. This frequently adds to the stigma and social reproach the offspring of such unions must bear and accordingly increases prejudice.

The Necessity of Mutual Consent.—Contrary to the custom among so many peoples of the past, by which parents or professional match-makers selected bride and groom, we now recognize the right of every person to refuse to enter into any marriage distasteful to him. There is not absolute freedom on the one hand, for we designate certain persons whom he may *not* marry; but theoretically there is perfect freedom on the other hand, for not only do we allow him to refuse any marriage he wishes to refuse, but also we uphold and protect him in such a decision. In 22 states, force or duress is made a ground for annulment, and 17 provide for criminal action against the guilty party to such a marriage. Today it is taken for granted that persons must be allowed to wed only when there is mutual voluntary consent.

Breach of Promise.—Our breach-of-promise suits, which one writer has called "an ancient and barbarous amusement of the people," constitute one of the strangest holdovers from colonial days. The right to sue was established in this country, in a common-law case in 1639, and in

¹ BASCOM JOHNSON, Premarital and Prenatal Examination Laws, *Jour. Soc. Hygiene*, 24: 477-486, November, 1938.

1698 it was established that a man as well as a woman could sue. A few years later it was held that definite proof of an express promise to marry was not necessary, if the circumstantial evidence was strong.¹ By that time the circus was in full swing, and the colonists took to it ardently, some of the best families bringing their heartaches into court. Theoretically, even today, a man has as much right as a woman to bring suit for breach of promise, but he knows better than to try to use it. In a recent case of this type the judge refused to take the matter very seriously, and the unhappy man was laughed out of court. The fair sex has been highly successful in maintaining a monopoly on this lachrymose but lucrative pastime.

For many years heavy guns of criticism have been trained on this ancient fortress of refuge for the broken—or allegedly broken—heart, but without much success. In spite of their sophistication, Americans are sentimental at heart, and male juries still succumb promptly and willingly to the damp loveliness of the “forlorn little figure” as she sobs out her story of the dazzling promises of the “villain” before he tired of her. The jurymen swallow the lumps in their throats long enough to vote “guilty,” then return to the prosaic duties of field and grocery counter, with the double satisfaction of having vicariously breathed once more the perfume of romance and of having extended a little the sway of justice in an unjust world.

On the very face of it the breach-of-promise suit cannot possibly compensate for the loss of affection, for no one seriously claims that the love of one person for another can be measured in terms of money. The very thought of “heart balm” in the form of cold cash is abhorrent to a woman of good breeding. The sensitive young woman, who suffers most from a broken engagement, will be the least likely to bare her sorrow to the public and demand a money payment for her woe. Conversely, except in certain situations that will be pointed out later, the very fact that the woman is willing to air her intimate affairs in court (for a price) at once raises a grave suspicion as to her motive. There are some who eagerly trade integrity and self-respect for gold and revenge. The breach-of-promise suit, as it now stands, offers almost unlimited opportunity for damaging the reputation of a lost lover and for obtaining unjust awards based upon flimsy evidence. In many cases, it is nothing more than blackmail.

On the other hand, there are situations in which a woman sustains a definite economic loss when a man breaks off his engagement to her. If she has been self-supporting and has given up a good position and spent her small savings in preparation for marriage, her economic loss may be serious. In such a case, if she is willing to stand the publicity, she is

¹ See Vernier, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 23-24.

certainly justified in suing. Furthermore, when a woman refuses other suitors in favor of one man to whom she remains engaged for a period of years, she is somewhat handicapped when her engagement is broken. She is several years older, her former suitors may have married, and the very fact that she has been dropped will have some effect on other possible suitors. Also, a woman's eligibility declines faster than a man's with each passing year. All this may be true, and yet only the insensitive or the revengeful are likely to seek money compensation in such a situation.

More than a half century ago a legal writer¹ eloquently summed up both phases of the question when he said:

The action for breach of promise to marry applies the most prosaic of remedies to the most sentimental and romantic of complaints. The ashes are weighed on the cold altar after the sacred flame has gone out. Tender confidences, whispered protestations, the passionate phrases of love letters, all those mysterious signs and symbols which love dotes upon, are carefully put together by twelve plain jurymen to establish a transaction, as though the wooing of a human heart were like bargaining for a pair of lungs. . . .

We view the marriage engagement as a period of probation, so to speak, for both parties—their opportunity for finding one another out; and if that probation results in developing incompatibility of tastes and temperaments, coldness, suspicion, an incurable repugnance of one for the other, though all this may impute no vice to either, nor can afford matter for judicial demonstration, duty requires that the match be broken off.

This attitude is sociologically sound. Certainly, broken engagements are better than unhappy marriages. When one party to the engagement finds, in all honesty, that he no longer cares for the other enough to justify a lifelong marriage, it is undoubtedly better for the couple and for society that the engagement be broken than that a loveless and unstable union be formed. When Cupid concedes defeat, it is well to take heed. The little archer has no use for force. Likewise, the law will not enforce a marriage in which the consent of either party is obtained by threat or duress. Yet the threat of a breach-of-promise suit is sometimes hardly distinguishable from duress. When a man is given only two alternatives—marrying a person he does not wish to marry or paying heavy damages for refusing—he can hardly be said to act of his own free will. When the element of seduction is present, the picture is altered. The state will not allow seduction under promise to marry to go unpunished. But if civil liability or criminal prosecution (as the case might call for) were instituted *separately* for the seduction, it would doubtless secure a greater

¹ JAMES SCHOULER, *Breach of Promise of Marriage*, *So. Law Rev.*, n.s., 7: 57-67, 1881.

measure of justice for all concerned than when the breach-of-promise and seduction issues are blended.

What can be done to stop this polite type of blackmail? Writing from the viewpoint of law, but with the sociological insight characteristic of his great work on family law, Vernier contends that complete abolition of breach-of-promise suits would be for the best interests of society. They have already been abolished (except for strictly limited and definitely proved *material* loss) in most non-English speaking countries. But if such action appears too drastic for some, Vernier¹ shows how almost the same results could be obtained by regulation instead of abolition.

(1) Require written proof of the promise to marry in all cases; (2) require separate suits for seduction; (3) restrict the type of evidence admissible and require corroboration; (4) limit damages to material loss incurred on the faith of the promise; (5) if sentimental or punitive damages are allowed, place a low and arbitrary limit, *e.g.*, \$1,000.

Perhaps Vernier's last two points alone would go a long way toward solving the problem. If the plaintiff knew that she could obtain judgment for only the *material* loss incurred on the faith of the promise, with the addition of not more than \$1,000 for "sentimental damages," the number of suits would decline sharply. The outrageous size of some awards, however, holds out luscious promise to the unscrupulous, who resort to any trickery in order to maneuver themselves into a favorable position to sue. The very fact that the amount asked is frequently from \$100,000 up raises strong doubts as to the good faith of such suits. Frequently, heavy awards are granted, though sometimes they are reduced by higher courts. One of the largest was in 1929, when a Michigan jury returned a verdict for \$450,000 damages! Truly, the "bigger and better" movement has finally got around to the breach-of-promise suit. Perhaps our final step will be a "National Breach-of-promise Week," if there are any "National" weeks still available.

Not until very recently have the repeated attacks on the "heart-balm" abuse brought definite results, but 1935 was a banner year, with seven states abolishing breach-of-promise suits and another state following in 1937.² Not only have they made such suits illegal, but most of them have provided penalties for instituting them. Truly the picture has changed; the once predatory male is now seeking protection from the still predatory female, subtly cloaked in tearful disguise.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

² Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Colorado.

Marriageable Age. 1. *With Consent of Parents or Guardian.*—All the states require consent of one or both parents (or guardian) for young people below certain specified ages before they can marry. In most states this consent must be in writing, and in some states sworn to under oath together with one witness or more, but in others the consent may be given orally, which greatly simplifies evasion. Such evasion is particularly easy when the license clerk accepts “parental” consent over the telephone. Technically, such marriages can be annulled if fraud is proved, but frequently the parents are not disposed to take this step but prefer to wait and see how well the marriage succeeds.

The lower limit of this age period within which children must have parental consent to marry is often surprisingly low. In view of the American tendency to look with scorn upon child marriage in other countries, it is rather disturbing to realize that in 1930 there were 12 states in this country which permitted girls of 12 and (with one exception) boys of 14 to marry. Since then, however, about half of these states have raised their age requirements, so that it is no longer possible for a “man” of 14 and a “woman” of 12 to marry.¹ This does not mean that some of our states have passed laws permitting boys and girls at such tender ages to marry; they have merely passed no legislation at all, and the old common law, based on the Roman law, said to have been taken in turn from Constantinople, prevails. All the other states have passed specific legislation replacing the common law. The age standard generally adopted is 18 for males and 16 for females; the next most common is 16 and 14, then 18 and 15, then 17 and 14.

The 1930 census states that there were, in that year, 824 boys and 4,506 girls *under* 15 years of age and 903 boys and 15,378 girls in the 15-year-old group, making a total in 1930 of 21,611 boys and girls of 15 *years and under* who were or had been married. This is a relatively small number, compared with all marriages, but the problems raised by these married children are out of proportion to their number.²

BIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF CHILD MARRIAGE.—Though it is possible for girls to bear children as soon as they have reached puberty, it is not to their best interests to do so until they have attained most of their bodily growth. Most girls between the ages of 12 and 15 are still growing rapidly, and this maturing process should not be interrupted by preg-

¹ The minimum age at which young folk are allowed to marry should not be confused with the variously interpreted term “age of consent.” The minimum age at which marriage is allowed may or may not coincide with the age at which one can give consent to sexual intercourse, according to the statutes of the state in question. The two laws have separate origins but have been much confused by the public.

² See Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall, “Child Marriages,” New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1925.

nancy. Though girls of this age may give birth to normal babies, the physical strain on the young mother is great, not only during pregnancy when the nourishment must be divided between mother and child, but also in the nursing period. Even young women who have attained their full growth sometimes find the regaining of full strength after parturition a slow process. If, however, we are to permit child marriages, the usual procedure of allowing the girl to marry two years younger than the boy seems justified, in spite of the protests of those urging strict sex equality. For physiologists have now established the fact that during the teens girls are about two years ahead of boys in their development.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS.—A very large percentage of the girls who marry under 15 marry men much older than themselves—frequently, twice as old. This extreme disparity in age is not conducive to marital happiness, and a large number of such cases turn out badly, many ending in desertion or divorce. Frequently, very young girls are seduced and led into marriage by older men, who have no intention of remaining with their young wives for long. A girl of 12 is hardly capable of ordering her life intelligently in such important matters as mate selection and the assumption of the full duties of wife and household manager. To be sure, the consent of the parents is supposed to provide a balance to such immature judgment, but some parents are scarcely more mature than their children in such matters. Some consent to the marriage of their young daughters for their own selfish interests—either to be rid of their support or in the hope of having a new source of support for themselves when the prospective husband hints of “owning considerable property.”

If a mature person will attempt to project himself back into childhood, and recapture what little he can of his outlook on life at the age of 12 or 14, he will be appalled at the thought of what it would mean to be forced to assume, at that childish level and with nothing but childish equipment, the full duties of business life or household management, both tasks possibly complicated by parenthood. A girl of 12 is hardly through with her dolls, and a boy of 14 is barely graduated from playing bandit (it used to be Indian) in the back yard with his pals. The absurdity and inconsistency of the situation is apparent when we consider that a boy of 14, in a number of our states, is considered mature enough to choose and marry a partner for life and become a parent, but not for 7 more years is he considered capable of executing a valid deed for his home or legally contracting for household supplies. And if he moved into certain other states, he might find himself subject to school-attendance laws and could secure employment only by getting the written consent of the school authorities. And he would even be subject to local curfew laws!

2. *Without Consent of Parents or Guardian.*—The most common ages at which young folk can marry without parental consent are 21 for boys and 18 for girls, three-fifths of the jurisdictions adopting these figures. Fifteen jurisdictions specify the same age for both males and females, with eleven requiring age 21, one requiring age 20, and three setting 18 as the legal age.

Advance Notice of Marriage.—The custom of “publishing the banns,” that is, of giving public notice of intent to marry, is an old one. It was observed in a number of Christian countries even prior to 1215, when it was made mandatory in the Lateran Council. In France the custom has been observed since the ninth century. Along with many other social practices this European custom was brought to America by the colonists. The number of announcements and the period of time between the notice and marriage varied in the different colonies. The most common custom was to have the banns proclaimed three times, frequently on three successive Sundays, though in Pennsylvania the notice had to be posted on the door of either court or meetinghouse a month before the wedding. This requirement of advance notice of intention to wed lasted in this country until about the middle of the nineteenth century, and then, with one exception, it fell into disuse for nearly half a century. Maine was the one exception, being the only state in the union that has had such a law on its statute books continuously. In 1858, it repealed the old law, which required 14 days’ notice, and immediately substituted for it a 5 days’ notice.¹ No other state followed suit until 1897, when New Jersey took the step. Since then, state after state has come into line, until at the beginning of 1938 about half of the states required some form of advance notice. Many of these laws have been passed since 1930, in response to widespread agitation.

There are three kinds of advance-notice laws. The first and most usual type requires a waiting period between the application for a license and its issuance. The most common period is five days, although a number of states require only three days and one state only two. The second type places the waiting period between the issuance of the license and the marriage. This type is not very satisfactory, for it is too easily evaded. Many cases have been found where the officiant married the couple at once, dated the certificate five days ahead, and did not turn it in for filing until after the five days were up. The third type (used thus far by only one state) divides the waiting period, placing part of it before and part of it after the issuance of the license. There are certain flexible provisions in some of these laws. In most states the required advance notice can be reduced or entirely waived under circumstances

¹ MARY E. RICHMOND and FRED S. HALL, “Marriage and the State,” New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1929, Chap. 5

that satisfy the court, such as pregnancy of the woman or the urgent request of parents for good reason. In two states the waiting period applies only to nonresidents.

The purpose of the advance-notice law is clear. It aims to stop hasty marriages, drunken, fraudulent, or freak marriages, runaway marriages—in fact, any marriage that cannot stand the light of honest advance notice. Because of society's genuine concern for the stability of marriage and home it is not unreasonable to ask that marriage be entered into thoughtfully. One could hardly expect marriages contracted when the participants are drunk or because of a dare to be highly stable. The runaway marriages of minors are not known for their longevity. Fraudulent and otherwise illegal marriages do not usually possess the qualities likely to make them lasting. The more ill-advised the marriage, the greater the chances of breakup.

It is seldom a hardship for normal persons wishing to marry to let their intention be known several days in advance. There are a few bona fide exceptions, but it is not difficult to make provision for them. When good and satisfactory reasons can be given for not giving publicity to the filed intention of marriage, the purpose of the law can still be fulfilled, for compulsory publicity is not an essential feature of an advance-notice law. In most cases there is no reason why the applicants should not be allowed to submit complete verification of all information required of them in place of having the intended marriage advertised. If they can provide such verification, it serves the very same purpose as publicity, for it means that acceptable evidence has been produced that the candidates have satisfied every feature of the law. This allows elderly couples, persons much in the public eye, or any other couple, to avoid distasteful publicity. The evidence is submitted at the time of application, after which the couple must wait until the advance-notice period is over before the license is granted and they can marry; but meanwhile there has been no publicity. Dishonestly administered, such a provision could defeat the whole purpose of the law, but honestly administered, it provides privacy without evasion. Most laws depend upon the integrity of their administrators.

How efficient are such laws? Do they prevent at least some of the hasty, ill-advised marriages that would otherwise take place? There is considerable evidence that they do. Popenoe¹ studied the California situation some time after the law went into operation. In California a law requiring three days' notice went into effect June 27, 1927; even though the law was in operation only six months during that year, there were 3,000 fewer marriages than in 1926, and the three adjacent states

¹ PAUL POPENOE, *Some Effects of a State Law Requiring Delay before a Marriage License Is Issued*, *Jour. Soc. Hygiene*, 15: 449-456, November, 1929.

had unexpected increases. In 1928, during a full year of operation, there were 10,000 fewer marriages in California than in 1926, and again the adjoining states had increases, but not equal to California's loss. Assuming that part of this difference was accounted for by couples going to other than the bordering states, Popenoe figured that there were still a good many marriages (several hundred) actually prevented. It would appear that many of those who took the time and expense to travel hundreds of miles to avoid a three days' notice of intended marriage had urgent reasons for avoiding publicity. Perhaps some were merely avoiding the annoyance of overenthusiastic friends on such an occasion, but such a reason could not be seriously suggested for all the thousands of cases involved.

Getting at it in another way in a later study, Popenoe¹ states that in Los Angeles county alone "more than a thousand couples each year go to the courthouse and apply for a license to wed, and then do not take the trouble to come back three days later and get it. What happened to those abandoned romances would make an interesting investigation. . . . It is difficult to believe that any prospective marriage which has so little viability as to be destroyed by 72 hours' delay would have sufficient viability to endure for a lifetime afterward." Richmond and Hall cite case after case in which advance-notice laws prevented fraudulent, bigamous, and other illegal marriages. Non-age, feeble-mindedness, and epilepsy figure in many of the cases, and numerous prosecutions have resulted.

But in spite of the evident advantage of such laws, their enactment has raised storms of protests in many places. It is admitted that they are good from the standpoint of social welfare, but they are charged with committing the unpardonable sin—*hurting business*. License clerks, justices of the peace, jewelers, florists, hotelkeepers, and furniture dealers have all raised their voices against a law that "robs them of legitimate business." A few ministers, of the "marrying-parson" type, join the cry, but in general the clergy strongly support legislation aimed at marriage abuses. In some cases the opposition has resulted in outright repeal of the law. Nebraska passed a 10-day notice law in 1923, but it was soon repealed. More recently (1933), Idaho, Iowa, North Carolina, and Texas repealed their advance-notice laws, and in 1937 the Maryland law was delayed by a referendum backed by taxi drivers and "marrying parsons."²

¹ PAUL POPENOE and R. H. JOHNSON, "Applied Eugenics," rev. ed., New York, Macmillan, 1933, p. 183.

² GEOFFREY MAY and ROBERT BLINN, Legislative Trends in Family Law, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 2: 696-704, October, 1937.

The loss to business caused by such laws has probably been overestimated, for those who go across the state line to wed are not permanently driven out of the state. The California couples who travel all the way to Reno to avoid the "gin-marriage law" of their home state do not buy their household furniture in Reno to take back with them, though the Reno florists and jewelers may reap an extra harvest. But even if the business loss in a given state reaches a considerable sum, the law is doubtless worth it and in the long run may even be a money saver. Social gains cannot always be measured in dollars and cents, but for those insistent on such a yardstick it can be shown that the prevention of several hundred undesirable marriages each year might easily save a great deal of public expense in broken homes, court action, and care of children cast adrift from such ill-fated unions. Furthermore, as other states adopt similar laws, there will be no advantage in crossing state lines to evade the home law, and the gains will be more nearly net. The American Eugenics Society considers the adoption of such a law by all the states so important that it has made it one of the objectives of its platform.

Marriage Licenses.—If the state is to impose various regulations and prohibitions upon those seeking to marry, it must have an administrative means of granting or withholding the right to contract matrimony. The simplest way for the state to enforce its will on this question is to require of all candidates for marriage a license showing that all the qualifications have been met. Some of the states were slow to adopt the licensing system, but at present all of them, in addition to the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Alaska, have marriage-license laws. This does not mean, however, that in every state the license is essential to the validity of the marriage; for, although the law may prohibit any official or minister from marrying persons without a license, marriages that have evaded the laws may still be held valid in many states. Penalties are often provided for the official who illegally issues the license or for the one who illegally joins the couple, but the forbidden marriage, once consummated, is not invalid, unless the state law specifically declares it to be so. Common-law marriage is another evasion of the license law, and yet such marriage is valid in most states. Some states even specifically provide that noncompliance with the license law does not invalidate marriages that otherwise would be considered lawful. Three states permit banns to be published as a substitute for a license.¹ Also, Quakers are exempted from both license and ceremony laws in many of the states.² When a state forbids marriage without a license, then bestows

¹ Georgia, Maryland, and Ohio.

² VERNIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

its blessing upon those who spurn a license, it is much as if a referee told the players in a contest, "You *must* abide by the rules, but if you don't, I won't penalize you!"

The license is, or at least should be, the keystone to the whole structure of marriage regulation by the state, for it is supposed to be the proof that the applicants have met all state requirements as to age, parental consent, dissolution of previous marriage, physical and mental capacity, and like factors, and are given official sanction to wed. Naturally, the success of the administration of the law depends chiefly upon the integrity and efficiency of those persons who are authorized to issue licenses and the completeness of the information provided by the license. In most states only one person need apply for the license, a few require both parties to appear, and it is even possible in a few cases for a third person to make the application. Some states require only the unsupported statement of one or both applicants that all the requirements have been met, others require one or both to give such testimony under oath, and a few require also the affidavits of a third party. It is apparent that if the law is not to be evaded easily both parties should appear and be required to give proof, of a caliber that would be acceptable in court, that they have fulfilled all requirements. Such evidence is usually not difficult to provide, and since it is required in various matters of less social importance than marriage, there seems to be no good reason why it should not be required for marriage also.

It is extremely important that the marriage certificate, signed by officiant and witnesses, be returned to the issuing office, for it constitutes a permanent record that is often invaluable in later questions of inheritance, legitimacy, pension rights, etc. The officiant is responsible for making this return, and usually there is a penalty if the delay is beyond a certain length of time, varying from three days to three months. But in practice the delay often runs into years, and a great many returns are never made. A check up in one town showed that, of 3,600 licenses issued in one year, 800 were still unreturned three months later.¹

The success of the licensing system depends to a large extent upon the qualifications and integrity of the issuers. These are usually county clerks or other county officials, but in some cases city and town officials are responsible. Some officers are very conscientious, requiring both applicants to appear even when the law does not specifically demand it, but others make no use of their discretionary rights and give out licenses to youngsters without demanding proof of age. In some states where it is against the law for mental defectives to marry, the clerk will issue them a license if they will provide an affidavit that they are not feeble-minded, insane, or epileptic! They are sometimes encouraged in their

¹ RICHMOND and HALL, *op. cit.*

laxness by court officials. In one case the same court commissioner who had adjudged a girl feeble-minded officiated at her wedding a year later. Some of this evasion might be stopped if issuers were put on a salary basis instead of having to depend on fees for their remuneration, but higher qualifications for issuers are also needed.

The Marriage Officiant.—It will be remembered that in the New England colonies only civil officials could legally perform the marriage ceremony, whereas in the Southern colonies the religious ceremony was usual. Today nearly all the states permit either civil or religious authorities to solemnize marriages. Only two states, Maryland and West Virginia, restrict the right to religious officiants only. Among the civil officers authorized to solemnize marriage the justices of the peace are the ones most commonly performing the ceremony, although governors, mayors, judges, and various other officials are empowered to do so. In some places, even notaries public may officiate. One notary who was a jeweler found that the two phases of his work combined very nicely. About three-fourths of all marriages in the United States are performed by religious officiants, partly because many persons consider marriage a sacrament and partly because the civil ceremony is so frequently devoid of beauty and dignity that even those who are not very religious prefer the religious ceremony. Civil ceremonies are usually very brief and businesslike. In the municipal building in one great city, they are run through at the rate of 22 couples per hour.

It appears that the desire for money overlooks no avenue or bypath where it may be found. Certainly it has not overlooked the "marrying business," which was exploited in England as far back as the seventeenth century when, partly because of the expense of public marriages, the clandestine "Fleet marriages" became such a scandal. The Hardwicke Act of 1753, which made void any marriage that should thereafter be solemnized otherwise than in a church or public chapel where the banns had been published (except when a special license was issued), sought to put an end to irregular marriages. But this did not stop marriage exploitation; it merely changed the form. With the discontinuance of Fleet marriages, eloping couples and others unable to meet the full requirements of marriage in England hastened to Gretna Green, a little village just across the border in Scotland. Here they could be married for a fee ranging from half a guinea up, according to the apparent ability of the applicant to pay. No clergyman was required, the Scotch law merely requiring that the couple declare their intentions in the presence of a witness. The fees were paid to the witnesses. This flourishing business increased rapidly, and the fame of Gretna Green lasted for nearly a century. In 1856, however, the lax Scottish law was revised so that at least one party to the marriage was required to reside in Scotland for

three weeks previous to the marriage. Recently there has been considerable agitation in Scotland to abolish these "over-the-anvil" marriages, and it is possible that the original Gretna Green may yield the palm to some of its numerous offspring in this country.

There are a good many Gretna Greens (or "marriage-market towns") in the United States, where the officiants have commercialized the marriage ceremony to the *n*th degree. A few years ago 57 such towns were found in 29 states, and there are probably others. Some are near the borders of states having advance-notice laws, and others are near great cities from which they can draw their trade. Those responsible for the marrying reputation of these towns advertise widely the opportunity for quick and easy marriage any hour of the day or night, and they find that "it pays to advertise." Most ministers and civil officiants will not stoop to such tactics, for they take seriously the responsibility with which the state has entrusted them. Unfortunately, however, there are a few exceptions in both groups, who are so greedy for fees that they have gone to the most disgusting lengths to "get business." This exploitation of the marriage ceremony has been described vividly by Richmond and Hall,¹ but we need give here only a few illustrations of the main abuses, which show clearly the need for reform.

Two of the most famous of these Gretna Greens have been Crown Point, Ind., and Elkton, Md., the former serving Chicago and the other catering to New York and Philadelphia. Several of the writer's students have reported that in driving through Elkton with girl friends they were accosted by men who jumped on the running board while the car was stopped at a traffic light and offered to take them to someone who would marry them at once. But the glory of these two towns is past. In Crown Point an old statute of 1842, forbidding the granting of a wedding license to a nonresident woman, was recently dug up and sustained by the supreme court. Elkton's lucrative marrying business came to an end in the fall of 1938, when Maryland's advance-notice law, held up a year by injunction, was overwhelmingly supported in a referendum. The "decline" had set in several years earlier, when the city passed a law against marriage advertising and the two "marrying parsons" sadly watched their billboards torn down. However, a new star is rising in the East. A little town of 6,000 people put more than 8,000 out-of-state couples through its marriage mill in 1936, and it seems to be just getting a good start.

In one marriage-market town, in the earlier days, every incoming train was watched by taximen for prospective brides and grooms, the trainmen even signaling them how many love-smitten couples were believed to be on the trains. When they began to come chiefly by auto,

¹ *On. cit.*, Chaps. 4, 10, and 13.

the taximen stationed scouts on the main roads leading into town, who reported any couples who appeared to be on the verge of marriage. The taximen took the couples, whenever possible, to one of two or three clergymen who split the fees with them. One of these clergymen lost his pastorate because his people disapproved of his activities, a second was unfrocked by his church for the same reason, and the third was without a pastorate. Out of a sample of 100 consecutive licenses issued in this town, 97 were for couples residing outside the county, 86 of these also residing outside the state.

In another such town the justices of the peace were the offenders. Six marrying justices opened a centrally located building, designated by a huge sign as a "marriage parlor." At least one justice was in attendance every day and evening, and the income was divided. A couple could be married for \$3, and, for \$3 more, notice of the marriage would be kept out of the newspapers. One of the justices handed out business cards stating, "Weddings kept secret if desired. All weddings strictly private." In this town, 94 out of a sample of 100 consecutive marriage licenses issued were for couples living in other counties, and 79 of these were from other states.

Both in and out of marriage-market towns one finds the amazing lengths to which marriage officials will go to secure trade. Frequently, the marriage justices loiter in the corridors of the courthouse, ready to pounce on the couples as they come from the license office. In one town they crowded into the license office itself and almost fought over their quarry, until this disgraceful practice was stopped by denying them admission. Some have sentimental verses on the business cards they hand out. One even issued blotters with his picture, address and telephone number, together with this cordial invitation: "The Great White Way Marrying Parlors of Justice _____. You will be welcome any hour of the day or night any day in the year. See the famous Horseshoe and Bell, under which nearly 10,000 couples have been made husband and wife. Don't miss the chance of your lifetime. Drop in when you are in _____."¹ Another marriage parlor had a sign, "Justice of the Peace—Marry you in two minutes," and a notice stating that if not in the office the justice "can be called at telephone No. ____ and for sudden service can get here in five minutes." Another justice put up streetcar advertisements, using sentimental doggerel and giving his address and telephone number. One retired clergyman set up a marrying office in a vacant room of the courthouse, until driven out. Another had three signs on his house and lawn, and still another advertised in the local telephone book that he would marry people secretly. In some states, it is illegal for marriage officials to advertise or make any

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

effort to secure weddings. However, this law is frequently evaded: in one town the justices merely advertised that they were "at home evenings." The income does not always come entirely from "throwing the weddings," as it is called, but from selling "accessories" as well. These consist of such things as a framed unofficial certificate with red roses on it, or a bride book with poetry; a quarter extra will sometimes provide a wedding march played on the phonograph.

This is a sordid picture, but it is not all dark. The church has not always dealt so effectively as it might with ministers who commercialize the wedding ceremony, but the fact that most of the marrying parsons are "retired" and that others have been unfrocked for their activities is evidence of the church's strong disapproval of making a farce of marriage. Also, the theological seminaries are laying more stress on the clergyman's responsibility as a celebrant of marriages. It is encouraging to report the conscientious care with which most ministers obtain full information before marrying a couple, promptly refusing to officiate if there is the slightest evidence of irregularity. Some refuse to marry persons who have not known each other for at least several months or persons from another state who are entire strangers to them. The Roman Catholic church has for its clergy perhaps the strictest and most uniform set of regulations regarding marriage, but various Protestant and Jewish bodies also have strict regulations. Various denominations have frequently joined in demanding better marriage laws, ministerial associations have been influential in breaking up shameful practices in marriage-market towns, and in several states interdenominational effort has won advance-notice laws.

The commercialization of the marriage ceremony by civil officials can be controlled by law. Since justices of the peace are the worst offenders, only those justices who are specially commissioned should be allowed to solemnize marriages and they should receive for their service a fixed salary. If the law required these selected justices to turn over all fees to the county, city, or town and prohibited them from accepting any gratuities whatever, the greatest incentive to abuse would be abolished. Furthermore, if there were greater state supervision all along the line many of the antisocial practices could be more easily stamped out.¹

Common-law Marriage.—A common-law marriage is one that is based entirely upon the mutual consent of the parties and is not solemnized by any particular form. Such nonceremonial marriages were quite common throughout medieval Europe but were abolished in all Roman Catholic countries by the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) which required all marriages to be contracted before a priest and

¹ See *ibid.*, Chaps. 15–16.

several witnesses. But since Protestant countries did not recognize Roman Catholic decrees, common-law marriages continued to be recognized for almost two centuries longer. True, there were certain distinctions made between common-law and regularly solemnized marriages; the former were recognized as complete in substance but not in ceremony. The woman was not entitled to dower, nor could the children inherit property, though they were considered legitimate. If, at any time, common-law couples wished to regularize their marriages on all points, they had to have the regular ecclesiastical ceremony performed. In 1753, Lord Hardwicke's Act not only checked the Fleet marriages, as we have seen, but also did away with common-law marriage. But since the act applied only to England and not to Scotland, there arose the Gretna Green marriages already described.

In the United States, common-law marriage is still tolerated, even though no sound reason can be set forth for its continuance. Though many of the state laws are very vague on the subject it is the opinion of competent legal authorities that common-law marriage is valid in 22 of the 48 states and in the District of Columbia. The various state laws regarding common-law marriage may be grouped as follows: (1) those which specifically declare common-law marriage to be valid, (2) those which recognize the validity of marriage in which not all the imposed regulations have been observed, (3) those which impose marriage regulations of one kind or another but do not specifically declare all marriages otherwise solemnized as invalid (this is the largest group), (4) those declaring void any marriage not following the prescribed regulations, and (5) those few—only a handful—which unconditionally state that common-law marriages are invalid.¹ This tangled web of statute law, to say nothing of the even more tangled case law, is inexcusable. Whatever the stand of the state on the question, it should be in terms so clear-cut as to allow only one interpretation. Instead, the laws are so incomplete and the court interpretations so diversified that confusion prevails. States with almost identical marriage laws have had completely opposite decisions on common-law marriage handed down by the judiciary; and, even in the same state, different courts have made contradictory interpretations.

The question is being increasingly asked why this anachronism—a marriage unlicensed, unrecorded, and uncounted, but recognized as valid—is allowed to exist. Why should all the states take pains to set up more or less elaborate rules of procedure regarding marriage, and then half of them accept the validity of unions that have flouted all these provisions? The sentiment in favor of recognizing common-law marriage seems to be based chiefly upon the argument of protecting innocent

¹ VERNIER, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 103.

children from the stigma of illegitimacy. This point, however, has been overemphasized, for common-law marriages are not definitely established as valid until some question arises and a judicial determination of the exact relationship is necessary. If no such question arises, the marriage is never validated, and when it does arise it is frequently too late (sometimes after the death of one of the parties) to be of much help to the social standing of the children.

At present the weight of informed opinion is in favor of the abolition of common-law marriage. It is a constant source of trouble. With no record of the marriage existing, what is to determine the inheritance of property, the right of a widow to compensation, or a dozen other matters that must rest upon legal records of relationship? The state merely waits, allowing its regulations to be ignored, until an important question brings the matter to court. Then it must expend taxpayers' money and add to an already overcrowded court calendar to establish the matter of relationship. If two people wish to show their contempt for society's rules of the game by living as man and wife without marriage, they may do so. But is it not poor sportmanship, to say the least, for them to come begging for the referee's protection at the first sign of trouble? Furthermore, the recognition of common-law marriage encourages the most detestable of practices—blackmail. Says one authority:¹

The existence of common-law marriage often opens the door to blackmail. After the death of a man it is frequently possible for his mistress to claim the rights of a common-law wife. On the other hand, if the claims based upon illicit relations are presented during the lives of the parties, a subsequent ceremonial marriage of one of them may be made bigamous and the children bastardized. The recognition of common-law marriages thus involves fundamental moral and practical dilemmas. The experience of the Federal Bureau of War Risk Insurance with many claims of informal unions is particularly interesting. The family allowances granted to wives of soldiers resulted in the filing of many applications by women who claimed to be common-law wives but who, in the opinion of the officials, had in the majority of cases, little right to the title.

In spite of the social disadvantages of recognizing common-law marriage, only four states² have enacted laws unconditionally declaring common-law marriages null and void; but two states³ have by judicial decision declared it invalid; and six jurisdictions⁴ seem to dispose of it effectively by laws stating that marriages contracted without proper solemnization or license are null and void.⁵ It is almost certain that

¹ A. C. JACOBS, *Common Law Marriage*, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York, Macmillan, 1931, Vol. 4, p. 58.

² Arizona, Illinois, Missouri, New York.

³ Nebraska, New Mexico.

⁴ Alaska, Connecticut, Kentucky, Louisiana, Nebraska, Utah.

⁵ See Vernier, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 104, and supplement, pp. 15-16.

other states will eventually take similar action, for the abolition of common-law marriage is advocated by the American Bar Association on Uniform State Laws and by many authorities in the field of social reform.

Annulment.—Divorce terminates marriages that have been legally recognized, whereas annulment is merely a judicial declaration that no valid marriage ever existed between the parties in question. All of the states provide for annulment, the most common grounds being: non-age, mental incapacity, force or duress, consanguinity or affinity, miscegenation, and fraud of some other kind such as concealment of insanity, impotency, conviction of a felony, and prior undissolved marriage. In general these grounds coincide, as would be expected, with the causes for which marriages are prohibited. In 1932, nearly nine-tenths of all the annulments in the country were for three causes:

	Per Cent
Fraudulent representation	37.7
Bigamy	25.1
Under legal age . . .	24.5
	<u>87.3</u>

There were in that year 3,903 annulments, compared with 159,710 divorces, a ratio of 1 to 41.

The average duration of marriages ending in annulment is very short, for as the Bureau of the Census points out, the cause of the annulment exists at the time of the marriage.

TABLE III.—THE DURATION OF MARRIAGES ENDING IN ANNULMENT OR DIVORCE, IN THE UNITED STATES, 1932

Duration of marriage	Percentage	
	Annulment	Divorce
Less than 1 year . . .	33.5	3.9
1 year	19.1	7.0
2 years	12.2	8.3
3 years	7.8	9.5
4 years	5.7	8.0
Under 5 years	78.3	35.7

A glance at Table III shows that one-third of these marriages last less than one year, whereas only one twenty-fifth of the divorces come as quickly. Almost a fifth more of the annulled marriages last only one year, and nearly four-fifths terminate within five years.

Children born of annulled marriages fare variously in the different states. Under the English common law, the children of annulled mar-

riages were illegitimate, and since we have based our American law largely upon this common law it follows that this harsh provision applies in states that have no statutes to the contrary. Forty-one of our 51 jurisdictions have to some extent modified the common law on this subject. Fortunately, the most commonly adopted policy (23 jurisdictions) is also the most liberal, clearly declaring the children of null marriages to be legitimate. The other 18 of the 41 are less generous, limiting legitimacy to the children of marriages that were annulled for certain reasons only. Eleven states have passed laws declaring the children of *certain* prohibited marriages to be illegitimate. Ten have no specific legislation on the subject, which means that the offspring of annulled marriages are left under the cloud of illegitimacy.

The personal rights of both parties in annulment must be protected, their property disputes must be settled, any children resulting from the union must be provided for, and society's interests must be guarded. These are some of the justifications for treating annulment somewhat like divorce, for many of the problems arising are very similar in these two types of marriage dissolution. Regarding property, for example, justice may not be done in every case by merely restoring the *status quo*. In such cases, annulment must be treated more nearly as divorce, providing for either temporary or permanent alimony or such distribution of property as will assure a measure of support. Eleven states provide for permanent alimony in one or more situations, and four more for temporary alimony. The distribution of property is specifically provided for in some states and in others is left to the ruling of the court.

Marriage Evasion Laws.—It has been shown that, although many couples have wholly legitimate reasons for wishing to marry outside their own state, many others are seeking to avoid some requirement which they either cannot or do not wish to meet. They may be under age or unable to furnish a satisfactory medical certificate; they may not wish to wait the three to five days required by an advance-notice law, or they may wish to marry immediately after divorce, without waiting the prescribed period. These and other provisions of their own state laws can usually be evaded by going to another state. We have also seen that strict marriage laws in one state temporarily penalize it from a financial standpoint when the adjacent states have easy marriage laws. But this penalty is insignificant compared with the larger loss of the state's control over the marriage of its citizens. Neighbor states with lax laws may deprive a state of its rights as surely as if they legislated directly against it, practically nullifying any progressive measures it may take. This discourages some states from passing legislation for which they are otherwise ready. Some form of interstate cooperation has long been needed. With federal legislation of doubtful expediency,

the only way of dealing with the matter at present is by some sort of agreement between states that are interested. It is not unknown for a state to pass a law in order to help a neighboring state enforce its own law. An interesting case of this kind occurred in New England, where all but two of the states (one of them Rhode Island) require a waiting period between application for marriage license and license issuance and these two require it between issuance and ceremony. Before it passed the new law, Rhode Island was getting a good many couples from Massachusetts, who came to evade the five days' wait that their home state imposed. This was a source of income to Rhode Island; yet to help Massachusetts enforce its law, Rhode Island adopted a measure requiring a five days' delay between license issuance and marriage, but applying only in cases *where the woman was a nonresident of Rhode Island*. Thus, without placing any new requirement on its own people Rhode Island helped a neighbor state maintain control over its citizens. If blocks of states could work out some form of cooperative arrangement, the present amount of migratory marriage could be greatly lessened without imposing absolute uniformity on the states. At present only five states have the Uniform Marriage Evasion Act, and the provisions of this supposedly model act are so inadequate that they have little effect, being limited to "void" marriages, which are very few in number. Marriages are *prohibited* for many reasons, but *void* for very few, usually only for bigamy and for incest. Altogether 17 states have some form of marriage evasion acts, and although these vary considerably in form and effectiveness they are an effort in the right direction. However, the advance-notice law is probably more effective in preventing evasion than is the marriage evasion law itself. If it should spread to most of the states (particularly if linked with reasonable residence requirements), it would make the adoption of direct marriage evasion laws relatively unimportant.¹

THE QUESTION OF UNIFORM MARRIAGE LAWS

The foregoing pages have disclosed the amazing variety of statutes in almost every phase of marriage regulation. We live in a veritable labyrinth of marriage laws, and even the well informed sometimes have difficulty in finding their way about. The relatively few who consciously seek to evade the laws slip here and there among the devious byways, led by their shrewd legal advisors and pursued by officers of the state. Whether the officers make their catch or not, the attitude of the public is chiefly one of amusement. In spite of the social implications it is merely an entertaining chase; no matter how seriously one takes one's

¹ For a description of the workings of the evasion act see Richmond and Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-197.

own marriage, the marital adventures of others are usually funny. One must admit that the *possibilities* of our laws are funny. The marital status of a man may change with kaleidoscopic swiftness as he crosses state borders. A present instance is found in three adjoining states; the same man by merely traveling across these states may be a legally married man, a single man, and a bigamist in turn, all within a distance of 15 miles. Doubtless the psychiatrists would advise only those of the most phlegmatic disposition to take such risk of emotional disorganization, for such legal magic is disconcerting, to say the least. A few years ago a "marriage-law sleuth" was reported by Robert Grant¹ in the *Yale Review* as declaring it possible for "an enterprising man, not averse to interstate travel, to accumulate by moderate diligence seven wives in as many different states of the Union . . . without breach of law so as to subject himself to criminal process."

There are very few persons who would not agree that it is socially desirable to clear up as much of this legal confusion as possible. But there is sharp disagreement as to how near to uniformity we should approach and by what means the approach should be made. Two methods have been proposed. One is the passing of a federal marriage and divorce law and the other is the adoption of a model law by all of the state legislatures. Let us look at the arguments for and against the first proposal.

The chief advantages of a federal marriage and divorce law would be:

1. It would end the confusion now existing and make the marriage laws intelligible to all.
2. It would remove the opportunity for wholesale evasion of state laws.
3. It would remove the economic advantage that states with lax laws have over states with strict laws.
4. It would decrease the number of court cases, thus saving much public and private expense, to say nothing of personal discomfort.

The chief disadvantages of such a federal law would be:

1. It would probably be declared unconstitutional as a violation of states' rights.
2. It would attempt to force an artificial *legal* uniformity of practice where there is no natural *social* uniformity of thought or need.
3. Although it would prevent the present legal side-stepping of the law, it might increase direct violation, for a law is frequently unenforceable in sections where the prevailing sentiment is strongly against it. The clash would engender bitterness and strife.

Before a federal marriage bill could stand the court test, it would be necessary to get an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress the right to legislate on this subject. Senator Capper,² of Kansas, intro-

¹ ROBERT GRANT, *Marriage and Divorce*, *Yale Rev.*, 14: 223-238, January, 1925.

² Senator Capper introduced his first uniform marriage bill in 1923, backed by the General Federation of Women's Clubs and various other organizations. It received

duced a joint resolution¹ in the Senate late in 1937, proposing the following amendment to the Constitution: "The Congress shall have power to make laws, which shall be uniform throughout the United States, on marriage and divorce, the legitimation of children, and the care and custody of children affected by annulment of marriage or by divorce." At the same time the Senator introduced a Senate bill² with the detailed provisions of the marriage legislation he proposes.

The sincere efforts of Senator Capper to bring order into our marriage-law chaos and the type of organizations backing him make it worth while to note the outstanding features of his bill. It permits both ministers and civil officiants to perform the ceremony (or marriage may be without an officiant, if license has been issued and declaration is made before witnesses according to custom of religious sect). The usual prohibitions are made, against insane, feeble-minded, epileptic persons, paupers, or those infected with tuberculosis or venereal disease marrying. The usual consanguinity prohibitions are included, except that brother-sister marriages are not mentioned. The lower marriage ages with consent are 18 for males and 16 for females, and without consent, 21 and 18. Advance notice of two weeks must be given by at least one applicant, and not less than 10 days before issuance of the license both applicants must provide the clerk with full data under oath. The license is good for one year. The wedding requires two witnesses. The officiant must return the certificate within 30 days after the ceremony. Marriages made in contradiction to the requirements are automatically void, but with certain exceptions protecting persons who acted in good faith, even though in error.

Such a uniform law has many things in its favor, and many of those who may oppose its passage may *wish* it could be operative for the whole country. But as long as the mores in the different sections of the country are so widely different, it is doubtful whether an amendment to the Constitution could be passed at this time. The Capper law would raise the age limit for marriage (with consent) in more than half the states, in some of them by as much as four years; it would raise the age limit (without consent) in several states, and lower it (for females) in a dozen states. It is likely to take considerable public education before some sections are willing to make such changes, desirable as they may be from the viewpoint of social scientists.

However, even though the states may refuse to conform on such a basic question as who shall be permitted to marry, there should be little

some encouragement at first, but was soon sidetracked. It has been introduced repeatedly since then but has never made much headway.

¹ S. J. Res. 234.

² S. 3098.

objection to uniformity on *procedural* matters. If the data required on the application license could be reasonably full and uniform, that alone would be an important gain. To go a step further, if the type of certificate, the time limit for its return, and the system of records in the license offices could be uniform, this uniformity would constitute another gain, and without serious hardship to anyone. Finally, if there could be even *near* uniformity on the matter of the controversial subject of advance notice, most of the battle would be won. Uniformity is not desirable *per se* and is justifiable only if the uniform standard is high. Diversity is infinitely better than uniformity secured by lowering the standards to the laggards' level.

The other method of reaching the desired end of greater uniformity is to get the separate states to adopt a model marriage and divorce law. This is not open to the same objections as the federal law, for only those states which were ready for such a law would adopt it at once. In the other states, educational campaigns would need to be carried on for varying lengths of time, until public opinion would support the new measures. This process admittedly is slow but is much safer than the other. To date, it has made so little progress that its sponsors doubtless have cause for discouragement, but it is entirely possible that it will slowly gather momentum. Uniform acts have been drawn on such topics as marriage and marriage licenses, annulment, divorce, desertion, illegitimacy, marriage evasion, and others. No state thus far has adopted all the 9 uniform acts relating to family law; only 2 have adopted a majority (Louisiana 5, Wisconsin 8), and 18 have adopted none. The average is a fraction under 2. Thirty states, plus Alaska and Hawaii, have adopted at least 1 of the acts. The most popular one, dealing with desertion and nonsupport, has been accepted by 20 jurisdictions. No other act has been adopted by more than 5 jurisdictions, and some by only 1. Furthermore, a few of the states have modified the acts, to some degree, before or after adoption. Clearly, uniformity of family law is yet a dream. Yet so much is at stake that even the small progress made thus far is worth while. Wisconsin is to be commended for leading the procession, with 8 of the 9 acts adopted. As the advantages of these uniform laws win support in state after state, the rate of their acceptance may be increased by the sheer prestige of numbers, and we may yet see the present hodgepodge of marriage laws give way to proved measures in all sections of the country.

Selected Readings

HALL, F. S., and E. W. BROOKS: "American Marriage Laws in Their Social Aspects," New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1919. (Good for comparing with present laws.)

- MAY, GEOFFREY: "Marriage Laws and Decisions in the United States," New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1929.
- , and ROBERT BLINN: Legislative Trends in Family Law, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 2: 696-704, October, 1937.
- RICHMOND, MARY E., and F. S. HALL: "Child Marriages," New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1925.
- VERNIER, CHESTER G.: "American Family Laws," 5 vols. and supplement, Stanford University Press, 1931-1938. (This is the latest and most complete work available. The supplement brings all data up to Jan. 1, 1938. This work is more than a compilation of laws; it contains considerable interpretation and indicates needed changes.)

Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. Look up the marriage laws of your own state; marriage prohibitions, age limit both with and without parental consent, waiting period if any, physical examination if any, regulation on returning the certificate, etc. How progressive is your state? What immediate changes would you suggest, if any?
2. Are there any Gretna Greens in your state? If so, get what data you can on such a town, number of marriages per year, percentage from out of the county or state, etc.
3. See if you can uncover any valid reasons why New York and California grant more annulments than all the other 46 states put together. Is it because New York has only one ground for divorce? (South Carolina has *none*, and yet its annulment rate is only about one-fifth that of New York.) Is it because California grants an interlocutory divorce decree? (So do three other states, but their annulment rates are very low compared with California's.) Nor do New York or California have more grounds for annulment than some of the other states.
4. In your own city, find out to what extent the marriage-license-issuing office makes any attempt to stop feeble-minded persons from marrying. If the information is unobtainable at the license office, the charity or welfare societies will be able to cite cases from their records.
5. If you know an annulment case, write it up, giving: ages; duration of marriage; cause for which annulment was granted; property disposition or support granted, if any; etc.
6. Write your senator in Washington, D.C., for a copy of the Capper bill (S.3098), giving in detail the proposed uniform federal marriage and divorce law. Compare the measure, point by point, with your own state law, and see how many and how great changes it would bring in your state. Would you favor all or most of these changes?
7. If your state has an advance-notice law, get statistics on the number of marriages in the last year before the law was passed, and compare with the number in the first year after it was passed. If there is a marked decrease, too great to be accounted for on other grounds, see if there were gains in the bordering states.

CHAPTER VI

MATE SELECTION AND COURTSHIP

Among animals, mate selection is a natural phenomenon, but with man the choice of a mate is restricted in many ways. It is probably true that during the greater part of recorded history the two parties most directly concerned with a given marriage had little or no choice in the matter. The process of natural selection was blocked, or at least was made secondary rather than primary, for choice rested not with the principals but with those who dominated them. This meant that two somewhat different sets of values often were involved, for though both parents and offspring were products of the same social milieu and therefore their values could not be entirely different, their order of emphasis might be very different. Young folk are likely to emphasize those personality factors that appeal to youth when confidence is unlimited and responsibilities are only vague shadows of the future, whereas parents, weary and cautious from the struggle of life, are more likely to rank the practical economic and social factors first. This was a common procedure through the ages, but in this country today parents are fast relinquishing their control on the marriage choices of their children. Even the law forbids marriage under duress, and young people have a freedom of choice in sharp contrast with the past and constituting a direct reversal in custom.

This does not imply that such practice is necessarily best; it is merely a statement of cultural change. Youth is, of course, sure that change denotes progress, but many of the elders deplore the costly errors of immaturity which they say the change makes possible. But the trend continues inexorably; for it does not involve an isolated struggle in a separate eddy of life but is part and parcel of the whole stream of social change in which democracy, mobility, the rise of the machine, and many other factors are transforming our culture into new patterns, with the parental-dominance design becoming constantly less conspicuous. And now that young folk have attained considerable personal freedom in choosing their mates, are the final results much different? How is selection made under this new regime of freedom? It must be remembered that both the individual and his family are products of their time; hence, there will be no wholesale substitution of one set of values for another. Furthermore, chance ever plays a clever role in this fascinating

game, but being unpredictable it can have little part in this discussion. Again, part of the actual process of selection is wholly unconscious, which does not make it any the less bona fide selection. A brief analysis of two types of selection—assortative and preferential—will make these points clearer.

ASSORTATIVE MATING

By assortative mating is meant the conscious or unconscious tendency of an individual to select a mate having certain characteristics similar to his own. These may be physical, such as stature, complexion, hair color, or eye color, or psychic, such as intelligence, vivacity, or disposition. It is an established fact that there is a general tendency (though not yet proved for every species) toward assortative mating or homogamy in nature, extending even to one-celled animals which show assortative mating based on size.

Physical Characters.—Among human beings there is evidence that assortative mating exists to a certain extent, but other factors are more likely to disrupt it than is the case with the lower animals. There has been relatively little research in this field; hence, the findings are meager. In a study of assortative mating in a homogeneous group (including comparison with a control group), Schiller¹ found that for physical characteristics the age coefficient was high enough to indicate a definite selective tendency in this respect. Karl Pearson, in one of the earliest studies of the subject, found some degree of assortative mating for height, the coefficient of correlation being $+.28$. This means that a man above the average height is likely to marry a woman taller than the average but that she will exceed the norm by only about one-fourth as much as her husband does. Thus, the popular notion that tall men usually marry short women and tall women marry short men is fallacious. Those couples of great disparity of stature, when seen on the street, draw attention, whereas the normally matched do not. Boas found a small tendency toward assortative mating for cephalic index, but too slight to be significant. There have also been studies showing some degree of assortative mating for hair and eye color, general health, weight, and physical defect. Harris² found the coefficient of correlation for deafness more nearly perfect than for any other known character. This is natural, for the deaf are drawn to each other by strong bonds of sympathy and understanding. Statistics show that when deaf persons marry the union is happier than when a deaf person marries one who is

¹ B. SCHILLER, A Quantitative Analysis of Marriage Selection in a Small Group, *Jour. Soc. Psychology*, 8: 297-319, August, 1932.

² J. ARTHUR HARRIS, Assortative Mating in Man, *Popular Science Monthly*, 80: 476-492, May, 1912.

normal. But because so much deafness is inherited, such marriages, if fertile, are dysgenic.

Psychosocial Characters.—Assortative mating for social and psychic characters is highest for general intelligence, different studies showing a positive correlation ranging from $+.33$ to $+.70$. (This will later be seen to coincide with preferential mating on this point.) It may be that the selection here is indirect, for it is well known that there is a tendency to select in marriage a person of like social and economic status, which factors may be to some extent correlated with intelligence. However, the end results are similar, whether the correlation is direct or indirect.¹ There is evidence from several types of studies that women more often than men select their mates for intelligence, probably on both assortative and preferential bases. Since, under our custom, men have the more aggressive role in mate selection, the correlation is not so high on the intelligence factor as it would be if women took the lead in selection. From the eugenic viewpoint the present arrangement is undesirable, for not only is the male far more subject to biological defect than the female, but we have in this country a million more males than females. Under the eugenic ideal this surplus of males would consist of the defectives. This is already true to a considerable degree, as shown by the large proportion of males in our institutions for defectives of one kind or another. But, unfortunately from the eugenic standpoint, this million surplus also contains a good many normal men who presumably would make good husbands and fathers.

Schiller found no definite correlation for temperament, though Elderton found a slight one, somewhat higher for the calm reserved type than for the more sympathetic, demonstrative type. This latter finding agrees with a Dutch study² of preferential mating. On such mental traits as association reactions, arithmetic reasoning, information, and opinion Schiller found a small degree of correlation operative through homogamy, but none on vocabulary.

On the whole, such limited research as there is shows a distinct tendency toward assortative mating in man on a number of characteristics, though its amount has not been definitely established. It should also be remembered that practically all studies of assortative mating, as far as psychic factors are concerned, have one inherent weakness—they study persons already married. It would be better to study only those persons who have made their selection but who have not yet lived together in the close contacts of married life, in which each affects the

¹ PAUL POPENOE and R. H. JOHNSON, "Applied Eugenics," rev. ed., Macmillan, New York, 1933, p. 103.

² G. SCHMICH, Die Auslesewirkung der Ehe, *Neue Generation*, 27: 82-89, April-June, 1931.

mental skills, attitudes, and emotional responses of the other. But even such a study could not be perfect, for some couples would, just before marriage, fall out with each other and select new partners whose characteristics would not coincide with those already tabulated in the study. The vagaries of love allow short shrift to science.

PREFERENTIAL MATING

By preferential mating is meant the conscious or unconscious choice of a mate because of certain desirable characteristics, whether or not these are possessed to any marked degree by the one doing the choosing. In assortative mating, much of the selection is unconscious, but in preferential mating a large share of it is conscious and thus more amenable to social influence, particularly education. But even here part of the process is unconscious, for individuals absorb much of their social thought from innumerable sources, some of which seldom come to the foreground of attention.

Similar social and economic status is undoubtedly a large factor in selection, not only because of consciousness of kind and the comfort of the familiar but also because one's acquaintanceship usually lies mostly within one's own class and the laws of numbers play their role well. There follow the more personal characteristics, such as beauty, disposition, vivacity, intelligence, health, stability, and a host of others. These will be rated differently by different social groups, and the ratings may change at different periods in time. Beauty is practically always desired but, of necessity, not always insisted upon. Also, it is well that individual standards of beauty vary as much as they do, for many a person who would rate low in a professional beauty contest can qualify as beautiful to someone. Beauty is such an elusive, indefinable attribute that it need not wholly depend upon regularity of features and conformity to an accepted type but is determined partly by the reflection of personality through face and body, revealing such factors as animation, kindness, courage, and grace of movement.

But it is impossible to compose a list of attributes that a person must have in order to be a successful husband or wife. The press has frequently exploited the subject through "love columns" as well as through the sensational statements of notoriety seekers. One of these, a doctor of some standing, warns young men against marrying a girl who cannot run 100 yards in 13 seconds. Presumably, this is merely a test of good health rather than ability to keep out of reach of said husband when in an irate mood. Anyway, the husband supposedly travels in another medium, for girls are adjured to pick husbands who can swim 25 yards in 30 seconds. One writer insists that the young man select a college graduate if possible, but another says that college women make

the worst wives in the world. There are innumerable lists with names like "Ten Rules for Choosing a Husband (or Wife)" which include such banalities as "He must not be jealous," "He should not be conceited or tactless," "He should be willing to let his wife audit his accounts"; "She should be charming, clever, and entertaining, always neat in appearance, thrifty" in other words, a mate should be a paragon of virtue and grace.

Granted that these lists contain many admirable characteristics, as well as negative ones to be shunned, the absurdity is not so much in their innocuous enumeration as in the authoritative assumption that this or that list is the perfect guide and that unhappiness will result from the choice of a person who does not measure up. It is worth while to analyze certain characteristics that frequently have great influence one way or another, for youth needs all the enlightenment it can get on this difficult question, but to make arbitrary lists that can automatically sort out the successful or unsuccessful prospects is patently impossible. Link refers to an article by Dr. Arthur Frank Payne in which the latter claims that many domestic tragedies have resulted from young men marrying brunettes when they really preferred blondes. He asserts that psychology has definitely proved that each individual has a "marriage-partner pattern." Link will have none of such a simple solution. He insists that psychology has not and probably will not discover exact patterns that will guarantee happy marriage but that we do know what some of the personal characteristics are that help make happy marriages. But there is no "type" with which an utterly selfish person is likely to get along, unless he is willing to change and adjust.¹ To develop traits that are congenial to others is more profitable than searching for someone who will do all the adjusting in the contemplated marriage.

Standards of Choice Are Built Up Gradually.—Those who want to do something to help young folk in this difficult matter of selection frequently go at the matter from the wrong end. They assume that they have an unencumbered field on which to work, when actually it is already covered with ideas, whether good, bad, or indifferent. For young folk do not, when they reach the marrying age, suddenly begin to study the characteristics most desirable in a mate. They *have* ideas on this subject, but they don't *get* them just at that time. Reading, talking with friends, discussion courses in college or voluntary organizations—all these give additional ideas and help to clear up uncertainties. But most of their ideas on the subject have been acquired from childhood up. They have been built into their whole system of life values by parents, teachers, friends, and companions, for successful marriage (to a considerable degree at least) depends upon the same rules as successful friendship.

¹ HENRY C. LINK, "The Return to Religion," New York, Macmillan, 1936, p. 124.

From an early age, children are unconsciously influenced by the kind of playmates they are encouraged to play with and even the kind of adult friends their parents choose. This constitutes a process of selection, a continual choosing of persons with whom it is worth while to spend time, and the avoidance of those with whom one would waste time. This is much the same as saying that we choose as friends the people that we *like* and that we like them because they represent, in varying degrees, life values that comfortably coincide with our own.

In much the same way, one marries a person because one *likes* her—not because one has gone around with list in hand and checked her as the one who most nearly meets all specifications. Even those who temper romance with common sense are hardly that cold and analytical. We marry persons, not abstractions. This does not mean that a study of attributes which in general are most likely to make for success in marriage is not helpful; the emphasis of ideals is helpful at any age. But it does mean that the most strategic point of influence is long before the mating age and that the responsibility of education for marriage rests first on parents, teachers, and others who shape the ideals of children.

By the time young people have reached the marriageable age, their life values are pretty well established, which is to say that the general type of person they will marry is already determined, within reasonable bounds. Even then they may be influenced in certain crises by the counseling of elders whose wisdom and judgment they respect, but on the whole they are satisfied to follow what they consider to be their own ideas, little realizing that these ideas are not their own but have accrued from a hundred sources through many years. Any cross section, therefore, of their standards of selection would be to a considerable degree a reflection of the value patterns of the social milieu in which they grew up. Nevertheless, such a measure of youth's attitudes should be of interest.

No study has been made on this subject that includes proportional representation of all races, nationalities, religious faiths, and social and economic classes in the country, and hence no "all-American" standard can be determined. It would be easy to argue that such a study would mean little, for most people marry, at one time or another, and these of necessity include rich and poor, beautiful and ugly, generous and selfish, honest and dishonest, good cooks and poor cooks, and most of the opposites that could be mentioned. But it is possible to find the prevailing ideals of smaller groups, for example, those of a given locality, or of a selected class within a given locality.

Student Attitudes on Mate Selection.—For six years the writer gathered data on the attitudes on mate selection of the students in his course on Marriage and Family Life. These young people are not representative of all college youth, for they are students in one large

metropolitan university. They do not even represent the whole university, for they are limited to upperclassmen who are sufficiently interested in marriage and family matters to enroll in this particular course. Since the course is in no way sensational, it does not attract the merely curious but rather those who honestly desire a better understanding of and preparation for marriage and family life. The influence of both text and instructor was eliminated from the recorded attitudes by securing them early in the course, before the subject of mate selection had been assigned for reading or discussion. Furthermore, the students were specifically asked to give their own present views on the subject, whether or not they coincided with what they considered to be the socially approved attitudes of today. To ensure frankness and freedom from embarrassment, all replies were anonymous.

The study is frankly subjective. It shows what the students *think* are their attitudes. Some of them will find, when they come to marry, that some of the characteristics which they rated will have a way of reversing their order of importance. But the views given are the sincere present views of these students, as well as a reflection of their social background and training. And, if, at marriage, they find they are making some shifts in values, it is merely in line with experience in other phases of life as well. The honestly expressed ideals of youth, which have been transmitted from the social group to the individual, have a real influence upon action, even though they are not perfectly lived up to.

The method was as follows: The students named a large number of factors and characteristics considered desirable in a mate. From these, the nine receiving the most general approval were listed. The students were confronted with specific but necessarily hypothetical life situations and asked what their personal reactions would be in each case. In each of the situations presented all but one of the nine factors involved were assumed to be satisfactory, the one remaining (a different one in each situation) being assumed unsatisfactory.¹

Table IV shows the responses of both young men and young women. Economic status is a matter of small concern when it comes to selecting a mate. More than nine-tenths of the boys and four-fifths of the girls claimed they would show no hesitation in marrying someone with a smaller purse than their own. They were not indifferent to money; they merely did not place it first.

Nor are good looks considered essential. True, two-thirds of the boys insisted that their mates should not be too far down in the scale, but in view of man's love of beauty in his mate it is interesting that

¹ RAY E. BABER, Some Mate Selection Standards of College Students and Their Parents, *Jour. Soc. Hygiene*, 22: 115-125, March, 1936. Tables and description used by permission.

one-third were willing to accept a partner decidedly without beauty if all other factors were satisfactory. On the other hand approxi-

TABLE IV.—THE ATTITUDES OF 642 UNIVERSITY STUDENTS (321 YOUNG MEN AND 321 YOUNG WOMEN) ON MATE SELECTION*

Questions	Young men, percentage answering		Young women, percentage answering	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
All other factors being satisfactory would you marry:				
1. A person of lower economic rank than your own?	93	7	82	18
2. A person decidedly not good-looking?	32	68	79	21
3. A person of unattractive disposition and person- ality?	2	98	4	96
4. A person of lower moral standards than your own?	29	71	20	80
5. A person from a family you consider inferior to your own?	78	22	75	25
6. A person of a different religious faith (Catholic, Protestant, Jewish) from your own?	58	42	42	58
If so, would you be willing to adopt his faith?	9	91	5	95
7. A person in decidedly poor health, likely to be of long standing if:				
His health were bad when you first became acquainted?	6	94	4	96
His health became bad after an intimate friend- ship had been formed?	49	51	50	50
8. A person of less intelligence and (or) education than your own?	76	24	18	82
Would you want your mate to have less educa- tion than you have, the same education as you have, or more than you have?	Less, 17 Same, 78 More, 5		Less, 0 Same, 36 More, 64	
9. Do you want your mate to be older than yourself, the same age, or younger?	Older, 1 Same, 24 Younger, 75		Older, 94 Same, 6 Younger, 0	
How much older or younger?	3 years		5 years	
What is the limit in age difference beyond which you would not go?	8 years		10 years	

* Upper classmen only, i.e., juniors and seniors.

mately four-fifths of the girls were willing to waive the question of looks. Whether they really thought they were making a concession or were merely bowing gracefully to the inevitable, it is hard to say.

On the matter of disposition and personality, however, the young folk were adamant. They considered this rather vague characteristic the basic element of a happy relationship, and there was almost no compromise upon it, 98 per cent of the young men and 96 per cent of the girls declaring with much emphasis that under no circumstances would they marry a person of unattractive disposition and personality.

The replies to the question on morals indicate an abandonment by both sexes of the old man-made double standard, but the young women approached it from the positive side and the men from the negative. Eighty per cent of the young women insisted that the moral standards of their mates be as high as their own, but only 71 per cent of the young men made a similar demand. Does this indicate that the young women are giving the young men *less* freedom than formerly on moral questions, or the latter giving the young women *more* freedom? Looked at either way, there remains no more than a vestige of the double standard. It must be remembered that we are here speaking of relative, not absolute, standards of morality.

There was little hesitation shown regarding marrying into an inferior family, three-fourths of the young women and nearly four-fifths of the young men being willing to take the risk. Doubtless their defense would be the timeworn assurance that "she is better than her family." Let us hope that she is.

When it comes to religious faith, in relation to marriage, it is a matter of opinion whether the figures show the young folk to be liberal or conservative. Approximately two-fifths of the young women and three-fifths of the young men (averaging exactly one-half) were willing to break across the lines of their religious faith in selecting a mate, but very few of those who would consider such a marriage were willing to adopt the spouse's faith. Family tradition, religious teachings, and the young folk's knowledge of social intolerance doubtless all played a part in determining the position here revealed.

Health was considered a vital matter. The replies showed only 1 girl in 24 and 1 boy in 16 willing to assume the handicap of a mate in poor health to begin with, but one-half of them were loyal enough to marry their prospective mates even in very poor health, provided that the ailment developed after a close friendship had been formed. Since the husband is usually the chief breadwinner, one might have expected the young women in this study to be far more hesitant than the young men in accepting such a handicap, but such was not the case. Was this willingness of the young women to assume such a burden due to a sense of duty, sportsmanship, or confidence in the modern wife's ability to earn money for the support of the family if necessary? Or was it the result of that romantic fatalism which sponsors the "only one man

in the world for me" theory? One cannot but wonder what the answer to such a question would have been a generation ago.

On the question of marrying someone of less intelligence or education the young women were much more insistent that their partners have a mental equipment (whether native or acquired) at least equal to their own than were the young men regarding the ability of their prospective mates. Less than one-fifth of the girls were willing to marry young men of lower intellectual or educational level than their own, but three-fourths of the young men were willing to marry girls who were not their equals in these respects. Were the girls' answers due chiefly to the belief that the man of better mind and training would be more likely to succeed economically? Such a conclusion is hardly in line with their attitudes shown elsewhere. Or was it partly due to the desire to "look up to" the husband and be proud of him? Two-thirds of the girls wanted their mates to have more education than themselves, and one-third wanted them to have the same amount. None wanted them to have less. Of the boys, however, only one-twentieth wanted their mates to have a better education than their own. A large majority wanted them to have the same, but 17 per cent wanted their mates to have less education than themselves! Evidently there are still a good many males who are afraid of women with an education superior to their own. Are they afraid they could not maintain their "self-respect" in such a situation or that they would not be considered the "head of the family"? Or does the man merely consider it unnecessary for the wife to have an education equal to his own because her work does not demand it?

Finally comes the question of age. Almost all the girls wanted their partners to be older than themselves, 5 years older being their median and modal choice. They were not willing to marry if the age difference were more than 10 years. Since the average difference between the ages of husband and wife in the United States is 3 years, it is interesting to find these young women preferring a greater difference. Does this indicate that even in this age of feminine freedom there are vines still looking for oaks—a desire for a certain measure of male domination as well as security? Or do women look upon men of their own age as less mature than themselves? Or is it more romantic to marry a man 5 years one's senior?

The wishes of the two sexes did not coincide on this age question, for only 75 per cent of the young men wanted wives younger than themselves; 24 per cent wanted them to be of the same age, and 1 per cent wanted them to be older. Furthermore, the males desired their partners to be only three years younger, and did not wish to go beyond an age difference of eight years.

In order to compare the mate-selection standards held by the students with those held for them by their parents, returns were secured from a number of fathers and mothers. The fact that this was done in only

TABLE V.—THE ATTITUDES OF 189 PARENTS (94 FATHERS AND 95 MOTHERS) ON THEIR SONS' MATE SELECTION

Questions	Fathers, percentage answering		Mothers, percentage answering	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
All other factors being satisfactory would you be willing for your son to marry:				
1. A person of lower economic rank than his own?...	81	19	87	13
2. A person decidedly not good-looking?...	56	44	55	45
3. A person of unattractive disposition and personality?.....	9	91	10	90
4. A person of lower moral standards than his own?	4	96	4	96
5. A person from a family you consider inferior to his own?.....	35	65	38	62
6. A person of a different religious faith (Catholic, Protestant, Jewish) from his own?	20	80	19	81
If so, would you be willing for him to adopt her faith?	15	85	6	94
7. A person in decidedly poor health, likely to be of long standing if:				
Her health were bad when they first became acquainted?.....	0	100	2	98
Her health became bad after an intimate friendship had been formed?.....	22	78	27	73
8. A person of less intelligence and (or) education than his own?.....	66	34	55	45
Would you want her to have less education than he has, the same as he has, or more than he has?.....	Less, 21 Same, 64 More, 15		Less, 16 Same, 79 More, 5	
9. Would you want her to be older, the same age, or younger than he is?.....	Older, 2 Same, 23 Younger, 75		Older, 4 Same, 22 Younger, 74	
How much older or younger?.....	3 years		3 years	
What is the limit in age difference beyond which you would not want him to go?	5 years		5 years	

the last two of the six years makes the sample of parents relatively small. They are probably more representative, however, than would at first appear. The attitudes of the students, taken year by year, were found

to be substantially the same. Each year the same characteristics were emphasized by them, even the percentage relationships not varying significantly; in fact, they were sometimes identical. If we can assume

TABLE VI.—THE ATTITUDES OF 220 PARENTS (105 FATHERS AND 115 MOTHERS) ON THEIR DAUGHTERS' MATE SELECTION

Questions	Fathers, percentage answering		Mothers, percentage answering	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
All other factors being satisfactory would you be willing for your daughter to marry:				
1. A person of lower economic rank than her own?	66	34	69	31
2. A person decidedly not good-looking?	76	24	79	21
3. A person of unattractive disposition and personality?	12	88	7	93
4. A person of lower moral standards than her own?	3	97	5	95
5. A person from a family you consider inferior to her own?	37	63	43	57
6. A person of different religious faith (Catholic, Protestant, Jewish) from her own?	14	86	15	85
If so, would you be willing for her to adopt his faith?	11	89	9	91
7. A person in decidedly poor health, likely to be of long standing, if:				
His health were bad when they first became acquainted?	0	100	3	97
His health became bad after an intimate friendship had been formed?	14	86	19	81
8. A person of less intelligence and (or) education than her own?	29	71	26	74
Would you want him to have less education than she has, the same as she has, or more than she has?	Less, 1 Same, 38 More, 61		Less, 1 Same, 39 More, 60	
9. Would you want him to be older, the same age, or younger than she is?	Older, 81 Same, 13 Younger, 6		Older, 88 Same, 10 Younger, 2	
How much older or younger?	5 years		5 years	
What is the limit in age difference beyond which you would not want her to go	8 years		10 years	

that the replies of their parents year by year would also be fairly consistent, the reliability of this sample of 200 odd would not differ greatly from that of the much larger sample of students. But whether or not

such is the case, the sample is large enough to make the comparison interesting. Great care was taken to protect the anonymity of parental replies, and the cooperation received was even above expectations.

Tables V and VI show how the fathers and mothers *would wish* their sons and daughters to respond to the situations outlined above. On certain points the young folk and their parents were agreed, but on others they were at sharp variance. Both parents were willing, by a heavy majority, for their sons—and even their daughters—to marry a person of lower economic rank, though not so willing as were the young people themselves. The sons insisted much more upon beauty in their mates than did the parents; daughters and parents were about equally agreed that good-looks were not essential in the young man. Parents were only a little less intolerant of mates of unattractive disposition and personality than were the young people. On moral standards, however, parents and children were far apart. The former insisted strongly on their children not marrying a person of lower standards, whereas on an average one-fourth of the young people were willing to do so if all other factors were satisfactory. The difference is also sharp on the matter of marrying into an inferior family. As to marrying someone of a different religious faith the young folk were about three times as liberal as were the parents. Is this because the young folk have less regard in general for religion than have their parents, or because they are more tolerant of other religious faiths? On the health question, parents and children were practically agreed on the first count, but the parents were much more insistent than the children on the second count. One-half of the girls were willing to marry a man of decidedly poor health if his health became bad after an intimate friendship had been formed, but only about one-seventh of their fathers and one-fifth of their mothers were willing for them to take such a risk. The sons were more willing to marry a girl of lower intelligence or education than the parents were to let them, one-seventh of the fathers wanting the sons' wives to be more intelligent or better educated than the sons themselves. But, strange to say, both fathers and mothers were more willing for the daughters to marry below them intellectually or educationally than were the daughters themselves. But, given what they would choose on this matter, daughters and parents were in quite close agreement as to the husband having less education than the wife, the same as the wife, or more than the wife. On the age factor, parents and children were in substantial accord, though the sons agreed more closely than the daughters with the parents' ideas.

Comparative Marriage Choices of the Single, Widowed, and Divorced.

More information is needed on the choices made in first marriages of men and women, as well as those in second or following marriages. Who

marry the widows and divorced women? Are they chosen chiefly by bachelors, widowers, or divorced men? Some interesting data for the city of Amsterdam are available. Table VII shows that more than one-half the widows who remarry marry widowers; most of the rest marry bachelors, but the percentage marrying bachelors is declining, whereas the percentage marrying divorced men more than tripled in 20 years. Three-fifths of the remarrying widowers selected women never before married, but the percentage marrying divorced women doubled in the two decades indicated. Most bachelors, of course, marry spinsters, but

TABLE VII.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGE CHOICES, AMSTERDAM, TWO PERIODS, 1905-1909 AND 1926-1930*

Period	Bachelors with			Widowers with		
	Spinsters	Widows	Divorced females	Spinsters	Widows	Divorced females
1905-1909	96.1	2.4	1.5	62.0	31.4	6.6
1926-1930	95.2	1.3	3.5	59.9	26.8	13.3

Period	Spinsters with			Widows with		
	Bachelors	Widowers	Divorced males	Bachelors	Widowers	Divorced males
1905-1909	92.0	5.9	2.1	41.6	53.9	4.5
1926-1930	90.2	5.2	4.6	29.7	55.7	14.6

* Table from J. H. van Zanten and T. van den Brink, *Population Phenomena in Amsterdam, Population* (London), 2: 3-39, December, 1937.

here again the percentage marrying divorced women has doubled. The same is true of spinsters marrying divorced males. It is also interesting to note that spinsters are three times as likely to marry widowers as bachelors are to marry widows.

In tables not here reproduced it was shown that when women marry bachelors they usually marry someone 1 to 4 years older than themselves, but when they marry widowers or divorced men nearly three-fourths of them marry men more than 4 years older. The modal age difference in both cases is 5 to 9 years, but 22 per cent of the widowers they marry are from 10 to 14 years older, and 18 per cent are from 15 to 25 years older. The divorced men they marry are also much older: 18 per cent are 10 to 14 years older, and 16 per cent are 15 to 25 years older.

Most girls want to marry someone older than themselves, and in four out of five cases they do. The average age difference for the country is three years. Popenoe's¹ point is well taken, therefore, when he reminds us that, although going to college theoretically gives a girl an excellent chance at selection, actually her opportunity is not so great as supposed. Her classmates are men of her own age; and though she may be ready to marry upon graduation, they usually are not. Either they have post-graduate work to do, or they must get jobs and become somewhat established before they can marry. By that time, unless they have held through a long engagement, they are more likely to be interested in girls from three to five years younger than themselves, which rules out most of their college mates. The freshman girl who can put her brand on some not-too-haughty senior may get out of college just about the time he wants to marry, but such skill denotes special favor of the gods.

CONSCIOUSNESS OF KIND

Schopenhauer's idea that opposites are attracted to each other more strongly than likes makes interesting theory but poor fact. The popular conception that because opposites are always "interesting" to each other and the characteristics of one complement those of the other they will make the happiest couple is not borne out by research. Individual variation within fairly narrow limits is a definite attraction and may do much to eliminate the dullness of complete uniformity, but the basic factors underlying the comfort and security of the harmonious union are the common backgrounds and social values. Varied interests, when not too divergent, add spice to companionship, but mutual interests afford a fellowship nothing else can give. This is one of the factors that in the past has been partly taken care of almost automatically, a point frequently overlooked by certain of the elders who are accusing youth of speedy, reckless marriage. These critics would almost make one believe that youths no longer select their mates individually but draw blithely and blindly from a gigantic grab bag, content with the knowledge that if they are unlucky the first time they can come back for another draw.

But even a moment's thought will convince one that such cannot be the case. The consciousness of kind and the limits of acquaintanceship are two automatic factors which narrow the process of mate selection to a very small field. It is absurd to speak of a young man drawing blindly from a grab bag of the five million girls of eligible age. Consciousness of kind, at one stroke, eliminates those of different race and, in most cases, those of different nationality, religious faith, or greatly different economic, educational, or other cultural status. We like to be with our

¹ PAUL POPENOE, *Where Are the Marriageable Men?*, *Social Forces*, 14: 257-262, December, 1935.

kind, and in general we marry our kind. Those who marry above or below their class do so because of compensating factors which they think outweigh the claims of likeness.

The limits of acquaintanceship act similarly. Obviously, one does not marry anyone he does not know. Since the average person knows only a few hundred people, most of the five million are automatically omitted from the picture. Furthermore, the young man will not marry anyone not among his close friends, and these intimate friends constitute a much smaller circle than do the acquaintances. This smaller circle may have a constantly shifting personnel, but the group is never large. Now, it is easily demonstrable that one's acquaintances and friends in youth are determined largely by the locality in which the parents settle and the class of people with which the family associates while the children are growing up. To a marked degree the family ideals establish the child's standards of values, though these may be modified one way or another by the contacts of schools and other outside agencies. If the family hobnobs with shallow, boisterous types, the children come to look upon such people as normal companions; if the parents choose more cultured friends, the children are likewise influenced by the pattern of refinement. This has much to do with the "kind of crowd they run with" when they reach the age when they "run" most of the time. Consciousness of kind is a great determiner of human conduct, and parents fully aware of this can wield an influence all the more powerful because of its unobtrusiveness. However, the effectiveness of home patterns is being made increasingly difficult by city life and the greater proportion of secondary contacts, and it is part of the home's problem to offset this loss by a gain elsewhere.

RESIDENTIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PROPINQUITY

The use of propinquity is one of Cupid's most reliable techniques. With it he can get results where seemingly impossible combinations of characteristics exist. Under its application incongruity withers, although it sometimes revives later and causes trouble.

It is but natural that we are most likely to become acquainted with those who live near us. This is the chief reason why the choice of a neighborhood is important, for the chances of marrying someone who lives fairly near are much greater than commonly supposed. This is especially true in small towns. Young folk are much more likely to marry someone from their own town or village than from a neighboring village, in spite of the dash and thrill which accompany a date with an "out-of-town" girl. The desire for new experience and the peculiar definition of prowess in the realm of romance make occasional engagements with persons of another group very stimulating; but when it comes

to marrying, the home-grown variety of mates still seems to withstand competition successfully.

Even in large cities, with their scattered secondary contacts, the role of propinquity is remarkable. Bossard¹ found, by studying the residential addresses of the applicants for 5,000 consecutive marriage licenses issued in Philadelphia, that one-sixth of the applicants were living less than 1 block from each other, nearly one-quarter lived within 2 blocks of each other, one-third within 5 blocks, and more than one-half within twenty blocks of each other. Also, it is likely that a considerable number of couples living still farther apart at the time of marriage had lived nearer each other previously, but this might be offset by those couples who met while living quite a distance apart but who moved closer together before marriage. It is, of course, impossible to isolate the residential-propinquity factor from the consciousness-of-kind factor; but the study leaves little doubt that residential propinquity is influential in mate selection, and Bossard is correct in his conclusion that, although Cupid has wings, "apparently they are not adapted to long flights."

Occupational propinquity likewise commands attention in the matter of mating. The entrance of women in large numbers into the workaday world has brought men and women together in new groupings and under new circumstances. With sex attraction a fairly constant factor it is inevitable that in the close relationship of similar work they should be drawn together, with marriage a frequent result. Yet the extent and constancy of this force in marriage selection is surprising. Marvin² studied 49,000 cases in Philadelphia and found that in the native American group there were 2.8 times as many marriages occurring within the occupations as would occur from pure chance. For the mixed group there were 2.5 times as many and for the foreign group 2.0 times as many. Occupation was found to be an even greater bond than nativity, for the coefficient of intermarriage between native born of native parents was only 1.8, whereas that for intraoccupational marriage was 2.8. There was found to be "twice as much marriage between employees of textile mills as between the children of German-born parents. The important deduction is not that there is so little intermarriage within lines of nationality, but that there is so much intermarriage within occupations." Some of the occupations ran much higher than others on the intramarriage coefficient. Some of the highest were: textiles, 9.3; printing, 8.4; provisions, 8.3. The two lowest were: retail trade, 1.2; clerical, 1.8.

¹ J. H. S. BOSSARD, *Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection*, *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, 38: 219-224, September, 1932.

² DONALD M. MARVIN, *Occupational Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection*. *Publ. Amer. Statistical Association*, 16: 131-150, September, 1918.

A supplementary study was made of Bryn Mawr alumnae, showing that 90 per cent of those who had married, married college graduates, 60 per cent marrying men in professions. "Out of 10 doctors who graduated from Bryn Mawr and later married, 7 married doctors. There was a great deal of intermarrying within such groups as schoolteachers, social workers, doctors, and musicians." These figures, though the sample is small, indicate that even among specialists occupational propinquity is highly potent.

It may be argued that residential and occupational propinquity are both secondary factors, the basic factor being the underlying consciousness of kind. In general, the same kind of people choose to live in a given section of a city; likewise, people of a similar type will be drawn to a specific industry. This is true; yet the locality and the occupation help *produce* like-mindedness as well as *select for* like-mindedness. Hence, to some extent they are primary forces, also.

Isolation is the most loyal ally of propinquity. Given propinquity in isolation, there seems little use for the principals to struggle against fate. Since isolation is almost always relative instead of absolute, we can apply it even to "short-time exposures" such as ocean voyages. On a steamer, if the sea is quiet, the passengers have pretty well sorted themselves into like-minded groups by the second day, and by the third day the lines of interest are drawn for the remainder of the voyage. A calm sea, a full moon, an absence of all responsibilities, and a sense of apartness from the world make young folk who are thrown together day after day through long rounds of varied recreation fall violently in love. In this temporary, unreal world, surrounded by seemingly unlimited distances on all sides, Cupid casts away all rules of caution and training and thoroughly delights in the devastating results. Engagements of years' standing are broken and new ones formed within a fortnight. It is a thrilling but dangerous period, for most of the normal activities of life are suspended, cultural backgrounds cannot be verified, and all must be accepted or rejected on faith.

Where isolation is long sustained, results are even more certain—but also likely to be more satisfactory and permanent. The writer, who lived for some time in the Far East, saw the principle of propinquity in isolation work out time and again. Missionaries stationed at lonely, far-interior posts, frequently for years at a time with only a few weeks' break, were limited in their contacts to the half-dozen associates in their work. The boundless sea of alien culture about them caused them to huddle all the more closely together. Yet, with only two or three to choose from, the marriage urge carried on with remarkable success. Persons who from all appearances to outsiders could hardly be more incongruously matched married and established successful homes. The

combination of high character and devotion to a common cause far outweighed the differences of age and temperament.

INTERMARRIAGE

Consciousness of kind groups people roughly according to race, nationality, and religion. If love were as blind as it is proverbially supposed to be, this would not be true, for it would recognize no lines of color or culture. But since love, which is said to be a law unto itself, is in reality a product of the social pattern, it can seldom overcome race prejudice; it even finds many difficulties in crossing the boundaries of nationality and religion. Yet these lines are being crossed by the few who are either sufficiently emancipated or rebellious (according to one's point of view) to defy public opinion on such a major issue. What are the sociological implications of such intermarriage, and what are the chances of marital happiness for the principals?

Interracial Marriages.—Biologists are now largely in agreement that there are no biological ill effects of race crossing. The offspring of the marriage of a superior person of one race to an inferior person of another are likely to be in between the parents, but the same is true if both parents—one superior and one inferior—are of the same race.

Socially, however, the effects of intermarriage between widely different races may be profound, depending of course upon the attitudes of the races involved. In countries where race mixture involves no social stigma the chief result is a blending of the two cultures. In other countries, however, where racial pride and the conviction of superiority are strong on the part of one race, intermarriage is likely to cause great bitterness and social strife, thus handicapping the participants from the beginning. Such a situation exists in the United States, where the background of Negro slavery has fixed an unwavering assurance of superiority in the minds of the whites. This has resulted in laws against marriage between Negroes and whites in 30 of our states, and in others public opinion is almost as effective as law in preventing such unions. A white marrying a Negro is at once ostracized by nearly all whites and is frequently accepted very coolly in Negro circles. The offspring of such unions, for generations to come, must be classed as Negroes. Since any amount of Negro blood, no matter how small, will ostracize a person from white society, the only method for those who seek racial escape is to become light enough successfully to "pass," a deception to which the honorable and racially proud refuse to stoop. Many of our states have similar laws against white intermarriage with members of the yellow race, and social feeling is much the same. In spite of the brilliance of the Chinese and Japanese civilizations the prejudice of color presents an

almost impassable barrier. But when it comes to the American Indians we are strangely illogical. A white woman who marries a full-blooded Indian is almost sure to lose caste; yet a trace of Indian blood—even a considerable strain—is considered romantic and of peculiar virtue. Men in high public office have boasted of such mixed blood.

Such terms as "half-breed," "half-caste," "mulatto," and "Eurasian" usually carry disapproval and scorn. Part of this feeling is due to the implication that because of our laws against intermarriage many such persons must have somewhere in their background a history of illegitimacy. But much of it is due merely to race prejudice and is wholly unreasoning. Such prejudice, no matter how much the few deplore it, does exist and is very powerful. In this country, therefore, facing society as it actually exists rather than as idealists might wish it to be, we must conclude that interracial marriage has little to commend it and much to condemn it. No moral question of right and wrong is involved, but the implications of social expediency are tremendous. Persons who defy the social barriers of race are as those who set sail on a sea of trouble. They may be strong enough to weather the storms, and they may be so constituted that social opposition adds zest to their venture. But they should scan the waters clear-eyed before setting sail, realizing that there are many more rocks on which their bark may break than in the normal sea of matrimony. The honeymoon may be so thrilling that they can snap their fingers at social scorn, but the honeymoon is soon over and its comparative isolation at an end. The couple must have economic and social contacts and be an accepted part of the social fabric if they are to live normally. Here is where the strain comes. The frictions, misunderstandings, and assumptions that seemed so trivial when dimly seen in the distance loom large and forbidding when reached. The lack of that priceless possession—continuity of culture and tradition—frequently brings disaster. Racial background is so powerful, so subtle, so all-pervading that only in exceptional cases can reason and will stand out against it. There are such cases. An American educator in the Far East, a man of highest character and intellect, married a brilliant Chinese woman and established a happy and successful home. Yet the sons of this union, handsome, attractive, and brilliant, were not fully accepted by either race. Such a one is literally "a man without a race." Another case is that of a noted American journalist who married a talented Chinese woman, both frankly recognizing the difficulties they were assuming. This was a mixed marriage in the truest sense of the word. She was Chinese, a Christian, of high social status and with British cultural heritage; he was Polish, a Jew, born and raised in the ghetto of New York City, with the American culture pattern. Mutual respect, much common sense, and a well-developed sense of humor helped them make their mixed

marriage a success, though they admitted that their son would meet many difficult situations as he grew older.¹

In some countries the barriers to interracial marriage are not nearly so high as in this country. Even the French, with their pride of culture, do not frown too severely upon the marriage of whites with blacks, and in some of the Pacific islands intermarriage is extremely common, covering all kinds of combinations. Hawaii is a veritable research laboratory for the student of race mixture. The white, yellow, and brown groups are mixed to a high degree. The Hawaiian women even prefer non-Hawaiian husbands, for they do not consider the men of their own race so energetic and thrifty and such good providers in general as are the Chinese and whites. Since the Hawaiian women find considerable favor with the white men, they have no difficulty in marrying. However, as Adams² points out, white women seldom marry Hawaiian men, and when they do the marriage often turns out badly. Hawaiian men are considered too easygoing and improvident, and white women will not put up with this. A few white women have married Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Filipino husbands, many of whom have been educated in the United States. These cultured couples are fairly well received in some white circles but not in all.

The divorce rate is higher in Hawaii than in the United States. On the whole, the out-married have a higher divorce rate than the in-married; but when the figures are broken up, they show the rate to be higher for some in-married groups than for certain out-married groups, which indicates that the basic regulator of the divorce rate is the degree of organization or disorganization of the specific racial group. For example, the out-marriage rates of the Chinese and Japanese—both large and well-organized cultural groups—are relatively low, but those who do out-marry have a decidedly higher divorce rate than those who in-marry. On the other hand, the Puerto Ricans, Koreans, and Filipinos, some of the more disorganized and unstable groups, have a higher divorce rate for the in-married than for the out-married. Adams³ concludes, "The high rate of divorce in Hawaii does not appear to be the result of interracial marriages but of the circumstances that tend to free people from their traditional control."

A great deal depends upon the total social attitude that intermarriages encounter. A mixed marriage in Hawaii is confronted with only a fraction of the social prejudice that such a marriage arouses in the

¹ GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY, *My Mixed Marriage*, *Atlantic*, 152: 137-146, August, 1933.

² ROMANZO ADAMS, "Interracial Marriage in Hawaii," New York, Macmillan, 1937, p. 49.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225.

United States proper. Over a period of years the writer has collected 48 cases of marriages between races.¹ Classified by sex and race the five combinations of these marriages are as follows:

White × yellow	2	}	White — yellow	20*
Yellow × white	18			
Black × white	18	}	Black — white	25
White × black	7			
Yellow × black	3		Yellow — black	3
	<u>48</u>			<u>48</u>

* The symbol "×" is used to designate a marriage classified by sex, the male always being first. The symbol "—" is used to designate marriages not classified by sex. For example, the 25 black — white marriages include both the black men marrying white women (B × W) and the white men marrying black women (W × B).

It will be seen that the bulk of the sample is made up of black and yellow men, in equal numbers, marrying white women. The yellow men are mostly Chinese and Japanese (7 each), with 3 Filipinos and 1 Javanese. The yellow women are 1 Chinese and 1 Japanese. The mixture is almost entirely between whites and non-whites, the 3 yellow-black combinations being the only exceptions.

It is interesting to note that the males are preponderantly non-white, the ratio of non-whites to whites being more than 4 to 1. The women are mostly white, the ratio being almost 3 to 1. As far as this sample goes, black and yellow men marry white women *four times as frequently* as white men marry black and yellow women, there being 36 and 9 cases respectively. One possible reason for so few white men marrying yellow women is that there are so few of the latter in this country, and these few are in demand by the males of their own race, who outnumber them enormously.² But the same does not hold true of Negroes. The supply is plentiful either way; yet only 7 white men married Negro women, whereas 18 Negroes married white women. Of these 7 white men, only 2 were born in the United States, the others being from Greece, Italy, Germany, England, and Barbados. But of the 18 white women who married Negroes, 10 were American born. Surely, there is no more stigma attached to the white man who marries a Negro woman than to the white woman who marries a Negro. Is color difference in the mate less repulsive to the white woman than to the white man? It can scarcely be a lack of men of their own color that leads white women to marry colored men, for in New York City the sex ratio for the white population

¹ RAY E. BABER, A Study of 325 Mixed Marriages, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 2: 705-716, October, 1937. Data used by permission.

² In 1930, the sex ratio for Japanese in this country was 179, for Chinese 631, and for Filipinos almost 2,500, for all ages fifteen and over.

was 100.6 in 1930, which year allows approximately for the median duration of the marriages. And since the Negro sex ratio in New York City for the same year was only 91.1, Negro men were certainly not driven to look for non-Negro women. On the other hand, the Oriental races have a paucity of women in this country, and it is probable that in the Y X W marriages the Oriental men are forced to seek non-Oriental wives. Possibly the smallness of the sample is to blame for the disparity between the colored X non-colored and the non-colored X colored unions, but the difference appears too great for mere chance.

Of all 48 marriages, 16 were childless, only 5 of which were of 3 years or less duration. For marriages with a median duration of 10 years, this seems a rather low birth performance. Undoubtedly one reason is the realization of the hardship imposed upon the children of such unions, for such comments as "they didn't feel that they should have any children," "they agreed that they ought not to have children," or "they are definitely against having children" occur frequently. One Jewess of a good family who married a Negro lawyer against the protests of her heart-broken parents promised her mother that they never would have any children.

The success of marriages being commonly judged by the degree of happiness of the husband and wife, they were rated separately in each

	Number of cases	Type of mixture	Happiness rating
Both combinations.	18	Black X white	57
	7	White X black	39
	25	Black — White	52
Both combinations.	18	Yellow X white	67
	2	White X yellow	100*
	20	Yellow — white	71
All combinations	3	Yellow X black	75*
	48	Black — white — yellow	62

* Sample too small to be significant by itself.

case on the following five-point scale: very happy, moderately happy, neutral or "so-so," moderately unhappy, very unhappy. In tabulation, it was necessary to assign arbitrary weights to these categories if a numerical scale were to be devised. After trying several systems of weightings the following seemed to give results fairly consistent with the total pictures presented in the case stories: very happy, 100 per cent; moderately happy, 75 per cent; neutral, 50 per cent; moderately unhappy,

25 per cent; very unhappy, 0. With this scale the happiness ratings were as shown in the table above, both sexes combined.¹

As might be expected, the average happiness rating for the total group is not high, being only one-half step above neutral. The rating for intermarriages involving both nationality and religion is somewhat higher, and for those involving religion only, a little higher yet. It will be noted that the $W \times B$ marriages are much lower on the happiness scale than the $B \times W$ marriages and that both are much lower than the $Y - W$ marriages. The greater the color difference, the smaller the chance of happiness—at least in these cases. In a small sample there is always the possibility that such a seeming correlation is the result of chance combinations of other factors.

The children of interracial marriages are particularly handicapped. Not only are they subject to ridicule and sometimes ostracism at school and on the playground, but also the chances of intrafamily strife are increased. Frequently, one child is white and another colored in the same family.

In one case ($W \times B$) the boy is white and his two sisters dark. They quarrel a great deal, his most effective technique being to call them "nigger," which infuriates the girls and stirs up both the parents. In another ($Y \times W$) the six-year-old daughter is called "chink" by her playmates at school. Her parents are ostracized by whites, and her Chinese father is "beaten up" periodically by her mother's brothers. The mother in another case ($W \times B$) hates the daughter because she is light like her father and will not let the girl marry a dark person. In one instance ($Y \times W$) the wife had a daughter by her first marriage with a white man, and now in this second marriage the white daughter resents having a Chinese stepfather and half brother. Misery attends the mother in another union ($B \times W$) because her little daughter hates her for being white and loves her father because he is black as she is. Her little brother, however, loves his mother and hates his sister for hating and striking his mother. The mother "has no friends." Still another mother in a mixed marriage ($W \times B$) is hurt because her daughters avoid introducing her to their friends as their *mother* but are eager to introduce their father and show him off.

Why do people marry with the storm signals of race prejudice set against them? In some cases the reasons are the same as in ordinary marriages—love, propinquity, mutual interests, etc.

In one case a white girl of excellent family worked in the office of a Negro lawyer, fell desperately in love with him, and finally married him, though it sent her family to the depths of despair. The couple achieved a moderate degree of happiness, but her family ties were never happy thereafter. In another case a beautiful and brilliant coed in an Eastern university, much sought after by the opposite sex but determined upon a career rather than marriage, met a Hindu who had studied in Europe and was continuing with graduate work in the United States. Soon these two were

¹ The husbands and wives were first rated separately, but the final averages were so nearly identical (variations either way balancing each other) that there was no point in keeping them separate in the final tables.

"deeply in love" and seemed to have a perfect intellectual affinity, as well as strong sex attraction for each other. They lived for years as common-law husband and wife both in America and Europe, without ever letting her family know. They were devoted to each other, but their happiness finally broke on the rock of her conscience, plus the maneuvering of a "friend" who managed to bring about a misunderstanding. He married another woman and she is starting her life over.

In one strange case (B × W) the chief motive the white woman had in marrying her Negro husband (although theirs was a common-law marriage only) is that he is the only man who can satisfy her sexually. She comes of an excellent family and is well educated, whereas he is ignorant and of very poor stock. They met in one of New York's "hot spots," where he was a steady patron, and had intercourse. From then on she was "a slave to his sexual powers." They quarrel and fight, but still they live together. She dominates him with her superior culture, and he hates her for it, but he gets a good deal of prestige among his kind for being able to get and hold a white wife. She has lost all her white friends.

In still another case (B × W), one of the motives on the part of the girl seems to have been the novelty and daring of the idea. She is very well educated, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and from a highly respected family. While taking graduate work in an Eastern university she met an ambitious young Negro, born of a poor Southern family, who was striving to get a law degree. They were both radicals, and this mutual interest brought them much together. In a short time they were in love. Parental opposition merely challenged them, and the "attention value" of such a marriage seemed inviting. They eloped and later settled in a Negro community where the wife found herself regarded as a curiosity by the Negroes and shunned by most of them. The husband found that his marriage affected his practice, and they are now striving, with increasing irritation, to find compensation in each other for their social isolation.

And as a final example of motive, one calculating woman, who believes that Orientals make more considerate husbands than do Americans, has had two of them and finds them very satisfactory. She deliberately put herself in a position to meet Japanese men and married one of them. When he died she acquired another, declaring that Japanese husbands are definitely superior to the American brand and show their wives more respect.

In some cases the couples achieved a reasonable degree of happiness, and in a few instances they were very happy. The very fact that two persons of different race are willing to brave the unyielding opposition of all about them in order to wed may be evidence of an unusually strong personal attraction. Furthermore, such opposition makes them fully aware of the difficult adjustments ahead and may result in early and determined efforts to justify their decision. Such factors are favorable to adjustment, and occasionally they outweigh the heavy hand of prejudice.

Internationality Marriages.—In this country, composed almost entirely of immigrants and the descendants of immigrants, the inter-marriage of nationals from different countries has taken place on a scale seldom equaled in history. In spite of the clannish tendencies of some

nationalities to "lump," whether in urban districts (as the Italians and Slavs) or rural areas (as Germans and Scandinavians), they are constantly being drawn off from the parent groups into marriage with the out-groups. Our common schools and other social institutions within a generation or two obliterate most of the lines of demarcation, all emerging as Americans who readily intermarry. Naturally, there is much in-group marriage in the first generation, for an ocean voyage does not blot out one's cultural background; but the important thing is that, from the second generation on, there is seldom any stigma attached to marriage with other respected groups. Parents may shake their heads and call it unwise, but they seldom consider it disgraceful. From the sociologist's point of view there is no criticism of marriage between different nationals, provided that each respects the other's nationality, so that no strong feelings of superiority or inferiority exist, either in their own minds or in the social group in which they live. The writer studied 118 cases of marriage between different nationals, but in every one of the cases the mixture was of both nationality and religion. Hence, it was almost impossible to isolate the nationality factor.

Interfaith Marriages.—Religious separatism is still a formidable barrier to the free intermarriage of persons otherwise compatible. Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, who work harmoniously in the business world, whose children frequently attend the same schools and colleges, and who are native born of several generations, are still acutely conscious of the marriage lines established by their faith. Young folk today, who consider the power and prestige of religion to be on the wane, are likely to be impatient with the restraints it still imposes on their yearnings of the heart. True, the religious pattern for those strictly brought up is usually so efficacious that they desire no one of alien faith; yet a few (and the number is growing) break loose from tradition and marry into another faith. What are the special difficulties they meet? Certainly, no ethical question is involved; it is again a question of social expediency.

In the first place a common error is made in the assumption that two young people of different religious faiths are different *only in their religious beliefs*. Far more than that is involved. Catholic and Protestant youth, for example, might have very similar theological views and yet be far apart in certain basic attitudes. The concentration of authority in one church vs. individual decisions in the other, the teachings of each church on the subject of birth control, church pronouncements on how children of mixed marriages shall be raised—these and similar items can cause much trouble, sometimes to the surprise of the couple involved. The Jewish youth brought up in an orthodox home has a very different background from either Catholic or Protestant. Judaism is a culture, not merely a religion. It involves not only certain theological conceptions

at variance with Christian doctrine, but also differences concerning the diet, day of rest, observation of holidays, etc.

Few persons are wise enough to chart the whole area of their activities and judge how heavily religious training weighs. That is why those of different faiths who have married are frequently caught wholly unprepared for problems they had not foreseen. This fact needs to be recognized by those who would marry outside their religious group, even though both parties may be little interested in religion. Religious intolerance is slowly breaking down, and it is reasonable to expect that such artificial barriers will in time be minimized. Until that time, however, intermarriage between faiths involves from the very first a distinct handicap which should be assumed only after honest, penetrating thought has been given to its implications.

In the writer's study previously cited there were 159 cases of marriage between persons of the same race and nationality but of different religious faith; only the three great faiths in this country, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, were used as a basis of the study. The frequencies of the six possible combinations are as follows:

Jewish	× Catholic	54	Jewish	— Catholic	83
Catholic	× Jewish	29			
Jewish	× Protestant	31	Jewish	— Protestant	47
Protestant	× Jewish	16			
Protestant	× Catholic	14	Protestant	— Catholic	29
Catholic	× Protestant	15			
		159			159

This makes the total number of combinations in which Jews figure one way or another 130, those in which Catholics figure 112, and those in which Protestants figure 76.

The first significant fact to appear is that Jews have intermarried with Catholics far more frequently than with Protestants—three-fourths again as much; the second is that Jewish men marry Catholic and Protestant women almost twice as often as Jewish women marry Catholic and Protestant men. Is there less conflict between the Jewish and Catholic faiths than between the Jewish and Protestant faiths, or is the question of the nativity of the *parents* of the couples, which might affect such factors as social status and residential propinquity, more significant? Traditionally, the Jews have reason to be prejudiced against both Catholics and Protestants, having been persecuted by both. But the question of nationality of stock may throw some light on the problem. If we omit the very few marriages in which the parents of either husband or wife were split as to nationality, the ratio of foreign-born parentage to native-born parentage was: Jewish, 13 to 1; Catholic, 2 to 1; Protestant, 5 to 8. Thus, although the Jews are overwhelmingly of foreign-born

parentage and the Catholics much less so, but still 2 to 1, the parentage of the Protestants is 60 per cent more native born than foreign born. This would have a tendency to throw the first two groups together rather than with the third and might account for part of the difference in cross-marriage above noted. However, this seems to throw no light on the question of why Jewish men marry Catholic and Protestant women almost twice as frequently as Jewish women marry Catholic and Protestant men.

The happiness ratings for the various combinations were:

Number of cases	Combination	Happiness rating
83 { 54	Jewish × Catholic	75 {
29	Catholic × Jewish	60 } 70
47 { 31	Jewish × Protestant	80 {
16	Protestant × Jewish	76 } 79
29 { 15	Catholic × Protestant	75 {
14	Protestant × Catholic	63 } 69
159	All combinations	73

It will be seen that the Jewish-Protestant marriages have a considerably higher happiness rating than the other two combinations, which are almost equal. In the Jewish-Catholic group, the Jewish-husband-and-Catholic-wife combination rates one-fourth higher than the Catholic-husband-and-Jewish-wife combination. Does the dominance of one culture or the other, particularly in relation to the faith in which the children shall be reared, have anything to do with this? In the Jewish × Catholic group the husband's general culture was said to be dominant in almost a 3-to-1 proportion. But in the Catholic × Jewish group the ratio was only 6 to 5; i.e., the husband's culture barely predominated. Does this mean that the Jewish general culture pattern is more persistent than the Catholic? Such a theory seems to be supported by the fact that in *both* groups the children were brought up in the Jewish faith a little more frequently than in the Catholic faith. This is in spite of the fact that on the attitude-toward-religion scale the Catholic husbands were somewhat more religious than the Jewish husbands. In both the J × C and C × J unions in which there were conflicts, religion was the cause in twice as many cases as were nonreligious factors. In all but three cases in which there was conflict based on religious differences there were children, disputes over their upbringing being a common trouble. In general, the interest in religion was quite low for both husband and wife, "indifference" being the modal attitude for both. In fact, a good

many of the couples (in some cases as many as one-third) were bringing up their children in no religious faith. Yet there were almost as many conflicts over religion in cases where both husband and wife were "indifferent" to religion as where either or both were moderately religious or even devout. This tallies with the statement that the religious faith in which one is brought up is far more than a matter of theological belief.

The statement has frequently been made that, since children so often are a source of conflict in interfaith marriages, such marriages have fewer children than do intrafaith marriages of similar status.¹ If this is true (we cannot tell in this study, for there is no control group), we might expect that the happy marriages would have more children than the unhappy marriages, duration being equal. But this is not the case. Omitting from both groups those marriages of three years' duration or less, we find that the number of children for the happy marriages (very happy and moderately happy combined) was 1.2 but that for the unhappy marriages (very unhappy and moderately unhappy combined) it was 1.6. Correcting for the difference in the duration of the marriages, we find that the figure for the unhappy group was still .2 larger than for the happy group. The happiness rating and number of children (corrected for duration) were then compared in all six of the combinations of the three faiths, but no significant correlation was found.

In the Jewish-Protestant marriages the children were brought up as Jews rather than as Protestants in the ratio of 2 to 1, though the Jewish spouses were scarcely any more religious than the Protestant. Half of the definite conflicts were over religion, again occurring practically as often among the indifferent as among the moderately religious.

In the Protestant-Catholic combinations it is interesting to find the children being brought up in the Protestant rather than in the Catholic faith in the ratio of 3 to 1. This is somewhat surprising for two reasons: first, the modal rating for religious attitude was "moderately religious"—a higher rating than for either of the other interfaith groups; second, the orders of the Catholic church are that all children of Catholic-non-Catholic marriages shall be brought up Catholic. Once more, we find half of the conflicts arising from religious differences.

The experiences in these interfaith marriages are extremely varied, and only a few can be presented here. In a number of cases one spouse (more often the wife) has adopted the other's faith, sometimes showing stricter observance of the new faith than does the other partner. Naturally, this is no insurance against other types of conflict, but it usually helps prevent a specific religious conflict. Children are sometimes the

¹ Most of these statements seem to be based upon a Swiss study many years ago in which the number of children born to Catholic-Catholic, Protestant-Protestant, and Catholic-Protestant marriages decreased in the order given.

casus belli, and sometimes the factor directly responsible for the reconciliation of opposing grandparents.

G. P., a Protestant, married a Jewess, in spite of the strongest possible opposition by the parents on both sides. The young people were very much in love, and before marriage they talked over the difficulties they might meet later. Neither was devout, but both were moderately religious. Before marriage the girl promised willingly that G. should be head of the family, and that if there were children they should be brought up in his faith. They were exceedingly happy until a baby boy was born. The grandparents on both sides descended upon them with voluble and conflicting advice regarding the faith in which the son should be reared. They were told firmly that the parents would settle that question for themselves. But it did not work out as easily as expected. Secure in her belief that her religion was superior to that of her husband, the wife anticipated no trouble in convincing him that the boy should be brought up a Jew. But he was firm and reminded her of her previous promise, which she could not deny. The result was that the boy, and later his sister, were raised in the Protestant faith, much to the sorrow of the wife. Her conscience hurt her continually, and she became ill. Her husband, still devoted to her, agreed that the children should be raised as Protestants only until old enough to choose their own faith and then be allowed free choice. This small concession comforted her and there has been no serious trouble since, though they are not considered happy.

Martin F., a young Jew of Russian parentage, married Kathleen, an Irish Catholic girl, with whom he had fallen desperately in love. Martin was only moderately religious, but Kathleen was very devout. They had been going together for months before the parents on either side were permitted to know that they were of different religious faiths. When Martin finally told his mother that the girl he wanted to marry was Catholic, she fainted, and it took the family physician to restore her. The father told Martin that if he married the girl the family would disown him and mourn him as dead. Family "scenes" occurred whenever Martin raised the subject anew. Kathleen's parents objected almost as strenuously, partly from religious prejudice and partly because they strongly favored a former suitor, the son of an old friend. Finally, in desperation, the young couple eloped and were married by a justice of the peace.

After the ceremony, Martin took his bride to his parents' home, hoping that when he confronted them with a *fait accompli* they would forgive and all would be well. Instead, they ordered them out of the house and rebuked the girl with the words, "You are responsible for the death of our son!" Her parents also refused the olive branch, and so the young couple started their married life with unyielding family antagonism instead of the usual hovering solicitude of parents. They began to magnify each other's faults, and quarrels became frequent, though they always made up again. They agreed not to have any children, and when the young wife found herself pregnant the quarreling became serious. The baby was a boy and Martin wanted him circumcised, but his wife would not hear of it, declaring that she would bring the boy up as a Catholic. The fight was on. The hospital authorities refused to circumcise the child without the mother's consent; so the first round was lost by the father. As soon as she left the hospital, Kathleen secretly took her baby to be baptized by a Catholic priest. When Martin heard of this, he was enraged, for he had also lost round two. He returned to his parents (the first time since he had been ordered out) and was received with open arms. He confessed that the marriage was a complete failure and they advised divorce, with alimony. He carried the suggestion to Kathleen but was met with the simple statement, "I was born a Catholic; I will die a

Catholic. Catholics do not believe in divorce." Nothing could shake her from this stand.

Five years passed, with quarreling and suffering a commonplace. Finding herself pregnant again Kathleen sought abortion, but without success, and a baby girl was born. Martin hoped that this second child could be brought up in his faith, but Kathleen refused. When the little girl was two years old, Kathleen found that, on pretext of taking the child out for a ride, the father was taking her to a synagogue. The wife made a terrible scene and taking her two children with her returned to her parents, only to be refused admittance on the time-honored ground that "she had made her bed and now must lie on it." There was nothing to do but to go back to her husband. Again he pleaded for divorce but again she refused.

The marriage has now endured for 10 years, with almost continual quarreling. Martin wants the boy to be a doctor, but Kathleen says he will be a priest. The little girl's attitude is revealed by a recent episode. Her father picked her up playfully and asked the usual fond question, "Whose little girl are you?" Whereupon the little girl replied stoutly, "I'm Mother's little girl, and you're not my Daddy—you're a Jew!"

S. G. (Jewish) thought he was indifferent to religion and readily promised his young Catholic wife that if there were children she could bring them up in her faith. Everything was fine until the first child—a boy—was born, and the wife had him christened and duly started on the Catholic path. To his own surprise the husband found himself resentful, and they began to quarrel frequently on the subject of religion. When the second son was born, the father was determined to have the boy circumcised, even going so far as to take the matter to court. There the rabbi and priest got together and agreed that the child should be raised as a Catholic until old enough to decide for himself.

But sometimes children are the saving factor.

P. L. (Catholic) and his wife (Jewish) are very happy in spite of religious difficulties. He is more or less indifferent to religion, and she is only moderately religious, but their parents take their religion far more seriously. The opposition was powerful from both families, and the young people were made to choose between spouse and family. They chose each other and were married by a justice of the peace.

They were very happy, except for the estrangement from their families. Within a year they had a baby boy, who bound them even more closely together. The little child was too much for the grandparents to hold out against, and soon they were reconciled to the young couple. The parental families have become fast friends, and all animosities have been completely overcome. To please the parents the marriage ceremony has been repeated by a priest and a rabbi, and so the couple are very much married. The husband has offered to adopt the wife's religious faith, but she will not permit it. They do not attend either house of worship; but she keeps the high Jewish holidays, and he observes the dietary laws and attends the rituals at the home of her family. At present, there seems to be no source of discord whatever.

M. R. (Jewish) and his wife (Catholic), both moderately religious, have had 12 years of happy married life after a threatening beginning. In this case the wife's family was too far away to cause trouble, but his family dropped him suddenly and completely on his marriage. Inasmuch as he was an only son, who had been humored by parents and sisters, this was a hard blow; but he and his wife weathered it until their firstborn came to their aid. The baby was a boy, and the young father was extremely anxious to have him brought up as a Jew, which involved early circumcision.

But he was fearful lest his wife, still in the hospital, would object, for they had never talked over the matter. He became almost frantic in his anxiety and finally appealed to one of his estranged sisters to go to the hospital and talk to his wife about it, which she finally agreed to do. When she told the young wife of her husband's anxiety, the latter was genuinely angry to think that he had doubted her devotion and submission to his wishes. She said there had never been any question in her mind but that her children should be brought up as Jews. This so delighted the husband's sisters and parents that animosities were forgotten, and from that day the family relations have been of the happiest.

Even when religious differences seemingly have been dissolved, they often remain a latent source of tension, coming to the surface only when other antagonisms arise.

In a certain $P \times J$ marriage, rated as moderately happy, religious animosities arise only during quarrels on other topics. The father agreed to the circumcision of their boy for the sake of cleanliness and health, but even so the fact rankles in his mind. When a quarrel arises he is sure to berate his wife for the circumcision, and on one occasion he shouted, "You made a Jew out of the kid!"

In a $J \times C$ family there is no evidence of religious antagonism except when the mother is angry. Then she turns on her own children and calls them "dirty little sheenies." When angry with her husband, she calls him a "blooming Jew."

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. Report on what relationship Terman found between the marital happiness of a man and the degree to which his wife resembles his mother; the marital happiness of a woman and the degree to which her husband resembles her father (Lewis M. Terman, "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," pp. 221-222.) Are the findings in line with popular belief? With Freudian theory?
2. Write up a full description of a mixed marriage you know (interracial, interfaith, or internationality) following the outline that your instructor furnishes.

3. In thinking back over all the movies you can remember, jot down the cases in which, in your judgment, the principals were not well enough acquainted to marry, had too few common interests, came from such different backgrounds that there was little likelihood of success, or had dispositions or characteristics that would probably break up the marriage. Do you think these hasty, ill-matched screen romances unconsciously affect the behavior of young spectators, or are they able fully to discount the dangers which the principals do not heed?
4. Make a list, roughly in the order of their importance, of the qualities that you disliked most in persons you have gone with, and that prevented you from becoming interested enough to consider marriage. What specific desirable qualities were lacking in these persons?
5. Do you always have official chaperons at mixed social functions in your college? Usually a man or a woman? Appointed by a dean or college authority or chosen by the students? What are his or her duties? Does the presence of the chaperon merely meet the requirements of "good form," or does it actually affect the conduct of the students?
6. Make a list of all the remarks you can that show sex antagonism—either female prejudice against males, or vice versa. Is most of this genuine antagonism or merely antagonistic play? If the latter, what causes it?
7. Review a modern novel, and analyze the chances of success or failure of the marriage of the principals.
8. Make a list of ways in which young men seek to impress their girl friends with their own high qualities. Compare these with the techniques used by the girls. Does either side resent a certain amount of bluff, or does each expect to have to discount the exaggerated self-rating of the other?
9. Report on the success or failure of the various types of mixed marriage in Hawaii (see Romanzo Adams, "Interracial Marriage in Hawaii").

CHAPTER VII

MATE SELECTION AND COURTSHIP.—(*Continued*)

HAPPINESS AND AGE AT MARRIAGE

Civilization is not an unmixed blessing. It has brought us comforts beyond the wildest dreams of primitive man, but it has also confronted us with new situations which are difficult to adjust. One such relates to the age at marriage. Biologically, boys and girls are capable of full-fledged married life as soon as they have attained puberty, which varies roughly between the ages of 10 and 15, in different climes and races. However, even from the physiological standpoint alone, the earliest possible age of reproduction is hardly the best age to marry, for neither partner has yet attained full physical growth. Among primitives, marriage can and frequently does take place by the time of physical maturity. There is no reason for delay. The total culture pattern is so limited and the necessary economic skills are so simple that they can be acquired early. A boy of 16 may know all his father knows about the time and place to gather wild grains and fruits; he may be as skillful with a fish spear as he will be at 40. Therefore, he can make a living for himself and his bride. In our own civilization, however, the young man who wishes to be a lawyer or a doctor has not even started his specialized training by the time he is 16. He will finish his training anywhere between the ages of 24 and 28. Even then, he has a very small earning power. He, too, might have become an expert with the fish spear at 16, but he will not reach his maximum efficiency in law or medicine until middle life or past. This throws the natural marriage age far out of balance with the "sensible" marriage age.

There is another factor, a corollary of the factors above, that similarly divorces the natural and reasonable marriage ages. Not only does the increasing complexity of our civilization call for a lengthened period of business or professional training, but also it makes it more difficult for very young folk, even if they have adequate incomes, to be successful in their marriages. Not only does it apply to the process of making a living but also it produces the growing intricacy of all human relationships. This means that the pattern of life is broadening out and becoming so involved and technical that we may need more years in which to master it and adjust ourselves to it successfully. The period of

immaturity is thus lengthened, and the immature cannot be expected to succeed well in any situation calling for mature experience and judgment.

Coincident with the steady decline in the average age at marriage in the United States during the past 40 years (a trend almost halted only within the last few years), there has been a rising rate of marriage failure. Though it would be folly to attribute the divorce rise chiefly to younger marriages, it is entirely possible that it is one of the minor causative factors. It has been pointed out that very young marriages are extremely unstable, resulting in a high rate of annulment, desertion, and divorce. It is uncertain whether this means that those of unstable temperament are more prone to rebel against convention or unhappy home circumstances and marry very early (a type that would stand more than the average chance of being unsuccessful in marriage, no matter at what age entered upon) or that the early marriage itself, due to immaturity and lack of experience, is conducive to a higher-than-average rate of failure.

Until recently, there has been little research in this field. One interesting statistical study¹ made in Philadelphia a few years ago found the "ideal" age for marriage to be about 29 for the groom and 24 for the bride, but since it was found that variations of four years on either side of the ideal age for the groom or two years on either side of the ideal age for the bride made no appreciable difference, the lower limits for those wishing to be in the "happiest" married group would be age 25 for the young man and 22 for the young woman. This is almost the exact average for the United States, the median age at first marriage in 1930 being 24.8 for males and 21.8 for females.² The highest mean age was 26.6 for males (Massachusetts and North Dakota) and 24.1 for females (Massachusetts). The lowest mean age was 22.8 for males (Mississippi) and 19.9 for females (Mississippi and Arkansas).

The study further found that marriages in which the bride was under 21 years or the groom under 24 became less stable as age declined and that when either party was 19 or younger the percentage of unstable marriages was very high; those who married beyond the age of 38 had considerably more than the normal amount of trouble, but not so much as the very young. It is obvious that special circumstances may make very early or very late marriage advisable and that such marriage by well-adjusted persons may be entirely successful. It is only concerning

¹ HORNE LL HART and WILMER SHIELDS, Happiness in Relation to Age at Marriage, *Jour. Soc. Hygiene*, 12: 403-407, October, 1926.

The study was based upon 1,000 unselected cases: 500 marriage-license applications selected at random over a period of 17 years, and 500 cases of domestic difficulty (but not involving application for divorce) appearing in the Court of Domestic Relations. Thus, the validity of the sample is open to question.

² Census release, Oct. 15, 1935.

general averages that it is safe to use specific figures. Considering the average period of education in the United States, the American standard of living, and the increasing difficulty of occupational adjustment, *i.e.*, finding and keeping a suitable job, the ages 25 and 22 do not appear too high for sensible young men and young women to establish their own homes. One might wish that present-day society were so constituted that the "sensible" age could more nearly coincide with the natural marriage age, but we must consider conditions as they are, not as we would like to have them.

Hart and Shields were cautious in drawing conclusions from their study, for they found two hypotheses to be consistent with their statistics.

First, it may be supposed that premature or delayed marriage is a symptom of permanent character traits which are unfavorable to success in family life. If this is the true explanation the postponement of marriage until the ideal age would presumably have no important effect on happiness in marriage. The second hypothesis is that the boy or girl under 21 years of age has not had a sufficiently broad experience or has not reached sufficient maturity to select a mate with whom a successful home can be established.

In the latter case, postponement of marriage until the woman is 22 and the man 24 would be a definite step toward lessening marital unhappiness. One state-supreme-court judge stated that he was weary of granting divorces to children who needed, more than anything else, to be spanked and put to bed. Another judge made the unequivocal assertion that marriages before 20 *never* last. Such a statement is too categorical to be of scientific value, but three further studies agree that very early marriages are unstable. Burgess and Cottrell¹ found that marriages under the age of 20 had far less than their share in the "very high adjustment score" group. Terman² found that women who married under 20 and men under 22 had a lower happiness rating than those who married at any other ages. Davis³ had only five cases in which both husband and wife were under 20 when they married, but four of these five turned out unhappily; but she dealt with some hundreds of cases in the total happy and unhappy groups, and she found that the happy group had a higher age at marriage than the unhappy group.

It has often been stated that marriages above the age of 30 are likely to be unstable. The chief argument has been that the parties are likely to be so "set in their ways" that they will not be able—or willing—to make the adjustments necessary to married life. It is doubtless true

¹ Study now in press. See page 196 for description.

² LEWIS M. TERMAN, "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938.

³ KATHARINE B. DAVIS, "Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women," New York, Harper, 1929.

that readjustments are more difficult in the thirties than in the twenties; but, also, there is probably a better understanding of the need for such adjustment, and more tolerance toward the difficulties of the other person. At any rate, recent studies do not show any great instability of marriages in the thirties. Burgess and Cottrell found that a larger percentage of those who married between 30 and 34 years of age (both husbands and wives) were in the best-adjusted group than were those of any other age group. Terman found that husbands who married above 35 and wives who married above 31 had higher happiness scores than any other groups. However, Hart and Shields found the happiness rate dropping sharply when marriage occurred beyond the age of 38, and Burgess and Cottrell found a similar sharp decline in adjustment when the husband was over 40 or the wife over 35 at marriage.

All factors considered, reasonably early marriage is desirable, both biologically and socially. If young folk could marry soon after they have completed their physical development and attained a reasonable degree of mental maturity, there are many indications that the results would be socially beneficial. The sex urge, which comes to the fore after puberty, sometimes dominates the interval between puberty and marriage, frequently leaving havoc in its wake. Some either cannot or will not stand the emotional strain imposed by a long period of celibacy. The breaking of the social code against premarital intercourse, the heavy toll of death and injury from abortion, the stigma of illegitimacy, and the spread of venereal disease—all testify to the power of sex to break the social leash. Early marriage could not hope to eliminate these problems but it might materially reduce some of them. Physiologically, early maturity is the easiest and safest period for childbirth. Psychologically, young folk should marry before their personalities are so set and their attitudes and reactions so habitual that they cannot adjust easily to each other, but the age at which this "hardening" occurs may be later than has been thought.

If, therefore, society today is so constituted that young folk cannot marry at the age most conducive to health and happiness, what can be done about it? Shall we go on the theory that man was made for the Sabbath or the Sabbath for man? Popenoe makes an excellent point when he insists that our social conditions which hamper marriage are not immutable. Why should we expect marriage to do all the adjusting to an unfriendly social order? If normal marriage and family life are among life's greatest values, why should not society do a little adjusting in order to conserve them? The argument stands or falls upon the question of how fundamental the family is in our civilization. If we cherish it as the basic human grouping, we can afford to defend it to the limit. If we consider it merely as a revered but dispensable section of the

whole social pattern, we may call upon it freely to adjust itself to changes in the pattern.

Whatever the answer to the above-mentioned problems, we are today putting a strain upon marriage, some of which is entirely unnecessary. We make it difficult to secure reliable birth-control knowledge so that many young folk postpone marriage through fear of having children before they are able to take care of them; we lengthen the period of education, and yet we do nothing to make it possible for students in long professional courses to marry before finishing their training. Even some of our seemingly generous acts are in reality partly dysgenic. Popenoe points out that to lend a girl money to go through college frequently assures a late marriage for her. Upon finishing college she is too proud to marry and ask her husband to assume her debt; hence, she must find work and pay off her debt before she feels free to marry. This frequently requires a number of years. Society might well give more thought to removing the obstacles to reasonably early marriage. The boll weevil or the chinch bug can quickly spur us to research and practical action, but the ravages of marriage blights bring no corresponding response. Each victim must fight it the best he can—and good luck attend him!

The census figures show the age differential of married couples in the United States to be about 3 years, but a Philadelphia study¹ gives a more detailed picture. Bossard found, by studying more than 13,000 marriage licenses issued in Philadelphia in 1931, that in about 10 per cent of the cases the bride and groom were of the same age, in 10 per cent the bride was older than the groom (usually less than 6 years older), and in 80 per cent of the cases the groom was older than the bride (usually less than 6 years older). In 46 per cent of the cases in which the husband was older than the wife, the age difference was 3 years or less. "As men grow older they tend to marry women increasingly younger than they are." In about 9.7 per cent of the cases the groom was 10 years or more older than the bride, and in 2.5 per cent of the cases he was 15 years or more older. There is considerable agreement that the unusual economic conditions of recent years have encouraged girls to marry men much older than themselves, men who have some property and a reasonable income. Undoubtedly there are some such cases, but there is no way at present of knowing how many. Bossard's figures indicate that such marriages are not very numerous, but he was dealing with marriages contracted early in the depression. It would be interesting to see how the figures would compare with those of several succeeding years.

¹ J. H. S. BOSSARD, The Age Factor in Marriage, *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, 38: 536-547, January, 1933.

A comparison of the ages of grooms and their brides in New York state, exclusive of New York City, shows the increasing preference among men of higher ages for relatively younger brides (see Table VIII). Young men of 21 tend to marry girls only 1 year younger than they are; but by the time they are 30 they are likely to choose a girl 5 years younger, and if they do not marry until 40 they will select a bride 8 years their junior.

It seems logical that, except under special circumstances and for certain temperaments, a very large age differential should constitute an extra marital hazard. Sex incompatibility is not so likely to be a dis-

TABLE VIII.—AGE OF GROOMS AND THE MEDIAN AGE OF THEIR BRIDES, NEW YORK STATE, EXCLUSIVE OF NEW YORK CITY, 1929-1931*

Age of groom	Median age of bride	Difference
21	20†	1
25	22	3
30	25	5
35	28	7
40	32	8

* Data taken from "Ages of Brides and Grooms," *Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Statistical Bulletin*, 18: 5-8, May, 1937.

† Reading to the nearest whole number, since no fraction was more than .3 from a whole number.

turbing factor when the man is older than the woman as when the reverse is true, but it would seem that a great difference in age sooner or later would lead to a difference in interests and activities. The man 20 years his bride's senior may keep up with her socially when he is 40 and she is 20, but when he is 60 and she is 40 it is a different matter. Time has a way of taking its toll, regardless of vows earnestly made that "we will never let the years come between us." Furthermore, since the longevity of women is greater than that of men, marrying a man 20 years one's senior usually means either long years of widowhood or remarriage. Because it has so long been taken for granted that a large disparity in age is unfavorable to marital happiness, the results of certain recent studies come as a surprise. Terman¹ found that the conventional pattern of the husband being 3-5 years older than the wife gave the maximum happiness for both (scores were 70.4 for the husband and 70.1 for the wife), but that those at both extremes of age difference had a slightly higher rating for either the husband or the wife. In 26 cases where the husband was 4-10 years younger than the wife, the wife's happiness scored the highest of all wives (75.9), and the husband scored 68.9, which was quite high. Also, in 34 cases where the husband was 12 or

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

more years older than the wife, his happiness score was the highest for all husbands (71.8), and the wife's score fairly high (68.5). Burgess and Cottrell got much the same surprising result. They had 30 cases in which the husband was 4 or more years younger than the wife, and these marriages had a far larger proportion in the "very high" adjustment group than did any other age combination. And the 45 cases in which the husband was 8 or more years older than the wife had the next largest proportion in the "very high" adjustment group. Such studies will doubtless stop the blanket assertions, common in the past, that *all* marriages in which there is a large age difference are likely to be unsuccessful, but it would be dangerous to assume from the few data available that a great age difference is *favorable* to marital happiness. It is more probable that such a difference is favorable only for a minority having certain temperaments and backgrounds, as will be discussed further on under the parent-fixation topic; but the majority do not want extreme age differences, as is shown by their actual distribution on the differential scale.

SOME STUMBLING BLOCKS TO MATE SELECTION

Certain popular beliefs, which make sensible mate selection difficult, are firmly fixed in the public mind. One such is the "only man in the world for you" theory. It is found in novels, where the heroine finally meets the "right one" (too frequently after marriage to another), and in poems, which begin with such comforting assurance as

Somewhere in the world she is waiting for you,
Your soul in her firm white hands.

The implication is that if the young man wanders long and widely enough he will cross the pathway of the woman-in-waiting who is surreptitiously nurturing his soul. True, she may not be entirely idle during this long wait, but the men of lesser breed with whom she has been harmlessly whiling away the hours of waiting will be promptly dismissed when she sees her knight come riding on his white charger. Likewise, he knows her at sight, whether because he recognizes his own soul that she has been holding all this time or because of his recurrent dreams of her is not entirely clear. For them it is "kismet," and their troubles are over.

Many sophisticated youth today disclaim any faith in this outmoded doctrine of mating, but their actions belie their words. They are like the farmer who ridiculed the idea that it made any difference by what light of the moon potatoes were planted and yet carefully observed the proper planting period "just to be on the safe side if there should happen to be anything to it." These youthful cynics eschew romance and

declare that their marriage will be of the head and not of the heart. But at the first convulsion of the latter their revolt is forgotten, and they fall back with a sigh of relief upon the familiar social pattern which is so comforting to their sense of individuality. It affronts their ego to be told that they could marry and be happy with any one of a number of suitable persons; it is pleasing to their vanity to think that nature makes a special dispensation for them.

But the truth is that instead of there being just one person in the world for a given young man, there are in this country probably several thousand young women of his same general culture and with characteristics which he especially admires, any one of whom might make him happy in marriage if met and courted under favorable conditions. If one grows up in Maine, one is just as likely to find a suitable mate as if one grows up in California. Only the most flexible doctrine of predestination could keep pace with the increasing mobility of Americans, and yet the marriage rate increases. Mobility appears to be no protection against vulnerability.

A second stumbling block to many an honest youth is the tradition that one cannot be in love unless he has "fallen" in love. In other words, it has to be a precipitate, hasty action, something that happens to him with the suddenness of an accident, rather than a somewhat slower process that is at least partly under control. Just as religious conversion, a generation ago, was not considered genuine unless it was sudden and accompanied by uncontrollable emotion, so is "true love" known by the blinding flash of revelation. But such regimentation of human experience denies the wide differences in temperament that exist. The man who wades into a pool and the one who dives from a springboard find themselves in the same water. Many young people, under the spell of Psyche's lore, wander about eagerly looking for a chance to "fall in love"; others, busy with other affairs, proceed with caution when they find their interest in someone becoming pronounced. The headlong, precipitate approach seems more striking and picturesque to the public and is chosen as the favorite type. It denotes such reckless assurance of lasting devotion that, no matter how poor the results in later years, it wins public approval and becomes fixed as a type.

It is only natural that girls like to have men "fall" for them, and fall hard. The more hopelessly enraptured the youth, the more complete is the fair one's control over him, giving her a sense of power very gratifying to her self-esteem. She is likely to look somewhat coldly upon the more cautious admirer who seeks to explore her personality and find a satisfying basis for lasting companionship before committing himself too far. If he is slow to respond to her encouragement, she may consider him too calculating and complain to her chum that she "doesn't like to

be analyzed all the time." Yet this same young man, if he finds more and more interests in common with her, may finally reach a place where all caution is thrown to the winds and he falls in love with her with an abandon that would satisfy the most consummate egotist. The moral—if there must be a moral—is clear. It is safe enough to fall in love—if *one is careful where he falls!* Here is the crux of the matter. If one is to use his head in mate selection, he must do it early. The only time in the process that the intellect is capable of functioning successfully is before, not after, one has fallen in love, for that rather rare pastime known as cerebration frequently varies inversely as the intensity of emotion.

Lacking sufficient temerity to attempt a definition of "falling in love," one can at least point out certain of its characteristics. Because it temporarily incapacitates some people for the normal activities of life, like other means of intoxication, it has for centuries drawn the shafts of humor. But in reality it is not so blinding as commonly supposed—sometimes it even develops an extra sharpness of vision. So jealous is each lover that the other shall appear as well to others as to himself that undesirable traits are noticed. But when one has fallen in love, there is no question but that the traits of excellence one sees in the partner far outweigh the other traits. George Bernard Shaw has defined love as "a gross exaggeration of the difference between one person and all the rest."

Falling in love is in some respects quite similar to acquiring a passion for a sport, a profession, an organization, or some other life activity, though it is more personal. Some of the same mental processes are brought to bear—loyalty, defense, rationalization, etc. Two factors, however, differentiate it sharply from other enthusiasms. One is the extraordinary interest of the public in the love ideal, and the emphasis and exploitation of it to the *n*th degree; the other is sex appeal. In the last analysis the former is built up from and dependent upon the latter, and hence sex in reality becomes the basis of all mating patterns, primary or secondary. Sex appeal, a legitimate but much-abused term, is fundamentally biological in origin, but it has given rise to such a huge superstructure of psychic aspects that one may well question whether in civilized man the physical or the psychical aspects of sex predominate. But since in a state of nature the physical appeal dominates, it will be considered first.

Certain characteristics which appear highly desirable in a mate have already been stressed, but little has been said about sex attraction. This is because such attraction can almost be taken for granted; that is, most marriages would never take place without it. Though a few marry for money, position, or similar calculating reasons, most couples

marry because they have found each other so attractive that they want to live together. Sometimes sex is the chief attraction, but whether predominant or not it nearly always forms the strong undercurrent of attraction. This is as it should be, for sex attraction before marriage and satisfactory sex life in marriage are usually essential to successful marriage. Sex attraction is probably the most frequent factor in making and following up the initial contact. Occasionally, the initial attraction is the demonstration of some unusual proficiency, whether in singing, playing an instrument, dancing, swimming, or other activity; but unless the interest thus aroused is supported by a mutual sex attraction it is not likely to prove lasting. But if the young people are physically attractive to each other and have one or more interests in common, the normal process of getting better acquainted and exploring personalities usually ensues.

Undue Emphasis on One Characteristic.—Too often, young people choose a partner because of one or two outstanding traits that appear highly desirable and either forget or deliberately ignore the fact that other traits, only slightly less desirable, are missing. They become infatuated to such an extent that they cannot think rationally. The extraordinary beauty of a girl may cause her admirer inwardly to allow her certain shortcomings on the theory that her beauty compensates for them. Likewise, a girl may find her suitor so handsome and captivating in manner that her overwhelmed judgment cannot heed certain danger signals that flash from time to time as serious faults are uncovered. Each has the feeling that this powerful physical attraction will somehow be strong enough to outpull any untoward factors. Such an outstanding trait, whether physical or mental, is a decided asset if supported by a reasonable amount of attractiveness along other lines, but when it is the sole basis of attraction it frequently cannot stand the strain. Disappointment brings bickering and quarreling, followed at first by "making up," but the periods of disagreement grow longer and longer.

Narrowing the Field of Selection Too Early.—Another handicap that some young folk unwittingly assume is an unnecessary limitation of choice. They select a "steady" too early in the game, either because they fear they will not find another if they let the present partner go or because of an exaggerated sense of loyalty and obligation. This depends greatly upon the local mores. If early marriage is the pattern and going with a girl a few times is considered almost a commitment, young folk will pair off early and prove their constancy by refusing to "date" with any others. But there is much to be said for a frank and open "shopping around." It gives one an opportunity to compare different traits in different people and find which traits will wear in close companionship and which will not. When "keeping company" is not

exclusive, but frankly on the basis of friendship and fellowship, the young man or young woman can acquire considerable experience in getting along with different types of people and appraising personalities. One who has gone with a number of attractive companions before making a final choice should be able, other factors being equal, to choose more wisely than one who acquires a "steady" while very young and continues in this person's company until old enough to marry.

Most men do not insist upon intellectual attractiveness in women so much as upon attractive personality and physical appeal. They also want a reasonable degree of domestic competence. Perhaps for this reason, men are more likely to marry below them than are women. One study showed that two-thirds of the men had married women with I.Q.'s lower than their own; another study¹ showed the husbands' I.Q.'s to be 8 points above the wives'. A wide difference between the mates in education, to say nothing of I.Q., provides ample opportunity for dissatisfaction and growing apart.

Women seek to marry above themselves intellectually. College women are particularly handicapped if they wait long after graduation before marrying. Their eligibility drops fast as their age increases; men of their age tend to marry younger girls; finally, a good many men otherwise eligible shy from an intellectual or a highly educated woman. Moreover, if college women go to work after graduation, it is frequently in some work in which the women greatly outnumber the men, such as teaching, library work, and social work, so that they meet few men in whom they can be interested. Stenographers and clerks thus have an advantage over young women in the professions and frequently walk off with the "prizes."

THE INCREASING DIFFICULTY OF MARRIAGE SELECTION

In primary groups, which not long ago included the bulk of the American population, mate selection was relatively simple. Everyone in the community knew everyone else, and contacts with other communities were too infrequent to complicate matters. Not only were all persons in a community known to each other, but each knew the other's family and background. When a girl's father could say of her admirer, "I've known his paw and maw from the time he was a little tyke, and they've always been honest, hard-working people," he had a satisfactory basis upon which to judge the young man's family background. But today parents living in great cities frequently can know nothing firsthand of the background of the young folk with whom their children associate. They must often judge the worthiness or unworthiness of a young

¹ PAUL POPENOE, *Mate Selection*, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 2: 735-743, October, 1937.

person on the basis of attributes observed when he is obviously on his best behavior.

But since the young folk themselves make the final decisions, often regardless of the attitude of parents, let us see what effect urbanization has had upon their efforts at marriage selection. In the first place their chances for contacts are seemingly widened, but most of their possible contacts never become actual ones. In spite of living in the midst of thousands of people, their circle of friends is usually no larger than that of one living in a small town, and frequently not so large. Young people who were raised in the city may have roots in some neighborhood within the city and hence have reasonable opportunities for contacts. But great urban centers are constantly drawing from smaller places and consequently have great numbers of young people who are comparative strangers in the city, who come in the prime of youth at the very age when marriage attracts most strongly. How can these young folk find suitable companions in the midst of a great impersonal city? How shall they make the connections that will bring them into association with their kind—of whom there may be thousands in the city if there were any means of locating them? This problem is getting to be one of prime importance, and anyone who has watched newcomers floundering in the impersonal contacts of city life knows their loneliness and hunger for companionship on their own cultural level. These young people have very little opportunity to meet others of their kind in a social way. For a long time their contacts may be limited almost wholly to those of the opposite sex whom they meet in the office where they work or the boarding house where they eat. The young man may find diversion in a public dance hall, but if he is cultured he is not likely to look for a wife there. He may set about making contacts that will bring a more selected association, by joining the church of his choice, the Y.M.C.A., a club, or other organization that sponsors social gatherings of young folk of both sexes. By determined effort, he may succeed in getting a healthful social fellowship with his kind, but many, whether from timidity, discouragement, or other causes, do not make the necessary effort and either drift along in utter loneliness or resort to the companionship of those whose favors they can purchase.

For the girl who is a stranger in a great city the problem is similar but much more acute. At home in the small town her attractiveness may have made her very popular, and the indifference of the city throng leaves her bewildered. She must either choose her companions from her fellow workers or make a definite effort to contact other more congenial groups, and in a way that will not subject her to the charge of being bold and forward. Her plight is perfectly illustrated by a letter,¹

¹ GREGORY MASON, *Wives by Mail*, *Scribner's*, 89: 533-536, May, 1931.

written by a highly intelligent woman who had migrated from her home village to the city where she could secure work. She stated that she did not want sympathy or charity, but the simple satisfactions of a normal home. She was considered intelligent and companionable by her women friends and reasonably good-looking. Yet at thirty-four she had never had a proposal and saw no prospect of ever receiving one. "My complaint is that in this migratory, kitchenette-apartment-house civilization of ours I cannot even get acquainted with attractive unmarried men sufficiently for them to notice my good points."

Everyone who has worked with young people in large cities knows similar cases of loneliness and discouragement. To overcome the handicaps that the city lays upon young strangers requires real initiative, but the chances of meeting congenial companions are excellent for those who will make the effort. There is an amazing number of voluntary organizations—interest groups—in every large city, covering a wide range of activities, from hiking to numismatics. Most of these welcome visitors as prospective members. Popenoe points out that by visiting one or two such organizations a week one can in a year come in contact with a great many people, some of whom are almost sure to be congenial enough to warrant the cultivation of friendship. Such a businesslike method of looking for a potential husband or wife may appear very unromantic to some. But actually, it is far more intelligent than merely sitting still, hoping that fate will in the fullness of time provide the "one right person" in the world. If it is romance one wants, the surest way to find it is to mix with interesting, stimulating people.

MATRIMONIAL AGENCIES

It comes as something of a surprise to the average layman that in the America of the 1930's the professional marriage broker still does a flourishing business. Among the Jews the *schatchen*, or go-between, is respected alike by rabbis and laymen, and in New York City there is even a Jewish radio program devoted to the needs of lonely persons longing to meet companions of the opposite sex who are likely to be congenial. This assistance in matrimonial selection has long been an accepted part of the Jewish culture, here and abroad, and seems to fill a social need.

But the practice is not limited to the Jews. Each year many persons, all over the United States, find their marriage partners through the aid of the numerous agencies that exist for that purpose—and for a financial consideration. There are said to be some 70 or 80 marriage brokers in greater New York alone, with many more scattered over the country, and the number of "members" who are seeking a mate by correspondence has been estimated at a half million. One agency claimed to have nearly

30,000 members at a given time. Registration costs \$2 to \$5 for men, and somewhat more for women, the supply of the latter exceeding the demand. The agency turns over to the applicant, if a man, the addresses of all the women members of the "club," and vice versa, or else recommends one or two specific persons who seem most nearly to fulfill the qualifications desired. Then the direct correspondence begins, sometimes continuing until all the most promising prospects in the bulletin have been canvassed.

The advertisements of these agencies stress the wide range of choice they can offer but seldom omit the financial bait. "We have connections with the finest class of people, business and professional, also all types of workingmen and -women, boys and girls, widows and widowers," says one, and another tempts with its "pretty, wealthy widows, who have life income." Some agencies brazenly appeal to the cupidity of men. One lists 15 women, giving age and financial standing, the latter ranging from \$10,000 to \$150,000. What they are "worth" is the chief item of description, as "a blonde of 20 worth \$40,000; a brunette of 22 worth \$60,000; a widow of 40 worth \$125,000," etc. Usually, the descriptions abound in such phrases as "blue-eyed blonde," "sparkling little brunette," "lovely little widow," and "sweet little pal" who is willing to "stifle some man's loneliness with her warm, loving kisses." Some of the women mention their "curvacious forms" and "classy dressing," and the men frequently boast that they "don't drink or smoke or chew." Nearly all stress their loneliness and promise to be a good partner to the right person.

Not all those seeking the assistance of marriage clubs belong to the semiliterate group. After his study of matrimonial agencies and the flood of letters he received following the publication in a reputable magazine of an article giving his findings, one writer was convinced that if the social stigma were removed from matrimonial bureaus a great many persons would avail themselves of their services. He stated that 98 per cent of the letters he received were entirely literate, often showing indications of coming from people of means and social position. Nearly all wanted to know the name of some reputable marriage agency. Furthermore, at least three high-class weeklies in the "literati" group carry "personal" advertisements of persons seeking to get acquainted with suitable members of the opposite sex. To anyone who has thought of matrimonial advertising as being confined to the pulp magazines, such a discovery is surprising, to say the least.

It is difficult for most persons to look upon such agencies with the same fairness they accord to other personal-service organizations. There have been so many cheap, low-grade agencies exploiting the ignorant in this field that it is difficult to admit that some may be performing a

service commensurate with their charges. But whatever the verdict on the social usefulness of such agencies, the fact remains that a considerable number of respectable people do choose their mates by correspondence that is managed by a third person. And if we are to believe those who have looked into the matter (though it is doubtful whether any authentic study has yet been made), such marriages are at least as likely to succeed as the average American marriage. May this be due partly to the fact that anyone despairing enough to resort to such a method in getting a mate is not likely to insist upon impossible standards and will make heroic efforts at adjustment rather than sink back into the previous condition of loneliness? Or is it tacit proof that marriage does not involve any more mysteries than do other human relationships and that businessmen can bring about successful unions quite as well as Cupid? Perhaps it would be better to say that Cupid goes into partnership with the agency managers, for his teachings crop out in most of the letters these lonely souls pay to have inserted in the agencies' bulletins.

The universal interest in mate selection is also exploited commercially by others than matrimonial agencies. One business concern for some time ran an "ideal marriage contest" in which the contestant—provided that he first bought the article advertised—could select from the pictures and descriptions of a group of girls the proper wife for a popular male movie star, and the letter supporting the choice might easily turn out to be the prize winner! But though we have learned to expect modern advertising to overlook no human interest in its insatiable lust for the consumer's dollar, it is rather surprising to see a large Eastern newspaper (not in the tabloid group) brazenly exploit its readers on the subject of choosing a mate. Recently this paper, under the caption "Whom shall I marry? What is my vocation?" listed some 8 or 10 questions about the applicant for advice, such as whether he liked city or country best, enjoyed doing jigsaw puzzles, and whether he preferred stage or screen plays. This negligible information (together with 10 cents and a self-addressed envelope) would bring from a "noted psychoanalyst" with whom the newspaper had "made an arrangement" a letter of advice. Such penny snatching from the ignorant and gullible by a reputable newspaper scarcely enhances the prestige of the press.

Various columns for the lovelorn provide an opportunity for emotional discharge which seems to prove entertaining to certain elements of our population. Also, several radio programs purport to explain the technique of love-making, specializing on the most honeyed terms of endearment. Some of the programs might truly be said to reach "the ultimate in blah." Some "specialists" take to the pamphlet field. One assures us that he holds the scientific secret (which he will part with for a mere 25 cents) by which homely parents may have beautiful children. The

central principle, amply illustrated, is merely the selection of a mate physically one's opposite; *i.e.*, a tall person should marry a short one, a man with a long nose marry a woman with a short one, etc. The author gravely assures us that the most important factors to consider in mate selection are the angle of the chin and the length of the nose.

COLLEGE COURTSHIPS AND MARRIAGES

Most writers on marriage problems state that education is favorable to successful marriage. They find the ratio of marital failure lower for college graduates than for the country as a whole and still lower for those whose courtship starts on the college campus. Though few reliable studies have been made on this topic, what study there has been, together with the observation and experience of students of marriage, seems to support these conclusions. The divorce rate for the graduates of several well-known women's colleges was found to average only a small fraction of that for the population in general, and the divorce rate for marriages between college mates in various coeducational schools was still lower. Terman found that the husbands who had three or more years of postgraduate study were the happiest, and so were their wives; the wives who had three or four years of college work were the happiest, and so were their husbands, although the differences were not always large. Burgess and Cottrell found that those who had postgraduate study—whether husband or wife, but particularly so if the wife—had the best marital adjustment.

Education broadens the personality, makes for tolerance, and endows one with inner resources of culture that greatly facilitate the continuous process of adaptation which married life is sure to demand. The college woman knows more than her noncollege sister and is more skillful in making the most of her ability. If she finds herself, after marriage, located in a smaller and quieter town than she is used to, she knows how to make contacts and introduce new activities, and, if very isolated, she can fall back upon her own inner resources and still find life rich with her reading and music and with other cultural opportunities that are now available regardless of locality. Furthermore, the college woman's ideals of home and family life are likely to be high, which helps her avoid the narrow, selfish, uninteresting family pattern that makes for marital strain.

But campus association with one's future spouse is particularly helpful, for on the campus each person sees the other in various important roles. College life faithfully reveals to one's companions one's ability or lack of ability in the classroom, degree of sportsmanship on the athletic field, wise or foolish use of money, division of time between work and play, neatness of dress and personal habits when "on one's own," and

numerous other traits of character. Young men and young women who have been closely associated for a year or two under these searching tests of character know far more about each other than they would in a much longer period of association limited entirely to recreational activities.

But though education, particularly coeducation, seems to be a definite help to marriage, it may be a secondary rather than a primary factor in selection. Are college marriages more successful than the general run because of the education factor or because college brings together a highly selected group of young people from classes similar in intelligence and cultural background, which gives the young folk a wide yet relatively safe range of choice? Probably both factors—educational and selective—are influential, but the relative weight of either factor cannot be determined yet. But whether of primary or secondary importance, college education by and large does definitely promote successful marriage. Since this is true and since it has long been established that the marriage rate is higher for men and women in coeducational colleges than in separate men's and women's colleges, coeducation may be said to be more eugenic than education in separate colleges.

Separate colleges for men and women deprive young people of one of the best opportunities they will ever have of finding congenial life partners. It is an unnatural separation, retaining a slight flavor of monastery and nunnery. Children grow up in a male and female world, both in the family and in society. Nearly all their associations are with both sexes until they reach college age, and after college they will return to a bisexual world for the rest of their lives. Separate colleges result in an artificial four years' separation just at the period when they are normally most interested in finding a potential mate. If the purpose is to keep the students' minds off the other sex and on their work, it usually fails. The unnatural separation merely makes association with the other sex more difficult and narrows the selection, for association these young people will have. From the writer's extensive visits to all kinds of colleges and from the testimony of both faculty and students, it is certain that young people of the opposite sex cannot be kept apart, even when authorities seek to apply medieval rules. It was interesting to watch the girls in one fashionable school slip through the regulations and meet the boy friends in their shiny roadsters, when supposedly attending a symphony program with safely married friends. These same girls on the campus during the week dressed in such a slovenly fashion that one would be led to exclaim "Not a beauty in a carload." Girls from the same type of homes who go to coeducational colleges are neat and careful of person and dress. At the men's colleges the campuses were deserted over week ends, while the students sought companionship

where they could find it, some with reputable town girls, some with young women of easy virtue in neighboring cities, and some traveling to their sweethearts' colleges for a few brief hours of fellowship before Monday's classes.

On the beautiful campus of a college that might be called semi-coeducational a peculiar and unfortunate attitude has resulted from the faculty's attempt at separatism. The girls' buildings are at one end of the campus and the men's at the other, with a considerable stretch of campus between. The boys and girls do not have classes together, and the faculty seem to fear that they will become too friendly. As a result the boys have dates with the town girls, but seldom with the coeds of their own college, whom they look upon as "stuck up." Likewise, the girls go with young men in town, regarding the men students as rough and uncouth. If they were encouraged to become acquainted, they would doubtless become the best of companions.

When young women in separate schools fail to make any normal social contacts with the opposite sex just at the age when they most wish such association, they show definite symptoms of "starvation." This was true of a number of teachers graduating from a women's normal school in the South, which had very strict rules. In several cases the superintendents complained that the new teachers were "boy crazy," but when they found the reason they held their patience until the teachers had become adjusted to mixed association once more. In contrast with this case the writer found several campuses where the boys and girls dined together in the college dining hall, with the personnel at the various tables shifting every two weeks so that the students in these small colleges came to know a great many of their fellows during the year. Nowhere were more wholesome relations between the sexes found than in these colleges where normal fellowship was encouraged. Even the minor matter of table manners was in sharp contrast to that obtaining elsewhere. In these schools, in spite of the laughter and good fellowship at table, it was a matter of pride that good manners be observed; in a men's college of high national reputation the dining room resounded with the yells, stomping, and table poundings of the young bloods who devoured their food with incredible speed.

Most schools fall between the extremes mentioned above. In many coeducational colleges there is an enormous amount of time wasted in excessive "dating." Waller¹ shows something of its rules and ethics and the extent to which it may overshadow one's college work. To some it means losing out in their studies and being dropped from school. It also results in some immorality, but probably no more—perhaps less—

¹ WILLARD WALLER, *The Rating and Dating Complex*, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 2: 727-734, October, 1937.

than in the separate colleges. Young men and women cannot always be held up and spoon-fed. If they are too weak-willed to use their time wisely in one type of school, they will find ways to squander it in a different type.

FINDING AN INTELLIGENT APPROACH

Young people today, with all their sophistication, are frankly perplexed over the problems they meet in this universal process of finding a mate. They want to make a wise choice, but up to a certain point they are fearful they will not. To be sure, some are wholly confident, but for every one of this type there are several who have grave doubts somewhere along the line. Such uncertainty is true of most people in any important field of choice; there is no hope of completely dispelling it. Uncertainty and caution have a genuine role to play; they may force one into genuine thinking where previously thinking had been superficial. But granting the naturalness of a certain amount of hesitancy in such a vital matter, is there need for the actual bewilderment some young people feel? Is there any approach to the problem that is at once sensible, yet not too coldly calculating?

There are many legitimate questions that young persons of the mating age may ask, but little available information that is based on more than general observation. There have been very few scientific studies that attempt to throw light on these matters. How much must two people have in common before they are a good "risk"? What are their chances of making a go of marriage if they are of greatly different religious faiths? If the girl insists on a career, how good a chance is there that the pair can still work out a satisfactory domestic life? Is a 12-year difference in age too great a handicap to take a chance on? If the girl is a college graduate but the young man not, can they be harmonious? These and almost countless other questions are being asked over and over. It would be foolish to say that any studies, no matter how scientific, could answer these questions correctly for any given couple. Personalities, experiences, and circumstances vary so tremendously that the best that could be done would be to show the typical experience of large numbers of people and thus sharpen the understanding of the significance and ultimate implications of such questions.

One great trouble with many youths (as well as elders, too) is their unwillingness to acknowledge a mistake and start over again. This applies to their efforts to find a marriage partner as well as to other activities. This attitude of "going through with it" in spite of inner doubts that keep rising may be due to several things. One is an exaggerated sense of "loyalty" and "good sportsmanship." If one knows that the other person still cares as much as ever, there is a tendency

to go ahead and make the best of it rather than be a poor sport and let the other party down. Such misguided loyalty may give one an exalted feeling of sacrifice, but it is an extremely poor basis on which to start a marriage that is to be permanent. Another reason for stubbornly keeping to one's course is to prove to opposing relatives or friends that one's judgment was correct after all. But there is little satisfaction in trying to brave through such a situation when so much is at stake; temporary vindication is small pay for continual unhappiness.

One thing that is certain is that young people deeply interested in each other should talk over, frequently and freely, the matters on which they differ as well as those on which they agree. There is a tendency to avoid those topics which always bring up unpleasant differences of opinion. The defense for avoiding them is that "they always make us unhappy, so why bring them up?" That, of course, is just the point. Steering clear of them because there seems to be no way of agreement is a temporary makeshift. If the areas of such disagreement are trivial, the avoidance technique may be entirely wise; but if they are important areas of life that must inevitably be faced later, present avoidance is worse than childish. If no reasonable compromise can be worked out before marriage, in the glamorous courtship days when each is so anxious to please the other, the chances of satisfactory settlement in marriage are few. Yet time and again young couples shut their minds to such disturbing thoughts, with the vague but uneasy hope that the alchemy of love by some secret formula will dissolve the disturbing factor.

Folsom¹ shows something of the great variety of things that it is well for young people to know about each other before they assume the responsibilities of marriage:

Prospective partners need especially to know each other's attitudes regarding the number and timing of children, their management and discipline, the role of the wife as homemaker or worker outside the home, and regarding housing, accumulation of possessions, money, travel, extramarital friendships, the role of sex in life, the duty of the family toward the community and its institutions. Each needs to know what the other is likely to do under emotional strain. Will he resort to drink, illness, quest of excitement, or will he retreat into a world of fancy? When hurt, will she "freeze up" for a long while toward the person who hurt her, or will she develop a rage which can be easily softened into love and reconciliation? She needs to know what he is apt to drop out of his life when he becomes busy and preoccupied; what pleasures he will most likely retain under these circumstances. She needs to know what is his pattern of work. Is it normal for him to become preoccupied for long periods with his work, punctuated by intense "sprees" which she may share with him by proper timing of her activities; or does he thrive best on a little work, a little play, a little love, each

¹ J. K. Folsom (editor), "Plan for Marriage," New York, Harpers, 1937, pp. 96-97.

day with regularity? He needs to know whether she likes to save money cumulatively, or to save merely so as to keep always a little ahead of the game, or is comfortable to be always a little in debt. Each needs to know whether the other really wants to be told everything, or whether he would rather remain ignorant of possibly unpleasant facts which do not affect him in practice.

Such extensive information, plus much more that could be mentioned, cannot be obtained all at once. This is good reason for fairly long courtships. One cannot sit down with a potential marriage partner, list in hand, and put him or her through a long catechism! These are matters that come into the conversation one or two at a time, with long intervals in lighter vein between. Some of them may never come into the conversation at all, yet be answered more effectively than if they had. It takes time to get well acquainted on many points—time for talking, time for observing, time for thinking. Whirlwind courtships do not have a good record of success. Dr. Charles R. Brown is reported to have admonished young people thus: "You wouldn't pick a horse out by moonlight, but you choose a life partner that way."

Is there any relation between the length of the acquaintanceship before marriage and the success of marriage? Terman found the relationship negligible, but Burgess and Cottrell found the proportion of the best-adjusted marriages rising steadily with each increase in the period of acquaintanceship; those who had known each other for 10 years or more had twice as great a proportion in the "very high" adjustment group as had those who had known each other less than six months before marriage. But there was agreement on the effect of the length of the actual engagement period; both Terman's and the Burgess-Cottrell study showed the long engagements to be most frequently associated with the greatest happiness.

What young people want is something more than one individual's advice. The more thoughtful keep asking, "Have there been any studies made?"—on this point or that. If, as some claim, the selection of a congenial marriage partner is much more difficult today than it was several generations ago—because then the long-established patterns were few and widely accepted—they have a right to ask for all the help that can be obtained. Every question points toward the need for *prediction*, which is, indeed, the need in almost every phase of our social and economic life. Can we ever hope to predict with any degree of success the compatibility of two persons who are thinking of marriage? Only a beginning step has been made in this direction, but even that is worth following as attempts at succeeding steps are made.

Predicting the Degree of Marital Success.—The degree of happiness and personality development that one attains in life is perhaps more dependent on the wise choice of a life partner than on any other factor.

William James used to quote an old farmer to the effect that "there's mighty little difference between one man and another, but what little difference there is is mighty important." It seems unfortunate, therefore, that this choice is made particularly difficult by two facts: (1) It usually comes in youth, when experience is limited and judgment immature. (2) There are no reliable tests of compatibility for one's guidance. In the choice of a vocation the guidance available is far from perfect, but tests of intelligence, aptitude, interest, and other characteristics have advanced to the place where they are giving genuine aid. Yet in the field of marriage guidance we have barely made a beginning. This is due partly to the infinite possibilities of combinations when dealing with two human personalities and partly to a lack of genuine research. We have too long neglected this field, either because we treat mate selection humorously or because we see no hope for scientific prediction.

But recently there have been several serious attempts to explore the possibilities of prediction, one of the most significant of these being the Burgess-Cottrell study.¹ This study deals with 526 middle-class Illinois couples, mostly native urban stock, with a high-school or college education and married one to six years. It is unnecessary here to describe the way the authors constructed and checked their scales, which showed sufficient validity to warrant their use in selecting questions and assigning weights. There were 20 questions, covering such factors as the extent of the couple's agreement on matters of finance, in-laws, recreation, intimate relations, etc; extent of common activities, confiding in one another, demonstrating affection; and the number of complaints that each partner listed regarding the other. When these factors were checked against a happiness scale (with validity established by the high consistency of ratings by self, spouse, and outside acquaintance), it was found, as might be expected, that those couples who showed high agreement on various activities and attitudes were high up on the happiness scale, and vice versa. For example, the couples who engaged in all outside activities together were fifteen times as likely to be in the "very happy" group as were those who had few or none of their outside activities together. Likewise, those who agreed best on their attitudes toward in-laws were usually in the happy group.

¹ ERNEST W. BURGESS and LEONARD S. COTTRELL, *The Prediction of Adjustment in Marriage*, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 1: 737-751, October, 1936. This was the first brief report on this pioneer work, but the study has now been prepared for publication in complete form, and is in press: E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, "Prediction of Success or Failure in Marriage," New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939. The present writer, therefore, has secured most of his data on the study by correspondence with the authors and their loan of mimeographed parts of the manuscript, with their permission to use them.

Such adjustment scores by themselves would have limited value, but when used in constructing a *prediction* score they have considerable value. Some 40 items in the husband's and wife's background were selected and correlated with the adjustment score. For example, it was found that, in general, the higher the educational level at the time of marriage, the higher the adjustment score, the level of the wife's education being more significant than that of the husband. Where the educational levels of husband and wife differed greatly, they rated low on the adjustment scale. Another finding was that persons who belonged to several organized social groups were higher in marital adjustment than those who belonged to one or none. All 40 background items for husbands and wives being used, the background scores of the 526 couples were correlated with their marriage adjustment scores, the Pearsonian coefficient of correlation being +.51. This was then checked against the present status of the marriages and found to be consistent. Then a new sample of 155 couples (of the same general socioeconomic level as the first) was taken and scored in the same way, showing a correlation coefficient of +.48, which is remarkably close to the original, in view of the smallness of the sample.

In describing such an extensive study, one cannot do it justice by merely selecting a few high lights. To get the real value of the tables and analysis, one must consult the complete report. However, it is possible to indicate a few factors in marriage adjustment that are correlated with—or at least associated with—marital success or failure. The percentage of couples having a "very high," "high," "low," or "very low" adjustment score is given for a number of factors. Without using each factor or giving figures for each grade or level of adjustment, it is possible to get some idea of the findings by dealing only with the "very high" adjustment group. Such a brief summary—dealing with only a few of the factors treated—can be stated as follows:

The couples with highest marriage adjustment were most numerous among:

1. Those having no difference in family background. (The proportion was nearly twice as great as for those with backgrounds greatly different.)
2. Those who had the most education—both husbands and wives.
3. Those who most frequently attended church, both before and after marriage.
4. Those who attended the same church. (The proportion was $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as high as for those attending different churches.)
5. Those—both husbands and wives—who still went to Sunday school between the ages 19-25 or are still going. (The proportion was nearly twice as high as for those who dropped out early or never went.)
6. Those of which each partner had many friends of the same sex and a few—but not too many—of the opposite sex.
7. Those having three or more (rather than fewer) memberships in organizations.

8. Those having six or more (rather than fewer) present interests.
9. Those having the most interests in common. (The proportion was more than three times as great as for those couples having the most different interests.)
10. Those—either husband or wife—not previously married. (The proportion was two-thirds higher than when either husband or wife had previously been divorced.)
11. Those whose childhood was spent in the country, rather than in the city.
12. Those whose parents were very happy in their marriage.
13. Those whose attachment for their parents was strong.
14. Those whose marriage was favored by both parents on both sides. (When the father on either side opposed the marriage, it lowered its adjustment level more than when the mother on either side opposed it. When both the husband's parents opposed it, it lowered the adjustment level more than when both the wife's parents opposed it.)
15. Those having a long acquaintance—10 years or more—before marriage. (The proportion was more than twice as high as for those knowing each other less than six months. Conversely, those knowing each other less than six months had the largest proportion in the "very low" adjustment group, *nine times as large* as the proportion of those who had known each other 10 years or longer.)
16. Those who had a courtship of three to four years. (Only 3.6 per cent of those with this long a courtship were in the "very low" adjustment group.)
17. Those who were engaged from two to three years. (Only 2.6 per cent of those with this long an engagement were in the "very low" adjustment group.)

This study marks a real step forward in scientific prediction in the field of marriage relationships. It is only a beginning, but one cannot but speculate on its possibilities. Suppose further research and refinement of method could bring the prediction coefficient up to $+ .75$ or $+ .80$, what a flood of light it would afford for young people! Not all would use it, for some will always be guided by their emotions, but there is much evidence that an increasing number of young people are seeking all the scientific guidance they can get on a problem which is so important to their whole life. The prediction could not be expected to apply accurately to each individual case; but it would reveal the experience of types or groups, and these would constitute guide posts pointing in the right direction but not necessarily designating every detail of the road.

Another study, part of which deals with prediction, is that by Terman and his associates.¹ This book, published late in 1938, had the advantage of permission to use some of the Burgess-Cottrell schedules, in addition to its own, and so it is a very extensive as well as an intensive piece of work. It is dealt with much more fully in the next chapters, on *The Husband-wife Relationship*. Terman found that certain family background factors had more predictive value than all others. Such factors as the happiness of the parents, childhood happiness, strong affection for the parents, the type of home discipline, and a number of others were closely correlated with marital happiness. Some of these cover the same

¹ *Op. cit.*

points as the Burgess-Cottrell study, usually with very similar findings, providing an excellent double check on validity.

If these two outstanding studies are followed up by others, with more refined techniques and still more analytical interpretations, it will open to science a whole new field that heretofore has been ruled by opinion. There are many gaps to fill and hasty, faulty interpretations to rework, but these are inevitable in a pioneer field and are serious only if they are neglected in the work yet to come.

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. Set forth as exactly as you can the courtship standards considered right by the majority of parents in your community. Do the same regarding those of the majority of young people of high-school and college age. What differences do you find? Will these young people swing over to the present parental standards when they become parents?
2. From the Terman study (Chap. 9) make an analysis of the tables and graphs showing the relationship between a person's marital happiness and the happiness of his parents.
3. Take the last 10 movies you can remember. In how many cases did the hero and heroine fall in love at first sight? What is the average time between their meeting and marriage?
4. From the Burgess-Cottrell study get the detailed table on the relationship of happiness in marriage to (a) length of acquaintance, (b) duration of courtship, (c) engagement period. Analyze the table. When the time scale is compared with the adjustment scale, is the numerical trend less regular or more regular than you would expect?
5. If there is any matrimonial agency in your city, find out what you can about the number and kinds of people who patronize it, fees, types of advertising, etc. Name a number of periodicals in which you have found such advertising.
6. Describe a definite and somewhat sustained effort by a church, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., or other organization, to enable young people to become acquainted. Evaluate the results.
7. Make a list of all the common sayings that you know which poke fun—either maliciously or good-humoredly—at love or being in love. What do you think is the main purpose of such remarks? The chief result?

8. Does it seem consistent with the other findings of Terman and of Burgess and Cottrell that those men and women who first met in travel or at a vacation resort should have the highest marital-happiness rate, higher even than those who met at college (see Lewis M. Terman, "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," p. 196). Can you name any factors that might help explain this?
9. To what extent in your community are the girls taking the initiative in making dates and paying the bills on such occasions? Compare the arguments for and against this practice. If this is never done in your community but the "Dutch date"—the girl paying half the expenses—is sometimes used, give arguments for and against it instead of for the above-mentioned practice.
10. Summarize the attitudes toward courtship that Floyd Dell brings out in his "Love in a Machine Age." What arguments can you offer in support or opposition?

CHAPTER VIII

THE HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP

If a visitor from Mars, interested in our way of life, should seek to evaluate the relationship that we call "marriage" by studying sensational newspaper reports, cartoons, jokes, drama, movies, and so-called "modern" literature, he would be amazed that people still marry. Such sources, both by implication and direct statement, seem bent on proving that marriage is a failure. But if our visitor were not too gullible but were clever enough to nose around a bit before jumping to conclusions, he would be sure to come across the surprising fact that for four decades we Americans have been becoming more and more married. This might suggest to the Martian intellect that there was a joker somewhere, that the loudest critics of a custom are not always the soundest thinkers, and that marriage, in spite of its many drawbacks, must have more plus than minus factors as far as human happiness is concerned, else in this enlightened day people would not increasingly follow this ancient pattern. This would seem to show that men and women derive profound satisfaction from marriage, or at least they *expect* to derive such satisfaction. The last clause will bear watching; yet the fact remains that whether they find in marriage all that they expect, at least they find enough to justify their loyalty to the basic institution from which it arose—the family. Hence, they perpetuate the social pattern, passing it on from generation to generation as a precious part of the social heritage.

We are not here minimizing the shortcomings of marriage or dismissing with a gesture the charges of its critics. But we are accepting the simple fact that men and women continue to pair off and cast their lots together, in other words, that they find the marriage relationship worth while. Even those who at first do not find in it what they are seeking, and therefore dissolve the bonds, frequently try again, convinced that happiness is available if only they can find it; and these second marriages are often successful.

This steady march of youth to the altar, in the face of all the storm signals set by the critics, is impressive. It behooves us to look first at the satisfactions young people expect to derive from the relationship and then at the degree to which these satisfactions may or may not be achieved, together with the technique and processes involved. We shall find simple as well as complex factors contributing to success and failure, for

the statement that "the most remarkable thing about common sense is that it is so uncommon" applies peculiarly to marriage. Yet when we see the surprising extent to which common folk everywhere make a go of this most difficult of human relationships, we must conclude that after all common sense must assert itself somewhere along the route of most marriages, even though it may be painfully lacking at first.

Reasons for Marriage.—Why do people marry? The answers, if one went into detail, would be numerous, including sheer romance, desire for wealth or position, assurance of care in old age, a steady source of sex satisfaction, escape from unpleasant home conditions, love of children, perpetuation of family name, the expectation of society, fear of ridicule if one does not marry, salary promotion or preference, spite against another, and a host of other reasons. But all of these are minor compared with the dominant urge for continuous and intimate companionship with a loved person. Most, if not all, of the above motives for marriage might be reduced to a very few basic wants, such as those enumerated by Thomas in the "four wishes." Perhaps no other human activity is entered into with a more perfect blending of these four motivations—the desire for new experience, security, response, and recognition. The newness of the experience, in which sex plays a dominant but not exclusive role, lends zest and adventure to the step. To this factor is due much of the keenness of anticipation and the flush of excitement with which marriage is undertaken. It is entrance into a new life. This is accentuated by the customary preface called "courtship," and still further by the introduction called the "honeymoon." In fact the social emphasis upon this "desire for new experience," though having the advantage of making marriage attractive, has the disadvantage of pitching it on a plane that cannot be maintained and hence may lead to disillusionment. The desire for economic security is in general a stronger marriage motive among women than among men, for women are not yet so independent economically as men. But the desire for security is not limited to material things; it includes affectional security, and the joint yearning for the stability of a "home," with all that the word implies. The desire for recognition is expressed in marriage to the extent that one is gratified because of the new status that marriage brings—the social recognition of conformity to the approved social pattern. This satisfaction may be further enhanced when one feels that one is marrying into a circle that is above one's own.

But the desire for response is the chief *raison d'être* for marriage. The consuming desire of the partners to be together and to enjoy the exclusive possession of each other probably outweighs, in this country at least, all other considerations put together, though it cannot be wholly differentiated from the affectional security previously mentioned. The

desire for response runs the whole gamut of the husband-wife relationship, from the subtle comfort of mutual interest in the most commonplace activities of everyday life, to the consuming climax of sex passion. This opportunity which marriage affords for constant and complete companionship with the person most loved, with the full sanction of society, is its greatest single attraction. The response may or may not turn out to be satisfactory and permanent, but the desire for such response usually lives on, though inevitably its emphasis changes as the years pass.

The Cult of Romance.—The fact that so frequently the response satisfactions in the early years of marriage do not come up to expectation is due to social misguidance. The literature of love has brought into being a *cult of romance* that dominates the thinking of both old and young, though not exactly in the same way. It is a wishful cult, ignoring the basic realities of life and building its castles in the clouds of fancy, where none but knights and ladies, princes and princesses exist. Its guide is a sort of glorified instinct that must not be debased by any admixture of reason. For generations young people of marriageable age have accepted with little question the tenets of this cult, though later in life they reluctantly admit to themselves that they are not all "as advertised." However, like the myth of Santa Claus, they *ought* to be true, and therefore they justify themselves in passing them on, letting each generation find out for itself the extent to which they fall short of the truth.

Whence came this cult of romance that has so subtly handicapped successful marriage? How did it work its way into our affections and become an accepted part of our culture? Romantic love has blossomed in nearly every culture of the past and is recorded even in the writings of the ancients. But frequently—perhaps usually—it had no connection with marriage. In the Orient, from the earliest myths to the present, romance can be traced like a glowing thread through the classic literature. Not in vain did almond eyes cast sidelong glances and flushed cheeks speak their subtle messages ere retiring behind the fan. But only rarely were such arts connected with marriage. In the early Occident, the *hetærae* of Greece and the "women of culture" of Rome were the focal points of romance, but romance that was extramarital. Even in modern France, with its literature fairly worshipping at the shrine of romance, marriage plays only an occasional role. The French highly revere marriage and are passionate devotees of romance, but the two are considered separate values which may at times coincide but more often do not. The conception of romantic love as a prerequisite to happy marriage is very modern and limited to a very few countries. Certainly, it dates back no further than the Middle Ages, if that early, for it is by

no means certain that chivalry first brought romance and marriage together. The lady's knight was not always her "liege and lord." But whatever its source, the idea of romantic love as essential to happy marriage flowered most fully in America, where courtship had fewer restrictions and there was less parental interference with marriage selection than in any other Western country. There grew up as a result a veritable cult of romance, with an accepted creed and a definite code of action which is revealed in our popular fiction, drama, poetry, and song. The young folk naturally strive to live up to the pattern, and even the elders do their bit as guardians of the cult by making shocked, clucking sounds when here and there a couple does not follow the romantic pattern, for such sacrilege supposedly draws the thunderbolts of Jove.

It is an ironical paradox that this cult of romance, with its sincere desire to refine and beautify the marriage relationship, should do it more harm than good. It is like a drug that must be used sparingly. To rely upon its stimulus constantly is to become an addict. But, fortunately, its power can be more easily broken than that of drugs. Time and common sense, those doughty victors in innumerable conflicts, frequently restore even the violently afflicted to sanity—and happiness. One cannot, therefore, accuse the cult of romance of being responsible for most of the marriage failures that occur. It does contribute to the failure of some, but doubtless the majority of such failures would come about anyway on other grounds and are merely hastened by adherence to the cult. But one can charge this creed with making many marriages unhappy for a period and forcing them through a period of painful, artificial adjustment that should be easy and natural instead.

The Clash of Reality with Romance.—Romance, rightly interpreted, can play an important role in marriage. Used with nice discrimination, it may sweeten the relationship, not only in the days of courtship and honeymoon, but in all the years to come. Tempered with tact and a balanced sense of value, it may do much to prevent monotony in the prolonged and intimate fellowship of marriage. But the exaggerated claims of romance have clashed constantly with reality and have caused much needless suffering. Hence, it may be worth while to indicate some of the points where these clashes occur.

"And so they were married and lived happily ever after" is a conclusion not limited to fairy tales, but in spite of its incongruity with our high divorce rate it has for some time been woven into our fatalistic interpretation of love. It is assumed to be the effortless outcome when the engagement is terminated by the marriage ceremony. This philosophy, accepting at full value "love at first sight," "falling in love," the "only-person-in-the-world" theory, "true love," and all the other tenets of the romantic cult, looks upon marriage as the final realization

of permanent bliss. The philosophy of reality, on the other hand, looks upon abiding love, not as something suddenly born full-grown, but as the product of much thoughtful effort and years of cooperation, involving both mutual enjoyment and mutual suffering. Far from being the effortless outcome of a five minutes' ceremony, "living happily ever after" requires a great deal of skill and practice, like success in any other human activity. Men and women are not *born* good husbands and wives, nor are they magically transformed into such by the sheer accident of meeting the "right person." They become good husbands and wives only by patience, restraint, and sacrificial devotion to common interests and values which they have together deliberately chosen as most worth while for their lives.

This process involves certain psychological adjustments, which bring us to another point of conflict between romance and reality. Marriage, like all other human relationships, inevitably results in the formation of habits which finally come to rule in many of the phases of daily companionship. This results in predictability of conduct and permits each party to know in advance the reaction of the other to certain stimuli and the outcome of specific situations. Therefore each comes to anticipate these factors and to shape his conduct accordingly; that is, each becomes accommodated to a standardized pattern of living, working and playing together. This is merely another way of saying that each comes to "take for granted" not only the material things but also many of the psychic relationships in this mutual compact of marriage. And right here occurs the clash. The cult of romance has no place for "taking for granted"; in fact, this is considered the very antithesis of romance, for it means the loss of the essential thrill and glamour. Reality, however, looks upon habit formation and predictability of reaction as a contribution to comfort and security.

This difference in viewpoint can be better understood by pointing out the double aspect of love—*discovery* and *continuity*.¹ The aspect of discovery stresses novelty; the aspect of continuity, recurrence. Romance exalts the discovery aspect of love, insisting upon constant freshness and thrill, but reality in marriage consists in a belief that such novelty cannot last forever and that the abiding value is the recurrence of satisfying thoughts, words, and actions. The one seeks "the permanence of something that is essentially transitory," whereas the other rests on the comforts of the familiar. This means, then, that the two young lovers who consider themselves so perfectly suited to each other that one cannot live without the other usually are in error. They believe their lives are blended as one, but actually this is not true; for lives become

¹ ROBERT C. BINKLEY and FRANCES W. BINKLEY, Should We Leave Romance Out of Marriage? *Forum*, 83: 72-79, February, 1930.

blended not through sudden infatuation but through long years of living together and mutual adaptation. The popular conception is that nothing could be a greater tragedy than the death of a young bride or groom. But tragedy though it is, it is far more tragic for one to lose a companion to whom one has been harmoniously adjusted for many years. In the latter case, the lives are far more completely blended and readjustment is infinitely more difficult and painful.

The perpetuation of the cult of romance exacts a constant and heavy toll. It does not necessarily prevent, but it does delay, happy marriage. Society insists that the illusion must be kept up, that young couples must follow the mirage with eager expectation until it fades from sight and they come back, disillusioned, to the routine of daily life. The adjustments, because delayed, are all the more difficult to make, but to the credit of human nature they are usually made eventually. Each partner learns that the other is after all only human, subject to the same strengths and weaknesses as other men and women, and that successful marriage does not just happen but is an art learned through faithful, devoted effort. That this simple realization should come only after the waste of much effort in a hopeless cause is a regrettable social loss.

The Changing Emphases of Love in Marriage.—In the romantic stage each partner is absorbed in the other, almost to the exclusion of all else. It is a sort of delicious insanity, as though the lovers lived in a glamorous world apart—a sort of ethereal detachment from the common wants and ills of man. Such an exalted state of mind is highly flattering to the ego but hardly makes one efficient for performing the work of the world. Such an emotional state cannot last forever, and it is well that it cannot. In later years the partners may wish that they could recall it temporarily and once more experience its thrills; but they admit that, when the high emotional tension of their courtship and honeymoon began to relax, life was more comfortable.

Immediately after marriage new interests and activities begin to play a silent role. Time spent together before marriage had to be planned for; after marriage, it comes as a matter of course, and therefore many more things than formerly are done together, both in work and in play. Each comes to know the other at a dozen points of contact to one before marriage. Hopes and aspirations are no longer merely talked of, but striven for together, with mutual joys and sacrifices involved. In short, the comfort of living, working, and planning together gradually replaces the fluttering hopes and fears of sheer romance, to the immeasurable gain of both parties. The young couple may not welcome this transition when they first feel its approach, for they fear their marriage will become drab; but, happily, the more substantial and abiding elements

of marriage usually have taken deep root before the more shallow-rooted romantic complex begins to droop, and the transition of interest to this new growth of fellowship is made easier. Furthermore, not *all* romance need be given up. The more viable elements, which the understanding know how to cultivate, may remain for life, adding a certain quality of beauty to the union not otherwise attained.

With the appearance of the first child a new kind of love comes into being between husband and wife, which does not replace but adds to the companionship already existing. But it brings also the necessity of further adjustment; for no matter how well the husband-wife relationship has been learned, the father-mother relation is new and must also be learned. Children require a great deal of care, which restricts the movements of the parents and impinges on their social and recreational life. Even the exclusiveness of their companionship is automatically lessened, for in any group association the degree of communication between any two members is decreased as the group is enlarged. This principle holds true in the family as well as in fraternities and other small voluntary groups, though not always to the same extent. One parent may even become jealous of the affection of the child for the other. But, by and large, parental love strengthens far more than it weakens conjugal love, for parents usually regard their children as their most prized possessions, and the sharing of mutual joy is a prime factor in successful association.

The First Year of Marriage.—So much has been ponderously written and so many lugubrious warnings issued about the dangers of the first year of marriage that its brighter side is sometimes neglected by serious writers. They fail to give due weight to the emotional momentum with which marriage is entered into and the prophylactic power of the *expectation of success*. It is an important fact that most couples fully expect their marriage to be a success. All of their plans are pointed toward happiness, and every effort is made in that direction. Therefore, no writer should underestimate the sheer fun that the bride and groom experience in the first year of marriage. They have the joy of doing just what they had most longed to do—live together *apart* from the crowd, in their own home, be it only a two-room apartment. This rush of enthusiasm is a force to be reckoned with, and its initial power normally carries through until the necessary process of accommodation has proceeded far enough to be able to hold its course when squalls arise. For no couple, no matter how well matched, can hope to agree at all times on all things. Such agreement in itself would make the relationship insipid, resulting finally in the very conflict each was seeking to avoid. Two “Caspar Milquetoasts” marooned together would have as intolerable a time—and an infinitely less interesting one—than did

Spencer and Carlyle, whose consummate egotism made them impossible companions.

We frequently hear the phrase "marry and settle down," which implies that life becomes static after marriage. Such is far from the truth, for married life is one long series of experiments in accommodation. For this reason the element of new experience need never be lost, though it will not always dominate the picture as at first. The constant need for new adjustments may cause irritation at times, but it also prevents monotony. Naturally, the period of most dynamic change comes early in marriage. In the first year or two the partners are sizing each other up, discovering how little they really knew about each other before marriage. For no matter how many confidences courtship may bring forth, it cannot reveal character as does the daily behavior of these same partners when thrown together in the prolonged intimacy of marriage. Before marriage their fellowship is limited largely to periods of rest and recreation, when pleasant activities prevail. After marriage, they must take life as it comes, their associations covering periods of work as well as of play and each assuming new responsibilities that may bring worry and irritation.

In courtship, each has "oversold" himself in the effort to win the other. Perhaps without deliberate deception, each has sought to impress the other with his best qualities and to minimize his worst. As a result there must be a certain amount of revaluation in the first year of marriage. Each finds certain "blind spots" in the other—a blank look when a great opera or piece of literature is mentioned, a lack of interest in something that one considers important, inexperience in housework, or some other unknown quality whose discovery comes as a shock. Unless good judgment and a sense of humor prevail, the disappointments involved in these revelations may result in serious disaffection. If, however, such personal differences are recognized as to some degree inevitable because of the difference in experience, ability, and training, they may sink to their proper level of importance. Because she does not know the carburetor from the generator on the automobile engine, the young husband may think his wife is far less bright than he had supposed, until he remembers that her training has been more musical than mechanical. She, in turn, may be hurt and disgraced because he falls asleep at an endless piano recital. And yet one may be as intelligent and cultured as the other, and all that is needed is the realization that the culture of two persons can never be exactly alike.

The Changing Roles of Husband and Wife.—Few will dispute the claim that the marriage relationship is becoming more difficult. Given the same amount of devotion for each other, the same earnest attitude toward marriage, and starting out on the same relative economic level,

the typical husband and wife of today stand a considerably larger chance of running into serious difficulty than did the typical couple of a half century ago. This is due, not to any deterioration in the moral fiber of men and women, but to the rapid change in our mode of living. Life is far more complex than formerly, especially in the city. Apartment dwelling, the divergent occupations of husband and wife, the necessity of having many meals apart, the difficulty of visiting with friends scattered over a wide urban area, the press of strangers on all sides as against the friendly neighbors of the small town, the excessive cost of entertainment of guests in the city as against the more homespun recreations of former times—these and many other factors subject modern urban family life to a strain that frequently exceeds the capacity for adjustment. Man, like most other animals, can adjust to almost any circumstances, but there is a limit to the speed with which he can do it.

A second factor which makes successful marriage more difficult than formerly is the fact that the social patterns of the family are not so fixed as they were a generation or two ago, and hence there is less of the social compulsion which in the past did much to help the family conform to the dominant pattern. A greater range of choice is permitted today, not so much because society has deliberately chosen a more liberal pattern as because there are so many conflicting patterns on which it cannot wholly agree that experimentation is bound to continue until new norms are established. The relatively simple family pattern of the past, with its relationships firmly set by long years of tradition, was very different from that of the modern family, with the wife having a good education, equal legal rights, and frequently remunerative work of her own and with the philosophy of individualism running counter to that of family community.

In several ways the incidence of marital strain is more upon the wife than upon the husband. The tenor of her way is far more upset by marriage than is his, and therefore her share in the process of accommodation is greater than his. The man goes to shop or office after marriage the same as he did before, and even though he comes home to his own home instead of to his parental home or a rooming house, he still comes home as before to someone who provides for his needs in food and rest. To be sure, he must assume new economic responsibilities, and his affectional life is richer than before, but his life habits need not be greatly disturbed. For the woman, however, the change is usually far greater. Before marriage, she is either in her parents' home, where she may help with the housework but seldom carries much responsibility, or else out in work of her own, coming and going much as the man does in his work. But upon marriage, she no longer has the freedom from responsibility and the semileisure she enjoyed in her parents' home. She must

now become the household manager and assume all the manifold duties pertaining thereto. These may not be so heavy as they are strange and complex to the novice. Or if she is gainfully employed and retains her position after marriage, she is subject to the heavy strain of double work; under part-time work the same is true, only in lesser degree. If she finds she must give up her outside work in order to do justice to her own home, her round of life may be completely revolutionized. Thus, in almost any case, the woman's activities or responsibilities are likely to undergo a considerable change at marriage.

Furthermore, it is the wife's status that has played the active role in the change of the last few generations. To be sure, the husband's status has been forced to change accordingly, but its change has been largely a process of adjustment, more or less passive, to the new dynamic, assertive role of the wife. The woman is the one who has been gaining status step by step, and every new step has required further adjustment. This has made her more sensitive than the man, more aware of the strain of adjustment, and under its stress she may have undue difficulty at times in preserving her sense of balance. Add to this the fact that in the daily routine of housework the wife is more isolated than the husband, shut away from the give and take of normal business or professional association, and it can be understood why she may show "nerves" more easily than the man and at times be resentful of the very fact that she cannot take things with his calm assurance. The woman who is analytical enough to understand why she feels as she does can usually work out her own salvation, but the woman who lives more by feeling than by thinking is likely to "explode" at intervals, to the surprise and distress of her husband who is sure that he has been "treating her right" and cannot understand why she is not wholly content. It has been said that if man has any claim to superiority over woman it is because he frankly admits that he cannot understand her, whereas she never admits that she does not understand him.

THE DIFFICULTY OF CLASSIFYING THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT

The serious student of marriage may frequently yearn for the cocksureness of those writers who glibly reel off "10 rules for success in marriage," but he knows that on the question of cause-and-effect relationship regarding marital happiness he must speak softly, for thus far research in this important field is very limited and its findings sometimes conflicting. The best he can say is that from the studies now available this or that factor *seems to be associated with* success or failure but that actually the success or failure may be due to an entirely different factor. In the following discussion of specific factors generally thought to contribute to adjustment or maladjustment in marriage, dogmatic assertions

are avoided as much as possible, although a few factors have been studied sufficiently to justify drawing rather definite conclusions about them—at least until they are upset by further research.

There have been many attempts to construct a logical classification of the numerous factors that make for unhappiness and failure in marriage. That there is so little agreement on the categories to be used is an indication of the difficulty of the undertaking. Some writers have used the term "tensions" to indicate the sources of marital conflict. Meroney¹ classifies 21 specific tensions under four main headings: economic factors, health factors, personal factors, social factors. Mowrer² also uses four tensions, as follows: incompatibility in response, economic individualization, cultural differentiation, individuation of life patterns. Burgess names seven tensions: economic, sex, health, respect, cultural, temperament, pattern of life.³ Krueger,⁴ believing that when all specific tensions are grouped in four or five categories they are too inclusive to be truly useful in analysis, uses a more elaborate classification of thirteen tensions: economic, occupation, response (sex), control (positional relationship of members to each other), status (positional relationship of the family in social participation), culture, philosophy of life, temperament, health, individual capacities and abilities, appetites and habits, personal behavior pattern, age. Folsom⁵ uses a classification of three causes of marital failure: circumstantial or nonpersonality factors, personality defects, personality differentials or disparities. But he adds another, specific marital frustrations, *i.e.*, the interfering wishes to which the first three factors contribute. Folsom takes the 451 causes of marital dissatisfaction named by the 200 persons studied by Hamilton⁶ and fits them into his own four categories, where they are grouped under the above-mentioned four classes with the following percentage; 14, 22, 9, 55. He likewise classifies the 577 specific items of complaint arising in the 101 Court of Domestic Relations cases studied by Hixenbaugh,⁷ the percentages being, in the same order as above, 28, 27, 5, and 40.

All these classifications are useful, for every such attempt pushes forward to some extent the analysis of incompatibility in its search for the

¹ W. P. MERONEY, "The Town Church and the Modern Family," M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1923.

² E. R. MOWRER, "Family Disorganization," University of Chicago Press, 1927, p. 196.

³ See E. R. MOWRER, "The Family," University of Chicago Press, 1932, p. 176.

⁴ E. T. KRUEGER, A Study of Marriage Incompatibility, *The Family*, 9: 53-60, April, 1928.

⁵ J. K. FOLSOM, "The Family," New York, Wiley, 1934, pp. 440-443.

⁶ G. V. HAMILTON, "A Research in Marriage," New York, Boni, 1929.

⁷ ELINOR R. HIXENBAUGH, Reconciliation of Marital Adjustment, *Soc. Forces*, 10: 230-236, December, 1931.

hidden relationships of factors. For example, Krueger, because he makes a long list of tensions, is able to show how one may lead to another, in a sort of chain relationship, until apparently the final end cause (and frequently the only one that is noted by the casual observer) brings a break, when actually the break started far back in the obscure early pages of one party's life history. For, as Krueger points out, "tensions are interrelated and sequential in character." Thus the life history is of great significance in understanding current conflicts, and its value to those working with cases of marital discord is being recognized increasingly.

All these writers recognize the difficulty of trying to apply a hard-and-fast classification to closely integrated factors. In the very nature of things such categories cannot be mutually exclusive. A glance at the Hamilton items which Folsom groups under his four categories shows that some apparently could have been classified differently with as much consistency as the way they are now classified. Alcoholism and other objectionable habits of the spouse are classified under "personality defects," and yet in many cases they might be due to "personality or culture differentials." Health (nonpersonality) may have such a profound effect on personality that it causes trouble under another category (personality or culture differentials), and therefore should be included under both. In Burgess's classifications, it would not always be possible to distinguish sharply between the "cultural" and "pattern of life" categories. Krueger even shows that he can define one of his 13 tensions in terms of another. He states that "a cultural tension is one in which the husband and wife represent diverse patterns of behavior," thus using his twelfth tension (personal behavior pattern) to define his sixth tension (culture). Because of the overlapping of these factors, Krueger and others apply the term "constellation" to integrated sets of tensions.

In the following discussion, since there is not space to use the life-history method of tracing a long series of sequential tension factors, no attempt has been made at a formal classification. The loose groupings used are merely for the purpose of emphasis. In fact, one might be justified in using no divisional grouping whatever, provided that each causative factor were dealt with, not as a "unit cause" standing alone, but merely as a "contributing factor." However, even a loose grouping performs some function in presentation.

PERSONALITY FACTORS AS A SOURCE OF CONFLICT

The term "personality factors" is a very broad one and could be endlessly subdivided. In its broader sense, it probably embraces enough areas of adjustment and maladjustment to make it the major "constella-

tion" of tensions in marriage. To some readers there may seem to be too much emphasis upon marital "tensions" or "points of conflict" in most discussions of the husband-wife relationship, for the records show there are more happy than unhappy marriages. But if these focal points of conflict seemingly receive too much attention in comparison with the ultrahappy unions, it is not from a desire to make the marriage relationship appear as normally pathological. It is rather that practically all marriages have a few items on which there is some degree of incompatibility, and the reputedly small items so frequently grow into major conflicts that they deserve a large measure of attention.

Conflicting Personality Traits.—From the viewpoint of sociology we may conceive of personality as "the totality of those aspects of behavior which give meaning to an individual in society and differentiate him from other members in the community, each of whom embodies countless cultural patterns."¹ But even this succinct statement leaves the concept relatively elusive, for it brings to mind a score of attitudes and forms of behavior when one's thoughts shift from person to person. If one mentally lines up ten acquaintances and considers each briefly in turn, it will be found that each seems to have some outstanding trait—or lack of it—or some peculiar combination of traits that characterizes him. These traits may be attractive or repellent, humorous or pathetic, but whatever their nature they constitute the stuff from which one makes the mental labels he attaches to the people he knows. Upon a reasonable combination of these traits in people united in marriage depends much of their chance for happiness. In an earlier chapter it was pointed out that people do not choose their mates because of traits opposite to their own; they choose them because of traits that they admire, and that sometimes vicariously compensate for their own shortcomings.

But what is a "reasonable combination" of such traits? That is very difficult to say. Folsom² has pointed out that, even if continuous research permits us to state accurately what types of personality are attracted to each other, we may know little of what types will be most compatible. The type of person to whom one is spontaneously drawn may not be the type with whom one can work out a satisfactory pattern of mutual love and personality growth. However, research is slowly closing in on some of the more elusive factors of the cause-and-effect relationships in marriage, and in time it may be possible to make the more positive statement that such and such a trait is "likely to cause" happiness or unhappiness, instead of the present cautious one that it is usually "associated with" happiness. In the following discussion, if the

¹ EDWARD SAPIR, in *Enc. Soc. Sciences*, 12: 85.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 455.

word "cause" sometimes appears to be used with unwarranted assurance, it should be kept in mind that it is not used as *the* cause, but as only one cause in many. Also, the same "cause" may help create unhappiness in one marriage but not in another. This is true because of the endless possible combinations of personality traits, their extreme degree of variation in strength, and the innumerable environmental factors that may accentuate or offset them. Thus one marriage may be blown on the rocks by the egotism of the husband, whereas another marriage in which the husband is just as egotistical may be a happy one. In the latter case the explanation may lie in any one factor or a combination of factors: (1) The wife may also be egotistical, and both may feel superior to all their acquaintances. (2) The wife may feel that this one unlovely trait in her husband is more than offset by numerous sterling traits of character, and she may be tolerant enough to overlook the "stuffed shirt" manner so irritating to others. (3) The wife may have developed a defense mechanism that protects her sufficiently to avoid a feeling of inferiority. (4) Husband and wife may have worked out a satisfactory "quarrel technique" whereby they work off their differences through a familiar battle of charges and countercharges, each knowing that the other will not go too far and that a truce will be successfully reached. An amusing illustration of the third and fourth types of explanation is seen in the case of Mr. and Mrs. D.¹

Mr. and Mrs. D. are middle-aged people of the middle class. He is a teacher and has a fine, analytical mind. He reads widely and is very well informed on many topics outside his specialty. He has a strong personality and an egotism of commensurate size. In any group of which he is a member, he can be found expounding his ideas on whatever topic has come up. Furthermore, he is usually listened to with respect, for his hearers know his ability and are willing to overlook his egotism.

Not so his wife. She is well educated and of the "strong-minded" type. Having to live every day with her husband's egotism, she is not so willing to overlook it as are his occasional listeners. In the home she has a sharp tongue and "pooh-poohs" him when he gets too cocky. Her refusal to be impressed cramps his style greatly in the home but makes him all the more eager to give his genius full play when out in company.

But it is at this point that the amusing technique of the wife is evident. At a dinner party in the home of a mutual friend, I found myself seated next to Mr. D. This pleased me, for I admired him, and we were soon deep in discussion of the merits of a new car which I had not yet seen. Mr. D. knew all the engineering features and was giving me all the specifications with an exactness that would have done credit to an engineer. When he paused for a moment, his wife (who was just across the table and had been talking to the man on her right, apparently without paying any attention to us) leaned across and said, "Mr. B., don't let him fool you with his knowledge of that car; he got all that from an agent just this morning." Of course I was embarrassed, and Mr. D. deflated like a punctured tire. But in all fairness to him it must be said that his recuperability was marvelous, for within a few minutes

¹ Unpublished manuscript.

after the embarrassed silence he was again going strong, this time on another topic. Twice more during the meal, just at the strategic moment, his wife deflated him with a few well-aimed sharp words. It was as though she kept one ear extended like a sound detector, to tell her when to attack.

And yet this couple gets along very well. Each respects the other, and they are very fond of each other. Both seem to get a certain pleasure out of fencing in private, and while he is somewhat resentful that his wife makes her most telling thrusts in public (where he gallantly refrains from fighting back) he interprets it as an admission by her that she can't stand up to him at home and has to compensate by her outside attacks. This gives him some satisfaction, and they continue to keep on what they consider good terms. Many couples would not be happy in such constant competition, but these two seem to thrive on it.

Waller¹ distinguishes between destructive and productive quarrels. The former, he says, are directed at the whole person and "destroy the necessary rationalizations and fictions by which the person lives and the marriage persists," and they tend to be followed by still more destructive quarrels. Constructive quarrels, on the other hand, "lead to a redefinition of the situation by virtue of which the marriage is made stronger." He admits that the two are not always distinguishable, but he thinks that there is a valid distinction in many cases. When the idealization built up in the overclose association of the honeymoon begins to wane, it is burdensome to try to continue it by sheer will power; quarrels relieve the strain by destroying the burdensome patterns and substituting others that allow relaxation. This is actually a part of the process of adjustment, and as the Binkleys² and others have pointed out, a successful technique in quarreling may be an asset to marriage, strange as that may sound. It is needless to say that used in this sense quarreling does not necessarily mean downright fighting, but it does mean more than mere discussion. Psychologically and sociologically, calm discussion would seem to have more adjustment value than quarreling, for we are told that judgment and emotion vary in inverse ratio. Nevertheless, there are actually times when quarreling may clear the air better than calm discussion: first, it relieves both parties of pent-up emotions; second, it shows each how deeply the other feels on the point in question, opening the eyes to the necessity of reaching an acceptable agreement. On the other side of the argument, a quarrel very easily gets out of hand, just because it gives vent to emotions, and things may be said that leave scars for life. For that reason one might say that quarreling should be used with discretion, but there is little conviction that it will be so used. Quarrels are not rationally planned and conducted—they start by spontaneous combustion. It takes more skill and will than most

¹ WILLARD WALLER, "The Family," New York, Cordon, 1938, p. 353.

² ROBERT C. BINKLEY and FRANCES E. BINKLEY, "What is Right with Marriage," New York, Appleton-Century, 1929.

people have to turn the heat thus generated to constructive rather than to destructive purposes.

Frustration—the Core of Conflict.—Not all traits are equally obvious during courtship. Some consciously and some unconsciously have been held in abeyance, and others have not happened to meet the stimuli that would call them to the fore. For several reasons the appearance of unlovely traits during courtship may not be fatal to love. They may be seemingly more than balanced by admirable traits; there may be earnest promises by their owner to overcome them; the other partner may be too inexperienced to recognize their importance, or he may overrate his own ability to “change all that” in the other after marriage. But whatever the cause, married people are constantly waking up to the fact that their partners have traits which make them hard to live with, and they are surprised and dismayed to find that their partners feel the same way about them. This is what makes self-discipline such an essential element of successful marriage, and an honest acceptance of the philosophical concept that *great values come only through discipline* is an excellent preparation for the continual adjustment that must take place. Such adjustment may be called “conjugal *rapprochement*,” to satisfy the social scientists’ love of distinctive terminology, or just plain “getting along together,” but in essence they are the same thing and embody one of the most basic of the social processes—accommodation. “Incompatibility,” a term now widely used in the literature of marriage, means merely that the process of accommodation, for whatever reason, is not successful; “compatibility” means that it is successful.

It is now clear that it is not merely the presence of this or that trait commonly supposed to be undesirable that makes a marriage unhappy; rather, it depends upon whether this trait possessed by one happens to clash with the attitudes or actions of the other. In his keen analysis of Personality Patterns and Interactional Roles, Folsom¹ stresses the element of *frustration* in unhappy marriages. “Personality patterns fail or succeed in marriage,” he says, “not because they are different or similar, but because they *interfere* or *do not interfere* with each other’s basic wishes. Marital conflict is not a difference in traits but a *collision of wishes*.”

The frustrations in marriage may be conscious or largely unconscious; even when conscious there is not always a tendency to “blame” the other partner, for some frustrations are nonpersonal. Many times the factors that make persons unhappy in marriage are the same ones that make them unhappy in other associations and activities as well. If a woman is consumed with a desire for wealth, she will be unhappy in her marriage to a man who is not wealthy just as she would be unhappy if she remained

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 466.

single. Her unhappiness in marriage is due, not to her marriage, but to her frustrated wishes for a fine house, an expensive car, beautiful clothes, and the ability to maintain the social status that she craves. On the other hand, if she marries a man who promises her riches and cannot deliver or one who is wealthy but who soon runs through his fortune by gambling or foolish investment, the man himself may be the target of the wife's unhappy state, for he is the agent through whom her frustration is made keener.

Presumably, therefore, one may have at a given time no interpersonal frustrations but sharp non-interpersonal frustrations. The woman may find her husband a perfect lover and regret only that he is not in a position to give her the standard of living she passionately desires. Or one or the other may be found to be sterile, through no fault of either, and the strong wishes of both for offspring be frustrated, though they remain happy in their love for each other. Likewise, presumably, one may have no non-interpersonal frustrations but be severely frustrated on the interpersonal side. This is true in wealthy homes where practically every material wish can be met, and yet one partner is exceedingly unhappy over the growing indifference or coldness of the other. Even the feeling that "romance" is being lost and the marriage is settling down to merely a comfortable and faithful companionship may be so disappointing to the girl of shallow interests that she is unhappy in the possession of what would make another woman extremely happy.

A Comparison of Domestic Grievances.—It is impossible to isolate completely the various elements of domestic unhappiness and measure each accurately. Social research has not advanced that far. But it is possible to get enough information on the attitudes of married people to make a rough rating of the *relative* importance of certain items of discontent. Thus, to give a certain factor a scale rating of 35 as a cause of trouble may not mean a great deal by itself, but the fact that it rates 35 while another factor popularly believed to be equally troublesome rates only 20 on the same scale may be of real significance.

Terman¹ and his associates conducted one of the most comprehensive studies yet made of the factors that make or break marriage. One method that was used to elicit the grievances of the 792 couples in the study was to present husbands and wives with separate lists of complaints to be checked. Those items that were present but had not been serious enough to interfere with the person's happiness were checked with one kind of mark, those that made the person's marriage "less happy than it should have been" were checked by another kind of mark, and those

¹ LEWIS M. TERMAN, "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, Chap. 5. Because of the importance and timeliness of this research, it is here drawn upon heavily, by permission of the publishers.

that had done the *most* to make the person's marriage unhappy were marked in still a different manner. The first 14 of the complaints dealt

TABLE IX.—GRIEVANCES OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES, RANKED IN THEIR ORDER OF COMPLAINT FREQUENCY*

Husbands	Complaint frequency rank	Wives
Insufficient income	1	Insufficient income
W.'s feelings too easily hurt	2	In-laws
W. criticizes me	3	H. nervous or impatient
In-laws	4	Poor management of income
W. nervous or emotional	5	H. criticizes me
Poor management of income	6	Preferences for amusements
Lack of freedom	7	H. does not talk things over
Preferences for amusements	8	H. is argumentative
W. quick-tempered	9	H. quick-tempered
W. nags me	10	H. does not show his affection
W. tries to improve me	11	Lack of freedom
Respect for conventions	12	H. selfish and inconsiderate
W. not affectionate	13	Choice of friends
W. argumentative	14	Intellectual interests
Choice of friends	15	H. touchy
W. complains too much	16	Attitude toward drinking
W. easily influenced by others	17	Respect for conventions
W. jealous	18	H. bored with my small talk
W. interferes with my discipline	19	H. easily influenced by others
W. fussy about neatness	20	H. not affectionate
W. a poor housekeeper	21	H. unsuccessful in business
Intellectual interests	22	Religious beliefs
W. has had much poor health	23	H. has poor table manners
W. interferes with hobbies	24	H. untidy
Attitude toward drinking	25	H. harsh with children
Educations	26	Educations
W. selfish and inconsiderate	27	H. too wrapped up in business
W. spoils the children	28	H. complains too much
Religious beliefs	29	H. rude
Tastes in food	30	H. dislikes to go out with me
W. no interest in my business	31	H. untruthful
W. too talkative	32	H. pays attention to other women
W. has annoying habits	33	H. not interested in home
W. narrow-minded	34	H. late to meals
W. late with meals	35	Tastes in food
W. lazy	36	H. tight with money
W. works outside home	37	H. conceited
W. visits, entertains a lot	38	H. drinks
W. too many social affairs	39	H. lacks ambition
W. extravagant	40	H. jealous
W. gossips indiscreetly	41	H. narrow-minded
W. interferes in my business	42	H. swears
W. too interested in clothes	43	H. too talkative
W. interested in other men	44	H. smokes
W. conceited	45	H. spoils the children
W. insincere	46	H. not faithful to me
W. swears	47	H. lazy
W. slovenly in appearance	48	H. has no backbone
W. considerably younger	49	H. no interest in the children
W. considerably older	50	H. gambles
W. untruthful	51	H. has vulgar habits
W. smokes	52	H. considerably older
W. a poor cook	53	H. considerably younger
W. neglects the children	54	
W. drinks	55	
W. not faithful to me	56	
W. a social climber	57	

* LEWIS M. TERMAN, "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1938, pp. 96-97. Adapted from Table 24, by permission.

with circumstances involving both partners jointly, but not attributing blame to either. All of these except one (insufficient income) may be

omitted from our immediate consideration. There followed 56 items on the husband's blank and 52 on the wife's blank that imputed faults to the partner. Some of these criticisms were identical on both lists, some were analogous but phrased differently, whereas some did not correspond at all. Adding in the one circumstantial factor of insufficient income (although it might well have involved personal blame in some cases) makes a total of 57 complaints that the husband could check and 53 that the wife could check in Tables IX and X.

A study of the items named most frequently is interesting. The more or less impersonal item "insufficient income" is named most frequently by both husbands and wives. The husbands next say that their wives' feelings are too easily hurt; but evidently their own are almost as vulnerable, for they next complain that their wives criticize them. "In-laws" has a high complaint frequency on both lists. Neither husband nor wife has much respect for the other's financial ability, for each accuses the other of poor management of income. Nervousness and impatience also are frequent causes of irritation, as are preferences for amusements and a tendency to be quick-tempered.

But the frequency with which these complaints were made is far less important than their seriousness, as rated by husbands and wives. For example, many husbands complained of their "lack of freedom," but evidently this was not considered a serious cause of unhappiness to many, for in the seriousness rating it is far down toward the foot of the list. Table X takes the same grievances listed in Table IX but ranks them according to the seriousness with which husbands and wives consider them.

Here the order of rank takes on real significance. The husbands consider their wives' nagging as their most serious fault, but next in order of seriousness come the charges that they are unaffectionate, selfish, complaining, interfering (with hobbies), slovenly, quick-tempered, interfering (with discipline), conceited, and insincere. The wives find their husbands' selfishness to be their most serious fault, but they also consider it very serious that they are unsuccessful in business, untruthful, complaining, unaffectionate, uncommunicative, harsh with the children, touchy, and uninterested in the children or the home.

It is highly significant that selfishness ranks very high as a serious complaint—first on one list and third on the other. This confirms the emphasis that students of marriage have been placing upon a willingness to give as well as take—a spirit of fairness and good sportsmanship which is considered essential in various other areas of social interaction if one is to get on well with one's fellows. But before one could get far with an analysis of this item of "general selfishness" (which is not even as definitive as the unscientific term "pure cussedness"), it would

have to be broken down into definable parts. One is usually selfish in specific things more than in others, and (the interrelationship between

TABLE X.—GRIEVANCES OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES, RANKED IN THEIR ORDER OF SERIOUSNESS*

Husbands	Rank for serious-ness	Wives
W. nags me	1	H. selfish and inconsiderate
W. not affectionate	2	H. unsuccessful in business
W. selfish and inconsiderate	3	H. untruthful
W. complains too much	4	H. complains too much
W. interferes with hobbies	5	H. does not show his affection
W. slovenly in appearance	6	H. does not talk things over
W. quick-tempered	7	H. harsh with children
W. interferes with my discipline	8	H. touchy
W. conceited	9	H. has no interest in children
W. insincere	10	H. not interested in home
W.'s feelings too easily hurt	11	H. not affectionate
W. criticizes me	12	H. rude
W. narrow-minded	13	H. lacks ambition
W. neglects the children	14	H. nervous or impatient
W. a poor housekeeper	15	H. criticizes me
W. argumentative	16	Poor management of income
W. has annoying habits	17	H. narrow-minded
W. untruthful	18	H. not faithful to me
W. interferes in my business	19	H. lazy
W. spoils the children	20	H. bored with my small talk
Poor management of income	21	In-laws
In-laws	22	H. easily influenced by others
Insufficient income	23	H. tight with money
W. nervous or emotional	24	H. argumentative
W. easily influenced by others	25	Insufficient income
W. jealous	26	H. has no backbone
W. lazy	27	H. dislikes to go out with me
W. gossips indiscreetly	28	H. pays attention to other women
W. has much poor health	29	H. has poor table manners
W. too many social affairs	30	Preferences for amusements
Preferences for amusements	31	H. quick-tempered
W. too talkative	32	Attitude toward drinking
W. no interest in my business	33	H. untidy
W. extravagant	34	H. too wrapped up in business
W. too interested in clothes	35	Intellectual interests
Choice of friends	36	H. has vulgar habits
W. tries to improve me	37	Respect for conventions
W. interested in other men	38	H. conceited
Lack of freedom	39	Choice of friends
Respect for conventions	40	H. gambles
W. late with meals	41	H. spoils the children
Intellectual interests	42	Lack of freedom
W. fussy about neatness	43	H. too talkative
Attitude toward drinking	44	Religious beliefs
W. visits, entertains a lot	45	H. jealous
W. not faithful to me	46	H. late to meals
Religious beliefs	47	H. swears
W. a poor cook	48	H. drinks
Educations	49	Educations
W. swears	50	H. considerably younger
W. works outside home	51	Tastes in food
W. a social climber	52	H. smokes
Tastes in food	53	H. considerably older
W. considerably older	54	
W. smokes	55	
W. drinks	56	
W. considerably younger	57	

* LEWIS M. TERMAN, "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938, pp. 99-100. Adapted from Table 25, by permission.

causative factors being remembered) selfishness along one line may be the result of frustration along another line. Nevertheless, selfishness,

whether defined in terms of reactions in a narrow field or as a constellation of reactions in many fields, repeatedly bobs up in marriage studies as one of the basic complaints.

It is interesting also to note that both husbands and wives place their spouses' lack of affection near the top of the list of serious complaints. The table does not show whether the complaining women are the wives of the complaining men; but if any of them are, it seems strange that each partner wants more affection shown and yet neither lets his wish be known to the other or recognizes the same wish in the other. It is particularly interesting that although insufficient income was the most frequent complaint of both husbands and wives, this item dropped down to twenty-third and twenty-fifth places on the seriousness scale. Likewise "in-laws," which ranks second and fourth on the frequency scale, drops to twenty-first and twenty-second places on the seriousness scale.

Terman shows surprise that, as to degree of seriousness, the wife's unfaithfulness is placed five ranks *below* not having meals on time, the inference being that the husbands were less concerned when their wives were unfaithful than when they did not prepare the meals on time. But such an inference is questionable if one examines the basis of checking. The husbands were not asked, "How serious do you consider the unfaithfulness of the wife as a cause of unhappiness of married men *in general*?" They were asked to check, from a long list of common complaints, the ones that had done most to make their own marriages unhappy. Therefore, if few of them believed their wives to be unfaithful, few would check unfaithfulness as one of the most serious factors in *their* marriage; and if being late with meals was a more frequent fault of the wives of these husbands and if it irritated them greatly, a considerable number might check it as one of the most serious complaints. The actual figures¹ show that three times as many men complained of their wives being late with meals as complained of their wives being unfaithful. Therefore, if the inference were true that these husbands considered tardy meals worse than unfaithfulness—or even equally bad—being late with meals should rank three times as high on the seriousness scale as does unfaithfulness, or thirty-sixth from the bottom, compared with twelfth for unfaithfulness. But actually, being late with meals ranks only seventeenth from the bottom instead of thirty-sixth, and the contrary inference is that it is considered less serious than unfaithfulness. But since the study does not separate the actual number of husbands who checked these two very different complaints as "things that made their marriage less happy than it should have been" from the number who checked them as "things that had done the most to make their marriages unhappy," it is difficult to evaluate the threefold weighting system

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

used in determining the relative seriousness of the complaints. But the inference that unfaithfulness was considered less serious than being late with meals is further challenged by another part of this same study and admitted by its author. Three-fourths of the husbands gave as their opinion that faithfulness in the wife was "very essential" to ideal marriage, and 95 per cent considered it either "very essential" or "usually desirable."¹

Both the tables given above have one serious limitation. The complaints that are ranked both as to frequency and seriousness are arbitrary complaints that were chosen by those making up the schedules. Naturally, the list could have been trebled and still would not have included all the grievances that the husbands and wives may have had. Since there was no place at the end of the list to write in unlisted grievances, the subjects could check only those complaints that happened to coincide with their own experiences and had to keep silent on others, perhaps equally or even more important to some of them, that were not on the list. This shortcoming was admitted, for there was no way of getting around it without getting examples of the subjects' handwriting, which was purposely avoided to preserve their anonymity, and to make the answers easy to give and easy to tabulate. It will also be noted that these particular two tables do not divide the "more happy" spouses from the "less happy," although naturally their attitudes might be expected to be rather far apart. However, in tables just following these, and throughout the rest of the study, these groups are carefully separated in the tabulations, allowing valuable comparisons. For the purposes of this chapter, it is sufficient to compare these two groups on only the 10 most serious complaints of husbands and wives, as shown in Table XI.

There is naturally a great difference between the responses of the two groups on these items, though the apparent difference may be greater than the actual difference, owing to the tendency of the "less happy" group to seize upon almost every complaint suggested. Thus, only 4 per cent of the "more happy" husbands complained of their wives nagging them, but 36 per cent of the "less happy" husbands so complained. Likewise, only 2 per cent of the "more happy" wives complained that their husbands were selfish and inconsiderate, but 34 per cent of the "less happy" wives made this complaint. On other items the two groups show an equally wide spread.

But though a tabulation of numerous domestic grievances is interesting and throws a certain amount of light on the range and intensity of complaints in marriage, it does not get at the root of the causes of marital unhappiness. Terman points out that the expressed grievances are

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

merely symptomatic; they indicate reliably that unhappiness exists, but they are quite unreliable in revealing its sources. He asserts that only by getting factual information on the life histories, general background, and personality characteristics of the spouses can one find the real causes why some are happy and others unhappy.

TABLE XI.—PERCENTAGE OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES IN THE "MORE HAPPY" (H)* AND "LESS HAPPY" (L) GROUPS WHO COMPLAIN ON THE TEN MOST SERIOUS COMPLAINTS OF BOTH SEXES†

Husbands			Wives		
Complaints	Per cent complaining		Complaints	Per cent complaining	
	H	L		H	L
W. nags me.....	4.3	36.4	H. selfish and inconsiderate	2.1	33.9
W. not affectionate.....	3.6	32.1	H. unsuccessful in business..	3.6	14.9
W. selfish and inconsiderate	2.0	19.3	H. untruthful.....	1.5	14.9
W. complains too much....	3.3	33.7	H. complains too much....	1.3	17.8
W. interferes with hobbies..	2.8	21.4	H. does not show his affection.....	2.7	31.0
W. slovenly in appearance..	0.8	4.8	H. does not talk things over	6.0	32.2
W. quick-tempered.....	4.1	39.0	H. harsh with children.....	1.8	17.2
W. interferes with my discipline.....	4.0	19.2	H. touchy.....	2.1	32.7
W. conceited.....	0.7	8.6	H. not interested in the children.....	0.3	9.8
W. insincere.....	0.8	5.9	H. not interested in home..	1.0	16.1

* The study draws an arbitrary dividing line between 59 and 60 on the happiness scale of 0 to 87. There are 76 per cent of the husbands and 78 per cent of the wives above this line, and therefore in the "more happy" group, designated "H"; 24 per cent of the husbands and 22 per cent of the wives are below the line, in the "less happy" group, designated "L."

† LEWIS M. TERMAN, "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938, pp. 85-88. Compiled from Tables 22 and 23, by permission.

Temperamental Traits and Marital Happiness.—It is common knowledge that people vary enormously in their temperaments. A few live in perpetual shadow, remaining gloomy and grouchy except upon rare occasions; a few seems always to radiate sunlight, no matter in what circumstances they are placed. Most people, however, are in between these two extremes and if placed in array would cover the whole scale, no matter how small the gradations. When people get married, they take their temperaments along; they cannot be left at home with their old clothes. And these temperaments which they bring to marriage (and which are not changed by a five minutes' ceremony) constitute the very stuff of which success or failure is made. Says Terman:¹

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

Our theory is that what comes out of marriage depends upon what goes into it and that among the most important things going into it are the attitudes, preferences, aversions, habit patterns, and emotional-response patterns which give or deny to one the aptitude for compatibility. In other words, we believe that a large proportion of incompatible marriages are so because of a predisposition to unhappiness in one or both of the spouses. Whether by nature or by nurture, there are persons so lacking in the qualities which make for compatibility that they would be incapable of finding happiness in any marriage. There are others, less extreme, who could find it only under the most favorable circumstances; and still others whose dispositions and outlooks upon life would preserve them from acute unhappiness however unfortunately they were mated.

He is quick to disclaim any theory that every unhappy marriage can be explained in terms of unhappiness of temperament but does assert that in a large proportion of unhappy marriages there can be found evidence that numerous elements of unhappy temperament, in one or both partners, play a causal role.

When the temperaments are such that each is a cause of frustration to the other, there is little chance of happiness. In the following story by a twenty-one-year-old girl¹ the complete life histories of the principals might help explain the temperaments of husband and wife; but whatever combination of factors may have contributed to such temperaments (whether over- or underfunctioning of the thyroid, disappointment in a lifework, ambition unrealized, or love of solitude), there is no denying that they grated on each other almost constantly.

As far back as I can remember, my home was a place of turbulent unhappiness. I was always ashamed to invite my friends in because I never knew what kind of scene they might encounter. When I was a little tot, I remember running after my mother into the street, begging her to come home again, for after her violent tirades against my father she would threaten to leave forever. My father is a very quiet, easygoing person who is contented with his cup of tea and daily newspaper. But my mother is a nervous, energetic woman who is constantly on the go and is happiest when she is working hard. Dad runs a little store and for many years Mother has insisted on helping in the work, but even this does not use up her surplus energy. I remember that people who came to the house appeared to sympathize with Mother, but their real sympathy was with my father, who seemed to bear his burden so quietly and uncomplainingly. I used to feel that way myself until I became a little older and understood better both Father and Mother.

Father never complained about Mother working with him instead of staying at home, but she constantly criticized him for being so quiet and easygoing. She berated him at the store and at home, almost ceaselessly. Her harangue would last far into the night until we children would cover our ears and sometimes scream in protest. But Dad would just calmly sit and read his newspaper and sip his tea, which infuriated Mother still more. "You're so quiet," she would shout at him, "so people will think you are good, but they don't know you as I do!" She would taunt him and even curse him, but he would go on quietly reading. I used to marvel

¹ Unpublished manuscript.

at his self-control and wonder how he could stand the constant stream of abuse without answering back, but he preferred to keep silent. Sometimes it was for laziness, sometimes for his silence, for playing cards, for not making enough money (the family had a good income), for anything and everything Mother would rant at him.

As I grew older, I began to understand my parents better and saw that Mother would sacrifice anything for the happiness of us children, but she was so nervous and high-strung she didn't know how to get our deepest affection. If she cooked something specially for us and then found out we didn't like it even though we did our best to pretend to like it, she would start talking and scolding until we would leave the house to get away from the stream of talk, talk, talk. Mother had no patience at all, even with the children she loved most.

I began to see, too, that the fault wasn't all on one side. I had to admit unwillingly to myself that Dad was partly to blame. I wanted to tell him, but I couldn't for we had been chums for years, and while he didn't complain to me about Mother lecturing him all the time, he spoke to me as one man to another and admitted that it was difficult to live with Mother. But I could see he wasn't doing what he could have done to please her. He never told her anything about the business, he seldom talked to her, and he liked to be alone. He was of a silent, retiring nature, and that very fact made Mother more furious all the time. She couldn't talk to him and so she talked at him, and she never seemed to get through. Once in a great while Dad did let loose, and then he would shout and threaten to leave forever, and Mother would curse him at the top of her voice, while we children ran to the neighbors to sleep. After such a spell both Mother and Dad would be quiet for days, and the house was as though there was a funeral.

Recently Dad has taken a partner into his business and forced my mother to stay at home. This has made matters worse, for Mother doesn't like housework, and instead of busying herself at home she hunts around for something more exciting. She began going over to my sister's home (she was recently married), but before long she was interfering so much in their affairs that arguments started there too. It seemed that wherever she went misunderstanding and trouble cropped up, even when her intentions were good. Now she brings all her troubles to me, which is very hard. I dread to go home evenings, and only the thought that my mother is sitting home alone crying makes me go. When I leave her she cries because I'm leaving her all alone, and when I stay there are dreadful arguments. My friends seldom speak to me of these troubles, but they know the situation and invite me to stay at their homes overnight or for a few days. I can't ask them to my home; for when I do and Mother starts in on Dad in the other room, I have to ask my friends to go out walking with me.

Looking back upon my home environment, I can account for much of my morose outlook on life, and the black moods that sometimes almost overpower me. It explains how difficult it is for me to be socially at ease and why I am nervous and fidgety and have little self-confidence. The example of marriage that I have had before me all my life has made me horribly fearful that I, too, may make a terrible mistake if I marry. Yet I want to marry—want to very much—and have a happy husband and children. But I wonder if I ever will.

To get at personality correlates of happiness in the marriages in the Terman study, 233 questions were used—71 of the Bernreuter type, 128 chiefly from the Strong interest test, and 34 asking for opinions on the relation of various factors to ideal marriage.¹

¹ Only 450 of the 792 marriages were used in this part of the study, in order to divide more sharply the happy from the unhappy. Since three-fourths of both

It is difficult to summarize fairly the story told in the numerous and detailed tables dealing with these hundreds of items. One can only illustrate the percentage replies and for the remainder keep to generalizations rather than statistics. For illustration, let us take the question, "Do you try to get your own way even if you have to fight for it?" Of the happy husbands, 35 per cent said "yes"; of the unhappy husbands, 45 per cent. Among the wives the difference was greater, 25 per cent of the happy and 43 per cent of the unhappy saying "yes." Based as they are upon the replies to the hundreds of questions used, and with a carefully devised system of weighting in scoring, one could say that the four groups *have a tendency* toward the following characteristics:¹

Happy husbands: emotionally stable, cooperative, equalitarian toward women, benevolent, not self-conscious; methodical, favorable toward religion, strict on sex mores and other social conventions, conservative politically and financially, fairly willing to take the initiative and assume responsibility.

Unhappy husbands: inclined toward moodiness, sometimes neurotic, feel socially inferior, sensitive to social opinion, sometimes domineering (to compensate for inferiority feeling), lack confidence in competition, do not take orders well from others, daydreamers (compensatory power fantasies), irregular workers, unmethodical, dislike saving, like to wager, inclined to be irreligious, radical on sex morals and politics, and show some antagonism to other sex.

Happy wives: kindly, warmhearted, benevolent, sociable but not social climbers, cooperative, do not object to subordinate role or take offense easily, emotionally stable, methodical, careful with money, quietly self-assured, conventional regarding religion, sex, and politics.

Unhappy wives: emotionally tense, variable in mood, strong feeling of inferiority (with compensatory aggressiveness), ambitious and overanxious in social life, hence great "joiners," would rather be thought important than be liked, egocentric, have little use for benevolent activities, are fitful workers, dislike method and methodical people, somewhat radical on religion, politics, and moral questions, do not show the antagonism toward the opposite sex that unhappily married men show, but seem still to be seeking for romance.

A related study by Johnson and Terman² showed also the characteristics of divorced men and women compared with those of the happily and unhappily married. The divorced men were much like the unhappily

husbands and wives were above the line dividing the "more happy" from the "less happy," it was logical to take a larger sample of the former than of the latter. Accordingly, the top 300 of the "more happy" were used and relabeled "happy"; the bottom 150 of the "less happy" were used and relabeled "unhappy," designated in the tables as "H" and "U." The median happiness scores for H husbands and H wives are 80.7 and 82.0, respectively; for U husbands and U wives, 43.6 and 40.2, giving a difference great enough to make a fairly sharp though not extreme differentiation.

¹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 7.

² WINIFRED B. JOHNSON and LEWIS M. TERMAN, *Personality Characteristics of Happily Married, Unhappily Married, and Divorced Persons, Character and Personality*, 3: 290-311, June, 1935.

married men only "more so," but the divorced women were quite a distinct type. They were self-assertive, self-reliant, ambitious, integrated in purpose and accustomed to take the lead, but tolerant toward the personal idiosyncrasies of others. They lacked the sweet femininity of the happily married but commanded admiration for their strength and self-sufficiency.

There are many other points regarding these groups, but these show the rough outlines of the picture. It must be stressed again that these characteristics were not representative of every person in the group to which they were applied but that the happy husbands were more likely to be emotionally stable, for example, than the unhappy husbands. Naturally, no dichotomy on such a question could be expected. The actual figures showed that only 15 per cent of the happy husbands said they were "often in a state of excitement," but 27 per cent of the unhappy husbands were often excited; the percentages for the wives were 33 and 51 for the happy and unhappy, respectively. Likewise, only 24 and 29 per cent of the happy husbands and wives often "felt just miserable," but 44 and 56 per cent of the unhappy husbands and wives were so afflicted; and far fewer happy husbands and wives said they lost their temper easily than did the unhappy husbands and wives.

But what is the cause-and-effect relationship here? Are happy wives emotionally stable because their marriage is happy? Or is their marriage more likely to be happy because they had a preexisting personality trait of emotional stability? Either may be true in a given case, but the evidence in general points to the second rather than the first explanation. If cause and effect can be untangled in this maze of items we may eventually be able to use such personality ratings as having considerable predictive value. At present, the Burgess-Cottrell study and the section of the Terman study dealing with background factors both have definite predictive value statistically, but not in a given individual case.

Emotional Maturity.—Because emotional stability, which seems to be associated with happiness in marriage, is so dependent upon emotional maturity, it is hazardous to project immaturity over into marriage. A certain passage of Scripture would bear neatly upon this point if a single word were added: "When I was a child I thought as a child, I spake as a child and understood as a child. But when I became a [married] man I put away childish things." If such were the case, there would be fewer unhappy marriages. In the days of courtship, childishness may be considered "cute" and may attract rather than repel. Even when slight misgivings appear, youth is sure that all imperfections will be purified in the mysterious transmigration of the soul from courtship to marriage. But after marriage, when responsibilities must be met the "poor tired little girl," and the "just a big irresponsible boy" roles

pall very soon. They no longer elicit the same knightly protective impulse or the motherly indulgence that sufficed for the carefree days of courtship. This is not to say that all forbearance passes with marriage but merely that a continuance of childish characteristics soon becomes incongruous with the increasing responsibilities of the family and is classed as selfishness and shirking of one's rightful tasks.

Dora, in "David Copperfield," is a good illustration of one who used childishness as a technique for continuing the comfortable role of a dependent. She was pretty, spoiled, and unwilling to learn. She wanted marriage to be made up of flowers and kisses and song, and she could not or would not adjust to her new responsibilities. Today the endocrinologist would label her as thymic or infantile, and the latter she was, whether from physical or social causes.

Sometimes the situation is reversed, the wife wanting to take the full responsibility of her status but the husband insisting on treating her as a child who must be shielded from work and worry. Such an attitude (whether entirely sincere or because it gratifies one's ego to play the role of brave knight protecting fair lady) can be just as irritating as the reverse situation.

Herbert and Ethel Z. have been married five years. They married when Ethel was only nineteen and Herbert was thirty-one, with a good job as a night reporter and making a pretty good income. He left home at fourteen and has been on his own ever since. He had only a high-school education but he read and studied by himself until he has a much broader culture than Ethel, who had two years of college. Herbert is dignified, even at home, and sometimes moody, while Ethel is impulsive. He wants her to learn more mature behavior and yet never gives her the responsibilities that would help her learn it. Maybe Herbert has some reason to treat his wife as a child, for she tells me she never seems to remember about the little things that irritate him, such as going around without her slippers on, forgetting to bring the milk in first thing in the morning, or forgetting to pull the shades down in the evening. She says she tries, but she just forgets; anyway, he certainly does treat her like a baby. Her parents had tried to keep her from marrying Herbert, saying that he was too old for her, but she married him in a hurry so they would stop bothering her about it.

Herbert loves his young wife, but he regards her as a delightful, enthusiastic, impetuous child, who still needs to be disciplined and molded into the kind of a woman she may become. He feels that the values she was taught to respect—thrift, good housekeeping, children, quiet friends—are too common and unworthy of her ability. He wants her to cultivate herself, have leisure, dress well, become a clever conversationalist, and learn to be financially independent if anything happens to him. So for two years Ethel spent most of her time in the apartment reading, reading, trying to catch up culturally with her husband, whom she adored almost as a god. She also went to dancing school and learned to dance well enough to dance professionally for a while but stopped when Herbert decided it was better to. She kept late hours with Herbert, meeting writers, newspapermen, artists, dancers, and others who did not interest her much.

After two or three years of this, matters began to pall for Ethel. She wanted to begin to raise a family, but Herbert said she wasn't old enough or mature enough to

be a mother, and it would ruin her figure. Besides, she ought to *live* a while first. She wanted to have her old girlhood friends in, but her husband said that such friends "merely clutter up our lives and take precious time from things we want to accomplish." He wanted to spend time only with professional acquaintances from whom he could learn something. Ethel wanted to do her own housework, but Herbert insisted upon a maid, regardless of expense, to care for their three-room apartment, because housework was degrading, and also because he was afraid his wife would cut herself or burn herself every time she tried to do something. Ethel wanted to make a budget and see if they couldn't tell better where they were financially, but Herbert insisted, "We haven't enough money for *two* people to worry over." He would not give her an allowance, although he never refused any specific request for money, no matter what it was for or whether he could afford it or not. But never knowing whether they could afford a thing or not, Ethel often refrained from asking for money for something she really needed. She knew he would give it to her but was afraid they couldn't afford it.

All of this began to work on Ethel's nerves more and more. She got tired of the irregular hours and too little home life. She got tired of being "brought up" all the time. Her husband was constantly trying to "improve" her and lectured her frequently. When she wanted to budget so she could handle the household affairs, he said he loved her too much to let her worry over such unworthy matters. When she showed signs of rebellion, complaining, "No friends, no children, no allowance, no responsibilities—I feel like a mistress!" he accused her of being unfair. His self-assurance and vanity needed constant feeding on her compliance to his will. She was afraid to disagree too much with him or she would lose his love.

But at last, after five years, she has become utterly discouraged. She has told me that she may have to leave her husband. He thinks her family is poisoning her mind against him and tries to keep her from her family. She has warned him that unless he stops treating her as a child and lets her have a share in the finances and responsibilities of the home she will leave him. So far he hasn't changed any, and she is planning to leave for about six weeks, to see what effect it has on him. If he wants her back badly enough to treat her as a grown woman, she will come back gladly, but if not she is determined on a divorce.¹

Parent Fixation.—The mother fixation is a very disturbing item. The young man who has been so tied to his mother's apron strings that he is emotionally dependent on her even in his manhood is very unsatisfying as a husband. He cannot be happy long away from his mother and turns to her for counsel in difficulty and comfort in companionship. His bride feels that she takes second place in his affections, is not the recipient of his full confidence, and is an unnecessary part of the picture. She feels that she has failed to win him completely and that she must somehow be lacking in the qualities of a companion and housewife or else she could make him satisfied in his new home. His protests that he cares for her as dearly as ever fail to dispel her feeling of inferiority, and quarrels ensue. Separation or resignation to unhappiness is the usual end, unless some incident occurs that shocks the young man out of his emotional infancy. The extent to which this fixation may go is well illustrated by the characters in "The Silver Cord." Similarly the girl

¹ Unpublished manuscript.

may have a father fixation, due to the overprotection of her father and her complete acceptance of his characteristics as representative of the perfect type of man. In a few cases young women have been known to marry men much older than themselves and utterly unsuited to them, merely because they reminded them of their fathers. When such girls marry young men near their own age, there is constant unfavorable comparison with the father, to the great chagrin and irritation of the young husband.

Fortunately, the mother fixation, though more prevalent than the father fixation, is not nearly so common as some writers have made it appear. Nevertheless, the fact that nearly everyone knows at least one case shows that it is frequent enough to be reckoned with, and it can bring havoc to a marriage in short order.

George W. was still a bachelor at forty, and the main support of his elderly parents, although there were other sons and daughters who were married. George was strongly attached to his mother, whom he considered an invalid. He was so blinded by his emotional attachment to her that he could not see what his friends saw clearly, that his mother was not an invalid but a selfish old woman who feigned illness repeatedly in order to keep her children close about her. George was her favorite, and she was particularly anxious to keep him from marrying. For many years she succeeded, but George finally fell so deeply in love with Florence that he married her secretly, knowing that he could never get his mother's consent and fearing that her opposition would endanger her life because of her delicate health.

With true male understanding of women, George believed that once he was actually married his mother would accept the fact more calmly, if he could find some way to break the news to her gently. For a year his bride lived in a mid-town hotel, where George saw her rather infrequently. But both were eager to set up housekeeping, and George finally told his mother of his marriage. The result was appalling. She promptly went into hysterics, threatened suicide, and finally staged a heart attack. This frightened George greatly and filled him with remorse. He told Florence that they would have to postpone setting up their own home until he could win his mother over; so she continued to live at the hotel while he spent the summer in his parents' home, only occasionally meeting his wife for dinner and spending one or two week ends with her.

By this time Florence was getting very resentful of George being so completely under his mother's domination. After repeated family conferences and promises by George that he would see his mother very often, the couple finally set up their own household. All this time, George continued to support his parents. He had a pretty good income, but it was hardly large enough to cover both families, particularly because his young wife's propensity to overspend was encouraged by her knowledge and resentment of the fact that so much of his money was going to his mother. This fact, as well as the sight of George running to his mother at every beck and call galled her more and more, and she began to grow bitter toward the mother.

At first Florence occasionally accompanied George on his visits home, but she was always coolly received and treated as an intruder. After a time she refused to go with him, and he was both hurt and angry. She began to criticize her mother-in-law severely, and the criticism soon turned into ranting. George bought a car, though he had little time or use for it and Florence could not drive. It was kept in a public

garage, and Florence saw little of it. One day she happened to find out that the car was at the disposal of George's mother and his married sister, who used it often, and her anger turned to fury. Also, the fact that George's mother kept a maid (owing to George's help), while she had none, added fuel to the flame. She accused George of spending so much money on his mother that he didn't have enough left for the needs of his own wife and called his mother a selfish, lazy old woman who was ruining their marriage. She charged that George's own friends knew how his mother dominated him and pitied him (which was true). She vowed that she would cook no meals until she had adequate money for running the household and that she was sick of denying herself while the mother-in-law did not have to deny herself anything.

This was too much for George. He bitterly accused his wife of hating his mother, of spending too freely, and of expecting him to give up his family. He was secretly chagrined and angry that his friends pitied him, but he would not break away from his mother's control. After continuing the scene until both were nearly exhausted, George stamped off to his mother's home and Florence packed up and went to live with her mother. There the situation rests at present, though it is not difficult to predict a complete break.¹

One wonders whether this marriage could have been saved if the young wife could have persuaded her husband to move to another city where he would have been out of reach of his mother except by correspondence. His occupation might not have permitted such a move without serious economic loss. Even so, would he have continued to send a major part of his income to his mother—a point of serious contention? And would he have been so miserable away from his mother that he would have turned upon his wife for revenge? One cannot be sure, but in some cases getting far away has finally permitted adjustment.

This mother or father complex may account for some of the marriages to persons much older than oneself and may also help explain the unusual success of some of these marriages in spite of the general rule that compatibility is usually associated with an age spread of only 3 to 5 years, with the husband the elder. In Terman's study² the women who had husbands 4 to 10 years younger than themselves had the highest happiness score of all, being 6 points above the next highest group. Also, the husbands who were 12 or more years older than their wives scored the happiest, though only 1½ points above the next highest group. Both these extreme groups were relatively small, so that chance variation may have affected the scores more than in larger samples, but the Burgess-Cottrell study got practically the same results. Of the 30 cases in which the wife was 4 or more years older than the husband, 21 were in the "very high" adjustment group (the highest for any age combination) and the other 9 were in the "high" adjustment group; not one was in the "low" or "very low" group. Terman suggests the probability

¹ Unpublished manuscript.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 184-187.

that the woman who will marry a man many years younger than herself may either be fleeing permanent spinsterhood by capturing anyone who is nonresistant, or be seeking someone she can mother because of her strong maternal interest. Likewise, the young man may have a mother complex and be happy in the ministrations of an older woman who serves as "mother surrogate." As to the husbands whose wives are many years younger, it is possible that they enjoy the respect of their young wives, who may be looking for a "father surrogate" or who may respect their husbands for their success and status and be above average in their willingness to submit to dominance. One would have to cross-tabulate all these extreme couples on many characteristics before having evidence for these suggested explanations, and since the published study does not present these detailed data one can only apply "reasonable speculation" to the findings.

Self-Confidence vs. Egotism.—Self-confidence and self-respect are in themselves admirable qualities, and they need not (unless carried to extremes) operate against marital happiness; in fact, two studies (Terman's and an earlier one by Kelly) show that they may operate in favor of happiness. Kelly's¹ interesting study of marital compatibility deals not only with objectively measurable personality traits but also with *the opinions* each spouse has regarding his own and his spouse's traits. For example, says Kelly, ". . . if both a husband and wife believe and continue to believe that the husband is the more intelligent of the pair, it is entirely possible that this believed difference is more operative as a factor in marital adjustment than the actual tested difference in I.Q."

Kelly had 76 couples, nearly all of whom had been married more than five years, fill out not only schedules embodying both the Burgess-Cottrell and the Terman items for determining an index of marital compatibility but also a personality rating scale covering 36 personality traits. Each spouse independently and anonymously rated his own and his partner's personality, the replies being paired by pair-identification marks when received, so that a husband's opinion of himself could be compared with his wife's opinion of him, and vice versa. It was found that the self-ratings of husbands and wives did not differ greatly, nor did the ratings they gave each other. There appeared to be something of a "mutual-admiration-society" atmosphere, for the husbands rated their wives significantly higher than they rated themselves and the wives rated their husbands significantly higher than they rated themselves.

¹ E. LOWELL KELLY, *Marital Compatibility as Related to Personality Traits of Husbands and Wives as Rated by Self and Spouse*. A paper read at the 1937 conference of the Eastern Sociological Society and quoted here by permission.

The correlations between compatibility indices and ratings ranged from .27 to .47, and without stating each in detail they may be summarized as follows:¹

1. A high degree of marital compatibility seems to be accompanied by a willingness on the part of both husband and wife to admit the superiority of the spouse, or, in other words, to assume a general attitude of humbleness in making such comparisons. There is some indication that this factor is more operative for wives than for husbands.

2. In general, a high degree of marital compatibility is also associated with a tendency for both husband and wife to rate themselves above average on most personality traits. This at first seems to be a contradiction to the previous statement, but such is not the case. Combining the last two points we may say that the typical husband or wife who considers himself very happily married tends to rate himself above average, but to rate his spouse still higher than himself.

Kelly is careful, by the use of the phrase "associated with," to avoid the assertion of a direct cause-and-effect relationship between the factors considered. He states that "the data do not indicate whether successful marriages tend to result from the above-described attitudes of happily married husbands and wives, or whether, conversely, these attitudes are the result of the degree of compatibility achieved in marriage. In all probability both lines of influence are operative, and the data available do not offer any possibility of evaluating their relative strength." The only way to answer this question is to analyze similar personality ratings obtained from young couples before marriage and correlate them with the degree of compatibility they later achieve in marriage. Kelly is now doing this with some hundreds of couples, and his findings some years later should attract the attention of all interested in marriage research.

But bald egotism is a very different matter from a decent self-regard coupled with a sincere regard for others. Almost any form of excessive egotism or self-assertion makes adjustment difficult. The person who is always right and will never admit error is for most people an impossible partner. Boastfulness, as a form of ego expression, frequently offsets other characteristics that may be admirable. All such self-regarding traits, unless of such extreme form that they become fit meat for the psychiatrist, fall under the common term "selfishness." For a man so conditioned, his very love for any particular woman may be, in the sharp words of Horace Smith, "self-love at second hand, vanity reflected, compound egotism."

But this fondness for oneself is not satisfied with self-efforts at gratification; it must also be fed by others, particularly one's intimates.

¹ *Ibid.*

Pope's statement that frequently young lovers think the persons they love have nothing to do but to please them fits nicely into the fact of *personal exploitation* in any union where one partner is self-centered, and exploitation is at least attempted when both are self-centered. True exploitation need not involve an economic concept. One may fatten his ego as fully by exploiting the personality of the mate as one may fatten the body by living without effort from the earnings of the mate. Both are exploitation, the former being even more vicious than the latter because it is more subtle and fundamental. Furthermore, its very nature frequently makes it very difficult to break up, for the rule seems to hold that in any sentimental personal relation "the one who cares less can exploit the one who cares most." This perpetuates the exploitation until it becomes unbearable, and either the exploiter must change his ways or the union must be dissolved.

Personality Protection.—It may seem peculiar to speak of the "art of self-defense" in marriage. In the following discussion the expression refers not to developing agility in dodging vases in a Jiggs-like manner, but to the defense of one's individuality. Marriage is such an intimate, prolonged relationship that frequently without conscious conflict one personality absorbs the other, or like the gingham dog and the calico cat, they "eat each other up." One observer¹ contends that most marriages would be far less monotonous, in fact would be greatly freshened up, if the marriage agreement contained some such provision as this: "In and after the second year of the joint life of the contracting parties, they shall, circumstances permitting, separate for a period of not less than _____ weeks nor more than _____ months, during which time each shall honestly endeavor to reconstitute his or her own individuality." But in spite of the obvious advantages of temporary periods of apartness to allow perspective, there are some to whom even the shortest separation is torture.

Explorers, administrators in isolated posts, and others thrown in intimate association with one person for a long period of time know well the dangers of too exclusive association. Adams tells of two engineers who, with no other white company in the midst of an alien culture, kept from overfamiliarity and quarreling by having separate huts quite a distance apart, seeing very little of each other during working hours, and dining together only twice a week. Byrd² shows the difficulty when in such isolation both men must share the same hut. Under such circumstances, it does not take two men long to find each other out, for "once the simple tasks of the day are finished there is little else

¹ SAMUEL HOPKINS ADAMS, *A Sabbatical Year for Marriage*, *Harper's*, 156: 94-100, December, 1927.

² RICHARD E. BYRD, "Alone," New York, Putnam's, 1938, p. 16.

to do but take each other's measure." This is not done maliciously or even deliberately, but it is done. "The time comes when one has nothing left to reveal to the other; when even his unformed thoughts can be anticipated, his pet ideas become a meaningless drivel," and every little habit or mannerism, no matter how mild and ordinarily unoffending, becomes a "rasping annoyance."

In marriage, this problem of personality defense is very subtle, for it is most frequently found precisely in the places where its presence is unrealized. If personal exploitation is not recognized, it is not resented. In the devoted union neither party is likely to see any danger in the complete submission to the suggestions of the other. In fact the desire to please the loved one makes such submission seem both desirable and natural. Since nearly always one partner will have a stronger personality than the other, this usually results in a sort of unconscious or semi-conscious domination, benevolent though it may be. It is universally accepted that complete, unwilling subjection to the dominant will of another is one of the most degrading experiences of life, but it is seldom understood that complete willing subjection, though not degrading in the same sense, can be just as devastating to the personality.

In the very devoted marriage, beautiful as it is in many ways, there is a dangerous tendency for each to merge his personality so fully with the other's that neither has a distinct personality of his own left. Most readers will know of some such case among their acquaintances, usually old couples, who have literally "become as one." Such devotion is so genuine that there is no disposition here to belittle it, and yet it can fairly be pointed out that it may be stunting to personality development. Long years of intimate association naturally make each fully acquainted with the mental habits of the other, so much so that thoughts are anticipated unconsciously. And since the complete blending of life in all its aspects is held up as the social ideal, it gives impetus to a natural trend. But "natural trend" is only another term for "following the line of least resistance," and here again it may not lead to the greatest value. When each partner has become so dependent upon the other that he has no thoughts of his own, allows himself no independent likes and dislikes, and can make no decisions without consulting the other, something has been lost. Such intellectual dependence may have certain compensations, but it has heavy disadvantages as well. The development of a sort of composite personality results in the inner impoverishment of each, the loss of personal resources upon which to draw. Individuality is too precious an element in the whole social scheme to be relinquished even as a gift of love.

John W. and Mary were devoted to each other through a long courtship, and after marriage they were in the seventh heaven of bliss. John was a promising young

lawyer and Mary was proud of him. They were so devoted to each other that neither dreamed of doing anything in which the other could not participate. If the wife had a cold on the husband's day to play golf, he would not go; if she wanted to go to a concert on a night he had to work, she would stay at home with him instead. John always helped Mary with the dishes after dinner so she could be with him in his study while he worked on some case. During the day he would call her up and visit, and sometimes she would come down to the office to visit him.

Not until they had been married for more than a year were they separated overnight, and then it was looked upon almost as a disaster. John went to a convention in a neighboring city, which necessitated being gone nearly two days. Mary was not feeling well enough to go, and John almost backed out; but after a farewell, fit for a two years' absence on a polar expedition, John got away. That night he was restless and sleepless for part of the night and very eager to get home early the next day. Mary had a girl friend come in and stay all night with her, and it was well that she did, for she walked the floor, saying over and over, "He's never been away overnight before! We've never been separated before!" and the friend had to calm her and get her to talking about other things.

The reunion the next day reminded one of the soldier boys coming home from France. The awful experience was over, and life could once more resume its comfortable ways.¹

Self-negation is not essential to happy marriage. There are couples who have lived long and happily together and yet maintained their intellectual independence. To differ from the opinion of a loved one is not necessarily to discredit him. To insist on one's own likes and dislikes, when they do not directly affect the happiness and welfare of the other, is certainly not unreasonable. To maintain one's self-respect can hardly be called selfish, particularly if one grants the same right to others. Marriage would indeed be a dubious blessing if it had for its purpose the turning out of an endless array of paired identical personalities. On the contrary the maintenance of intellectual independence in itself encourages thinking and makes the personality more attractive and interesting than when one is an intellectual "yes man." Intellectual privacy is as important as any other kind of privacy. Every person should have an inner citadel that is free from intrusion, where he may withdraw at times from even his most intimate companions. To have one's inner sanctum violated by the persistent probing even of a friend is a disquieting experience, leaving one with an uncomfortable exposed feeling, mingled with resentment toward the intruder. Likewise, the friend who unbidden bares thoughts which we feel are too intimate for us to share, forces us unwillingly into that uncomfortable position where sympathy must strive valiantly to overcome disrespect.

On this theory, it is possible for husband and wife to know each other too well. One hears much of that "sweet fusion of two souls into a perfect oneness of spirit," in which it is assumed that every thought is shared. The chances are, however, that such a concept is more useful

¹ Unpublished manuscript.

for poetry than for reality. In practice such utter abandonment of reserve is frequently followed by a satiated familiarity that is easily divorced from respect. The charm of a companion lies as much in his reserve as in his confidences. The comfort of knowing his views on many points is rivaled by the respect for his reticence on issues calling for dignified reserve. It is intriguing to come unexpectedly upon new ideas, unanticipated qualities of character, unrevealed delicacy of views. If all the best wine is served early in the feast, there is no appetite for what follows. Personality is worth conserving; it should not all be served at once. The intellectual appetite is never sated when skillfully whetted from time to time by the subtle promise of new tastes still in store. Hence the stimulating experience of personality exploration calls for discretion. One may ramble at will among the chambers of a companion's intellectual dwelling, but there is (or should be) one small room whose threshold one must never cross—or even want to cross. Here is the inner fastness of the soul, whence emanates the delicate fragrance of the personality. Once violated, its mysteries and lure are gone, its charm never recaptured.

Recreation and Vacations.—Before marriage, recreation plays the stellar role during the times the young couple are together. The time they can spend in each other's presence is limited, and hence it must be used to the greatest advantage. Some recreation—be it party, dance, ride, theater, or what not—is usually planned. It need be no more than a long walk together, but the point is that it is recreation, with both parties free from responsibilities and ready to enjoy the freedom.

After marriage these periods of recreation naturally tend to assume a different status. Being together need no longer be planned, for the sharing of the same home with its common fellowship and duties brings husband and wife together during most of their waking hours except those in which work keeps them apart. But these times together, though more numerous than formerly, are no longer so free from responsibilities as they were. In the bride-and-groom days it is still easy to find free periods for recreation, but as the children come it becomes increasingly difficult. Responsibilities grow in number and weight, and the easiest way is to let recreation subside until it almost fades out of the picture. But in this, as in so many areas of life, the line of least resistance seldom leads to the desired goal. Recreation often provides the relish to married companionship that helps to keep it zestful, and in doubtful cases it may be just the touch needed to turn the balance in favor of happiness. For no matter how delightful one's work, it can pall if continued too long without change, just as a favorite dish soon offends the palate if served at every meal. It is of high importance that the monotony of routine work be broken frequently by varied recreation, mutually

enjoyed. It may assume the proportions of a dinner and theater party, or it may be as simple as an evening together by the fire, reading aloud from a favorite book. By varying the form of recreation in accordance with the interests of the moment and making it conform to the time and money available, its flavor may be preserved indefinitely. Such a continuation of the "good times together" will do much not only to keep both partners young and full of interest in life but also, presumably, to preserve the happiness in marriage. Terman¹ found that there was a positive correlation (though not high enough to have great predictive value) between the happiness score of both the husbands and wives in his study and their degree of participation in outside interests together. The happiness score for husbands and wives who participated together in all their outside interests averaged 77, whereas the score for those who participated together in no outside activities averaged only 48. Burgess and Cottrell² found the proportion of the "very happy" group in their study who engaged in all their outside activities together to be fifteen times as great as of those who engaged in few or none of their outside activities together, but of course the authors make no claim that this shows a clear-cut cause-and-effect relationship. Are these couples happy because they engage in all their outside activities together, or do they engage in them together because they are happy in their marriage? If both, to what extent is each true?

For some couples, recreation is the proving ground on which their marriage is tested. The question of whether they shall conscientiously attempt to share all their recreation must be met. Some happily married persons experience an uncomfortable feeling of disloyalty if they repeatedly engage in forms of recreation that are not mutually enjoyable. Such an exaggerated marital conscience is hardly commendable. Seldom are the interests of two people identical. There is no more reason for the husband to drag his wife to a meeting of his numismatic club, which bores her, than there is for her to insist on his accompanying her to a piano recital, which bores him. Why need either be bored through attempting to live up to a false standard of good sportsmanship? Marriage should not constitute a strait jacket that keeps one from being oneself. The tastes that are common to both are perhaps all the more appreciated because a few others are held separately. There is no place for "recreational martyrdom" in a sensible marriage. Occasional concessions to the interests of one another along recreational lines add to the fun, but for an unwilling party to allow himself or herself to be dragged joylessly about from a sense of duty is ludicrous.

¹ *Op. cit.* Chap. 4.

² ERNEST W. BURGESS and LEONARD S. COTTRELL, "Prediction of Success or Failure in Marriage," New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939.

Vacations form an important part of the recreation picture. Coming usually only once a year, they are looked forward to with great eagerness, for they afford husband and wife an opportunity for complete change, free from the duties and responsibilities of their daily work. Under such conditions they are able to come as near as they ever will to recapturing the carefree days of the honeymoon. Since many of the normal irritants of the work routine are absent, life often runs far more smoothly on vacation than at other times, and the two personalities find harmony easy to achieve. The points on which they now have contact, as in the days before marriage, are practically all pleasurable. Once more the desire for new experience accentuates the desire for response, which makes the sharing of mutual pleasures the dominant wish of both. There is a feeling of renewal of youth.

When vacations together can mean so much to the happiness of both, it may seem strange that they should ever be taken separately. But when the vacation interests of husband and wife are so divergent that neither gets much pleasure from the favorite pastime of the other, it is only a matter of good judgment for them to take their vacations apart. The wife who has been kept close at home is likely to want to go to some gay place where she can mingle with people, whereas the husband, who is tired of the endless contacts with people, may want to get a little cabin in the mountains where he can hunt or fish. If she goes with her husband, she may not only lose the kind of vacation she had looked forward to but also find herself in the old round of housework, but without the conveniences of home. If she tires of cooking even in the clean efficiency of her own kitchen, she is almost sure to rebel against cooking with sooty utensils over a campfire that keeps her eyes smarting with smoke. Likewise, the man who has worked for months in the swirling contacts of business may find little joy at the crowded resorts where he cannot get away from people. Under such conditions an occasional vacation apart may be the best solution of the problem. However, the values of a vacation together are too great to be more than temporarily abandoned, and it is perhaps fortunate that most couples have little difficulty in planning a vacation satisfactory to both. But the fact that happily married people are learning that vacations together are not an absolute necessity is indicated by the attitudes shown by the subjects in the Terman study.¹ Only 44 per cent of both husbands and wives in the happily married group considered it "very essential" that husband and wife, if congenial, should take their vacations together, and about 50 per cent more thought it was "usually desirable." Thus, nearly all approved it for congenial couples, but less than half considered it necessary or vital to a happy marriage.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

Selected Readings

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. Compare, as objectively as possible, the values—both personal and social—of the French acceptance of romance as usually not connected with marriage and of the American ideal of romance as an essential part of marriage.
2. Write a case study of conflict between husband and wife in a family you know well enough to be acquainted with the facts.
3. Take 10 persons of the opposite sex whom you know well, designate them by numbers so they will be anonymous, then list under each name the chief drawbacks that person would have as a possible husband or wife. What shortcomings (according to your own standard of measurement) appear most frequently in the 10 lists?
4. Set down the chief tenets of the "cult of romance." Now show—by citing definite novels, plays, movies, and common sayings—how these ultraromantic teachings are kept in power.
5. How would you define a happy marriage? Must it be subjectively determined; i.e., if both husband and wife *think* they are happy would you admit that they are? Or must there be an objective scale devised? If so, would you approve the Terman scale? The Burgess-Cottrell method? What possible ways of getting at the question can you suggest?

6. Describe the mutual overdependence of some couple, if you know such, and show the effects on their personalities. If you were in a position to advise them, what suggestions would you make for their mutual personality protection?
7. When a married woman in her middle thirties makes feverish efforts to charm other women's husbands at parties and the husband struts his ego before other men's wives, is it a sign that they are unhappily married? How do you account for their conduct? Is it "perfectly normal"?
8. Analyze the various causes and results of unwise mate selection in Eugene O'Neill's play "Beyond the Horizon."
9. Write a case study of a person you know who has a father or a mother fixation. If the person is married, show the effects on the marriage.

CHAPTER IX

THE HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP.—(*Continued*)

Each member of the family has a definite role; in fact, family organization is merely the arrangement of member roles. These roles vary in different cultures, and in a given family they change with time. This is particularly true of the role of children as they grow to adulthood; but also the roles of husband and wife may change, not in relation to age but to cultural changes that are inevitably reflected in the family. "Status" sounds static, but it is not.

Authority and Responsibility.—The conventional lines of authority in the family have broken down, and hence each member's rights and duties can no longer be easily defined as formerly. The move toward sex equality has brought an increasing tendency to *share* both authority and responsibility. Yet there will long remain, for the sake of convenience, a division of responsibility in a given household, corresponding to its division of labor. If both husband and wife are breadwinners, the arrangement will be very different from that in which the wife works only in the home, and yet some understanding there must be. But the main point is that today, no matter how the division is made, there is less likelihood of the authority of either being *exclusive*. There is a tendency for each to share with the other, and this is a factor contributing to marital compatibility.

The democratization of the home that has come about with the rise of women to a new status has brought overt conflict in some homes where there would have been only covert conflict under the old patriarchal system. Women are refusing to be bossed as they once were and are inclined to make their own decisions on important matters. On the other hand there are still many women in this country who cling to the old family pattern with as fierce a loyalty as do some men. This is true of some of those more recently over from the old country, but it also applies to many in isolated sections where the idea of sex equality has penetrated slowly.

The younger generation, however, usually accepts at least in theory the tenets of the new doctrine, though it is interesting to see how frequently the conversion is outward rather than inward. Frequently the convert does not realize this and is chagrined when the evidence suddenly pops out. The young man who is proud of the independence and

"spunk" of the girl to whom he is engaged and who boasts that "she can make her own decisions and stand on her own feet" is sometimes riding for a fall. He stoutly asserts that their marriage is going to be on a fifty-fifty basis, but after marriage, when his young wife goes on making her own decisions the same as previously, he becomes irritated. To her surprised question, "Why should I ask you about this matter?" he is likely to blurt out before he knows it, "Say, who do you think is the head of this family, anyway?" He is perhaps embarrassed when he realizes how he has been trapped into such an inconsistent stand by the social milieu in which he was brought up. Because he was reared in a man-made world, receiving privileges that his sisters did not receive and being looked upon as superior to girls, there had grown up an attitude too deeply rooted to be plucked out bodily by the intellectual acceptance—under the guidance of teacher or textbook—of the principle of equality. The repeated backslidings of those males who have taken the vows of equality offer a very diverting spectacle of the foibles of the human mind.

There are too few studies that give definite information on the relation of marital happiness to the division of authority in the family. Popenoe¹ found that the fifty-fifty basis was associated with the highest happiness group, the husband-as-head with the next level of happiness, and the wife-as-head with the lowest happiness group. Terman² found that only a little more than half the happy husbands and wives considered it either "very essential" or "usually desirable" that the husband should "wear the pants." This would seem to point toward an equality attitude. Burgess and Cottrell found that either when the husband and wife had equally strong personalities or when the husband was "somewhat stronger" the proportion of "very happy" was highest. When the husband was "much stronger," the proportion dropped about one-third; and when he was "much weaker," it dropped seven-eighths, to only 4.4 per cent. Without drawing too hard and fast conclusions from such tabulations it is safe to say that the evidence points toward greater happiness for the equalitarian or near-equalitarian marriages.

The Rising Tide of Individualism.—There is an increasing recognition in the literature of marriage of the important role played by the trend toward individualism. It may seem paradoxical that, coincident with a trend toward more cooperation politically and economically, we should be moving toward individualism in personal conduct. The decline of religious authority; the rise of science; the urbanization of the population, which decreases primary contacts and increases the proportion of second-

¹ PAUL POPENOE, *Can the Family Have Two Heads?*, *Sociology and Soc. Research*, 18: 12-17, September, 1933.

² LEWIS M. TERMAN, "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, p. 137.

ary, impersonal contacts; the rise of an extreme school of psychology, which all but denies any degree of personal responsibility for conduct; the preoccupation of screen, stage, and fiction with "free self-expression"; the increasing mobility, which is unfavorable to a sense of responsibility and self-restraint; a "new morality" based upon the theory that since "right" and "wrong" are always relative to time and place the individual is justified in formulating his own moral code as he goes along, fitting it comfortably to his own needs of the moment—these and other factors are contributing to a philosophy of individualism that in some ways may be favorable to marriage but for the most part is very unfavorable to it. In so far as this philosophy of individualism makes for tolerance and a willingness to accord to the other spouse the same freedom of thought and action that one claims for oneself, it may favor adjustment. But the dominant theme of individualism seems to be the self-centered advice, "Look out for number one." It takes the laissez-faire doctrine, long since discredited in the economic field, and seeks to apply it in the field of personal relationships. Its creed is the hard assertion, "I have my own life to live," and there is more than an implication that anyone—whether stranger or loved one—who does not agree with my way of living it can like it or not, as he pleases.

This spirit of unhampered ego expression may rise partly from an unconscious resistance to the regimentation to which we are subject in an increasing number of ways. It may be a defense mechanism for fighting back at the forces all about us that are hampering our freedom in other areas, crowding us out of our privacy, shoving us into associations not of our own choosing, and generally frustrating wishes we consider basic. But whatever its causes, the growing sentiment and philosophy of individualism are having a devastating effect on marriage. There is little adjustment where there is no will for adjustment. There is little disposition to give as well as take when one lays all the emphasis on "rights" instead of on "privileges" and "obligations." It is a self-centered, not a group-centered, philosophy, and as such it is disruptive of group solidarity.

The theory that temperament determines to a large degree one's success in marriage does not imply that the individual can do nothing consciously to favor compatibility. Physiologists and psychologists (where is the borderline between them?) cannot yet tell how much of temperament is due to nature and how much to nurture. There lies discussion without end. But it has been proved by many marriage consultation bureaus that when irritating factors of temperament, habit, or conscious action are analyzed in the light of their effect on marital happiness and there is a deliberate and sustained effort to change certain of the factors partially under one's personal control, adjustment usually can be made.

It is not always accomplished singlehanded, for this is usually a game for two, but the point is that it can be done. The individualistic theory of "no compromise," not always consciously but nevertheless actually assumed, is not justified either in theory or fact, and if it can be shown to be a shortsighted policy that in the long run brings more unhappiness than happiness it may in time be abandoned. It was tried out in marriage in the Soviet Union, in spite of the fact that the exact opposite prevailed in the economic and political fields, and it failed so badly that loud protests restored a greater degree of personal responsibility, at least restored the control mechanism that, it was hoped, would in time change the ideology. In this country the methods of control are quite different from those of the Soviet Union, but unless some method of combating the ideology of extreme individualism is devised we are likely to see an ever-increasing amount of family conflict and disorganization.

Folsom¹ has an excellent discussion of modern individualism and its relation to marriage. He points out that "the drive toward love loyalty is as firmly founded as the drive toward novelty in romance" and that some of the very factors pushing us toward individualism are also intensifying our wish for security in love. For example, mobility takes children away when they grow up and marry, so that "the real need for the permanent love of a single partner is greater than ever before." In the last analysis, personal relationships are the only abiding values in life, for material possessions lose their attraction unless enjoyed with others. Thus the forces are not all working in one direction, and the present trend may be stopped more by the slow accumulation of unplanned, natural resistance than by social telesis. Such a method by which desirable change comes about may not be so creditable to human intelligence as if it were brought by thoughtful effort, but if it comes at all there will probably be little inclination to criticize its origin.

The Role of In-laws.—In many civilizations of the past and some of today the family pattern takes for granted the "great family" or clan, living under one roof. In China the young man brings his bride to his parents' home as a matter of course, and she becomes their daughter and worships their ancestors. This manner of dwelling together with parents-in-law, brothers-in-law, and unmarried sisters-in-law is an established part of the mores and therefore no more likely to cause trouble than any other mode of life. But in America, with our restless trend toward individualism, our social ideal has come to be a separate household for each family, free from the presence of third parties. So strong is this desire for separateness that even the aged father and mother who have insufficient means to support themselves are frequently maintained in their separate establishment by the help of their grown children, rather

¹ J. K. Folsom, "The Family," New York, Wiley, 1934, pp. 224-232.

than being taken into the home of one of the children. Frequently, such an arrangement coincides with the wishes not only of the children but also of the old parents, who wish to retain a home of their own as long as they are not too feeble to do so. Even when death takes one partner, the other may still insist upon being alone, until convinced by the children that it is no longer safe and practicable.

On the other hand, there are some parents who, when the last birdling has flown the nest, find no satisfaction alone in their home. They have become so wrapped up in the interests of their children that they cannot be happy away from them. Such emotional dependence impels them to "move in on" one of their children on the slightest pretext. Once established in the filial household they become permanent residents, with no further thought of change. Both law and custom favor the support of aged parents by their children, and in general there is little disposition to evade this natural obligation; but a good many do not appreciate sharing their home with parents who are entirely capable of maintaining their own home but whose psychological resources are insufficient to make independence satisfying. Thus a too early joining of the filial household by the parents may be resented as intrusion, whereas later it would be lovingly urged by these same children. Often a small change in circumstances can bring a great change in attitudes; larger factors, like the loss of one partner, are almost sure to open the doors of invitation to the survivor who is too lonely to live alone. In such cases adjustments are usually cheerfully accepted, and the new relationship made as satisfactory as possible to all concerned.

Having a mother-in-law in the home is not always the comic tragedy that it is commonly supposed to be. Frequently the good sense of all concerned and their devotion to each other make adjustment relatively easy. But even with the best intentions on both sides areas of tension frequently arise, for affection alone is not always sufficient to dissolve the difficulties; the problem often requires the most careful and objective planning. The first factor to be stressed in such a situation is that two generations (frequently three) are represented, with the inevitable differences in cultural patterns. The older generation simply cannot think wholly in the terms of their married children, any more than the latter can fully project themselves into the viewpoints and attitudes of their own children. This fact lays the foundation for innumerable conflict situations, only a few illustrations of which need be mentioned. One general illustration, which could easily be broken up into many specific ones, is the way of ordering one's life, including such specific factors as habits of spending and saving, types of amusements, religious observance, and a host of other matters on which the standards are very likely to be different from those of a generation ago. The older person will find great

self-control necessary to refrain from criticizing some of these changes in life values.

One of the most frequent causes of discord is the matter of bringing up the children. Grandmother's ideas on the place of children in the home, their discipline, and what they should and should not be allowed to do are frequently at great variance with the ideas of the parents who have been studying books on child psychology. The grandmother naturally feels wiser and more experienced and has at least one good argument in pointing to her own sons and daughters as proof of her ability to bring them up well. It is hard for her to realize that this new crop of children does not belong to her and that the actual parents have a perfect right to "experiment with newfangled ideas" if they wish to do so.

Even the kind of food (a fruit-and-toast breakfast instead of the steak-and-pie breakfast of Grandmother's day, that would really "stick to your ribs") may be a source of annoyance. Or Grandmother may turn up her nose in disdain at the modernistic furniture which looks as though it were trying to recuperate after a night out. Yet the fact remains that the home belongs to the younger generation, and if a Cubist "still life," which resembles anything but life, hangs in the place where Grandmother would hang a picture of "The Doctor," she will simply have to get used to it. For who can prove that a Corot landscape is more artistic than the weird and uninterpretable conference of lines that some Dadaist calls "An Abstraction"?

Mr. and Mrs. G. live in a nice section of a Midwestern city. They have a son Stanley, away at college, and a daughter Bernice, who attends the local university and hopes to graduate this year. The family income is about \$10,000 a year, which is ample to cover their needs. Yet the family is in constant turmoil, and Stanley and Bernice say it has been ever since they can remember. When they were only seven and nine years old, Mr. G.'s mother lost her husband and came to live with the family, and she has been from the first what the two children call a "pain in the neck."

Mr. G., a Russian Jew who came over from the old country as a boy, has never given his family much attention except to supply the money for the needs of all. He has always been engrossed in his business, and at home he tries to stay out of trouble of any kind. He isn't even interested in the quarrels. When his mother came to live with the family, she was still a strong, vigorous woman, even though along in years, and she promptly took over the management of the household as if it were her own. It had been a peaceful household before this, with no more than the usual arguments that occur from time to time in most families. But the mother-in-law soon changed it into a place that was uncomfortable for all but herself. She told the wife where she should buy her food, how to manage the maid, how to arrange the furniture, and particularly how to prepare the food as she always had, and her mother before her. She thought she was doing the family a real service in all this, and Mrs. G. took it with good grace at first, for she loved peace. Her husband never interfered either way, and she knew she could not count on him for help. Anyway, he had always been used to his mother's ways of doing things at home, and now it all seemed natural and comfortable to him once more to have things done much as they were in

his boyhood. Stanley and Bernice paid little attention to their father, for he had never paid much attention to them.

By the time Bernice was in high school her grandmother was beginning to rule her outside activities as well as her homework, and this irked the girl more and more. She was of an independent nature, and it aroused her anger and disgust to see how the whole household was dominated by the grandmother, and everyone hopped when she spoke. She felt especially rebellious over her grandmother's commands not to go with young men but to wait till she was ready to get married. She sometimes defied the old lady and got such terrible tongue-lashings that she was too angry for days to do her studies. If she brought her girl friends to the house, her grandmother sat with them all evening and interfered with their pleasures and insulted those she didn't like so they wouldn't come back. The result was that Bernice finally stopped bringing any of her friends home and began to run around more and more, neglecting her studies seriously. Stanley was home only for vacations, and even then he spent little time at the house, for he quarreled violently with his grandmother.

Suddenly, after some years of this, Mrs. G. surprised everyone by deciding that she was going to be boss in her own home. She had realized more and more that her passive attitude did not bring peace and that her family was disintegrating before her eyes. She girded herself for battle, and battle it was, for her mother-in-law was no mean opponent. Their fights overshadowed all else in the home. They got so bad that even Mr. G. got worried and tried to pacify his wife and mother, but nobody listened to him. He had been an outsider too long. Stanley and Bernice, who were in college by that time, found their home unendurable. Stanley does not even come home for vacations any more, and Bernice has taken a small apartment with another girl, for she declares she "can't stand her damn family any more."

There is no peace in sight. Stanley remains aloof. Bernice says she is never going home any more. Mrs. G. is threatening to leave because Mr. G. seems to agree with his mother more often than with his wife in their violent quarrels, and the wife says she will either be boss in her own home or her husband can have his mother to himself, for she won't stay. Mr. G. is really worried at last but doesn't know what to do. So far his wife has not carried out her threat of leaving, but he is afraid every day that she will. Bernice is hard and bitter about it all, and says it's a "helluva" family for a girl to have.¹

Some families in which the mother-in-law is a factor have reached a very workable relationship by the discreet blending of association and privacy. Grandmother is provided with her own room, which she can furnish as she pleases and where she can entertain her friends without disturbing, or being disturbed by, any of the family activities. She is not isolated, for she may join in the family activities at any time, but she may also withdraw to her own quarters when it is more comfortable to do so or when she feels that her presence might put a slight restraint on the activities of other members of the family. For example, if her daughter is having friends in for a bridge party, Grandmother (who does not play) may find no pleasure in remaining downstairs with the others, and the guests would feel rude in ignoring her if she did remain. In such a case her own little radio, or a magazine and her favorite rocker in the

¹ Unpublished manuscript.

privacy of her room, will provide a more pleasant evening than one spent with the guests. Such an arrangement, with freedom to come and go at will, to help in the household duties enough to give a feeling of usefulness without taking over responsibilities that the daughter does not wish to delegate, often proves to be the most satisfactory arrangement possible. To those who are sensible enough not to spread their feelings out too far where they may get stepped on, it is not difficult of achievement. It calls for a nice balance between independence and conformity, which is the real measure of cooperation.

The presence of a third party in the home is particularly difficult during the first year or two of marriage. This initial period is one in which the young folk not only crave privacy, but need it for their best interests. It is a time of mutual adjustments, of being "on their own" and learning to carry the responsibilities of marriage without help. Decisions come thick and fast in these first years, and household and associational habits are being formed. It is only right for the happiness, as well as the development, of the young folk that there should be no prying eyes, even loving ones, to hamper spontaneous endearments which are never so satisfying in the presence of another, and no feeling that they must take another into consultation on their plans. For, at best, the intimacy and harmony of the home are bound to be affected by the presence of any relative, no matter how dear to one or both of the partners. At worst, when the mother-in-law resentfully charges that her son or daughter has been "taken from her" by one she heartily dislikes, an intolerable situation develops. The long-drawn-out battle of loyalties may end in the divorce court if the mother wins; occasionally the desperate young folk move away from the mother's reach, and once out of range they are able to adjust their differences. At its fiercest the "mother clutch" is something few husbands or wives can endure.

It is an interesting observation that a mother is much more likely to accept her son-in-law at par than her daughter-in-law. Usually, she is far more critical of the latter and considers her unworthy of her son. By the marriage of her daughter, however, she feels that she has gained a son, rather than lost a daughter. Is this due to an unconscious jealousy of the mother against a competitor for her son's affection? Before paging Mr. Freud, one might mention that the counterpart of this situation, the jealousy of the father toward his son-in-law, does not seem to exist, at least to a degree that is troublesome. In fact, the father is more likely to accept son-in-law and daughter-in-law impartially, and in either son's or daughter's home he is less likely to make trouble than is the mother-in-law. From one angle this is entirely natural, for the womenfolk are thrown much together, both spending a great deal of their time in the house. Furthermore, if living in the same household, they share the

same work and hence have far more opportunity for friction and critical comparison than do father and son-in-law.

"Tremendous Trifles."—One of the peculiarities of human association is the extent to which seemingly little things may determine matters of great importance. In marriage, with its long and close association, small irritations are likely to be cumulative. It has been said that there is no greater test of character than daily intimate association with another person. Seemingly insignificant acts become irritating with endless repetition. A minor habit may assume the proportions of a major weakness of character. For in marriage the two personalities cannot possibly be so smooth that their long-continued rubbing together will never produce the least friction. Even a little roughness wears rapidly when the friction is continuous.

These little troubles with long stingers are what Chesterton would call "tremendous trifles," and a list of them would appear almost ludicrous were they not so serious. Such items as table manners, carelessness in dress or carriage, picking one's teeth or filing one's nails in the presence of others, lack of scrupulous cleanliness, the monotony of oft-repeated jokes, the repeated serving of burned toast, talkativeness, going about the house in one's stocking feet, dropping cigar ashes around the house, and even such trivialities as those classic examples—leaving hair in the hairbrush and the cap off the tooth paste—may sound like the plot of a comedy, but in the Court of Domestic Relations they are not laughed at.

Some of these behavior habits denote differences in cultural standards and are therefore more basic than would appear at first blush. But some are more the result of careless habit than poor upbringing and are all the more exasperating when the offender seems not to realize his offense or, seeing it, makes no effort to change. Usually, a whole series of tensions are tied up with the provoking conduct. Mowrer¹ cites a case in which the young husband and wife were both college graduates, but because she grew up in a city and he grew up on a farm there were enough differences to cause trouble. The bride admired her husband for his genuine culture, his broad-mindedness, his high ideals, and his success in his profession; she loved him deeply, and he was devoted to her. Therefore, she was angry at herself for being irritated by the way he held his knife at the table and his lapse into rural phrases of speech when at home. Since she felt that her annoyance was unreasonable and disloyal in the face of her husband's many fine and lovable traits, she refrained at first from mentioning his ways that offended her, and he did not suspect. However, the concealed conflict soon came to light, and she tried to get him to change. He could not see her viewpoint, for he

¹ E. R. MOWRER, "Family Disorganization," University of Chicago Press, 1927 pp. 209-210.

believed one should be comfortable at home and do as one pleases. So she gave up reforming him, and once more the conflict was concealed, only to blaze forth furiously one day when there were guests and he came to the table without his coat. From then on there was little happiness for either, even after they had a child, though she refused to leave him because she considered she was as much to blame as he was.

Too frequently in such cases, there is no willingness to "make a trade." Each would like to have the other change his ways but does not want to change his own. The charge "unreasonable" is tossed back and forth, and each considers the other selfish. Usually, if there are a sense of humor and a genuine spirit of fair play, there can be a little diplomatic bargaining. The male propensity to make a sneeze a major atmospheric disturbance is not necessarily a sign of virility. Nor is it necessarily appealingly feminine to be always late to engagements. Perhaps each can control his respective fault in the interests of "marital appeasement."

One tendency of the ultraloyal that causes more harm than good is the teeth-gritting determination not to mention the little faults of the other but to adjust to them silently if possible. The result usually is that the unspoken grievances accumulate until, without the safety valve of discussion, there is an explosion that surprises and injures both. Had the disappointed habit been mentioned early and discussed with fairness and good humor, it might have been overcome or at least modified. The honey-eyed advice of the sentimental, "Now remember, you must never criticize each other," will do for Pollyanna stories but not for real life. To seek out the hidden resentments is the first step toward diagnosis and treatment, and the curative power of friendly discussion applies to the social interaction of husband and wife as truly as to any other social grouping.

SOME BACKGROUND FACTORS

Since personality determines to such a large extent the happiness or unhappiness of a person in marriage (barring the matter of extreme mismating), it stands to reason that some of the background factors that helped to develop that personality are basically important. Studies by Hamilton, Davis, Bernard, Kirkpatrick, Popenoe, Woodhouse, Terman, and others, most of which have already been referred to in this volume, have dealt in varying degree with background factors. It is not feasible to review all the findings of these studies, but a few have been selected, chiefly from the last-named study, for brief consideration.

Both the Terman and the Kirkpatrick¹ studies found no definite relationship between the happiness of either husband or wife and the

¹ CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK, Factors in Marital Adjustment, *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, 43: 270-283, September, 1937.

occupational status of the husband. Some groups below the professional rank were lower in happiness and some higher—and this was true for wives as well as husbands. Since income is frequently closely associated with occupational status, it is interesting to note that income seems to be neither positively nor negatively correlated with marital happiness. Studies by Woodhouse, Watson,¹ Bernard,² Lumpkin, Burgess and Cottrell, and Terman all indicate that marital happiness does not depend upon income. In general, they seem to support the opinion stressed elsewhere in this chapter that happiness in marriage is related less to the actual amount of income than to the attitude husband and wife have toward money.

In a previous chapter, it was shown that the amount of the husband's and wife's education is correlated positively, in several studies, with marital happiness. Also, the difference in the amount of education received by the two spouses might be supposed to be an important factor. The writer found among college students that a good many young women wanted their husbands to have more education than themselves, but that almost no young men wanted their wives to have more education than they had. Various data, including Kirkpatrick's, suggest that similarity in educational status is favorable to happiness. Terman³ found so little correlation between happiness and educational differences of the spouses that he is inclined to minimize it, except at one point. The happiness score of the husband who had five or more years' more schooling than his wife was only slightly higher than if he had five or more years' less schooling than his wife ($1\frac{1}{2}$ point of difference), but to the wife it made vastly more difference. The wives whose husbands were five or more years ahead of them on schooling were 9 points higher on the happiness scale than the wives whose husbands were five or more years below them in schooling. Burgess and Cottrell found wide differences in schooling to be definitely associated with a low marital-happiness score.

Terman⁴ took this point a step further than formal educational level and secured the opinions of both spouses on the mental ability of each, which need not coincide with educational status. The husbands were happiest in the modal group where husband and wife were considered equal in mental ability, but the happiest wives were in the group where the husbands rated as "markedly superior" mentally. These "markedly superior" husbands, however, were lowest of all on the happiness scale,

¹ GOODWIN WATSON, Happiness among Adult Students of Education, *Jour. Educ. Psychology*, 21: 79-109, February, 1930.

² JESSIE BERNARD, Factors in the Distribution of Success in Marriage, *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, 40: 49-60, July, 1934.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-194.

even 2 points lower than the "inferior" husbands. The wives of the "inferior" husbands were decidedly the least happy of the four groups, being nearly 10 points below the next higher group. One interesting side light was that the wives as well as the husbands were responsible for the fact that 299 husbands were rated mentally superior to their wives, but only 120 wives were rated superior to their husbands.

But far more important than any of the background factors thus far mentioned are the family factors that share so largely in shaping the attitudes acquired in childhood and adolescence. Terman¹ lists 10 background circumstances which his study shows are the most predictive of marital happiness, all but the last of them being strictly family factors, and that one sometimes falling in that class. These are:

1. Superior happiness of parents.
2. Childhood happiness.
3. Lack of conflict with mother.
4. Home discipline that was firm, not harsh.
5. Strong attachment to mother.
6. Strong attachment to father.
7. Lack of conflict with father.
8. Parental frankness about matters of sex.
9. Infrequency and mildness of childhood punishment.
10. Premarital attitude toward sex that was free from disgust or aversion.

The first of these—superior happiness of parents—rates very high in predictive value, according to this study, being more important than the combined influence of several such factors as age at marriage, age difference, education, and income. The happiness scores for both husbands and wives were markedly higher when the parents were classed as "extraordinarily happy," and from that point down through seven steps to the "extremely unhappy" parental group the happiness score of wives fell regularly step by step without exception, and of husbands in six of the seven steps—only 1 of 14 scores being out of line.

The second most important of these family factors seems to be a happy childhood. Here again the figures can hardly be disputed, for the happiness of both husbands and wives scored highest when childhood was "extremely happy," and both dropped in marital happiness without exception as their childhood-happiness ratings dropped. Those husbands and wives who were "extremely happy" in childhood had a marital-happiness score 11 to 12 points higher than those combined in the two groups whose childhood was "rather unhappy" or "extremely unhappy."

The lack of conflict with the mother and strong attachment to the mother ranked above lack of conflict with the father and strong attachment to the father, but all four factors operated in favor of marital happi-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 372.

ness. Of both husbands and wives it was true that those having the strongest attachment for either mother or father had also the highest marital-happiness scores. Getting along well with one's parents may in itself be an indication of a happy temperament that will be favorable to happiness in marriage, or it may denote parents of unusual understanding. But whatever it means, there is a positive correlation between the subject's happiness in marriage and his affection for and lack of conflict with his parents when a child. There was no evidence in the study that its findings contradicted the widely accepted theory that *extreme* affection for the mother (mother fixation) tended to unsuit one for marriage and result in incompatibility. The author shows that such persons often do not marry, or if they marry are early divorced, in either of which cases they would not appear in this study.

Home discipline that was firm was found to be considerably more favorable to marital happiness later than discipline that was either lax and irregular at one extreme or excessively strict at the other extreme. In line with this, those who had been punished "occasionally" had a slightly higher marital-happiness score than either those who were punished "severely" or "frequently," or those punished "rarely" or "never."

Finally, husbands and wives whose parents answered their childhood questions on sex either "frankly" or "briefly" had a much higher marital-happiness score (especially husbands) than those whose parents evaded their questions, lied about them, or rebuffed or punished the questioner. For the husbands the two scores varied nearly 10 points, and for wives nearly 5 points.

Economic Difficulties.—The economic factor is dominant in many cases of marriage incompatibility. In fact, as has been pointed out, it ranked first as a cause of divorce in Mowrer's study and was the first cause of worry for the husbands (and second cause for the wives) in the Woodhouse study of successful marriages. It has caused innumerable desertions by men who get tired of the constant nagging about money or discouraged over the burden of supporting a family on a low wage. Unemployment is known to cause many conflicts, some leading to desertion and some to divorce. Lynd found that a considerable number of the divorces in Middletown (second study) were "depression cases," though he did not have the exact data necessary to make a statistical study. It is true that for the country as a whole divorces drop sharply in times of depression, but that does not necessarily mean that divorces *from economic causes* decline; they may actually increase, though at present there are insufficient data available to prove the case either way. Terman's findings should not be interpreted as showing that money was not an important factor in marital conflict; what he actually showed was

that, although one-sixth of the husbands and one-half of the wives did complain, among other things, that the family income was too small, there was actually little correlation between the amount of income and marital happiness. But when money is the actual core of the conflict, the size of the income does often play a large role, though its influence is usually pretty well affected by attitudes toward and actual handling of money. In the following typical "depression case"¹ the lowered standard of living was evidently the underlying cause of unhappiness, spreading to other areas until it affected the entire family relationship, and little faults previously overlooked were magnified into great faults.

Henry and Helen H. have been married 12 years, and until the depression they got along very happily. Henry had married rather late and was already well enough established in the paper-box industry to have an income of approximately \$8,000 per year, which kept the family comfortably. Helen was 10 years Henry's junior, but that did not seem to make any difference in their love for each other, although Henry seemed to be more devoted to her than she was to him. Helen had also been brought up a Protestant, but when she married she accepted Henry's faith (Jewish) and became more faithful in observing the regulations than he was. Henry's family had objected to the marriage, but Helen's had not, and after a short time Helen's parents came to live with them.

For several years all went well. When the children came along, a boy and a girl, there were occasional squabbles over their discipline, but these were never serious and were soon forgotten. Helen's father and mother were very good about not horning in on the family's affairs, and so it was a peaceful household.

Then came the depression, and the earnings of Henry's little business began to go down. The income he received from it declined rapidly, until he was finally getting only about \$3,000 a year compared with the \$8,000 they had been accustomed to. This meant that Helen had to cut her household budget drastically, which she did, but each cut was deeply resented and accompanied by caustic comments. She felt also that Henry didn't put up enough "front." She said other businessmen were losing money too but they didn't show it so much. Henry patiently explained that he saw no use in trying to put up a bluff when they couldn't afford to and that it would just make things worse later. When she insisted on trying to "keep up with the Joneses" he would tell her of businessmen who had been harder hit than he was.

But Helen remained unhappy and turned into a carping, faultfinding wife. She began to criticize Henry for something every time he came home. He hadn't handled his business properly, or it wouldn't have gone down so fast; he ought to turn off more of his help (he had left only enough to fill the few orders coming in); he ought to work harder himself (he was already putting in very long hours). She also began to nag him on little things that had never even been mentioned before. If he happened to get a spot on the tablecloth he was "sloppy"; if he dressed up on Sunday, she found some job for him to do and then said he would ruin his clothes; if he wore old clothes to work around the house, she said he looked like a "day laborer." She complained that he snored too loudly and was sometimes late to meals. No imperfection or chance of criticism was overlooked, but the faultfinding was mostly about money.

Henry stood all this rather quietly, but he was thoroughly sick of it in his heart. He joined the American Legion, Democratic Club, and various business organizations, on the excuse that he had to have wider contacts if he was to get more business, but

¹ Unpublished manuscript.

actually the reason was to get away from home more and be free from the nagging about money. Helen said she did not believe he spent all his time at these clubs and accused him of going out with other women, which made Henry furious. When he found that Helen was poisoning the minds of the children against him, holding him up as a horrible example of a husband and a father, there was a violent quarrel which ended in Helen throwing a cup at him in the presence of the children. Henry packed up and left.

After a week a truce was arranged by Helen's parents. Henry came back home, and things have gone on after a fashion for a month, but everyone in the household feels as though he were sitting on a volcano about due for an eruption. Thus far, there have been only rumblings, but the eruption may come any day.

What other causes of conflict, long latent, were present in this case? Different temperaments, backgrounds, and interests? Perhaps, for a whole network of interrelated factors is present in every case. But all such items in this one seemed to be minor and might have remained quiescent for many years if they had not been brought to active life by stimulating the economic nerve.

Yet it is easy to fall into error at this point, for economic factors are more easily discerned than many others and are therefore likely to receive more than their share of blame. Money quarrels occur in poor, middle-class, and wealthy homes; likewise, utter devotion and happiness can be found in families at all three of these economic levels. In Lumpkin's study,¹ all the families were so poor that they had to receive aid; yet the attitudes of the wives toward their husbands ranged all the way from bitter blame for not being a better provider to loyal defense of the husband because he had "done the best he could." The meager income of the family may be less a cause of conflict than is the attitude toward money. If the values most cherished by one or both partners are those that must be purchased, a small income is bound to bring unhappiness. On the other hand, if both find their chief values in the fellowship of friends and the sharing of inner resources that need not be bought, they can be happy on just enough income to get along. They undoubtedly would like to have more, but their happiness does not absolutely depend upon it. It is, therefore, this sense of values, which under analysis turns out to be the same as one's philosophy of life, that determines whether or not money matters shall dominate marital happiness.

Most marriages are not entered into for economic gain. Young folk, particularly, are prone to ignore economic factors, with the cocksureness of youth that "love will find a way." Someone has aptly said that romance may soar above the dollar but marriage never. Sooner or later, even those desperately in love find that it takes money to buy clothes and groceries and that they must carefully plan their economic life together

¹ KATHARINE LUMPKIN, "The Family," Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1933.

if they are to stay out of trouble. They must decide, in so far as they are capable of deciding on the basis of their haphazard training in such matters, what their attitude toward money shall be and how their life organization is to be determined by its use. One common source of economic conflict is in the unequal economic status and habits of the husband and wife prior to marriage. When a young man with a small income marries a girl from a family of somewhat higher economic rank (not necessarily wealthy) who has been used to a higher standard of living than the young husband can afford, she is likely either to spend beyond his income or to become irked at the necessity of restraint. Before marriage, in the rosy haze of romance, it looks easy to economize, and she promises to be the most thrifty of wives. But habits of a lifetime are not easily changed, and what looked simple turns out to be a long, hard process of learning self-denial. It can be done, but the record of success is certainly far below the one-hundred mark.

Gerald T. was a handsome young fellow of twenty-four when he married Clara W. She was only twenty years old, the only daughter of a prosperous merchant, and she had never been denied anything she really wanted. Gerald, on the other hand, came from a large, middle-class family and had learned well the lessons of hard work and careful spending. He had worked his way through high school and one year of night school and then got a job with an accountants' firm at \$25 per week. He was a good worker and was raised several times, till he was getting \$50. But when the depression got bad, he took several cuts and was finally let go. He managed later to get into an insurance office; but now, after being married for eight years and with two children to provide for, his salary still is not over \$35 a week.

Clara didn't mind the limited income at first, for she had many pretty clothes at marriage and she continued to see the young friends in her circle often. Also, as long as Gerald's pay was increasing, she had hopes for the future. But when his pay began to go down, she began to get restless. Her friends all had more money to spend than she did, and it made her feel out of things. She still ran with the same crowd of girl friends to afternoon parties and entertainments, and she felt that she could not hold up her end of the "treats." Also, Gerald's old Chevrolet was getting to look rather antiquated, and since she drove it more than Gerald did she began to coax him to get a fine new Buick so she would not be so terribly outclassed by her friends' Packards. Gerald knew they could not afford a new car and refused for a long time, but Clara's pleading finally prevailed and he bought the new Buick—on time. Clara felt somewhat happier for a while, but soon the fact that her friends had so much more money to spend than she did and could buy so many more dresses began to make her more envious than ever. She began to try to keep up with them in spite of Gerald's small salary. She became extravagant in many ways, trying to maintain her old status. She sent all of the laundry out, she had a woman come in and do her cleaning even though she had only a small apartment, and she bought clothes she didn't really need. She coaxed Gerald into buying better furniture, though he was very reluctant and had to go in debt for it. At the afternoon bridge parties she began to play for money, and while she didn't lose a great deal she did lose some.

When her household allowance was not enough, Clara would have things charged and let Gerald do the worrying. She would often say, "Look at what Ralph gives Madge to run her house. Why don't you earn more money so we can live like other

people?" He would reply that he was doing all he could and then go out and try to stave off the grocery bill for another week. Several times he had to borrow from his father to pay bills that were urgent, and this rankled. He was always in debt and getting more so all the time.

When Clara went out during the day, she left their little boy with Gerald's mother next door and had been doing this until there was quite a bit of talk about her neglect of her child. One cold day the little tot got away from his grandmother, and before she found him he had contracted a severe cold. It turned into pneumonia, and he nearly died. Gerald was gripped with fear of losing his boy, and he resolved that Clara had to take better care of him or else there would be trouble. Gerald's mother also finally complained to Gerald of the way Clara had dumped the child on her hands nearly every day, no matter how busy she was. The lad got well, but Gerald was deeper in debt than ever with the doctor's bill. Gerald had a long talk with Clara, and while he loved her too much to be harsh, he let her see that her neglect of the boy had nearly cost his life and neglect of the household and the unwise spending were putting them in debt so far that they would soon be hopeless. He said they didn't need a car, and he was going to sell it at once, and also that Clara simply had to cut down on her expenditures.

At first, Clara was hurt and resentful, for she wasn't used to having Gerald talk so firmly to her. Also, she still had some of the spoiled-child attitude left. But also underneath she had some good sense, and it soon began to assert itself. She truly loved her husband, and the terrible illness of their little son had frightened her as she had never been frightened in her life before. She did some hard thinking while the child was getting well, and she saw for the first time some of the things Gerald had been trying to show her for several years. She had some real character that she must have been keeping in reserve, for she did an "about face" that surprised all her friends and delighted Gerald beyond measure. It is too soon to know whether the change is permanent or not, but things have been going smoothly now for more than a year. Gerald has just got out of debt, and they are now saving for another baby. Clara still goes out occasionally with her old circle of friends, but she doesn't try to keep up with them any more, and they like her well enough to accept her as she is. She invites them to her house for dinner and no longer apologizes for the furniture. Gerald has a new lease on life. He thinks it's a great world.¹

When conflict arises in such cases as that cited above, it is sometimes further complicated by the bride's parents. When they see that the young people are not able to make a go of it financially—at least, not well enough to please the young wife—they may offer aid with the best of intentions. This may be in the form of an invitation for the young couple to come and live with them and thus save rent, or of an offer to pay their rent for them. But neither offer appeals greatly to young people starting out in marriage, for they want to be independent and support themselves. If the parents are angry or if one spouse wants to accept and the other does not, there may be trouble. Of course, not the only reason for rejecting the proffered aid is the desire of the young people to stand on their own feet financially; some of their attitude is probably explained by their fear that if they live in either parental family the close contacts may result in friction, through interference or attempted domination. Fur-

¹ Unpublished manuscript.

thermore, in the first few years of marriage it is natural for the young couple to want to be by themselves. Probably at no time in life is privacy more appreciated than during the first year of marriage.

But at least one study leads one to believe that although pride in financial independence is not the only reason young married couples do not want to live with either family, it is a major reason. For several years the writer secured the opinions of the students in his course on the family regarding questions of parental help, and the answer was overwhelmingly "thumbs down." When the students were asked (by anonymous questionnaire) whether, if they married when times were bad and their parents or parents-in-law wished to help them (assuming they were able to give help without undue sacrifice on their part), they would be willing to live for the first year with their own parents, 88 per cent of the young men and 77 per cent of the young women said "no." Regarding living with the spouse's parents, the number answering "no" was still higher—93 and 92 per cent, respectively. This answer, as we have pointed out, may have been due to reasons other than the desire for financial autonomy, but the answers to the next question would not bear out such an assumption. When the students were asked whether they would be willing to let their parents pay all or part of their rent, two-thirds of the answers were still "no" (men, 68 per cent; women, 70 per cent). They were still less willing for the spouse's parents (element of pride?) to help in this way, the "no" percentages being 76 and 72. When they were asked whether such help by the parents, if they were able to give it, was a parental duty or an optional expression of their love, 87 per cent of the young men and 95 per cent of the young women saw no reason why the parents were duty bound to help them. Furthermore, the vast majority of the young people (78 per cent of the men and 73 per cent of the women) said that if they did accept any help they would consider it as a loan, rather than a gift, and would pay it back as soon as able. Surely, here is no parasitic attitude.

The Family Purse.—The way the family income is spent determines to a considerable degree the family's mode of life. To control the family purse, therefore, is to control the sluice that regulates the flow of expenditures into the numerous channels of needs and wants. For this reason the question of who shall hold the family purse strings is always one of potential danger. This was not always true. Until recently, the dominance of the male was usually so complete that there was little inclination to dispute his authority over the family income. Of complaints by wife and children there were many, but they could be disregarded if husband or father so wished. Even the law upheld him in the matter, for woman's property rights have only recently broken through the many limitations to which they were so long subjected. In one sense, it was entirely

logical for the husband to carry the purse, for usually he was the only earner, and he alone was responsible under the law for the support of his wife and children. Even today his responsibility remains the same in most of our states, but it is almost inevitable that woman's recent economic gains will be followed in time by new responsibilities. In fact the movement for equality of responsibility as well as privilege is already slowly getting under way, as is shown by several recent state laws making alimony available to either sex, according to need.

There are several commonly used procedures regarding the handling of the family money. We shall consider only four distinct types, for the variations and combinations of these four are too numerous to discuss.

1. *Husband Handles All Money, Giving It Out upon Specific Request Only.*—Many men still adhere to this plan, arguing that since they make the money it is only right that they should know exactly how it is to be spent and should have the power of veto. Some wives accept such a doctrine as a matter of course, having been reared under it, but many others—especially if they are fairly well educated—resent such an attitude on the part of their husbands. They see in it a lack of confidence in either their honesty or their ability, a humiliating survival-in-culture from an age of male domination. They are mortified to have to ask their “lord and master” for every dollar they spend, whether it be for the family's food or personal pleasure. Under such a system, human nature being what it is, the husband is likely to demand an accounting of the last sum given out before a new one is granted. To an intelligent woman the question, “What did you do with that last five I gave you?” is irritating, to say the least. When asked even in the kindest manner it has the lurking insinuation of immaturity and incompetency, but it can be asked in a way that is a positive invitation to mayhem. But quite apart from the bad feeling generated by this totalitarian system, it gives the wife and children no training in the handling of money. The spending is hand-to-mouth, for money can be requested only for an immediate and specific need. There is no chance to develop the restraint and control learned by budgeting or even by having a specified sum that can be spent as one pleases. Even when the husband or father is generous with wife or children, there is no training involved; this method has little to commend it.

2. *Wife Has an Allowance.*—This allowance may be for household expenses only, *i.e.*, groceries, laundry, gas, electricity, etc., with the wife asking the husband for extra money for her clothes, recreation, and incidentals. Or the allowance may be a total sum covering the household expenses and all the wife's personal expenses. The expenses of the children may or may not be included. Sometimes the husband uses such a

system in the hope that it will make the wife careful of expenditures, for if she does not run the household efficiently her personal share of the allowance is automatically decreased, the necessities having to come first. How well such a plan works depends upon the integrity and sense of fairness of all concerned. Many wives, as well as husbands, like the semibudgeting that such a plan involves and find it helpful in laying by a surplus. But it too has dangers. If the wife be selfish or none too conscientious, she may scrimp on the quality or amount of food she buys for the family or on various small household items, thereby increasing her personal share in the total allowance at the expense of the family's comfort or well-being. On the other hand, the husband, having fixed on a lump sum that seems to be adequate, may not realize (since he does not do the shopping) that the cost of living has risen enough to make the allowance inadequate, and he may unjustly accuse the wife of poor management.

3. *Husband and Wife Both Work, and Both Contribute to the Household Expenses.*—There are numerous variations of this plan. Husband and wife may contribute equally to the family expenses if both incomes are good or proportionally if one is much larger than the other. In some cases the husband expects the wife to provide from her own earnings a substitute to do her work in the home and is willing for her to keep the balance for herself, he paying the household expenses exactly as he would if she were not working. The wife's margin of earnings over the cost of her substitute may constitute all or part of her personal allowance. A few women so dislike housework that they would rather do outside work even if it takes all of their earnings for household help.

4. *Joint Checking Account.*—A considerable proportion of well-educated couples of the middle class prefer to have complete equality in money matters. A joint checking account is maintained, with each partner having free access to it after the regular, more or less fixed, monthly charges (such as rent, insurance, and savings) have been met. Such a system manifestly calls for complete mutual confidence, and if the income is moderate it calls for self-restraint as well. If either husband or wife is a spendthrift, the method fails; but if both are competent in the handling of money, have a healthy sales resistance, and are considerate of each other's needs, this plan of handling the family purse is perhaps the most satisfying of all. It involves no galling even though tacit insinuation of superiority and inferiority, whether on grounds of honesty or competency. And if neither person draws a large check when the account is low without asking the other whether he is likely to have heavy or unusual expense before the end of the month, there is little danger of one being "caught short" because of the other. In a Cornell

University study¹ of the families of 200 students, those parents having a joint account were found to be better adjusted than those otherwise regulating the purse strings.

In the first two plans described above there is a strong intimation that the husband will spend money wisely and the wife may not, but this assumption is unfair and unsound. Many wives are better managers than their husbands, and frequently the rent would not be paid if the husband did not turn over his wages to his wife. In many ways, women are more careful spenders than men; but given the same training and responsibility there is no reason why either sex should excel the other in this matter.

It is impossible to say how much of a following each of these methods has, but it is a safe assumption that the first is declining and the others increasing. It would be interesting to know which of the latter is increasing the most. One small sample of opinion of young people showed either the comprehensive allowance or a joint checking account to be in favor. The writer asked several hundred of his students in the family course to check (anonymously) the plan of division of income they preferred, from a list submitted. If the husband was the sole wage earner, 45 per cent of the young men and 56 per cent of the young women preferred that the wife receive an allowance to cover personal expenses, food, and practically all household expenses except rent. The next highest choice was the joint checking account without an allowance system, which was favored by 40 per cent of the young men and 25 per cent of the young women. If the wife was gainfully employed, 49 per cent of the young men and 51 per cent of the young women favored pooling the two incomes, regardless of their relative size, and having a joint checking account. Another suggestion was to pool the two incomes, whether equal or not, take out such mutual items as rent, food, and household expense, and then divide the balance equally for personal use; 17 per cent of the young men and 24 per cent of the young women chose this plan. Finally, 20 per cent of the young men and 17 per cent of the young women believed that the employed wife should pay a maid from her salary and keep the balance for herself, the husband paying the rent, food, and household expenses just as though the wife were not employed. Several other plans received a smaller number of votes. This small sample of opinion does not represent a cross section of the population, but it is indicative of the thinking of a certain class of young people.

A larger sample is found in Terman's study.² Three-fourths of the happy husbands and four-fifths of the happy wives (slightly more for the

¹ Note on a Cornell University study of family-life tensions, *School and Society*, 39: 504-505, April, 1934.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

unhappy) thought it either essential or desirable that the wife be given a definite budget for the household and for her personal expenditures.

SOME PHYSIOLOGICAL FACTORS

In recent years biology has contributed much to the understanding of personality. Our attitudes and responses to the multitude of stimuli around us may be largely social in their expression, but the research of the last few decades has revealed some surprising facts as to the physiological basis of certain traits hitherto considered either the result of bad social environment or the outcroppings of "original sin." Such knowledge sheds much helpful light on marriage compatibility and incompatibility.

The Endocrine Glands.—The intensive study of the endocrine glands is quite new, and hence we still know relatively little about them. What little we do know opens a fascinating vista of future possibilities that has tempted enthusiasts to make claims beyond the safety zone of scientific discipline. But when we know the extent to which bodily stature depends upon a little gland (the pituitary) no larger than a hazelnut lying at the base of the skull, and how much another (the thyroid) regulates metabolism and can be speeded up or retarded, it is difficult to hold the imagination in leash. But even if we withhold judgment on the claim of the extremists that they can classify all individuals, normal or otherwise, into four glandular types, each with clear-cut characteristics as to physical stamina, appearance, temperament, and talents, we must admit that the functioning of the ductless glands has much to do with personality. Doubtless, in most people the functioning of these glands approaches the norm closely enough to require no special attention. In such people the ductless glands are relatively less important in the determination of personality than in the case of those with extreme traits. A close study of the glandular functioning of the latter may increasingly lead to corrective treatment that will bring relief to all concerned.

Most people are more willing to overlook the faults due to physical ailments than faults that seemingly arise from mere lack of self-control. They resent the latter and attribute them to laziness, stubbornness, or selfishness and ridicule any excuse offered by the offending party. When the young wife finds her husband exasperatingly slow, she is apt to accuse him of deliberately seeking to annoy her with his slowness. Or if she is nervous and unstable, he may think her childish and accuse her of making no effort at self-control. Such recriminations are the stuff on which domestic discord fattens. Yet if either knew that the irritating characteristics of the other were due to body chemistry, a

much more charitable attitude might be taken. Says Berman,¹ "The endocrine glands, the thyroid and parathyroids in the neck, the thymus in the chest, the adrenals and sex glands or gonads in the abdomen, the pineal, pituitaries, and choroid in the head, control temperament." These glands, he says, control the supply of secretions to the blood, nervous system, and brain. Variations in the amount and quality of the chemical mixtures govern the individual's personality—his speed, irritability, recuperability, and vitality.

The person with a highly functioning thyroid is full of energy, wants to be on the go, and runs in high speed most of the time. When such a person is married to one with a relatively low functioning thyroid who is phlegmatic, slow of decision and action, and remains in low speed most of the time, irritations arise very easily. In neither case need the degree of high or low thyroid functioning be great enough to be pathological in order to cause trouble, but if it is of pathological degree the trouble is all the more certain. The romantic theory that in such cases each partner provides the complement of the other, thus making for harmony, does not square with the facts. Actually, they misunderstand each other and therefore have little basis on which to adjust their grievances. It is as difficult for them to pull together as for a high-spirited race horse and a slow-plodding draft horse. It is also claimed that a marked difference in the functioning of the parathyroid, adrenal, and pituitary glands of husband and wife is similarly conducive to incompatibility. If this be true, the functioning of these ductless glands is an important field of further research for those interested in family guidance. It is only one among many sources of marital discord, but it should be followed up until its degree of significance is determined.

General Health.—Not only the proper functioning of the endocrine glands, but health in general is an important factor in marriage compatibility. One's outlook on life may be so colored by chronic illness that one becomes almost another person. The lessening of economic efficiency, the curtailment of normal sports and diversions, the constant need for special care in diet and activities, and the perpetual fear of disaster may result in an acerbity of manner that can scarcely be overlooked by others in spite of its physical origin. Robust health is not an absolute essential of attractive personality, but it is one of its most frequent attributes. A few great souls are dynamic even in illness, but there is no satisfactory substitute for that buoyancy of spirit which springs from perfect health. Many conflicts handled by family-welfare agencies, which seem at first to spring from other factors, are found by patient case work to be rooted most deeply in the health factor. When

¹ LOUIS BERMAN, *Incompatibility in Marriage*, *The Thinker*, 4: 46-52, December, 1931.

contact is made with medical sources and proper treatment given, the secondary factors tend to right themselves. The present high cost of medical care (to all except the dependent) makes middle-class families neglect health far more than they wish to. When medical care becomes more socialized and a thorough physical examination at least once a year is the common practice, there will be not only a rise in the general health level, but many by-products as well, one of which will be a lessening of the strain in family relationships caused by ill-health.

Sterility.—Various studies have shown that about 13 per cent of American marriages among the native white stock of the Northeast, Central, and Western states are permanently childless. The native whites of the South, if included, might lower the average slightly, but for our total native white population it would not be far wrong to say that one in every eight unions is fruitless. What percentage of this condition is due to actual sterility is not definitely known, but medical data show that sterility is fairly common in both men and women and that in a good many cases it can be cured. Two distinguished gynecologists,¹ after extensive investigation of thousands of clinical histories, conclude:

Semen defects appear to account for one-third of sterile marriages, one-fourth of these defects offering hope of betterment. Adding his contribution of venereal infection may bring the husband's responsibility up to one-half, and charges up to him the least curable of the wife's sterilities, tubes sealed by inflammation.

Curability ranges, with the woman in the care of representative gynecologists, from one chance in seven with closed tubes, to one in three in more favorable conditions. With careful selection and by persistence in treatment, even better results may be obtained. Thus we may be able, after eliminating the grossly incurable, eventually to relieve one-half of the sterile unions.

In addition to those women who are actually sterile, there are some whose pelvic structure is such that attempt at normal delivery would be extremely dangerous for both mother and child and for whom a Caesarean operation is the only alternative. Although this method is now far more successful than formerly, it still constitutes a hazard that many couples refuse to take. Hence, such pelvic structure often produces the same result as absolute sterility—childlessness. The existence of sterility is frequently not known until after marriage. The discovery on the part of a married couple that there can be no children usually comes as a distinct shock. In most marriages it is taken for granted that sooner or later there will be children. They are considered part of the family pattern, and life plans have been formed upon their expectancy.

¹ ROBERT L. DICKINSON and WILLIAM H. CARY, Sterility, *Jour. Amer. Med. Association*, 88: 1-6, Jan. 1, 1927.

The realization that this dream of offspring and complete family life can never be fulfilled often brings bitter disappointment. The would-be parents feel that they have been cheated out of a "natural right," and the normal partner may undergo a subtle change of attitude toward the sterile one. If the sterility is no one's fault and there was not previous knowledge of it, this change of attitude may come unconsciously or even in the face of efforts against it. But if either party brings sterility to self or mate through misconduct, deep resentment is only natural. Gonorrhea is one of the more common causes of sterility in both men and women. The husband who sterilizes his wife by gonorrheal infection can hardly expect her thwarted desire for motherhood to produce no change in her attitude toward him. She may forgive—in fact it is remarkable in how many cases she does—but she cannot forget. The perfect confidence of the past, if such there was, can never be recaptured, even if bitter accusations are withheld.

THE SEX RELATIONSHIP IN MARRIAGE

There are a number of writers who make sex the *summum bonum* of life, and the picture they draw of marriage shows a lifelong preoccupation with sex, almost to the exclusion of other factors. No sane person would deny the power and importance of sex, but neither will the thoughtful be misled by the present-day overemphasis upon it. The sexual relationship is a vital part of marriage, but the nonsexual interests and activities in which the husband and wife engage together far outweigh, in both interest and time consumed, their strictly sexual behavior. The too heavy accent on sex led Terman,¹ after finishing his comprehensive study of marriage, to remark:

We have no ambition to add anything to the professional sexologist's glorification of sex as a psychological experience. The lily has already been sufficiently gilded. One even becomes a bit weary of the constantly reiterated emphasis upon sex as the primary basis of marital happiness, at once the soil in which it roots and the choicest product of its flowering. The sexologist is not wholly wrong, but it is pretty certain that his emphasis has been overdone. There is more to marriage than the sexual embrace.

In his final summary,² though admitting that certain sex factors do contribute materially to marital happiness or unhappiness, he again states that sex has been overrated: "The data in fact indicate that all of the sex factors combined are far from being the one major determinant of success in marriage" that many writers have sought to make them.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 247.

² *Ibid.*, p. 373.

Not only the "sexologists" but also some of the more scientific writers have placed sex at the top of the list of troublemakers for marriage, but other equally careful students in the field do not agree. Mowrer's study¹ of the real causes of divorce puts "financial tension" in first place. The women of Woodhouse's study² of successful families found the temperament of their husbands to be the greatest menace to their marital happiness, though it was overcome, and financial problems were named by the husbands as the chief problem they had to overcome in keeping harmony. It is not entirely fair to compare the findings of such studies, for they are not wholly comparable. Mowrer was studying cases that had gone to the extreme of divorce, whereas Woodhouse was dealing with cases that must have been well adjusted on the main factors, else they would not have been classed as successful families; hence there is no assurance that, in Woodhouse's study, the points of strain that needed most watching would coincide with those of marriages ending in divorce.

But perhaps the best reason for the present disagreement on the question of the greatest single cause of marital infelicity is that there is no "single" cause. The total behavior pattern (and it must be remembered that psychic manifestations are as truly behavior as are overt physical acts) is so intricately woven with the threads of sex hunger, gentleness, pride, anger, generosity, self-interest, and countless other traits that no strand can be fully separated from the others. Neither man's motives nor his overt acts, despite the crude implications of our judicial procedure, can be segregated and treated as units. If, then, at the present stage of such studies we do not lay undue stress upon this or that factor as the "greatest," but merely as one of several that have thus far shown a high frequency, we shall be less prejudiced if later studies reverse some of our pet theories. But in any tentative list of the basic causes of marital unhappiness, there is general agreement that sex incompatibility, with its myriad contacts with other aspects of marriage, should rank high. Many couples whose sex life has been very satisfying quarrel over money, relatives, or careers and end their marriage in the divorce court. But though sex may or may not lead on the negative side, it is safe to say that it does lead on the positive side. In other words, in our present culture, sex attraction, in the broad interpretation of the term, is the dominating reason for marriage. True, a few enter loveless marriages for wealth or other calculating motives, but the great majority marry so they can live with the one they love. Sex, in both its physical and psychic aspects, is without question the basic attraction between men and women.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

² CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE, A Study of 250 Successful Families, *Soc. Forces*, 8: 511-532, June, 1930.

The Tie-up of Sex with Other Factors.—Because sex permeates so many phases of life, it is frequently difficult for those untrained in social diagnosis to know to what extent sex difficulties are to blame for their unhappiness. In marriage conflicts, sex sometimes gets the blame when actually other causes are primary; conversely, other factors sometimes get the blame when sex maladjustment is the primary cause of the trouble. When two people whose sex life has been entirely satisfactory begin to quarrel over money, they are a little less likely to come together sexually as often as previously. Some of this diminution of sex play is conscious and frequently requires considerable inhibition, which may increase the feeling of irritation toward each other. The process is progressive, for the greater coolness toward one another again diminishes the willingness to come together in the intimate embrace of sex. If the money situation remains difficult for a considerable period, so that quarrels over money are more frequent and violent, the frequency of sex intercourse may drop far below normal, until one partner—usually the wife—refuses the other even on those occasions when it is requested. By the time separation or divorce comes, both husband and wife may honestly believe that their “sex incompatibility” was the cause of the breakup of their marriage. This tendency for intercourse to decrease during unhappiness must not be exaggerated, however, for Terman¹ and his associates found that intercourse was almost as frequent among the unhappy couples as among the happy, strange as that may seem. They give as possible reasons that “in such [unhappy] cases sex is the one type of communion between husband and wife which is mutually satisfying” and that in some marriages one of the mates “consciously employs the stratagem of sexual enticement in the hope of reviving the waning affection of the other.”

Likewise, two persons who are apparently adjusted on sex may begin to quarrel on other matters. The sex adjustment may not be as complete as they think, and the wife, without knowing what is wrong, is becoming nervous and irritable, ready to quarrel on little provocation. It may be that she is not experiencing orgasm in intercourse and that the frequent arousal of sex passion, without the physical and emotional release produced by the climax, is perpetuating a nervous tension that affects her nonsexual relationships with her husband. In Terman's study² a third of the wives either “never” or only “sometimes” had orgasm, and their happiness score was considerably lower than those who answered “usually” or “always.” In such cases, sex maladjustment may be the real cause of trouble, although both husband and wife may be sincere in their thought that other matters over which they quarrel are to blame, and

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 277–278.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 300–301.

both may believe that their sex life is as normal and satisfying as could be expected.

The Dual Nature of Sex Expression.—In Thomas's "four wishes," sex desire might fall under both the "new experience" and the "response" desires; in the Freudian concept, sex dominates the whole of life, for libido, in both its localized and diffused aspects, is considered the basic, underlying drive of all human wants. At one extreme, Hindu religious philosophy seeks to spiritualize sex, completely divorcing it from physical desire; at the other extreme Soviet Russia, in its first experiments in materialistic regimentation, ridiculed love and sought to reduce it to its "least common biological denominator." Both concepts are wrong, for sex is *both physical and psychic* and has been ever since man, in the cosmic scheme of things, was promoted above his fellow animals. To consider sex entirely physical is as crude as to define violin music as merely horsehair scraping on catgut; to make sex entirely psychic is to deny our animal origin. In man the physical and psychic attributes of sex are inseparably blended, and it adds dignity to human life that they are.

Yet in spite of the great significance of sex in the life pattern, the sexual relationship even between legally married men and women has long been treated irrationally. Even today we are still ruled to a considerable extent by prejudice and dogma on this subject. It is not that we do not know how to reason, for on many other subjects we have become emancipated. But seldom do people analyze carefully their sexual problems and come to a rational conclusion as they do in other matters. They continue to accept the conventional sex mores. This is not to say that we need no sex ethics; such standards, even though they change in history with time and place, have proved imperative to social well-being. But they could be infinitely more rational than they are. The sense of shame connected with sex might apply to antisocial sex acts, clearly contrary to public welfare, without extending as it now does to sex acts fully sanctioned by law, custom, and religion. Because of the inhibitions encircling sex, even in the marriage relationship where it should be as free as the mutual desire of husband and wife, the sexual act has too often been considered a necessary concession to the animal within man, something unclean, but delightful enough to make him feel guilty that he finds pleasure in it. The reasons for this first-century attitude continuing into the twentieth century are discussed in another place. We are here concerned with its effect on marriage.

The original stimulus to sexual impulse is purely biological. The glandular activity of the organism provides the initial, internal stimulus that is at the root of the sex drive. But very early in life, long before the diffused sex stimuli become concentrated into an urge for the overt act, the psychic element enters in. This occurs through association and

communication, the transmission to the child of ideas about sex. Sex concepts are formed, and sex thinking is indulged in. The imagination comes to play an enormous part in the total sex drive. This is to say that the social pattern of the particular environment in which the child grows is so stamped upon his mind that before he has come to biological sex maturity he cannot dissociate the internal glandular stimulus, when it becomes strong enough to break into his consciousness, from the external stimuli or mental imagery which enormously magnify the original prompting. It is this psychic phase of sex that is capable not only of infinite stimulation, but also of restraint and refined interpretation. Through it, rather than through the biological urge which remains relatively constant, control is maintained.

For the reasons given above, it is useless to talk of completely "spiritualizing" sex by divorcing it from physical passion. It cannot be done. Without the powerful, imperious organic impulse there would be no reason for the other phases of sex to come into being. We must accept it, unashamedly, as the essential foundation of happy marriage, building the superstructure on this foundation not to hide it, but to make it more useful to men and women.

The Prevalence of Sex Ignorance.—In most Western societies monogamous marriage is now the rule and extramarital intercourse is disapproved, with varying intensity according to locality. This means that husband and wife are expected to be exclusive sexual mates; that is, sex gratification is to be exercised only in marriage. But society cannot solve the sex problem, even in marriage, thus easily, not because monogamy is not a socially valuable ideal, but because monogamy in itself does not ensure sexual satisfaction. Society has taken too much for granted. It has overlooked the fact that, unless the sexual relationship can be worked out to the mutual satisfaction of both partners, marriage is no real solution of the sex problem of the man and woman concerned. But why is the assumption unsafe that the husband and wife will almost surely find their sex life satisfactory? Did not each choose the other as the person above all others with whom he wished to live intimately? The answer appears to be that society does almost nothing to promote sexual compatibility in marriage. It assumes that if the husband and wife are capable of having intercourse they know all that is necessary to a happy physical union, this in spite of the fact that for a generation students of the subject have been pointing out the ignorance that prevails on sexual matters. Sometimes a childhood fear of sex carries over into adult life, with serious results.

Young Mrs. B., who had been married for only a year, was fast heading toward a nervous and physical breakdown. She had lost much weight and was down to 100 pounds. She had little appetite and also had difficulty in sleeping. Both husband

and wife were very unhappy, which was obvious to the neighbors, though they never quarreled in public and were considered quiet, refined people. One day Mrs. B.¹ broke through her reserve and told a sympathetic young neighbor woman her troubles. She had a consuming fear of becoming pregnant, and it was ruining her health and threatening to break up her marriage. She loved her husband dearly, yet she often refused him intercourse, and when she did submit she was in terror for weeks afterward until her monthly period showed that she was not pregnant. She was a Catholic and therefore did not believe in the use of contraceptives and thus far had used none. When questioned as to why she was so fearful of having a baby, she said she had been consumed with such a fear since childhood. Her mother had told her, when she was but a young girl, of the great pain she had endured in giving her birth, for it had been a case of difficult labor with some danger to the mother's life. She had solemnly warned the girl "never, never to have a baby." This constant fear had made her hesitate long about marrying, and once married it quickly threatened to destroy her happiness. Her husband had known nothing of the fear prior to marriage and could not persuade her that it was probably groundless.

It took several talks before the young friend was able to induce Mrs. B. to go to a doctor and find out whether there was any reason, from her pelvic structure, why she could not safely bear a child. It was found that there was none, to her amazement and immeasurable relief. The next task was to induce Mrs. B. to use contraceptives, which her neighbor friend explained to her, and in spite of her orthodox standing she finally decided that she would use contraceptives until she regained her health, at which time she would be willing to consider having a child, which was what her husband wanted. That was six months ago, and Mrs. B.'s health has greatly improved. Both she and her husband are happier than they have ever been, and are extremely grateful for the simple advice of the neighbor. Mrs. B.'s fear of childbirth has been steadily declining, and while it has not yet been entirely dispelled she is now resolutely looking forward to next year when they plan to have a child.¹

The meager sex information that a great many young men and women have was picked up often on street or playground as children and through the surreptitious reading of forbidden books when these could be found, sometimes by premature sex experiences into which they were led by older children or adults, and occasionally through inadequate and embarrassed instruction by parents. Even those who as children receive sex instruction from trained, capable persons, usually do not later, before marriage, receive the much more intimate and definite knowledge of sex anatomy and psychology which aids so much in making marriage successful. Those who study cases of sexual maladjustment testify to the appalling amount of ignorance revealed. A man who has for many years lectured in all parts of the country on social hygiene gave the writer a large number of questions asked him by teachers, students, parents and others, and from all types there came a surprising percentage of questions that revealed the most appalling sex ignorance.

Mention of typical examples of ignorance should convince even the skeptical of the need for sex education. Most men and women have only the vaguest ideas of the internal structure of their own sexual anat-

¹ Unpublished manuscript.

omy, and still less about that of the opposite sex. One girl brought up in a sheltered home graduated from a state university so ignorant of sex that she did not know that sex intercourse involved any intromission. Another girl at another state university, upon attending a hygiene class in which sex anatomy and intercourse were described, became hysterical and cried over and over, "My parents never did that! My parents never did that!" She was so disorganized that after a few days she had to withdraw from college. Many wives believe that they should play an utterly passive role in intercourse. Consultation frequently reveals honest, intelligent men who do not know that the wife is supposed to reach a climax (orgasm) such as they themselves reach, and who accordingly admit that they do not know whether their wives ever experience orgasm. A considerable percentage of wives testify that they do not have orgasm in intercourse, and a surprising number do not know that such an experience exists for women. Of the 792 wives in the Terman study,¹ 8.3 per cent said they "never" had orgasm, 25.1 per cent "sometimes," 44.5 per cent "usually," and only 22.1 per cent "always." The studies of gynecologists show that it is not particularly uncommon for a couple to be married for years and, upon examination to see why no pregnancy has resulted, to discover that the hymen has never been ruptured. Such illustrations could easily be multiplied.

That such a state of affairs should have prevailed in the past is not surprising, for until recently no adequate literature has been easily available. Even today, though there are a number of excellent, authoritative treatises to be had at little cost, their existence is unknown to the mass of the population. Even the need for them is not recognized by most, which means that there is little hope of dispelling sexual ignorance until the more influential elements in society take a more active course in sex education than merely publishing a few books that seldom reach the very people who need them most.

There is no specific technique by which sexual adjustment in marriage can be assured. The problem is far too complex for that. The sexologists have been stressing for years the development of a sexual technique or "art of love" in marriage if it is to be successful. Although this is undoubtedly helpful in many cases, it is certainly no guarantee of happiness in marriage, or even happiness in the sexual side of marriage. The Terman study showed only a very slight correlation between the happiness score and certain techniques advocated by the sexologists. But without doubt a great deal could be accomplished by the removal of such blighting ignorance as now prevails in many places. This cannot be accomplished wholesale, for any educational program is sure to encounter both prejudice and ridicule. But results would gradually follow, as is

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 300-301.

shown by many clinical cases in which a little instruction proved to be all the treatment necessary. In a later chapter some agencies through which such instruction could be given are discussed.

The Role of Mutuality.—The first requisite for sexual compatibility in marriage is the abandonment of the self-gratification pattern for the mutual-gratification ideal. This means that each partner instead of seeking a purely personal satisfaction shall seek to make the sexual experience equally satisfactory to the other. This is a high ideal and not always easy to achieve, but the best sex adjustment to be found comes in those cases where this goal is most nearly approached. The very knowledge of mutuality enhances the pleasure of each, as does also the appreciation of each for the thoughtfulness of the other. When one partner satisfies his passion without regard for the satisfaction of the other, there is at first bewilderment, then disillusionment, and finally recoil against being called upon to serve without sharing. This may produce frigidity in the wife and a disgust at the sex act that may never be overcome unless she is so fortunate as to come under the treatment of a competent doctor or psychiatrist.

But the ideal of sharing equally the satisfaction of the sexual experience in marriage necessitates a knowledge by each of the sex anatomy and psychology of the other. This means that the old conception of the sexual aggressiveness of the male and the sexual passivity of the female must be abandoned. For centuries it was thought that woman had relatively limited sex desire and that, although she might enjoy the sex act and at times even hunger for it, her enjoyment was of a mild, passive type. In fact, so widely was this pattern accepted that it was considered shameful for her to show much sex passion. Any abandonment of inhibitions supposedly denoted an "oversexed" nature and was an attribute of the courtesan. Men, on the other hand, were by nature the possessors of a strong sex urge, so constant as to be easily aroused at almost any time and so powerful that it was a physical necessity to yield to its satisfaction. Such a conception of the difference between the sex nature of man and woman (evolved in a man-made world) was naturally very convenient to man. Not only did it entitle him to play the dominant role in his conjugal sex life, but it also justified the double standard. Man's sex needs were imperative and must be met in one way or another; woman's sex needs were not so insistent and could easily be satisfied within the bonds of marriage.

Do the Sexes Differ in Desire?—We now know that biologically there is no significant difference in the strength of the sex urge in men and women but that the appearance of such difference is due to the persistence of the old social pattern and the continual training of each generation according to its tenets. The recent sex emancipation of

women in some circles of society has gone to such startling extremes (as is so frequently the case with new movements) as to convince any skeptic that woman's sex drive may be just as insistent as man's. But when society gets adjusted to the idea that woman is just as capable of great sex passion as is man, it is likely to prove a boon to marriage, for the wife will feel free to abandon herself without shame to the fullest possible enjoyment of intercourse.

But while there may be little, if any, difference in the actual strength of sex desire in man and woman, there are certain differences in its characteristics and manifestations. Both have the biochemical process, the glandular activity that sensitizes the whole sexual mechanism, but these mechanisms as well as their responses are quite different. To show this clearly it is necessary to define the term "sex desire." It has been used thus far to denote the desire for sexual intercourse. This is indeed its essence, in ultimate form, but it can properly include more than just the desire for coitus. Dunlap¹ divides sex desire (which he prefers to call "amatory" desire) into three categories: (1) *generalized amatory desire*, which causes a man or woman to be interested in persons of the opposite sex and enjoy association with them; (2) *particularized amatory desire*, which focuses upon an individual or individuals of the opposite sex, association with whom brings keen enjoyment; (3) *specific amatory desire*, in which ordinary association no longer suffices but is only contributory to the powerful focalized desire for physical coitus. Of course, these aspects of desire are actually stages that grade into one another, but the differentiation Dunlap makes is useful in showing the sex differences of men and women. The *range* of desire (from one extreme to the other) is usually greater in women than in men. There are a considerable number of women who are absolutely frigid; that is, the sex act makes no appeal to them whatever. This is almost never the case with men. On the other hand, there are a few women so passionate (nymphomaniacs) that they cannot be satisfied even by the most virile of husbands. Most women come between these two extremes, but even their normal range of desire is greater than that of men. Furthermore, women find greater satisfaction in the second stage of desire than do men, which may be a partial explanation of Terman's findings² that, in spite of the fact that so many wives do not experience orgasm in coitus, at nearly every age their reported frequency of intercourse equalled or excelled their preferred frequency, whereas with the husbands at every age the preferred frequency was considerably higher than the reported frequency. This means that in general the women in the study had

¹ KNIGHT DUNLAP, "Civilized Life," Baltimore, Williams & Wilkins, 1934, pp. 84-85.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 272-273.

as much intercourse as they wanted, but the men did not. The women evidently did not set as much store by coitus as did their husbands, and yet they rated just as high in happiness—in fact, a trifle higher.

It is such items as these that reveal the importance of adult sex education that will help husbands and wives to understand each other better. If each understood better the sex psychology of the other, the complaints listed in Terman's study need not have been so numerous. It is significant that the complaint made most frequently by both the happy and the unhappy wives (the "timing element" in coitus) coincides with the findings of Dickinson in his important study previously mentioned, and has been emphasized again and again by such reputable writers as Exner, Everett, Stone, and many others. This and other complaints by wives and husbands are mostly regarding behavior that could be changed with little effort if the partners knew that the changes were wanted and saw their possible benefits.

It is not the purpose of this text to go into details on sex anatomy or on sex psychology. The reader is referred to the full lists of complaints in the Terman study and to other books listed at the end of the chapter. The chief factor in retarding adult sex education today is not a lack of good books, for excellent, scientific treatises written in language the layman can understand have been published. The chief problem is twofold: making these books available to those who want to read them, and getting others who do not realize their need of such books interested in them. Frequently, public libraries refuse to carry books on this subject. When the librarian of the Middletown public library was asked where people could get proper sex information, the reply was, "Not here!"¹ In that community, as in many others, there is a policy of "official silence" on sex problems.

Selected Readings

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¹ ROBERT S. LYND and HELEN M. LYND, "Middletown in Transition," New York. Harcourt, Brace, 1937, p. 169.

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. What evidence can you give from your own observation that individualism is on the rise and is more and more interfering with the success of marriage?
2. Write up a case of a family you know in which there is a mother-in-law or father-in-law. If there is conflict, describe its causes and results; if there is unusually fine adjustment, show how it has been achieved.
3. How does the curve of happiness run during the years in a typical marriage (see Lewis M. Terman, "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," pp. 175-180)? Analyze the tables and charts in answering the question: Does time corrode the happiness of marriage?
4. Take 10 families you know well. Compare their usual vacation plans. Do these appear to be satisfactory to practically all members of all 10 families? If not, what are the causes of disagreement or dissatisfaction?
5. Analyze the family problem presented in Ibsen's "A Doll's House." Which factors were favorable and which unfavorable to an adjustment between Nora and Helmer?
6. What evidence can you collect, from experience or observation, that young men do not actually believe in complete sex equality in marriage even when they say and think they do?
7. Analyze the marriage that you consider most nearly perfect among all those you know well. To what factors do you attribute its high success?
8. Select a couple you knew well before marriage. Show how they have changed since marriage, in such matters as associations, amusements, attitudes toward old circle of friends, dress, and job. How much of this change do you think is attributable to their new status and responsibilities?
9. Make a list of genuinely religious couples you know and another of nonreligious couples. On the average, which do you find have been most successful and happy in their marriage? What function, if any, do you think religion performs in marriage?

CHAPTER X

PARENT-CHILD INTERACTION

The appearance of the first child in the home brings profound changes. The husband-wife relationship is put to fresh tests, but also it receives new support. The center of interest begins to shift from self to others, and as the years pass parents are often surprised at the extent to which their hopes and fears have become centered in their children, all their plans revolving about them. Sacrifices that at first require conscious effort become habits; or if adjustments galling too much, resentment and strife may become equally habitual. But whichever result occurs, the family pattern is very different from that of the childless couple.

The Family's Obligations to the Child.—During the first few years of life the child has little conception of his basic needs and the extent to which the home is meeting them. But as society is now organized, the home owes him certain things whether he is capable of recognizing them or not. The White House Conference on child health and protection enumerated four major functions of the family in relation to the child: (1) providing a controlled environment, (2) transmitting social values, (3) furnishing orientation, (4) building up standards of recreation and liberation. It is important that the family acknowledge these obligations and fulfill them to the best of its ability. But in so doing it runs into many conflicts of interests. Nimkoff¹ points out three factors in family life that offer special hazards to harmony: (1) the duration of the family association span, (2) the unusual intimacy of family life, and (3) the continuity of contact, which so easily produces irritation and friction. These provide an "area of special susceptibility" in which the hazards are increased by the complete dominance that parents have over children. Not only are they larger and stronger and thus physically able to enforce their will, but the law of the land is largely on their side. Society holds them responsible for enforcing social conformity and will back them up in it. They also control the food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities of life and the money that buys them. Their supreme control is a subtle temptation to exploitation. All this lays the basis for a certain amount of antagonism, which fortunately is offset to some extent in early years by the child's sense of physical and affectional security, but which flares up with greater intensity as he grows older.

¹ M. F. NIMKOFF, *The Relation of Parental Dominance to Parent-child Conflict*, *Soc. Forces*, 9: 559-563, June, 1931.

Some explosions may occur, for human nature being what it is one cannot expect either parents or children to keep the hand on the pressure gauge always steady. That is why safety valves are as necessary in family relationships as on boilers; they make a frightful noise when they go off, but they warn when the fire is getting too hot.

What are some of the factors that parents consider important in child conduct, and how are they arrayed? The answers to such a question must vary with the culture patterns of the parents in the different social groupings, and we have no adequate studies of these. However, a few beginnings have been made here and there. One study,¹ dealing with 70 items pertaining to childish conduct, had these arrayed in their order of importance by 110 parents, then by 50 mental hygienists. The parents' ratings were weighted more heavily toward the "serious" end of the scale than were those of the mental hygienists, but the difference in the relative position of many specific items was even more striking. Parents rated stealing, masturbation, and lying (in the order given) as the most serious traits, whereas the mental hygienists rated depressed attitude, fears, and cruelty the worst. In general, parents placed greater stress on moral taboos and obedience, giving relatively little weight to certain factors which the mental hygienists emphasized as endangering the child's emotional and mental adjustment to life. The difference in the ranking of specific items by the two groups frequently ran into the 30's and 40's, showing a great variation of opinion. Admitting that there is no absolute norm, it is reasonable to suppose that the consensus of opinion of half a hundred scholars in the field of mental hygiene regarding the significance of various personality traits represents a sounder basis of procedure than the opinions of an average group of parents. The findings of the study constitute a strong argument for parent education. This throws the spotlight on the functions of parents.

The Social Function of Parents.—The biological function of parents is immutable, if man is to survive, but the social functions change from age to age with shifting customs. Nevertheless, the core remains the same through the ages; parents are society's representatives, and they are expected to bring the child into conformity with the socially approved patterns. This social expectation is not always achieved, but it remains central to every culture, primitive or advanced, and its attainment is encouraged by threats and inducements to parents in a multitude of forms. For frequently the State (society politically organized) recognizes the child as a member of the family only in so far as that membership does not interfere with the all-important membership in the State. Hence, the State's concern over child rearing never dies.

¹ RALPH M. STOGDILL, *Parental Attitudes and Mental Hygiene Standards*, *Mental Hygiene*, 15: 813-827, October, 1931.

The broad overlap of human generations makes possible the transmission of culture through the family. Among animals whose young must fend for themselves almost from birth, behavior adapted to survival must appear ready-made upon demand; *i.e.*, the stimulus and response dare not be separated by a long learning process. But with children, who remain under parental care 10 to 20 years, there is ample time for grounding in nearly all the fundamentals that will be required through life. Not all parents are fit social guides for their children, but society is so loath to interfere with the intimate primary relationships of the family that only in extreme cases will it take the child from its parents. The social heritage continues to flow through the family as its main channel, and children continue to make the gradual transition from family to society with many patterns already established, some of them for life.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILD

The child is not born human, and yet it has human potentialities that no other animal possesses. Beginning biologically with the union of sperm and ovum, the process of birth marks the start of the humanizing process.¹ The child is born a biological organism, but his capacity for learning human traits brings him social status. He *inherits* his original nature, but he *acquires* his human nature, that rather vague aggregate of traits (including language, a sense of beauty, moral standards, etc.) which we consider essentially human. Human nature, therefore, comes from the interaction of the organic and social processes. The biological inheritance appears in a social environment, interaction begins, and human nature is in the making. Since of these two factors the inherited biological equipment is more constant and the social environment more variable, it follows that human nature is essentially *social* nature and therefore flexible. This is at once the despair and the hope of mankind in its struggle for progress. But the significant point for consideration here is that the family provides almost the total social environment of the child at first and most of such environment for several years. This lays upon parents the responsibility of beginning the humanizing process upon which all future development depends. For "once human nature has developed, it tends to continue in the direction in which it has started. Undefined organic and social processes have been defined in a certain way, and unless some critical experience changes the trend of human nature it will continue in accordance with the bent it has taken."²

¹ Research seems to indicate that certain external influences may affect the nature of the child even while *in utero*, but such influences are outside the scope of our discussion.

² LAWRENCE GUY BROWN, "Social Psychology," New York, McGraw-Hill, 1934, p. 628.

Acquiring a Universe.—From the moment of birth the child begins to acquire both a physical and a social universe. In one sense his social status is all prepared for him, for he is born into a family already having status, which automatically gives him membership in a social group. But in another sense his status must be acquired by his own efforts, and he sets about building his social world long before he is conscious of so doing. At first the infant appears to be merely vegetative, but the seemingly small stock of information which he acquires during the first year is actually enormous when it is remembered that he "starts from scratch." At first there are mere random movements, which very gradually come under control. There is little coordination of either muscles or senses. The confusion is so great in this strange buzzing world that the babe can only stare blankly at it, with eyes that can scarcely focus, until some inner urge of hunger or other discomfort sets another stimulus-response process in motion. Faces (only much later does he learn what they are) appear and disappear, sounds of approval or of disapproval (neither of these meaningful at first) issue from them, and he is lifted and bathed, fed, and rocked, his vocal offerings providing an index to his comfort.

But all the time the child is learning. He quickly comes to respond to more varied stimuli, including objects that incite to motor activity. The development of perception is chiefly "a process of integration of stimuli of various sorts into patterns," involving also the integration of responses. The child has a very complex muscular system, which must be unified and brought under control. This reduction of response by which specific action patterns replace the gross muscular movements is described concisely by Dunlap:¹

The early perceptual reactions are actually total reactions. The infant perceives with the arms, legs and trunk muscles. Gradually these general systems are reduced to patterns involving fewer muscles. The baby responds to the colored ball by movements of the total organism. This is modified into a mere grasping movement. Then when language is learned, the response is transferred into a vocal pattern of saying "ball." Still later this pattern may be still further reduced, so that perception occurs with no overt response at all.

The child must also learn space relations. At first he is as likely to reach for the moon, or a bright object across the room, as for something close at hand. The puzzle of distance and direction relations yields only to experience, and the acquisition of a sense of these relations is greatly accelerated when creeping and walking are learned. So, also, time relations soon become intelligible. Through all these efforts the child learns discrimination, reacting differently to different objects and

¹ KNIGHT DUNLAP, "Civilized Life," Baltimore, Williams & Wilkins, 1934, p. 187

situations. Dunlap thinks that the development of perception is so enormous in this initial period that "more is acquired this first year than during the remainder of life." This paves the way for the thinking process which follows hard on the heels of perception.

Thus the hazy period of infancy rapidly clears up. The baby soon begins to recognize familiar faces, learns to get attention, and before long has acquired laughter as well as crying, all of which rapidly makes him a full-fledged participant in the group life of the family. He bumps not only on chairs and tables, but on social requirements—the "don'ts" and "do's" which appear everywhere in life except between the covers of certain "advanced" books on child psychology. In short he is learning, and at an incredible speed. Scholars are now agreed that the first two or three years of life are the most important of all in determining the trend of personality development.

Requirements of the Social World.—How can parents motivate their children in this period of infancy? How effective can training be when understanding is so limited? Parents are constantly asking such questions. In the first place, it is necessary to get rid of the old concept of the child as clay in the potter's hands. It is strange that such an imperfect analogy should have become so widely accepted. Clay is a completely inert, plastic material that yields without protest to the potter's hands and stays put; children are anything but inert, and they certainly do not stay put; they have energy within themselves which impels to action whether guided or not. In the very nature of things the child can never be completely at the will of the parent, as is the clay with the potter, for he has inner urges and stimuli that the parent cannot prevent. Hence, parents are not modelers in clay, but engineers handling a sort of self-propelling machine so delicate that it can easily be thrown out of adjustment, but so strong that it can hardly be stopped. The function of the parent, therefore, becomes that of directing rather than choosing the child's activities. This makes the business of parenthood more difficult, but also more interesting, than if children were like lumps of clay.

It has been said that culture interposes patterns between impulses and their expression. At first, the chief function of parents is to effect this interposition. The infant is motivated largely by visceral stimuli, particularly hunger and elimination. The responses at first are immediate and direct. But as he grows older, the parent, by patient training, interposes the appropriate culture pattern between the initial stimulus and the response that satisfies it. The impulse of elimination is brought under the child's control and awaits the proper time and circumstance. He no longer seeks to satisfy his hunger by putting into his mouth everything within his reach but learns what to eat and how to eat it.

The regularity of meals becomes such a powerful suggestion that by the time he is grown his hunger usually appears periodically, at the conventional times. Thus is functional behavior gradually transformed into conduct, and "outer social stimuli are substituted for inner visceral stimuli," for the child early learns the significance of approval and disapproval.¹ Someone has said that the child recognizes no obligation to society but cooperates merely because it is expedient. This is true, for if the child's functional behavior is disapproved by his elders they make it unpleasant for him, either by physical punishment or by some form of temporary social isolation. Since their displeasure reacts unhappily upon him, he soon learns to select the behavior that elicits the response from his elders that he desires. When such selection reaches the stage where it is deliberate, the child has indeed become a person; he has taken the first long step toward self-determined status. He has at last clearly distinguished between *ego* and *alter*, a distinction that was at first wholly impossible. Now his personality expands rapidly, for he can grasp more readily the diversity of social patterns about him. He begins to build his social world with a speed that is amazing. Parents are pleased with this rapid development but sometimes groan at the pace, for frequently, while smugly confident that they are leading the way, they suddenly realize that they are far in the rear and must take heroic strides to catch up. By the time the youngster is grown, they begin to see more clearly their mistakes and vow that if they could do it all over again they would be more efficient. Perhaps they would. But the indolent mind of the average adult is a poor match for the eager mind of a child in a world full of fascinating things. Some wag has said that "the most profound instinct of the human race is to sit down," and he should have added, "mentally as well as physically." He was, of course, speaking of adults, for whom the world has become somewhat prosaic. Children can scarcely wait for each new day, wanting to get up distressingly early to explore further the possibilities of their ever-expanding universe.

The Child's Wishes.—We have already considered Thomas's "four wishes" as applied to marriage. Let us now apply them to the child, remembering that they need not be all-inclusive to serve our purpose. The wish for security, which is so powerful in adults, is usually latent in small children. This is merely because they take their security for granted. They are fed, clothed, and housed as a matter of course and having no responsibility in the matter do not realize its significance. But their desire for *affectional* security (which might also be classified as the desire for response) develops early. The child's sudden attack

¹ LAWRENCE K. FRANK, in a paper read before a group of New York sociologists in 1932.

of nostalgia when left too long in the care of strangers is due to affectional more than economic needs. It is a longing for familiar persons rather than things. If the child is rejoined by its parents, even in strange surroundings, all is well again with the world, for to the small child it is indeed true that home is where the parents are. Even children whose parents have repeatedly mistreated them show a stubborn preference for their own homes, as against foster homes where they would have better treatment.

The desire for new experience plays a heavy role in the child's life and is frequently linked with the desire for recognition. Much of the experimentation that he undertakes is from sheer interest, but once he has achieved some unusually gratifying result he finds his satisfaction greatly enhanced by calling it to the attention of others. Their recognition fans the pleasurable glow of his self-regard, and soon the tendency to seek such approval becomes habitual. The small boy who learns to stand on his head is much elated, but not until he shouts "Look it" and receives the admiring plaudits of others does he taste the full flavor of achievement. He finds that climbing to the topmost branch of a tree and swaying in the wind is exciting in itself, but the vocal apprehension of his mother, when called from the house to view his high adventure, swells his ego almost to bursting. The more frightened she is, the braver he becomes, until his self-inflation could almost serve as a parachute. Recognition is a heady wine, and few persons young or old can carry a heavy draught with grace and restraint.

"De-naturalizing" Our Children.—In the process of substituting social patterns for the more natural behavior of children, we are often led into inconsistent positions by the vagaries of convention. Parents with a sense of humor are amused when they have to fall back on the dicta of fashion or manners in response to the child's "Why?" They must admit that there isn't any good reason, but that "it's just the way it is done." They insist upon correct manners in certain minor matters, not because any ethical principle is involved, but because it is better for the child to learn to conform to relatively unimportant social patterns than to waste his energy opposing them. If he must fight any custom or convention, let him save his energy for those which he considers subversive to fundamentals. So they continue to train their children to do silly things or to refrain from perfectly natural and wholesome acts. Parents are delighted when their small children sing at their play, but when they sing just as happily at meals they are told that "it isn't nice to sing at the table." To their surprised "Why?" they receive the unenlightening reply that "it just isn't," in spite of medical testimony as to the value of happiness at mealtime. Adult visitors, who almost invariably ask the child how old he is, consider him ill-bred when he politely asks them how old *they*

are. The mother later explains that "it just isn't done." The child is taught to appreciate the fragrance of flowers, but if at table he sniffs appreciatively the delicate odor of his apple before eating it he is quickly called to order and given to understand that etiquette tolerates no such vulgar joys. Nature, by the use of taste buds and sensitive mucous membranes, has made it pleasurable to hold liquids in the mouth, thus facilitating their mixture with the digestive fluids, but the child who blissfully swishes his cold milk about in his mouth before swallowing it is reprimanded for his bad manners. In a score of ways, we de-naturalize our children in the interests of social conformity.

But not all manners are merely the observance of conventional absurdities; the more sensible varieties have real social value. When used for attracting attention, manners become a mere sounding board for the ego, but when used in the socially minded sense they are, as Emerson said, "made up of petty sacrifices." They are other-regarding rather than self-regarding and hence become a useful part of the child's equipment for getting along with his fellows all through life. They soon become an integral part of one's character, for as Horace Mann once said, "Manners easily and rapidly mature into morals."

Good manners are acquired by children most easily by example. Since at first nearly everything they learn comes from others, they acquire good or bad manners according to the family pattern, which is at first their only guide to action. Just as the child learns to say "he doesn't" instead of "he don't," because the parents always use the former, so will he learn just as naturally the manners that they use. If parental requests are always accompanied by "please" and all favors acknowledged with "thank you," such phrases are accepted by the child as integral parts of certain action patterns. But if the family manners are not consistent enough to assure unconscious adoption of the forms desired, precept is usually called upon for aid. In such cases, however, it is easy to fall into error. In the first place such words as "please" and "thank you" should not be required when the child first begins to talk. Language is difficult at first, and even getting a few nouns and verbs together in meaningful form requires much concentration. All unnecessary words are at first omitted. Some parents insist on "please" when the baby's vocabulary is so limited that it must ask for a thing by merely repeating the object's name, as by reaching for a ball and saying "ball, ball." When the mother holds the ball just out of reach, insisting over and over that he "say please," the child doesn't know whether the desired object's name is "please" or "ball." Certainly there is no reason for the mother to glow with a sense of achievement when the babe finally manages a "p'ease." To him, it has nothing to do with the abstract idea of manners but is merely another one of those strange

obstacles he is always finding in his path. This same type of mother, when the tot is just a little older, is sure to be commanding him to "shake hands with the man," another strange ritual that has no place in childhood. The child's method of meeting and sizing up another person is to stand and look at him with unabashed candor. He doesn't want to get too close or have his arm shaken for no reason at all; but if he hesitates, his mother is sure to follow up anxiously, "Can't you shake hands like a little man?" It would be well if parents would remember that while "big men" shake hands, "little men" do not. They stare eye to eye until each has seen all that he can.

SOME FACTORS IN THE CHILD'S PERSONALITY GROWTH

Parents are prone to think of the home as existing primarily for themselves and only secondarily for the children. They establish the home in the first place and naturally become accustomed to thinking of it in terms of themselves only. Later, when children are admitted through the incidence of birth, they may be welcomed heartily but accorded only a sort of "associate membership," carrying a good many privileges but not entitling them to vote. Such an attitude may not be intentionally despotic, for at first children are so wholly dependent on the care of others that the parents must take full responsibility; but once the dominance pattern is set it is very difficult to break.

Parental shortcomings in this matter usually spring from two sources; first, the parents' attitude of "ownership" of the children; and second, their inability to understand the process of personality development in juveniles. It is natural for parents to think that they "own" their children. They conceived them, gave them birth, and cared for them in the helpless days of infancy, and they seem to belong to them more absolutely than any possession which they bought and over which they are allowed to have absolute control. When the State makes certain suggestions regarding the health, education, and moral environment of the children, the parents may resent it on the grounds that they are "their children" and they can do as they think best with them. Actually, however, this is not true, for when the State becomes convinced that through ignorance, carelessness, or depravity the children are in grave danger it may step in and take them as its wards and make what provision it sees fit for their care. But even if the State allowed complete parental control, parents would not "own" their children. No human being can fully possess another. The parent may control the child's food and work and secure outward obedience in every observable activity, but he does not possess the child's inner life of the mind, where no outer authority can effectively reach. He may instill in that mind fear or

trust, love or hate, but other things may grow there of which he is not conscious and which he could not uproot even if he did know of them.

Respect for Personality.—If the child has any “rights” at all in the family, certainly the one most conducive to his development is parental *respect for his personality*. He should be a full-fledged member of the family group, an active member with a vote, even though the parental “board of directors” must control the majority vote when necessary. His wishes should be taken into consideration on all matters in which he has especial interest, even though his judgment is not always well balanced. The very fact that he is consulted increases his assurance that he “counts” as a member of the group. It strengthens his self-respect and makes his status in the family worth while. Respect for the child’s personality includes according him a certain degree of privacy, such as adults demand. There is no desire for physical privacy in very early childhood, though the need for this comes later and should be fully respected. But, quite early, there is a need for mental privacy, the right to have one’s own thoughts free from invasion. Some parents, when they suspect their children of harboring a forbidden idea, subject them to a veritable “third degree,” dragging each struggling thought and motive out into the glaring light of disapproval. This ruthless invasion of intellectual privacy is a direct violation of personality and can scarcely be expected to increase the child’s respect for his parents or to encourage him voluntarily to share with them the constant stream of interesting ideas that surge through his mind. Personality, like a tiny country surrounded by great powers, has a hard time developing under the constant fear of invasion. But friendly interest, without dominance, inspires confidence.

Developing Initiative and Responsibility.—If the child is not to become an automaton, he must learn to make certain decisions by himself. It is much easier for the parents to make the decisions, but the result is devastating. If parents consult only their own convenience in handling their children while young, they are likely to be disappointed by the youngsters’ lack of self-reliance when they grow older. Such parents fail to realize that they must first decide what kind of adult they want the child to become before they determine how to treat him while a child. If he is to be self-reliant when a man, they must encourage self-reliance in the child. It is not a quality that magically appears on the twenty-first birthday.

There are many ways of encouraging initiative and a sense of responsibility. It can begin early in the child’s play. Instead of the “let me do it for you” attitude, whether in operating a mechanical toy or building a bridge with blocks, a little patience and unassuming guidance at critical

points, with an occasional word of approbation, will increase confidence remarkably. The bridge that the child himself builds, even though it may outlean the tower of Pisa, thrills him far more than the perfect model that his engineer father may construct for him. The average father's affinity for his small son's toys can cause the child much unhappiness; the father's assertion that he can "make them go right" carries the assumption that the child can't hope to get more than mediocre performance from them.

In the daily routine of bathing, dressing, and eating there is plenty of opportunity to learn independence. The overneat mother would rather feed her child long after he should have learned to feed himself than to sit by and watch him plaster food over himself and the immediate landscape. Some children need help in dressing until they are seven or eight years old, whereas others can manage the whole process when they are three. The hurried mother may scarcely be able to restrain her nerves as she watches small fingers fumble awkwardly at the unaccustomed task, but the child's radiant "See, I did it *all by myself!*" ought to be sufficient reward for any mother with discernment.

Even young children can be asked their opinions on various family matters and accorded a limited voice in them, without the parents being unduly bound by their wishes. In important matters the parents, by the skillful use of suggestion, can almost ensure a choice within reasonable range; and in matters relatively unimportant to the parents but of great interest to the child the latter may well be given full choice. The mother who is buying her four-year-old daughter a new coat may quickly eliminate certain gaudy ones by immediately calling attention to them and laughingly remarking how funny and unattractive they are, then giving the little girl her choice among three or four "very pretty" ones, any one of which would be suitable. But in other matters the child may well have complete freedom. The wallpaper pattern which the six-year-old chooses for her room may be very different from that which the parents would have chosen, but if her heart is set on it there is no good reason why she should not have it. After all, it is her room, and she will enjoy it doubly with paper of her own choosing. The mother who is afraid of what her guests will think of the paper is unconsciously protecting her own ego.

Making some decisions of their own is an indispensable step in the development of children. Not only should they be *allowed* to make certain decisions; it should sometimes be *required* of them. But to force them to make decisions when they feel wholly incapable is unjust. They may have none of the necessary experience and therefore nothing upon which to base a satisfactory decision. They have a right to the experience of their parents when they feel the need of it.

As children grow older, they can safely be allowed to make more important decisions, after all angles of the question have been fully explored. Suggestions without direct advice result in guidance without dominance. But the parent must be prepared to see the child make certain mistakes and to sit by quietly ready to offer friendly assistance with no "I told you so" when the results do not pan out as the child expected. Letting the child learn some things by mistakes may be more educative than unconvinced acceptance of the parent-sponsored method. Daudet merely stretched the truth a bit when he said, "Children are like grown people; the experience of others is never of any use to them."

Sharing the Family Tasks.—In the frontier family it was taken for granted that every member of the household would share regularly in the work that was to be done. The situation is much the same on the farm today. There are numerous outdoor chores for the boys, and plenty of inside as well as light outside tasks for the girls. Each person feels himself a useful member of the family group, with the responsibility of making the total farm life function smoothly and efficiently. This mutual feeling of interdependence creates a strong "we feeling," a family solidarity and loyalty that make the farm family such a close-knit unit. In small towns the situation is somewhat different, though the opportunity for useful tasks for all children is still present. The boys can care for the lawn and vegetable garden instead of working in the fields, and the girls can have plenty of household duties. But in the apartment house of the large city the matter of mutual participation in the total work of the family becomes a real problem. It may be argued that if there are no tasks left for the children, all the better, for it gives them more time to play. But such an argument misses the point. The importance of childish tasks in the city apartment is not to lighten the work of the adults, helpful as that is, but to give the children a feeling of usefulness, of having a recognized share in the total functioning of the household. For girls there are still some of the household tasks, such as making beds and washing dishes, though even here the question is complicated when there is a maid. Some mothers do not want their children to do "menial" work of any kind, and others who vaguely feel that a little work is good for them have complained that such participation by the children "spoils the maid" by making her lazy!

But what duties can the boy have in the city apartment? There is no yard to keep in shape, no fuel to carry in, no furnace to tend, and no ashes to carry out. But he also can be allotted certain household tasks without doing permanent injury to his manly dignity. As a matter of fact the boy who can hold his own in rough sports will have no difficulty in proving that he is not a "sissy" merely because he wipes the dishes for his sister. But tasks for him can be found without softening his hands

and his self-esteem with dishwater. If he is dubbed the household "mechanic," whose duty it is to look after locks, catches, and fuses, replace burned-out bulbs, empty the electric sweeper, and keep the radio connections and aerial in good order, he responds more promptly. To such infrequent and irregular tasks there can reasonably be added the care of keeping his own room clean and orderly. The difficulty of the task is no index of its developmental value; even light tasks can serve the purpose.

Family Recreation.—Pleasuring together is one of the most effective methods of socialization known, and the family interested in maintaining the "we feeling" will make frequent use of it. Nearly all recreation used to be homemade. For the neighborhood there were the husking bees, quilting parties, barn-raising, square dances, and other such gatherings. These were chiefly for adults, but the children had to be taken along, and they managed to find plenty of excitement on the side. In the individual homes there were milder diversions in which the whole family participated, such as popping corn, roasting apples, cracking nuts, pulling taffy, or singing to the accompaniment of the family "fiddler," if by good fortune there was one. The hearth was literally the center of the family life, for frequently the house consisted chiefly of one large room. Hence, whatever household recreation there was, was a family affair, to be participated in by all who cared to do so.

But our fun is no longer homemade; like all other products, it is purchased. One makes a selection and pays so much per hour, or reel, or ride, or dance, or whatnot. Commercialized amusement, like other industries, makes its largest profits by large-scale production and centralization. But, unlike other industries, its products cannot be carried away and consumed where one wishes. We must go to the factory where fun is made, and like an ice-cream cone it must be consumed on the spot. So we leave the home and go to the movie theater, the dance hall, the amusement park, or wherever we buy fun with money.

This rise of commercialized recreation has made it more difficult to preserve the values of the family-made fun in the home. In the first place, the latter has decayed because parents are no longer put to it to keep their children amused in their leisure time. If they are furnished with the requisite quarters and half dollars, they will keep themselves amused. Second, even parents who would like to continue the home recreation state that their young folk find checkers, bridge, fudge making, and singing about the piano entirely too tame, when at the movie house just around the corner they know they could be watching "Two-gun Smith" killing his fifth cop, or a love scene in the South Sea Islands.

Once the children have learned to look outside the home for all their fun, the difficulty is greatly increased, but if the home from the first is

made a place where recreation is abundant there is much more chance of success. Most of the new single houses being built in the suburbs of large cities now have a recreation room in the basement, finished attractively and providing fun for all ages—ping-pong, billiards, shuffleboard, and quoits, as well as some gymnasium equipment. Here the whole family can play, each according to his interests, and friends of all ages can be invited in. Such a room is one of the greatest physical assets a family can have, but for apartment dwellers it is usually not available.

One group of fathers, most of whom lived in apartments, were so determined to provide recreation for their boys that they formed a little club with weekly meetings in the various homes, where games, stories, eats, and even "roughhouse" made the evening one of great fun for the boys. The parents wisely removed the more fragile objects from the room that was to be used and charged up to recreation the few scratches on the furniture and spots on the rugs. In another part of the country there is a community where many families have joined in instituting "family night" once a week, an evening in which all work is laid aside and everyone plays. It is reported as working much better than some of the dubious parents had expected.

The radio has brought one form of diversion into the home, with mixed blessings. It is not our purpose in this discussion to consider the broader social problems involved in movies or radio but merely to note some of their effects on home life. In so far as the radio is considered a joint possession, demanding nice cooperation in its use, it becomes a cohesive force. If the whole family can agree on certain programs, either music, drama, or humor, the radio is indeed a blessing; but when Mother is horrified at the blow-by-blow description of a prize fight or Father snorts over his paper at the moronic crooning of Daughter's latest crush, the radio can hardly be called an instrument of family harmony. The solution in some families has been the purchase of small, inexpensive radios for the "exclusive use" of Brother and Sister in their own rooms. Even this is not wholly successful, for unless doors are carefully closed Beethoven's sonata is likely to be punctuated by the staccato of gangster bullets and the calf-like moanings of the crooner. Science sometimes gives with one hand and takes away with the other.

The automobile is another modern invention that has both aided and hindered family life. But except for the dissension caused by several members wanting the car at once, it has great possibilities for family pleasuring. Good roads now make a family picnic in some lonely section a matter of a couple of hours instead of an all-day excursion. But still more important are family vacations, either touring the country or going together to some camping place. The amount of family traveling has been enormously increased by the automobile, and, according to those

who indulge every year, it strengthens family fellowship. Changing flat tires on hot pavements or pitching tents in the rain becomes comedy rather than tragedy in retrospect, and the memory of strange, new places explored together gives zest for further adventure.

Children and Money.—One of the first questions a family must consider is what its general attitude toward money is to be. Shall it be an end in itself, or merely one of several means to an end; the main good in life, or something necessary for certain purposes but not essential to some of the finest satisfactions of life? Shall the family hoard or save, squander or spend? Shall vacations be chosen solely on the basis of cost, or on the basis of interest, self-expression, and service? These and a host of other questions cluster around the money problem, and unless a genuine family philosophy of life is worked out there is no assurance that the money attitudes will harmonize with others which are equally important.

If, from the very first, money is considered as servant, not master, it is not likely to become a major source of contention. When the family is down below the dire poverty line it is impossible to avoid continual anxiety on financial matters; but for those above the poverty line, even though of very limited income, a wholesome attitude is entirely possible. One need not be indifferent to money to keep it from dominating one's life. Parents can have respect for its capacity to satisfy wholesome wants without giving their children the money-grubbing ideal. If the old wallpaper is asked to serve one more year so that the family may buy certain books or subscribe to certain magazines different members have been wanting, or if it is decided to make the old Ford rattle along for another year so that Junior can go to camp, the sacrifice is balanced by the satisfaction derived from choosing the highest of several values. Most children must go through life with relatively few of the things they would *like* to have, but they will not be unhappy over it if *money* values are not overemphasized.

Some parents seek to keep their children entirely unconscious of money or money worries as long as possible, trying in this way to avoid a dominant money interest. But although the young child should not be burdened with the financial worries of his parents, it is helpful rather than harmful for him to be included in the discussion of certain proposed purchases. When he learns that the oft-repeated "we can't afford it" means merely that we can't have everything and therefore must choose among various values, it does not have the same odium as "we are too poor." Poverty, even when it exists, need not be emphasized as such before the children, for they soon become very sensitive to its implications, especially at school where youngsters often make class distinctions. But if the emphasis is placed less on *how much* money the family has and

more on *how it is spent*, it is easier on the self-respect. However, even this must not be overdone, for a too close cost accounting to the child for every toy or article of food or clothing may encourage a dollar standard, a measuring of all values by their money cost, which is just the opposite from the thoughtful parent's wish.

Bribes and Fines.—Once the child's appetite for money is whetted by his realization of what it will buy, it is a great temptation for parents to use it as a convenient control of conduct. By giving money for obedience, being kind to Sister, getting good grades at school, or keeping his room neat, parents encourage the child to expect pay for the reasonably good behavior that should be observed with no thought of reward. It is one thing to be so pleased over a child's excellent school record at the end of the year that in spontaneous appreciation he is given something he has long desired—a bicycle, a visit to another town, or even a gift of money—but quite another to hold over him all year the promise of pay if he will get good grades. In the latter case, one is buying conduct; in the former, one is showing pride and appreciation for achievement.

Likewise, the withholding of money or the forcing of the child to pay for wrong deeds by cutting his allowance for a week or two is a system of monetary fines just as harmful on the negative side as the other is on the positive side. It makes conduct, good or bad, a matter to be measured in terms of money, an utterly false standard. Also, it sooner or later reveals to children the trickery of parents in getting their own way. One amusing incident is cited¹ of a fourteen-year-old boy who was very eager to get into long trousers but whose mother wanted to keep her boy "little" as long as possible. Finally, she made a bargain with him to tend the furnace for 50 cents a week with permission to buy himself some long trousers as soon as he had earned enough money. At the end of two weeks, however, he burst out resentfully with:

"It's a gyp, that's what it is!"

"What is it now?" asked the mother.

"Why, Mother, you would have to pay a man more than 50 cents a week to look after the furnace, and then you would have to get me the long pants anyhow."

Allowances.—One way in which the child can learn the value of money and how to handle it is for him to have a specific sum given him regularly over which he has complete control. This can begin on a small scale very early, even though most of the child's toys are still bought for him by his parents. Usually by the time the child is four years old he can distinguish between pennies, nickels, and dimes. At this age, therefore,

¹ S. M. GRUENBERG and B. C. GRUENBERG, "Parents, Children, and Money," New York, Viking, 1933, p. 18.

he is not too small to have an "allowance" of his own, be it only 5 cents a week. In fact, it is important that the amount should be very small, at first, even in families that could easily afford \$1 a week. This tiny allowance is of course not expected to cover the child's wants but to give him a little conception of relative values and experience in choosing. Almost invariably the first allowance goes for candy or an ice-cream cone, and there is then a vacuum in time until the next "nickel day." But soon the child learns that he can spend part of his nickel on penny balloons and part on lollipops, thus satisfying two wants. Or on visiting the ubiquitous "five-and-ten" with his parents he may see some marvelous creation that "costs a whole dime," and he decides to save his nickels for two weeks and get it. This high resolve may be delayed in its realization by the child's low sales resistance as he passes a 5-cent counter on the way out or an inopportune appearance of the ice-cream vendor on a hot day, but this is all part of the training. If the child is shamed or browbeaten for "wasting" his money or not having backbone enough to save it for two weeks, the allowance may be a source of more harm than good. But if the parent merely suggests to him the various things he can do with his nickel, leaving him free to make his own decisions, he will learn faster. The next year the allowance may be increased to a dime, and as the child progresses in school his allowance should grow with the development of his reasonable wants. If it continues to be looked upon not as something *earned* or deserved for good conduct but merely as a rightful sharing of family expenditures, sharing the family's money will remain on a natural basis.

A common temptation of parents, however, is to make the child's allowance look big by including in it money to cover certain routine expenses. An allowance of a \$1.50 a week may look generous for a ten-year-old school girl, but if out of this she must pay for carfare and school lunches she may have only 25 cents left to spend as she pleases. The carfare and lunch are fixed expenditures and should be treated as such.

If children respond reasonably well to an increased allowance and begin to assume some responsibility in the purchase and care of clothes and other such items, the allowance may gradually come to include money for many necessities, in addition to the margin for pleasure. By the time they are halfway through high school they may be experienced enough to use rightly an allowance that will include clothes, books, entertainments, and all other regular expenditures of the year, with the possible exception of vacation costs. This last item may depend upon family plans, and the amount spent must be determined by the needs of all. Such an inclusive allowance can be arranged only after close

accounts have been kept for some years on all expenditures, which means budgeting. A winter coat is an expense that comes all at once, but the girl trained to budget will know what part of her monthly allowance must be saved for clothes.

Earning Money at Home.—It has already been pointed out that children who have regular tasks in the home feel themselves important elements in the total family situation. There is no more reason why Sister should be paid for washing the dishes or Brother for mowing the lawn than Mother for cooking the meals and Father for washing and polishing the car. All are family tasks that minister to the needs and comfort of all members of the family. Each one is merely doing his share in that cooperative enterprise, family life.

Yet there are times when children may well be paid for special household tasks. This is particularly true when they are eager to add to their slender income by their own work—a commendable ambition but one difficult to realize in the large city. In the small town a boy can earn considerable money in the summer at such odd jobs as running errands, delivering packages, hoeing gardens, mowing lawns, and all the petty tasks that are passed around in the neighborhood where people know each other well. The girl has less opportunity but may occasionally earn a dollar or two. But in the metropolitan area where all work is highly specialized and organized these odd jobs almost completely vanish. In such cases it is sometimes an excellent idea to allow the children to perform certain *special* tasks, if they are capable, that would normally be done by hired labor and then pay them at a fair rate. If the fourteen-year-old boy really wants the wearisome task of simonizing the car and will do a good job, there is no reason why he should not receive the same pay that would have gone to the garage man. Or if the high-school girl wishes to make some curtains for which the mother had intended to hire some help, she may well receive the pay that would have gone to another. Since such tasks are wholly in addition to regular, gratuitous household duties, there need be no suggestion of pay for usual duties. There is no harm if parents occasionally “make” work of this kind, provided that they are genuinely useful tasks and fully worthy of pay, though this should not be done often enough to endanger the spirit of mutual accommodation with no thought of reward.

SOME COMMON DIFFICULTIES

It is a paradox of human nature that people falter before simple tasks but attack difficult ones with all the assurance of ignorance. They are fearful and hesitant over the simple process of learning to drive a car, yet cocksure that they can handle the infinitely more complicated

mechanism of their children. For several years the writer has asked certain questions of his students in his course on marriage and the family. One of these, on which several hundred replies have accumulated, is: Are you fairly confident that you understand children well enough to keep on good terms with your own and bring them up well? Only 4 per cent of these young people were "doubtful" of their ability to raise their children properly, 68 per cent were "reasonably confident," and 28 per cent were "sure" of their ability. The young men showed more confidence than the young women. It seems strange that so few feel the need of training for such a delicate task as that of being a parent. After they have been at it for some years, all but the most dense will see that they are not so well qualified as they had thought. But at the outset they usually tackle the matter with magnificent self-confidence. They would not attempt to raise cattle, hogs, chickens, or even bees without reading all they could get on the subject, sending for government pamphlets, and even taking university courses when possible. But rearing children they consider to be a matter of "common sense," with which they modestly admit they are richly endowed. The young father of this type, when offered a kindly suggestion by an old friend who has been over the road, voices his resentment with the words, "I guess I know how to bring up my boy; wasn't I a boy once?" Undoubtedly he was—and still is. Such a situation is hard on the younger of these two "boys," but doubtless he will grow up and in time know exactly how to rear his boy also. Such an attitude is so common that it may be worth while to point out a few difficulties that are constantly confronting parents.

"When I Was a Boy——."—One of the chief difficulties of parents in understanding their children is their inability to project themselves into the child's situation. This is due partly to the steady erosion of memory during the many years since they were children, making it impossible for them to recapture, in full detail, many of the experiences of childhood. Because they can remember so clearly a few outstanding events and the feelings they produced at the time, they imagine they remember almost the whole childhood situation. Actually, however, they are constantly being confronted with strange actions, interests, and "perversities" in their children that they cannot understand, but sometimes a little reflection brings to light faint memories of similar "perversities" in their own childhood.

But the mere passage of time is not the only difficulty. A double process is going on. While the childhood memories are wearing away, adult experiences are accumulating. When the parent, therefore, seeks to project himself into his child's situation and look out upon the world with childish eyes, his vision, already dimmed by feeble memory, is still further obscured by the shadow of adult experiences which cannot be

mentally discarded at will. Adults simply cannot look through childish eyes and recapture the limited outlook of little folk. They may write books about them and speak with great confidence of "what children think," but they only half know what they are talking about.

Another weakness in the backward projection of parents is their lack of appreciation of the changes time has wrought in both material and social patterns. The change from horse and buggy to automobile is far more than a change in transportation. The automobile is merely a convenient symbol of a new ideology; it even involves questions of the conduct of young folk. By increasing their mobility and widening their radius of activity, it subjects them to far more stimuli than before and at greater distances from home. Furthermore, the general rise in the standard of living gives young folk today more possessions and privileges than they had a generation ago. Most parents are glad that their children need not endure the privations to which they were subjected when they were children; yet in some there is a sort of subconscious resentment that the lot of youngsters is so easy today. Others, who have no such resentment, nevertheless cannot refrain from parading the Spartan virtues of their juvenile days before their children by tales of "When I was a little boy, we didn't have such and such." The moral, whether platitudinously expressed or merely implied, is that young folk today ought to feel very fortunate for all the things they have, without constantly asking for more. But children are seldom impressed with the childhood hardships of their parents and merely wonder how they managed to have any fun at all. They are left cold by the fact that there were no boys' or girls' camps in former days and cannot see why that has any bearing on their present desire to go to camp now that there are plenty of them available. Nor can they see why they should be denied bicycles, now that the family is in moderate circumstances, just because their parents were too poor to have such "luxuries" in their day and "got along very well without them." In this the young folk are quite right; the discipline of privation is not necessary to the development of character, provided that children learn what the family can reasonably afford and do not insist on exceeding their privileges. Also, parents who grew up in country or small town with little money to spend frequently forget that, although they could not have bicycles, radios, and summer camps, they did have many forms of recreation not available to their city-bound children today. Usually the family owned or had access to horses for driving and riding. There were numerous pets, the old swimming hole, and many fishing and rabbit-hunting expeditions. They didn't *need* to go to camp half so much as does the city boy or girl today, who has only the vaguest ideas of farm animals and the freedom of outdoor life.

The "Everlasting No."—Carlyle did not have the harried mother in mind when he wrote on the "everlasting no," but he might well have had. Parents who are too busy or too selfish to try to understand and direct their small children's activities rely too heavily upon the convenient "don't." It is much easier to say "don't" than "do," for the former merely calls for a cessation of an annoying activity but the latter necessitates understanding, planning, and sometimes help. In the long run the "do" technique is more saving of parental nerves than the "don't" technique, and certainly much better for the children. The lazy assumption that an irritated command to "stop" doing a certain thing will lead to a complete cessation of the child's activity is certainly not justified by the facts. Children aren't made that way. Their energy must have an outlet in some direction, and if they run into rough weather in their course they merely tack and proceed on their new course until they strike another squall, when they simply tack anew and proceed—always they proceed. Former President Hoover¹ described the typical boy as "endowed with a dynamic energy and an impelling desire to take exercise on all occasions." This drives parents almost wild and results in a veritable series of "don'ts" that become habitual, while the children soon learn how long a specific prohibition must be observed before the activity can be safely resumed. They know that in time it will elicit another "don't," but in the interval something is accomplished, and they learn to take forbidden pleasures in installments. The mother who told her twelve-year-old daughter to "go out and see what Bobby is doing and tell him to stop it" could hardly be classed as constructive. Under such a negative regime the child comes to regard his parent as a symbol of thwarted desire. There can be little companionship under such circumstances.

But the substitution of usable suggestions for the disapproved activities often gets results. Without undue effort the thoughtful mother can keep her small children so interested in doing things which she has suggested that they will have little time for brewing mischief. Of course, there come times when the complaint "We haven't anything to play" finds the mother void of ideas. But it is indeed an unresourceful parent who, when subtly challenged to prove the alleged superiority of the adult mind, cannot "think up" any new type of play. Public libraries have numerous books of games and activities for children of all ages, and two hours of reading and note taking should arm a mother with enough "fun suggestions" to last a long time if wisely used. Constant suggestion is neither wise nor necessary, for children are inventive and frequently like best the sports of their own creation. But parents find it well

¹ In an appeal for a fund for boys' clubs, reported in the *New York Times*, Mar. 14, 1937.

worth while to be prepared to stop questionable play by substituting something more interesting and to step in again when childish resources are exhausted.

The "No-repression" School.—At the other extreme from the "no, no" parents are those who hold that the child should be free to develop his personality in his own way. They seem to fear that any repression will result in blocking the child's emotions, causing an internal explosion that will blow his personality to bits. Accordingly, the child is humored and allowed to do as he pleases, becoming as heartily detested as little Edward in "The Count of Monte Cristo."

There are those who will not admit that the world knew anything about human behavior before the advent of Freud, Jung, Adler, and Watson. But human nature remains much as it was before they spread before us the fascinating array of libidos, complexes, and other furtive dangers that lurk among the shadows of even the most orderly mind. The great contributions of these scholars will rightly cause their names to live, but the tendency to carry their doctrines to extremes is a hindrance rather than a help to bewildered parents. What the under-inhibited and overpsychoanalyzed child needs is less introspection, which only accentuates the difficulty, and more association on an equal plane with normal children of his age.

Children who are allowed to do as they please usually become *persona non grata* to other children, as well as to adults. The "modern" parents of such children excuse their intolerable acts by referring to the dangers of inhibition. The boy who bullies his little sister until she lives in a world of nervous dread must not be reprimanded because his parents want him to be a "leader of men," and he is merely getting practice in dominance. Disobedience is excused as an "urge for expression in another direction." Extreme rudeness is a deplorable but necessary defense mechanism against the inferiority complex that may suddenly choke him if he shows any regard for others. Even tantrums and obscene language must be overlooked as a safety valve of the libido. A teacher¹ gives the following interesting incident:

At a recent luncheon at the house of a friend of mine, the secretary of her daughter's progressive school happened to be one of the guests. The six-year-old, instead of eating her baked potato, spent her time vigorously kicking the shins of the secretary, at the same time calling her obscene and unprintable names. Hostess and guest made an absurd pretense of ignoring this performance. Later I asked my friend why she had not interfered by sending her rude daughter from the table.

"But we knew she just wanted the center of the stage, so we thought ignoring her was the best way to make her stop. Then, you know, calling dirty names

¹ STELLA C. WARD, *Children of Freedom, Harper's*, 162: 296-305, February, 1931.

is really rather a healthy sign in a child. It means that she is not repressing dangerous and erotic emotions that might later on interfere with her happiness in married life."

A little thought on the nature of society shows the fallacy of the "no-repression" theory. It might work in an imaginary social vacuum where the "free" individual could not run afoul of the rights of others, but in the elbow-rubbing association in which we actually live it cannot work. The first premise of social control is restraint. Persons can live together only when each restrains those impulses that are disapproved by the group and gives free rein to those that are approved. At great cost, society has set up elaborate machinery to protect its members from the completely self-regarding actions of its misfits. The result is that those who persistently refuse to play the game according to the rules are harshly dealt with, for self-determination will not be allowed even in a democracy, to the extent of endangering group welfare. Individual wishes must ever yield to the first principle of group life—survival.

The child who is taught that his wants in the family are paramount is being reared in a false atmosphere. He is led to expect a continuance of such deference by others outside the home, which he will not receive. If his parents do not teach him the necessity of respecting the rights and wishes of others, he must learn through harsh experience and will get much bruised in the process. For society demands a certain amount of conformity to its tested and approved standards. In fact, one's very happiness and efficiency in the workaday world depend upon sufficient conformity and deference to the wishes of others to make one's company acceptable. Social obedience cannot be avoided, and the earlier learned, the better.

Overprotection and Overaffection.—Filial devotion has been considered the acme of childish virtues for ages past, and the love of parents for children the most natural of human emotions. It came, therefore, as something of a shock to parents when Freud and his disciples began to warn them against the dangers of mutual affection between them and their children. If the little boy showed a natural affection for his understanding mother, she was warned to keep him at arm's length, for it was clear he was developing an Oedipus complex. If the father liked to cuddle his tiny daughter in his arms, he was told to resist the impulse, else the sinister sexual basis of such affection might destroy them both. Under the influence of such ideas the more gullible parents became fearful of getting too close to their children lest they give them some dreadful fixation or complex. To hug or kiss them or even take them on their laps and rock them to sleep was dangerous. They stifled their normal impulses and became stilted and awkward with their own children; they lost the easy comradeship that comes only when one need not weigh and

analyze each happy impulse. To be constantly on guard against the lurking evils that may leap from even the most innocent gesture of affection is to destroy the spontaneity of companionship. Uncle Eb's shrewd comment that "a man's stummick is healthiest when he fergits all about it" might have some bearing here as well.

Watson¹ is one who raises his voice in warning against the joys of parental and filial love, which a generation ago were accepted as wholly natural and enjoyed with no sense of guilt. He says:

There is a sensible way of treating children. Treat them as though they were young adults. Dress them, bathe them with care and circumspection. Let your behavior always be objective and kindly firm. Never hug and kiss them, never let them sit in your lap. If you must, kiss them once on the forehead when they say good night. Shake hands with them in the morning. Give them a pat on the head if they have made an extraordinarily good job of a difficult task. Try it out. In a week's time you will find how easy it is to be perfectly objective with your child and at the same time kindly. You will be utterly ashamed of the mawkish, sentimental way you have been handling it.

It is small wonder that the average mother cannot keep a straight face when reading such counsel. Even if she managed to suppress her emotion on all else, the morning-handshake ritual would be too much for her gravity. And it would be almost sinful to print what the grandmother would think of such doctrines. But Watson proves that his sense of humor is not wholly extinct by telling of a dear old lady who at the close of one of his lectures arose and said, "Thank God, my children are grown—and that I had a chance to enjoy them before I met you!"²

Bertrand Russell,³ so radical on some questions, comes to the defense of the older school of thought on this point. He deprecates "the onslaught of modern theorists on parental affection" and scores Freud for terrifying parents with the idea that "there is something sinful, dark and disastrous in the affection of children for their parents." He points out that very young children like the warmth of their mothers' bodies and the feeling of safety that they derive from close proximity. He denies that such feelings are "sexual," in the commonly accepted meaning, and charges that "the satisfaction which very young infants derive from their mothers is a combination of those that we derive in adult life from hot-water bottles and policemen."

Children need affection as much as they need physical care; in fact, their happiness is frequently more dependent upon the latter than upon

¹ JOHN B. WATSON, "Psychological Care of Infant and Child," New York, Norton, 1928, pp. 81-82.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³ BERTRAND RUSSELL, Are Parents Bad for Children?, *Parents Magazine*, May, 1930, abstracted in *Readers Digest*, June, 1930.

the former. The knowledge that he is loved makes a child feel safe. From infancy, he has the pleasurable tactile sensations incident to his mother's ministrations to his bodily comfort—the bathing and rubbing, the smooth, cool hand on hot brow, the comfortable lap for the bedtime story, and the good-night kiss and affectionate pat when tucked into bed. Such contacts are a part of the child's pattern of life; they give unspoken but convincing evidence of the affectional security that all persons crave. That a small part of this physical affection is sexual need not be denied or feared. It is *diffused* rather than *specific* and has no untoward consequences except in a few cases of warped or unbalanced personalities. The mother need feel no guilt because she loves to touch the soft skin of the little child; people are not chided for feeling the smoothness of silk, holding a baby chick to the face, or stroking the soft fur of a kitten. The impulse to touch a chubby six-month-old baby is almost irresistible to most adults, but to attribute this impulse to particularized libido is absurd. Dunlap¹ scotches such a thought with characteristic vigor. He quotes one author who says, "To love a baby is to fondle it, or at least to assume the attitude of fondling it, in loverlike fashion. This is an abridgment of the complete set of responses which afford the full emotions of sexual love." This, he says, is sheer nonsense, for "the only 'sexual' feature of the fondling is the fact that the fondler belongs to one of the sexes, and that baby also is either male or female. In the same sense, your indignation at the neighbor's boy who throws a dead cat into your yard is 'sexual indignation,' probably 'abridged.'"

In normal childhood, physical caresses become less frequent as the child grows older. The process is a mutual one. Not only does the parental impulse to fondle and pet very small children naturally diminish as growth causes "cuteness" to wane, but the rising independence of the child gradually weans him from childish patterns, for he wants to be treated like an adult. The small boy who is thrilled by his father's hearty hug and kiss after a long absence would be much embarrassed at the age of fifteen by a like demonstration of affection; but if his father grips his hand, thumps him on the back, and throws an arm across his shoulders after the manner of men, he is pleased. The little girl who greets her mother with embrace and kiss may at high-school age confine her kisses to a hurried peck on the cheek, though as fond of her mother as ever. This transition comes slowly and naturally, and the good sense of most parents prevents them from attributing it to the loss of affection.

But, admitting the need for normal affectional responses between parents and children, we cannot refuse to recognize the dangers of too much protection and too much affection—or at least the danger of dis-

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

playing too much affection. The warnings of the Freudians are excellent when not carried to extremes; for although they apply very little to most parents, they are wholly justified when applied to extreme variants. The sentimentalist would argue that it is impossible to show children too much affection, "for the little darlings are as dependent on love as on the milk drawn from the gentle breast of their mother." But they forget that psychic needs change as does the diet and that each stage of childhood shades imperceptibly but surely into the next. To seek to hold the child too long in one pattern is to invite either childish rebellion or, what is worse, spiritless docility.

This overprotection manifests itself in two ways: in doing too much for the child, and in overwhelming him with affection. The first takes the form of excessive waiting upon the child and shielding him from every adverse circumstance. He may be fed too long before encouraged to feed himself, he may not learn to dress himself until years after he should have been independent in this daily task, and the ever-ready "Here, dear, let mother do it for you" smooths his pathway at every turn. He is not given toys that could possibly hurt him, pets are too dangerous, and the rough games of the neighborhood children are shunned as the pestilence. A boy in such a situation may select one of two behavior patterns: either he conforms when with his parents but is a "game little scrapper" trying to regain his self-respect when with other children, or he has the makings of a first-class "sissy." Such a boy is ill prepared to take his own part in the scuffle of life. He will constantly hold back, waiting for someone to help him, while others rush in and take what share they can of the prize. Since he has no self-reliance, his company is unsought, for the respect of others is dependent upon self-respect.

On the matter of affectional expression the principle is much the same. Intelligent mother love is quickening and life-giving, but "smother love" stifles the personality with its effusion. The child can become so emotionally dependent upon his mother that he flies to her sheltering arms at every little hurt. He is unable to attempt any task without her loving encouragement, or to allow to pass unnoticed the slightest achievement that might elicit her praise. He lives and moves under the mantle of her affection, in an emotional servitude as binding as shackles. He is little drawn to girls of his own age and ill prepared for marriage when somehow he ventures into it. Sometimes even after marriage he must remain near enough to his mother to spend much time with her, turning to her rather than to his young wife in every trouble. Such extreme cases exist and are true illustrations of the mother fixation already discussed elsewhere. The important point to note here is that such developments are conditioned in early childhood. They are due, not to any innate weakness of the child, but to an excessive eruption of parental

sentiment. Homes given over to this sentiment might well be equipped with some sort of emotional gas mask, in children's sizes.

Several studies¹ have shown that a larger-than-chance proportion of overprotective mothers were unhappy in their own childhood, both from lack of parental affection and too much early responsibility. The over-protected children were more frequently boys than girls, with "only" children predominating.

Children as Scapegoats.—At the other end of the scale, we cannot overlook those parents who use their children as scapegoats on whom to vent their ill will when frustrated in one way or another. Many parents have never grown up. Nature equipped them physically to become parents but left them emotionally on the ten-year level. The small boy who, when refused something very much desired, viciously kicks the unoffending family cat is doing nothing more than his parents sometimes do in a different way. The father who comes home smarting over a business defeat may try to reestablish his self-respect by making his family "step around" at his will. Frequently, the man failing in one enterprise after another becomes more and more domineering at home. He cannot command respect among his business associates, and he seeks to salve his wounded ego by asserting his authority over his wife and children, particularly the latter. In reality, this is cowardice, for he dare not act thus toward equals but only toward children who cannot protect themselves. But children are too clever to be long deceived by such sham and quickly lose whatever respect they may have had for their father, getting bolder and bolder in their disobedience. This humiliates and infuriates him still further and may result in violence, desertion, or a brooding aloofness from family affairs. One social agency tells of such a father who in a last, pathetic gesture toward self-esteem and authority spent his last dollar for a phonograph which he kept locked except when he played it. Here was one thing that he could still control.

Nor are mothers immune from this fault. The tired, nervous mother sometimes finds emotional outlet in undue scolding or severe punishment for some minor offense, which the child knows would bring only mild reproof at other times. This inconsistency makes the mother's reaction unpredictable to the child until he learns to read the storm signals; he must cater to the whims of an adult, whose conduct is supposed to be rational instead of arbitrary. Learning to dodge the emotional caprices of parents is poor training for filial respect.

¹ ELIZABETH HOUGH, *Some Factors in the Etiology of Maternal Over-protection*, *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 2: 188-208, March, 1932.

PATRICIA FOLEY, *Early Responsibility and Affection Hunger as Selective Criteria in Maternal Over-protection*, *ibid.*, pp. 209-223.

"Only" Children.—The one-child family is rapidly becoming commonplace in the United States. Before 1700 only about 1.8 per cent of the completed families (wife forty-five years of age or over) were of the one-child type, but today about 18 per cent of our completed families have only one child.¹ This is a tenfold, or 1,000 per cent, increase. The only child is no longer a rarity.

There have been very sharp differences of opinion regarding the characteristics of only children. Earlier studies in general found them to be greatly different from other children (most of their peculiarities being undesirable), whereas recent studies tend to minimize such differences, although admitting that they exist to a limited degree. One of the first sizable studies (involving 381 cases) was made by Bohannon under G. Stanley Hall at Clark University and published in the *Pedagogical Seminary* in 1898. Writing on the same subject in the same journal just 30 years later, Fenton² summarizes Bohannon's conclusions in part as follows: Only children are unmistakably below the average in health and vitality; unusual precocity is common, but they are less regular in school attendance and their school achievement is below average; their self-control is below that of other children, and hence they more frequently cause friction; they are selfish in general, though some are very affectionate; many of them indulge in imaginary companionship to compensate for inadequate real companionship. This study led G. Stanley Hall to say, "Being an only child is a disease in itself." Writing in 1927, Eva Neal³ of the Los Angeles Child Guidance Demonstration Clinic saw no reason to reject the earlier characterization of the only child. She believed that the only child is usually a problem child, largely because he receives too much attention, which makes him "jealous, selfish, egotistical, dependent, aggressive, domineering, or quarrelsome. This is the child who is unpopular, spoiled, and as time goes on he finds it more and more difficult to fit into life with his fellow beings." Wexberg,⁴ the Viennese psychiatrist, follower of Alfred Adler, says of the only child, "For the most part, such children have a boundless egotism, they tyrannize over their friends, and will suffer no other gods besides themselves. In such an atmosphere nervous manifestations thrive." An article on this subject in a popular magazine shows a picture of an only child seated on a throne, with the parents doing homage.

¹ F. S. CRUM, *The Decadence of the Native American Stock*, *Pub. Amer. Statistical Association*, 14: 215-222, 1914-1915.

E. A. ROSS and R. E. BABER, *Slow Suicide among our Native Stock*, *Century*, 107: 504-509, February, 1924.

² NORMAN FENTON, *The Only Child*, *Pedagogical Seminary and Jour. Genetic Psychology*, 35: 546-556, December, 1928.

³ EVA NEAL, *Mental Hygiene Bull.*, November, 1927.

⁴ ERWIN WEXBERG, "Your Nervous Child," translated from the German by W. B. Wolfe, New York, Bori, 1927, p. 82.

But Fenton takes sharp issue with these findings. In his own study he compared the characteristics of only and other children among both elementary-school children and university students, basing his investigation on 193 school children, of whom 34 were only children, and 512 university students, of whom 73 were only children. Using teachers' ratings of these children on 12 traits, he found that the only and other children were not greatly different. Only children were a little more selfish and unsocial, slightly more likely to be leaders and also to be unpopular, a little more inclined to be self-confident and aggressive (insisting upon having their own way), and slightly less obedient than the others. Among the university students the differences were also slight. He concludes that the undesirable characteristics of only children have been unduly magnified and that in reality they are only slightly more subject to nervousness, peculiarities, and antisocial attitudes than are other children. He admits the handicap under which only children live and that parents of such children have a peculiar responsibility for their training but thinks the findings prove that such parents are in general aware of the dangers involved.

Another study¹ of 100 only children who had visited the Child Guidance Clinic in New York City showed them ranking somewhat higher in intelligence than the total clinic group, less subject to stealing, lying, and truancy, more restless and subject to crying, nail biting, and school difficulties. There were certain drawbacks to some of the methods necessarily used in this study, but even so the findings appear significant.

Advantages vs. Disadvantages of Only Children.—From these and various other studies, it is evident that the only child, though not so peculiar as frequently pictured, is confronted with certain definite handicaps not entirely offset by certain advantages that also accrue. Unless the parents of such a child are intelligently aware of these handicaps and offset them as nearly as possible, considerable difficulty may develop. In the first place the only child holds the spotlight in the family. He has little opportunity to learn the lesson of give and take, fair play, taking turns, sharing, and all the "rules of the game" which children with brothers and sisters learn of necessity. When a toy is brought home, there is not that moment of uncertainty and breathless query, "Whose is it?" The only child rightly takes it for granted that any toy brought into the home is for him. There is little opportunity to learn generosity and sacrifice, for such qualities in his parents are too far beyond his experience to be understood.

Furthermore, it is very easy for the parents of an only child to be over-solicitous about him. Just as he is handicapped by lack of experience, so are they. Parents of several children frequently testify how they

¹ ANNE WARD, *The Only Child, Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 1: 41-65, September, 1930.

fussed over their first child, coddling it and shielding it from every bump; but by the time they had two or three children, they had learned to take them more for granted and let them be themselves without too much interference. Such parental overprotection may lead either to a dependent attitude or to one of rebellion, either of which greatly complicates the situation.

Still another drawback is the too early shift from childish to adult interests. At first, being without real playmates, an only child will invent imaginary companions and apparently be quite happy with them. But this soon palls, and the child turns more and more to adult companionship, which is all that is available. But adults spend most of their time in adult activities, descending to the plane of the child only at certain intervals of play. This means that there will be a natural, and at first unconscious, attempt on the part of the child to find more companionship by joining as far as possible in the normal activities of his parents. This encourages precocity. He listens to and even tries to join conversation that would normally be over his head, because it is the only conversation available. His parents, fond of books, find it easier to read to him than to get down on the floor and play games, and so reading becomes an early accomplishment. Frequently, only children act older than they are, have a vocabulary that is astonishing, read books normally beyond their years, and are precocious in various other ways. This accounts for the fact that frequently their leadership in certain types of activities is acknowledged and also explains why their superior knowledge and attitudes sometimes make them unpopular.

But there are also certain advantages sometimes enjoyed by the only child which partly offset his handicaps. In general, he comes from a middle- or upper-class family, which assures him of normal opportunities. These are enhanced by the fact that there are no brothers and sisters requiring support, and his parents can give him more play equipment and better educational opportunities than if there were two or three siblings requiring like outlays. Furthermore, being the sole heir, the one representative of his family, the only child is taken into confidence by the parents, for he must eventually carry on the family name and tradition. This expectation gives him privileges not available to most children.

All in all, however, the most normal development of children is fostered when they can *grow up together*. The tired father after his day's work, no matter how much he may try, cannot take the place of a boisterous brother, nor can the mother take the place of a sister as playmate. Even nursery schools are at best poor substitutes for the noisy, interesting happenings in a family of lively children. In such an atmosphere many lessons are learned easily that come with difficulty when

learned alone. Someone has said that in a large family so many "little bridges" are being crossed daily that no one has to make the big jumps to new adjustments that cause so much strain. With children stepped up through various ages, ideas are handed down as easily as outgrown garments and accepted much more readily. Taking care of younger brothers and sisters may sometimes bring protests, but that training is received cannot be denied. Differences in characteristics and interests, due to differences in age and sex, become a matter of common knowledge and facilitate the process of adjustment in later life. Even matters of sex, in both general and specialized aspects, are more naturally learned when brothers and sisters grow up together. In short, membership in a fair-sized family of children is an education in itself, and to make up to an only child for the loss of this experience is a task calling for the best thought.

Sibling Jealousy.—It is a well-known fact that growing up in the same family does not necessarily make children alike. In fact, siblings may be so different in appearance, ability, and temperament that the laws of heredity and social interaction sometimes seem capricious. We know this, and yet we act as though we did not. The laws of human association operate much the same in the family group as elsewhere. To be sure, the family may have more of certain factors and less of others than do most larger groups, but in the main the problems are the same. There is no magic in the word "family" whereby discordant factors can be made to vanish. In or out of the family the attitudes of people toward each other are determined in much the same way, parents and children not excepted. This means that the differences in siblings inevitably induce different responses in their parents, even though the latter may strive valiantly to treat all alike. Identical treatment is not possible, for attitudinal reactions are not wholly subject to one's will power. Parents are bound to react differently to different children, but this need involve no inconsistency. In fact, it would be inconsistent to treat different personalities exactly the same, and it is part of the parents' task to fashion the parent-child association to the needs of each child individually.

But no matter how hard parents try to be fair in weighing the needs and peculiarities of each child, they may be accused of partiality. The very fact that one child is more sensitive than the other may lead him to condemn as unfair certain parental acts that the less sensitive child does not even notice. Therefore sibling jealousy arises, whether due to real or imagined partiality. Frequently it appears at a very tender age. The tot of two or three years is almost sure to resent it when he is suddenly dethroned by the arrival of a new baby. The jealousy caused by this quick shifting of the spotlight may be somewhat lessened, though not

entirely prevented, by preparing the child for the coming of the baby. If he is taken into his mother's confidence, told that the baby will be lots of fun but very helpless compared with himself, and accepted on a basis of equality as one of the protectors of the new arrival, the hurt to his self-esteem may be softened. But this is only a beginning. Both children must be watched at each stage of development. The elder child will constantly seek to bolster his ego by getting his parents to admit the superiority of his ability over that of the baby. Such recognition is soothing and relatively harmless as long as it is quietly pointed out that the greater ability is due to the age difference rather than to greater "smartness." Praise for the small accomplishments of the baby may well be accompanied by appropriate notice of the greater achievements of Brother. When the baby's first step brings loud acclaim from the parents, a little applause may well be saved for Brother, who suddenly feels called upon to demonstrate how easily he can run, hop, and jump. Of such stuff are egos made.

Parents frequently overlook or misinterpret the sensitiveness of children to comparisons. The capacities, interests, and skills of children are never identical, and constant comparison of their achievements is almost sure to produce unequal effects on them. Some parents fail to make allowance for the age difference between a boy of six and his brother of eight, when it is obvious that two years give the elder a huge advantage in certain skills. Invidious comparisons bring resentment and sometimes produce a feeling of inferiority in the one and boastful superiority in the other. The child who is constantly criticized because his accomplishments are not up to those of an elder brother or sister is bound to resent it and in all likelihood will come to hate the one who is held up as a model.

Some Studies of Sibling Rivalry.—Of recent years, studies of sibling rivalry have thrown considerable light on aspects heretofore covered chiefly by surmise. One study¹ of 70 children (40 boys and 30 girls) who had one younger sibling sought to find what proportion were jealous of the sibling and what conditions produced jealousy. The age range of the children was 2-8 years, most being under 5, and nine-tenths had I.Q.'s above 90. They were drawn from three classes—laboring, artisan, and professional. Somewhat more than half (39 against 31) were jealous of the younger sibling, as shown by bodily attacks on the younger child, by the elder ignoring the younger, or by personality changes in the older child occurring when the younger came into the family. Preparing the child for the birth of a second was not enough to prevent jealousy. Neither sex nor intelligence seemed to be an important

¹ MABEL SEWALL, *Some Causes of Jealousy in Young Children*, *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 1: 6-22, September, 1930.

factor in jealousy, but the home situation was. In large families, jealousy was less evident. The factors most conducive to jealousy were inconsistent discipline, oversolicitude on the part of the mother, and maladjustment between father and mother.

Another study¹ of 27 pairs of children in two-child families revealed some interesting facts, though the sample was small. These children were 6-11 years old and of average intelligence or above. Eleven pairs were definitely jealous of each other, 7 were friendly, and 9 had adopted a protector-protected relationship. Jealousy was most frequent in the girl-girl pairs and least frequent in the boy-girl pairs, the order being reversed among the pairs having the protective attitude. There was no relation between jealousy and difference in age, but a very close relationship with difference in intelligence. When the I.Q.'s were within 5 points of each other there was little or no jealousy, but from that point up jealousy increased rapidly, rising to 83 per cent in cases where the I.Q.'s differed by 25 points or more. Though the sample in this study is small, one could allow for considerable variation in the actual figures obtained and still have good evidence that a feeling of mental inferiority is one of the surest sources of jealousy. By the same token, it is proof of the need for parent education, for in a family of several children there are very likely to be observable differences in mental ability.

The Role of the Second Child.—A satisfactory role for the second child is difficult to achieve, but the welfare of the children demands that it be approached as nearly as possible. There may be as much resentment when a child *thinks* there is favoritism as when there actually is. To keep harmony and good will, parents must in some way make their children understand that their different reactions to them and treatment of them are due, not to favoritism, but to the fact that they have different personalities and needs, which even young children can at least partly grasp when rightly explained. If stress is placed upon differences in sex, age, and interests, and differences in mental ability are minimized as much as possible, ill will and strife are lessened. Superiority, even in one activity, breeds self-confidence and lessens the sting of taking second place in other activities. If a child, therefore, can be encouraged to excel in one thing, he is more willing that his brother or sister excel in another, and all egos concerned will be fed. Parents, by watching the interests and capabilities of children, can do much to encourage them along lines in which they are most likely to achieve superiority and gain the recognition desired. Sometimes, however, such differentiation of

¹ RUTH E. SMALLEY, *The Influences of Differences in Age, Sex, and Intelligence in Determining the Attitude of Siblings towards Each Other*, *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 1: 23-40, September, 1930.

talents is unwittingly promoted by unobservant or thoughtless parents, perhaps by a chance remark. Lawrence G. Brown¹ gives a perfect illustration of this in his story of a family in which a six-year-old girl was trying to follow in the footsteps of her thirteen-year-old sister. The latter was constantly praised for her skill in cooking and sewing, but the younger girl's efforts in the same line, though as good as her sister's *at the same age*, were criticized as very poor in comparison, to her great sorrow and chagrin. But her father's attempt to console her, with the remark that even if she couldn't sew and bake she could be "Daddy's outdoor girl," changed the whole course of her life. She put away her dolls and turned into a tomboy, losing all interest in clothes and appearance, as well as in household work. She learned to ride and shoot and thereby won the recognition she craved. The cooking of the older sister took a prize at the county fair, but the riding of the younger likewise took a prize, and so the honors were divided. Thus, withdrawal from competition where one is hopelessly outclassed, and specialization in a field where there is a chance to excel, place the competition on an indirect rather than on a direct basis and allow for the normal ego expansion of both children. Such specialization has been the means whereby certain institutions have been able to survive competition; it may likewise serve individuals.

A certain amount of teasing and quarreling among children is wholly natural and when not overdone constitutes a normal phase of ego expansion, by the testing and developing of the personality in competition with others. By constantly stepping in to take the part of the child being teased, parents may do him more harm than good. Unless he learns to stand up for himself and defend his rights, he will have a hard row to hoe later in life. Tattling and running to "tell Mother" when any little thing goes wrong is a poor way to learn self-reliance. If the parent refuses to be dragged into every childish dispute but insists that the children must learn to settle their own difficulties except in serious cases, it is surprising how well they can iron out their differences. Childish grudges are usually short-lived, for there are too many interesting things to play to waste much time in sulking.

There are, of course, cases in which the older child so completely dominates the younger that parental interference is necessary to protect the self-respect of the victim. To encourage a nice balance between undue self-assertion and excessive timidity is no easy task, but parenthood should never be represented as easy. But if parents abandon the harsh sink-or-swim attitude, as well as the coddling habit, and teach the fairer doctrine of "live and let live," children can learn to take knocks

¹ The Development of Diverse Patterns of Behavior among Children in the Same Family, *The Family*, 9: 35-39. April, 1928.

without whimpering and praise without simpering, which calls for self-respect as well as other-respect.

Childhood Fears.—Fears play an important part in the child's mental behavior and therefore in his overt behavior as well. The fears may be implanted by stories, sights, or outward incidents that the parent knows nothing about. The child may not tell his parents about such experiences because of still another fear—that of being punished if at fault or ridiculed if misunderstood. Considering the fact that children's fears are not greatly different in essence from adult fears, it seems strange that parents should have so little patience with the child that is afraid. In general, children are subject to fear of physical harm, whereas adults are likely to fear for their social status and economic security; yet there is plenty of overlapping.

Many children have a fear of the dark, varying from mild uneasiness to stark terror. Parents are much to blame, telling stories of frightful monsters in dark caves and making threats about goblins and ghosts. Yet some children never acquire this most common of childhood dreads. If, at home, darkness is treated merely as a natural and interesting change from light and the children are fortunate enough to avoid any out-of-home impressions to the contrary, they may never fear darkness. It is interesting to watch the surprise of such children when they find that a playmate is afraid of the dark.

Sudden fright from an animal may result in a childish fear that lasts for years; in fact, in a few cases, it is never overcome. The writer knows a woman of sixty who cannot remain in the presence of a dog, no matter how harmless and friendly it may be. To force a child with such a fear to step up and pet a dog is not only cruel but dangerous, for in extreme cases it causes convulsions. But by watching dogs through the window, then outdoors but at a safe distance (and *with an adult*), the fear may be gradually eliminated. The same method works for children who because of some incident have become fearful of the water. Dragging the child out into deep water "to show him that it won't hurt him" may terrify him into a lasting hatred of the water. But if instead he is allowed to play day after day, far back on the beach, with no chiding from adults, the delight of other children in the water will eventually lure him in, little by little.

The fear of death sometimes comes swiftly upon children because they have not been prepared for it. The conduct of one child who suddenly developed insomnia and became very nervous was unaccountable to her parents until they found that in regard to the death of a neighbor she had been told that he died in his sleep and had been nailed up in a long box and buried in the ground. The child was literally afraid to go to sleep. Numerous instances show how upsetting is the

sudden dread of death when children have been "protected" from any knowledge of it until it strikes close. But if death is accepted as an inevitable fact, reference to which is neither shunned nor emphasized, children are far less subject to the fear of it than are adults.

Parents sometimes unwittingly kindle fears in their children and induce attitudes of timidity and inferiority by their overprotective anxiety. Such constant admonitions as "Don't pet the dog or he will bite you," "Don't climb that tree or you will fall and break your leg," "Don't run too hard or you will stumble," "Careful not to fall downstairs" roll off from some children easily, but affect the more suggestible profoundly. Constant warnings of danger keep one in an atmosphere of fear, a continuous dread of what may happen at any moment. This perpetual state of anxiety is certainly not conducive to self-reliant conduct, but rather to indecision, weakness, and avoidance of definite responsibilities.

The Charge of *Lèse-majesté*.—Most parents agree that their children annoy them in a hundred ways, but it seldom occurs to them that they annoy their children just as much if not more. When this is called to their attention, they are surprised and indignant. With whatever dignity they can command they inform the world that they are the parents, and it is not the function of children to be annoyed at them. In other words, "The king can do no wrong," and any statement to the contrary is *lèse-majesté*.

But such a high and mighty attitude cannot stand the light of a little thought. For whom does the home exist? For parents only, or for *all* the family? If there is any idea of family democracy, it will at once be apparent that the wishes of all members should be respected in so far as possible. Now, though it is manifestly impossible for parents wholly to avoid displeasing their children, it is surprising how many unpleasant occasions can be eliminated or at least some of their unpleasantness deleted. Respect for personality goes a long way toward smoothing out mutual irritations. Said a little four-year-old girl to her playmate, when her mother called to her from a window to stop doing something she had been forbidden to do, "Sometimes my mother is so silly. Once in a while I don't like her. She makes me do things I don't want to do." Part of this response was undoubtedly bravado, aimed at restoring her self-esteem which was injured by being sharply corrected in front of her playmate. But part of it was a mild resentment toward parents, who may be very nice at times but who sooner or later are sure to require of little girls things they do not want to do.

Such attitudes on the part of children have led some writers to speak of the ambivalence of the child, implying that he both loves and hates his parents. Hate, however, is too strong a term to apply to the average

childish resentment toward a parent who has handed down an unpopular decision. One does not hate one's best friend merely because one is irritated by some of his acts. One can, of course, quibble over the definition of "hate," but if a deep, abiding antagonism is one of its characteristics, most children do not hate their parents when not allowed to have their own way. Anger and hate are not synonymous.

One of the best ways of finding out the shortcomings of parents is to ask their children—a method seldom popular with parents! But investigators who care little about parental sensitiveness have obtained some very interesting results by letting children write what they think of adults in general and parents in particular. The one complaint that stands out above all others is against being "bossed." Children crave freedom and long for a world in which they can play all they want to, refrain from baths and spinach, and stay up as late as they wish. One little girl gave a comprehensive definition of adults in a half-dozen words:¹ "Grown-ups are people who boss you." Another little girl went into more detail. She said that grown-ups "are very much different than children. They think we are cold when we arn't and make us put on coats and hats when we don't want to. They make me very mad at times and other times make me very happy but never mediom. They are either very quite or very noisy. They don't have as much fun as we do. Their hair is always fixt and hands washed. It has always been a mistory to me how they do it."

One father who had the courage to find out from his teen-age children what their grievances were came to the conclusion that the greatest source of hard feelings is that parents can't—or at least don't try very hard to—put themselves in their children's places and imagine how they will feel about various matters. These adolescents admitted that parents were necessary and liked their own quite well, considering them somewhat better than the run-of-the-mill variety. But they were passionately opposed to parental inconsistencies (many of which the parents had not realized existed), felt humiliated at being "babied," and resented being told over and over things that any intelligent person should know. In a word, they said they wanted to be treated as *persons*. In a study² of what characteristics 800 high-school students wanted most in their parents, they rated "being a good companion" as most important for the father and "respecting his children's opinions" second. They wanted the mother first to be a good cook and housekeeper and second to be a good companion.

¹ Parents as Children See Them, by a Schoolteacher, *Harper's*, 164: 103-108, December, 1931.

² A study by Marian J. Fitz-Simmons, of Teachers College, Columbia University, reported in the *New York Times*, Jan. 27, 1936.

Dr. Hyman Meltzer,¹ Director of the Psychological Service Center, Saint Louis, got at the attitudes of children toward their parents by the use of word-association tests. They told him the first things that popped into their minds when the words "father," then "mother," were mentioned. He got 20 responses from each child (10 on the father and 10 on the mother) of the sample of 150 chosen from three schools to represent a cross section of the population. The children were 8-16 years of age (median, 12), and their I.Q. spread was 62-160 (median, 107). About 30 per cent of the 3,000 responses were purely descriptive; but for those to which a "feeling tone" could be assigned, 66 per cent of the responses to "mother" and 63 per cent of the responses to "father" were pleasant in some degree, ranging from "very" to "barely." About 60 per cent of all responses showed some form of dependence, being almost the same for father and mother: 2 per cent, overdependence; 44 per cent, willing dependence; 15 per cent, forced dependence. Independent attachment, which is considered the most healthful by mental hygienists, was shown in 35 per cent of the responses. Almost one-half of the 3,000 responses showed appreciation for parents, with slightly more for mother than for father. Responses denoting companionship rated next, with the father significantly higher than the mother (26 and 17 per cent, respectively). The third largest showing was the tendency to take one or the other parent as a model-guide, with the mother considerably above the father (19 and 15 per cent, respectively). The responses suggesting a repressive attitude on the part of the parent were higher for father than for mother, and the blind-love reactions were higher for mother than for father.

Parent-child Intimacy.—Intimacy denotes close sympathy and confidence between two persons, an active understanding that involves a mutual desire to share the fruits of fellowship and a willingness to make the concessions necessary to such a relationship. Thus, there are certain conditions placed upon intimacy; it cannot be maintained without some effort, and it may even demand sacrifices.

Parents, of course, understand the rules of such a relationship better than children, and upon them depends the extent to which parent-child intimacy will develop. The small child, by proper guidance, will accept the intimacy pattern as readily as one of dissociation. The latter may be useful at times when some forbidden act prompts to secretiveness, but it lacks the comfort of intimacy. The child perceives, even though somewhat dimly, that in many ways he is getting the larger share of benefit from such an association. The little girl realizes that she is not so resourceful as her mother and that she has not the authority to make

¹ HYMAN MELTZER, Children's Attitudes to Parents, *Amer. Jour. Orthopsychiatry*, 5: 244-265, July, 1935.

desired ends come to pass. By getting *en rapport* with her mother she enjoys more privileges than she would otherwise and shares by reflection the decisions so easy to the mother but so important—even thrilling—to the child. This element of self-seeking need not mar the relationship; in fact, self-interest, whether we like to admit it or not, is basic to nearly all friendship, no matter at what age level. Friendship may develop considerable altruism, but it never loses its element of self-interest.

But there are also distinct advantages to the mother in such intimacy with her little daughter. Not only does she treasure the confidence of one she holds so dear, but the matter of control is simplified. Willing obedience has been found to be closely associated with intimacy. This stands to reason, for we are most anxious to please those whom we love most and whose love and confidence we wish to retain. The child who is intimate with his parents unconsciously accommodates himself to the patterns they place before him. Even on those occasions when conformity is too difficult to be unconscious, he will be predisposed to make a conscious effort to adjust in order to preserve the relationship he finds of such value.

It is easier for parents to be intimate with their children when they are very small than when they are older. The father who can romp and play on a basis of mutual confidence with his four-year-old son may find certain bars put up by the time that son is eight. This is because the boy has shifted his center of activity and association from home to play group. In the home, before he has learned the thrills of playing with the neighborhood gang, his father is the best possible playmate. But once he has tasted the joys of playing with his own age group, consciousness of kind begins to draw an invisible circle, shutting out his elders from the closed fraternity of boyhood. It isn't that he likes his father any less; he merely feels vaguely that his father won't fully understand the mysteries of the neighborhood gang. Oliver Wendell Holmes showed his keen insight into childish affairs when he said, "One of the greatest pleasures of childhood is found in the mysteries which it hides from the skepticism of the elders and works up into small mythologies of its own."

Attempting to be a pal to a boy of seven may even require gastronomic courage; witness a cartoon in the *Saturday Evening Post* showing a father with his small son, seated at a soda fountain. The father, with a determined but martyrlike expression, is giving the waiter the order: "Two double-chocolate, whipped-cream, grated-nut, popsy-wupsy sun-daes—and one bicarbonate of soda."

By the time the boy reaches adolescence, his relationship to his father is still different. Increasingly the father finds that he cannot retain his intimacy with his son merely by taking an interest in the things he does and occasionally doing them with him. The boy still wants fellowship

of a kind. He still wants to bring important questions to his "dad," and he still considers it great sport to go fishing with him or join in a long trip. But somehow the boy's camp where he fishes, swims, and takes trips with other boys rouses his enthusiasm to a pitch not attained when with his father. This is entirely natural, and yet to some fathers it is a matter of keen disappointment. They want to remain "pals" with their boys, and they suffer a humiliating sense of defeat when they fall short of their ideal. The father who joins in the neighborhood gang's ball games in the vacant lot, sweating and puffing but grimly determined to be a "pal" to his youngster, doesn't realize that instead of admiring him as a "good sport" the boys are secretly snickering at his awkwardness and trying to tire him out so he will the sooner leave them alone. Parents who are not genuinely interested in a given activity but try to take part merely because their son or daughter is greatly interested may make some headway, but they are using a difficult method. Young folk are quick to distinguish between real and assumed interest. A more fruitful method is to increase the emphasis on interests already held by both parents and children. If both father and son are keen on making things with tools or on target shooting, such interests form a natural basis for genuine fellowship. The father, who may have almost forgotten his A.E.F. French, may find a new bond of comradeship with his daughter in their mutual linguistic struggles. If mother and daughter are both passionately fond of music, there are many ways in which this mutual interest can strengthen the bond of understanding between them.

Young people of college age show much more intimacy with their mothers than with their fathers, and the difference is probably greater than when they were very young. Nimkoff¹ secured responses from more than 2,600 college students (evenly divided as to sex, and with a mean age between twenty-one and twenty-two) on the degree to which they were intimate with their parents, as manifested by their willing participation in recreational activities with parents, willing obedience, and willing confidence in them. The results showed that, in general, daughters, to a greater degree than sons, were obedient to their parents and confided in them, but both sons and daughters gave their obedience and confidence to their mothers far more frequently than to their fathers. Twice as many boys and five times as many girls confided in their mothers as those confiding in their fathers, the latter coming off second at every point of the study. Is this condition due to the more sympathetic nature of the mother, to the father's restricted opportunity for fellowship with his children because of the nature of his work, or to his tendency to shirk the responsibilities of fatherhood? Perhaps the kindest reply is that it is due to all three items, but there is considerable food for thought

¹ M. F. NIMKOFF, Parent-child Intimacy, *Soc. Forces*, 7: 244-249, December, 1928.

in the findings of this and other studies regarding the faulty *rapprochement* between fathers and their children.

The Projection of Parental Ambitions through the Children.—Parents who have been thwarted in some life ambition frequently seek its vicarious fulfillment in the achievements of their children. By suggestion, persuasion, and even threats, they seek to turn the children's interests into the fields in which their own longings were blocked, in the hope that in their children's success they may at last realize their dreams. The father whose passionate ambition was to be a doctor but who at forty-five finds himself running a small haberdashery may feel that his son must enter medical school at all costs. If the son has no interest in medicine but wants to enter an entirely different field, the father may bring to bear the full weight of his prestige and authority in overriding the boy's personal wishes. Years of quarreling and bitterness may ensue. If the son finally wins out, the father may never feel quite right toward him again; and if the father forces the son too far, there is almost certain to be an open break, with the son striking out for himself. Or a mother who has always longed to be a musician but never has had opportunity for a musical education, may insist on her daughter studying the violin or the piano, even though the girl is little interested in music. The child may be passionately fond of drawing and painting, and yet she must spend many weary hours, day after day and year after year, practicing on her music. Frequently the money spent on her training means sacrifice on other matters for the whole family, but the mother is determined to make a musician of her, whether or no.

Every person who has dealt much with youth will know numerous cases of this kind. It seems strange that more parents do not realize that interest cannot be forced. If suggestion is used skillfully enough it may bring the desired interest, but insistence and commands are almost sure to frustrate their purpose. They create a resentment and a stubborn determination not to yield. They condition unpleasantly the very activity that the parents wish to have appear most pleasant and build up an antagonistic attitude that spreads to many other areas of the parent-child relationship.

Pride in the achievement of their children, even when not connected with any pet ambition of the parents, may also put great strain upon the children. Parents often delight in boasting of the excellent grades their children are getting in school and seek in every possible way to keep them at the top. This policy may place too great a burden upon a child in various ways. When a boy of only average ability is expected to stay at the head of his class, it means that he must put forth enormous efforts to keep abreast of the more brilliant students. He may do it, but it is almost sure to mean eliminating sports and many healthful social activi-

ties that he should have. The strain may cause nervousness and poor health, whereas balanced performance on a somewhat lower level would permit him to enjoy the normal pleasures of boyhood and still make a creditable showing in school. The mother of a ten-year-old girl, who in addition to her schoolwork (including "homework") had music lessons on two days a week, dancing lessons on two other days, and an art lesson on Saturday, plus piano practice every day, asserted with some pride that her girl didn't seem to care about playing with other children. It is not surprising; such a schedule would be exhausting even for a grown person. Children need a good deal of time for free, unhampered play, in which they can forget all the requirements to which overproud parents are continually subjecting them.

It is difficult for parents to know how much to require of their children. Their very devotion oftentimes is a stumbling block. They wish to give the children every advantage within their means and will sacrifice their own comforts to do so, only to find that their efforts have not brought the desired results—indeed, sometimes have done more harm than good. Parental expectation is likely to be too high. There are not sufficient hours in the day for young folk to acquire all the knowledge and social graces and enjoy all the wholesome pleasures that their parents wish for them. One mother who began to wonder whether she was expecting too much from her daughter decided to count up the accomplishments she thought the girl should have, and she was appalled at the list when completed. Without realizing it, she had been demanding a versatility in her daughter that was wholly unreasonable.

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. Describe any cases you know of parental overaffection and overprotection, showing the apparent results on the child. Do the same for cases of underaffection and underprotection.
2. Looking back over your childhood, what evidences can you see that your parents were trying to keep *en rapport* with you as you passed from one age level to another? Show specific things they did to keep the bond of understanding and intimate fellowship.
3. List those of your friends who grew up without brothers or sisters. Do these "only" children vary from the behavior norm of your other friends? If so, are they mostly above or below the norm on various points of character and conduct? How do you account for the differences, if any?
4. Describe several cases that have come under your observation of extreme sibling jealousy. What do you think were the chief causes? What suggestions could you offer for easing the strain and diminishing the antagonism?
5. If you have any of your childhood diaries, run through them and list the problems, worries, joys, and sorrows that most affected you then. What attitude toward your parents do you find revealed there?
6. List a dozen or more college friends of your own sex, including some who grew up in the country, some in towns, and some in cities. Get them to list the regular duties they were expected to perform at home, either indoors or outdoors, when in their teens. Compare the duties of those in the three different environments.
7. Describe several of your most serious childhood fears. Show how they affected your attitudes and behavior. When and how did you get rid of them? To what extent did your parents understand these fears and help you conquer them?
8. Do you agree or disagree with the professor who set a certain hour each day as the "free-expression hour" for his children, during which they could do practically anything they wished without fear of punishment? Explain your answer.
9. Write a brief report on the proper extent and function of good manners in family life.
10. Describe one or more occasions on which your whole family vacationed together. Was it a success? Why or why not?

CHAPTER XI

PARENT-CHILD INTERACTION.—(Continued)

TRUTHFULNESS

How Much Truth Do Parents Want?—Adults have learned that for all practical purposes truth is relative. They may argue in the interests of absolute truth, but they do not follow it. They may prove theoretically that a lie is never justifiable, but even the most honorable and conscientious continue to lie discreetly when occasion demands. They tell their hostess they had a lovely time when actually they were bored to death, they regretfully refuse an invitation because of a previous engagement when there is none, and they tell their children that *in every circumstance* they should tell the truth—scarcely realizing that they do not believe their own admonition and are therefore uttering an untruth! Nor do parents like to have this unintentional hypocrisy pointed out to them; it makes them extremely uncomfortable, as is always the case when expediency and principle clash. They know that their children must in time learn to handle the truth with discretion, but they can scarcely tell them so. They squirm at the very thought of saying to their children, “Now, I lie occasionally, when it is necessary, but I know when it is necessary and you don’t. When you feel the need of lying, come to me and I’ll tell you whether it is the right thing to do!” They are disturbed by such questions as: Is it dishonest to give wrong impressions that must later be corrected? Should we teach only part of the truth, withholding that which is considered too strong meat for children? Is this a case of the end justifying the means, or is it mere cowardice, or laziness, or too little faith in the capacity of children for truth? Finally: Can parenthood ever entirely rid itself of a certain amount of hypocrisy? This last is the bitterest pill of all and leads to rebellion at being placed in such a dilemma. The result usually is to conclude that too much thought on the subject is an abomination and that one can only “do the best one can.” This comforting self-assurance paves the way for a return from such disquieting questions to the more comfortable doctrine of expediency. Following the familiar trail, parents go on teaching absolute standards and practicing relative ones, hoping that the children will sometime “catch on” to the difference. They do. But the result is not always pleasant.

However, one should not be too severe with parents on this point, for this matter of honesty is one of the most subtle that they have to confront. Most of them are sincere in placing a high value upon it, not from mere allegiance to the rather questionable proverb that "honesty is the best policy," but because they can vision no dependability, and therefore no safety and comfort, in the world without honesty in social relations. Without having made any formal study of the question, they are convinced that the social order would give way to chaos were it not based upon honesty in human dealings. Hence the parental determination that honesty shall be one of the first virtues of their offspring. One group of more than 100 parents, out of a list of 70 childhood characteristics likely to be discountenanced by parents, rated "stealing" as the worst of all and "lying" as almost as bad.

Mixing Fact and Fancy.—Much of the trouble that parents have with young children on the matter of truthfulness is due to their own thoughtlessness. They little realize how hazy is the boundary line, to a small child, between make-believe and reality. He has only two ways of distinguishing the true from the untrue: his own experience (which is extremely limited), and external authority. In his play the child mingles fact and fancy with the greatest ease and frequently with little discrimination. The imagination here plays an enormous role. Playing house, train, hunter, or fireman is not the simple thing it appears. Fancy leaps far beyond fact, gracing these simple activities with an authenticity veiled from the myopic eyes of adults. The broomstick steed becomes a horse, and the old lace curtain an elegant bridal veil. The child's world is likely to be interesting in any case, but by augmenting the real with make-believe it becomes positively fascinating. There are not enough hours in the day to explore its possibilities. Like the Chinese theater, children need very little scenery for their play.

It is therefore natural that at first the child should have difficulty in distinguishing between imagination and reality. A hundred times a day he is called upon to shift from one to the other, sometimes almost instantly. The line between being as indefinite as it is, there is little wonder that occasionally he makes a misstep. In the stories that are read to him, he must jump from fact to fiction in a twinkling, for from the same book may come, first, the story of huge trees growing from tiny seeds and, second, the beanstalk that made Jack famous. Either seems equally probable—or improbable. The stories of witches changing into beautiful fairies are no more fanciful than those of big green worms changing into beautiful butterflies. If a tadpole can trade its tail for four legs, why cannot a boy in a story trade his arms for wings? Adults are not consistent on this point. They smile tolerantly at the child's personifica-

tion of inanimate objects, but they write poetry about the "whispering leaves" and the "sighing of the wind."

Thus the child is happy in his hybrid world of fact and make-believe, never bothering about nice distinctions until some unimaginative adult calls him to task and warns him against *lies*—whatever they are. Too frequently small mistakes and unintentional misstatements are treated as deliberate lies and punished as such. We make allowance for mistakes among adults; children need even more allowance. These unconscious lapses from truth are not serious, for they reflect no actual dishonesty.

But there comes a time when the child *deliberately* departs from the path of truth, the frequency depending upon results. For lying is merely one of several ways of meeting situations, and its degree of success determines its future use. The child is born neither truthful nor untruthful. But as his experience widens, he finds that certain specific behavior patterns work better than others, and it is wholly natural for him to follow the one that best meets the immediate situation. For, in spite of the popular conception to the contrary, dishonesty (or honesty) is not a general trait. A child may be truthful in one situation and deceitful in another, honest with one person but not with another, his reaction in each case depending upon *all* the factors motivating his behavior. Professor Mark May of Yale, in his study of character determinants, found that children who would cheat under one teacher might not do so under another, given the same opportunity, or might cheat in one subject but not in another. Hence it appears that, though dishonesty in itself is not a general trait, meeting a situation in the easiest way may become habitual; and if the easiest way frequently happens to be also the dishonest way, dishonesty appears to have become habitual.

Why Do Children Lie?—What are some of the situations that cause children to lie? The one that comes most readily to the adult mind is that involving fear of punishment for some misdeed. When charged with committing the deed, the child, knowing that confession will bring punishment, may seek to avoid this penalty by lying, which in such a case is a natural defense mechanism. If it works, he is likely to try it again when caught in a similar situation. His conscience may hurt him, for he has doubtless been told that lying is very wrong; but if it hurts him less than the anticipated punishment, he will choose the lesser pain. Knowledge of this perfectly normal tendency puts thoughtful parents in a quandary. They see that if they punish a child when he admits a wrong they are encouraging him to lie. He realizes that if he confesses he is sure to be punished but if he lies he *may* get away with it. The parent can hardly promise immunity each time for confession, for this suggests that the child can do practically anything he wishes and avoid punishment by prompt confession, a sort of spiritual legerdemain that smacks of

Mohammedanism. However, it is better to forgo punishment, no matter how much deserved, than to lose the confidence and respect of the child. The only solution appears to be to treat each case on its merits. A quiet talk with the child, intended to point out the discomfort and even the chaos that would result in the close intimacy of family life if each deceived the other, may be more effectual than punishment as a deterrent. As the child grows older and his reason develops, he can see the wider social implications of dishonesty and the enormous social value of dependable conduct.

But fear of punishment is by no means the only motive for lying. There are others less obvious, but in some cases even more important. Children sometimes lie to maintain their status in the play group, to which they are frequently more loyal than to their own family. Studies have shown that at certain age levels the behavior patterns of the play group or "gang" are more powerful than those taught by home, school, or Sunday school. If the play group considers lying "smart" or "manly," the boy will lie to maintain the respect of his pals. Stealing may result from the same motive—to prove himself to the play gang and show that he can be as tough as any of them. Or a variation of this motive to be like others is that of stealing so one can buy some desired object that most of one's friends have. In either case, the fear of being considered inferior is potent.

Or the child may lie to gain attention. Here, again, the motive is similar—to avoid the feeling of inferiority. If the child is maternally rejected or feels a lack of affection, lying is one way of gaining attention and bolstering his ego. Or if he does not rate with his playmates and feels left out, he may seek to compensate by boasting and bragging, his exaggerations and sheer lies helping to build up the respect of others and, of course, his self-respect. It is a sort of "whistling by the graveyard" method of building up one's courage and showing it to others at the same time.

There is no single way to deal with dishonesty. It is merely one of various forms of undesirable conduct, and treatment of it, as of the others, depends more upon the understanding companionship existing between children and parents than upon any rules of procedure. Certainly a harsh, criminal-court method of questioning does not invite confidence. To thunder "Did you do that?" is a clear invitation to avoid the wrath to come by answering "No." But if the parent is quite sure that the child is guilty of the act in question, the quiet question, "Why did you do it?" seems to preclude any possibility of denying it and invites to honest confession. In such case, punishment may well give way to a quiet talk. But if the parent is determined upon some punishment, it may well be less severe than that meted out for lying, which is

considered an additional offense on top of the original misdeed. It should be remembered, however, that there is no assurance that such punishment will solve this problem. And to make a resentful child say that he is sorry when he is not is to encourage the very thing that is being condemned.

OBEDIENCE AND DISCIPLINE

There has been a remarkable growth of democracy in the American family in the last generation or two. During the same period democracy was making similar gains in church, school, and other social institutions and organizations; but in none of these have its results been more significant than in the home. The ancient patriarchal pattern, with absolute authority vested in the father, is passing away, though it still holds on with great tenacity in certain sections of the country. The increase in the rights of woman, her better education, and her entry into many of the activities long the prerogatives of men have raised the mother to a position of co-authority with the father. This more or less divided authority does not always make for efficiency, but it does make for democracy, which two elements have never yet been fully reconciled.

But an even more significant result of this democratization of the home is the changed status of children. The old idea that children should be seen but not heard has long since ceased to be. They are now both seen and heard whenever they wish to be. They are allowed a degree of self-determination never dreamed of a half century ago. They are frequently consulted on family matters, and their opinions are given weight. All this is as it should be, for they are as much members of the family as are the parents, and should have full right of discussion. Yet they must be subject to the final authority of their parents, for they are still minors, and they are minors because they are immature. It is this immaturity, therefore, which despite any extreme to which the "no repression" theorists may go will always make children subject to adult authority.

There has been much written on the "breakdown of parental authority" in recent years. Strictly speaking, this is not correct, for the authority is still there, the only difference being in the way parents use it. Some use it with the strictness of old, others modify it into a sort of benevolent despotism, and still others honestly seek to apply the principle of democracy, increasing its scope as the children grow older. A few, whether from moral weakness, laziness, or conversion to the "new theory," abdicate entirely and are ruled by their children. Some wag has characterized this latter group in the couplet:

Children aren't happy with nothing to ignore,
And that's what parents were created for.

One writer¹ has predicted that, if the "process of parental elimination" continues at the present pace, parents will follow the dinosaur and pterodactyl into extinction. Increased responsibility is usually onerous unless the compensation is considered commensurate. Young parents find that children restrict their freedom to an almost unbelievable extent; and though outwardly they boast that "they are worth it," inwardly they may be casting about for some honorable way of getting out from under part of the burden. In the old-fashioned type of family this could not be done, but with the rise of the cult of individualism a way of escape opened up. But even this would not have been possible had not the change from rural to city life paved the way. On the farm and in small towns both parents were with the children much of the time, and hence neither could entirely shirk the responsibility of control. But the shift to urban industrial life gave the father his chance to pull out. His long hours at shop or factory kept him out of the home so much of the children's waking hours that he became a sort of absentee landlord, to be consulted only on matters of general policy, specific decisions being left to the one who was "running the place"—the mother.

But the mother was not long content to carry the burden while her mate enjoyed his freedom, and so she began to seek avenues of escape. One way was to let the children do as they pleased while she went out to her own occupations or amusements. To avoid the appearance of completely reneging her responsibility she brought forward the fiction that she could not make her children obey her, try though she did. But a more approved method, open to those with some means, was to turn the child over to a nurse, later to a governess, then to kindergarten, boarding school, summer camp, or any other responsible organization that would take children off parents' hands. Such mothers excused themselves on the ground that they really knew nothing of child psychology and were only doing what was best for the children by placing them under the care of "experts."

But bringing up children by proxy has its drawbacks. If the character and culture of the various sponsors under whom the child spends his time are high, there are some definite gains, and the losses are minimized, even though the child misses the *family* life he needs. But there are scarcely enough such persons available for the limited amount that many can pay, and the result is that the child is under the care of whomever the parents can afford to get. This means that children are frequently left to absorb the questionable culture—including many fears and superstitions—of more or less ignorant servants. Furthermore, if the governess is strict in discipline the child may complain so loudly that he gets his own way. The governess knows that she must keep the child's

¹ LOUISE M. FIELD, *Eliminating Parents*, *Scribner's*, 95: 363-365, May, 1934.

good will or lose her job, and he is smart enough to know that he controls the situation, threatening to demand a new governess if she does not let him do as he pleases.

Also, under such circumstances the child soon realizes that he is something of a nuisance to his parents and even has a "nuisance value" on which he can occasionally cash in. His parents may be very fond of him and want him to have "every opportunity," but since they go about their affairs without regard for his wishes, he soon learns to do the same. The art of doing as one pleases is a pleasant one and easily acquired. Small wonder then that these youngsters, reared with little discipline or parental contact, have scant respect for the authority or feelings of their elders. They have been taught to follow their own desires, and they continue to do so until they run against circumstances stronger than themselves. It leaves them not so much ill-mannered as unmannered, for they seem oblivious to any feelings except their own. A professional man living in a wealthy suburb of New York City recently told the writer of an incident that showed the utter disregard of such youth for the feelings of others. The parents of a high-school girl decided to give her a dinner party on her birthday, with a dance following it. She seemed pleased and invited her usual circle of high-school friends. The dinner was a happy, boisterous success; but afterward when the orchestra (provided by her parents at considerable expense) was tuning up, one boy chirped up with "Let's all go over to the _____ Garden's and dance. That's a swell place." The others seemed to think this was a good idea, and without a word to host or hostess all but two couples noisily departed for pastures more to their liking.

This introduction to the discussion of obedience and discipline is for the purpose of showing the true meaning of these words. Neither obedience nor discipline is an outward habiliment, to be put on or taken off at will, but a central part of one's culture, giving coloring to one's whole outlook and direction to one's actions. Obedience is not an extra-curricular activity to be learned by rote, but an essential part of character, and only thus conceived does it have a significance beyond that of mere "minding" or "behaving." At first, discipline seems to come entirely from the parent's side, and obedience to be wholly the function of the child. But as development takes place, discipline shifts from its position of outward authority to an inner position of self-control, there blending with obedience until the two are indistinguishable. Obedience becomes then not a yielding to superior force, but the spontaneous expression of self-discipline, that delicate selective machine with which each tests his own values. When the amalgamation of obedience and self-discipline is complete, the parents' task is also practically complete, and if wise they will step to the side lines and become sympathetic spectators in the game from then on.

The Conflict of Ages.—It is inevitable that there should be conflict between people separated in age by a generation, though it need not be bitter. There are certain characteristics of youth and age that in the very nature of things are bound to be different. The conservatism of age is opposed by the recklessness of youth, and out of this fundamental difference grow many lesser ones. And whatever understanding there is must be one-sided, for youth, never having been old, has small patience with the faults of the elders, but the latter, having once been young themselves, have some sympathy—though limited by faulty memory—for the errors of the young. This makes the task of parents doubly hard. Says Ross:¹ “Each type exasperates the other. The elders resent the crude egoism and rashness of youth, its insistence on having what it wants at once, no matter what harm may come; its brazen proposals to alter the inherited culture patterns; . . . [and] the slow pulse, the realism, the cool deliberation of age offend the eager and impetuous.”

In his many years of study of primitive society, Lowie² has arrived at a “conception of society as a structure segmented into age layers.” Age conflict manifests itself clearly in the family, as shown so well in Turgenev’s “Fathers and Sons”; but it finds wider and more organized expression in the larger economic and political groupings, for “in essence it is not a personal but a class struggle.” The old people are sure that their experience gives them superior wisdom, and they never learn the uselessness of giving advice that will not be heeded. The young are bored by the futile reminiscences of the elders and do not have “the prophetic gift to divine that all need not be senility that is not grist to their mill.”

The Child’s Changing Conception of Parents.—We must begin with the infant to see how the conflict of youth in its teens reaches the intensity so distressing to parents. The babe is born into a world necessarily completely dominated by its parents. Its helplessness calls for care in every phase of activity, mental as well as physical. By the time self-consciousness has dawned, parents have been tacitly accepted as the *sine qua non* of life. There is of course no *reasoned* conclusion of this sort, but only an unconscious turning to the parents for the fulfilling of any and every want. To the two-year-old, parents are omnipotent. Not only do they converse easily, whereas the child must struggle painfully with every word, but they seem capable of doing with their hands anything they choose. They are also a great comfort in that moment of disaster when a favorite toy is broken. They know how to fix or replace it, seemingly with little effort, whereas the little tot is prostrated with a feeling of helpless grief. When parents pause to consider from how

¹ E. A. Ross, “Principles of Sociology,” rev. ed., New York, Appleton-Century, 1930, pp. 186-187.

² ROBERT H. LOWIE, “Primitive Society,” New York, Liveright, 1920, p. 314.

many angles they must appear omnipotent to small children, they have some realization of how completely they condition their lives.

As children grow they begin to ask questions, and again the parents appear all-wise. They seem to know everything, answering every question with apparent ease. Young children have no way of judging the correctness or incorrectness of the answers they receive, for they have almost no fund of accumulated knowledge by which to test them. Adults have their choice of two reasons for accepting a new idea: they see whether it appears reasonable in the light of their own observation or experience, and they weigh the degree of authority of the one presenting the idea. But small children have no choice: their only criterion is that "father said so, and he *knows*." At this stage parents can give absolutely wrong information and it will be accepted as unreservedly as if it were true. Those who give an untruthful answer when caught by a difficult or embarrassing question may think they have cleverly extricated themselves, but they are only sowing what they must later reap.

But there comes a time when the child finds that its parents do not know everything. This comes as no shock if from the very first the parent has answered too difficult questions with a frank "I don't know. I'll have to look that up." The fact that the parent knows just where to find anything that he wants to know appears almost as remarkable to the child as if he had it ready at tongue's end. But when parents, lulled by the subtle flattery of childish credulity, maintain the fiction of their omnipotence by giving a dogmatic answer—whether right or wrong—to every question, the inevitable discovery of error, linked with deliberate deception, causes a shock far more serious than most parents realize. Loss of confidence, not only in the wisdom but also in the integrity of father or mother, is a devastating experience for a small child. When such disillusionment comes the child no longer turns on his parent that open, cloudless gaze of absolute trust. Such whole-souled confidence gives way to troubled doubt and finally to a shrewd, evasive attitude that covers up the inner self and sets definite limits to parent-child communion thereafter. Probably no parent is perfect enough never to disappoint his child at any point, and by whatever extent he fails to live up to the child's ideal for him the communion between them is reduced to mere conversation. However, to the extent that the parent is intelligently sympathetic and honest, this reduction in confidence is minimized. Fortunately, children are less given to holding grudges than are grown-ups, and if given half a chance the boy of six still regards his father as a hero and his mother as the most wonderful of women. One has only to eavesdrop on the neighborhood play groups to hear the boastings about respective parents and their remarkable prowess. Of course, the chief purpose of such bragging is to bask

in the reflected glory of such parents, but it serves to reveal attitudes to adults who may think their children have little respect for them. But such eavesdropping, whatever one's decision on its ethics, is not always soothing to parental egos, for the faults of adults are also discussed, with the devastating frankness of children.

During the preschool age, the parent controls most of the child's environment and gives him most of the information he receives, except that acquired through experience. But upon starting to school, the child has a new adult contact that is specially set up for enlarging his knowledge and experience. The teacher is the center of this new life, and part of the blind allegiance at first given to parents is now transferred to the teacher. She opens a new world of activities and interests to the child, who now begins bringing home facts and explanations, thus establishing a two-way transmission of ideas between parent and child in place of the one-way transmission during preschool age. The child soon finds that the things he is learning at school are already familiar to his parents, but the time usually comes when he discovers that he is bringing home facts new to them, things they never knew or have forgotten. Perhaps this rather startling realization comes when the father has to admit that he cannot work the "problem" in mathematics on which the boy has asked help or when the girl discovers that her mother knows no French and so cannot be of any help to her. Such experiences may cause the parents' stock to go down somewhat, until the children are old enough to realize two facts: that no one knows everything on every subject, and that not all wisdom comes from books.

Parents' Conceptions of Their Children.—The quality of the parent-child relationship that develops in a given home depends much upon the initial attitudes of the parents. We have already spoken of the need of respect for personality and of deciding what kind of adult the parents want the child to become. If they agree with Otway that "children blessings seem, but torments are," there is little basis for a constructive relationship. The father who accepts the definition of a boy as "a noise with dirt on it" is not likely to sit up nights reading books on child psychology; he is more likely to see that his razorstrop is hung in a convenient place. Many parents, even in this enlightened day, have never got beyond Plato's conception of discipline, when he wrote in his book "The Laws," "And of all animals the boy is the most unmanageable; inasmuch as he has the fountain of reason in him not yet regulated, he is the most insidious, sharp-witted, and insubordinate of animals. Wherefore he must be bound with many bridles."

Parents must first of all decide what they mean by *obedience*. Is it to be the blind, unquestioning acceptance of every parental command, or deliberately adopted conduct after reasons and consequences of various

types of behavior have been fully discussed with the children? The father who severely punishes his son for fighting, without letting him give a word of explanation, is as unreasonable as the old sea captain who bellowed at a mutinous sailor, "What I want out of you is silence, and damned little of that!" Obedience given with the spiritless precision of an automaton is not a beautiful thing to see. The parents who take pride in the fact that their adolescent children always respond to their orders with "Yes, Father" or "Yes, Mother," without ever hesitating or demanding a reason, have more cause for alarm than for pride. What chance has such a child when he is thrown on his own, with no one to tell him every move to make? Obedience, to be meaningful, must be an intelligent process. On any other basis it can never develop into the inner discipline essential to complete self-control.

The obedient attitude grows out of confidence and respect. If parents are reasonable in their requirements, always consistent, and willing to explain when the purpose is not quite clear, their children will be far more willing to meet the requirements than if they are not consulted or the parents are alternately strict and indulgent. Children respect and even admire authority when they see its reasonableness. It is surprising how far down the age scale an explanation is helpful. The tiny tot of eighteen months can understand far more words than he can speak, and even at that age he understands very simple explanations such as that a lamp should not be pulled off the table because it will fall, for the word "fall" is in his vocabulary. This in itself is useful, but the principle goes much further. The results of disapproved conduct may well be explained when occasion arises, even though in certain cases the child cannot understand the explanation. The important thing is that *the child knows the parent is explaining*; it is the *confidence pattern* that gets the results. The parent has taken the child in as an equal and has given him good reasons for his requests. Parents testify to the great effectiveness of this method. When the child asks *why* he must do so-and-so and the parent snaps, "Because I say so," confidence is not created. Such a reply is an entirely arbitrary statement and is on an exact par with "The king can do no wrong." Adults have given their lives in fighting against such despotism; is it any wonder that children should resent it and respond with sullen obedience sometimes mixed with sabotage?

Where mutual respect and confidence are the rule, parents sometimes find that they must make allowance for a literal interpretation of their requests. The father who asked his little three-year-old daughter, "Jane, wouldn't you like to bring me my slippers?" was surprised at the cheerful and polite reply, "No, thank you, Daddy." The little tot was

very accommodating and would have obeyed a direct request cheerfully, but having been asked whether she would "like" to bring the slippers when busy with her play she answered honestly and with no thought of disobedience. Parents who have a sense of humor should have no difficulty in interpreting such honest responses.

Physical Punishment.—The term "corporal punishment" has a sinister sound; to some it calls up visions of merciless beatings with birch rod, hickory stick, and harness strap. Such brutal assaults have no place in this discussion, the expression being here confined to the spanking of small children.

Few parents, indeed, have visions of perfect children. Even if imperfect parents could produce them they would, as Herbert Spencer remarked, "find no fitness in this world." But most parents have a minimum standard of conduct for their children that they try to maintain at all costs. Any results above the minimum are gratefully accepted, but any excursions below it result in drastic measures if necessary. It is the "thus far and no farther" line where the parent takes his stand, ready to fight to the finish. The less said about this line the better; certainly it should not be pointed out as a threat. Some children never find out quite where it is until they have crossed it, and then they usually remember, at least for a while.

The use of any physical punishment whatever has been decried by many writers on child guidance. They charge that resorting to physical punishment is an admission of the parents' inability to control the child by any "higher" method. This charge is true and may as well be faced. Many parents are ready to admit that they simply cannot control their children without an occasional spanking. They admit that they are not informed on the latest theories of child psychology and would like to learn better methods of securing obedience but that until that time they will continue to use, as sparingly as possible, the old-fashioned method that has stood the test of time.

We need not go here into the theories of criminologists regarding the effectiveness of punishment as a deterrent to crime. Among them, however, there is general agreement on one point—that the *swiftness* and *sureness* of punishment is a far greater deterrent than its severity. But our discussion of spanking children does not involve crime, nor is this punishment to be compared with that meted out to adults, and so we can confine ourselves to a set of conditions that in the main are different from those dealing with the disposition of adult offenders. It being admitted, then, that parents sometimes come to the end of their psychological resources, are they to yield control at that point? Most of them say "No" and say it with slipper, hairbrush, or bare hand. They are

not brutal, and they take no sadistic delight in torturing their wards, but they are determined to maintain their authority and prevent certain kinds of conduct, if at all possible.

But the proponents of spanking have other admissions to make, and they might as well be honest. The "this hurts me more than it does you" statement is mainly a fiction and can seldom be used by those who have a high regard for the truth. Occasionally it is literally true, but usually the angry parent gets a certain satisfaction out of administering a few well-placed spanks for some particularly exasperating offense. For parents are human, and there is a certain grim satisfaction in being an "instrument of justice," even though self-appointed. But this need involve no cruelty, for even light punishment brings emotional relief to exasperated parents.

But still another fiction must be exposed—that children are punished entirely for their own good. This is a corollary of the first, but deserves separate treatment. Parents say they punish their children to make them grow up into honest and respectable citizens, and so they do, in part. But they also punish them to save face, to protect their purse, and to maintain a comfortable, adult order of things. Such self-defense sometimes may be necessary to adults if they are to have any peace of mind, but it would be more sportsmanlike to call it by its right name.

Children fear pain, and they have respect for consequences sure to entail pain. The supposed affront to the child's self-respect in turning him over across the knee, in an unaccustomed, undignified position of helplessness, is largely a figment of adult imagination. Children are used to being in every possible position, on the floor, over chairs, and elsewhere. As to their injured self-respect, it is hurt just as much by forcing them to do something they do not want to do as by spanking them for doing what they know they should not have done.

Some have contended that physical punishment, once used, soon becomes the only effective one. This may be true of children who are nagged so constantly that they become impervious to the spoken word. When they are scolded severely for every misdeed, they learn to take such tongue-lashings with equanimity, but they keep a weather eye open for more serious developments. Such children have good cause to be cool toward all but the laying on of hands; their parents have made it almost impossible for them to feel otherwise. But parents who talk quietly with their children, pointing out consequences of wrong action and showing confidence in their youngsters' ability to live up to reasonable standards of conduct as their understanding grows, will have little cause to spank. The small boy whose mother shares his joys and sorrows and lets him feel her trust in him is hurt more by his temporary loss of esteem in her eyes than by the application of a slipper.

But we still have with us those children either who are made of sterner stuff or whose parents, whether from lack of insight or other cause, have found the higher appeals ineffective. In such cases spanking seems to get results, and after all that is what the parents are after. It is interesting to note the beginning of a swingback, on the part of some writers, from the no-spanking theories of the "new school" to an admission of the double function of the hairbrush. When a tantrum comes on, the psychologist says to ignore it and when the child finds that his kicks and screams get him no attention he will give up such action as futile. This is good advice and is effective with most children. The sooner the child learns that he does not get what he wants by making himself disagreeable to those about him, the better for himself, for his family, and ultimately for society. If he is made to understand that by flying into a rage he makes himself unfit for association and must be isolated until he is again socially acceptable, he is not likely to find much satisfaction in the tantrum. But there seem to be exceptions, and this method sometimes will not work on all the children in the same family, at least not without too long a test, with increasingly bad effect on the other children. In such circumstances parents testify that nothing clears the air so effectively as a sound spanking, descending with the suddenness and briefness of a whirlwind. Such a squall is preferable to a long, hard wind. It relieves emotional tension and brings relief to both parties.

There are those who point to this very relief as the chief danger of such punishment. They claim that the child may develop a morbid desire for such undivided attention as punishment gives and also be sexually stimulated thereby. This school of thought is well expressed in the following passage:¹

The combination of emotional excitement and heightened sensitiveness may turn the punishment, even though painful, into an ecstasy akin to a sexual experience. The whipping may come to bring sensual and emotional satisfactions, it may even come to be accepted as something desired. Here, then, the affections craving recognition and attention are first antagonized and then partially gratified by suffering and overstimulation of the sensitized skin. The pain is compensated by the fact that the child does receive undivided attention, and the emotions find relief from strain in a brief but intense orgy.

To this doctrine the slipper advocates make vigorous reply. They do not deny that spanking brings emotional relief, but they count this beneficial rather than harmful. The nervous tension must be dissipated one way or another, and they consider the quick method better than the prolonged. The parent who is greatly shocked at some depredation and talks long and earnestly about the awful consequences of such wrongdoing

¹ From "Parents and Sex Education" by B. C. Gruenberg, p. 39. Copyright 1932 by The Viking Press, Inc., New York.

is giving the child a much more flattering type of "undivided attention" than he can possibly receive from a brief session across the knee. As to the danger of sex stimulation from such punishment, the proponents of spanking point out that masochism is extremely rare among children. They scoff at this sex tie-up and state that a child is certainly welcome to any sex stimulation he can get from a few hard, well-placed spanks.

It has long been taught that parents, if they must spank their children, should never do so while they are angry, but now even that principle is being called into question by some psychologists and with sound arguments. They say that anger is a universal experience and children have no trouble understanding its consequences. When they have broken something with which they have been expressly forbidden to play, they fortify themselves as best they can against the wrath that is to come, for they know it is coming. The uneasy statement that "Dad's going to do *plenty* when he sees that" is an indication of their state of mind, and if the father fulfills all expectations they are not surprised. Though not at all pleasant, they consider it wholly logical, and perhaps even just, for him to do so. But if he is very angry and after storming around a bit announces that *tomorrow* he is going to whip them for it, they stand agape in the presence of one more strange adult phenomenon. They inwardly admit that the occasion is ripe for action; why should the penalty be kept hanging over them for 24 hours? Is he doing it just to torture them? It seems a wholly unnatural gap between cause and effect. And if the father admits that the delay is because he doesn't have full control of his emotions—a matter he is in no condition at that time to discuss with them—it will certainly not raise their respect for him.

This deliberation of action is particularly bewildering to smaller children, whose memory of misdeeds is not very long-lived. When a four-year-old playing happily is called in and given a sound spanking for something that he did hours before, and that because unpunished at the time had been entirely forgotten, he is going to smart in more places than one. His sense of justice—for even a small child has one—resents such unwarranted treatment. To him it appears premeditated and cold-blooded, a grudge-holding from which small children are singularly free. It leaves him bewildered and at the mercy of the unknowable ways of adults, for his basis of prediction has been upset.

One rule that has stood the test of time is that of not administering physical punishment in the presence of a third party, particularly another child. The effect is bad on both victim and onlooker. The former's self-esteem is needlessly hurt, his humiliation lengthening the period of resentment and sometimes causing a desire for revenge. The effect on the interested spectator is frequently to induce a feeling of self-righteousness rather than sympathy; furthermore, he becomes accus-

tomed to seeing others suffer and may even come to find some pleasure in it.

Other Forms of Punishment.—Parents who virtuously assert that they never spank their children are sometimes found to be using forms of punishment far more injurious. Almost everyone knows at least one mother who uses *fears* to control her small children, constantly threatening that goblins or bears or other big animals will get them, that the “man who cuts off little boys’ ears” will get in his handiwork if they go beyond the limits of the yard, or that she will call the policeman if they don’t behave, sometimes going to the telephone and talking into it with receiver hook held down. The writer knows children of preschool age who live in mortal terror of policemen, instead of looking upon them as friends and protectors. Shutting the child in a dark closet is another method still used, though happily it is on the wane. Not only do such fears make the child nervous, and therefore still harder to control, but they eventually destroy all confidence in his mother’s word. As he advances in years and finds that none of the dire threats materialize, he becomes deaf to the cry “Wolf! Wolf!” and learns to doubt his mother’s statements, no matter on what subjects. Later, she may complain that she cannot understand why her son does not confide in her more.

Sending children to their rooms to “stay until they can behave themselves,” is a common practice. It is evidently based upon the old idea of solitary confinement, which was supposed to give the prisoner time and opportunity to meditate upon his sins and repent of his ways—which he did not do. The infinitely milder isolation of being sent to one’s room will not produce the vicious effects of penal procedure, but it is doubtful how many good effects it produces. When not overdone, it does emphasize the “apartness” from others that antisocial actions create, but it may also associate one’s room with unpleasant memories of punishment, when it should be a pleasant little castle where one’s personality is protected but free. Likewise, smaller children often are sent to bed when they are naughty, a procedure that can easily condition them against bed and sleep. The bed should mean to them a place of rest and comfort, not punishment.

Canceling a planned excursion, postponing a promised gift, cutting down on the allowance, making children pay for articles broken through carelessness or disobedience, and similar measures are successful or unsuccessful in varying degrees, according to the wisdom with which they are used. The essential point is that there be *some connection between the act and its punishment* that will square with the child’s sense of fair play. The girl who has her allowance reduced for a week because she stayed an hour too long at her playmate’s house can see no logical connection between her disobedience and her money. On the other hand,

if she broke her brother's toy, which she had taken without his consent, she can readily see the justice in being required to buy him a new one from her own allowance or at least to help buy it if it costs too much for her slender purse.

The effectiveness of any punishment depends largely upon the extent to which two ancient motives are avoided: revenge, and exact retribution. The element of revenge brings resentment and invites acts of counterrevenge, for the last one to suffer is sure that in the excessive passion of revenge the punishment was too severe for the offense. And the idea of exact retribution, *i.e.*, causing a person to suffer to the exact extent of the suffering he caused another, is impossible of realization. Suffering cannot compensate for suffering. Even on an economic basis, exact compensation is almost impossible to achieve, because the economic status of the two parties is seldom the same. To the boy whose ball breaks a flower vase, when he had been forbidden to play ball in the house, the burden of paying \$2 for a new vase is infinitely greater than it would be for his father; yet the father is likely to call such payment by the boy "just retribution."

One sound basis for punishment is *deterrence*; but it is difficult of achievement. Deterrence from the *negative* angle looks relatively simple, but even this lesser value is deceiving, for it frequently evaporates just when its users think they have it reduced to predictable formulas. The still more difficult ideal, that of *positive* deterrence, turns out to be deterrence only incidentally; it is largely a by-product of right thoughts and actions that are too interesting and attractive to allow much chance for unworthy ones to develop. To punish in such a way as to strengthen these positive forces is indeed an achievement. With experts in the field of character education still in disagreement, it is no wonder that the average parent is baffled and resorts to simpler forms.

Children Who Bully Their Parents.—Bullying is frequently thought of as a characteristic of adolescence, but in reality it may occur at a very tender age. The two-year-old may bully his parents as effectually as the twelve-year-old boy does his younger sister. When parents are weak and vacillating, children are quick to seize control, for they soon learn which methods of intimidation will bring their elders into line. The favorite defense of one three-year-old was "throwing-up," at which he became quite adept. If his mother wanted him to eat something he didn't like or take a nap when he didn't want to, he threatened to "frow up," and to this threat his mother, tired of cleaning up after him, almost invariably yielded.

Another little chap, four years old, had worked out a technique of choking when his wishes were crossed, getting blue in the face and withal putting on a very realistic performance. When he started to kinder-

garten, his mother warned the teacher not to make him do things he didn't want to do or he might choke seriously. The teacher later recounted her experience with the tiny bully. The first time the child was asked to do something he didn't want to do, he choked. The teacher paid no visible attention. The little fellow redoubled his efforts, still without effect. Finally, when his best performance elicited no concern he called the teacher over to him and cried, "I'm choking!" to which she quietly replied, "No, you aren't." This stopped him short, his amazement gradually giving way to a roguish look, whereupon he said with a confidential twinkle in his eye, "But my mamma *thinks* I am."

One mother confessed to the writer that she just couldn't control her son, who was not quite three, and that every day was a nightmare with no relief till he was asleep in his crib. "If he doesn't like his food, he picks up his plate and slams it on the floor. What can I do about it?" This was told while the youngster was standing hard by, proudly taking in every word. The lad also delighted in pulling up flowers, the neighbors' as well as those of his own family, and in pulling off table runners to see what would fall. To this the mother responded by giving up table runners and placing everything movable upon the piano, bookcases, or cupboards, which turned out to be a fine incentive for learning to climb.

Sometimes such helplessness by parents comes from sheer lack of resourcefulness. Occasionally one finds mothers who, far from being overconfident, are terrified at the responsibility of caring for their progeny. From that first panicky moment when the mother leaves the hospital and the nurse places in her arms the squirming problem, there is constant dread of what may happen. She handles her baby as though it might somehow fall apart unless carefully held together, little realizing its great vitality. If she is conscientious, she may learn much from the many good books on child psychology, though too much dependence on the printed page may limit the use of common sense. Such a mother, when the child has reached the high-chair stage, is described by Bertrand Russell¹ as "continually having to run from her child to her textbook and back again, to solve the problems of which more instinctive mothers were not even aware. The infant drops his toy and howls to have it picked up. If it is picked up, he acquires a power-complex; if it is left lying on the floor, he acquires a rage complex. . . . The mother turns the pages frantically. . . . By the time she has found it, the child is thinking of something else." Not long ago Norman Rockwell gave old-fashioned parents a hearty laugh with one of his inimitable cartoons on the cover of a popular magazine. It shows the determined young mother, floor strewn with the wreckage of her small boy's hammer,

¹ Quoted in *The Golden Book*, May, 1932, p. 412.

holding the squirming victim firmly inverted over her knee—hairbrush poised ready—while she reads with snapping eyes from her book on child psychology.

THE ADOLESCENT YEARS

One of the chief difficulties of child rearing is that even well-intentioned parents have so little time for "parenting." This is particularly true of fathers. We hear a great deal about "mothering" children but very little about "fathering" them. Even the great William James, who knew so much about human behavior, was said to know little about controlling his own children, and the average father knows less yet. But fathers and mothers alike are bewildered at the changes that come with adolescence. They may have managed to keep the upper hand through the infancy and childhood of their progeny without undue friction, but before the sudden and intensive drive of adolescence they frequently capitulate.

Another Language.—The very word "adolescence" gives an uneasy feeling to the parents of small children. They dread the troubles about which they have heard so much. Adolescence merely means growth, but it involves *rapid* growth and is synonymous in the minds of many with youthful revolt. Parents look upon the clash as inevitable, and some concede defeat even before the battle begins. Why should there be this conflict? Youth's chief complaint of parents is that they "don't understand." Parents, on the other hand, bring the same charge, that their children fail utterly to understand the most common-sense restraints which they feel they must impose. It has been said that "adults and adolescents synchronize neither in thought nor in experience. . . . We adults do not speak the same language that children do; the meanings behind the words we utter are not the meanings behind the words they hear; their world of ideas and experience is not the world of our ideas and experience."¹ The story is told of a woman who, upon hearing a lecture on adolescence, said that her girlhood must have been abnormal for she did not experience any of the peculiarities mentioned as common to that stage. Only when she found her girlhood diary did she see that she had had the same experiences—but had entirely forgotten them. How frequently parents try to apply to adolescent situations ideas that are 25 years out of date!

There have been many books written on the psychology of adolescence; yet the misunderstandings go steadily on, and we are still ignorant of what is taking place in the minds of our children. We know what they

¹ From "Our Children," edited by Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, p. 237. Copyright 1932, published by The Viking Press, Inc., New York.

ought to think but not always what they *do* think! If they would just follow the scholarly rules of the game, we would be less uneasy, but they have a disconcerting way of slipping around or through our laws of psychology, leaving us baffled. Actually, however, the fault lies less with our psychology (limited as it is) than with our application of it. We use it too superficially and try too many short cuts to get consistent results. There is no royal road to understanding children.

Adolescence in Primitive and Civilized Societies.—Among preliterate peoples adolescence frequently does not cause the amount of trouble it does with us. From an early age the boy is in almost constant association with his father and learns almost all his skills and attitudes from him. With us, however, an adolescent boy is educated more by other associations in the community than by his father. Furthermore, among many primitives, boys and girls at about the time of puberty are inducted into manhood and womanhood or at least take their first step toward that goal. Initiation rites and impressive ceremonies mark a definite change in their status, and they acquire new rights and freedom, though new responsibilities as well. In our own society, however, there is no social recognition of new status when adolescence comes on. The boy becomes a young man physiologically, but he is still treated as a child and does not attain his majority till he is twenty-one. He is like a child who has outgrown his clothes and toys but is not given any others. This is at the root of his rebellion, when it comes to such a pass. His parents still try to dominate him in all his behavior—in his choice of clothes, work, friends, recreation, and even bedtime. In other words, the parent-child relationship continues long after it should have changed to a parent-adult relationship. The youth resents this, and the fight is on.

Mothers find it particularly hard to "give up" their children, especially when they have been their very career. They try to maintain the childish attitude of dependence overtime, often not realizing that they are actually defeating their own deep-seated wish for their children some day to be self-reliant and masterful. Primitives so fear overlong dominance by the mother that in some tribes boys are taught to strike and wound their mothers to show their independence and manhood. But such extremes are unnecessary. The child needs what Hollingsworth calls "psychological weaning," but it need not come by such a crude method as that just mentioned. The passage through adolescence is difficult or easy, according to how the child has been prepared for it. Early writers laid so much stress on the physiological changes of this stage that we have scarcely realized the highly significant social changes it involves. The theme of these changes is emancipation.

Emancipation from the Home.—Parents are distressed at the relatively sudden "degeneration" of their children, particularly of boys,

when they reach adolescence. Well-mannered boys may suddenly become rude, careless of dress, indifferent to studies, and "roughnecks" in general. They are gruff and inconsiderate of others, do not confide in their parents as they did, and spend a great deal of time away from home. Has their character actually gone bad overnight? Not at all. They are making a determined drive for independence, and they are testing their blades on everything within reach. Much of their devil-may-care attitude is a pose. They are outwardly rebelling against the accepted social patterns to assert their egos, but they have not forgotten the standards so carefully forged in the family. They may want to test out some of these standards and may even brag about testing others when they have no notion of doing so, but they have not lost all their values. Parents who are worried at this change should actually be more worried if *no* change occurred. The best they can do is to guard against extremes.

Here is where the previous stages show their influence. From early childhood on, there is normally a process of emancipation from the home. Parents actually must work to make themselves dispensable instead of indispensable. If they keep too tight a checkrein on their children, when these same children reach youth they are likely to take the bit in their teeth and give their parents some bad moments. They may not be running away, but they certainly set a fast pace without regard to the comfort of the elders. But if the rein has been loosened, a little at a time all through the years, until by adolescence it is scarcely noticeable, there is much less likelihood of trouble. If the children have had, in successive stages, all the freedom they could properly use (and without having to fight for it), both they and their parents are better prepared for this period of rapid expansion. The parents will have developed the *habit* of granting increasing freedom, and the children the *habit* of increasing self-reliance. Therefore, the rapid changes of adolescence become only a speeding up of a process to which both sides have learned fairly well to adjust. Parents cannot possibly be wise enough to foresee all the situations and problems that their children will ever meet. There is no such wisdom extant. The best they can hope to do is to build, *together with their children*, certain basic rules and standards that are general enough to apply to new situations as they arise. If the home has done its work well, the boy or girl makes the transition from childhood to adulthood not in a few wild leaps, but by easy gradations.

Making Parents Over.—Meeting the adolescent period sensibly may sound simple, but in practice it is difficult. Like all other people, parents have "better hindsight than foresight." A new development comes suddenly and causes trouble before parents can get its range. The only predictable thing about youth is its unpredictability. However,

there is one point on which parents can be almost sure of running into difficulty. Youth may give the impression that it wants to be different, but actually it is strictly conformist in many ways. The young folk want their parents' ideals and attitudes to conform to the mores of the group in which they mingle, and so they try to change their parents' behavior as assiduously as the latter try to change their children's! They literally want to make their parents over. They berate their antiquated standards of behavior and their ideas of restriction. They exploit their own nuisance value to the limit and try to wear the parents down by ceaseless pressure. Since their energy is boundless, they frequently outlast the resistance put up by the harassed parents. The father and mother buy the family car and keep it in repair and full of gas and oil, and it would appear that their need of it should receive first consideration, but frequently such is not the case. The wrathful son, so young that his voice still breaks when he gets excited, berates his parents so roundly for their thoughtlessness and points out accusingly how "the other fellows have cars of their own" that his parents finally change their plans and let him have the car for the evening. After all, he is young and they want him to have a good time!

At such age the daughter is likely to find the house "disgracefully furnished" and demand that the favorite old pictures be banished to the attic and replaced with ultramodern pictures. Comfortable furniture must be given up for strange-looking angular types that can ill be afforded, but the browbeaten parents do not want to be "old foggy" and cause their daughter embarrassment when she has her young friends in. The home becomes a place where the parents, who struggled many years to buy it and furnish it, go about with an apologetic attitude, fearful to enjoy the small indulgences that irritate their children. For such parents a counter revolution may be the only way out and in the long run will help the youngsters as much as themselves. Too much self-sacrifice by parents defeats its own purpose. To the irritating and wholly self-centered declaration of the fledgling, "It's *my* life, isn't it?" the parents need to weigh their answer carefully. Such young folk need to have it pointed out to them, sometimes by a third party, that their parents also have some claim to a life of their own and that although they love their children they have other interests as well. There is no call for them to develop a chameleon personality to match the variable demands of their young folk.

However, parents can assert their rights without undue domination. Complete domination and the demand for *unthinking* obedience cause enough trouble at any age, but at the adolescent age it is increased many-fold. Boys and girls so dominated have little choice: they can either stifle their urge for self-reliance and become prospective "yes" men and

women, or they can rebel. But open revolt is painful to both, and usually neither side wants it. Therefore, there is wisdom in issuing as few commands as possible. By keeping hands off on all minor matters, parents can predispose their adolescent children toward reasonable compliance on the few major issues that they feel impelled to raise. The parent is a poor tactician who allows himself to be maneuvered into a showdown over something trivial. Children respect father and mother when the latter willingly let them make as many of their own decisions as possible and respect also their firm stand on other matters. The very infrequency of interference convinces them that the parents have some good reason for any stand they make. Young folk are not always ready to admit outwardly what they are inwardly convinced of, for they fear to lose face. But when the girl complains that her mother "just doesn't want her to have a good time," she usually knows better; she is just trying out her last weapon, as a matter of routine, to see whether it might possibly take effect. If the parents have a "low boiling point," there may be trouble from such accusations; but if they rely on reason rather than emotion, they stand a good chance of enjoying the ripening fellowship of the years ahead, which normally comes when the children are married and have children of their own, who provide at last a common ground of understanding.

Is There a "Revolt of Youth"?—We hear a great deal about the recent "revolt of youth." In reality, is it a revolt of youth or of parents? Very little of the control yielded by parents has actually been taken from them; they have given it up bit by bit to ease the burden. Youth has always pressed for more liberty of action, and the parental task of keeping the young on a leash has been undeniably onerous. But by permitting the hard-pulling youngsters to slip the leash the parents can walk more comfortably. The young folk are also happier—at least for a time—for, although they miss the fun of breaking rules when the rules are removed, they do have more freedom to roam at will. But it has been pointed out that such young folk have not been able to evade all the restrictions of discipline. They have passed from the discipline of parents, who are interested in their welfare, to the impersonal discipline of natural law and consequences, which care nothing for them. It has been suggested, therefore, that if parents can keep their consciences from bothering them, they come off better in this double-barreled rebellion than do the offspring!

But such an interpretation has startling implications. It suggests a trend toward an extreme individualism that is inimical to family function. Responsibility is always onerous to some extent, but there is no way wholly to avoid it, especially in the family. The immaturity of offspring makes control necessary; and unless society provides some

method other than parental control, parents who evade such responsibility are pursuing a distinctly antisocial course. Control there must be, but it need not be autocracy. The dictator role appeals to many parents, but in the end its fruit is bitter. The hope of a new era for the parent-child relationship lies in the democratization of the home, which in turn is based upon the *respect for the child's personality*, so frequently stressed in these pages. Only satisfaction with one's status makes a given association agreeable. The youth who is satisfied with his status in the home has no need to revolt.

ACQUIRING SEX ATTITUDES

The conspiracy of silence by which adults seek to keep children ignorant of sex matters almost makes us question the rationality of the so-called "adult" mind. Historically the attitude is logical, in so far as it represents an emotional, nonrational continuance of a pattern set long ago; but viewed in the light of the advancement in psychology and sociology, it is entirely illogical. It is a survival-in-culture, like the buttons on coat sleeves, yet without the innocuousness of the latter. Though this stilted attitude toward sex is today far more out of line with reality than it was in the seventeenth century, perhaps no one has more neatly exposed its sham than did Samuel Butler when he said, "Mankind has ever been ready to discuss matters in the inverse ratio of their importance, so that the more closely a question is felt to touch the heart of all of us, the more incumbent it is considered upon prudent people to profess that it does not exist. . . ."

It is unfortunate that such an attitude perpetuates itself, and that most parents today are not emotionally qualified to guide their children into a wholesome understanding of the role of sex in life. All have the limited knowledge required to answer the first simple questions of childhood, and some are intellectually equipped to follow through; but very few can do so because of their powerful inhibitions, which date from their own childhood. This sense of shame, which stigmatizes sex as something too ignoble to discuss with one's own children, keeps most parents silent, even though vaguely disturbed by conscience. They know it is important and that "somebody ought to tell them," but the task is too embarrassing for them to undertake. They usually let matters drift, hoping for the right occasion (which they ignore when it comes) until finally it is too late to do anything about it. At this point they seek what comfort they can from the thought that "he probably got his information from someone who could tell him better than I could." In one study of college men only 4 per cent had received sex instruction from their parents. More than 90 per cent of them stated that they secured their knowledge of sex mostly from unwholesome sources, four-fifths of these

saying that the impressions so acquired had been a distinctly bad influence in their lives.

The inconsistency of the situation is apparent. The child lives in the midst of sex. All nature proclaims its essentialness, surrounding him with a sexual environment that pervades every area of life. This is a male and female world, and to apologize for it is somewhat presuming, to say the least. The caustic words of Carlyle would apply here perfectly: when told that a certain feminine thinker had finally decided to "accept the universe," Carlyle replied laconically, "Egad, she'd better." Yet in such a world, with sex—both specific and generalized—looming large on all sides, the education of children treats sex as though it were officially nonexistent. At home questions regarding it are evaded, and at school even physiology texts sometimes refuse to admit that there are such things as sex organs.

The Effects of Excessive Secrecy.—Such "hush-hush" methods run counter to every principle of psychology and defeat their own purpose. One cannot successfully ignore such a significant theme in life as sex. Even a small child soon becomes conscious that his queries are being shunted aside in the most unsatisfying manner. But this does not allay his curiosity—it merely intensifies it. He perceives that on certain subjects, which he did not know were different from any other subjects, his guileless questions produce a strange result on his parents. They seem disturbed, even shocked, and he doesn't know why; they will help him satisfy his curiosity on every subject but one. He soon realizes that he must look elsewhere for his information, for he *must* have it; it must be very interesting, or his parents wouldn't act so mysterious about it. His determination to know takes him to every source he can find, and so the typical method of acquiring sex information has begun. From "tough" boys, from the crude jokes and smutty stories of men, and sometimes from oversexed girls he picks up his information bit by bit, the whole often forming a most amazing mosaic. Such is the inevitable result of attempting to place sex in a special category by itself, something that is powerful but shameful, about which it is necessary to know yet about which one must not be taught. Such tactics automatically engender a curiosity far out of proportion to that felt about other factors in life, thus magnifying enormously the very thing parents sought to minimize.

We can now perceive why Galloway was right when he said that sex education is "more a matter of psychology than of biology," for our sex attitudes determine our whole physiological treatment of sex. The *sex facts* that children find out surreptitiously are not very important, but the *emotional responses* that develop are extremely important.¹ Boys

¹ NEWELL W. EDSON, in an address to one of the writer's classes.

and girls who get their sex knowledge on the street frequently carry all through life the shame and fear reactions so commonly associated with certain words and actions. The mental images that they would forget are stamped indelibly upon their memories, making them ashamed to converse naturally on subjects properly related to sex. They may become overly selfconscious in the normal associations with the opposite sex, fearful lest some words of double meaning be wrongly interpreted. Such a preoccupation with unwholesome sex patterns often carries over into marriage, marring the relationship from which so much joy was rightly expected and proving the statement that sex education, in its end result, is marriage education.

When Should Sex Education Begin?—Parents are constantly asking how soon sex instruction should begin. It is easy to postpone it too long. Parents are notoriously unsuccessful in keeping abreast of the rapid growth and development of their children. When the youngsters are eight to ten years old their parents may still be thinking of them in terms of when they were five or six. How far one can underestimate a child's development is well illustrated by the experience of the father who, when he told his ten-year-old son that he would like to talk to him about sex, was completely taken aback by the cheerful reply "O.K., Dad. What do you want to know about it?"¹ The father who never says anything about sex to his son until he is ten or twelve years old is going to have a difficult time establishing rapport on that subject. It is too likely to come as something "extracurricular," outside the normal avenues of life and therefore embarrassing. Especially is this true when the conscientious father, determined to do his duty, leads his boy into a room apart, carefully closes the door, then says with red-faced seriousness, "Now, son, I want to have a frank talk with you about the facts of life." Just why the "facts of life" should be limited to sex matters, in a world brimful of "facts" essential to life, has never been explained; but the boy sits and squirms uncomfortably while his father tells him things he has already found out from his "gang." But he feels that if his father doesn't know about his other sources of information there is no use inviting trouble by telling him, and so he escapes as quickly as possible after the ordeal and is greatly relieved when it is not followed up with any more sessions.

Or perhaps it is a girl, who has been very carefully guarded and whose mother upon hearing a lecture on the subject has come to a tardy but firm decision that she must instruct her daughter, and so goes at it with conscientious vigor, trying to settle the matter once and for all. The following case shows how such a procedure may very easily turn out:

¹ Sidonie Gruenberg, in a lecture to a parent-teacher association, 1935.

One Sunday morning a mother who felt keenly her duty to her fourteen-year-old daughter stayed home from church to be free from interruption and talked to the astonished girl for more than an hour, trying to give her a complete understanding of the world of new physical possibilities that lay before her. Deluged with ideas that took her out of her depth, the child reacted with hurt feelings to a mental experience so unsought and unprepared for as to be little less than intellectual rape. For boys in general she conceived a violent hatred and could not bear to have anyone so much as pat her on the back, because even this called up hated thoughts of petting.¹

The answer of most authorities today to the question of how soon sex education should begin is: Just as soon as the child begins to ask questions. This is a simple and usually a safe guide.² When they are about three years of age children begin to ask questions about everything under the sun. The barrage increases in intensity for some time thereafter, and parents who lack a sense of humor are sometimes reduced to nervous bankruptcy in the face of the everlasting "why." But questioning is merely the child's method of developing, and "growing up is largely a matter of satisfying a progressive series of curiosities and exploring an unfolding environment."³ Among these multitudinous questions there are sure to be some regarding sex matters. In a study of the sex questions of nearly 2,000 children 2-14 years of age, in nearly 1,000 homes, it was found that the questions were most frequent at ages 4-10. A large number asked their first question at age 5. Forty per cent of the questions pertained to the origin of babies, but less than 5 per cent were concerned with the father's part in reproduction.⁴ To try to bar the child from satisfying his curiosity on *any* subject is merely to force him to seek elsewhere for satisfaction. If his questions are not answered at home, they will be asked elsewhere. Perhaps the refusal is accompanied with the unpleasant command "You mustn't talk about such things" or with the equally unsatisfactory remark "You aren't old enough to understand such things." In either case the child is not likely to try the parent

¹ ERNEST R. GROVES and GLADYS H. GROVES, "Parents and Children," Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1928, pp. 101-102.

² However, this is not always a safe guide, for a child's questions on sex matters may develop normally for a while, then suddenly cease altogether. Perhaps he has received some sex information from older children, who counsel secrecy and make him ashamed to go to his parents with further questions. In such a case, after waiting a reasonable time for questions to appear, the parent may have to give out appropriate information unbidden, at times when it can be done casually and naturally. Sometimes the emotional blocking can thus be broken up and the old basis of free discussion restored, but occasionally the sense of guilt and shame acquired from other persons is never overcome.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴ KATHERINE W. HATTENDORF, A Study of the Questions of Young Children Concerning Sex, *Jour. Soc. Psychology*, 3: 37-65, February, 1932.

again on the same subject, after an unpleasant rebuff for which he can see no reason. The parent may be sure that *if the child is old enough to ask a specific question he is old enough for an intelligent reply*. A child's questions are an accurate index to the development of his intellect and experience. The interaction of the biological equipment in the social environment is the process by which behavior develops, and behavior is merely "how we act," both mentally and physically. Sex attitudes as well as overt sex acts of a physical nature are as much a part of our behavior as are any other thoughts and acts and should develop as normally. But it is extremely difficult for a parent who has been brought up under the old pattern to get past the emotional blocking that flashes its signal the moment a question on sex comes up.

Answering the Child's Questions.—The first difficulty such a parent has lies in his inability to realize that the first questions along this line are not "sex questions" at all. The child of three has no concept of sex as such. When he asks where babies come from, there isn't a sex thought in his mind, and the shocked parent who considers the question as evidence of sexual precocity entirely misses the point. It is no mark of depravity, and the parent need not fret over "how in the world that little fellow ever got such ideas in his head."

The first question is almost sure to be: Where do babies come from? There are various answers the mother can give; she can say that the stork brings them, that they grow in cabbages (the French way), that the doctor brings them in his little black satchel—or she can *tell the truth*. To lay the responsibility on the stork is to make inevitable an "unlearning" process later, with much loss of respect for and confidence in the parent. When the child finds that he was deliberately given a silly explanation and has believed it for several years, he not only feels chagrined but he wonders in how many other things he is going to find out that his mother deceived him. Furthermore, the stork story at the beginning makes it impossible for the mother to follow up by answering truthfully later questions as they arise. To answer the next questions correctly would be to repudiate the stork story and to admit that it was all wrong. Thus to make a clean breast of it is better than to maintain the fiction, but it is better yet to start out truthfully and maintain this attitude consistently all through the years. Such a policy, if the parents' other relationships with the child are happy, evokes the child's respect and confidence and the comfortable assurance that he can bring *any* question to his parents and they will answer it truthfully to the best of their ability.

But how can one tell the truth to a three-year-old when he asks where babies come from? It isn't so difficult as it sounds, for such a question does not require a complete explanation of reproduction. The child is not ready for such an explanation, and at best it would be a waste of

effort. He asks where babies come from just as he asks where coal comes from, or glass. There is no sex connotation in the question. If it is answered as casually as it is asked, the information will be accepted on a par with other interesting information that the child is acquiring daily. The reply that the baby grows inside the mother's body is usually satisfying to the three-year-old, for it appears no stranger than many other facts he has learned. He will go about his play as unconcernedly as though one had just told him that milk comes from the body of a cow. Usually this first information is soon forgotten and the same question arises again, perhaps months later. The young mother who has screwed up her courage to the point of telling her toddler where babies actually come from and thinks with relief, "Now, *that's* done," is likely to be a bit dismayed when she finds how promptly the matter was forgotten. She fails to realize that it was forgotten in the same way that the origin of coal or glass was forgotten—because interest shifted and there was no incident to cause a follow-up. When the origin of babies comes up the next time, there are likely to be more questions than at first. The child's growing mind is learning to search for causes, and one question leads to another. Now, knowing that the baby grows in the mother's body is not enough. The child wants to know how the mother knows the baby is "ripe" and how it gets out. The sensible mother answers each question as it comes, casually, truthfully, and using correct terms. One of the causes of embarrassment of parents in talking to their children of sex is the lack of a proper vocabulary. They will not use the vulgar street terms, and if they use correct terms the children will not know what they are talking about. If such words as "navel," "anus," "nipple," "penis," "womb" or "uterus," "vulva," "vagina," "urinate," "bowel movement" are used from the very first, they will be accepted on the same basis as other words and afford a proper and easy medium of communication, free from the emotional blockings of "back-alley" terms. There is nothing shameful about the process of reproduction, and no sensation of guilt or sin should be connected with it.

Some parents cannot avoid the temptation to sentimentalize on such occasion, telling the child that "Mother loved you so very, very much that for a long time she carried you right under her heart so you would be near her all the time." Whether such a statement appreciably increases the child's overdependence on parental affection, as some writers claim, is doubtful, but certainly it is useless. The child of three is not emotionally mature enough to have even a vague understanding of the sacrificial intensity of mother love. Sometimes the mother emphasizes her devotion by telling the child how terribly she suffered to give him birth, a blunder that seems inexcusable. One sentimental writer, portraying the supposed

reactions of a little girl to such a revelation, pictures the child as weeping at the thought of her mother's suffering for her and exclaiming, "Oh, Mother, I love you so much!" But in truth the little girl is much more likely to say with determination, "When I grow up, I'm never going to have a baby." That is exactly what happened in one case known to the writer, and this natural reaction nearly ruined the girl's marriage.

Learning the Functions of Both Parents.—Sooner or later, the question of the father's part in the matter is sure to come up. The little girl whose questions about birthdays had elicited the interesting information that she, her father, and her mother had been born in three widely separated cities and who responded with, "Mother, isn't it funny how we three ever got together?" was presenting an excellent opportunity for the mother to follow up. But such a follow-up was more imperative with the little girl who, upon finding that her mother had given her birth, said gleefully, "Now it's Daddy's turn to have the next baby."

The differences between the sexes, in their more generalized aspects, are apparent to the child from the very beginning, though he naturally does not associate them with sex. His father's stronger build, heavier voice, and other characteristics so different from those of his mother he accepts without question. But specific differences in anatomy, such as why his father has to shave but his mother does not, and the obvious difference in the sex organs are sure to bring questions. If there are both boys and girls in the family, the question of differences arises naturally. In the normal processes of bathing and dressing they are certain to notice the difference in sex organs and to inquire why they are different in just one part of the body. This again is not a "sex question," but one of pure curiosity, and it deserves an honest answer. Also, if the father and mother can dress and undress unconcernedly in the presence of the children while small, the latter will learn, by wholly innocent questions, about the later growth of hair on the pubes, the development of the breasts, and other such facts, thus avoiding the desire for "keyhole peeping" at a later age through a consuming curiosity that need never have been aroused.

To describe accurately the father's part in procreation, yet without revealing the total picture of sex passion for which the child is much too young, is one of the most perplexing questions parents face. Yet there are today so many excellent guides, books, and pamphlets written by those who have spent years in the study and observation of various methods that the parent need not try to blaze a new trail if he does not feel qualified. The "beautiful story of the flowers and the pollen and the bees" is not enough. Small children cannot connect such allegories with themselves. One little boy who heard this story told his little playmates

that babies came from bees. Reproduction in flowers may make a good start, but it is of no value unless it is followed up immediately in the animal world. The difference between the *roe* in the mother fish and the *milt* in the father fish makes an excellent beginning here. The laying of the eggs by the mother, the spreading of the milt over them by the father, and the indifference of both parents thereafter are all interesting to the child. He is then told that in the next higher stage, as with chickens, the father puts the milt on the eggs while they are still in the mother's body, and after the eggs are laid the mother sits on them until they are hatched and cares for the chicks until they are old enough to care for themselves. Most children, except those closely confined to cities, have seen roosters covering hens; and when it is explained that they are not fighting but that the father is putting the necessary sperms on the eggs, they have a new understanding of the sex behavior of other animals. They are told that among the higher animals, such as dogs, cats, horses, and other mammals, not only does the father put the sperms into the mother's body on the eggs, but also the eggs hatch out *inside* the mother's body. Thus, kittens or puppies grow inside the mother's body and come out when the right time comes, and the mother feeds them with her own milk. It is then but a step to those mammals—including man—who have usually only one young at a time and who get them in the same way that the mother cat gets her kittens. Such a progressive story, when the child has asked questions intelligent enough to show that he is ready for it, will be of real interest and will give him real understanding.

How to keep the child from spreading this information indiscriminately is another problem. He harms no one in doing so, but he may arouse unnecessarily the ire of other parents. To say that such information is a "secret between him and mother" and that he "must never, never talk about it to anyone else" is to make it too mysterious and may cause embarrassment when he hears playmates discussing it. It seems far better to give the impression, without overemphasis, not that such matters are secret but that they are more or less personal and that it is better to discuss them inside the family than outside, as we do personal money matters, family plans, and so on. Beyond such mild suggestion, it is better to take the risk of the child shocking some oversensitive neighbors than to connect sex with fear, secrecy and shame. Sooner or later the child is bound to compare notes with other children, and the one who has received the most reliable information will come off best in the argument. The children who grew from cabbages or arrived under escort of the stork may rush home to tell their parents of the heretical teachings of the junior realist, and the indignant parents may predict an immoral and perhaps criminal end for him. Such neighborhood squab-

bles are unfortunate, but sometimes unavoidable, for the proper education of one's children is more important than the opinion of neighbors.

Sex Education in Adolescent Years.—After the early years of questioning there is usually a letup for a number of years, up to the beginning of adolescence. The child, having found either at home or elsewhere the answers to his basic questions, has no further reason to follow up the matter at the moment. The play group becomes the all-absorbing passion, each sex keeping largely to itself through lack of interest in the other. During this period, boys, in the opinion of girls, are to be avoided whenever possible; for they are crude, noisy, and rough, and their scorn for the gentler pastimes of the girls leads to teasing and bullying. But at about twelve to fourteen years of age, strange stirrings within begin to be felt. Puberty brings physical changes in both boys and girls, which in turn profoundly affect their attitudes. With the girl, the breasts begin to enlarge and menstruation appears. If she has been prepared for the appearance of the menses, there will be no shock and fear, as is likely if she is caught unaware. The boy also should be taught about this normal experience of girlhood and womanhood, not only because of its role in the process of reproduction but because it will help him to understand his mother, sisters, and friends. With the boy the voice changes, pubic hair appears, and if he has not been previously instructed he will be alarmed at his first nocturnal emissions. Quack doctors play upon these fears, and succeed in exploiting the ignorant. But if the boy knows that these emissions are perfectly normal and healthful discharges of surplus semen, he will give them little thought.

It is important that both boys and girls learn of the dangers of venereal disease, but educators no longer seek to make the fear of such disease the chief prop of continence. It can be made perfectly clear that these devastating diseases are spread chiefly through illicit intercourse, without detaching them too fully from other communicable diseases or causing the horror of syphilis to throw its shadow every time sex is mentioned.

Equally important are the new attitudes that come with these physiological changes. These budding young men and women begin to find pleasure in each other's association, the scorn of the boys giving way sheepishly at first but wholeheartedly later to the feminine charm of the erstwhile nuisances. During this period parental guidance must be more subtle than before, for adolescents want to be treated as equals who are merely inexperienced in the ways of the other sex. The boy's sudden interest in the social niceties, compared with his previous "bull-in-the-china-shop" behavior, may convulse the parent inwardly, but on the surface there can be good humor without ridicule. From this stage on, whatever sex education is given is in reality marriage education. The

guidance of young men and women into a better understanding of each other—physiologically and psychologically—and of the problems that beset each should increase the chances of harmony in the intimate association of marriage which they will ultimately enter.

Many parents are not equipped to give sex education without extensive overhauling of their own prejudices and inhibitions, and in such cases it may come more effectively from schoolteacher, scout leader, or other adult friend. Also, much can be done by providing children with good literature in the field, which today is infinitely more adapted to wholesome growth than was the stilted, evasive literature of a few decades ago. But books and pamphlets are most effective as a secondary source, recommended after the parent or other informant has given in straightforward conversation all that he knows how to give. At such point, follow-up references may be extremely useful. But above all, the essential oneness of sex and life and its universal permeation of human motives and activities give sex a dignity that commands respect. Sex education, in essence, is merely the process of engendering such respect. "It is not something apart from other learning, other experience, but a continuous and integral process determined by the attitudes which children take on toward other people, toward the opposite sex, and eventually toward a particular person of the opposite sex who is accepted as life partner."¹ Parents who wisely play their role in this process have the satisfaction of knowing that they have helped to give life balance and orientation.

Parental Instruction Is Increasing.—In a questionnaire given for several years by the writer to his classes on marriage and the family, 99 per cent of the students said they expected to give their children sex education, and 81 per cent said they felt qualified to give such instruction. This is a very high percentage, but it must be remembered that not only were these young people college juniors and seniors but also they were interested enough in family life to be enrolled in a course on it. Therefore, they were a highly selected sample compared with the general population. It shows, however, that our better-educated young people are going to try to give their children better instruction than they received from their own parents, for only one-third to one-half of these students said they received fairly adequate instruction from their parents. A generation ago the percentage would have been very much smaller—probably not more than one-fifth at most.

Selected Readings

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(An exasperated and none-too-wise mother "explodes" on the traits of the younger generation.)

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¹ FISHER and GRUENBERG, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. Make a list of the most common complaints children under ten have against their parents. Children fourteen to eighteen years old, i.e., high-school age. Young people of college age. What main shifts do you notice? Do any complaints continue through all three age groups? Are the shifts due mostly to changes in the children, in the parents, or in the associations and environments?
2. Write a case study of a parent-child conflict with which you are well acquainted.
3. Analyze the play "Another Language," by Rose Franken.
4. Were any of your friends brought up almost entirely by nurses, governesses, tutors, and other paid companions? If so, are they either above or below the behavior norm of your other friends in various areas of conduct? Possible reasons?
5. Terman found the men and women of his study extremely generous in the rating of the opposite-sex parents (Lewis M. Terman, "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," pp. 219-225). Show the percentages rated above and below average. Would these men and women, when in their teens, have rated their parents the

same as they did later? What various elements might cause their ratings to change?

6. List a number of kinds of punishment to which childhood acquaintances of yours were subjected, showing which ones you disapproved, and why; which ones you approved and why.
7. List and describe briefly the various organized efforts of parents in your community to understand their children better. How enthusiastic are the parents over the results of these efforts?
8. From your own experience or observation, describe conflicts that have arisen over the use of the family car. Being as objective as possible, state whether you think the parents or the young people were in the right.
9. Report on the ceremonies and rites of some primitive tribe by which adolescent boys are initiated into manhood, showing the changes in status and responsibility.

CHAPTER XII

THE NEW STATUS OF WOMEN

The emancipation of woman has revolutionized society. It seems ironical that although social change is continuous and inevitable mankind is never prepared for it. Lester F. Ward, optimist though he was on the subject of human progress, declared that after ages of accumulated experience society was just becoming self-conscious. It remains to be seen how much foresight this newly acquired self-consciousness will give us in the face of changes as profound as those resulting from woman's new status. Her acquisition of freedom, itself a change of first magnitude, was caused by antecedent changes and has resulted in many subsequent changes. And the end is not yet. The fact that the process has been more or less continuous, because the change in woman's lot is part and parcel of the social fabric that comes in an unending strip from the loom of life, does not presuppose easy adjustment. The pattern changes with varying speed, sometimes almost imperceptibly for centuries and then with disconcerting suddenness as a new motif is introduced. If the process were entirely willed, a sense of nostalgia would sometimes demand the return of old patterns; but unwilling factors frequently block such recurrence, and further change is inevitable.

The last half century has seen a speeding up of the changes wrought by the emergence of woman into her new world. In that part of the process which was willed there have been certain definite objectives. The fact that the social merits or demerits of these objectives have not coincided with social expectation does not stop the movement. The tendency to follow a course through to its logical conclusion, even though it may defeat the original purpose, is not limited to the Teutonic mind. The by-products of an idea, whether in manufacturing or in social relations, may turn out to be almost as important as the main product.

It is now pretty generally accepted, however, that the rise of woman has brought more social benefit than harm. With a few exceptions—such as Nazi Germany, where woman has been turned back to her former subordinate position—the trend is still toward equality with man. Without minimizing the unsolved problems that this trend has raised, few would maintain that they offset the vast gains that have resulted from the movement. We do not stop making automobiles because of the death toll they take; eventually we shall learn to use the automobile so that it

will yield the greatest social advantage at the least social cost. Likewise, an intelligent people can ultimately adjust its culture so that woman's upward step will not throw it off balance.

A Man-made World.—Whatever degree of truth there may be in the theory that the matriarchate originally prevailed, the fact remains that among nearly all the preliterate peoples that have been studied the men have been found in control. This shows in family authority, in religious matters, in political affairs, and in the division of labor. No generalization will cover every culture, but primitive men usually chose the work that interested them most, leaving the rest to the women. Among the Plains Indians the buffalo complex provides an excellent example of the division of labor. To ride at breakneck speed on the edge of the thundering herd was thrilling sport for the braves, but to cut the meat into thin strips for drying in the sun, make pemmican, and patiently scrape and tan the hides was anything but thrilling for the squaws. Likewise, the drudgery of moving and pitching camp was left to the women, and among the tribes of more fixed abode that of planting and tending the maize. In spite of war and chase there was usually plenty of time for the men to sit in the shade and recount their exploits.

Occasionally the religious beliefs of primitives involve a division of labor that gives men uninteresting work to do. Among the Todas, who depend upon dairy products for much of their food, only men and boys are allowed to tend the water buffaloes. Women and girls are forbidden to approach them or even use the paths they have trod. But among the Nama Hottentots the women and girls milk the cows and ewes, and sheep's milk is taboo to men. The many other tasks of daily life are divided variously in different tribes, but the men usually manage to get more of the interesting or exciting tasks and less of the sheer drudgery. Almost never is their mastery challenged; it is accepted as the natural prerogative of their superiority.

Men also ruled in the ancient civilizations; the extreme patriarchal type of family organization prevailed in ancient China, India, Greece (except Sparta), Rome, and among the early Hebrews and various other peoples. Only the Egyptians, among the brilliant civilizations of the past, gave woman a high status. Truly, we have had a masculine world. Never doubting his greater worth and wisdom, man has made his own rules—and those for woman, too. He fixed the division of labor to suit himself, limited only by a few inexorable decrees of nature, such as woman's temporary handicap during pregnancy, parturition, and the nursing period. Among the wealthy, where slaves were available, women were free from drudgery but not from domination. The beautiful and richly clothed inmates of the harem were as subservient to the whims of the master as were the slaves who trod his winepress.

Both were where they were because it was the master's will, and they performed the functions he wanted them to perform. The Chinese lady did not soil her hands with labor, but she was actually much less free than the coolie's wife who labored by his side and of necessity had privileges not available to the lady behind the curtains. But each was doing what man told her to do, whether pulling a plow side by side with a beast or making her body beautiful to please her lord.

In the so-called "age of chivalry," woman found herself perched upon a pedestal. But that she was still ruled by man is attested by the fact that she did not *climb* upon the pedestal by herself; she was *placed* there by man. Why? Because he liked the looks of her better there than elsewhere. It pleased his vanity to elevate her to this position of a semigoddess, a goddess man-made and man-controlled. It gave him something new to worship—and command.

Thus has woman been inamorata or servant, goddess or helpmeet, according to the will of her lord. Such has been her lot until very recent times. Seldom has she rebelled, for she has accepted her inferiority as the converse of man's superiority. Such acceptance is essential to any subordination-superordination relationship if it is to survive long and with a minimum of dissatisfaction. How effective man was in setting the pattern to his advantage is attested by the ease of its maintenance through the centuries. But at last the pattern has been broken, and in a number of countries woman is headed definitely toward equality with man. How did this change come about? What will happen next? Does woman want near equality, full equality, or more than equality? Will she be content with her new freedom or vindictive over the memory of centuries of vassalage? Will there now be greater cooperation or conflict between the sexes? If conflict, who will win? We can only say, in the vernacular of the football field, "It's anybody's game. Anything can happen."

THE RISE OF "FEMINISM"

In a letter to Kugelman in 1868, Karl Marx declared that "social progress can be measured with precision by the social position of the female sex." If Marx was right, social progress is very young indeed. But his words, like most sweeping statements, contained both truth and error. The Spartans gave their women great freedom, while the Athenians held theirs in almost Oriental subjection. Yet the Spartans are known chiefly for their physical vigor, courage, and military prowess, but the Athenians produced a brilliant civilization the history of which still amazes the world. In philosophy, art, and political organization they advanced so far that on certain tests of "progress" we are not sure that we surpass them even today. Thus, a single criterion of social

progress is usually inadequate. Nevertheless, even the Greeks had their proponents of women's rights. Plato had very liberal views, contending that women should be admitted to all the rights and duties of men and that the state was the loser in keeping them on a low level. Aristotle, however, considered men superior to women and hence their natural rulers.

The early Christian church, through its insistence on the sacredness of every human life and its fight against excessive divorce and sexual laxity, added to the dignity of womanhood. But as the ascetic ideal began to dominate Christianity, woman came to be looked upon as the chief source of sin, but a necessary evil if the race were to be propagated. The views of the great apostle Paul on marriage as a compromise, and his clearly stated opinions of woman's subordinate position, carried great weight.

Nor did the Reformation greatly modify woman's position. Even Luther, though greatly respecting the ability and appreciating the companionship of his own wife, set forth his stern tenets on the function of woman in these words: "If woman becomes weary or at last dead from bearing, that matters not; let her only die from bearing. She is there to do it." Ideas of marriage and divorce were liberalized somewhat, but the husband remained the absolute head of the family and woman's position was essentially unchanged.

The Industrial Revolution.—It was the industrial revolution, the source of so many and such profound social changes, that finally laid the foundation for woman's rapid rise. In precapitalist society a few women engaged in various trades, but most of them remained at home, occupied by the many domestic tasks of that time and helping their husbands in handicraft production. The rise of industrial capitalism had very different effects on the women in the several economic strata. In the upper class, new fortunes brought a great increase in leisure, so that, as Mary Astell put it, the wives of prosperous members of the *bourgeoisie* had "nothing to do but to glorify God and benefit their neighbors," and they seemed to lean more to the former than to the latter.¹ But the wives of the laboring class were hard-hit. Through economic necessity they were forced into mills, factories, and mines as unskilled wage earners. Their status at first went down, as their traditional work and position were uprooted; and the double burden of housewife and wage earner was all but unbearable. But soon certain limited advantages began to appear, not relative to their status in society as a whole, but *in the family*. For, women having become important contributors to the family income, their voices could not be ignored in the family councils. Also, their work outside the home widened their contacts and tended to

¹ BERNHARD J. STERN, Woman, Position in Society, in *Ency. Soc. Sciences*, 15: 444.

break down the hitherto unquestioned male domination in the home. And finally, having become wage earners side by side with men, they were bound to profit sooner or later by the long bitter struggle of the latter for more rights for the workers. But the rewards were painfully slow in coming.

The Feminist Movement in Europe.—History reveals many ironical facts. That an American president should have founded the League of Nations, though unable to get his own nation to join, is no more striking than that the mother of feminism should arise in France, where even yet women are denied the ballot. In 1604, long before the industrial revolution, the lone voice of Marie de Gournay was calling for equality between men and women, but none would listen. Her "*L'Égalité des hommes et des femmes*" made scarcely a ripple on the surface of male complacency. Not until more than a century and a half later did two philosophers of the French Revolution take up the challenge. Holbach, in his "*Système social*" (1773), and Condorcet, in his "*Sur l'admission des femmes au droit de cité*" (1789), stoutly declared for absolute equality of educational opportunity and political rights for men and women. But, as so aptly expressed by Goodsell,¹ "the leaders of the revolution were far too much absorbed in realizing their theories of human rights for men to accord much attention to women. Their hour had not yet struck. . . . The seeds first planted in France were destined to be harvested in other lands." In England, Mary Wollstonecraft had been profoundly impressed by the theories of Condorcet and his fellow Encyclopedists. Her "*Vindication of the Rights of Woman*" (1791) was a sincere and vigorous plea for the rights of women. Dubbed by her enemies "a hyena in petticoats," she worked courageously for her convictions but made few converts. But the industrial revolution was beginning to prepare the soil for the tardy germination of ideas planted by such pioneers. In Germany the writings of Theodor von Hippel and Amalie Holst, near the turn of the century, were accorded the same hostile reception given those of English and French writers.

It was in England that the "woman movement" made its first real progress, for it was there that the industrial revolution first began to make itself felt. Early in the nineteenth century the idea that women really had "rights" began to take root. The conservatism of James Mill so aroused William Thompson, a disciple of Robert Owen, that in 1825 he wrote his "*Appeal of One Half of the Human Race, Women, against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men.*" In 1831 the National Union of the Working Classes, and in 1838 the Chartists, advocated woman suffrage. In 1867 John Stuart Mill tried to tack a suffrage amendment to the

¹ WILLYSTINE GOODSSELL, "*Problems of the Family*," Appleton-Century, New York, 1928, p. 272.

Reform Bill, but without success. However, his "Subjection of Women" (1869) was widely used by feminist leaders in England and other countries. Near the close of the century (1897), the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was organized, and Parliament was petitioned again and again, but in vain. Not until the twentieth century was woman suffrage taken seriously. When the women became militant, held mass demonstrations, and went on hunger strikes, they began to get attention. Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst was one of the most picturesque leaders, and her fame spread throughout the world. In 1903, she founded the Women's Social and Political Union, which attracted world-wide notice. When in jail—as she frequently was—Mrs. Pankhurst instituted the "hunger strike," a technique that greatly worried her jailers. In 1907 women won the right to vote in municipal elections, in 1918 they were enfranchised on a limited scale, but not until 1928 did they receive full enfranchisement on the same terms as men.

Women's Legal Disabilities in This Country.—In the United States the fight was long and colorful and often bitter. Thomas Jefferson, in spite of his ideas of democracy, thought it best to exclude women from political activity "to prevent depravation of morals and ambiguity of issues." Women were supposed to stay at home where they would not be contaminated by the rough-and-tumble public meetings of the men. But Thomas Paine, Robert Dale Owen, Margaret Fuller, and a few others spoke up stoutly for women's rights, and the idea was not allowed to die. Nevertheless, progress was discouragingly slow. Since almost the only careers open to women at the beginning of the nineteenth century were those of wifehood and motherhood, it would be supposed that in these approved fields of endeavor they would have considerable freedom. Not so. The subjection in which they were held is well pictured in the following passage:¹

Under the common law, upon marriage, a woman lost her rights, her responsibilities, and even her identity. . . . Speaking broadly, upon her marriage, all the property a woman had or might in the future acquire became her husband's. . . . With certain insignificant exceptions, all her personal property, including her earnings, passed into the absolute possession of her husband. But in his property the wife was given no corresponding share. She was entitled to what was called the *paraphernalia*, and, upon his death, under the right of dower, to a life interest in one-third of all the estates of inheritance held by him during coverture.

Since the wife could exercise no control over the property, quite logically she was not allowed to contract, except as her husband's agent, to make a will without his consent, or to sue or be sued in her own name. Of necessity the law made the husband liable for his wife's antenuptial debts and for her postnuptial debts

¹ GRACE ABBOTT, "The Changing Position of Women," in Charles A. Beard (editor), "A Century of Progress," New York, Harper, 1932, p. 257.

when contracted in the purchase of necessities and for her antenuptial and post-nuptial torts.

Such was the bondage from which women sought a way out. It will be seen that Blackstone's statement, "By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law," was not true even at common law. Furthermore, he contradicted himself when he said that "even the disabilities which the wife lies under are for the most part intended for her protection and benefit." Grace Abbott thinks John Stuart Mill was much nearer the truth when he said, "If married life were all that it might be expected to be, looking to the laws alone, society would be hell upon earth." However, marriage was not so bad as the law made it appear, owing partly to the ability of wives to get what they wanted by "studying to please" their husbands, and partly to the fact that human nature is frequently better than human law. Nevertheless, women had plenty of cause for dissatisfaction with their inferior property rights, to say nothing of political rights, and stirred by a few militant leaders they determined to do something about it. The rebellion was on.

The Beginning of the Women's Rights Movement.—For some years women had been active in antislavery agitation, and it was out of this that the organized feminist movement grew. In 1848 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and a number of other daring souls called the Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, N. Y., the first women's convention ever held in the United States. The convention drew up a "declaration of sentiments," protesting unequal property rights, disfranchisement, the inequality of divorce laws, occupational limitations, and the lack of educational opportunities for women. This was the beginning of the campaign, and from then on such leaders as Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, and Susan B. Anthony carried the fight to the nation.

It is not surprising that much of the opposition to the feminist movement came from the women themselves. Though a good many of the more intelligent women were painfully aware of their low legal status, the vast majority gave it little thought even when brought to their attention. Those who were happy in their marriage saw no need of change, having all the rights and privileges they wanted. So firmly fixed was the existing social pattern that it was considered "unnatural" and almost indecent to change it. Most women believed as firmly as their menfolk that "woman's place is in the home," and many vitriolic remarks were unleashed by feminine tongues against the female rebels who "ought to be home tending their brats instead of traipsing around over the country making speeches." Even women of education and refinement did not wish to vote or enter any profession, and they saw no use of fighting for unwanted responsibilities. It was necessary, therefore, to make con-

verts among both sexes. The tireless efforts of the leaders finally bore fruit, though the yield increased very slowly at first. Lesser leaders for various regions were enlisted, and gradually the rank and file caught something of the militant fervor of those in the vanguard. Some who cared little for the goals entered the lists in defense of their sex, regardless of the issue. But most caught the vision of a freer world for women and of what it would mean for their daughters. The women of the middle class were the backbone of the movement. Such men as William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Channing, Whittier, and Emerson came to their support, speaking and writing in behalf of the movement.

When the abolition of slavery became such a burning issue, the movement for women's rights was sidetracked for the time. It was thought, however, that when Negroes were granted suffrage women also would receive it; but these hopes were doomed to disappointment. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments were passed and tested in the courts by women in various states, but the Supreme Court ruled that these amendments in no way dealt with the right of women to vote and that the question of such right remained with the individual states. In 1869, and at various times thereafter, an amendment to the federal constitution granting the franchise to women was defeated in Congress.

Women Receive the Ballot.—Meanwhile the pressure had been turned upon the state legislatures. In 1868, while still a territory, Wyoming granted suffrage to women, but no other state followed suit until in the nineties, when Colorado, Utah, and Idaho did so. There followed years of discouragement and little headway. It was the World War that finally gave women the ballot so long sought. Stern¹ points out that just as Asquith, who was opposed to suffrage, received needed political support by securing in 1917 a limited franchise for British women, so Wilson, also hostile to the Suffragists, in September, 1918, recommended the passage of a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage as a measure that he called "vital to the winning of the war." The amendment was adopted, and by the summer of 1920 it had been ratified by the necessary 36 states, thus becoming a law. Not until 1928 did British women get full suffrage. How tardily have come some of the most logical steps in mankind's upward march!

But during the years that the public watched the wavering battle for the franchise, women were gaining other rights on every front. Vernier² points out that the movement to improve the legal status of women "proceeded along two general lines: (1) by way of piecemeal legislation increasing the rights of the wife and decreasing the rights of the husband;

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 447.

² CHESTER G. VERNIER, "American Family Laws," Stanford University Press, 1935, Vol. 3, p. 4.

(2) by way of broad 'equal rights' statutes recently adopted in 12 states. On the other hand, 9 states still declare that the husband is 'the head of the family.' " On this a Georgia judge aptly comments that he may be head of the family, but like the King of England he is merely a figurehead.

It is not necessary to trace in detail the gains made by women in their struggle for equality. Suffice it to say that their legal status has been revolutionized. Some of the measures are woefully inadequate, leaving a great deal to implication, but others are gratifyingly specific, making interpretation easy. The chief legal gains might be summarized as follows:

The husband's liability for his wife's prenuptial debts, as under the common law, is almost wholly gone; likewise, the common-law inability of a wife to make contracts. There is no tendency to ease directly the husband's obligation to support his family, but indirectly it is eased by laws (now in 23 jurisdictions) which impose an analogous duty upon the wife sharing the support, and in 17 states the wife can be required to support the husband, under certain circumstances. It seems illogical that husband and wife should not be allowed to contract with each other, yet 4 jurisdictions still expressly forbid it. The Uniform Desertion and Non-support Act has made headway, having been adopted wholly or substantially by about a third of the 51 jurisdictions. There is a definite trend toward family courts that will treat the family as a unit. The woman still has little choice as to domicile, although some states have substituted liberal statutes for the strict common law on this subject. Few states have adequately dealt with the common-law presumption that a woman who committed a crime in the presence of her husband was acting under his coercion; yet there is no defensible reason for such presumption. In the field of property rights the changes have been many and sweeping, with husbands in nearly all of the jurisdictions being shorn of their right to control the wife's property. On the other hand, there is little express legislation on the problem of "whether and to what extent the spouses may sue each other." In some states the conveyance of property is so safeguarded that a peculiar situation arises—the wife cannot by herself convey, but she can contract to convey and thus deprive herself of her property, which is likened by a North Carolina justice to "whipping the devil around the stump."¹

But still another matter—the lack of full citizenship rights—continued to penalize women even after their enfranchisement, and only very recently has it been cleared up. Under the Act of 1855, any alien woman who married an American automatically became an American. But what of an American woman who married an alien? Not until the Act of 1907 was it definitely decided that she became an alien by such a marriage. Thus, a man did not lose his citizenship by marrying an alien, but a woman did. This gross inequality was partly remedied by a bill

¹ From Ray E. Baber's review, in the *New York University Law Quarterly Rev.*, March, 1936, of Vol. 3 of Vernier's "American Family Laws."

passed in 1922, which was amended in 1930 when found to be inadequate, and again in 1931, to cover the last complicated details of such international marriages. This last amendment wiped out all differences between the citizenship rights of men and women, and another goal was achieved.

For the past fifteen years the National Woman's Party has been urging the passage of an "equal rights amendment" to the federal Constitution, which would read, "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." Several other women's organizations are supporting the proposed amendment, including the National Federation of Business and Professional Women, which endorsed it in the 1937 convention. The opposition to the amendment has been led by the powerful League of Women Voters, with various organizations of industrial women following their lead.

There are two main objections raised against the proposal. First, it would do away with the special protection which women workers now have in many states, such as minimum wage and maximum hours laws. It is pointed out that women workers, particularly those in the lower wage brackets, need minimum wage protection far more than they need mere legal equality. In 1936 women laundry workers testified that it was the practice in some laundries to take on beginners who received only \$4 per week during their apprenticeship, at the end of which they were dismissed and other beginners hired in their places, to be dismissed in turn. Second, it is claimed that the amendment is not specific enough and would cause a great deal of confusion. For example, in a number of states a girl of 18 can marry without her parents' consent but a boy must be 21. Under the amendment, what would happen? Could the boy marry at 18, or would the girl have to wait till she was 21?

Those supporting the amendment say that women will never attain equality with men as long as they insist upon, or even accept, special protection and that the sooner they renounce all such privileges the sooner they will come into their own. They contend that the essence of their demand is "equal pay for equal work" and that they will not get it as long as they allow themselves to be put in a special labor group that is "protected." Several years ago there was an attempt to get the opposing camps together on a proposed "charter of rights for women," but without success.

In spite of the gains women have made in their fight for equality, particularly the strategic achievement of the right to vote, they still have a long way to go before they reach actual equality. They are still subject to many legal disqualifications, to say nothing of the new responsibilities and burdens they must assume if they are to have strict equality.

To those who think the battle has already been won, Catherine Mackenzie¹ points out that there are still more than 1,000 laws in the United States, scattered in every state in the union, that discriminate against women.

They touch on 60 points of inequality and include laws which give fathers prior rights in custody or guardianship of children or power to will the child away from the mother; laws prohibiting a married woman from signing a contract without the husband's consent, even if living apart from him; laws which bar women from high public office. In some states the wife's earnings belong to her husband, in others her possessions are legally his, including even her jewelry and her clothes.

Half the states bar women from certain occupations. In some states they may not engage in mining; in Ohio and Washington women may not be bellhops; in Ohio and Pennsylvania they are not allowed to test gas or electric meters; they may not be bank superintendents in Mississippi, county medical examiners in Rhode Island, or clerks to a legislative committee in Wisconsin. In Oklahoma no woman may be governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, attorney general, or state treasurer. Women may not work in quarries in five states; may not be messengers in Oregon; may not shine shoes in Ohio; may not work in coke ovens in Colorado; may not handle baggage, work in poolrooms, or serve drinks to male customers in certain other states. In other states women are barred from running elevators, selling tickets after dark, and from numerous other jobs; but enough examples have been listed to show the wide range of prohibitions to which they are subject. The end of the road leading to equality still extends to the horizon, and how much farther one can only guess.

But while women are still short on rights, they are rapidly acquiring responsibilities which replace certain privileges that heretofore have been theirs.

In fourteen states the wife is now equally liable for family expenses. . . . In a number of states mothers as well as fathers may be held for desertion or failure to provide for children; in others a wife may be obliged to support a husband if he is unable to support himself, even after a legal separation. . . . In 13 states the wife must be prepared to pay alimony just as the husband must be prepared.²

THE GAINS OF WOMEN IN OTHER COUNTRIES

In a good many countries women have raised their status substantially in the last 50 years. Certainly in most western nations they are very far above the old-time levels. In his discussion of social progress,

¹ CATHERINE MACKENZIE, *Woman Strikes Again at This "Man's World,"* *New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 14, 1937, p. 7.

² *Loc. cit.*

Hornell Hart¹ worked out a scale for measuring the status of women at different times and in different places. His index rates the early Roman period -40; but it rises to +53 in the later Roman Empire. In the early Middle Ages, however, it had dropped to -20 but was back to 0 by the late Middle Ages. From there it rose slowly to 20 about 1700, then rapidly to around 90 in present-day America. A glance at the position of women the world over (barring preliterate peoples) wholly justifies a high rating, though in a few cases the variations are rather extreme.

France.—France, one of the first countries to proclaim the rights of man, still refuses to proclaim the rights of women. Several times the Chamber of Deputies has passed a suffrage bill (the last time being in 1936), but each time the Senate has defeated it. In addition to this question, there are other legal disabilities. Says one writer:²

The Frenchwoman of today does not possess the faintest trace of political freedom. Before the law she stands on the same level with infants, criminals, and idiots—and when she marries, she is delivered over to the arbitrary power of her husband, unconditionally. Without his consent she may not pursue a profession. The Frenchwoman is not allowed to manage her own property—unless she has expressly assured herself of this right beforehand in her marriage contract; she may not have a bank account; she may not make a contract; for the law refuses to concede her the slightest degree of responsibility. Were one to judge only by constitutions and codes of law, she would have to be considered the most deplorable woman on earth.

Yet the women of France are not nearly so badly off as their low legal status would indicate. Indeed, not only do they rule in matters of the home, but they are extremely influential in business and political affairs. The wife of many a small shopkeeper handles the finances of the business, being cashier and bookkeeper and determining prices to be charged for goods or services. Frequently the widows of industrialists have taken over huge factories and run them successfully. In fact, women are in business in France to an amazing degree. "According to the census there are all told 2,840,000 women 'chefs d'entreprises,' which means that each is the owner or the director in charge of a business with a personnel of one or more employees. The business may be no more than a dairy shop, and yet it is significant that 45 per cent of the 'chefs d'entreprises' in France are women, and that they outnumber the women laborers and office employees put together."³ There are women also in the professions,

¹ "The Technique of Social Progress," New York, Holt, 1931, pp. 356-357.

² ANTONINA VALENTIN, *The Voteless Women Who Rule France*, *New York Times Magazine*, Jan. 1, 1933, p. 11.

³ DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY, *Freedom That Women Have Won Abroad*, *New York Times Magazine*, Aug. 14, 1932, p. 9.

but their number is much more limited. There are women lawyers, doctors, journalists, editors, architects, and even engineers, there being a school authorized by the state for women engineers. Much of this new activity of women resulted from the World War, when women and girls were drawn into almost every form of work to release men for the army. Like the Roman women who were unwilling to revert to the *status quo* after the Punic Wars, the Frenchwomen determined to hold their gains, especially since many of them could never hope to marry, owing to a shortage of two million men. Frenchwomen have also wielded much political power in spite of the fact that they cannot vote.¹ For this reason the rank and file are indifferent to the pleas of feminist leaders; they know that they have power without the ballot.

England.—When Englishwomen in 1917 received limited enfranchisement (not completed until 1928), they began immediately to show their ability by backing various social reforms. They have not gone into business on anything like the scale that Frenchwomen have. Their menfolk do not have the same confidence in their business ability that Frenchmen have for the ability of their women. Furthermore, the Englishman apparently “doesn’t like to have the women around” as well as the Frenchman does. This makes it hard for Englishwomen in the professions. They are not encouraged in law, and yet they have made some headway in it. They have done much better, however, in the field of medicine, though many of the large general hospitals are still closed to them. In politics they have done remarkably well, managing to hold more than a dozen seats in Parliament.

Germany.—Here, again, the war brought a profound change in the status of women. Prior to 1914 women had little time or opportunity to work for equality with men. Such ambition was frowned upon, as wholly discordant with the German tradition of woman’s correct activities which, said the Kaiser, should be limited to *Kinder, Küche, und Kirche*. But war duties drew women out into a thousand avenues of work, and when “the shouting and the tumult died” they found themselves strangely self-reliant and independent of the erstwhile unquestioned male will. They demanded rights, and in 1918 with the establishment of a republic they received the franchise. On some matters they tended to divide along traditional party lines, but on certain social legislation they formed a united front. Here they did excellent work, sponsoring forward-looking legislation for the protection of women and children in many ways. In fact the German feminist movement differed widely from the movement in England and America on this very point: it focused almost

¹ For an interesting discussion of the Frenchwoman’s remarkable versatility along this line, see Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, *The Frenchwoman Holds Her Own*, *Harper’s*, 166: 102–112, December, 1932.

its whole attention upon securing protection for mother and child, whereas in the countries just mentioned the goal was equality with men.

But with the rise of Nazism to power the trend of women out into business and the professions was slowed down, halted, and then reversed, for the Third Reich was determined to make women again womanly. The empty cradles in Germany worried the Nazi chieftain intensely. In 1913 the birth rate was around 30, but by 1933 it had fallen to 14.7, a drop of more than 50 per cent in two decades, making one of the lowest birth rates in the world. The efforts of the German government to increase marriage and raise the birth rate are related in Chap. XVI. We are here interested only in the effects on the status of women. The Nazi leaders argued that the presence of women in industry and business not only prevented them from raising the "normal" family of five children, but also threw men out of work; so within a few years after the Weimar Constitution had guaranteed German women their freedom they were ordered back to kitchen and nursery. Said Hitler, in showing that woman must be content with her traditional status, "Her world is her husband, her family, her children, and her house. . . . We do not feel it to be right when woman presses into the principal domain of the man." In 1933 there were 35 women members in the Reichstag; now there are none. Also, higher education for women is disfavored, except for a few who are rigidly selected, and accordingly the percentage of women in German universities has dropped to a low level.

But the principles of economics were not impressed by this plan for feminine goose-stepping. Women were not actually throwing men out of work, for there was already a labor shortage due to the enormous effort required if Germany was to reach the dual goal of rearmament and national self-sufficiency. Indeed, women were desperately needed to keep up production. Therefore, although women were replaced by men in the professions and the higher positions of business, they were welcomed again in industry. By the middle of 1938 there were more employed women in Germany than ever before.¹

The women's organizations were forced into line. Kirkpatrick² reveals the pressure brought to bear on the feminist leaders, and the triumph of the state-controlled National Socialist Woman's Party. The leaders who could not lend themselves to a cause for which they had no heart withdrew with what grace they could, and some of the organizations disbanded. The others were all united into one recognized association, the *Deutsches Frauenwerk*, with a man as its head, with a *woman*

¹ OTTO D. TOLISCHUS, in the *New York Times*, Aug. 12, 1938.

² CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK, Recent Changes in the Status of Women and the Family in Germany, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 2: 650-658, October, 1937.

assistant. The latter set forth the creed of her organization thus: "All womanly knowledge springs from the deep roots of the woman's soul, while the special mental power of man arises in the colder atmosphere of the absolutely intellectual. The coldness and hardness of the man longs for the softness and warmth of the woman. . . . to awaken and renew the will in men and women for large families is the pressing task of the new woman's movement."¹ Thus has the once vigorous woman's movement in Germany been reduced to a propaganda machine. The fair-haired German *Frauen* are once more under control.

Russia.—The status of women in Russia was once extremely high, then fell to the very depths, and now is at a new high. In early pagan times women are reported to have been, in both custom and law, almost the equal of men. They could engage in various callings (even fighting) and frequently attained high position. But new forces, such as the two centuries of Tartar invasion, the patriarchal family pattern, and the introduction of Byzantine Christianity with its low conception of women, swept away the freedom and equality that women had enjoyed.² They became the mere playthings of men, and for several centuries their chief function was to make themselves seductive. Peter the Great abolished the *terem* (women's quarters in the house) and forced women out into a broader life, but not until the Decembrist Revolution (1825) did the new Russian woman appear. Through all the years of plotting and planning for the new revolution to come, women took their full share of responsibility. They asked no favors because of their sex, and they did without question whatever they were called upon to do. "They were followers, they were leaders. They were spies, they were bomb throwers. They shared everything alike with men. They lived together with men, planned, plotted together with them, together marched to gaols and penal settlements in Siberia, together ascended the gallows."³ With such a background of mutual trust and respect, it is understandable why feminism in Russia was not interested in merely fighting male domination but worked for a broader program. It was therefore only natural that there should be no question of discrimination against women once the revolution was a success. It was taken for granted that in the new state there would be complete sex equality.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 did establish complete equality between the sexes. It is difficult to comprehend all at once what the word "complete" involves in this matter. It means, for one thing, com-

¹ ALICE HAMILTON, *Woman's Place in Germany*, *Survey Graphic*, 23: 26-29, January, 1934.

² MAURICE HINDUS, "Humanity Uprooted," New York, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1929, pp. 282-284.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

plete *political* equality. Not only do Russian women have the ballot: there is no political office that is not open to them if they are fitted for it, and women in high office are numerous. It means *legal* equality. Women may retain their own names after marriage if they desire; they may choose their own residence and need not follow their husbands when they move; they have exactly the same rights as men regarding property. It means *social* equality. Women are admitted to clubs and other organizations that in other countries would be reserved for males. There are no colleges exclusively for men or for women. In trade unions and professions, or elsewhere, there are no separate clauses or provisions for men or women. It means *economic* equality. Since all members of the state must now serve in the most effective way, women must work the same as men. It is not merely their privilege to work—they *must* work if they are to be loyal Communists. In May, 1936, figures released by the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. showed that one-third of all factory and office workers were women and that they received equal pay for equal work. Nor are married women discriminated against—in fact, no employer has any right to reject a woman applicant because she is married, even though she be pregnant. Expectant mothers are given a month or two off, on full pay, for the birth and care of their infants, and after they return are allowed to leave their work several times each day to nurse their babies in the nursery attached to the place of work. Finally, it means *moral* equality, *i.e.*, the right to the same code of ethics used by the men. Under this single standard, women who drink heavily or engage in sexual excess are judged by the same standard as are men who depart from the approved social pattern.

Thus, women have emerged into an entirely new life in Russia, some features of which are pleasant and some not. Lenin's statement that no nation could be free in which half of the population was chained to the drudgery of the kitchen aroused the hope of women for release from the loneliness and monotony of domestic work. In some districts this hope has been partly realized. Factory restaurants, day nurseries for children, and various other governmental aids made it possible for women to drop their breadboards and join the ranks of labor. It is gratifying to women to be heard respectfully in the councils and to find their names inscribed in high places. The fellowship, freedom, and prestige has opened up to them a new world. But new privileges have brought new responsibilities as well. Much of the factory work that women have been called upon to do is as routine and irksome as housework, and frequently much harder. Nor are women exempt from the heavier, dirtier tasks, such as subway digging, street cleaning, and similar tasks. Equality means equality, and women are not shielded because of their sex; only their physical capacity sets the limit.

Italy.—There has never been a very strong feminist movement in Italy. Most Italian women do not object to their traditional role. Also, certain privileges, such as coeducation in the universities, were extended even before women demanded them. Soon after the rise of fascism women were given the right to vote in municipal elections, but later the government's system of appointment of municipal officers annulled women's voting rights. Mussolini has tried every way in his power—commands, pleading, rewards—to encourage women to bear more children, but without success. The birth-rate trend has been steadily downward, dropping from 26.7 in 1930 to 22.2 in 1936. In spite of official demands that women be domestic and maternal, they are more and more entering the occupational fields of men. They far outnumber men as teachers in the public schools and have had some success as writers, editors, and professional workers in similar fields. Many women have become able exponents of the fascist cause, and under present conditions it may be some time before they demand equality.

Spain.—Spain long preserved the typical patriarchal family pattern, with woman under man's control, divorce not allowed, and the double standard a fixed part of the mores. Women of the upper and middle classes were kept in oriental seclusion, but, as is usually the case, women of the peasant class were much freer to come and go; they had to be, in order to carry on the enormous amount of work expected of them. There was no question of whose world it was in Spain. Therefore, it is not surprising that little more than a decade ago the clergy of Spain was storming at three women's clubs that had come into being in Madrid, particularly at one in which women clad in bloomers played basketball. But it is surprising that today, by a sudden twist of fortune, the women of Spain have political equality with men. Women had acquired limited franchise rights in 1926; but with the revolution in 1931 and subsequent steps in reorganizing the political, economic, and social life of the people, came equality in almost every area of life. It remains to be seen what the new political regime will do.

Scandinavia.—In Finland women were granted suffrage in 1906, Norway granted it in 1913, Denmark in 1915, and Sweden, strange to say, not until 1921. In general the status of woman is high in these countries, although women have not been very active politically. Divorce by mutual consent at first operated more against the welfare of women than for it; but now that the excesses of newly acquired rights have passed, it is likely to apply equally to the sexes. The Swedish law that a woman who properly cares for household and children is presumed to be earning half the total income of the husband dignifies the home and woman's position in it. While American states were wrestling with this problem, Sweden cut the knot at a blow, by declaring that a woman's

work in the home contributes as much to the family's welfare as does the man's work in shop or office.

Turkey.—Before the war the lot of women in Turkey had long been unenviable. They were secluded in the harem, talking only to their husbands and close relatives. When they went out, they were shapeless in the billowing black *charshaf* and featureless behind the black veil. They were guarded by the fierce jealousy of their men and lived only to work, bear children, and amuse their lords and masters. They were ignorant and narrow in outlook, and their chief interests were sex and intrigue.

But polygyny and the harem were on the way out long before the World War. As nomadic habits gave way to settled residence and varied occupation, polygyny became less adapted to the changed way of living, and the dire poverty following the war made it rare. But it was the clash with Greece after the war that brought women to the front. Fighting the Greek invasion for their very existence, the Turkish women roused laggards with fierce speeches, carried food and ammunition to their fighting men, and even fought beside them. Their victory was followed by revolution, and the constitutional government set up at Angora gave women political freedom. The Civil Code of 1925 abolished all legal discrimination between the sexes. Woman was given divorce rights equal to man's and complete control of her person and property. Polygyny was declared illegal and punishable by imprisonment up to five years, and the veil was made optional for women. It is still worn in many parts of the interior, but in Constantinople it has been cast aside and European clothing adopted. Many women are becoming educated, and some are practicing law and medicine and following other professions. There has been an excess in sex freedom, which possibly will diminish as women attain their balance in the new order. At a recent meeting of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, held in Istanbul in rooms used by the sultan's harem only a quarter of a century before, it seemed paradoxical that the Turkish delegates should join in deploring the loss of status by the women of Germany.

China.—In China the impact of the West has broken, among other customs, the domination of the male. The complete submission of women, pictured in an earlier chapter, is no more. Such a statement is too broad to apply to all China, for in the far interior custom holds blindly to its ways, unmindful of national laws to the contrary. But in the port cities and the regions in contact with foreign influence the change has been great. Chinese youths educated abroad hastened the process. On their return to China, they demanded that their wives have an opportunity to become educated, so they could be real companions. Mothers hoping to capture such potential leaders for sons-in-law sent their

daughters to school. The Revolution of 1911 brought helpful changes. Schools for girls, both public and private, were established, and many thousands took advantage of the opportunities offered. Before many years coeducation began to appear.¹ It was but a step from this to the entrance of young women into business and the professions, which is now coming to pass.

Women now have a great many new rights, among them the right to possess separate property (whether earned or a gift) and the right of daughters, whether married or single, to inherit their father's property equally with sons. Marriage is no longer a family matter arranged entirely by the parents, but a personal matter involving mutual consent.² The new civil law put into effect by the Nationalist government in 1930 made women's divorce rights equal with men's. Divorce may be by mutual consent, but for judicial divorce the grounds for the wife are the same as for the husband.³ The Women's Department of the Nationalist government (Nationalist party) is actively promoting education for women and girls. Women have not yet been granted suffrage, but their status is far better than formerly.

Japan.—In the Land of the Rising Sun women have been agitating for more rights for a good many years but have never received the franchise, even when it was extended to include new classes of males. As in China, both Buddhism and Confucianism have retarded the progress of women. However, women have invaded nearly every occupation. There are some hundreds of physicians, pharmacists, and dentists, thousands of nurses and teachers, and many thousands in industry. There are quite a few women's organizations, and in 1920 one of these succeeded in getting the Diet to amend the Peace Preservation Ordinance which forbade women to engage in political activity, with the result that women are becoming a real force in political affairs. They are actively backing demands for reforms in regard to marriage laws, prostitution, health, and various other measures particularly affecting women. Theoretically, there is divorce by mutual consent, but actually it is not always "mutual," the husband sometimes using this provision to get rid of an unwanted wife. The children usually go to the father in case of divorce.⁴

India.—In a land where only a pitifully small percentage of the women can even read, it is interesting to note the undismayed efforts of leaders to

¹ It was the writer's privilege to be the advisor of the first coeducational class of high-school level in China. This was at Canton, in the preparatory school of Lingnan University, in 1918.

² KWANG YUNG MA, *The Western Educational Influence on China*, Master of Arts thesis at New York University, 1933.

³ TSAI YIN EN, *A Study of Chinese Family Law*, unpublished manuscript, 1937.

⁴ H. V. REDMAN, *Feminism in the Far East*, *Fortnightly Rev.*, 133: 345-354, March, 1930.

improve their lot. The All-Indian Women's Education Conference, meeting in 1927 and succeeding years, has exerted a strong influence. This organization is slowly but surely making headway against purdah (the seclusion of women), it helped get through the child marriage bill raising the age of consent to fourteen years, and it is securing increased educational opportunities for girls. In Madras the compulsory education law includes girls as well as boys. The girls' high schools are overflowing and the colleges for women are full. In some of the Indian universities, girls are admitted and study side by side with the boys, and in Delhi there is a women's medical college. Women have recently received the right to practice law. However, in general the girls do not receive anything like their share of the funds allotted for education. These new opportunities have resulted in a small but growing body of women who are taking an active part in political affairs, a good many of them serving on municipal committees and educational boards and councils. In Bombay and certain other parts of South India, women have even secured the ballot on the same terms as men, though it is highly restricted for both sexes.

Thus, the world over, women are emerging from their centuries of subservience to men. A 1937 report by the League of Nations shows that 24 countries give their women the right to vote and hold office, on an equal footing with men. In the Irish Free State and also in Ecuador, equal rights for men and women have been proclaimed, and in Czechoslovakia, before its invasion, women had political equality with men. In Mexico, after years of agitation, women have achieved the ballot. Women have limited suffrage in Brazil, Ceylon, Portugal, Siam, and South Africa, and municipal suffrage in Chile, Greece, Jamaica, Peru, and Rumania. Even in Central Asia, where woman's inferiority has long been taken for granted, feminism is actually taking root. The heaven of Russian women has been largely responsible, and wives and daughters are getting into violent trouble with husbands and fathers in their attempts to discard the veil, the symbol of submission. The fact that in such cities as Bokhara and Samarkand perhaps half the women now go unveiled testifies to the progress they are making in this veritable citadel of the male world.

WOMAN'S INVASION OF MAN'S WORKING WORLD

Women were working for wages long before the woman's movement became influential. It will be remembered that the industrial revolution forced some women into the factory, and always there were women in domestic service. Even in colonial times there were a few women in business, but they were considered exceptions. Thus, although it was

not uncommon for women of the lower economic class to work for wages, the work was usually confined to a few very well-defined fields. There was as yet no large-scale invasion of the business and professional areas where men ruled supreme.

But several factors combined to bring an ever-increasing number of women into almost every type of remunerative work. The invention of household laborsaving devices and the transfer of canning, baking, laundering, and other such services to outside agencies gave women part-time release from the home; also, changing economic conditions, the great increase in education for women, and the new ideology growing out of the successful woman's movement all contributed to a new feminine work pattern in this country. This new pattern had to be accepted by men as well as women if it was to receive a fair trial. It was promoted in some fields chiefly by women, and in others chiefly by men, according to the advantages involved. But much of the process was unconscious, or at least semiconscious, being influenced by the silent working of little-understood economic forces.

The many new rights, both legal and social, that women acquired in their long struggle for equality gave them increased confidence in what they could do. If they were to be free like men, they saw no reason why they should longer be confined to the traditional duties of women, which consisted chiefly of household work and child care. It required some time for this idea to take root, so dominant was the traditional pattern, but once rooted it grew vigorously. It was not a mushroom growth, as popularly believed, but was steady and persistent. Women began to tackle every occupation in sight, including certain professions that had long been considered sacred to men. Some devoted part time, some full time, to their work. Some were pushed into it by necessity; others chose it from a variety of motives. These motives will be discussed later; at this point we shall look at the number of women who have gone out to work for pay and the fields into which they have gone.

The Number of Women Gainfully Employed.—The number of women and girls working for pay has been increasing both absolutely and relatively. Looking first at the long-time trend, we find that in 1870 there were 1,701,000 females 16 years of age and over gainfully employed, whereas in 1930 the number was 10,546,000. This means an increase of nearly sixfold in 60 years, whereas the female population in this age group increased slightly less than fourfold. Since 1900 the increase has been rapid, especially in the first decade of the new century. From 1900 to 1910 the number of females gainfully employed increased 47 per cent whereas the number of females 16 years old and over in the population increased only 24 per cent; *i.e.*, women were entering gainful employment twice as fast as their numbers were increasing. To look at the subject

from another angle, in 1900, of all persons gainfully employed, 17.7 per cent were women, whereas in 1930 the percentage was 21.9.

Owing partly to the increasing prevalence of child labor laws and the growing attendance at high school, the percentage of girls under 20 gainfully employed dropped between 1920 and 1930. The greatest increase in employment came among young women 20-24 years old and was less marked in the older age groups, those 65 and over showing no increase

TABLE XII.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS, 1930, 1920, AND 1910*

General division of occupations	Gainfully occupied women					
	1930		1920		1910	
	Number	Per-centage distri-bution	Number	Per-centage distri-bution	Number	Per-centage distri-bution
All occupations.	10,752,116	100.0	8,549,511	100.0	8,075,772	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	910,268	8.5	1,083,819	12.7	1,807,181	22.4
Nonagricultural pursuits.	9,841,848	91.5	7,465,692	87.3	6,268,591	77.6
Extraction of minerals.	759	†	2,864	†	1,094	†
Manufacturing and mechanical indus-tries.	1,886,307	17.5	1,930,352	22.6	1,820,847	22.5
Transportation and communication. . . .	281,204	2.6	224,270	2.6	115,347	1.4
Trade.	962,680	9.0	671,983	7.9	472,703	5.9
Public service (not elsewhere classified). .	17,583	0.2	10,586	0.1	4,836	0.1
Professional service.	1,526,234	14.2	1,017,030	11.9	734,752	9.1
Domestic and personal service.	3,180,251	29.6	2,186,682	25.6	2,530,403	31.3
Clerical occupations.	1,986,830	18.5	1,421,925	16.6	588,609	7.3

* Women's Bureau, Bulletin 104, p. 7, Washington, D. C., 1933.

† Less than 0.05 per cent.

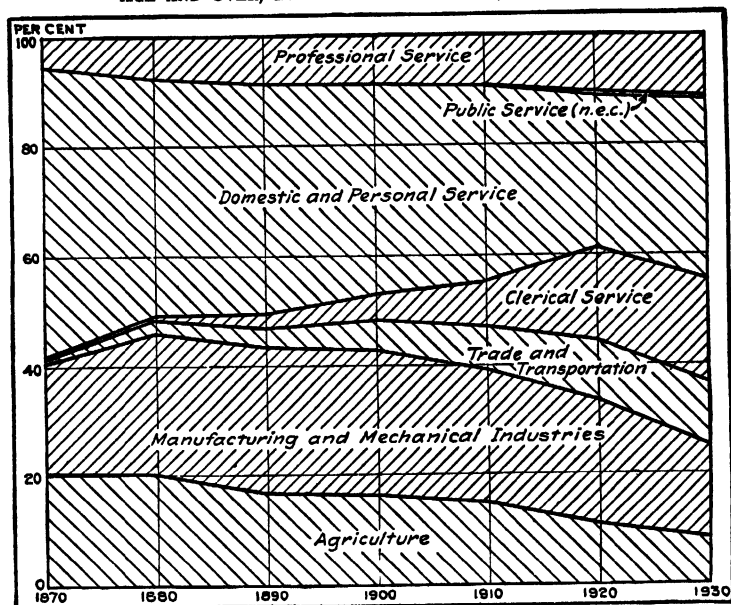
at all. *One-fourth of all women 25-44 years old are gainfully employed.* Owing to the present immigration trend and the changing age composition of the population, the percentage of native white women workers is increasing.

The Kinds of Work Women Enter.—There are two ways of looking at the kinds of work women are engaged in: first, their distribution in the main industry groups; second, the specific kind of work they do, regardless of the industry group in which it falls. For our purposes, tables showing the occupational distribution of women under the first method are unnecessary, for they tell very little of what the women workers actually do. By this method, office workers and machine operators in

the same factory are classified alike under "manufacturing and mechanical industries," and of the 2,416,288 so listed there is no way of knowing how many are office workers and how many operate machines in the factory.

The second way of looking at feminine occupations is simpler and gives a truer picture of the work performed. Table XII classifies women

FIGURE 1.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN, 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870-1930*



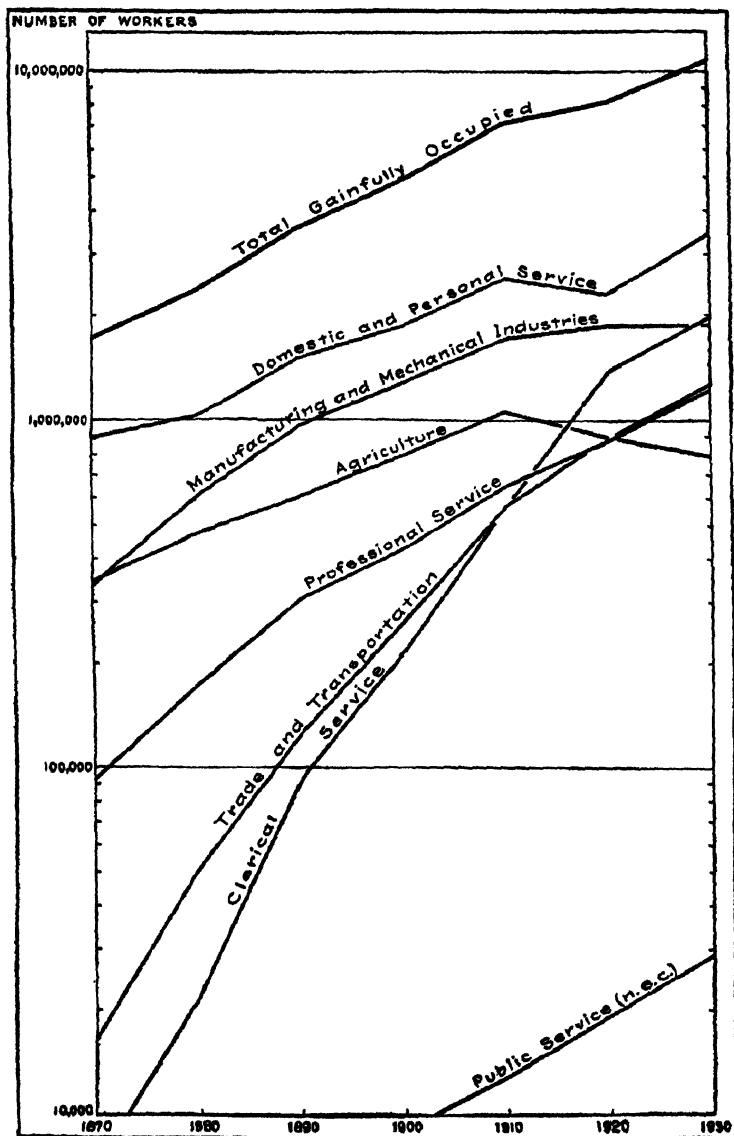
* S. P. Breckinridge, *The Activities of Women outside the Home*, in "Recent Social Trends in the United States," New York, McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 717.

by the specific tasks they do; i.e., a stenographer is classified under "clerical occupations" whether she works for an executive in an automobile factory or a lawyer in a law office. For 1930, domestic and personal service take first place, followed by clerical occupations, manufacturing and mechanical industries, and professional service, with the others having less than one million each.

Figure 1 shows the *proportional* distribution of women workers at each census since 1870, though it shows nothing of the increasing number of gainfully employed women.¹

¹ Table XII and Fig. 1 have slightly different totals, for one is dealing with females 10 years old and over, and the other with females 16 years old and over; but they are comparable for all practical purposes.

FIGURE 2.—WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, IN THE MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870-1930*



* S. P. Brookinridge, *The Activities of Women outside the Home in "Recent Social Trends in the United States."* New York, McGraw Hill, p. 718.

Figure 2 shows something of the comparative rates of increase of women workers in the main occupations. For example, during the 20 years prior to 1930 there was little increase in the number of women entering the manufacturing and mechanical industries, the third largest woman-employing group. In fact in the 1920-1930 decade there was an actual decrease (2 per cent) in the number of women in this group, owing partly to women relinquishing jobs they took up when the men went to war. In clerical occupations, however, the second largest group, there was a 237 per cent increase. Domestic and personal service decreased from 1910 to 1920 when women were needed more in men's work than in domestic work, but rose sharply the following decade. Part of this rise was due to a larger demand for servants as wealth increased in the "prosperous decade," part to the men taking over their jobs from the women on their return from the trenches, and part to the rapidly increasing number of restaurants and beauty parlors, for waitresses, hairdressers, and manicurists are classed in the "personal-service" group. One need only note the threefold increase of waitresses since 1910 and the fivefold increase among hairdressers and manicurists to see how our dining-out habit has grown and how "hair-conscious" we have become.

Table XIII lists those specific occupations (32 in number) in which 50,000 or more women were employed in 1930, 1920, or 1910. Since these 32 occupations employ approximately nine-tenths of all the women employed in the United States, this table can serve here more usefully than the much more detailed table in the Census volume on occupations. Since the 32 occupations are given in the order of the number of women they employed in 1930, with comparisons available for 1920 and 1910, it is easy to observe trends. Women are still flocking into clerical positions, bookkeeping, and stenography. Office clerks only (omitting stenographers and bookkeepers) had the greatest increase in any single important occupation, amounting to 476 per cent between 1910 and 1920. Women are leaving the farm behind, both as farm laborers and as farm owners or tenants. They are also deserting the private laundry tub but are becoming operatives in the rapidly multiplying laundries. They have become trained nurses in such numbers that today the supply exceeds the effective demand. The number of telephone operators has increased greatly, but the shift to automatic exchanges may stop this trend. The sharp decline in the number of private dressmakers and seamstresses is due to the rise of factory-made garments. As factory methods improved so that stylish, well-tailored dresses and cloaks could be produced, women shifted their buying to ready-made clothing. (A similar shift has been made by men.) The same thing has happened in the millinery field, where the number of women employed dropped from

122,000 to 40,000 in 20 years. Several decades ago a woman's hat was a complicated creation, requiring the combined skill of taxidermist, gardener, and horticulturist—to say nothing of the basic frame on which the

TABLE XIII.—OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH 50,000 OR MORE WOMEN WERE ENGAGED AND NUMBER ENGAGED IN EACH, 1930, 1920, AND 1910*

Occupation	Women occupied in		
	1930	1920	1910
Servants.....	1,634,959	1,012,133	1,309,549
Schoolteachers.....	853,967	635,207	476,864
Stenographers and typists.....	775,140	564,744	263,315
Clerks (except "clerks" in stores).....	706,553	472,163	122,665
Saleswomen and "clerks" in stores.....	705,793	526,718	362,081
Farm laborers.....	646,331	803,229	1,525,707
Bookkeepers and cashiers.....	465,697	345,746	183,569
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	356,468	385,874	520,004
Operatives—clothing industries.....	346,751	265,643	237,270
Trained nurses.....	288,737	143,664	76,508
Farmers (owners and tenants).....	262,645	265,577	273,142
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	236,363	204,350	173,333
Telephone operators.....	235,259	178,379	88,262
Waitresses.....	231,973	116,921	85,798
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	157,928	235,519	447,760
Laundry operatives.....	149,414	72,675	71,604
Cotton-mill operatives.....	145,683	149,185	140,666
Nurses (not trained).....	139,576	132,658	110,912
Boarding- and lodging-house keepers.....	127,278	114,740	142,400
Hairdressers and manicurists.....	113,194	33,246	22,298
Retail dealers.....	110,166	78,980	67,103
Knitting-mill operatives.....	89,803	80,682	65,338
Operatives—food and allied industries.....	88,586	73,097	38,439
Shoe-factory operatives.....	81,551	73,412	59,266
Musicians and teachers of music.....	79,611	72,678	84,478
Silk-mill operatives.....	73,690	72,768	50,360
Operatives—cigar and tobacco factories.....	67,948	83,960	71,845
Operatives—paper, printing, and allied industries.....	63,490	67,845	59,574
Operatives—iron and steel, machinery, and vehicle industries.....	60,763	57,819	23,557
Hotel and restaurant keepers and managers.....	57,318	29,778	24,751
Operatives—woolen and worsted mills.....	49,060	61,715	52,056
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	40,102	69,598	122,447

* *Women's Bureau, Bulletin 104, p. 34, Washington, D. C., 1933.*

edifice was raised. But later, the simpler models of felt or straw, of varying shape but with little adornment other than ribbon bands, lent themselves easily to factory production. The number of schoolteachers has increased sharply, though music teachers and musicians are fewer than

20 years ago. Schoolteachers advanced from fourth in rank in 1910 to second in 1930. In independent and managerial business positions, both in retail trade and the hotel and restaurant business, women have scored a marked advance, especially since 1920.

Shifts in Sex Lines.—Women workers outnumbered men (1930) in 12 manufacturing industries, chiefly in various types of clothing and knitting industries and in tobacco and candy factories. There have been

TABLE XIV.—TWELVE OCCUPATIONS IN EACH OF WHICH THE NUMBER OF WOMEN INCREASED 50,000 OR MORE FROM 1920 TO 1930, WITH NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE AND WITH CORRESPONDING INCREASE (OR DECREASE) FROM 1910 TO 1920*

Occupation	Increase, 1920–1930		Increase (or decrease), 1910–1920	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Servants.....	622,826	61.5	–297,416	– 22.7
Clerks (except “clerks” in stores).....	234,390	49.6	+349,498	+284.9
Schoolteachers.....	218,760	34.4	+158,343	+ 33.2
Stenographers and typists.....	210,396	37.3	+301,429	+114.5
Saleswomen and “clerks” in stores.....	179,075	34.0	+164,637	+ 45.5
Trained nurses.....	146,073	101.0	+ 67,156	+ 87.8
Bookkeepers and cashiers.....	119,951	34.7	+162,177	+ 88.3
Waitresses.....	115,052	98.4	+ 31,123	+ 36.3
Operatives—clothing industries.....	81,108	30.5	+ 28,373	+ 12.0
Hairdressers and manicurists.....	79,948	240.5	+ 10,948	+ 49.1
Laundry operatives.....	76,739	105.6	+ 1,071	+ 1.5
Telephone operators.....	56,880	31.9	+ 90,117	+102.1

* *Women's Bureau, Bulletin 104, p. 39, Washington, D. C., 1933.*

some interesting shifts in the sexes in various lines of work. From 1920 to 1930 the number of women gainfully employed increased more than the gain in female population ten years of age and over, but this was not true for males. Out of 43 important occupations, men are increasing more rapidly than women in 17, but women more rapidly than men in 26, when 1910 and 1930 Census figures are compared. For example, men are more and more taking over jobs formerly held by women as compositors, typesetters, and linotypers. Men have also achieved numerical supremacy as musicians and music teachers. Women, on the other hand, are gaining relatively as college professors, automobile-factory operatives, real-estate agents, and barbers and hairdressers and in several other lines, though in each of these the number of men still greatly exceeds the number of women. As bookkeepers and cashiers, women have increased until they now outnumber the men. In the three great “white-collar” fields—clerical work, professions, business—women have made

great strides. Table XIV shows the 12 specific occupations in each of which the number of women increased 50,000 or more between 1920 and 1930. It will be noted that the servant group, with a 61.5 per cent increase in 10 years, is far in the lead, with its nearest competitor (clerks—except “store clerks”) having less than two-fifths as large an increase. But percentagewise, hairdressers and manicurists hold the palm, their number increasing 240 per cent in 10 years.

In 1930 there were 13 occupations, employing 10,000 or more women, in which the number of women had doubled or more than doubled since 1920. They were, together with their percentage increases:

	Percentage Increase
1. Cleaning, dyeing, and pressing shopworkers.....	372
2. Real-estate agents and officials.....	245
3. Hairdressers and manicurists.....	240
4. Canvassers.....	182
5. Dentists' assistants and attendants.....	162
6. Restaurant, café, and lunchroom keepers.....	156
7. Insurance agents.....	155
8. Operatives—fruit and vegetable canning, etc.....	115
9. Physicians' and surgeons' attendants.....	108
10. Editors and reporters.....	108
11. Laundry operatives.....	106
12. Trained nurses.....	101
13. Librarians.....	100

At least 9 of these 13 occupations are in the “white-collar” class, requiring brain work rather than physical labor, an indication of the growing education of women and their ability to take advantage of it.

Women in the Professions.—Table XV shows the participation of women in the main professions. Since the total for the nine professions (1,372,350) is nine-tenths of the total of all women listed under professional service, the table tells most of the story with a minimum of categories. The professions increasing the fastest in proportion to their numbers were nursing, library work, college teaching, and writing, these four being almost identical in their increase (doubling) and one-half higher in rate of increase than any of the others. In actual numbers, however, public-school teaching far outstrips any other profession, though its rate of increase is about the same in the 1920–1930 decade as in that of 1910–1920, being one-third. Thus, more women, by far, are going into public-school teaching than into college teaching, but the latter group is increasing *three times as fast* as the former. This may turn out to be a very significant trend if it keeps up; for whereas the women college professors were increasing their number 100 per cent in a decade, the men college professors were increasing their number by only 79 per cent.

Very few women, however, have become college presidents, even in women's colleges. Out of some 70 women's colleges listed in the 1938 *World Almanac*, only 10 had a woman for president.¹

TABLE XV.—THE NINE PROFESSIONS ENGAGING MORE THAN 10,000 WOMEN EACH, 1930; NUMBER OF WOMEN IN EACH; PERCENTAGE INCREASE SINCE 1920

Professions	Number of women in the professions, 1930	Percentage increase, 1920-1930
Total for all nine.....	1,372,350	
Schoolteachers.....	853,967	34
Trained nurses.....	288,737	101
Musicians and teachers of music.....	79,611	10
Social and religious workers.....	44,543	65
Librarians.....	27,056	100
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art.....	21,644	48
College presidents and professors.....	20,131	100
Actresses.....	19,290	45
Authors, editors, and reporters.....	17,371	99

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- BRECKINRIDGE, SOPHONISBA P.: "Women in the Twentieth Century," New York, McGraw-Hill, 1933. (A study of the political, social, and economic activities of women.)
- COPE, PERSIS M.: *The Women of Who's Who, Soc. Forces*, 7: 212-223, December, 1928.
- DAY, G. M.: *The Family in Soviet Russia, a Study in Folkways vs. State-ways*, *Soc. Forces*, 16: 556-561, May, 1938.
- FAIRCHILD, MILDRED: *The Status of the Family in the Soviet Union Today*, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 2: 619-629, October, 1937.
- GROVES, ERNEST R.: "The American Woman; the Feminine Side of a Masculine Civilization," New York, Greenberg, 1937. (Systematically traces and interprets the rise of women to their present status.)
- HIRSCHMAN, HARRY: *Equal Rights for Men*, *Forum*, 98: 305-309, December, 1937. (An irate male demands equality for men.)
- HINKLE, BEATRICE M.: *Woman's Subjective Dependence upon Man*, *Harper's*, 164: 193-205, January, 1932.

¹ This does not include the rather numerous Catholic girls' schools presided over by a nun or mother superior.

- KIRKPATRICK, CLIFFORD: "Nazi Germany—Its Women and Family Life," Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1938.
- MENNINGER, KARL A.: Men, Women, and Hate, *Atlantic*, 163: 158-168, February, 1939. (An analysis of sex antagonism.)
- MEUSEL, ALFRED: National Socialism and the Family, *Sociological Rev.*, 28: 389-411, October, 1936.
- WOODHOUSE, C. G.: Some Trends in Women's Work, *Soc. Forces*, 16: 543-552, May, 1938.

Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. Name 10 women in your state of outstanding accomplishment, giving in each case the cause of prominence. Name 10 men of comparable achievement in comparable fields. Are the men or the women better known to the general public. Why?
2. In your own college or university (unless the faculty is composed exclusively of one sex) compare the number of men and women teachers in each rank of instruction; also by departments. Consult an early catalogue of your institution, and note any changes in the proportion of women teachers.
3. Make a list of the better-known women's clubs in your town or city, and evaluate their programs from the standpoint of: (a) the cultural growth of the members, (b) contributions to public welfare. (Stress actual achievements, not merely aims.)
4. (For women students.) Compare the attitudes of your grandmother, your mother, and yourself on a number of matters relating to the proper status of women and correct feminine conduct.
5. Make a list of all of the employed women you know personally, and classify them by occupations. Do most of them get equal pay for equal work; do they have an equal chance at promotion; are many of the unmarried in occupations that give them little opportunity of finding a husband?
6. Review the work of the League of Women Voters for the past five or six years.
7. (For women students.) Make a list of sex inequalities you have encountered, dividing them into those that you consider really serious and those that are merely irksome.
(For men students.) Make a list of incidents in which you found yourself slightly resentful at the calm assumption of equality by women in certain situations or their intrusion into places or activities which you half unconsciously considered man's domain.
8. To what extent do the better-class "women's magazines" or "home journals" reflect the conception of their readers as to the proper interests and activities of women? Select one such journal, and analyze the last six months' issues, classifying the contents by topics and space devoted to each.

CHAPTER XIII

SOME SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF WOMEN'S NEW ACTIVITIES

The rise of women and their entry into the business and professional world having been traced, the next step is to examine some of the results that this trend has produced. It should be remembered that cause-and-effect relationships in such a social movement are extremely complicated, but we can at least seek to evaluate those factors which are obviously important to the welfare of the family.

WHY DO WOMEN GO OUT TO WORK?

In trying to get at the motives of women for seeking remunerative employment, it is necessary to remember that these motives have not remained constant. Some that were very influential two generations ago may be relatively unimportant today; for the modern girl looking for a job lives in a very different world from that of her grandmother, and her attitude differs accordingly. Therefore we must look for early as well as present-day motives.

Leisure as an Impetus to New Activities.—Necessity may be the mother of invention, but invention in turn is the mother of leisure, at least for the housewife. Before the restless energy of invention the innumerable tasks of the household have rapidly dwindled, both in number and in difficulty. That versatile servant electricity has taken over many of the most tiresome tasks, and cannery, bakery, laundry, and other well-organized services have given valiant aid. Today the average housewife can do her work in half the time it took her grandmother and with less than half the effort. Science has yet to produce self-servicing babies, but otherwise it has introduced into woman's domain a word previously almost unknown to her—*leisure*. In the past, only the wealthy knew its meaning; today women of the middle- and even the lower-income classes have some time they can call their own. It is not always fullfledged leisure, but it is time that can be spent on "extracurricular" activities without seriously interfering with the "curricular" or home duties.

It was inevitable that such opportunity should turn women's eyes outward from the home. It offered release from the continuousness and sameness of household work. But what to do? It was characteristic

of women's "work complex" that at first they had no thought of using their newly acquired spare time in idleness or frivolity. They turned to self-improvement. Reading clubs, study clubs, dramatic clubs, and various kinds of uplift clubs were formed all over the country in women's eager efforts to better their cultural equipment and to share in socially worth-while activities. Some of these efforts were at once heroic and pathetic. The innumerable "Browning Clubs" that sprang up among work-worn women who would never understand Browning were not to be laughed at. These clubs and others like them implied a longing for beauty in word, color, form, music—in fact, for the whole wealth of culture from which women felt they had been barred by the narrowness of their opportunities. Many realized the limitations of their educational backgrounds and highly resolved that their daughters should not be thus handicapped. As a result, the rapid increase in higher education for girls came to be one of the most basic determiners of their new activities.

Women's Educational Rise.—A college education was made available to young women in a very few schools even before the feminist movement got fully under way. Oberlin College, established in 1833, had a "female department" from the very beginning, and Mount Holyoke Female Seminary was established four years later, although the first woman's convention did not come until 1848. A few of the more daring females entered Oberlin, thus providing the first coeducational college experiment in the United States. Even the "female department" quickly gave way, and in 1837 four young women enrolled in the freshman class of the regular collegiate department. We have called them daring, and with good cause when we look at their schedules, maintained in the face of the scoffers. They rose at five o'clock; performed their devotions; studied their Xenophon and Cicero—to say nothing of anatomy, trigonometry, universal history, and the Bible; had their meals, consisting of bread with a few vegetables—tea, coffee and spices were forbidden; put in the required three hours of serving, scrubbing, or mending (at $2\frac{3}{4}$ cents per hour); attended chapel; put in their spare time with the Oberlin Female Moral Reform Society; and were in bed by ten o'clock!¹

The coeducational movement developed steadily, and soon young men and young women were studying the same subjects side by side in various colleges and universities.² At first their goals were different,

¹ MARGARET KEHR, *The Pioneer Days of the Dean of Women*, *Jour. National Education Association*, 27: 6-7, January, 1938.

² In the 1935-1936 school year there were 404,579 young women, compared with 658,181 young men, in American colleges and universities including graduate and professional schools but not including normal schools, teachers' colleges or summer schools. In the collegiate departments only, however, the two sexes are not very far apart in number. 1939 *World Almanac*, p. 395.

the young men preparing for a lifework and the young women merely getting an education. But finally it dawned on these college girls that if they received the same training as the young men there was no reason—at least none that was insurmountable—why they could not qualify for the same jobs. They tried it out, and it worked, after a fashion. They met great prejudice in some lines but less in others and were smart enough to concentrate on the latter. From this beginning they broadened their invasion, entering one forbidden zone after another, usually by the slow process of “peaceful penetration” but by pitched battle when the opposition made it necessary. In 1840, it is said, there were only 7 employments open to women; by 1930 women had entered 544 of the 579 occupations listed by the Census. Truly, as someone has put it, “the clinging vine has become a Rambler.” The pessimists of the male ranks foresaw the end, and like Cato of old they were chilled by the gloomy outlook. But there seemed to be nothing they could do about it. They received scant comfort from one Justice Thornton, who as early as 1872 pointed out the inexorable trend:

The ancient landmarks are gone. The maxims and authorities and adjudications of the past have faded away. The foundations hitherto deemed so essential for the preservation of the nuptial contract, and the maintenance of the marriage relation, are crumbling. The unity of husband and wife has been severed. . . . She no longer clings to and depends upon man, but has the legal right and aspires to battle with him in the contests of the forum; to outvie him in the healing art; to climb with him the steps of fame; and to share with him in every occupation. . . . His legal supremacy is gone, and the scepter has departed from him.¹

If women's attainments and aspirations seemed so remarkable some seven decades ago, how unbelievable would today's picture have been to the males of that day had they been allowed a peep into the future. Today young women accept as a matter of course their freedom to choose whatever profession they wish, knowing, however, that they will meet more opposition in some fields than in others. The long fight to establish occupational rights is nearly over. With women taking an increasing part in politics, playing a new role in the national conventions of the great political parties, and aspiring to ever higher political offices, the barriers are dropping one by one. Politicians are at last discovering that a female ballot is worth just as much as a male ballot in the final count. This simple fact may bring women into still higher offices before long. Thus far women have not voted as a class but have split along party lines in the tradition of menfolk. But unless the existing parties share their offices more generously with women, they may find women

¹ *Martin vs. Robson*, 65 Ill. 129 (1872) quoted by C. G. Vernier, “American Family Laws,” Stanford University Press, 1935, Vol. 3, p. 3.

organizing on such a large scale that they will easily hold the balance of power.

The Drive for Recognition.—One of the early reasons for women going out into the marts of men was to prove their equality. This motive is less important today, but at first it was a powerful stimulus, in spite of the fact that the conventional marriage pattern was becoming more favorable to women. Housework was getting lighter and families smaller; furthermore, the limited daily housework could be neglected for good cause, or shifted about to meet specific needs without interfering too much with the family's comfort. Why, then, should a woman forgo such a self-determined life for a chance to work eight hours a day under the most exacting conditions? Only a strong stimulus could make the trade seem worth while, but there are few desires stronger than that for recognition. Women were being told by the militant of their sex that they were not inferior to men, but only "suppressed." They could no longer endure the masculine contempt toward professional women, typified by Dr. Johnson's ridicule of women preachers: "Sir, a woman preaching is like a dog walking on his hind legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all." Hence, they set out to blast the myth of male superiority.

The Search for Adventure.—Another early reason for women's trek into the workaday world was the spirit of adventure. The lure of the new is not limited to the male; particularly in youth the desire for new experience throbs in the breasts of both sexes alike. The conventional pattern of early marriage and homemaking made a quiet appeal to young women, but the busy rush of working with others looked more exciting. In the minds of many was the thought that they would spend just a few years in the stimulating atmosphere of the business world before marrying and "settling down." Many did just that, but others became so interested that they remained much longer than they intended. The work was harder than home work, but they found it more interesting.

The Desire for a Career.—There were still other young women who deliberately chose careers instead of marriage, or at least marriage and children. Attending the same universities as the young men, exposed to the same contagious interest of lecture room and laboratory, what was more natural than that some of them should be fired by the same enthusiasms that have carried young men into a variety of callings? After all, with the mental characteristics of the two sexes so nearly the same, like social stimuli might be expected to produce like results. The social stimuli are not actually equal, but as they approach equality the similarity of results increases.

Earning "Extra" Money.—Still another reason for women going to work has been the desire for "extra" money with which to satisfy per-

sonal wants. Girls whose allowances are insufficient for their wants frequently take part-time or intermittent full-time jobs. They do not constitute a very large proportion of the total number of women workers, but nevertheless they are a thorn in the flesh of those who work from necessity. Especially in times of general depression, when jobs are scarce, they are bitterly criticized by girls who must support themselves. There are also a number of married women in this group who do not have to work but who find that the extra income from part-time work makes possible little luxuries in the household that otherwise would not be possible. They say they have to work, and many of them think they do, but actually they do not. Their husbands may be getting good incomes and providing for the families on a comfortable standard of living. But since human wants are insatiable, there are always a few pleasing extras that can be had with a little extra income, and once the new standard has been established it is very difficult to go back, for that means giving up something to which one has become accustomed.

Nevertheless, the old "pin-money" explanation of women's work never did apply to so large a group as many men wanted to believe. During the depression it is safe to say that most women who worked did so from necessity, far more so than in the prosperous days of the late twenties. In a 1936 study¹—repeating an earlier one in 1930—made by the National Federation of Business and Professional Women, covering 12,000 replies from 47 states, all but 3 per cent of the women claimed they were dependent on their jobs, and 48 per cent of them said they partly or wholly supported relatives. The average number of dependents was 1.6. It is not likely that many of the temporary, part-time, or intermittent workers would join such an organization, and so it is impossible to say what percentage of all women workers are wholly dependent on their earnings; certainly it would not be nearly so high as the 97 per cent above. In another study of working women in New York City, conducted by the American Woman's Association and published in 1931, the typical age of the women members was 46 (a large number of them were professional women), and only 6.4 per cent were married. This indicates that most of them have made a definite career of their business or profession, and hence one would expect the percentage who were self-supporting to be very high. Of this group, 40 per cent were partly or wholly supporting dependents. Both of these reports scotch the "pin-money" theory, and they are correct in maintaining that it does not apply to most women workers. But since their membership would not be likely to include a fair sample of the "extra-money" workers, we are still left without definite knowledge of their number.

¹ *New York Times*, Mar. 6, 1938.

Escape from Boredom.—There is still another group that gets pushed, rather than pulled, into business and professional ventures. Someone has said that “ennui begins at forty,” but more often it comes earlier than that. Women who at marriage have no thought of a career other than homemaking frequently find 5 or 10 years later that the unending routine of the home is palling on them. This is particularly true if they have no children or can afford a nursemaid. Some dabble in the arts, try interior decoration, or open dress shops that bring more enjoyment than remuneration. A few such women turn out to be highly successful, but this is the exception rather than the rule, for two reasons: first, they are largely untrained, and in the highly competitive world of today it takes exceptional ability to outweigh lack of training; second, women of this type are seldom willing to pay the price of success, which is long-sustained, energy-draining effort.

Women Who Work from Necessity.—Finally, women work because they must. Whatever the early motive of proving their ability, women today bring little sentiment to their work. Economic conditions have changed, and the work has been redistributed. Perhaps women’s early entry into business and industry was one of the causes of the change which is now reacting on them. One need not believe in the “work-fund” theory to see that women workers have held wages down, as will be shown later. But whatever the causes, the fact remains that today many families cannot maintain a decent standard of living on the wages of the father alone.

Furthermore, family and social expectation is changing in regard to young women working. Fathers formerly made little complaint if their daughters lived at home till marriage, for it was the normal course. Today, however, many fathers in the lower wage brackets have a resentful feeling toward their daughters if they make no move toward getting a job when they have finished their schooling. Girls increasingly testify that their parents expect them to support themselves or at least contribute their share to the family support, as soon as they have all the education they expect to get, whether high school or college. Thus a job comes to be the normal expectation.

On still another count, young women are increasingly going to work. They do not find it possible to marry when they wish unless they work. It takes young men longer now than previously to get a start in life. A great many types of work, owing to the minute division of labor, are not favorable to rapid advancement. Indeed, many of them are blind-alley jobs, and one must break with them and start over before getting a chance at promotion. This fact, together with the low wage level, frequently makes it impossible for a young man to marry and support a wife who does not work. But if she works and saves enough to help furnish the

house, then continues to work for several years after marriage, the waiting period can be greatly reduced.

It has frequently been said that women enter professions because they *want* to, but work in factories because they *have* to. This is an unfair statement even though it has an element of truth in it. It is undoubtedly true that a larger percentage of women in business and the professions are there by choice than of those who listen for the factory whistle, but there are plenty of exceptions both ways. Well-educated women who work, whether from choice or necessity, naturally choose brainwork rather than handwork, but the poorly educated have little choice. Whatever their motive for working they must take what is available, which usually means relatively low-paid industrial jobs. Such jobs, though offering opportunity for advancement in a few cases, are scarcely attractive enough to be tempting as "careers" and remain merely "jobs." This means that in most cases the women performing such work would be glad to quit if economic necessity did not drive them on. Not all of them are "on their own," but many are, and others are helping support the family, turning in a goodly share of their wages each week. Many are married women, most of whom have to do all their housework in addition to their factory work, and it is seldom indeed that they carry this double load from choice.

The Attitude of College Women Today.—Two generations ago one could almost divide young women into two classes: those who wanted careers, and those who wanted to get married. At that time the college girl was looked upon as a rare and peculiar specimen, who deliberately placed herself in a small and isolated group, a sort of neuter sex scorned by men and women alike. It was less than 60 years ago that an intrepid woman who asked permission to attend a seminar at Johns Hopkins University obtained permission from the startled but gallant authorities on condition that she *listen silently behind a screen*.¹ This early "screen heroine" was influential in founding one of our best-known women's colleges and later became its president. The fact that such pioneers in women's education were faced with an "either-or" decision doubtless influenced their teachings considerably. Women's schools have been charged with urging independent careers for their young women far more than have coeducational colleges. Graduates of the former have been much slower to marry than have graduates of the latter; even by the turn of the century only about half were marrying, though the percentage has since increased. The "feminine-independence" idea is much stronger in some women's schools than in others. One president of a noted women's college, in an address to the freshmen a few years ago,

¹ EUNICE FULLER BARNARD, *Woman's Rise in Science*, *New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 27, 1935.

told them that the chances were even—and steadily increasing—that whether they married or not they would have independent professions and not be subject to the subtle obligations that come from being supported by parents or husbands.¹

A distinguished feminine leader is reported to have said, "How can we expect a keen, intelligent girl, after four years of college life, to take up chores that are wearing on the nerves and fatiguing to the muscles? . . . Any high-grade moron can do housework."² One cannot but wonder how these "keen, intelligent girls" could have grown up if their mothers had not fed them, washed them, dressed them, and wiped their little noses, while doing at the same time countless household tasks. It must have been "wearing on the nerves and fatiguing to the muscles." Nor is it entirely clear, with our present knowledge of genetics, how so many "high-grade-moron" mothers who did their own housework could bear such "keen, intelligent girls." Perhaps the fathers, who also were used to tasks that were "wearing on the nerves and fatiguing to the muscles," contributed modestly to the superior mentality of their daughters.

But this attitude is changing, even in the women's colleges. After recently visiting 14 representative coeducational and women's colleges in the East and Middle West, Eunice Fuller Barnard found only a handful of girls who did not look forward to finding their personal happiness in marriage and children. That the girls do not let anyone make up their minds for them is indicated by the fact that in some of the women's colleges mentioned above (in which the graduates were exhorted to have independent professions) 83 per cent of the students answering a questionnaire preferred marriage to a career and 94 per cent said that if after marriage their careers proved incompatible with a happy marriage they would sacrifice the careers first. However, the most significant thing was that a majority were convinced that marriage and career were not incompatible, and they confidently expected to have both.³ The attitudes of 500 students at the University of Colorado were obtained by W. S. Bernard,⁴ showing that 62 per cent of the girls preferred marriage to a career, 5 per cent preferred a career, but 33 per cent wanted both. In still another survey of 1,286 female office and professional workers, a large number of whom were college girls, 75 per cent said that if it had

¹ HENRY R. CAREY, *Career or Maternity?*, *North Amer. Rev.*, 228: 737-744, December, 1929.

² For a delectable squib on "The Delectable Creatures," see the November, 1932, issue of "The Kalends," published by Williams & Wilkins, Baltimore.

³ EUNICE FULLER BARNARD, *The College Girl Puts Marriage First*, *New York Times Magazine*, Apr. 2, 1933.

⁴ WILLIAM S. BERNARD, *Student Attitudes on Marriage and the Family*, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 3: 354-361, June, 1938.

to be career or marriage they would prefer marriage and home life.¹ It appears that a job is no longer looked upon by the college girl as a stopgap till marriage, but as worth keeping after marriage, at least for some years. However, her first desire is still marriage and home.

Nor do college girls the country over plan to avoid having children. They usually want three or four children, or they think they do, though numerous studies show that they will not have as many as that. In colleges composed chiefly of urban students, most of the girls say they want two children. The important point is that they have not abandoned the home pattern but merely wish to supplement it with some kind of out-of-home vocation. With that in mind, they are more and more looking for jobs compatible with marriage and motherhood. Not all will be successful in combining these two tasks; but they want to try it, and many are already doing it. A good many expect to give full time to a vocation before marriage but only part time thereafter, especially when there are children.

In New York University, with its urban student population, the writer for several years secured the attitudes of the girls in the course on marriage and the family. Three-fourths of these girls expected to work after marriage, before they had children, but only one-fifth of them expected to continue their work while their children were of pre-school age.²

Only 1 girl in 14 wanted to carry on a full-time job while her children were small. Slightly less than half were willing to oppose their husbands' moderate wishes against their working, but one-seventh would work even if strongly opposed. If they did decide to work, their motives would be various: nearly half would work chiefly to increase the family income, but the next largest group (one-fifth) feared that time would hang heavy on their hands unless they worked. One-eighth of them were training for a chosen career and wished to follow it, at least for a time.

Very few of the girls' mothers worked away from home or had done so during the girls' childhood (10 and 12 per cent, respectively) and in view of the great change in the work pattern it is somewhat surprising that only 18 per cent of the girls planned to work out while their children were too young to be in school. More than half (55 per cent) of these

¹ One item of a survey of white collar workers in 22 cities, made by the Northwestern National Life Insurance Co., and reported in the *New York Times*, Sept. 27, 1937.

² It might appear that these 225 girls do not constitute a good sample of the student body, for the fact that they are in the course on marriage and the family would indicate that they are more domestically inclined than the other students. This is doubtful, however, for in the sample are a great many sociology majors who are going into social work, and others preparing for various kinds of business and professional work.

girls' fathers objected, most of them strongly, to the mothers' working. It is interesting that almost the same proportion (57 per cent) of the young men in the same classes with these girls (not shown in the given

TABLE XVI.—THE AFTER-MARRIAGE WORK EXPECTATIONS OF 225 COLLEGE GIRLS IN NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Question		Percentage Answering "Yes"
1. After marriage, but before any children come, do you want and expect to:		
a. Work outside the home at a full-time job?		41
b. Work outside the home at a part-time job?		33
Total who expect to work part or full time.		74
2. After children come and while they are still of preschool age, do you want and expect to:		
a. Work outside the home at a full-time job?		7
b. Work outside the home at a part-time job?		11
Total who expect to work part or full time		18
3.		
a. If you want to work and your husband is moderately opposed, will you insist upon it anyway?		44
b. If he is <i>strongly</i> opposed, will you insist?		14
4. If you do insist upon working outside the home, will the first and most important reason be:		
a. To increase the family income?		48
b. To prove your ability to husband and friends?		3
c. To bolster up your self-respect?		6
d. To occupy your time and keep from getting stale?		19
e. Outside intellectual interests?		4
f. To follow career you are trained for and interested in?		13
g. Other reasons?		7
Total reasons		100
5.		
a. Is your mother now gainfully employed outside the home?		10
b. Was she so employed during any considerable part of your childhood?		12
6.		
a. Did your father object much to such employment by your mother?		55
b. Was his objection strong, medium, or mild?		84 strong
7. If you are gainfully employed outside the home and you do not have a full-time maid, will you expect your husband to help considerably with the housework, such as washing dishes, sweeping, and dusting?		42

table) said they would object to having their wives work outside the home, and 96 per cent would object to such work while the children were small. Finally, two-fifths of these young women said that if they worked away from home they would feel entirely justified in calling upon their husbands for help with the housework; but the young men

offered more help than was asked, four-fifths of them saying that under such circumstances they would be willing to help with the housework.

One other study shows the attitude reactions of college students, both young men and young women, to certain terms connected with marriage and family life. Table XVII shows the reaction of both sexes to the

TABLE XVII.—THE IMMEDIATE REACTION OF 250 COLLEGE STUDENTS* TO CERTAIN OF 57 TERMS RELATED TO THE STATUS AND OCCUPATION OF WOMEN

Term	Women			Men		
	Per-centage agree-able	Per-centage disagree-able	Per-centage neutral	Per-centage agree-able	Per-centage disagree-able	Per-centage neutral
Marriage.....	93	2	5	88	0	12
Homemaker.....	70	10	20	66	8	26
Chivalry.....	74	22	4	67	15	18
Keeping house.....	61	17	22	51	22	27
Careers for women.....	67	8	25	32	29	39
Women's rights.....	85	3	12	52	17	31
Feminist.....	42	20	37	24	43	33
Professional woman.....	63	5	32	31	26	43
Housewife.....	54	18	28	69	7	24
Business woman.....	65	6	29	33	24	43
Sex equality.....	77	5	18	75	7	18
Woman suffrage.....	91	2	7	80	3	17
Suffragette.....	38	18	44	35	21	44
The modern woman.....	78	4	18	64	12	24
Cooking.....	63	15	22	77	4	19
Housework.....	30	43	27	36	31	33
Single woman.....	24	21	55	50	12	38

* 165 young women and 85 young men.

17 terms (well scattered through a total of 57 to avoid concentration of attention) that relate in one way or another to woman's status and her activity both in and out of the home.¹

The term "marriage" was overwhelmingly agreeable to the girls, 7 out of 10 found "homemaker" agreeable, but only slightly more than half had a favorable reaction to "housewife." "Cooking" brought a pleasant reaction to 6 out of 10; whether the girls were thinking of their own future efforts or of their mothers' cooking of course does not

¹ The writer submitted these lists for two years to students in his course on marriage and the family. There were 165 young women and 85 young men who checked the terms rapidly, to give the first impression—whether agreeable, disagreeable, or neutral. There were 57 terms in all, some of them purposely similar.

show in the record. Only 3 out of 10 found the term "housework" agreeable!

Turning to the question of women's status as compared with men's, nine-tenths of the girls reacted favorably to "woman suffrage," a higher rating than for any other term except "marriage," but the word "suffragette" shared none of the popularity of "woman suffrage." To a few it may have suggested the militant efforts of early crusaders who drew the ridicule of both men and women and fixed the word unfavorably in the public mind. But to more of them the term meant nothing, at least not enough to produce either a favorable or an unfavorable reaction. This word, once so fraught with meaning, elicited no response in nearly half of these young women and in the same proportion of young men. "Feminist" rated almost as low, but "woman's rights" and "sex equality" both rated high. It appears that the girls react favorably to words denoting the *principle* of equal rights, but not to words denoting the *persons* who fought for these rights. It is noteworthy that three-fourths of these modern young women still find pleasure in the thought of male chivalry, but it would be interesting to know whether those who find the word disagreeable are increasing or decreasing in number. On terms indicating outside work for women (such as "careers for women," "professional woman," and "business woman,") approximately two-thirds of the girls showed an agreeable reaction. The young men, strangely enough, showed less agreeable reactions to "homemaker" and "keeping house" than did the girls; they were almost as agreeable to "woman suffrage" as were the girls, but much less so to "woman's rights," inconsistent as that may seem. Their reactions to terms relating to women working outside the home were only half as favorable as those of the girls, and conservative even when compared with the percentage of young men who said they would be willing for their wives to work before children came. It appears that these young men *try* to be liberal when they ponder the question of women working, but their quick reaction to terms clustering about the concept is conservative, showing that the old underlying prejudice is still alive.

SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES WOMEN ENCOUNTER

Some Factors Affecting Success.—Is the success or failure of women in the business world due to causes any different from those applying to men? We have already noted that in many types of work women are handicapped by the prejudice they encounter. In spite of this, however, they have proved their ability to succeed, so that the question is no longer whether they *can* succeed, but what causes them to fail when they do fail. It may seem illogical to attribute their success to the same

qualities that make men succeed and their failure to feminine traits; yet at the present stage of women's progress toward equality, there is much to be said for this viewpoint. Stated another way, it does not appear so illogical. There are certain attributes necessary to success in business that men have learned through long years of experience; when women have these attributes, they succeed the same as men, and when they fail it is because they have not yet learned the rules of the game. Men, however, grew up with the rules, and when they fail it is more likely to be from inability, shiftlessness, or unwillingness to play according to the rules. Here, again, we find cultural factors rather than true sex differences playing the chief role.

At this point, it may be wise for the male to step aside and let the women take stock of their own sex. Dorothy Dunbar Bromley,¹ though recognizing the unquestioned success of many women in business, gives a list of clear-cut reasons why many others fail. She says they are too personal and therefore oversensitive to criticism, they are jealous of each other and do not work together well, they are too intense about their work, they do not have a well-developed sense of fair play, and they lack business acumen. But they do have a passion for small details and more patience than men in handling such details. She might have added that many a man's success depends to a considerable degree upon this very faithfulness to detail in his woman assistant or secretary! Some women measure success in terms of independence and clothes, and such a goal does not call for their very best in order to attain it. Their limited ambition, as well as their acceptance of the idea that women are not expected to earn as much as men, handicaps them at the very start. Anne W. Armstrong² cites "seven deadly sins" of women in business, but most of them grow out of the fact that they take themselves and their jobs too seriously. Men make their business life agreeable by keeping in it the element of good-fellowship. Women are shocked at their easy-going methods, their penchant for stories no matter how important the business in hand, and their constant joking and bantering. Women consider this a waste of time which they try to eliminate in their work. As a result, those most determined to succeed are less likely to take time to be gracious, thereby hindering their advancement. This overseriousness, grim determination, and lack of humor may account for a fact pointed out by numerous women observers, that women much prefer a man to a woman boss. They testify that the women executives are harder drivers, more uncompromising, and less sympathetic to the girls under

¹ DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY, *Are Women a Success in Business?*, *Harper's*, 156: 299-307, February, 1928.

² ANNE W. ARMSTRONG, *Seven Deadly Sins of Women in Business*, *Harper's*, 153: 295-303, August, 1926.

them than are men executives. Perhaps in trying to show they can be as hard-boiled and efficient as men, they overplay their role.

The Lack of Compulsion.—The above observations on women's difficulties in business reflect the social milieu in which business women have had to work. It is little wonder, therefore, that they have had trouble in changing their patterns to fit new needs. But there may be more fundamental reasons for the failure of some women in business. Lorine Pruette,¹ after discussing the usual alibis of women (such as home cares, illness, etc.) says that women fail (1) because they do not have to succeed, (2) because of the attitude they develop through contingent living, and (3) because their men do not want them to succeed—too much. Men are under the *compulsion* of success, or at least of trying over and over again if they fail. Women are under no such compulsion and therefore lack the drive so essential to putting forth one's utmost efforts. If they fall short, they do not "lose face" so much as men and can usually fall back upon marriage. The second factor, contingent living, is equally serious. The universality of the "secretarial habit" of women, always working for men, doing what they are told to do and perhaps improving upon it but with the comforting knowledge that they are not responsible to the world for results—this is a costly restraint. "It is this tendency of women to do the work of somebody else," says Pruette, "which is one of the major restraints upon their individual achievement." She avers that "even women executives betray the traits of the perennial secretary and in dealing with their men equals or superiors behave with a combination of teasing, winsome child and sheltering mother." All of which is very flattering to the men, being a tacit admission of their superiority in the business world. This contingent living can only lead to frustration. Finally, men are none too anxious for women to succeed, particularly women to whom they are married. They want them to succeed *a little bit*, enough to make them happier and more satisfied with life, but not enough to rival in any degree their own success. They do not want the humiliation of being surpassed or even equaled by their wives. Few men can accept such a situation with equanimity, and even if they do there appear subtle personality changes in spite of all their efforts. The difficulty is greatly accentuated if the wife's success is in the same field as her husband's, but it is bad enough in any field.

Prejudice and Discrimination.—These factors work together in the exploitation of women workers. Since men control the business and professional world, they naturally manage affairs to their own advantage. The prejudice manifested toward women competitors in the high salary

¹ LORINE PRUETTE, *Why Women Fail*, in S. D. Schmalhausen and V. F. Calverton (editors), "Woman's Coming of Age," New York, Liveright, 1931, Part 2, Chap. 5.

brackets, with its attendant discrimination, has already been mentioned. The continuance of unequal pay for equal work—in both factory and office—constitutes genuine exploitation.

A recent government survey¹ shows clearly the great disparity between men's and women's wages, "regardless of locality, type of industry, period of time, or method of pay." In three states (Ohio, New York, Illinois) that have been reporting men's and women's wages for a good many years, the wages of women in manufacturing have averaged less than 60 per cent of men's. In states that have reported for years on the wages of clerical workers, women received only 50 to 60 per cent as high wages as the men. For example, in 1936 the average weekly earnings of men clerical workers in New York factories was \$42.67, whereas women clerical workers received \$21.31—just half the pay of men. In 1935 the men clerical workers of Ohio received \$32.74 per week, and the women clerical workers \$18.81. In 1936 the women working in Illinois department stores received only 56 per cent as much as men. In many factories, women, even for work demanding great dexterity and expertness, receive lower wages than the most unskilled man in the plant, no matter what his task. In fact, in some industries the wage disparity has gone as high as 200 per cent.

The same condition prevails to a large extent in the professional fields. A University of Michigan study published early in the depression showed the median salary of 14,000 well-educated business and professional women to be \$1,548. More than 88 per cent of them earned less than \$2,500 a year. Only 1 in 588 made \$10,000 or better. The evidence is that men with high-school educations generally earn more than women who are college graduates.² Part of this is because so many women become teachers, clerks, or librarians (more or less sheltered and traditional woman's work) rather than going into salesmanship and business in general. Another reason is that women often look upon their work as temporary. They do not expect to work all their lives as men do, and so they do not take the long-time view and build up for high executive positions. They are not willing to make the sacrifices involved. But part of it is pure discrimination. This is one of the most discouraging obstacles women have to face, and it will continue as long as women will work for less than men or until law or labor organization enforces equal pay for equal work.

How long these conditions will prevail no one can predict, but it is possible to point out certain changes that must take place before women

¹ MARY ELIZABETH PIDGEON: "Differences in the Earnings of Women and Men," *Bulletin of the Women's Bureau*, No. 152, Washington, 1938.

² AGNES ROGERS HYDE, *Women Walking on Their Hind Legs*. *Harper's*, 1932: 680-690, May, 1931.

can fully come into their own in the business world. First, the male ego, which has flourished so well in the hothouse atmosphere of masculine privilege, must submit to pruning if it is to survive the full glare of equal opportunity. Concomitantly, woman's tacit admission of inferiority must have decent burial. The time is ripe for such change. Women are no longer "weak sisters." The businessman's secretary today is usually a college graduate (frequently her employer is not), and she cannot be looked down upon as an inferior, either educationally or socially. She deserves and is increasingly getting more respect from employers. Eventually there must be equal pay for equal work if women are to maintain their self-respect. Because of the prejudice they at first encountered, women were forced to take what wages they could get. It has perhaps been the better part of valor not to press too hard for equal pay during the period of men's slow readjustment to the situation, but any permanent yielding on this point would be admission of failure. As women become more adaptive (not submissive), they will be looked upon by men less as competitors and more as co-workers. Only a double process of accommodation can bring the harmony necessary to full cooperation.

THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF MARRIED WORKERS

It appears that one of the greatest handicaps that women have had in their attempts to achieve business or professional careers has been motherhood, and marriage itself has run a close second. The marriage rate among great women leaders has been low, and the motherhood rate still lower. Of one list of 50 foremost contemporary women, 32 were unmarried, 13 were married but childless, and only 5 were married and had children. One woman had 12 children—as many as all the other 49 put together! Since most of these women are past the usual age of bearing a first child, the figures are not likely to change much for this group. The women of *Who's Who* provide a much larger sample of prominent women, not selected by such rigid standards as the smaller group. Here the marriage and childbearing rates were higher than for the small group. A 1928 study¹ of the first 1,000 women listed revealed that 53 per cent were married. Of these, 46 per cent had children, an average of 1.1 per family or 2.4 per family with children. Truly, children, and even husbands, retard women's careers.

One of the greatest problems facing educated women today is how to reconcile maternity with a career, or if not an actual career at least satisfying work outside the home. We have already noted that, although a generation ago the choice for girls was largely marriage *or* career, today they are demanding marriage *and* career. How many will be able to

¹ PERSIS M. COPE, *The Women of Who's Who; a Statistical Study, Soc. Forces*, 7: 212-223, December, 1928.

have both? More important still, can they have children and a career, which in the past has been a much rarer combination? If they achieve success in this double wish fulfillment, which is difficult under our present social and economic pattern, it will not be all at once but only after a long period of experimentation. Such profound changes cannot come about in any social order without the temporary discomfort usually accompanying social experimentation. Prejudice will flare up at each bold step, business and the professions will have to readjust to the special needs of women, and husbands will have to submit to a reorganization of labor and responsibilities that at first may be uncomfortable both mentally and physically. Drastic educational changes may be necessary, and more tolerance toward experimentation will have to be developed. Already our explorations have taken us far from the familiar shores, far enough to justify the prediction that there will be no turning back until new land is found or its nonexistence proved.

Wives Who Insist on True Careers.—But the “synthetic career” of matrimony and business is not so easy as it looks, and those who attempt it are soon sorted into successes, failures, and in-betweens. The failures do not always fail in both undertakings, but sometimes succeed in one at the expense of the other. A few wives forgo children or even seek divorce when their husbands seriously object to their careers, but more frequently they give up the attempted careers because they find them too costly to home life or because the double task is too strenuous. That the home usually takes first place in such a crisis indicates that women are still devoted to it, in spite of their wider ambitions. What are the chief obstacles to success in the double role of homemaker and wage earner? The answer must be divided into several parts, depending upon whether the wife seeks a full-time professional or business career, part-time work on a business or professional basis, or the lower-paid jobs of industry.

The Strain of Double Work.—The wife who seeks a full-time professional or business career and at the same time expects to manage her household is attempting a Herculean task. A few have been eminently successful in such a double role, but their tribe is exceedingly small. Over and over, the same few names are held up as shining examples to show that it is possible. But such ability is rare, and to make such persons the models is to raise false hopes. In most cases the only way a wife can hope to follow successfully a full-time career is to turn over all household duties to a housekeeper or to live in an apartment hotel where complete service is furnished. Some have suggested cooperative apartments with central kitchens, dining rooms, and laundries; but this is beside the point. If wives do their own work in such communal apartments, there is no way to prevent it from consuming much time and

thought; if they turn over all the work to employees, the apartment becomes an apartment hotel. If the wife tries to do all or even a substantial part of her housework, she is subject to such physical and nervous strain that the cost is heavy. Part of the cost is in health and energy reserves and part in the irritability that accompanies the strain, putting both husband and wife on edge and threatening the companionship upon which happy marriage depends.

Residential Difficulties.—Again, what is to be the solution if the husband and wife both follow careers, when the work of one calls for a move to another city? When a man is shifted from the New York to the Chicago office of his firm, he usually has to go or lose his job. But if the wife, established in business in New York, is forced to move, she may not be able to find an opening in Chicago or at best finds one much further down the ladder. Is she to abandon her carefully built up connections in New York and start all over in Chicago? Or shall the husband give up his job and start over? Or should each go where his work leads, regardless of whether or not it puts the continent between them? In the latter case, where would the "home" be? Technically, there would be two "branch offices" but no "home office." A case in point is that of a couple who made an unsatisfactory decision on this matter but were able to rectify it. The wife was a professional musician, had private pupils, and was a member of a small ensemble and a symphony orchestra. The husband, an engineer, had an opportunity for a considerable promotion by moving to another state. After much discussion they decided that since he was the principal breadwinner they should make the move. But the new place offered so few musical opportunities that the wife was deprived of nearly all her musical activities and lost both the satisfaction of her art and the supplementary income it had afforded. When they found that the husband could have his old job back, they returned with gratitude. On the other hand the writer knows several cases in which husband and wife, both professors, are teaching in different states, one couple being separated by half the continent yet finding their marriage satisfactory. Summer vacations are spent together, resembling annual honeymoons. Most couples are so constituted that they would not be satisfied with such absentee marriage; only the highly individualistic are likely to make a success of it. Even they admit that they miss the daily fellowship that comes in sharing the joys and sorrows of life together. Correspondence is a poor substitute for the presence of those we love most.

Another stumbling block to mutual careers in marriage is the attitude of the husband in the matter. Frequently he feels a sort of personal disgrace if his wife works outside the home, as though it branded him as incompetent to support her properly. In the past this has been a

potent cause of trouble, but with married women working in ever greater numbers male pride is yielding, becoming positively feeble when the wife's earnings make possible more luxuries for both. Still, many husbands prefer the conventional type of wife who will run the household efficiently and make the home a place of comfort, a refuge to which to come. With some this wish is clearly self-centered; but with others it may actually be the opposite. Many a husband wants his wife to be spared the strain of business when there is no economic need for her to be subjected to it. Finally, there is the jealousy of some husbands when their wives' work begins to compare favorably with their own. Such smallness may be deplorable, but until men outgrow it the trouble it causes is not to be ignored.

The Complications That Motherhood Involves.—The obstacles confronting the mother who seeks a career are infinitely greater than those facing the childless wife. It has been shown that the daily work of the childless household is *increased 45 per cent* with the advent of the first child, a fact that stifles the maternal yearnings of many college-girl wives who had so earnestly declared they would have four children but who after the arrival of the second child change their minds. There is no getting around the fact that children require care, and great quantities of it. If this is not given by the mother, it must be provided in the person of nurse or governess. The child is the slowest maturing of all mammals, and the responsibilities involved cannot be evaded. The relatively few career mothers who have been highly successful in their double role are hardly a safe criterion. We must look at the cost to the *average* mother in this class, and to her husband and children. We have been too prone to look only at the effects upon the wife, considering the venture successful if she stood up under it and seemed satisfied. But what of the children? Have they no rights in the matter, no interests that must be considered? Can the mother's career be too costly to them? One need not be sentimental to claim that motherhood is more than parturition; it is personalized guidance *par excellence*. Parturition is completely physical and cannot be delegated; the other 90 per cent of motherhood is mental and social and can be delegated, but usually not without lost values that can never be regained. This is not to say that women who follow full-time careers should never have children. We should be grateful for those few remarkable women who have been highly successful on both scores, for those who make the greatest contributions to the work of the world are likely to have qualities well worth passing on to their progeny. But in spite of the success of the few, it is legitimate to point out some of the dilemmas that the average business or professional mother is sure to face.

Timing One's Career.—A difficult question facing women who want both career and children is: When shall I have my career? A woman

may marry as soon as she finishes college and have her children at once, not entering the business world until the children have started to school. But such a course means that the training and impetus received in college are largely lost, and one must begin again at least 10 years later, recapture as far as possible the earlier enthusiasm, and retrain by intensive catch-up work in the chosen field. This is not impossible, but it requires great courage and tenacity of purpose.

A second course is to enter one's chosen profession immediately after college and regardless of how soon one is married devote 8 or 10 years to getting well established before having children. Then 10 years are taken out for childbearing and -rearing, by which time a family of two children can be in school. During the first half of this period at home, there would be practically no opportunity for keeping up one's professional readings and contacts, but during the latter half the mother could find some time for reading professional journals, attending a few conferences, and preparing in a limited way for re-entry into the professional world. But the great difficulty is that in spite of these necessarily limited efforts she will frequently find that her business or profession has marched rapidly onward while she has been marking time. In the fierce competition and rapidly changing techniques of today, it usually requires one's full time and energy to keep up with one's profession, and there are no "time-out" periods, as in football, when all one's colleagues and competitors rest alike. In many types of business it is a disheartening task to try to overcome a 10-year lead held by the others, and one is tempted to drop back to the starting line where the new aspirants are getting set. In the field of law the basic factors do not change much in a decade, though one has only to recall the uncanny power of Congress and the state legislatures in making laws multiply like guinea pigs to appreciate the amount of catching up that would be required. However, the texts of new laws and court decisions upon them are easily available and can be studied at home. In medicine it is more difficult, and in various types of business a decade sees almost revolutionary change.

But even if mothers returning to their work do catch up on fundamentals and techniques, how are they to get back their clients, their patients, or their customers after a 10 years' absence? Some will have died, moved, or gone into other business, and all will have made other connections for the services they required. If working alone, such women must build up their contacts all over again. Those few who have made their services so valuable to a firm that they will be taken back over the heads of new arrivals are fortunate indeed. All in all, a "comeback" is not easy to stage.

A third method that has been tried is that of having one's career before marriage and giving it up permanently upon marriage, or at least when children come. Some women who have tried this have found it successful. They proved to themselves and others that they had ability for which the world would pay and that they were capable of taking care of themselves. They learned the hardships as well as the satisfactions of business, and after attaining a reasonable measure of success were willing to transfer to the home, with its different and in many ways greater values. They missed the stimulating competition of business, but it was more than offset by the satisfactions—and, frankly, the comforts—of the home. One such woman,¹ employed for seven years after marriage and drawing an excellent salary, writes that she has found the change profoundly satisfying. Schooled in a girls' college where girls who merely married and made a home were somewhat pitied, she started on her career with the following trite philosophy of the day:

(1) The occupation of wifery, child raising, homemaking is inferior, beneath the talents of a really capable and spirited girl; (2) a woman who is wholly dependent on her husband for a living is a parasite and is liable to a condition of helpless enslavement; (3) bearing children ruins the figure, threatens the health; (4) the so-called maternal instinct is largely a fiction induced more by nurture than by nature; (5) raising children is a confining, messy, routine job worthy of old-maid schoolmarms and hack governesses; (6) the responsibility of homemaking is best delegated to specialists—apartment-house managers, janitors, interior decorators, delicatessen operators, and soup manufacturers. . . .

After seven years in work that was interesting but demanded her attention to the exclusion of everything else, she found herself becoming "the narrow, hard, efficiency-bitten drive wheel" of her department. She saw a former college mate likewise rising rapidly in her profession losing "her charm, her humaneness, her talents for leisure," and becoming "swift, hard, poised, incisive," and she didn't like the picture. So she drew her last salary check and changed to the home, where she has found that the enlarged opportunities for making enriching social contacts, reading books on the preferred list, gardening, and watching and guiding the development of her children have far outweighed the satisfactions of the business whirl which she relinquished with some misgivings. Not everyone could adjust to such a change, but many women who think economic independence is the only way in which mothers can be free and can express their personalities have never really experimented with the home to see what satisfactions it can provide.

The chief disadvantages of this course are two. First, some such wives, for a while satisfied with the change because of its novelty, will

¹ JANE ALLEN, *You May Have My Job*, *Forum*, 87: 228-231, April, 1932.

eventually find themselves listening again to the stirring call of commerce and will once more turn their backs on their homes; but others will remain from a sense of duty, restless and discontented. Those who are satisfied with such a sudden occupational change are fortunate indeed. The second disadvantage is that such a course is likely to make marriage, and certainly childbearing, late. The average college graduate is twenty-two years old, and even if she achieves a successful career in the very short period of 10 years before retiring, she cannot have her first child until her thirties, which biologically and sociologically is less desirable than her twenties.

A fourth course is to take maternity in one's stride, turning over practically everything but parturition to others. This method means that the mother need be absent from her work not more than three to six months per child—depending upon her type of work and how near to the time of delivery she can carry on. As soon after childbirth as she is strong enough to go to work, the baby is turned over to a nurse and put on bottle rations, and the mother is free once more to pursue her major vocation. Two or three years later, she may repeat the process without having lost altogether more than six months to a year from her profession.

This method has the great advantage of avoiding a long period of enforced absence from the office, with the subsequent difficulty of catching up. But it also entails many sacrifices by the whole family. One of the first costs under this scheme is to the mother; she must be content with a sort of vicarious motherhood. She must forgo much of the pleasure of watching the daily development of her own infant, which she sees during almost none of its waking hours, except on week ends. The feeding, bathing, dressing, and general care of the baby (time-consuming "chores" to be sure) are enjoyed by the average mother in spite of the sophisticated charge that such satisfactions are purely "sensuous and sentimental." The play and companionship of the children as they learn to walk and talk, their eager queries, their small confidences, their shared joys and sorrows, their training in either right or wrong patterns of behavior—all these must be turned over to hired servants, for such they are whatever their titles. Thus, the physical, mental, and spiritual care of the children is entrusted to those who work for pay, and no matter how conscientious they are they cannot take the place of good parents.

Rearing Children by Proxy.—It is frequently argued that nurses and governesses may be better "mothers" than the real mothers. In some cases this is true, but governesses of the highest quality who are fit companions for children and from whom they can safely acquire their culture are too expensive for any but the wealthy. And among middle-class people, who has not heard the complaint of mothers that they cannot find a competent governess at a salary they can afford to pay? Intel-

ligent mothers do not want to entrust their children to inferior hirelings, and they cannot afford the best ones, and so they often compromise on the distinctly mediocre. With the number of women going into business and professional life increasing, it is probable that the demand for governesses will greatly exceed the supply unless their wages are increased. Many a woman would rather work in a factory than be chained 24 hours a day to a child not her own—frequently a spoiled child whom she dare not discipline lest it tell its parents it does not like her and she lose her job.

To place young children in the hands of persons of limited culture and narrow vision is far more costly than to turn over the care of the expensive family car to a bricklayer. Says one woman,¹ who refused a promotion that meant a much higher salary, in order to have more time with her children in their most important period of character development:

It is difficult enough to approximate any ideal when you are on guard all the time to see that it is not dragged down or compromised. How can we be sure, then, if we delegate the care of our children to others, that our ideals are going to be upheld? Is it really possible to find someone outside the family circle who can help establish the family "tone" which you wish to pervade your home? Will your substitute take the pains to make your children independent when it is so much easier to do things for them? How do you know that she will be intellectually honest with them and not stuff their minds with cock-and-bull stories and befuddle their thinking powers with superstitions and untruths? There are much more sinister faults in mother's helpers than failing to sterilize the bottle properly, and faults which are far more difficult to detect. Will not the mother-with-a-job, in short, either have to resign herself to accepting another's standards for her family or find herself in constant friction where she is absentee owner and not the actual manager of the estate? . . .

Is there no danger of introducing an institutional "flavor" when all the home tasks are attended to by paid workers?

This woman, who claims she is an ardent feminist, admits that it is sometimes a tedious business to be "monitor, cook, guide, policeman, buyer, general houseworker, and stocking mender" for a family of children, but she insists that one cannot solve the problem by merely turning one's back upon it and seeking a task more to one's liking. She upholds the right of every woman to pursue any career she may elect, but she insists that if there are children "they have a prior claim upon her attention."

It is this vicarious motherhood that constitutes the greatest individual, family, and social cost of the mother-career combination, a cost that many mothers capable of successful careers are not willing to accept. They would like to have a share in the out-of-home work of the world,

¹ EVA B. HANSL, *What about the Children?*, *Harper's*, 154: 220-227, January, 1927.

but they have seen what it means to the home and are not willing to pay the price. Thus, modern woman is faced with a dilemma all the more difficult because the choice lies entirely with her. Increasingly she is looking for a satisfactory combination of motherhood and out-of-home work.

The Attitude of Employers toward Married Women Workers.—Thus far we have been considering the out-of-home work of married women chiefly from the standpoint of the effect upon them and the members of their families. But since the extent to which they are employed and the kind of work they are given depends largely upon business leaders, it is important to sound the attitudes of the latter. Most employers are not opposed to hiring unmarried women workers, as long as they are as efficient as men workers. In fact, they prefer women workers for certain tasks because they are better adapted and more efficient, they will work for lower wages, and finally they are usually more easily managed than men, being less subject to unionization and concerted group action. But when it comes to employing married women, there are sharp differences in practice. Some executives raise no bar against—even welcome—married women; some make no distinction between married and single women; but others refuse to hire married women and even dismiss women employees if they marry. The reasons given by these latter range from the rather high-sounding motive of preserving the American home to the more forthright admission that single women turn out more work per unit of wage cost and hence are more profitable workers.

The various viewpoints can best be stated by representative utterances of executives of various concerns, as gathered by Anna Steese Richardson.¹ The president of one firm employing 3,500 women said that the company had a fixed policy of dismissing any girl who married, a policy explained to all employees at entrance. The reason given is that marriage and motherhood require a woman's undivided attention, and since there are plenty of single women and girls available the company finds it unnecessary "to endanger a social institution so important to the country as the home." The personnel officer of a great life-insurance company stated an identical policy, though for a different reason, *i.e.*, that with unemployment so prevalent it is not good policy to give jobs "to women whose husbands are capable of supporting them, however simply."

The president of a publishing house, after a survey of his employees, "found that married women were losing more time and had worse records in tardiness than the single women. The first was due largely to time

¹ ANNA S. RICHARDSON, When Mother Goes to Business, *Woman's Home Companion*, 57: 22+, December, 1930.

taken off to have children." Apparently no substitute help was taken on to cover such absences, the extra work being divided up among the others in the department, much to their resentment. Furthermore, said the president:

We found that women who took off two months or more to bring a child into the world worked on the sympathy of their department heads. "Why penalize motherhood?" they asked. "Am I not doing something for my country when I bear a child?" Perhaps, but they were not doing anything for our firm, and it is an important business, not an eleemosynary institution. We had many conferences on the subject. Today we reject the application of a married woman, and we ask for the resignation of any employee who announces her engagement, of any married woman already in our employ who is a prospective mother. This is not discrimination against married women. It is business, pure and simple. Marriage makes a man more dependable, more valuable to his firm. He has responsibilities to meet, and he can meet them only by giving finer service to his firm. The married woman's interest is divided, as it should be. She should not be retained in a post of responsibility, but she may be given seasonal work, any sort of work at which she can be replaced.¹

A public-utility company stated that it encouraged marriage of its employees, making the announcement of an engagement a semisocial occasion in the department. However, "when a woman stops working to have a baby she leaves permanently so far as the company's attitude is concerned. We do not hold her position for her. If she desires to return to our employ later, she takes her chance with new employees."

A large bank employing many women found that married women were likely to quit when their husbands prospered, but single women were more ambitious and permanent and worthy of the most responsible positions. Those who married usually married late and rarely had children.

The personnel officer of a large department store left the whole question to merit.

It makes no difference to us whether the new employee is man or woman, whether married or single. If she is dependable and develops certain business qualifications, a woman's family affairs or relations mean nothing to us. The woman who is unable to concentrate on her work because she has a child would be irresponsible in a store if she were single. She would be emotionally unstable because she was in love or wanted to marry. Because of the need of emotional acclimation immediately after marriage and reacclimation after the first child is born, the first five years of a woman's married-working life are apt to be difficult. If she survives that period, she usually becomes an excellent worker and may become a buyer or an executive. The mother who is merely bored with house-

¹ *Loc. cit.*

work or wants to earn a little spending money usually takes a part-time job. She comes in after her child goes to school and leaves before the child returns, working through our rush hours only.¹

The head of a large cereal-food factory declared that to develop in an employee the qualities the company needed was an expensive training process, and once developed the company did not want to lose such an employee, whether married or single. Said he, "As a rule the married woman is as dependable as the single girl—sometimes more so. She has fewer social and emotional distractions. She has realized the ambition of every wholesome, normal woman—marriage. She has a settled abode. She knows what it costs to live and to rear children. She arranges her household and returns to her work, a contented and welcome worker."¹

Married Women Teachers.—In the teaching profession, there has been a great deal of bitterness engendered by the rule which many public-school boards have that a woman teacher must give up her position as soon as she marries. The battle on this subject has been long and hard, but the depression turned the tide against the married woman. Since women have almost a monopoly on teaching in the public schools, outnumbering the men 6 to 1 in the grades and 2 to 1 in the high schools, the question as to whether they must take the "educational veil" if they are to teach and forgo the normal longing of women for a husband and children is a serious problem.

It is a moot question whether married or single women make the best teachers, for there are advantages either way, and superintendents are divided in opinion. In a survey² of nearly 1,000 school superintendents, asked whether married women with equal training and experience are as efficient as unmarried women, 63 per cent said "yes," 18 per cent said "no," 15 per cent answered conditionally, and 4 per cent said married women were more efficient. This response is 18 to 4 in favor of the superiority of single women, in cases where a difference was noted, but nearly two-thirds of the superintendents saw no difference. Some felt that a teacher's training and experience should not be lost to the school system merely because she marries, but others thought it unfair to the young women just entering the profession to keep the married women on. Some found the married teachers more conscientious than the single teachers, and some found just the opposite. A Cleveland study found that married women teachers were out slightly more because of illness than were single teachers. Incidentally, another study showed that

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² CHARL WILLIAMS, The Position of Women in the Public Schools, *Annals Amer Acad. Pol. Soc. Science*, 143: 154-165, May, 1929.

women teachers were absent on account of illness about twice as much as were men teachers.

The stock arguments against the married woman in teaching are much the same as in other professions. David Snedden,¹ one of the more articulate of the opponents of the married woman teacher, recently summed them up as follows: (1) In times of depression when the government literally has to make jobs, it only aggravates the situation to allow married women to deprive men and single women of the incomes they need. (2) Since teaching and homemaking are both full-time jobs, married women teachers are under double strain and many of them are bound to slight their teaching. (3) Married women teachers tend to underbid the others, thus lowering the salary level for all. (4) The opportunity for married women to follow full-time gainful employment is dysgenic, for it encourages childlessness in a group having, on the average, very desirable qualities that should be passed on to offspring.

But there are good arguments on the other side also. (1) Many young women use teaching only as a stopgap before marriage and are happy to give it up at marriage, which is usually just about the time they have acquired enough experience to be really good teachers. They drop out automatically, but if school boards force out their colleagues who marry but want to remain, they are losing a double body of experienced teachers, leaving the field to those who have forsworn marriage and normal home life and to the raw recruits. (2) Married women teachers, especially if they are mothers, get to understand children at other than school hours, which helps them to understand their behavior in the schoolroom. This would seem to be a special advantage to teachers in the kindergarten and first few grades. (3) The married woman, being established in her own household and with settled abode, is likely to prove a very steady teacher, with the exception of several leaves of absence while her children are small.

The arguments are not conclusive either way. One cannot deny the double strain to which married women teachers, especially mothers, are subjected. Yet teaching, especially in the lower grades where hours are short and evenings need not be used for grading papers, lends itself to married women better than many other professions. The mother of small children, if she teaches in the lower grades, can leave home with the children and return with them, being absent from her home chiefly at the time they are absent. Furthermore, she has a long summer vacation of two to four months, during which she can be at home with her children or vacationing with them.

But whatever the merits of the pros and cons, the depression was the greatest single factor in turning the tide. A 1932 survey of 1,500

¹ DAVID SNEDDEN, *Marriage and Teaching Do Not Mix*, *New York State Education*, 23: 543-544, April, 1936, condensed from *Current Controversy*, February, 1936.

American city schools showed that nearly two-thirds of them (63 per cent) required women to resign upon marriage, and in most of the others, although there was no immediate dismissal, those who married were usually not given new contracts the following year. The writer was told of a case in an Eastern state which illustrates the absurd lengths to which people are forced to go if they are to obey the letter of the law. In this case the rule was that no married women would be employed but that women already teaching would not be discharged if they married. A married woman who very much wanted to teach went to a friend on the school board and asked him if there were not some way to get around the regulation. He proposed in all seriousness that the only way she could get on the teaching staff was to divorce her husband, get appointed as a teacher, then remarry her husband after her teaching duties began!

On the face of it, public-school teachers are employed for the welfare of the pupils, and it would seem logical, therefore, that the chief criteria of selection should be education, personality, character, and similar personal qualifications fitting one for the work; instead, the single arbitrary criterion of marital status outranks all others in more than half our schools. This encourages celibacy where we can least afford it, and those who rebel at celibacy resort to secret marriage and extramarital unions. With courses on the functions and problems of family life being extended rapidly from college to high school, and eventually even into the grades, will not the situation become even more anomalous than at present? Can the spinster teacher discuss the problems of the home with the same assurance and authority as if she were mistress of her own home? And will the pupils accept her teachings at par when they know full well that she dare not marry? If the fundamental purpose of our public schools is the all-round education of our children, the logical course is to select the best teachers available, single or married.

Industrial Mothers.—It has been pointed out that women in general have many reasons for working. Even married women taken as a whole have a variety of reasons. But those who are mothers, and who are qualified only for factory work, usually have but one reason for working—necessity. If they are widowed or divorced or if their husbands are ill or unemployed, they must depend upon their own work, but by far the largest number of them work because the husband's salary is not enough to support the family.

Since nearly two-thirds of the married women who are gainfully employed away from home are found in manufacturing and mechanical industries, domestic and personal service, and agriculture—in which there is little opportunity for a career—it is obvious that economic compulsion is pushing most of these women out into factory and field. This is proved by definite studies.

"Why did you go back to work after you were married?" was one of the questions put to a group of 728 working mothers in Philadelphia. "My husband wasn't making enough," answered the largest group (29 per cent); "my husband was dead," came next (22 per cent); followed by "my husband was sick," (14 per cent); "he left me," (13 per cent); "he wouldn't support me," (11 per cent); and "I'd rather work," (11 per cent).

These answers show clearly the measure of success which has met the husband's attempts at supporting his family. The great majority of these wives, under varying degree of economic pressure, undertook the partial or entire support of their families while the husband was living.¹

The Women's Bureau, also, reports that in two Denver studies, involving nearly 450 married women workers, 90 per cent and 86 per cent, respectively, were working of necessity; in a Chicago study of 843 mothers, more than four-fifths testified to the death, illness, desertion, unemployment, or other incapacity or indisposition of the husband to support the family. Such mothers have no choice but to work.

There is a vast difference between the professional and the industrial mother. The former works in an office, with pleasant surroundings and at stimulating work; the latter works in a factory, often with depressing surroundings and at monotonous work. The former receives a reasonably good salary and pays a housekeeper to do her cooking and housework and keep an eye on the children, unless they are small enough to require a nurse in addition; the latter, because her wage is small, usually has to do her own housework after hours and on Sundays, perhaps paying some feeble old woman a small sum to look after her youngest children. The professional mother comes home to a clean house and a meal already cooked; the industrial mother comes home from the factory to more work. She must get supper, wash the dishes, wash and iron clothes, do the sweeping and dusting, sewing and mending, in fact, all the normal housework. Her Sunday is not a day of rest, but a day for catching up on her endless tasks. It is no wonder she is always tired. In one case, a mother worked ten hours each night, getting home in time to get breakfast for her children and doing all her housework through the day, catching what sleep she could. Such mothers work for one reason only—they have to.

Gainfully Employed Homemakers Increasing.—One of the most significant facts about the employment of women is that *married women workers are increasing about twice as fast as women workers in general*. Between 1900 and 1930, the number of women working doubled, but the number of married women working quadrupled. In 1900, only 5.6 per cent of all married women were gainfully employed; but in 1930, there

¹ GWENDOLYN H. BERRY, *Mothers in Industry*, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science*, 143: 315-324, May, 1929

were 11.7 per cent so employed. In 1900, married women constituted 15 per cent of all workers; in 1930, their proportion was 29 per cent.

Nearly four million of these women carry a double load. The Bureau of the Census has compiled data on homemakers¹ showing that in 1930 there were 28,405,000 families with homemakers and that of these 3,924,000, or 13.8 per cent, were gainfully employed, one-fifth on work that could be done at home and four-fifths on work that took them away from home. One-quarter (24.4 per cent) were classified as "servants, waitresses, etc.," 18.8 per cent as "industrial workers," and 12.8 per cent as "office workers." As to race and nationality, 11.7 per cent of the native white homemakers were gainfully employed, 10.2 per cent of the foreign-born whites, 37.5 per cent of the Negroes, and 11.9 per cent of the other races. Nearly three-fifths (58.7 per cent) of all homemakers lived in urban territory. Of these latter, 16.4 per cent were gainfully employed; of the rural-nonfarm, 11.7 per cent; and of the rural-farm, 8.8 per cent. Thus, the rate of gainful employment for urban homemakers is twice as high as for farm homemakers.

The different sections of the country naturally vary considerably as to the type of work homemakers engage in most. For example, in Mississippi 58.6 per cent of the gainfully employed homemakers were in agricultural occupations, whereas in Rhode Island only 0.4 per cent were so engaged. However, in Rhode Island 50.4 per cent of the employed homemakers were industrial workers, whereas in Mississippi only 2.5 per cent were in such work. Montana had the largest proportion of employed homemakers in professional work (18.4 per cent) and Mississippi the smallest (3.2 per cent). The District of Columbia had a long lead on office workers with 34.6 per cent, and Mississippi again came last with 1.6 per cent. The range for "servants, waitresses, etc." was much smaller than for the occupations previously given, the Southern states running highest in general.

SOME SOCIAL EFFECTS OF WOMEN WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME

The trek of women away from the home, whether by choice or necessity, has had far-reaching social consequences. There have been some women in factories ever since the industrial revolution and likewise a few in business. But the large-scale participation of women in industry, trade, and the professions is of too recent origin to reveal its ultimate results. However, even at this stage of the process, one can note certain effects, some socially costly and some socially good. Whether the harmful results can be remedied by social action remains to be seen, but

¹ A "homemaker" is defined as the woman member of the family who is responsible for the care of the home and family, exclusive of hired housekeepers.

it appears that at least some of them could be changed without undue effort. For others, no remedy is yet in sight.

Effects on Women's Health.—In general the speed, noise, monotony, poor ventilation, inadequate lighting, and fatigue of factory work are not greatly different for women than for men if they have no home responsibilities. Men and single women are subject to fatigue and nervous strain in much the same way. But there are two considerations that apply to married women and not to men. The first is pregnancy and childbirth; and the second, housework. Women who work in factories during pregnancy, especially when they work up to within a few weeks of delivery, are subjecting themselves to extra fatigue and nervous strain which may in some cases affect the fetus. The strain is particularly hard for pregnant women whose work requires long standing. Also, the mother who goes back to work too soon after childbirth is mortgaging her health; yet this is being done constantly. In certain European countries women are given several months' leave with pay or with medical attendance furnished during late pregnancy and confinement, but little progress has been made along this line in the United States.

The double duties of the average industrial married woman have already been described. Such duties frequently mean constant exhaustion which greatly lowers vitality and resistance to disease. Illness with such women is more serious than if they were in robust health. Single women, or married women without children or household duties, engaged in business and professional work, are in a different class in regard to health. Even mothers in these occupations are far better off than industrial mothers, for they can usually hire sufficient help to take care of their household duties. However, many of them still feel the burden of responsibility for the smooth running of their homes, with the resultant nervous strain of trying to do two things at once. Those who really like housework—though not too much of it—find no strain in assuming limited household duties after office hours, but others are irked by the very thought of housework after a hard day at the office. Certainly, health is not endangered in all cases. In fact the wife who is not domestically inclined, who is fretting her days away at home, may find outside work a tonic to body as well as to mind.

Effects on the Home.—This point involves chiefly married women and need only be summarized, for it has already been touched upon. Included are the personality changes in the mother, her attitude toward the home and its members, and their attitude toward her, the amount and kind of supervision the children receive from those hired to care for them, the degree of attractiveness the absentee mother is able to maintain in her home, and the restricted opportunities for companionship with the children and doing things together as a family.

The effects on the industrial worker's home deserve special mention. One of the most serious results of married women doing factory work is the neglect of the children in the family. Sometimes a grandparent or some other elderly unemployed relative looks after the children, or sometimes neighbors "run in" several times a day to see whether the children are all right; but frequently they are left with no care at all. Some studies have shown as many as one-third of the mothers making no provision for their children's care other than leaving them food. A few even leave babies all day, in the care of small children. Working mothers frequently shun day nurseries, considering them too much like an "institution" or smacking of "charity." Also, in some places, the day nurseries will not keep youngsters for mothers whose husbands are working. Children left without supervision are more subject to accidents, mischief, and serious delinquency than are those under the eyes of their parents.

The effect on the attractiveness of the home is also bad. Homes of the working class have few luxuries, and in many cases even modern conveniences are lacking. They may be clean, orderly, and attractive, but to keep them that way requires a great deal of work. The mother who works out all day does not have the time to keep the home as she otherwise would. It is physically impossible for her to do the many little tasks that give a home the cheery and comfortable touch that means so much to every member of the family. The husband does not find his home as clean and orderly as it was; the cooking is more hurried, and favorite dishes that take time are seldom prepared. Furthermore, his wife is more easily irritated and seems tired and cross all the time. A few husbands are very understanding and lend a helping hand with the housework, but this is not the usual pattern. Housework is traditionally women's work, and many husbands, though vaguely disturbed because their wives have to work so hard, find it more comfortable to slip away to a pool hall or other loafing place than to stay around a none too orderly home with a cross and tired wife. Even the children find it simpler to keep out of "Mom's" way when she is all worn out. It is difficult for a home to have a wholesome family atmosphere when the mother is constantly exhausted by a double burden of work.

Effects upon the Employment of Men.—It has been stoutly maintained by some that women workers do not take jobs away from men; but the contrary argument seems easier to sustain. In 1930, there were 38 million males and 10 million females gainfully employed. At that time and since, there have been some millions of men unemployed. Omitting the unemployables and considering only those able and willing to do efficient work, it stands to reason that vast numbers of them would be employed if it were not for the fact that there are 10 million women doing

work, much of which the men could and would do. This is not an argument that women should not work because it throws men out of employment; it is an argument that in many lines of work women do replace men. It is true that women do some kinds of work better than men and that men would not be fond of certain types of work looked upon as "feminine." Yet the fact remains that men can and do engage in every kind of work, "feminine" or "masculine." In the 534 separate occupations listed in the 1930 Census, men are engaged in every one of them save one—that of midwife! In all but a handful of the occupations the number of men employed runs into the thousands. For example, the waiters in many of the best hotels and restaurants are men; yet, in 1930, there were 232,000 waitresses compared with 161,000 waiters. What would happen if these 232,000 waitresses were dropped out of the picture and no other women took their places? In a few cases the wages would be so low that men would refuse them, but a great many of the jobs immediately, and most of them eventually, would be filled by men. But surely we need the 41,000 charwomen to clean the offices after hours? There are already 21,000 men listed as doing this same work, and there are others who would like a chance at such a job. Men are not ashamed to cook—indeed, there are 194,000 men cooks in the country, but there are 371,000 women cooks. There are 483,000 women bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants compared with only 448,000 men.

The list could be prolonged almost indefinitely. There seems little doubt that women workers keep men out of jobs. In 1930 the industrial board in a Southern city, in a state which had thousands of men walking the streets in search of jobs, put on a "booster campaign" to attract new industries to that city. The inducement was revealed in the title of the leaflet they issued, "A New Reservoir of Woman Labor." Said the leaflet:¹

There are 73,124 white females in the district, 10 years of age and over, without any employment. . . . Although _____'s white population is primarily industrial, very few of the white women are employed at all. Of these few employed white women a negligible number are engaged in industry. . . . The wage scale necessary to attract these unemployed women is far lower than that existing in centers specializing in women labor. . . . Should professional and clerical classes be eliminated the average pay for women per week would not exceed \$10.

This blatant invitation to exploit the women of that city might have added, were it not tacitly understood, that of course women could be employed more cheaply than men. The law of supply and demand has not been repealed.

¹ *New York World-Telegram*, July 23, 1930.

Effects on Men's Wages.—That the entrance of women into the workaday world should lower the level of wages in many lines of work was inevitable. The great disparity in men's and women's wages has already been pointed out. It was entirely natural that women should sell their labor at a lower price than men received. In fact the enveloping culture pattern almost guaranteed such a differentiation. In the first place, with their background of male domination, women admitted their inferiority and did not expect to receive the same wages as men. In the second place, though perhaps a majority of women workers must provide essentials for themselves or for dependents, many others do not depend upon their wages for a living, but only for supplementary income. Therefore, they have a different attitude toward the job than do women who must support themselves. They can afford to accept smaller wages than the latter, for there is less at stake, and they are none too willing to organize and fight for better wages. Here, again, the law of supply and demand works inexorably, especially in the absence of minimum-wage laws. Competition is too keen in most fields for manufacturers or other employers to pass up an opportunity to use women at wages lower than men receive, when women laborers are available. Only legislation, or tight labor organization, can close the gap between men's and women's wages.

Effects on Working Conditions.—The entrance of women into industry has had, on the whole, a good influence on the conditions under which men as well as women must work. This has been due partly to the vagaries of public opinion, which can be aroused more easily over unsanitary conditions than over the level of wages. Furthermore, the public is more sentimental about women workers than about men, and the old sense of chivalry—what remains of it—demands that women workers have better surroundings than the typical factory has been wont to provide. Much of the credit goes to the women themselves, for they protested against filthy washrooms and dilapidated rest rooms such as the men had accepted as inevitable. Furthermore, by improving these services, many employers hoped for a double gain—erasing feminine protests against dirt and diverting their attention from the long hours and low pay. But however the credit be divided, the fact remains that the coming of women into factories brought a slow but widespread reform in many of the working conditions—involving cleaner toilet and washrooms, better rest and recreation rooms, better food in factory lunchrooms, lighter workrooms, more guards on dangerous machines, more easily operated machines, more frequent rest periods, and various other improvements.

Effects on Marriage and the Birth Rate.—It is difficult to say just how much women's out-of-home work has affected marriage and the birth rate, for no adequate studies have been made. After careful

statistical analysis of the marriage rates in various American cities, Ogburn¹ was able to make only the guarded statement that "this evidence indicates (but is not conclusive) that employment of women tends slightly to delay marriage and perhaps to discourage it." He found that, if a city had 10 per cent more women gainfully employed than another, it would also tend to have about 7 per cent fewer of its women married, much of which is obviously due to age distribution. When a city uses a great deal of woman labor, many young women from outside are attracted to it. In this younger age group the percentage married is much smaller than for older age groups; hence, the percentage of all women married is lowered.

In an earlier chapter it was noted that the steady increase, since 1890, of the percentage of the population married slowed down between 1920 and 1930, particularly in the younger age group of women. Is any of this due to the increasing percentage of girls going to work? Or to their increasing college attendance, which usually delays marriage? Perhaps both factors have some weight, for anything that delays marriage is likely to affect to some degree the actual marriage rate. This is particularly true for women, for their marriage eligibility declines much more rapidly between ages 20 and 30 than does the eligibility of men of the same age. There is also some evidence that, with self-support more available than ever before, some girls are a little more particular in the choice of a husband. There is no longer any disgrace in remaining unmarried, the term "single woman" having replaced "old maid." Almost everyone knows of a few women who preferred to remain single rather than marry someone for whom they did not greatly care. The "meal-ticket" incentive to marriage has been dealt a hard blow. This point, however, affects only a small minority of women, for most young women do find someone they care enough about to marry. But there is another factor which must discourage marriage among women workers. A good many schools refuse to employ married women as teachers, and a good many business concerns follow the same rule. They will not hire married women as new workers, and they dismiss women already on their pay rolls as soon as they marry. This definitely postpones some marriages and drives others to secrecy.

But there is a very definite factor on the other side of the question. Now that it is so common for young women to go to work and even to continue work for a few years after marriage, many young couples pool their savings and income and marry much sooner than they otherwise could. Whether this factor will help to steady—or even increase—the marriage rate in the younger age groups cannot be known until a large

¹ E. R. GROVES and WILLIAM F. OGBURN, "American Marriage and Family Relationships," New York, Holt, 1928, p. 447.

number of case studies have been made. The 1940 Census will throw little light on the question, for much of the 1930-1940 decade fell within depression years, and marriage rates were thrown far out of line.

Of the effect of women's work on the birth rate we can speak with more assurance, even though here again exact studies are lacking. If outside work for women at least postpones marriage for some women, it is likely to reduce the birth rate slightly, for first births increase in danger to the mother after age 30, and also the total childbearing period is shortened. But a more definite cause of working women limiting their offspring is that children interfere with their work. In fact, some employers permanently drop their married women employees upon the birth of the first child. Others drop them from the roll but allow them to come back later as new entrants if they can survive the competition with other new applicants. But even when the job is held open for the mother, another baby means a good deal of time lost, a great deal more work after regular working hours, and provision for the baby's care while the mother is away at work. Birth-control clinics hear many accounts of self-induced abortions by working mothers. They literally risk their lives rather than risk interruption of their work.

On the professional level, also, children are a handicap. Various studies reveal a high percentage of professional women single, and of those married a large share have either no children or an "only" child. This tendency toward childlessness or very small families is not due wholly to the woman's profession, for frequently women of this class come from the low-birth-rate group and would have very few children even if they attempted no career. However, there is no doubt that their careers are a partial cause of their low rate of childbearing. Some of them frankly argue that they can contribute more to society through their careers than through bearing children.

CONFLICTING OPINIONS ON THE NEW TREND

The entry of women into nearly every avenue of work and play raised a host of voices both in praise and condemnation. At first there was much opinion and little fact; but gradually the blind prejudice and zeal began to abate, and more objective evaluations emerged. One subject that required much attention was the comparison of the sexes, as to whether they were enough alike to justify the same activities.

Sex Differences and Similarities.—Among all peoples the fact of sex difference has played a leading role in social organization. In both primitive and civilized cultures the words "male" and "female" have profound connotations reaching far beyond actual physical differences. They extend into the mystic realm of the *Yang* and the *Yin* (male and female principles) which dichotomize the entire universe. It is as though

a magic veil had been drawn between the sexes, through which they can see but without understanding. This conception of immutable difference has long conditioned the attitudes of both men and women, whether in philosophical thinking, economic activity, or the lighter vein of humor. Even among preliterate peoples the sexes take great delight in bantering each other, and in our own society one shudders to think of the plight of jokesters if this inexhaustible source of supply were cut off. If we become too logical in our search for sex equality, we may find life too serious! But there are sex differences. What are the chief ones? Are they so basic as to dictate the activities of each sex? Apart from the immutable function of childbearing, is woman's physical and mental equipment peculiar to her sex? Are the so-called male and female characteristics inherent in sex, or are they the result of the culture pattern? Is either sex superior to the other, or are they merely different? If bona fide differences exist, how great are they?

Physical and Sensory Characters.—The primary sex differences are of course in the sex organs, both external and internal, with their complementary functions. The secondary sex characters are more numerous and include many items of anatomy. Woman is broad of hip, whereas man has narrow hips and broad shoulders. The larynx is larger in men than in women, and a kind Providence has spared the latter that inelegant protuberance called the "Adam's apple." Dunlap¹ lists a number of minor details of bodily structure in which women differ from men. "The thigh bone is shorter than in men; the proportions of the chest, and of the spinal column are different; the arm is flatter; the index finger is larger, and the thumb shorter; the thigh is greater in diameter and more conical in shape; the pelvis is, of course, larger; the legs slant inward more from hip to knee; many joints are differently formed; and there are various other characteristic differences." Among most peoples, men are taller and heavier than women, in this country being about five inches taller and 20 per cent heavier. Women have a greater proportion of fat in their bodies, and men more muscle. The blood count is somewhat less in woman than in man, and her heart beats 8 to 10 beats faster per minute than man's. Her thyroid gland is both relatively and absolutely larger than man's, and diseases of this gland are far more common among women than among men. The latter, however, are much more subject to hernia. Men are more hairy of body than women but more subject to baldness. Whether this last is due to differences in habits of dress is not definitely known. It is doubtful whether the sexes differ greatly in acuteness of the senses, although seemingly there are more color-blind men than women. Slight differences have been found in sensitivity to pain, touch,

¹ KNIGHT DUNLAP, "Civilized Life," Baltimore, Williams & Wilkins, 1934, p. 109.

etc., but more experimentation is needed before definite conclusions can be drawn.

Some of the physical differences between men and women give the former the advantage in most forms of athletics. Women have relatively larger bodies and shorter legs than men, which handicaps them in running and jumping. But the difference in relative strength is still greater. Donald Laird says that 54 per cent of a woman's weight is strength, whereas with a man the proportion is 87 per cent. This gives men an enormous advantage in vaulting, throwing, and various other sports. Professor Tucker, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, found women's reaction time to be about one-fifth slower in automobile-brake-application tests than that of men.¹ If the test made allowance for men's longer driving experience and more driving per week, it indicates that the slower reaction of women handicaps them in sports calling for quick decisions.

Mental and Emotional Characters.—It is reported that the late Chauncey Depew was once asked who was the greatest man in his state, to which he promptly replied, "Unquestionably, I am." When the astonished interviewer asked him how he could prove this, he retorted, "I don't have to prove it—I *admit* it." In much the same way, men have "proved" their mental superiority over women. They argued that "any fool could see it" and let it go at that. When pressed for better evidence, they merely quoted other males, such as Nietzsche's statement that man was born to struggle and woman to charm the struggler, or Molière to the effect that woman, like ivy, is helpless without a strong support 'round which to twine. Better yet did they find Rousseau's dictum that woman's function was to please man, be useful to him, and render his life "easy and agreeable." But these were not arguments; they were dogmatic statements and carried no weight.

For some years the question of woman's alleged inferiority was debated with ardor, but now it has little more than academic interest, at least in this country. The learning speed of boys and girls in school seems to be slightly different on different subjects, but this may be due to differences in interest response rising from the prevailing patterns of social expectation. Many years ago, Thorndike pointed out that the individual differences within either sex are greater than the differences between the sexes. More recently, Mark A. May,² of the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University, has shown that since 1900 at least 200 articles have appeared in psychological journals, dealing with sup-

¹ DONALD LAIRD, Why Aren't More Women Athletes?, *Scientific Amer.*, 154: 142-143, March, 1936.

² MARK A. MAY, The Adult in the Community, in Carl Murchison (editor), "Foundations of Experimental Psychology," Clark University Press, 1929, p. 756.

posed mental differences between the sexes, and he concludes that psychology has proved that there are "no fundamentally innate sex differences in abilities and capacities." Even those who prepare mental tests no longer provide a norm for each sex.

Some writers, however, believe that there is a real difference in the emotional stability of the sexes. They point to woman's greater tendency to excitability, which may come from the thyroid gland. Says Dr. Peters,¹ "This gland is more influential with women than with men. It is more often diseased in the former than in the latter; it undergoes changes in pregnancy. The effect of thyroxin on nerve tissue is to increase excitability."

Woman's Monthly Cycle.—The menstrual cycle in women is physiological, but it has an important effect on the emotions and attitudes, thus greatly affecting behavior. This recurring experience varies considerably in different women as to its degree of discomfort or actual pain, but even on the average it is distinctly disturbing. Frequently it produces nervousness and irritability, followed by lassitude and a need for regaining the energy dissipated. Its effects have been overemphasized by some writers, who have seized upon the fact that women are below par for a part of each month to prove their inability to compete successfully with men; nevertheless, it deserves serious consideration as a definite handicap to women. Lorine Pruette² points out that, although it is fashionable now to deny that menstruation is a hindrance to achievement, the fact remains that it is a very definite hindrance. Admitting that women have overworked this alibi and that they can actually go through with their tasks during this period quite well, she asserts that they lack the motivation and drive essential to creative work. Being in a "state of mild discomfort or of sluggish relaxation to the physical process"—and sometimes in acute pain—is not "conducive to the highest level of performance." It isn't so much what women at this time *can* do as what they *want* to do; the motivation for high achievement is lacking.

Dunlap³ points out that business and professional opportunities ignore the lunar month and that women who are in no mood to respond to them are penalized accordingly. He suggests that, when their vitality is at the ebb stage, only standardized routine tasks, which can be met by extra effort whatever the mood, are likely to be well done. This implies not inability on the part of woman, but a physiological handicap for certain kinds of work. Logically, then, when certain women show outstanding success in these fields either they are less subject than

¹ IVA L. PETERS, *The Psychology of Sex Differences*, in "Woman's Coming of Age," Liveright, 1931, p. 179.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 249.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

the average woman to these emotional cycles, or else they have succeeded in spite of this drawback and therefore deserve extra credit. If the latter is true—and it seems logical, in some cases—we may conclude that women can succeed in any occupation requiring mental ability rather than sheer physical strength, but that they may have to pay a higher price for their success than do men.

What Is the Test of Ability?—Some men, putting aside all laboratory tests, have argued that, since those at the top in every profession are usually men, there must be something lacking in women's ability. This argument, however, is specious. It is obvious that if men greatly outnumber women in a given profession they have many more chances of producing leaders in the field. When confronted with this fact, they reply that women in the professions are more highly selected than men; for though a large proportion of men seek careers, only the most intellectual women go in for careers. However, it is doubtful whether such a statement can be proved; it is unsafe to say that those women who do sacrifice family for career are any more intelligent than those of like social status who deliberately choose home and children. But even if there were a slight degree of selection among professional women, it could hardly more than fractionally offset their numerical disadvantage in their effort to join the select group at the top.

In the second place, it is obvious that woman's admission to some of the professions is so recent that she has not yet had time to get her stride. Medical colleges and law schools have been open to women for some years, but this does not mean that they have full opportunities of advancement. After being admitted to the bar the woman lawyer has to face prejudice in many quarters, which greatly retards her progress. Openings in noted law firms are usually filled with men as a matter of course, as are official legal appointments. In medicine, it is the same story. The young woman graduating from a medical school still finds it difficult to get an internship in many of the best hospitals; and when her training is complete, she, too, finds prejudice barring her path. Leaders in these two fields, who extend a helping hand to young men on the rise, frequently withhold it from young women of equal ability, not because they necessarily doubt their ability, but because they "just don't want a woman around, for this is a man's game."

A last stand is made by the die-hards in the declaration that music and painting have been open to women for generations and yet few have achieved great eminence. Nearly all the great composers and artists have been men, a condition that holds good even today. An explanation is demanded, but it is difficult to give. Yet, even here, there have been factors operating silently against women. To be sure, art has been open to them for some time, but not so fully as it appears. To

dabble in art might be quite ladylike even in the Victorian era, but to make an active career of it was quite another matter. This required long years of study, and art schools were notoriously Bohemian. In music, another factor was added to the difficulties of professional training—the matter of physical endurance. If, as great pianists have said, genius is “one-third ability and two-thirds work,” a selective process operates steadily to the advantage of the men. Long hours of daily practice at the piano require real physical strength. Men, being stronger than women, have somewhat more endurance, and it has been suggested that the ability to practice longer hours may give men just enough advantage to excel.

These instances suffice to show how unfair it is to belittle woman's accomplishments outside the home in a world fashioned for man's advantage. The anthropological principle long since set forth by Boaz, that the ability of two races or peoples should not be judged by their achievement but by their *capacity for achievement*, applies here equally well. Not unless women secure and maintain for many years complete equality of opportunity in the leading professions can they be expected to hold their own with men. Whether they can do this and still perform their one nontransferable function, upon which perpetuation itself depends, remains to be seen.

What Is Sex Equality?—Here is the heart of the problem. Until we can get wider agreement on the meaning of equality, confusion and conflict will continue. *Does equality mean identity?* Shall men and women do exactly the same work or merely have equal opportunity to do the work that each wants to do? Are certain kinds of work best suited to men, and other kinds to women? Or shall women insist on carrying the argument to its logical conclusion, whatever the sacrifice? These questions are answered variously by different groups, which means that the ferment continues.

It is doubtful whether absolute equality, whatever the law, can be attained, and it is even more doubtful whether most women want it. But the decision is in their hands. They cannot be blamed for not wanting to be merely an “auxiliary sex,” with no real identity of their own, but neither can they achieve a workable philosophy of life simply by revolting against the past. They must give “freedom” a social interpretation if it is to conform to their own ultimate welfare as well as that of their loved ones.

The Loss of the Feminine Pattern.—Many consider it unfortunate that woman's bid for self-expression took the turn that it did. They say that “feminism” turned out to be “masculinism.” Why, they ask, should women think that the only way of proving their equality is by aping men? Would it not be more original and far better proof of

ability, if they branched out into other interests and developed a truly distinctive feminine culture? They claim that women are merely making themselves less attractive to men by entering the competitive lists with them, for the too familiar loses its interest. To this the true feminist promptly retorts that remaining attractive to men is not of primary importance, for if woman today is to determine her conduct on the basis of pleasing man she will simply perpetuate the bondage from which she has been trying to escape. Nevertheless, the point is significant, for, in making adjustments, what people *think* is truth may be as important as truth itself.

Unquestionably, women had to sacrifice qualities admired by men when they entered men's traditional domains. Men had long fashioned women's patterns to suit themselves. Therefore, when women began to step down from their pedestals without permission, there was dismay and disillusionment. Men wanted these goddesses of their own fashioning to be different; but here they were in trim business suits instead of evening gowns, running for the same 8:15 train, packed in the same subway, crowded in the same elevators, and working in the same offices in competition with them. Male chivalry began to fail, and with it the male sense of importance. These self-confident young women did not need special courtesies, whether in subway or office, and conventional manners began to slough off. If equality was what they wanted, they should have it! This loss of the feminine pattern threw both sexes into confusion. Some women enjoyed it, but others resented the loss of the small courtesies to which they had been accustomed. They were upset because they could not have their cake and eat it too, for they had somehow disbelieved that old adage. This sharpened their competitive habits, and they carried into the counting house all they dared of the drawing-room pattern, using their loveliness, semihelplessness, and trustfulness on whatever males were most vulnerable. This brought bitter accusations of unfair method from the strong-minded—but perhaps less alluring—women workers; also, the men developed a better defense than they had at first.

Women have vigorously denied the charge that they are merely aping men by entering all avenues of work. They point out that the interests of both sexes, under the coeducational system, are bound to be very similar, that men and women are far more alike than unlike and want essentially the same things, and that it is only natural, therefore, that they should pursue the same activities. They claim that such common pursuits will bring the two sexes together more closely and make them companions in the true sense of the word. This argument has much to commend it, but it is too early to predict its proof. When we have watched the Soviet experiment for another generation, we may have the answer. At present, however, there are numerous indications in Russia

that absolute equality of tasks for the sexes is not maintaining the favor it found at first. Women are beginning to show signs of becoming "feminine" again, and the government is acquiescing. Even in America a few women have grown weary of their freedom and are asking, "Freedom from what?" They ask why, having proved to themselves and to others that they can go out and make a living, they should continue to do so? If they can marry and have a comfortable home, why choose the more hectic life? After all, is not a well-ordered family life, integrated into the community activities, a worth-while career? Is not a reasonable amount of leisure necessary to true culture?

IS THERE ANY SOLUTION?

It is now generally admitted that the new activities of women have raised certain problems to which we have as yet been unable to adjust. We have followed neither the turn taken in Russia nor that in Germany. Nor is there any prospect of going back to the old pattern. Women will keep their new privileges, so slow in coming, and society must bend itself to the task of conserving the social gains of women's new status and minimizing the maladjustments growing out of it. Thus far, the process has merely been allowed to "happen," with very little social guidance applied. If the new social order is to achieve a reasonable degree of occupational adjustment for the sexes, social effort must be substituted for *laissez faire*. Several questions may well be raised in the search for even a partial solution.

Does the "Home-plus" Attitude Prevail?—There are two questions that bear squarely on woman's decision as to the disposition of her time. First, are a husband and children necessary to the average woman's fullest development? To this the answer is overwhelmingly "yes," as shown by every poll of young women and by the marriage rate. True, the size of families has fallen rapidly, but a woman's domesticity cannot be measured by the number of children she is willing to bear. She may make as happy a home with two children as her mother did with six. Second, need the care of home and family absorb the full time of a competent woman? To this the answer is increasingly "no." "We must, of course, differentiate between farm, town, and city wives. The farm wife still has no trouble in keeping busy; the small-town wife has a house and garden which require much time; it is the city wife in a small apartment with every convenience who is sure she can care for her home and still have time to spare.

To what extent is this assurance justifiable? Though in some cases it is wholly so, in others it must be admitted that it rests upon a willingness to neglect the housework to whatever extent is necessary to carry on the outside work. Such neglect may not be improper; in fact, it may

even work for the greater happiness and welfare of the family, but for one such case there may be several where the results are detrimental. It is true that much housekeeping is poorly done. Men are prone to say that if their business were run as haphazardly as the average household they would fail within a week. Even after extracting the male bombast from this charge there is enough truth left to merit attention. Housework is isolated, individualistic, and practically free from competition, which makes it peculiarly vulnerable to neglect. Add to this the woeful amount of bad cooking to which many families are subjected and the semineglect of small children, and there are at once available enough legitimate duties to reverse the opinion of some of the women who assert that their homes do not require their full time. Yet these same women, by better planning, the use of more modern equipment, and a brief study of the art of cooking, could change their leisure from an unearned to an earned basis.

Is Discontent Due to Lack of Opportunity or to Lack of Initiative?—

One reason that many women are not contented with their home work is that they are not doing it well. They can shirk an enormous amount of it without discovery—until a dresser or a bookcase is inadvertently moved. They do not receive a pay envelope whether they are efficient or inefficient, and with the double incentive of supervision and wages lacking they sink to the level of the minimum effort that their self-respect will permit. Home tasks done in this spirit have no challenge; there can be no zest in one's work without interest. Housewives whose work is on such a plane are usually of the complaining type because life seems to hold no compensation for them.

Have such women, like the seeker in Russell H. Conwell's famous lecture "Acres of Diamonds," overlooked the riches in their own yards? Does home management contain endless possibilities that many women have completely overlooked? Alice Foote MacDougall,¹ herself remarkably successful in business, believes most women do not need a business or professional career to keep them from boredom. In an interview she is quoted as saying: "The home has been abused because women have made it a poor, little, miserable thing. It has infinite capacities, however, and the woman of brains and ability will find that her home will grow so that she can't find its confines."

Some of the most persistent malcontents are college women who have been married 5 to 10 years and are in the "lazy thirties." During their four years in college they had every opportunity to discover their chief interests, test their capacities and special aptitudes, and decide what they wanted to do. They saw some of their classmates go from college into chosen fields of work and devote all their energy to it. But most of them

¹ Quoted by Mary Bennett, in the *New York World-Telegram*, July 14, 1931.

did not do this, either because they did not want a career or because they lacked the ability or the courage to undergo the rigorous discipline it demanded. They had a free choice, and 10 years later they are not good enough sports either to stick by it or take energetic steps to rectify what they have concluded was a mistake. Instead, they indulge in complaining and self-pity, feeling that the world has been unfair to them. If you show the slightest evidence of sympathizing with them, they "go wistful on your hands," as one writer has expressed it. They have made no outstanding effort to succeed as wife, housekeeper, or mother—three important spheres of activity which offer opportunity for distinction.¹ They have merely drifted along in the conventional channels, leaving it to others to analyze the adjustments necessary to successful marriage and motherhood or the possibilities of so ordering the home as to meet its changing needs more scientifically. They have attempted to be good mothers, but in the easiest way, without going to great pains to understand ahead of time the problems that their children must face at each turn of the path. And now they find themselves dissatisfied with their traditional tasks (done in a mediocre way) and longing for something more stimulating. They have a vague resentment, as college women, at the commonplace duties of the home, for they are too well educated to spend their days within the confines of the home. Did they not graduate from college? Do they not have A.B. degrees? They feel as though they were intellectually all dressed up with no place to go. Yet they are not much interested in club work, which could be made as intellectual as desired. Nor will they take part in civic activities. They do agree on one thing, however; they want to keep their figures!

One trouble with such wives is that they do not know what they want to do. Mrs. Morey says that when asked what they really want to do they answer evasively, "Some kind of writing" or "some artistic work," but that scarcely one of them has made any earnest, protracted effort to train herself in any such field. They spurn the commonplace part-time jobs that are open, wanting to do, without previous training, things for which they are not fitted. Those who "want to write" have seldom been willing to study writing, to write story after story, using rejection slips as incentives to other attempts. "The most impressive element in their answers," says Mrs. Morey, "is the fact that they are bored and wish they weren't."² They are childish in their attitudes toward life, contemplating the academic phrase "the right to be happy" and blaming circumstances because they aren't. They seek escape by prolonging their adolescent demand for romantic attention, measured by the degree of interest they can arouse in other women's husbands. "They are

¹ ELIZABETH MOREY, This Fuss about Women, *Forum*, 88: 101-105, August, 1932.

² *Loc. cit.*

restless because the passage of time is inevitable," and like children they complain, "There isn't anything interesting to do!" But that there are plenty of worth-while things to do has been proved by many determined women who have had the perseverance to decide upon and prepare for some interesting part-time work which they have found their communities provide.

Can Home Interests Be Increased?—There have been various proposals for making women more satisfied with their home activities as compensation for not working outside the home. The tasks of the housewife can be greatly increased in number. She can take over more and more of the duties ordinarily assumed by the husband. If these are merely chores, the wife will resent the transfer; for if her tasks are increased merely to release her husband for more important matters, she is likely to feel like a glorified office boy. It is not running errands and looking after routine details that she wants, but something that is at once worth while and interesting. Her loyalty to her husband and her desire for his success may lead her to assume these small but time-consuming duties for him, but she will not feel that she is doing anything creative.

The money standard of values has become so dominant that men and women alike measure their activities by it. Thus, housewives are likely to feel that the time they spend in housework is largely wasted unless it saves money. And they have been thoroughly converted to the belief, dinned in by cannery, bakery, *et al.*, that many of the tasks formerly common to the home are no longer profitable. They accept the idea that the mass production of canneries and bakeries can place prepared food in their homes more cheaply than they can prepare it themselves. It is rather disconcerting, therefore, to find one woman¹ who proves in cold figures (from her own experience) that the housewife with a properly equipped kitchen can actually cut the cost of the family's food by almost 50 per cent and at the same time improve the quality. To be sure, the bakers and canners can buy their raw materials more cheaply than the housewife can; but the containers, packaging, and distribution costs are eliminated, and the labor brings in an equivalent of 50 cents per hour. Some housewives will scout this statement, but a careful cost accounting is presented with it, which makes further study of this challenging idea worth while.

Is Part-time Work the Answer?—If an efficient mother can perform her home tasks well and still have a certain amount of time for outside work, why should not society provide an opportunity for her to work *part* time? She may not care to fill her leisure time with concerts, lectures, welfare work, or similar activities, no matter how worth while; she

¹ MRS. RALPH BORSODI, *The New Women Goes Home*, *Scribner's*, 101: 52-56, February, 1937.

may prefer to match wits in the business world. Furthermore, the income derived from business adds a powerful incentive whether the family income demands it or not, for the standard of living has great powers of expansion.

Part-time work for women has much to commend it. More social values and in most cases more individual values are conserved when a woman is a full-time mother with a part-time job than when she is a part-time mother with a full-time job. She can have more time with her children, do more of her own housekeeping, and have a little larger margin of leisure for worth-while social activities than if she engaged in full-time business. For the business mother, however wedded to her work, is seldom able completely to divest herself of a feeling of inadequacy in her own home. She may stoutly deny such a feeling and rationalize her situation until she almost convinces herself, but underneath is the uncomfortable feeling that the home responsibilities which she has delegated to others are not being performed as she could perform them. It is not so much a feeling of guilt as a wish that she could put more of herself into her home, and this ever-present wish frequently leads her to attempt more than she can do. This increases the nervous strain to the point where she must cut down on her activities either in or out of the home or else suffer a breakdown. Part-time work presents no such cruel dilemma; it avoids the unpleasant feeling of home inadequacy and still offers the variety and stimulus of outside work.

However, this solution is not so simple as it sounds. There are very definite drawbacks to it. One is that it does not always satisfy the business or professional desires of women. Some consider it a mere sop, designed to keep women in the home but letting them "play like" they are business women. They say it is not "equality" and that the only way they can really succeed as men do—and success means as much to them as to men—is to throw their whole energy into their work. The only answer to such argument is that it is not equality in the sense of *identity* and makes no claims of being so. It is frankly a device for women to give their major attention to the home and their minor attention to outside work, for the old saying that one cannot serve two masters is as true as ever. And perhaps the best solution for those few women who insist upon giving their undivided loyalty to their work is not to have children. As to their sense of frustration unless they have "equal" chances with men at business success—that is an attitude socially conditioned, and the pattern can be changed. Formerly, when women had no thought of any but the home pattern, there was little talk of frustration. Should social necessity in the future bring us to the place where social approval would be greatest for the home-major and outside-minor pattern, women would find satisfaction instead of frustration in conforming

to it. But at present there is so much uncertainty as to the relative values of the different patterns that no one of them stands out with supreme authority. Without a social compulsion—a social “ought” with the weight of accepted authority—there is a general unwillingness to agree on one pattern. This is as it should be, for social experimentation must proceed long enough in any time of flux to explore thoroughly all possibilities.

But perhaps a greater difficulty is the fact that the business and professional world is not set up on a part-time basis. There is little demand for part-time workers in the more challenging and satisfying lines of endeavor. One can sometimes find such opportunities at such purely clerical tasks as typing and filing, but these are not very inviting outlets for the energy and interests of intelligent, well-educated women. To be sure, they do give the satisfaction of a pay check, but punching the keys of a typewriter to copy what someone else has said or filing all the *a*'s under *A* and the *b*'s under *B* is not all that might be desired as means of expressing one's personality.

There are other fields, such as interior decorating, writing, landscape gardening, and supply teaching, affording the fullest opportunity for creative ability and artistry, which lend themselves to part-time employment, but already they are overcrowded. Women have been highly successful in all these fields and various others, without sacrificing the personal qualities of motherhood and home management. True, there is at present a paucity of such openings, but that is a difficulty that can be remedied if the social will demands it. America is almost the only nation where the business pattern is all-powerful and all other culture traits must conform to it. Efficiency-bitten, hard-driving American businessmen are sure their business world would collapse if they yielded to the British custom of afternoon tea; yet British business shows no signs of debility. The genial tea-drinking session of Cantonese merchants and the leisurely chatting before business is broached in an interview do not keep them from capturing the market wherever they go. Business in most countries is so conducted as to interfere less with the domestic pattern than in this country, for business efficiency is not worshiped as a god. It is high time that we challenge the sacredness of the business pattern in this country and demand that it do its share of conforming to the needs of other social institutions and activities instead of arrogantly demanding that all other patterns conform to its self-styled “master pattern.” The god of profits receives too much obeisance.

Several American cities have offered concrete help to married women wanting part-time employment by organizing bureaus to uncover opportunities for such work and bring them to the attention of the women. Miss Eleanore Adler was largely responsible for the organiza-

tion of the New York and Philadelphia bureaus, both in 1922. Since their opening, these bureaus have filled many thousands of part-time jobs, at a service charge to the applicant of less than cost.

In a survey of opportunities for part-time employment for women in New York City, the 16 most common types of such employment were shown to be: care of children, secretarial work (social), stenography, typing, bookkeeping, selling, cashiering, housekeeping, waiting on tables, personal-maid service, domestic work, housecleaning, laundering (hand), infant nursing (temporary), professional nursing, and beauty-parlor work. Included in the survey were 118 firms employing 7,500 women in part-time work; 15 per cent of the employees in the stores investigated, and 26 per cent of those employed by restaurants, were on part-time.¹

There are many other types of part-time work available to women, and the list can be expanded almost infinitely, according to the amount of ingenuity women show in meeting present wants and creating new ones. Many remunerative jobs can be done chiefly at home. The woman who takes pleasure and pride in her excellent cooking can often build up a small but select list of customers who will take all the cakes, pies, cookies, jams, preserves, or other delicacies she can make; those who like to sew find a demand for fine hand sewing; those who do fancy knitting, crocheting, or needlework can frequently get orders for duplicating samples shown. The number of little articles that can be made in the home is remarkably large, including hand-colored or amateur photographic Christmas cards, all kinds of greeting and gift cards, handmade and hand-painted lamp shades, brightly painted cutouts for children, various types of stuffed dolls and animals, and toys of many kinds. Those who like to work with people instead of things can sell insurance, books of proved merit, bonds, real estate, and almost anything else, for women are good at selling. Also, many women on main highways have supplemented their incomes by little stands selling all kinds of farm products, from fruit and vegetables to dressed chickens. Others have opened tea- or lunchrooms, and many take tourists for the night. The automobile has created a whole register of new services for which the traveling public is willing to pay, and women are learning how to turn these streams of traffic to their advantage.

It is a comforting fact that, in a democracy, when a considerable part of the people become convinced of a social need, pressure is brought to bear and ultimately the change is likely to be made, at least for a period of trial. If society becomes convinced that a vast amount of part-time

¹ Survey by the Bureau of Women in Industry, summarized by Lorine Pruette, *The Married Woman and the Part-time Job*, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science*, 143: 301-314, May, 1929.

work must be made available for the best interests of the social group as a whole, business will be forced gradually to reorganize on a basis that will make such work possible. The task is not at all impossible. Were it suddenly proved that greater profits lay in that direction, business leaders would bring about the change with almost magical speed; should not the incentive of *social* profits have any effect on their inertia in this matter? Must we always touch the "pocket nerve" to get quick reaction?

Can Women's Organizations Provide Satisfying Work?—The list of women's organizations is a long one and covers a great variety of socially valuable activities. One need mention only a few of them to show what a wide choice is offered to women who like group work. The American Association of University Women is not a federation of college women's clubs but is composed of individual women representing many colleges and universities. In many communities it is a genuine cultural force. Of special value are the study guides the association issues on 50 or more subjects in the fields of social science, education, international relations, and the arts. These are widely used over the country in discussion groups and for individual reading courses.

The League of Women Voters is a national, state, and local organization "designed to increase women's participation in government" by organized study of public questions and intelligent support of a program of political action. It seeks to be nonpartisan, supporting measures strictly on their merit. There are 36 affiliated state leagues and 600 local leagues, with nearly 1,500 study groups per year. The work is divided into six departments: Government and Child Welfare, Education, Economic Welfare, Foreign Policy, Legal Status of Women, and Government and Its Operation. The league actively supports measures that it has studied and approved. In 1937, for example, it supported the Child Labor Amendment, protection of academic freedom, minimum wages for women, state aid to kindergartens, and other selected measures. One of its most active campaigns (in 1936) was in behalf of trained personnel in public service. The New York league supported legislation to prevent hasty marriage and the addition of desertion as a ground for divorce. The league has been a force for good government and has shown what can be done by women in that field. It has been praised widely by press and public leaders for its nonpartisan, intelligent work. It can point to a long list of statutes toward the passage of which it gave effective support.

There are some who contend that the typical women's clubs seldom tackle anything particularly difficult and that young women should stay in them only a few years before moving on to more active organizations that are not afraid of any issue.¹ But women's clubs, like many men's

¹ LOUISE HOWARD FERSTER, *Why Be a Club Woman?*, *Forum*, 93: 39-41, January, 1935.

organizations, are as active as their leadership. Many individual clubs have done excellent work, and collectively they have made a good record. The General Federation of Women's Clubs, chartered in 1901, has 14,500 member clubs in this and foreign countries, and more than 2,000,000 members. Most of the work of the federation is carried on by its nine departments: American Citizenship, American Home, Education, Fine Arts, International Relations, Junior Club Women, Legislation, Press and Publicity, Public Welfare. These departments include numerous divisions, dealing with many such subjects as law observance, home-making, conservation, safety, public health, child welfare, etc. Thus the federation has a remarkably broad scope, aiming to have in every community possible an organized group of women who can be depended upon "to promote all movements looking toward the betterment of life."

The Department of the American Home has been quite active. It made the first nationwide survey of home equipment. It has assembled material and issued pamphlets for the use of mothers, dealing with such subjects as "The Use of Leisure Within the Family Group," "Religious Training in the Home," "Spiritual Values in Family Life," "Family Finance," "Buying Intelligently," "The Child and His Money," etc. The Committee of Standardization has cooperated with the United States Bureau of Standards to get tests on such articles as silk stockings, leather shoes, cotton gloves, and silk fabrics for dresses. The Committee on State Scholarships and Loan Funds reports nearly \$2,000,000 invested in scholarships and loan funds in all states.

Is There a Distinctive Field for Women in Politics?—The entrance of women into politics may appear to be only another imitation of men, and yet it may turn out to be the opposite. To be sure, seeking political office usually requires one's full time, but there are many political jobs that can be done on part time—not fat-pay jobs but political house-cleaning through organized voting. It has been suggested¹ that women are not yet important in politics because they are not yet interested. They consider it more important that a candidate be a good husband and father than that he fight graft and corruption. If he makes a gesture toward helping crippled children, women are likely to overlook his dishonest awarding of contracts. But whether such charges are true or not, women could clean up any city politically *if they wanted to*. A strong women's vote, added to that of the more progressive men, would turn the tide. Women could hold the political balance of power if they would. Here is an opportunity made to order for them. The responsibility for civic reform is no more theirs than men's, but it offers women a unique opportunity to distinguish themselves in genuine public service.

¹ JOHN GORDON ROSS, *Ladies in Politics*, *Forum*, 96: 209-215, November, 1936.

Will Women Continue to Accept Men's Standards or Will They Make Their Own?—If women wish to show their ability, why should they not blaze new trails of thought and activity instead of following the trails of men? Mary Beard¹ contends that women have been a "lost sex" in history, for history is made up of the thoughts of men. What purports to be equal education is merely coeducation in men's ideas and activities, on the assumption that women have no culture of their own.

A woman doctor² who has done much writing says that few women, whether they claim to be emancipated or not, have any conception of the degree of their psychic dependence upon men and how little they are able to think and act for themselves. Even many of those who have been highly successful in their professions still carry a feeling of inferiority, the result, of course, of their cultural background which for ages has included domination by men. For this reason, woman's *outward* emancipation—her ability to do as she pleases—is not bringing her happiness. There must be an *inward* emancipation from her own feeling of inadequacy before she can attain full self-respect and serenity. If women seek to attain psychic equality by developing the same ruthless will to power that men have developed, they will not only fail to make any ultimate contribution to human culture but destroy certain contributions they now make. If, however, they assert themselves by developing a different kind of strength from that which man has developed, *a moral strength, which still commands universal respect*, they will prove, not their equality, but their superiority. If women will rise to this opportunity, while men are tangled in the confusion they have created, we may find a way out of the present impasse of civilization, and women will have achieved a new dignity.

Selected Readings

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¹ An address at New Jersey College for Women, reported in the *New York Times*, June 7, 1936.

² BEATRICE M. HINKLE, Woman's Subjective Dependence upon Man, *Harper's*, 164: 193-206, January, 1932.

- LEE, MABEL B.: The Dilemma of the Educated Woman, *Atlantic*, 146: 590-595, November, 1930.
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- STRACHEY, MRS. OLIVER: Married Women and Work, *Contemporary Rev.*, 145: 332-336, March, 1934. (Defense of women working outside the home.)
- TUTTLE, WORTH: Autobiography of an Ex-feminist, *Atlantic*, 152: 641-649, December, 1933, and 153: 73-81, January, 1934. (A before-and-after-marriage picture.)
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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. List a number of economic, political, or social problems that women's organizations have tackled, whether on a national, state, or local scale. Show the actual accomplishments of several of these. What further problems do you think they are in a strategic position to handle?
2. What special male courtesies, attentions, or marks of gallantry or chivalry toward women would you be sorry to see disappear? Are these now slowly giving way before the ideal of complete equality? Can you suggest any acceptable way of preserving them?
3. List a considerable number of types of work in your city or town that now provide, or without great difficulty could provide, part-time jobs for married women.
4. If your college is coeducational, from the earliest catalogues available in the library trace the changes in curriculum content that appear to be largely attributable to the increase in the proportion of women students or to their special interests.
5. Give arguments for and against the organization of a new political party—a Women's Party—which might become large enough to hold the balance of power between the present main parties.
6. Read the suggestion of the editor of the *Forum* that women could do a great public service by making a comprehensive, scientific study of prison reform. Give arguments for and against the practicability of such an effort. (See Henry Goddard Leach, A New Adventure for Women, *Forum*, 93: 193-195, April, 1935.)
7. Describe the particular difficulties of some gainfully employed mother you know, who has young children. How successfully, and by what means, is she able to exercise her maternal influence on the children and preserve a satisfactory home life?
8. Study the occupational distribution of women in your state. In the light of present economic and social trends and taking into consideration such questions as salary, position on the community-respect scale, chances of advancement, and opportunity for future marriage, what occupations appear most promising for young college women today?

CHAPTER XIV

DIVORCE

It has become customary in recent years to "view with alarm" the rising tide of divorce. The statement is frequently heard that unless "something is done about it" there will soon be a divorce to offset every marriage. Seldom does the critic suggest just what might be done about it, other than that we "tighten up" our divorce laws. Even intelligent commentators fail to distinguish between the divorce rate and the marital-unhappiness rate, assuming that they are synonymous. Yet with a little thought it must be evident that an increasing divorce rate does not necessarily denote an increasing rate of domestic discord. Today marriage has a break-up rate three times that of a half century ago. There is no way of minimizing this fact; yet per se it does not prove that conjugal infelicity has increased in the same proportion.

The Nature of Divorce and the Divorce Rate.—Divorce is merely a process of unmarrying people who have been married. It is an official recognition that their marriage is a failure and therefore has more cause for terminating than for continuing. Society, desiring the successful functioning of such a fundamental social unit as the family, is naturally concerned over its growing instability. But to seek the cause, or even the extent, of family malfunctioning in the divorce rate is futile. Divorce indicates the failure of a given marriage, but absence of divorce does not indicate its success. There are a great many unhappy, unsuccessful marriages that never terminate in divorce. Frequently such marriages are as truly failures as those that sever the bond; indeed, in some cases the social welfare of all parties concerned—parents, children, and society—would be furthered if the belligerents were parted.

Fifty years ago divorce involved much greater disgrace than it does today. Religious sanctions were stronger and ethical standards more uniform. Divorce, though justifiable in extreme cases, was usually considered an affront to God and man. It not only broke a sacrament but also weakened the fight for decency. A divorcee, being looked upon as somewhat less than respectable, lost social status. This caused many couples to remain together even though they fought constantly and venomously, for as long as their marriage remained legally intact they were "respectable," whereas those who parted, even with respect and without anger, thereby became unrespectable. For this reason it is unsafe to assume that marital unhappiness follows the divorce curve.

Many couples today refuse to put up with a degree of unhappiness that a generation or two ago would have been borne as a matter of course—a thorn in the flesh that must be endured. Medical men tell us that much of the recent increase in cancer is apparent rather than real and that they do not know just what the true increase is. This is due to their greater skill in diagnosis, revealing certain symptoms as cancerous that previously they had not known were such. So, also, much of the increase in marital unhappiness is apparent rather than real.

This does not mean that there has been no increase in unsuccessful marriage. Various factors point to some increase, but it is not known how much. The increasing complexity of our culture has made human relationships more difficult. The shift of population from primary to secondary groups has made a larger proportion of our population than ever before subject to these disorganizing influences. These factors will be discussed more fully later. The point to be made here is that there is no longer any reason to confuse the divorce rate with the connubial unhappiness rate. It should now be clear that divorce is a result, not a cause, of conjugal discord. For perhaps a quarter of a century, a few voices have tried to persuade us of this fact, but mostly in vain. Divorce has been attacked time and again and still gets far more of the spotlight than does marriage. Yet bad marriage is without question the breeding ground of divorce. Its tardy recognition repeats the experience in the medical field—the final recognition of the claims of preventive medicine rather than complete preoccupation with curative medicine.

In the United States, we have never settled the conflict between civil and ecclesiastical law on matters pertaining to marriage and divorce. Our views were diversified from the beginning. In colonial days the Catholics of Maryland and the Anglicans of Virginia retained the conception of marriage as a sacrament, with divorce out of the question. The Puritans, however, staunch dissenters that they were, would have none of the sacramental idea and insisted that marriage was a civil contract and as such could be dissolved by civil action. It is therefore not inconsistent for Protestant faiths to sanction remarriage after divorce. Logically, if marriage is a civil contract that can be dissolved for sufficient cause by civil action, remarriage must be permitted, just as a person can free himself from one business partnership and enter another. Such logic in no way minimizes the social importance of marriage stability. If society considers the dissolution of the marriage contract socially more costly than the dissolution of the business partnership, correct procedure would call for the exercise of greater care at the *entrance* of the marriage contract rather than refusal to permit correction of past mistakes.

If one takes a scientific view of divorce, therefore, one will consider it as a social rather than a religious matter. One will not be "shocked" at

an extremely high divorce rate any more than at an extremely low rate, for presumably a divorce rate can be too low to take care of the irreducible minimum of hopeless maladjustment. One will see in our present divorce rate an indication, though not a true index, of much difficulty in the marriage relationship. One will perceive that this is truly a matter of social concern and that anything done to mitigate its unwholesome results will constitute a social gain.

DIVORCE FREQUENCY IN THE UNITED STATES

For 20 years or more, the United States has easily kept ahead in the divorce race. In 1915, we nosed out Japan and have since held an undisputed lead. Our divorce rate is many times as high as that of most Western nations, with the exception of Russia. With us, divorce and prosperity both reached their peak in 1929. Since the close of the Civil War, the number of divorces has increased about 2,000 per cent, *i.e.*, from about 10,000 in 1867 to more than 200,000 in 1929. During this same 62-year period, the population increased only about 300 per cent. But marriages also increased about 400 per cent; and since only the married population is significant in computing divorce rates, it can be said that during the six decades mentioned the divorce rate outstripped married population growth 5 to 1. Although there has been considerable fluctuation in the rate by individual years, when taken by decades the increase has been more uniform. Cahen¹ found that over the total period of 62 years the divorce rate had increased at about 3 per cent compounded annually. In 1929, the United States reached a new high, with 201,468 divorces. Following this, divorce frequency declined till the trough of the depression was reached in 1932, after which it again turned upward and by 1934 had surpassed the 1929 figure.

Measuring the Divorce Rate.—There have been several methods of computing the divorce rate, but all have been partly unsatisfactory for one reason or another. A few of the most common ones are as follows:

1. *Ratio of Divorce to the Total Population.*—This is usually expressed by stating the number of divorces per 1,000 population (see Table XVIII). But it is obvious that such a measure is quite inaccurate. It does not allow for changes in the sex ratio, the age composition, or the marriage rate. For this reason, it is particularly inaccurate for comparing the divorce rate in different states, for some of the Western states have a much higher proportion of males than females. This affects the percentage married in different states at any given time. Also, over a period of time this kind of measure is likely to be inaccurate. The falling birth rate is constantly changing the age composition, weighting the middle and

¹ ALFRED CAHEN, "Statistical Analysis of American Divorce," New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, p. 21.

upper groups which, in general, are more married than the young groups, thus increasing the proportion married and liable to divorce, even if the marriage rate remains constant. But the latter may not remain constant, thus introducing another variable.

TABLE XVIII.—THE NUMBER OF DIVORCES AND THE RATIO OF DIVORCE TO MARRIAGE IN THE UNITED STATES, MOSTLY BY EVERY FIFTH YEAR, 1867-1932

Year	Number of divorces	Marriages per 1,000 total population	Divorces per 1,000 total population	Divorces per 100 marriages	Marriages per 1 divorce
1935*	218,000	10.41	1.71	16.4	6.1
1934*	204,000	10.28	1.61	15.7	6.4
1933*	165,000	8.74	1.31	15.0	6.7
1932	159,710	7.87	1.28	16.3	6.1
1931	183,664	8.55	1.48	17.3	5.8
1930	191,591	9.15	1.56	17.0	5.9
1925	175,449	10.35	1.53	14.8	6.8
1920†	170,505	11.96	1.60	13.4	7.5
1915†	104,298	10.14	1.05	10.4	9.6
1910†	83,045	10.28	0.90	8.8	11.4
1905	67,976	10.04	0.82	8.2	12.2
1900	55,751	9.32	0.73	7.9	12.7
1895	40,387	8.92	0.58	6.5	15.4
1890	33,461	9.05	0.53	5.9	16.9
1885	23,472				
1880	19,663				
1875	14,212				
1870	10,962				
1867	9,937				

* Estimates taken from a study on "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years," by S. A. Stouffer and Lyle M. Spencer, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science*, 188: 56-69, November, 1936. The Bureau of the Census considered this study accurate enough to be incorporated (the figures for 1933-1935) in an official release, on Feb. 19, 1937, of marriage and divorce statistics from 1922 to 1935.

† Figures for these years are estimates by the Bureau of the Census.

2. *Ratio of Divorce to the Population Fifteen Years Old and Over.*—This measure has an advantage over the previous one, for it at least excludes children under fifteen, very few of whom are married. But although this reduces the effect of a declining birth rate it does not eliminate it, and it makes no correction whatever for changes in age composition and only slight correction for changes in the marriage rate.

3. *Ratio of Divorce to the Married Population.*—The number of divorces each year per 1,000 married population would constitute a much more

logical measure than either of the two discussed, for it would be less subject to the variables mentioned for the country as a whole, though still subject to them to a considerable extent when different states or sections are being compared. At present, however, it has one great drawback. The Bureau of the Census does not have figures on the married population for each single year, but only for Census years, which sometimes are very unrepresentative.¹ One could estimate the annual figures by noting the trend of the decimal figures and by interpolating with the use of such state figures as are available, but the results would be rough at best. The Bureau of the Census has intimated that such estimates would not be of much value.

4. *Ratio of Divorces to Marriages in a Given Year.*—This measure is expressed in two ways: the number of divorces granted in a year per 100 marriages contracted in the same year, or the number of marriages to 1 divorce in the same year. The former is the method used by the Bureau of the Census in its reports on marriage and divorce,² but the latter is the form commonly used by the press. Both are the same ratio, but expressed on a different base. Both are shown in Table XVIII.

The essential weakness of this divorce rate is that the divorces granted in a given year have little relation to the marriages begun in that same year, for the divorces of a given year include only a few that are married in that same year,³ most being those who have been married anywhere from 1 to 30 or more years. Since the median average duration of marriages ending in divorce is about 7 years and since divorce is increasing faster than marriage, a ratio between divorces and marriages in the same year is bound to understate the actual chances of divorce. Furthermore, in times of economic depression the marriage rate tends to fall considerably more than the divorce rate, which increases the error in this method during such periods. Yet with all its possible sources of error, this crude measure of divorce has two distinct advantages—it is easy to compute and is easily understood by all. And since, over a period of years, it does not differ so much as one might think from the more refined but intricate measures, the public will not be greatly misled even if it continues to be used. But a more accurate ratio, equally understandable, would be of decided advantage.

Despite the fact that this particular measure tends to underestimate the probability of divorce, it has been attacked by some writers as tend-

¹ For example, 1920, following demobilization, was highly abnormal both as to number of marriages and number of divorces and therefore not fairly comparable with the average of either the preceding or following decade.

² Discontinued since 1932.

³ Only about 4 per cent of the divorces granted occur in less than 1 year after marriage.

ing to magnify the divorce rate and give the public a distorted idea of marriage instability. Even one of our best scholars on divorce takes an indefensible stand on this point:

Only 1 in 125 marriages for the last 2 or 3 years has failed, as expressed in the divorce courts. We do not reckon bank failures as some people do marriage failures by contrasting the number of marriages with the number of divorces in a single year. If we were to compare the number of bank failures in a single year with the number of banks organized during the same year, I suspect we should find that there were 10 or perhaps 20 times as many bank failures as there were banks organized during that year. There is about 1 divorce to 5 or 6 marriages in a year, and people think that this is the ratio of failures in marriage. Divorces occur from *all* previous marriages, not from the number of marriages that take place in the same year only. The figures of the federal marriage and divorce reports show that 1 marriage in 125 is dissolved by divorce annually.¹

The effect of such a statement is to make the probability of divorce appear only about one-twentieth of what it actually is. It focuses the attention upon the *duration* rather than the *number* of marriages that will end in divorce. It points to the fact that divorces terminating marriages for many years back are occurring in the given year in question but fails to point out that the marriages in that same year, which are said to contribute so little to divorce, will continue to contribute each year for the next 35 years or more. Cahen's careful computation of a refined divorce rate seems to stand scrutiny. By taking into account the average duration of all marriages ending in divorce, the death rate, and the marriage rate, he found that the probability of divorce is approximately 18 per cent, *i.e.*, 1 out of slightly fewer than 6 marriages (actually 1 to $5\frac{1}{2}$) will end in divorce. There can be no sidestepping this fact. If one took all of the marriages contracted in a given year and followed them through for 25 years, even at the "1-in-125" rate one-fifth of them would be terminated by divorce within 25 years, which is an even higher probability than Cahen states in his "1-to-6" ratio.

Furthermore, banks and marriages are not comparable in formation, duration, or dissolution. All of the latter *must* dissolve either by death, divorce, or other cause, whereas the former may continue indefinitely. Also, as the population approaches stability, there is little reason for the formation of new banks, whereas a large number of marriages are bound to be contracted each year as young people reach marriageable age.

5. *Ratio of Divorce to Moving Average of Marriages.*—Recently, a committee appointed by the Population Association of America² to study the

¹ J. P. LICHTENBERGER, *The Changing Family in a Changing World*, *Mental Hygiene*, 17: 573-589, October, 1933.

² Robert E. Chaddock, Chairman, Ray E. Baber, Calvert L. Dedrick, and Willy-stine Goodsell.

several methods of computing divorce rates devised a method of comparing divorces in a given year with the average of marriages for the preceding 10-year period, including the year selected for study. This has the effect of "minimizing atypical conditions with respect to marriage that might characterize a particular year."¹ Such irregular marriage rates as those occurring just after demobilization and in short-term depressions are smoothed out. Even so, this measure shows an increase of 41 per cent in the divorce rate from 1916-1918 (average) to 1927-1929 (average), an interval of only 11 years between center-period years, or 14 years over all, which is a very rapid rate of increase. But that it is somewhat under some of the other measures for the same period is not surprising; as long as the divorce rate continues to rise, this type of measure, with its average lag of 5 years between marriages and divorces compared, is likely to understate rather than overstate the divorce rate. Yet even by this conservative method, the figure for 1928 (or for the 1927-1929 period, for that matter) comes out almost exactly on the 1-to-6 ratio so commonly used.

Thus the final figure emerging, even from the refined computations, remains close to a 16 to 18 per cent probability, that is, little different from the crude 1-to-6 ratio of divorces to marriages in the same year. Even this figure, which would seem to be severe enough to satisfy the most ardent advocate of personal liberty, is probably an underestimate of the truth. Several studies have indicated that the United States Census reports on the number of divorces are too low. Sanderson² found that during a 10-year period in four counties in central New York about one-third of the divorces had not been reported to the Bureau of the Census. This however, is probably very exceptional. In their exhaustive work on divorce in Ohio, Marshall and May³ state that for the 5 years from July 1, 1926, to July 1, 1931, the official figures compiled by the secretary of state for Ohio give an average of 15,000 divorces granted annually, which they consider an understatement. The average reported by the federal Census Bureau for Ohio for the 5 years 1927-1931 (the nearest equivalent, the whole being set forward six months) is 14,442. After making a correction for the six months' shift, which brought in the second half of 1931 with its rapid decline in divorce, there is still left a difference of about 485 between the state and federal figures. If the rest of the country is neither

¹ ROBERT E. CHADDOCK, *Methods of Estimating Proportional Frequencies of Divorce*, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 2: 398-405, June, 1937.

² DWIGHT SANDERSON, *Some Evidences for the Need of Legislation to Provide for Uniform Registration of Divorces in New York*, mimeographed report, based upon research data in a thesis by Blanche M. Melvin, Cornell University Library, 1928.

³ LEON C. MARSHALL and GEOFFREY MAY, "The Divorce Court," Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933, Vol. 2, Ohio, p. 27.

more nor less careful in reporting divorces to the federal Census bureau than is Ohio, there must be considerable error in the total. Ohio in 1930 had 5.4 per cent of the United States population. At the same rate of error, figuring roughly, there would be approximately 9,000 more divorces in the United States than the Census stated. This would mean that the federal figures are almost 5 per cent under the truth. There is no absolute proof that such is the case, but there is considerable evidence that the total number of divorces is understated.

DIVORCE LAW IN THE UNITED STATES

The 51 jurisdictions in the United States show almost as much "charming individuality" or "vicious lack of uniformity"—according to one's point of view—on divorce law as on marriage law. Yet there is a general similarity of laws in many of the states. All the states make provision for annulment, and all distinguish between absolute divorce and limited divorce (separation). Since 1878, South Carolina has granted no divorce for any cause. In the other 50 jurisdictions, there is considerable agreement on the more common grounds for divorce, though full agreement on only one, adultery. Other main legal causes, with the number of jurisdictions accepting them for absolute divorce are as follows: desertion, 48; cruelty, 45; imprisonment or conviction of crime, 44; intoxication, 41; impotence, 35; nonsupport, 31; insanity, 23. Vernier¹ states that in addition to these there are 31 minor causes, making a total of 39 causes for which divorce may be granted. However, 13 of these causes are valid in 1 state only, and certain others are causes existing at the time of marriage so that in reality divorce is substituted for annulment. Several of the states grant absolute divorce for 10 or more causes, whereas in New York it is granted for adultery only.

The length of residence required before divorce action can be begun varies from six weeks in Nevada and Idaho to five years in Massachusetts, unless both parties were residents at the time of marriage, when only three years are required. The most common period is one year, and applies to about two-thirds of the states. Eight states have two residence periods, the longer period applying to divorce for certain causes, and the shorter period to others. In more than three-fourths of the states the residence period applies only to the plaintiff, but in others it applies to either. In 1931, Arkansas and Idaho reduced the residence period to three months, but Nevada, not to be robbed of a lucrative "trade," soon reduced the residence requirement to six weeks. Arkansas made no further move; but, in 1937, Idaho dropped to six weeks. Thus far, Reno has not considered the challenge serious enough to lower its residence

¹ CHESTER G. VERNIER, "American Family Laws," Stanford University Press, 1932, Vol. 2.

period still further. Meanwhile, Wyoming made a bid (1935) with a 60 days' requirement, and Florida (1935) with a 90 days' period. The latter state was evidently successful, for in the first full year (1936) of the new law's operation there were over 6,000 divorces granted, compared with over 4,800 in 1934, the last full year under the old law—an increase of 25 per cent. This scramble for divorce business by sovereign states is hardly an edifying spectacle.

In the 48 jurisdictions naming desertion as a cause of divorce, the period of desertion varies from six months in Hawaii to five years in Rhode Island. The most common period is one year and prevails in 22 jurisdictions; two years are required in 13, three years in 9, and several are not clearly specified.

Cruelty as a ground for divorce covers a wide range of attitudes and actions. In the statutes of the 45 jurisdictions that accept cruelty as a legal cause for divorce, it is described in 27 different ways. Nineteen refer to "extreme cruelty." Only seven specifically name mental cruelty, although only in one or two states is it so definitely ruled out that a court could not include it in the interpretation of the law if it so desired. Early emphasis was on physical cruelty, but today it is upon the mental variety.

The term "imprisonment or conviction of crime" is also variously defined. In many of the states there are no clear answers to such questions as: What is the effect of pardon? Does it apply to conviction before marriage or only after marriage? Does it make any difference whether the conviction or imprisonment was inside or outside the state in which divorce is being sought? How long must the sentence be to be sufficient grounds? Some states mention no specific period, and in others it varies from one year to life.

Intoxication also appears to be a highly variable condition. When is a person intoxicated, and how long must he be so to provide grounds for a divorce suit? The word "habitual" is used to denote a sufficient time element in some of the states, but 18 jurisdictions specify a definite period, ranging from one to three years, the one year's period applying in most cases. What if the party was a drunkard before marriage and the fact was known to the intended spouse?

Failure to support must be connected with desertion in some states, but not in others. In some cases it must be willful; but in others it holds, no matter what the cause. The period of nonsupport varies from 60 days in Hawaii to three years in New Hampshire, but one year is by far the most common.

Insanity is also variously defined. The period of insanity necessary to justify divorce varies from 2 to 20 years (with confinement in an institution), with a 5-year period prevailing. About half the states allow

ing divorce for insanity require special procedure, and about as many make provision for the support of the insane person after divorce.

Among the 31 minor causes for which divorce is granted in one or more states, the following are a few: drug habit, antenuptial unchastity by wife, joining a religious sect disbelieving in cohabitation of husband and wife, vagrancy of husband, committing crime against nature, violent and ungovernable temper, leprosy, infecting wife with venereal disease, public defamation of other spouse, and any gross misbehavior or wickedness. Incompatibility is popularly supposed to be one of the common grounds for divorce. Newspaper reports particularly give this impression, but it is interesting to note that only one state (New Mexico) and one territory (Alaska) name incompatibility of temperament as a cause for absolute divorce, and these took the step only recently.

Limited Divorce.—Limited divorce, sometimes called "divorce from bed and board," is a product of the English ecclesiastical courts. It has the peculiar effect of prohibiting the right of husband and wife to cohabit without actually dissolving the marriage. Thus, it places the two parties in a strange position—to each other they are as though unmarried, but to the rest of the world, as though married. They cannot live together as man and wife, nor can they marry anyone else and so live. They are, as James Kent said in his "Commentaries on American Law," thrown back upon society "in the undefined and dangerous character of a wife without a husband, and a husband without a wife."¹ Slightly more than half our states now grant divorce from bed and board, and the number is increasing. In Stimson's study of the statutes in 1886, he found 20 jurisdictions granting such divorce, whereas today there are 27, including the District of Columbia and Hawaii. Florida is the only state that expressly forbids the granting of limited divorce.

The causes for granting limited divorce are much the same as those for which absolute divorce is granted; in fact, in some of the states they are identical. It is interesting to note, however, that, in so far as the specific causes for which limited divorce may be granted can be untangled from the vague and confused wording of the state laws, the order of frequency is different from that of the causes of absolute divorce. The six most common causes for limited divorce, with their frequencies, are: cruelty, 27; desertion, 26; adultery, 17; intoxication, 17; nonsupport, 16; imprisonment or conviction of crime, 12.²

The manner of obtaining a limited divorce is practically the same as that of procuring an absolute divorce; but from the very nature of its limitations, it is far from being popular, even in New York, where absolute divorce can be obtained on one ground only, adultery. Hence, limited

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

² *Ibid.*, p. 345.

divorces are relatively few, but their exact number is difficult to ascertain owing to the fact that the Census Bureau, in its annual reports on marriage and divorce, lumps absolute and limited divorce in one figure. Marshall and May's intensive study of divorce in Maryland for the year 1929 revealed that only one in seven of the applications for divorce (omitting suits for annulment and for alimony only) were for the limited type and that more than four-fifths of those seeking this type of action were women. The husbands contested these suits far more frequently than those for absolute divorce and with more success. If they were to be divorced, they wanted freedom to remarry if they so desired. Thus, of 2,718 suits for absolute divorce in 1929, 71 per cent had been granted by May 1, 1931; but of the 431 suits for limited divorce, only 24 per cent had been granted. The remainder of the cases in both categories had been denied, otherwise settled, or were still pending.

The problems covered in the granting of limited divorce are substantially the same as those involved in absolute divorce, such as residence limitations, effect on husband's and wife's property, custody and maintenance of children, and alimony. It is interesting to note that four of the states award alimony to the husband under limited divorce but not under absolute divorce.

Alleged vs. Actual Causes of Divorce.—It is a deplorable fact that frequently there is no relationship between the *legal* cause for which a divorce is asked and the *real* cause which actually brought on the trouble. A person seeking a divorce will naturally peruse the divorce laws of his state and use the least scandalous or odious grounds on which divorce is granted. In a vast number of cases, divorce is sought because the marriage partners find they are incompatible. But since incompatibility is not a ground for divorce (except in one state), the plaintiff must charge cruelty, desertion, or whatever other legal cause is least obnoxious. Therefore, when the divorces granted in the United States are listed under the various legal causes used, they constitute no index to the actual causes of marital breakup, but rather a rough index of *divorce law* and its interpretation the country over. In 1932, over 70 per cent of the 159,710 divorces in the United States were granted for cruelty or desertion; yet this tells us very little about the actual amount of cruelty or desertion existing in these cases.

Table XIX, in the "both" column, shows that cruelty has a wide lead over any other cause of divorce and is increasing rapidly. Cruelty is charged in three times as large a proportion of divorces as it was in 1870. But does this actually mean that men and women are three times as cruel in their treatment of each other as they were in 1870? Certainly not. Such a literal interpretation of the figures from 1887-1906 to 1932 would show the cruelty of husbands to be greater than that of the wives, but the

TABLE XIX.—COMPARATIVE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH THE THREE MOST COMMON GROUNDS FOR DIVORCE WERE USED, IN DIVORCES GRANTED IN CERTAIN PERIODS FROM 1867 TO 1932, IN THE UNITED STATES

Cause	Percentage granted to both				Percentage granted to husband				Percentage granted to wife			
	1932	1929	1887-1906	1867-1871	1932	1929	1887-1906	1867-1871	1932	1929	1887-1906	1867-1871
Cruelty.....	42.7	40.8	21.8	12.9	35.8	32.4	10.5	4.2	45.2	44.1	27.5	17.7
Desertion.....	27.9	29.6	38.9	35.7	42.2	43.2	49.4	40.3	22.8	24.2	33.6	33.1
Adultery.....	7.3	8.3	16.3	25.6	9.9	12.7	28.7	38.6	6.3	6.5	10.0	18.4

ferocity of the wives to be increasing much faster than that of the husbands, the former more than tripling while the latter had not even doubled! Can it be that Kipling's line that "the female of the species is more deadly than the male" applies here? The idea is amusing. The truth is that the table does not tell what it purports to tell but shows which legal causes for divorce are becoming increasingly convenient for use in our courts. Might it not be possible that part of the disparity in the figures is due to male chivalry? In certain cases where husband and wife have agreed on divorce but because of the expense or time element do not wish to wait out the legal desertion period, the inside story reveals an agreement to let the wife charge the husband with cruelty. What social stigma there is in divorce still falls more heavily upon the woman than upon the man; hence the willingness of the man in many cases to take the blame. Cruelty no longer implies black-and-blue marks on the body received from an irate spouse. Legal "refinements" and interpretation of the term permit it to cover almost any unpleasant situation. A word, attitude, or action that is displeasing may be considered "cruel" in a liberal court, if it causes even slight unhappiness. The word "cruelty" is sometimes stretched to such ridiculous limits that the frank term "incompatibility" would provide a welcome relief from the farfetched interpretations of the other.

The proportion of divorces charging adultery has dropped almost to one-fourth of its former level. Has adultery actually decreased, and if so, to anything like the extent shown in Table XIX? It is not likely, especially with the sex mores loosening rather than tightening in recent years. But adultery carries far more stigma even today than does cruelty or desertion, which helps explain the decline of its use in divorce cases where less odious causes have been made available by law. The table would imply that wives are much more adulterous than are husbands; yet there is no reason to believe that this is true. Might it not be that the husband is less likely to tolerate adultery in his wife than she is to over-

look a similar offense in him, partly because the double standard has not yet been demolished and partly because of her economic dependence upon him?

Likewise with desertion. In bona fide desertion, men are known to be far greater offenders than are women; yet the table shows the wives to be more given to desertion than are the husbands. There may be several causes for this illusion. If the husband is suing for divorce, may he not be ashamed to charge his wife with being "cruel" to him? Would it not be less humiliating to charge her with desertion? Also, when both parties wish divorce and it is to be secured in another state where the required period of desertion is shorter, it may be much easier for the wife to establish her residence temporarily in the other state than for the husband, because of his business.

Further proof that the number of divorces caused by cruelty, desertion, and adultery bears little relation to the number shown by the divorce records is found in a comparison of divorces granted in different states. The amount of adultery shown is seen to depend upon the law and its interpretation. In Nevada, there are eight grounds for divorce; but 94 per cent of the divorces in 1930 were on two grounds, cruelty and desertion. The term "cruelty" is so interpreted as to cover "mental" cruelty, which permits almost any unpleasant word or deed to be interpreted as cruel, on the assumption that it causes mental suffering. Adultery scarcely enters the picture, accounting for only two-tenths of 1 per cent of the divorces.

But a comparison of two states provides even more striking proof. In North Carolina, with seven legal grounds for divorce, only one-half of 1 per cent of the divorces in 1930 were granted for cruelty, whereas in Iowa, with very similar laws, more than 70 per cent were for cruelty. One would need to be naïve indeed to believe that the Iowans are 140 times as cruel as the North Carolinians. But let us compare these same North Carolinians with another state in which the laws are again almost the same. In New Mexico, the percentage of divorce attributed to adultery was only a little more than one-tenth of 1 per cent, whereas in North Carolina it was over 60 per cent. Would anyone be so absurd as to charge the North Carolinians with being nearly 600 times as adulterous as the New Mexicans? In fact, the latter almost escaped scot-free from the charge of adultery, having only 1 such divorce out of the total of 770 granted that year. One might argue that Nevada is a state of high sex morals, for in 1927 there was only one charge of adultery in the total of 1,953 divorces, or one-twentieth of 1 per cent.

By analyzing divorce law and practice in different states for different factors and making correction for the country as a whole, Cahen¹ has

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 40-44.

computed some refined rates for the major grounds of divorce that are much nearer the truth than are those given in official reports. In 1932, the last year for which the federal government collected the figures, those listed as "major" grounds for divorce accounted for over nine-tenths of all divorces, as follows:

	Per Cent
Cruelty (including combinations).....	48.6
Desertion (including combinations).....	29.3
Adultery (including combinations).....	7.8
Drunkenness (including combinations).....	1.6
Neglect to provide.....	4.1
	91.4

The 1928 figures used by Cahen are not much different. Adultery is frequently camouflaged with a charge of cruelty; also, a great deal of incompatibility is called "cruelty," since the law does not recognize the term "incompatibility" except in one state. For these and other reasons, the official figure for adultery is too low, and that for cruelty much too high. Furthermore, a large percentage of desertion is not bona fide desertion, but absence carefully planned by both parties to satisfy the law. From his calculations, Cahen concludes that only about 8 per cent of divorces are actually due to bona fide desertion and that an approximately correct classification of "valid" divorce, if the grounds were closely interpreted as in the stricter states, would be as follows:

	Per Cent
Adultery.....	20
Desertion.....	8
Drunkenness.....	2
Minor causes.....	3
	33

This accounts for only one-third of all divorces, the other two-thirds choosing the most convenient and least odious but not bona fide grounds, mostly cruelty and desertion. Thus, the bulk of American divorces might be said to be due to incompatibility, that vaguely defined term that "covers a multitude of sins." Certainly, they are not due strictly to the causes named in court.

SOME ASPECTS OF AMERICAN DIVORCE

When Does Divorce Occur?—The average duration of marriages that end in divorce has been steadily decreasing ever since divorce figures have been available. For the 1867–1886 period, the mode, or most frequent duration before divorce, was 7 years; in the 1887–1906 period, it was 5 years; and in the 1922–1928 period, between 3 and 4 years. The average

median duration in 1928 was 7 years. Cahen plotted a refined distribution curve (corrected for both marriage and death rates) showing the probabilities of divorce for the first 30 years of marriage. It shows a precipitous rise of divorce from the very beginning of marriage till the third year; then, after a year near the high, there is a fairly sharp decline until about the twelfth year, after which it becomes gradual, almost flattening out in the later years. About two-thirds of all divorces come before the couple has been married 10 years. Since 1925, however, the percentage of marriages ending in divorce in less than 2 years has declined somewhat.

In the face of the fact that the average duration of all marriages ending in divorce is declining, it is interesting that the proportion ending in less than two years is getting smaller. This seems contradictory; but although the percentage of all divorces that come in less than two years is twice as high as it was at the turn of the century, it has been slowly declining recently. From 1925 to 1930, there were no increases, but several slight drops, and this was in a period when the general divorce rate was rising. The reason for this is problematical. If desertion were increasingly used as a ground for divorce, it would appear to be the logical explanation, for desertion requires a wait of several years before suit can be brought; but actually the use of desertion as a ground is declining. But that the wait necessitated by using the desertion ground does influence the duration of marriages ending in divorce, at least in given sections, is shown by comparing two states. In Maryland, nearly two-thirds of the divorces granted in 1929 were for desertion (involving a wait of three years), and the largest percentage of them came in the fourth year of marriage; in Ohio, a quicker ground was available ("gross neglect of duty," which required no waiting period), and the fact that 58 per cent of the divorces used this ground helped throw the largest percentage of divorces for any one year into the second year. It would appear, then, that the causes that lead to divorce have a strong tendency to start operating early in the marriage.

Which Spouse Gets the Divorce?—Ever since the earliest records, far more than half the divorces in this country have been granted to wives. The proportion of divorces granted to women has risen steadily during the past half century from slightly less than two-thirds to almost three-fourths, that is, from 65.8 per cent in 1887-1896 to 73.5 per cent in 1932. Doubtless, several causes contribute to this result. One is that in general there are more grounds for divorce for the wife than for the husband. Seldom is nonsupport a legal cause for divorce for the husband, but it is a very common ground for the wife. Also, when residence is established elsewhere to save undue delay, the wife can usually get away more easily than the husband. Furthermore, chivalry enters the picture at this point,

also. When both parties want the divorce, the wife is usually the one selected to sue, for her reputation will suffer more if action is brought against her than will her husband's if action is brought against him.

There are no adequate figures for the whole country, showing whether the proportion of *applications* for divorce by wives is approximately the same as the proportion of divorces *granted* to wives. It is not likely, however, that there is any great difference. In 1929, in Maryland the percentage was the same in each case, 69 per cent of the applications for absolute and limited divorce (combined) being made by wives and, of those granted (both types combined), 69 per cent being granted to wives.

The Age Factor in Divorce.—The first factor to consider here is the age of the parties at marriage. Very few studies have been made that throw much light on the relation, if any, between age at marriage and the probability of divorce. Marshall and May, in their study of divorce in Ohio, were able to secure age at marriage for 8,773 of the litigants, almost evenly divided as to sex. Of the wives, 54.5 per cent were minors when married (81 of them were under 15), three-fourths were under 25, and only one-seventh were 30 or over. The median age at marriage was 20.5 years. Of the husbands, only 20.0 per cent were minors when married, only about one-half were under 25, and one-fourth were 30 or over. The median age was 24.7 years. There is no way of knowing whether the age distribution of the litigants in these divorce cases was representative of those in the general population of Ohio who were marrying some 20 to 25 years ago. But the authors conclude that in the Ohio cases the fairly early marriages had a longer duration than either the very early or the very late. Their figures show a decided shortening of the duration of marriage when either spouse was 30 years old or over at marriage, the difference being more marked for wives than for husbands. Is this because of the greater adaptability of young folk or because fairly early marriage is more likely to mean more children to bind the parties together, or is it due to other less apparent factors?

The second factor to consider is the age differential of husband and wife. The Ohio study¹ implies (but does not prove) that, for the 8,236 litigants on whom data were available, the age differential between husband and wife was not so significant in causing divorce as is commonly supposed. In two-fifths of the marriages, the age difference was not more than 2 years, and in 61 per cent not more than 4 years. In only 12.7 per cent was it 10 to 19 years, and in 1.5 per cent 20 or more years. How this compares with the general population is not known. But the question as to which spouse was older seemed to have some influence in determining which party would sue for divorce. In cases where the husband was

¹ MARSHALL and MAY, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 86.

older, he filed about one-fourth of the suits; but in cases where the wife was older, the husband filed about one-third of the suits.

However, age differential seems to be related to the duration of marriages ending in divorce. In Ohio, the duration was greatest when the husband and wife were of the same age (*i.e.*, when the difference was less than one year), slightly less when the husband was older than the wife, and still less when the wife was older than the husband. Does this mean that age differential would be related in the same way to compatibility in normal marriages not ending in divorce? One cannot say, for there are too few studies to provide reliable data.

Divorce in Different Occupational Groups.—There is very little information available in this country regarding the extent to which different occupational groups seek divorce. The data are scattered and in some cases none too reliable; but even so, it is easy to show that certain groups provide far more than their share of divorces. But this does not prove that these occupations are the *causes* of the high divorce rate among those following them. Some relationship doubtless exists, but how much of it is direct and how much indirect? Just which is cause and which is effect? Commercial travelers, or "traveling men" as they are commonly called, have a very high divorce rate. Is this because the work in which these men are engaged, by keeping them away from home so much of the time, prevents the continuity of companionship that some consider necessary to successful married life? Or does their loneliness cause them to seek the companionship of other women while away from home for long periods, with either of two results possible: the development of a taste for variety, or falling in love with another? Or does the selection take place *first, i.e.*, are those who would be unhappy if tied to a local job and who are restless and unsettled (and hence less likely to succeed in marriage) more likely to accept traveling work, which affords an outlet for their desire for new experience? Or is the wife the dissatisfied one because of her loneliness, which leads her to search for other companionship? Thus far, one can only speculate on the answers to such questions. There is no doubt that long periods away from home put a strain upon both husband and wife and submit both (particularly the husband) to various temptations inimical to happy marriage. But to what extent these factors actually produce divorce is not known. On the other hand, farmers show a very low divorce rate. Is this due to the fact that the farmer is at home most of the time, to the qualities of partnership involved in farming, to the fewness of occupational opportunities other than farm wife open to rural women, or to the fact that the more stable types of men and women are more likely to choose farming? Again, one cannot say. Some trainmen are away from home almost as much as many commercial travelers; yet the divorce rate of the latter is five or six times as high as

that of railroad employees. Physicians are frequently as permanently located as farmers, and yet their divorce rate quadruples that of farmers.

The only large study in this country seeking to correlate divorce with occupation was made by the Census Bureau back in 1909, covering the 20-year period 1887-1906. The sample was fair enough in numbers, for it covered over 226,000 divorces, which was one-fourth of all divorces for those years. But the states covered did not represent every section of the country; also, the degree of completeness of returns varied widely for the states in question. For these reasons, the returns for the country as a whole are not reliable enough to use, but those for a state having 81 per cent returns, as in New Jersey, can be taken as fairly reliable for that state and time.

Dividing the 41 occupations into quartiles when arrayed in order of frequency, it is interesting to note that representatives of each of the four large occupational groups (professional, business, farmer, labor) are found in the three highest quarters, with the exception of farmers. Such widely differing occupations as those of actor, commercial traveler, musician, bartender, physician, bookkeeper, barber, and cigar-factory operative all appear in the quarter having the highest divorce rate. Bankers, lawyers, and professors stand side by side with butchers, plumbers, servants, and merchants in the second highest fourth. Miners, masons, manufacturers, teamsters, clergymen, carpenters, and farmers are all found in the two groups with the lowest divorce rates. Such a conglomeration of occupations in each group shows that divorce is no respecter of occupation and challenges such statements as "professional workers have more than their quota." The data are too scanty for such conclusions. Even the farmers and agricultural laborers vary considerably in their position on the scale in the nine states surveyed, but they come nearer to being consistent than any of the other three large occupational groups and can therefore be said to be lower than average on divorce at the time studied. This coincides with the low divorce rate of farmers compared with other groups in certain European countries.

Divorce and Social or Economic Class.—Social classes are variously determined and not always consistently. One may belong to a certain social class because of birth, wealth, office, education, occupation, or special achievement or circumstance. Using wealth as one of the most common bases on which people are divided into classes, let us see whether there is any clear connection between wealth and divorce. A century ago, when our divorce rate was relatively low, it was supposed to be found chiefly in the so-called "upper" or wealthy class. It is very doubtful, however, whether this belief squared with the facts. Divorces among the wealthy received more attention than those among the poor and hence gave the appearance of being more numerous. But whatever the distribu-

tion of divorce may have been a century ago, during the last half century it has been pretty evenly divided among the social classes. The rather indiscriminate distribution of divorce (as shown above) among the occupations which are most remunerative and least remunerative, as well as those that are "common" and "exclusive," shows that divorce recognizes no social or economic hierarchy. Certainly, no one would claim that bartenders, stenographers, telephone operators, and barbers are usually among the wealthy; yet all these are in the 10 occupations having the highest divorce rate. Probably, the bartender, the butcher, and the blacksmith would have an equally hard time crashing the "400"; yet, in frequency of divorce they rank fourth, seventeenth, and thirty-seventh, respectively, in the New Jersey list.

But we have a little more specific information in the study¹ of Ohio divorce previously quoted. That the poor are certainly getting their share of divorce is evident, at least if the size of money and property awards made in divorce cases bears any relation to the husband's income and accumulated wealth. The average weekly award made, to cover the support of the wife and all children involved, was only \$9.04 per family, or an average of \$3.42 per person. Furthermore, even though the court costs were usually not more than \$10 or \$15, more than one-fifth of the plaintiffs filed affidavits of inability to guarantee payment of this sum. Of course, some of these affidavits may have been the wife's method of getting the case started without prepayment of costs, in the hope that the court would later order the husband to pay costs; yet undoubtedly many were actually unable to meet even this small expense.

If education is used as the basis of class distinctions, we get still another result; *i.e.*, the "upper" class (in this, the best educated) seems to have a decidedly lower divorce rate than that for the whole country. But the evidence is limited. Studies have been made of several women's colleges, showing their graduates to have only 1 divorce to every 25 to 50 marriages; but no authoritative study has been made of the likelihood of divorce among college graduates from all types of schools in all part of the country. One such study purporting to do this on a moderate scale has been rather widely quoted, but it is too superficial to be of much value. Yet what scattered data there are seem to point to a divorce rate for college graduates well below the norm. But even here there is contradictory evidence which makes one question how much education is responsible for the lower rate. For example, physicians must be highly educated, and yet they rank near the top of the divorce-frequency list. College professors themselves, who presumably may lay some claim to education, rank only halfway down the list. And many of the occupations requiring the least education are among the lowest in divorce. Such facts point

¹ MARSHALL and MAY, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 58.

strongly to the conclusion that *divorce is not a class affair*, either socially or economically. Thus, to the writer it appears unsafe to conclude, as Folsom¹ does, that "divorce is not characteristic of the highest social and educational stratum" . . . or of the laboring class but " . . . seems to characterize rather that vague area we call the 'middle class.' " Such a statement depends too much upon one's definition of the "highest social class," and there are many from which to choose. From the economic angle, we are told that for some time the middle class has been rapidly diminishing, while the wealthy have been increasing their wealth and the poor have been becoming poorer. Yet the rise in divorce goes merrily on, and the increase has to come from somewhere in these three classes.

But Folsom's further observation that divorce "characterizes persons engaged in domestic and personal service and occupations involving exhibition of the person, frequent absence from home, or close contact with the opposite sex" is more correct. Such a statement must allow for many exceptions, but perhaps the last item—contact with the opposite sex—if changed to read "contact with the opposite sex under conditions conducive to familiarity" would prove the most significant of all. Such a category would apply to actors, musicians, many commercial travelers, physicians, stenographers, and others having relatively high divorce rates.

Divorce in the Different Race and Nativity Groups.—We Americans are prone to lay the chief blame for some of our social irregularities on the foreign born and their children, but we cannot do so in the case of divorce. The foreign born among us have the lowest divorce rate of the four race and nativity groups, and the American-born children of foreign or mixed parents have the next lowest. This is due to several causes, though two factors stand out most clearly; first, many of the foreign born adhere to a religious faith that does not sanction divorce; second, most of them come from countries where the divorce rate is low, and not merely from religious reasons. It is only natural that their American-born children should to some extent be lured away from the old-world patterns of their parents by the "bigger-and-better-divorce" movement managed with true American efficiency. The native whites of native parents are next to the highest in divorce, and the Negroes are highest, having a considerable margin over the other groups.

To compare the actual divorce figures for these four groups in the country as a whole would not give the correct statistical results, for a group found largely in a certain section of the country may be subject to very different divorce laws than another group concentrated in another section. Ogburn² met this difficulty by selecting five states, each of

¹ J. K. FOLSOM, "The Family," New York, Wiley, 1934, p. 386.

² E. R. GROVES and W. F. OGBURN, "American Marriage and Family Relationships," p. 372.

which had large percentages of all four race and nativity groups, and computing the average ratio of divorced persons to single or widowed persons twenty-five years of age and over. On such a basis, Negroes had by far the highest divorce ratio (7.02); native whites of native parents, next (4.49); native whites of foreign or mixed parents, third (3.23); and foreign-born whites, the lowest (2.09).

Divorce by Urban and Rural Residence.—In the United States, divorce is more an urban than a rural characteristic. In 1930, of the population fifteen years old and over, 1.23 per cent was divorced, but there was considerable difference in the rates for city and country. The percentage divorced in the urban population was 1.45, in the rural nonfarm 1.16, and in the rural farm population only .68. Put in another way, the urban population constituted 59 per cent of the population fifteen years old and over but had 70 per cent of the divorced, whereas the rural farm population constituted 22 per cent of the population but had only 12 per cent of the divorced. The rural nonfarm population (chiefly town and village) was in between. It may be argued that the divorced, particularly women, gravitate to the cities where economic opportunities are greater and that divorces granted, rather than percentage divorced, would be a proper measure of the relation between divorce and urban or rural residence. But if this basis is used, the result is much the same. Large cities usually show a greater number of divorces in a given year than their proportion of the state's population warrants. But when counties that are almost wholly urban (such as Cook Co., Ill.) are compared with strictly rural counties in the same state, the contrast in divorce rates is even sharper than when the city is merely compared with the state as a whole, which contains other towns and cities. It appears that, in general, city life is more conducive to divorce than is rural life.

Regional Differences in Divorce.—Different sections of the country, as well as individual states, vary greatly in their divorce rates. This is due to a number of factors, such as the sex ratio, status of women, race or nationality, religion, and prevailing occupations. These causal factors, however, are so blended that it is impossible to ascribe accurate weight to any single item. But in certain states or sections, some of these factors are so obvious that great influence can be safely attributed to them.

To say merely that a comparison of the strictness or leniency of divorce laws will wholly account for the difference in divorce is not enough; for though law, in a democracy, is supposed to reflect the prevailing mores, it may do so very imperfectly in specific instances. A highly organized, militant minority frequently has more control over the statutes than has the disorganized, half-interested majority.

The Mountain and Pacific states have the heaviest divorce rate, and those on the Atlantic seaboard have the lightest. In general, the divorce

rate increases as one moves from the east coast to the west. It can hardly be called a "wave," however, with its crest on the Mountain states, for 40 years ago the crest was in the same place. However, the divorce rate changed at very different speeds in some of the states between 1890 and 1930. Nevada topped the list with an increase of 2,144 per cent, but the District of Columbia's rate actually decreased 56 per cent. Only one other state, Colorado, showed a drop in the divorce rate during this period. Three-fifths of the states more than doubled their divorce rates, the increases for some of the higher ones being: Oklahoma, 514 per cent, Virginia, 376 per cent; Maryland, 325 per cent. Since 1930, Arkansas, Idaho, Wyoming, and Florida have greatly liberalized their divorce laws in a bid for the divorce capital of the country. But before they had time to get into "big production," Nevada lowered its requirements to meet competition and has thus far held its lead. Nevertheless, the divorce rate in some of these states has risen rapidly under the new laws.

That divorce is so much more prevalent in the West than in the East is due to a number of factors, some of which may be pointed out. First, a frontier country is usually somewhat free and easy in breaking away from the established mores of the older communities. Furthermore, the sex ratio in a new country operates in favor of women. The scarcity of women in the Western states during a good many years undoubtedly was one reason why they attained many rights in those areas, not accorded them in most Eastern states until later. This high status of women brought freedom of action in many lines, including divorce, but this factor must not be given too much weight, for the divorce rate has kept increasing in the Western states faster than in the Eastern, even though the sex ratio in the West has been steadily falling. In the East and Southeast, however, the attitude has been more conservative. Part of this has been due to religious belief. Both Protestants and Catholics in the South have frowned severely on divorce, although Florida has recently evaded this control. In New York, which has the strictest divorce law in the country (except South Carolina), the Roman Catholics have been able to defeat a number of attempts to liberalize the law.

MIGRATORY DIVORCE

The American press keeps its public so well informed about notorious persons seeking divorce in states or countries other than their own that the impression has got abroad that a large proportion of divorces are obtained by migration. But such is not the case. The fact that some allegedly beautiful collector of husbands has just gone to Reno or Mexico to rid herself of her latest acquisition is no evidence that the rank and file of those seeking divorce resort to the same method. The figures show

that most divorces are of the home-grown variety. Willcox¹ states that about four-fifths of the divorces granted in the United States are to persons married in the same state in which the divorce was obtained and that, if from the remaining one-fifth are deducted those who migrated for reasons having nothing to do with divorce laws, the remainder would be a very small fraction of the whole. Cahen² figures that only about 3 per cent of all divorces in the United States are migratory, *i.e.*, deliberately sought in another state or country to evade restrictions of the home state. In single states, however, the percentage of migratory divorces may be far above this figure, according to the strictness of divorce law in the state in question. In New York, which is the only jurisdiction limiting divorce to only one ground, it is estimated that about one-fifth of the divorces are sought outside the state. On the other hand, until recently, very few South Carolinians, who might be expected to have the highest migratory divorce rate because their own state grants no divorce at all, have been interested in migratory divorce. In 1922, only 221 couples from South Carolina secured divorces (necessarily in other states), and these represented a divorce rate only one-twelfth that of the country as a whole. South Carolinians simply did not go in for divorce; public opinion was overwhelmingly against it. Furthermore, the courts in South Carolina, backed up by public opinion, have been exceedingly strict about recognizing divorces granted in other states and can break almost any divorce that is contested. It is considered almost impossible for persons married in South Carolina to get an out-of-state divorce that will stand up in court.

But, in recent years, public opinion in South Carolina has begun to shift, and the courts have begun to relax their vigilance. The forces that have brought strain and breakup to family life in other states have not passed South Carolina by. Desertion, which was the way out for the poor, and establishment of out-of-state residence by the better situated who sought release from marriage, have played a more important role than ever. The ratio of divorced persons in South Carolina to the population fifteen years old and over, for the last four census years, was:³

1900	1 to 712
1910	1 to 718
1920	1 to 518
1930	1 to 262

This shows a startling increase in the 1920-1930 decade compared with the 1900-1910 decade. In the latter, there was practically no increase;

¹ WALTER F. WILLCOX, Divorce in the United States, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, London, 1929, 8: 460.

² *Op. cit.*, Chap. 5.

³ H. C. BREARLEY, A Note upon Migratory Divorce of South Carolinians, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 2: 329-334, June, 1935.

but between 1920 and 1930, the ratio actually doubled. Logically, since there was no significant migration into South Carolina during the decade in question, the doubling of the proportion of divorced persons represents a true increase in migratory divorce. North Carolina, which formerly required three years' residence before one could get a divorce, has lowered its residence requirement to one year. Georgia, the neighboring state on the South, continues to accept the flimsiest of evidence regarding the residence alleged to have been established and has become a haven for South Carolinian divorce seekers. Brearley tells of a physician who sent his laundry to a Georgia city for a while and secured a divorce upon his testimony under oath that he was a legal resident of Georgia, although all the time he continued to practice medicine in his home town in South Carolina. When such cases are common, it is an indication that public opinion in South Carolina is relaxing somewhat on the divorce question. But observers are not predicting an immediate change in the law, for they report that the people as a whole still wish to outlaw divorce.

Foreign Divorces.—For some years, Paris was known as a popular divorce resort for Americans, and yet it never involved many people. Here, again, the notoriety attached to certain names drew undue attention to Paris as a divorce mart. Following the war, Paris became somewhat popular with wealthy divorce seekers, owing to the short residence requirement and the secretiveness of court procedure. The peak of American divorce business was reached in 1926, when about 300 divorces were secured in Paris by Americans, a very insignificant number compared with the total for the country.¹ But the following year, the French government, tiring of the growing publicity accorded such divorces, tightened up its regulations. Costs also rose, and the number of divorces granted Americans in Paris has rapidly declined ever since.

Mexico has succeeded Paris in the attention of "divorce trotters" and has many "advantages" over the latter. It is much closer home and therefore less expensive to reach. Furthermore, the residence requirements have been reduced in certain states almost to zero, in the keen competition for American business. Several years ago, the governor of the state of Morelos unblushingly made his bid in the following statement:²

I have been studying the situation at Reno and I admit that we need some improvement here in Morelos. We intend to improve our present divorce procedures in many ways, several of which will appeal to our customers. I say customers, for I consider the divorce industry purely in the light of a commercial transaction, as an operation in buying and selling. We have a law to sell, and it is our responsibility to render purchase as easy and rapid for customers as

¹ LINDELL T. BATES, "Divorce and Separation of Aliens in France," New York, Columbia University Press, 1929.

² EDWARD ANGLY, *Repenting in Haste*, *Forum*, 86: 263-269, November, 1931.

possible. In our calculations we are eliminating all consideration of months or even weeks and plan to work out a schedule on a basis of days, and as few of them as may be imaginable. We are aiming at a maximum of 10 days. If Reno meets that, we shall cut the time still lower.

But alas, the business-like governor, who thought 10 days the shortest time "imaginable," misjudged the imagination of his fellow countrymen, for in January, 1932, the state of Chihuahua dropped the time interval between petition and divorce to 1 day, with residence of any period entirely unnecessary, decrees being obtained by mail at a minimum cost of about \$60. This was hard to beat, but at least it could be copied, and Mexican divorce courts began to do a flourishing business with Americans, New Yorkers rating as the best customers. In fact, in a recent investigation by the New York County grand jury of alleged solicitation of clients for Mexican divorce lawyers, the assistant district attorney stated that not only were there numerous lawyers and "runners" in New York City turning divorce cases to Mexican lawyers for a fee but also the latter were circularizing men and women in marital difficulties whose names had been sent them. One such circular read in part:¹ "If your marriage is not a success, and you want a divorce, come to us. Get a Mexican divorce—it's cheapest. You can stay right here and get it. Why go to Reno?" With 17 grounds for divorce, ranging from adultery to mutual consent, it is not difficult for the divorce-minded to make a satisfactory selection.

Several decisions of the Mexican Supreme Court have put limitations upon the flourishing divorce business, but it continues to thrive. In 1931, the court ruled that publication of notice of suit was not enough and that the defendant must be served personally, in the case of foreigners the service to be attested by the Mexican diplomatic representative in the country involved. A later decision declared invalid a divorce in which the court granting the decree had not heard both parties to the suit. But thus far the Mexican Supreme Court has made no decision on mail-order divorces such as Chihuahua issues. However, that the Mexican government is hostile to such practice is indicated by the sending of a circular to all Mexican consuls by the Mexican Foreign Office in 1933, instructing them not to aid Mexican attorneys who were seeking help of the consuls in procuring divorce cases. Said the circular,² "From the point of view of private international law, divorces obtained by correspondence in accordance with the local law of the state of Chihuahua are legally null, for which reason propaganda by our consuls in favor of these divorces would only redound in the long run to the prejudice of Mexico."

¹ *New York Times*, Dec. 11, 1934.

² Quoted by Lionel M. Summers, *The Divorce Laws of Mexico, Law and Contemporary Problems*, 2: 310-321, June, 1935.

Nevada's Divorce Business.—Reno, however, remains the divorce capital of the United States, with divorce its chief industry. Nevada has eight grounds for divorce, no one of them being unusual and all being found in the statutes of other states. Even her short six months' residence law lay unnoticed for nearly 50 years, until in 1909 an enterprising New York lawyer who had moved to Nevada discovered this undeveloped gold mine and began to advertise it in New York. His efforts were highly successful, and since that time New York and New Jersey have provided about 60 per cent of Nevada's divorce business. This attorney was disbarred because his advertising was for his own personal business, but other lawyers kept up the golden flow by more judicious advertising.¹

The six months' residence requirement remained unchanged (with the exception of the short period 1913–1915 when unfavorable publicity pushed it up temporarily to one year) until 1927, when it was reduced to three months. But in 1931, in order to maintain her lead (threatened by a reduction to a three months' residence period in Arkansas and Idaho) Nevada dropped to a six weeks' residence requirement, with the result that the number of divorces in Washoe County, in which Reno is the chief city, leaped to a new high of 4,243, more than double the figure for the preceding year, and this in spite of the depression which caused divorce for the country as a whole to decrease about 4 per cent during the same year. In 1931, there were enough divorces granted in Nevada to give a divorce to every fifth family in the state; yet the business is so highly centralized that two judges and 120 lawyers are said to handle about 90 per cent of Nevada's divorces. Nevada is the least populous of all the states, but the "efficiency" of its divorce courts cannot be questioned when in the rush season they can grind out as many as 85 decrees per day. One judge is said to have granted 15,000 divorces. Will Rogers claimed that as a matter of routine they divorced everyone who got off the train at Reno, it being easier for the few not seeking divorce to remarry than to take the time to sort them out previously. Some few years ago, it was announced that a scion of a family in the "400" was establishing a sort of divorce ranch near Reno, where for a single inclusive fee one could get the necessary legal services, room, board, recreation, and a chance to meet the right people.

So much that is facetious has been written about Reno that the word itself brings a smile wherever mentioned, but the fact remains that it is a national rather than a state creation. It is difficult to say anything favorable about a place so blatantly eager to squeeze money from unhappy marriage, but in spite of the criticism that properly may be aimed at the more sordid aspects of a national divorce mill, it can scarcely be denied

¹ FRANK W. INGRAM and G. A. BALLARD, *The Business of Migratory Divorce in Nevada*, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 2: 302–309, June, 1935.

that Reno also performs a useful function. Much of its business comes from a few states where the divorce laws are overstringent and where worthy persons, caught in intolerable circumstances not of their own making, cannot break free without stooping to the most shameful collusion. When the divorce laws of these states become more equitable, Reno's divorce trade may sink to a more normal volume, whatever surplus it has coming from a still more generous bid to the extremely unstable who are too impatient to meet the reasonable conditions of their own states.

Are Migratory Divorces Valid?—There has been a great deal of discussion in interested quarters as to whether persons seeking divorce outside their own state can safely rely on the divorce when secured. Will it hold up in court if contested? If not, what are the chances of being prosecuted for bigamy if one remarries? The maze of decisions and practices leaves people in confusion. Certainly, no single answer can be given that such divorces are either valid or invalid. The New York courts have set aside a good many Mexican divorce decrees, much to the consternation of those who had secured them and ordered their subsequent lives accordingly. That most Mexican and Reno divorces "hold good" in New York and other states is due to the fact that both parties want them and they are not contested. If all such divorces were contested, it is doubtful how many of them could stand. One noted New York lawyer declared that of Reno divorces not more than 1 in 10 could survive; another equally noted lawyer declares Reno divorces to be absolutely binding anywhere in the United States when proper service is made upon the defendant by the Reno courts. At any rate, a New York judge in 1938 upheld a Mexican divorce on the grounds that if it were declared invalid the court would be in a position where it would have to declare the subsequent marriage of the parties, both of whom had remarried, as bigamous, which he considered would be contrary to public policy and might work great injustice.¹ Just the year before, however, a New Jersey citizen was sentenced to serve three to five years in prison for bigamy, because he had remarried in New Jersey after securing a Mexican divorce. The judge declared that such divorces had no legal force in the state and that he was going to try to discourage their use by stiff sentences for offenders.²

The South Carolina courts will not recognize a divorce of persons married in the state unless the state where the divorce was granted is the plaintiff's domicile "and has legally obtained jurisdiction over the person of the defendant spouse."³ It will be seen that under such circumstances

¹ *New York Times*, Mar. 20, 1938.

² *New York World-Telegram*, June 10, 1937.

³ BREARLEY, *op. cit.*

an unwilling defendant could successfully contest any divorce the other spouse might secure. Or the plaintiff may be caught on another point. The law declares that if he leaves the state and establishes another domicile with no intention of remaining there longer than necessary to get a divorce, he has not legally changed his residence at all and therefore his divorce is invalid. A strict application of this law at present would wreak havoc upon the many divorces now being secured upon perjured testimony of the establishment of Georgia residence.

One may therefore take one's choice regarding the legality in other states of Reno, Mexican, and other out-of-state divorces. In some of the states, both Reno and Mexican divorces have been upheld, and in these same states they have also been declared invalid. The question revolves around the interpretation of the "full faith and credit" clause of the federal Constitution; but since this is not uniformly interpreted, each test case must take its own chances. Fraudulent testimony, so abundant in divorce cases, releases a state from granting full faith and credit to another state when the court decision is based upon such testimony. So, many a legal slip is possible when such a case is contested.

COLLUSION

It is an open secret that in certain states having very strict divorce laws collusion is a dreary commonplace. The friends of many divorce seekers are in on the secret, reporters get weary of the unimaginative sameness of the testimony, and even the judges, at first indignant then disgusted, find themselves granting decree after decree in cases where they are morally sure, but lack legal evidence, that the most brazen collusion is being practiced. In New York, where adultery is the only ground for absolute divorce, the story of the plaintiff's lawyer has so little variation that certain judges claim they can take it up at any point and complete it, knowing just where the "blonde in a nightgown" will appear. Recently a Supreme Court justice in Brooklyn was startled when the lawyer representing a woman suing for divorce naively presented in court a written agreement by the wife that since the husband was furnishing her with evidence for the divorce she would forgo alimony.¹ One New York judge has a leaflet specially prepared to expedite uncontested divorce suits, so that they can be turned out at the rate of 100 a day if necessary. The referee admonishes the attorney to "use the book" when he inadvertently asks some usual but not entirely necessary question. The co-respondent is nearly always a blonde and usually "in a pink nightgown." The color scheme is seldom changed.²

¹ *New York Times*, July 27, 1933.

² *New York World-Telegram*, Jan. 20, 1937.

The chief reason for the prevalence of collusion in divorce lies in the peculiar, inconsistent basis of divorce law. As long as divorce remains an adversary proceeding, the invitation to collusion will persist. In nearly every state in the union, the divorce law assumes that one party has been injured and wants the divorce and the other party does not. It is further assumed that if the person designated as offender is actually innocent he will protest the divorce and defend himself; likewise, an absence of protest denotes acknowledged guilt. But assumption and fact are frequently far apart, making the purpose of the law impotent. Thus we have the anomaly that, if only one person wants the divorce and can convince the court of the cause, it is granted, but if both want the divorce and agree to it, *even for exactly the same cause*, it becomes collusion and technically cannot be granted. Therefore, if a marriage becomes intolerable to either husband or wife, it may be dissolved; but if it becomes intolerable to both, the state rules that in the interests of society it must be maintained! Actually, the mere verbal agreement of one party that he will not contest the action is not in itself collusion. But because in such cases it is so frequently necessary to make it appear that legal grounds exist for a divorce, it quickly becomes collusion; for the fabrication of evidence, the concealment of evidence that might bring an adverse decision, and the voluntary admission of the "defendant" that he, too, is seeking relief from the union, are each collusion. Agreements between the two parties as to the division of property, the amount of alimony, the care of children, the payment of costs, and other such matters may be entirely valid if they are frankly provisional upon the divorce being granted and in no way seek to fabricate or conceal evidence.

Just how much collusion there is in divorce cases it is of course impossible to say, for in its very nature it will not be entered in the court records. Judges agree, however, that it is extremely common. Say Marshall and May¹ in their comprehensive study:

All the straws available for examination indicate but one direction of the wind. Even if there is not technically collusion, it is at least true that a goodly proportion of all divorces reflect the consent, the agreement of both parties to the severance of the tie. In large part our divorce courts are places for the formal registration of decisions already reached, voluntarily or involuntarily, by both parties. The fact that this formal registration is attended by elaborate ceremonies, court costs, attorneys' fees, and a largely fictitious judicial controversy does not change the essence of the matter.

Is there no relief from collusion? Can no measures be taken to prevent it? In so far as it is due to the strict divorce laws, a liberalization of the law would probably somewhat reduce the amount of collusion.

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 231.

But as long as divorce law in general is based upon adversary action, very little that is fundamental can be done to combat collusion. One attempt has been made to reduce it by requiring each witness to sign a statement that he has no information, further than that already given, that would be of benefit to either of the parties or bear pertinently on the case in question. To falsify such a statement is clearly perjury; yet this measure seems to have had no effect. If a person can produce enough witnesses in court, he can "prove" almost anything he wishes. When adultery is the only ground for divorce, adultery will be "proved" even when it does not exist. The terms "cruelty" or "desertion" are stretched beyond their widest limits of connotation to serve the plaintiff. It is manifestly impossible for the judge to trace down every bit of testimony that he may doubt. Furthermore, such action would be unavailing, for new and better-prepared testimony would be presented later, with more numerous witnesses to attest it. The position of the judge in such a case was well stated by a Baltimore judge:

It is very difficult at times to know what value to attach to evidence. So far as the volume of the evidence, the number of witnesses, and the things they testify to, there is ample evidence on the part of the plaintiff to warrant a divorce. Now it is not evidence of the highest class, but I do not see how the court can find all these witnesses guilty of perjury. That is what I would have to do to withhold a divorce in this case. I do not find that they have committed perjury, and I will grant an absolute divorce. . . .¹

Almost seven-eighths of the divorces granted in the United States in 1930 were uncontested, and even among the few cases that were contested the answer was sometimes a formality to expedite the suit. This in itself is ample evidence that in a vast number of cases, whatever the causes leading up to the crisis, at the time the suit is filed both parties want the divorce and that therefore collusion exists. But if such mutual desire is admitted in court, the divorce must be denied! Here, then, is the nub of the legal aspects of the divorce problem, and any attempt at social reform in this field, at least from the legal angle, must deal first with this curious anomaly called "adversary procedure." The significant trend, just beginning, toward granting divorce after a certain period of voluntary separation may be a timid, backhanded effort to help in this situation.

ALIMONY

"Commercial divorces" are played upon so colorfully by the press that the public has been misled regarding the prevalence of alimony. Instead of being the rule in divorce, permanent alimony is the exception.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

During the period 1867-1886, about 16 per cent of wives in divorce suits asked for alimony and about 12 per cent received it. During the next two decades (1887-1906), 13 per cent asked for it, but only 9 per cent received it.¹ But today only about 9 per cent of the wives ask for alimony, and it is granted to only about 6 per cent, a considerable decline from earlier times. In a recent survey² of women's opinions on alimony, the country over, four-fifths of the women said that a divorced woman is not entitled to alimony if she has no children and is able to support herself. It is interesting to note that of the divorced women answering the query on this point, three-fourths took the view just expressed.

The theory of alimony, as it comes down to us from the ecclesiastical courts of England, is that since at marriage the husband assumes the permanent obligation of supporting his wife that duty naturally continues if for good reason she chooses to live apart from him. Since in those days marriage could be dissolved only by death, separation with continued support was the only remedy for an intolerable marriage. It seems strange, then, that today, with absolute divorce obtainable in every state save one, alimony judgments should still follow closely the religious precedent established so long ago.

But before describing the abuses of alimony, let us note the grounds on which it is socially justified even in this day of near sex equality. It can hardly be disputed that the granting of alimony is both necessary and just in a good many cases. If the divorced wife has been of the "old-fashioned" type and has devoted all her efforts to the home, she is not likely to be capable of supporting herself outside the home in competition with trained and experienced workers. If there are children and they are awarded to her care by the court, she will have all the more need of financial aid. Furthermore, poor health, age, or other disability may make it impossible to become self-supporting. Most women over forty, unless they have either unusual ability or business or professional experience, find it exceedingly difficult to launch out alone after many years under an entirely different life pattern. In such cases the payment of alimony, even at much sacrifice on the part of the former husband, may be necessary during the years of readjustment, or perhaps even permanently. The obligations of matrimony must stand above the mere question of compatibility, for sharing cannot always automatically end with the passing of the old companionship; it must sometimes continue

¹ The Census figures do not include the relatively small proportion of cases in which alimony was secured by a separate action, rather than at the time of and incident to the divorce suit; hence, these figures may slightly understate the total amount of permanent alimony.

² HENRY F. PRINGLE, What Do the Women of America Think About the Double Standard? *Ladies' Home Jour.*, 55: 22-23ff, November, 1938.

for a time in order that both may have opportunity to reestablish themselves under new life patterns.

Alimony Careerists.—But there is another side to the picture, a sordid side, that makes cynics of those who watch the battle of greed. For there are alimony "gold diggers" who live in ease year after year, even though they made no contribution to or sacrifice for the home which they temporarily established. By her original conquest of a man in fair financial circumstances, an astute "gold digger" may be comfortably fixed for life, and without having to live with the husband. By trumped-up charges—sworn to by any number of witnesses—she may get a divorce. By a little manipulation, her counsel may succeed in having her case brought up before a judge known to be generous with alimony awards. Once the alimony is set, she need not worry about work of any kind, as long as the husband lives and she is careful not to give him just cause for demanding revision. But revision is often very difficult for the husband to secure. Even if his income declines or she secures a lucrative position or her income increases from another source, the court is frequently loath to interfere. Even bona fide bankruptcy does not relieve the husband of his alimony burden. Likewise, remarriage on her part does not necessarily terminate the alimony payments of the first husband. If her second husband is not capable—or even willing—to support her properly, in some jurisdictions she may continue to collect regularly from her first husband, even though on the money received she presumably may be supporting her second husband as well as herself! Recently, an appellate court (New Jersey, 1929) made the following astounding explanation: "For it is conceivable that the remarriage of a divorced wife might result in obtaining a husband without means, or one, though fully able to support her in her former station in life, but whose habits are and conduct is, such as to deprive her of proper support and maintenance."¹

Says Turano,² "I am acquainted with a twice-divorced matrimonial careerist aged twenty-six who receives an allowance of \$100 a month from her first husband for the support of a child. Her subsequent remarriage was childless, but the discarded second spouse yields her an additional monthly revenue of \$150. Naturally, she does not deem it necessary to follow her original occupation of manicurist." In certain states, the remarriage of a wife automatically cancels her right to alimony from a previous marriage; so the more astute matrimonial careerists shun such states.

Imprisonment for Debt.—One of the worst features of the alimony "racket" is that of imprisonment for nonpayment. The federal Con-

¹ ANTHONY M. TURANO, *The Alimony Racket*, *Amer. Mercury*, 29: 237-244, June, 1933.

² *Loc. cit.*

stitution forbids imprisonment for debt, but the court side-steps this protection on the fiction that the man is not being sentenced to jail for debt but for contempt of court in refusing to carry out the court's orders to pay. An example is that of a salesman, with low earning capacity, who when ordered to pay alimony left the state instead. Ten years later, his wife had him brought back and jailed on refusal to pay the \$37,000 accumulated alimony, which it was utterly impossible for him to do. Upon release, if he still failed to pay, he could be sent back to jail, for each refusal constituted a fresh contempt of court.¹

Recently a report of a state commission of correction disclosed that nearly all the male inmates of one jail were behind the bars because of their inability or unwillingness to keep up their alimony payments. Some had been in two to three years. In New York, this situation led to the organization in the New York county jail of an "alimony club," which has since grown into the Alimony Club of New York State, Inc.; its purposes, listed in its incorporation papers filed with the secretary of state, are to secure reforms in the domestic-relations laws and to procure legal aid for men incarcerated as a result of matrimonial actions.²

Some of the "alimony jailbirds" are extremely poor and get little consideration from the more callous of the officials. Though it is impossible to judge the merits from one side of the story, the following statement of an alimony offender, who had never before been arrested, is of little credit to the system:

I am a porter. I earn \$15 a week. I have always sent my wife and children half of it, but the court has ordered me to pay \$9. I could not do it and live. They arrested me on a charge of abandonment. I spent one night in the police station and then I was put into a police wagon and taken to the island. I was handcuffed to a drug addict. I spent the first two nights in the penitentiary over there. My cell mate was a gunman. They photographed me for police records and took my fingerprints. The parole officer is supposed to come and see you within 10 days, they tell me. Mine never turned up until my three-months' sentence was almost up. I spent most of the time in the prison hospital. Some of the men in my dormitory were insane. One Negro poured water around his bed to keep the bad spirits away. I had two hours in the recreation yard a day. I have got back my old job now, but nobody will speak to me. My children think I am a criminal.³

It is difficult to see how jailing a man who is unable to pay his alimony will help him pay. It merely makes it harder for him to get a job that will enable him to resume payments. The only purpose served is the spite of the woman, who can keep him there year after year if she wishes

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² *New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1933.

³ *New York World-Telegram*, June 2, 1934.

to "punish" him in that way. Wives have been heard to say, "I'll keep him there till he rots if he don't pay." Of course, there is another way out—suicide—but it is seldom resorted to. Recently, however, a Chicago man who had been paying alimony for 15 years (a total of \$32,000) committed suicide, leaving a note explaining his act. He said that even though he had lived like a hermit in one of his vacant flats he could not keep up the payments and he was weary of the struggle.

The Size of Alimony Awards.—Judges vary greatly in their attitude toward alimony. Some hold that the husband should never be let off scot-free, even though the wife may have property or a good position of her own, whereas others grant alimony very grudgingly, unless there are children to support. So the awards range all the way from the smallest possible to a New York award of \$90,000 a year, which probably sets the record for "bigger-and-better" alimony payments. Said one judge, after being exasperated by a lawyer who asserted that his client needed \$78,000 per year to maintain her station in life, "Her station in life! That sounds very well in novels, but many a woman has to marry a rich man before she has any station in life at all. Mrs. H. had a soft thing, and she lost him. She has been working this man like a gimlet and has succeeded in getting \$166,000 a year for her private income." He awarded her only \$15,000 which she angrily declared was ridiculously inadequate.¹ Another New York woman, in making up her total alimony demand, included among many other "needs" such items as: rent, \$9,600; food, \$6,300; clothes, \$5,000; entertainment, \$2,900; tips, \$1,100. The total was \$42,000 per year. She felt insulted when the court raised a judicious eyebrow at the size of some of the items. At the other end of the economic scale the itching hand is still extended. One wife, whose husband was a bootblack making \$8 per week, sued for alimony of \$100 per week and \$1,000 counsel fees. The presiding justice declared that if the wife were given even half the husband's earnings they would both starve.²

Another major abuse of the social intent of alimony is that it is granted in separation the same as in absolute divorce. The wife, by securing separation but refusing her husband a divorce, can prevent him from remarrying. She thus remains free to live alone, she gets her alimony payments regularly, and she continues her revenge on him by keeping him from marrying another. This is "one up" on the wife of a man languishing in jail, for such a wife must live on revenge only; by separation, however, the wife can have her revenge and her payments too—year after year. In one case (Pennsylvania, 1932), a working girl of eighteen

¹ DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY, *The Ethics of Alimony*, *Harper's* 154: 305-316, February, 1927.

² *New York World-Telegram*, Mar. 5, 1935.

married a young man of twenty-one who was poor but had prospects of inheriting money sometime. They separated soon after the honeymoon, the wife seeking alimony but getting none because the husband had no money. However, she clung to the status of wife and waited. Three years later, the husband obtained a divorce in another state. The wife was duly notified by legal service, but she did not oppose the suit. But 15 years later, when her former husband inherited some money, she immediately challenged the legality of his divorce. "It was shown that there were no children and that at all times since the separation the wife had managed to maintain herself. In brief there was no practical ground for any allowance, except the husband's newly acquired ability to pay. Nevertheless, the wife of 18 years before was duly enabled to forsake her regular employment as a waitress when she was awarded \$300 a month."¹

But what if the wife is the guilty party in the divorce suit and in addition is the chief family support? Can the husband obtain alimony? In quite a number of states, he can, though strictly speaking it should not be called "alimony," since alimony is merely a "substitute for the common-law duty of support" and the wife does not have this duty under common law, and in very few cases under statute law. Therefore, the payment of "alimony" to the husband requires specific statutory authority. In the light of the present trend toward sex equality, it should occasion no surprise that there are now 16 jurisdictions in which such payments are allowed in absolute divorce, plus several others that allow it in limited divorce. Nevertheless, the cases are relatively few in which actual awards are made to husbands under these statutes. Most courts still consider it almost an insult to the male sex for a man to be granted alimony. But, consistent with their plea for real equality, feminine leaders in various states are working for the removal of sex discrimination in alimony actions, just as they are fighting (and quite successfully) the abuse of breach-of-promise suits.

Any attempt at reform in the field of alimony might well begin with a thorough survey of the modern nature of marriage and of the new political, social, and economic status of women. The attitude that the husband is "guilty," and therefore should pay regardless of other factors, is no longer in line with other social attitudes. In sharp contrast with the ancients, among whom alimony developed to offset the almost unlimited divorce rights of the husband, we today grant the wife divorce more easily than the husband and permit her to prolong "temporary" alimony for years by a series of clever delays and to collect permanent alimony *even though she be the guilty party*, unless the cause of the divorce was adultery. Among the ancient Egyptians, there was a reciprocal agreement of awards if either spouse broke up the marriage. This same principle of

¹ TURANO, *op. cit.*

reciprocity, interpreted in the light of the new status and privileges of the parties concerned instead of the ecclesiastical fictions of the Middle Ages, would yield results adequate to the times. Without endangering in any way the rights of women who deserve the full protection of alimony, the procession of healthy but indolent young "gold diggers" might be turned aside at the courthouse door. Already, there are legislative stirrings along this line. Within the past five years, several states have passed laws that alimony payments must cease upon the remarriage of the wife, that alimony shall not be granted unless the wife's income is insufficient to care for her needs, or that revision of the award is justified upon various grounds. In general, the new legislation seems aimed at the abuses that have created the alimony scandals so common in this country.

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. List the legal grounds for divorce in your state. Show what proportion of the divorces in the state for a given year (the latest for which you can get figures) were granted on each of the legal grounds. Do these proportions appear reasonable and bona fide? Compare these proportions with those in a given year several decades ago.
2. Summarize the story in A. P. Herbert's novel "Holy Deadlock," which played such an important part in the recent liberalization of English divorce law. Show the specific crudities of the law he was trying to expose and how he dramatized them.
3. What is the period of residence required in your state before divorce can be granted? Do you think this period should be lengthened or shortened? Why? What changes, if any, have been made in the divorce laws of your state in the last 10

years? Do you approve or disapprove these changes? Give reasons for your answer.

4. A chief justice of the Ohio Supreme Court advocates the creation of a quasijudicial state divorce commission for supervising and regularizing divorce procedure in the state. Analyze the proposal. (See Carrington T. Marshall, *New Divorce Courts for Old*, *Scribner's*, 86: 245-252, September, 1929.)
5. On a sheet of graph paper, plot the frequency curves of divorces granted in the United States for adultery, cruelty, desertion, and "all other causes," from 1890 to the present. (Figures available from reports of Census Bureau.)

CHAPTER XV

DIVORCE.—(*Continued*)

REMARRIAGE AFTER DIVORCE

Accounts of the remarriage immediately after divorce of a movie queen, a count-collecting heiress, or others of the socially elite give the impression that practically all divorced persons remarry. This is an exaggeration, for it is doubtful whether more than half the divorcees in the United States marry again, and the number may be even smaller.

It is unfortunate that we are so lacking in reliable data that we cannot answer the simple question: How many divorced persons remarry? Such an admission emphasizes once more the great need of further research in marriage and divorce. Our Census purports to give the number of divorced persons living in the United States at the turn of each decade, but there is no way at present of knowing how accurate these figures are. Enumerators and special investigators know that divorcees frequently falsify their answers, owing to the stigma of divorce, a desire to pass as a never-married person because of better matrimonial opportunities in the future, or other personal reasons. But how many thus falsify the data? No one knows; but there is evidence that, as the sense of shame about divorce decreases, the amount of such deception is also declining, for between 1920 and 1930 the number of admittedly divorced persons increased faster than the number of divorces issued. Also, it is pretty generally agreed that more divorced men than divorced women remarry.

Another factor that complicates the question is the *repeated* remarriage of some divorcees. A high "turnover" of even a small minority can appreciably affect the statistics on the whole group. These matrimonial experimenters seem to take their jobs much as the famed Finnegan did his, when he tersely reported, "Off again, on again, gone again, Finnegan." In a study¹ made in Cincinnati of 100 applications for divorce, "it was found that remarried divorcees furnish from two to three times as large a proportion of applicants for divorce, relative to their numbers, as do remarried widows and widowers." Though such a sample is too small for generalizing, it may well make us question such figures as are now available.

¹ HORNELL HART, and ELLA B. HART, "Personality and the Family," Boston, Heath, 1935, p. 109.

Some of the estimates regarding the extent of remarriage after divorce are very far apart. The highest one¹ declares that, excluding those who die soon after divorce, 90 per cent of divorcees marry again. This figure is arrived at by the simple method of considering the number of divorced persons at the beginning and at the end of each year, as well as those entering the divorced state during the year and those dying during the year. But such a method is too uncritical, for it accepts without question the Census figures on the number of divorced persons, which practically all statisticians, including United States Census officials, agree is far below the true total. It is also uncritical of the death rate for divorcees, so that the final calculation of 90 per cent is obviously so far from the truth that it has found little acceptance. Commenting upon it, Cahen² says, "If Dr. Rubinow's estimate is correct, then one-fifth of all marriage licenses go to former divorced people, indicating a state either of progressive monogamy, or polygamy on the installment plan." More recently, Rubinow³ has published a much fuller treatise on the subject, with detailed tables, defending his former stand and denouncing Cahen's criticism of his former report. Though his present figure is not quite so high as formerly, his method of computation still shows that at least 80 per cent of divorces lead to early remarriage. If this is true, it would mean that nearly one-eighth of all marriages are by persons previously divorced, which would mean that we have had no genuine increase (but possibly an actual decrease) in the marriage rate during the last few years. It is unfortunate that the Census data do not permit one either to prove or to disprove this important conclusion.

But Cahen also falls into error in estimating the amount of remarriage after divorce. The Census shows only .6 per cent of the male population 15 years old and over to be divorced, but we have indicated that the figures are probably much too low. Cahen seeks to correct it by the use of marital data on male prisoners, who have little reason to cover up the fact of their divorce and could not do so even if they wanted to. He finds that 2.7 per cent of male prisoners are divorced, which figure he corrects to 2.4 per cent by eliminating those divorced by their wives after incarceration, on the grounds of felony or imprisonment. He then perilously assumes that the proclivity for divorce of all males in the United States will be the same as that of prisoners, with the single correction just mentioned. Such an assumption completely disregards the possibility that the same factors which produce twice as large a proportion

¹ I. M. RUBINOW, *After Divorce, What?*, *New Republic*, 63: 226-228, July, 1930.

² ALFRED CAHEN, "Statistical Analysis of American Divorce," New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, p. 104.

³ I. M. RUBINOW, "Some Statistical Aspects of Marriage and Divorce," Philadelphia, 1936, pamphlet series of the *Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science*, 36 p.

of the never-married among prisoners as among the general male population of the same ages might produce also a greater proportion of unstable marriages among prisoners. It is probable (certainly the opposite has not been proved) that, if the characteristics of those who are caught in crime for any reason operate against their marriage, the same characteristics would operate against the success of a marriage once entered upon. Ogburn's study of the marital status of prisoners seems to support such an interpretation rather than Cahen's.

By the method described above, Cahen concludes that about 31 per cent of divorcees remarry. The true figure probably lies somewhere between these two extremes of one-third and four-fifths, though just where can be determined only by more complete Census reports and further research. Ogburn's study¹ of New York state, omitting New York City, indicates that the number may be somewhere near one-half, but he rightly warns against accepting this as exact because of the limited data available. He further shows that in Massachusetts the average age at divorce is about 36. This is barely within the 35-44 age group which, together with the 45-54 group, contains the largest percentage of divorced persons. Since of those who remarry nearly half do so within one and one-half years and nearly three-fourths within five years, if the percentage remarrying is much more than half, would the 45-54 age group be likely to equal the 35-44 age group in the percentage of divorced persons?

One more factor that may slightly affect the number of remarriages by divorcees, and certainly affects the time interval between divorce and remarriage in some cases, is the prohibition of immediate remarriage found in certain states. There are several ways of preventing immediate remarriage: (1) by granting only separation rather than absolute divorce; (2) by the use of interlocutory decrees, *i.e.*, a preliminary and a final judgment, with the lapse of anywhere from a month to a year in between, the common period being six months; (3) by setting a definite time following the decree during which one or both parties may not remarry, or leaving such period to the discretion of the court in each case. It has already been shown that separation is sometimes stretched out indefinitely, without permitting divorce. At present, 17 jurisdictions grant interlocutory decrees. Under the third type of prevention, practice varies considerably. For example, in Wyoming neither party may remarry for a year. In Alabama, the court may decree that the guilty party can never remarry. In North Dakota, neither party may remarry, except at the discretion of the court. In Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and South Dakota, the guilty party (if adulterous) may not remarry during the life of the other party. In New York, the defendant may not

¹ E. R. GROVES and W. F. OGBURN, "American Marriage and Family Relationships," New York, Holt, 1928, pp. 363-364.

remarry during the life of the plaintiff unless, after three years of proved good conduct, the court grants permission. In some states, such prohibitions do not apply to the husband and wife remarrying each other.

It is not known how much such laws prevent or slow up remarriage, but undoubtedly they have an effect, for the penalties run as high as five years' imprisonment plus a fine. In some states, to remarry during the prohibited period brings prosecution for bigamy. It has been argued that those who think they want a divorce because of infatuation for another may be influenced to act entirely too hastily, knowing that there is a long waiting period before remarriage and desiring to get it started at once. However, there is no indication that such action is common.¹

How happy are the second or subsequent marriages of divorced persons? Barring the few "professional marriers," what evidence there is seems to be pretty well divided. The Cincinnati study previously quoted, which found remarried divorcees furnishing two or three times their proportional "quota" in applications for divorce, unquestionably points to a high rate of failure among such marriages. If those who are divorced in the first place contain a higher-than-average proportion of persons emotionally unstable or otherwise unfitted for married life, then we might also expect a higher-than-average breakup rate for the remarriage. The stress of their first failure might leave them even less well balanced than before. On the other hand, even adults can learn. Most divorces involve at least some fault in both parties; and when one has seen his dream of happiness vanish and realizes that it was partly his own fault, he may be in a better position to guard against such failure in a new venture than he was in the first. After such a harrowing experience, the average person would not deliberately expose himself to the possibility of its repetition without the most careful consideration. If he cannot bear to live alone and in spite of his bitter experience believes there are great values in married life, he is likely to profit by his first mistakes and bring to his second marriage far more understanding and self-discipline than he brought to his first, with an accordingly better chance of success. This is true in many cases, as almost anyone can

¹ Certain methods of procedure in divorce courts may bring curious and unintentional results. For example, in Ohio the successful counsel usually draws up the decree or "journal entry" and after it is approved by the judge files it with the clerk of the court for entry. It has become the practice of many attorneys not to file this entry until they have received their fees. Hence, the plaintiff, who hears the judge say, "Decree granted" but who "forgets" to pay his lawyer before leaving the city, thinks he is divorced and can remarry, whereas actually, as long as the entry is not made, remarriage means bigamy. There are undoubtedly a few unintentional bigamists from such cause, but the courts are fairly lenient in straightening out such cases. (See Leon C. Marshall and Geoffrey May, "The Divorce Court," Vol. 2, p. 269.)

testify from his own observation. Popenoe¹ found that, out of more than 1,000 cases of remarried divorcees, about two-thirds were happy in their new marriages, all of which had to be of five years or longer duration to be included in the study. This is only slightly below the 70 per cent or more which Popenoe says is the proportion of happy marriages, of life duration, in the general population.

THE REAL CAUSES OF DIVORCE

Year after year the Census Bureau continues to publish reports showing the "causes" of divorce in the United States. It has already been noticed that such reports merely perpetuate a legal fiction, the Census Bureau itself calling these statistics the least satisfactory of all those gathered on divorce, for the causes "proved" in court frequently bear no relation to the true causes. There can be no complete, self-contained table of causes in divorce, neatly listed under the usual "10 points." Human nature and experience are too variable to allow such easy classifications. But neither are the causes of divorce vague and mysterious, something about which we cannot hope to learn. The real causes of divorce involve the same factors that cause marital unhappiness in general. One could make a list of almost indefinite length, including unfaithfulness, jealousy, insanity, feeble-mindedness, poverty, laziness, quarrels over the family purse strings, relatives, impotence, sterility, frigidity, excessive sex passion, drunkenness, nagging, endocrine glandular disturbances, religious differences, female independence, temper, disease, and a host of others, *ad infinitum*. But is such a list of much value after all? Any one or any combination of these specific causes may lead to divorce if it is raised to the *n*th power, or if one or both of the parties are below par in vision or emotional stability. Given the endless combinations of these various conditioning factors, it is evident that no short list of the "causes of divorce" is meaningful. The important point is that the causes of divorce, in substance, are no different from the causes of quarrels and recriminations in unhappy marriages wherever they exist.

For this reason, there is in this chapter no separate discussion of the causes of divorce, for it would mean a repetitious treatment of many of the points dealt with in the chapters on husband-wife relationships. It is true that many of the items there dealt with would seldom in themselves cause such an extreme procedure as divorce, but several such together often do bring breakup; also, the more serious factors of marital strain such as financial problems (which Mowrer's study stresses), sex maladjustments (stressed by various writers), the growth of individualism, and

¹ PAUL POPENOE, *Divorce and Remarriage from a Eugenic Point of View*, *Soc. Forces*, 12: 48-51, October, 1933.

various other breeders of domestic discord are there examined, and the reader is referred to that chapter.

DESERTION

Since bona fide desertion often has results similar to those of divorce, it must be treated with the latter. Only bona fide desertion (as already distinguished from collusive, mutually desired desertion) is dealt with in this section.

There are no exact figures on the number of true desertions in the United States each year, for a large share of them are handled by various types of social agencies, with no national office to which they are required to report. Many cases never reach the courts. A divorce cannot come about except through court action, which automatically leaves an official public record; but desertion can take place without any official knowledge or record of the matter. A good many desertions ultimately get into court, when divorce is finally sought, thus partly duplicating divorce and desertion figures; but not nearly all desertions are so concluded. In 1928, the National Desertion Bureau, after consulting in nearly 100 cities social agencies that dealt with desertion cases in the course of their work, estimated that there are about 50,000 desertions each year in this country. This is roughly one-fourth as many desertions as divorces annually and, by a strange coincidence, not greatly different from the total number of divorces granted for alleged desertion, which in 1928 was 58,000. However, from a previously presented analysis of the extent of certain bona fide causes of divorce, it will be seen that the vast majority of these 50,000 and 58,000 cases are not duplicates; probably only about one-fourth of them overlap.

Who Desert and Why?—Men desert far more than women, particularly when there are children involved. There are several partial explanations of this. The mother, who is usually associated with the children more closely than the father, may find it more difficult to break away from them. Furthermore, the "social compulsion" may lie heavier upon the mother than upon the father. By both custom and law, he is the provider for both wife and children and is excoriated by society if he shirks this duty. The mother, however, who bore and nursed the children, is expected to follow the prevailing pattern of mother love (rated by society above paternal love), and her desertion is in some way considered more heinous. Occasionally, a mother deserts and takes her children with her. But there is another reason. The father's work often takes him far afield, and if he is jobless and looking for work he may become a wanderer. Temporary absence may lengthen into almost unintentional desertion. Ashamed to go back without work or to write

when he can send no money, he postpones the evil day. Gradually his conscience becomes quiescent; and in due time, without deliberate intention at the outset, he finds himself a real deserter. If he is more or less shiftless, as is frequently the case, and finds a certain satisfaction in the roving, irresponsible life, he is not likely to return unless suddenly seized by nostalgia or—if hungry too often—by a sheepish, unexpressed hope that his wife will have found work and he can live more comfortably at home. In one study¹ of 100 desertions, only 14 were women. Even when the wife deserts, the legal penalties are very different, for there is no question of nonsupport involved. She can be sued for divorce, but she cannot be imprisoned, as the husband can, for nonsupport.

A large proportion of deserters are repeaters; that is, they ultimately do come back one or more times. Fifty per cent in the study just mentioned had deserted previously; and in Colcord's well-known study,² 87 per cent were repeaters. Thus, desertion is usually not so final as divorce, the former frequently resulting in a temporary rupture or series of ruptures of family life. Some husbands who are induced by social workers to return, through promised help in getting a job, finally settle down and do fairly well; but many are too unstable to survive the least setback, and the whole process is repeated.

There is disagreement as to whether desertion is more frequent in good or in bad times. The National Desertion Bureau declares its frequency to be higher in periods of prosperity than in depression, as is the case with divorce; but some family welfare agencies report a considerable increase in desertion in hard times. There is some logic in favor of the latter, for in difficult times when the economic burden becomes greatest the most unscrupulous are least likely to stand up under it. And desertion is usually far more unscrupulous than divorce, particularly on the part of the man; for it is the ruthless and lawless evasion of responsibilities, whereas divorce is at least legal and recourse to it is playing the game in the open, by the rules. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that in good times the deserted wife is more able to support herself and children and accordingly less likely to report the desertion to any agency, whereas in hard times a larger percentage will report, making an apparent rather than real increase.

In a Chicago study, Mowrer³ found that desertion differed considerably among the different racial and nativity groups. Negroes con-

¹ E. F. O'NEILL and R. J. GLOVER, Report on a Study of One Hundred Cases of Desertion, *The Family*, 9: 287-291, January, 1929.

² JOANNA C. COLCORD, "Broken Homes," New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1919.

³ ERNEST R. MOWRER, "Family Disorganization," University of Chicago Press, 1927, p. 95.

tributed about four times their numerical share of desertions, the highest rate of all. The Poles, Lithuanians, and Greeks contributed about twice their share and the Russians, Hungarians, and Italians somewhat more than their share; but the Germans, Scandinavians, and native whites less than their share. The native whites, constituting the largest group, filled only about two-thirds of their "desertion quota." It has long been observed that among immigrants the sudden change in culture patterns, the different rate of Americanization in husband and wife, and similar factors put an unusual strain upon them, with much family disorganization resulting. However, in a recent Boston study the native-born population showed the highest percentage of family disorganization in any group, but since the race of such natives was not given there is no way of isolating the nativity factor.¹

Mixed marriage also seems to be at least one causative factor in desertion. Brandt's study,² made a good many years ago and much quoted ever since, found mixed marriage more than three times as frequent in desertion cases as in the general population, though such a figure may be misleading in the absence of a statistical analysis of all the factors involved. Not unless each factor was studied separately, while the others were held constant, could one have much idea of the true weight of these seemingly correlated causative factors. One's culture may depend much more upon the area in which one lives and the associations one has than upon the mere fact of being of a certain race or nationality.

Children are involved in a much larger proportion of desertions than of divorces. Brandt found children in more than 96 per cent of the cases she studied, but that figure is much too high for today. Of Mowrer's 2,661 cases in the Chicago Domestic Relations Court, 71 per cent of the desertions involved children, a little more than reversing the figures for divorce; *i.e.*, more than two-thirds of the desertion cases included children, but slightly less than two-thirds of divorces affected no children. Both the mode and the median showed that the typical deserted family included only one child, which is fairly good evidence that a large part of desertion, like divorce, occurs early in the married life. This inference is upheld by what actual figures are available, about half of the desertions taking place in less than five years after marriage.

Desertion by the husband, because he is usually the chief breadwinner of the family, frequently throws the family on relief. Such cases are a source of much trouble to social agencies. The "ratio of deserted families to the entire load of dependent families carried by family welfare

¹ Cited by Joanna Colcord in *Ency. Soc. Sciences*, 6: 78-79.

² LILLIAN BRANDT, "Five Hundred and Seventy-four Deserters and Their Families," New York, Charity Organization Society, 1905.

agencies . . . shows a surprising uniformity," says Colcord.¹ In Chicago, Eubank² found it to be about 10 per cent up to 1916. The Boston study gave about the same percentage for the years 1918-1928. Cleveland spends about \$158,000 a year on deserted families.

There are various ways of dealing with the husband—if he is caught. But some are never reported, and many who are reported cannot be found. In the Boston study, two-fifths could not be located. Those who are apprehended may be charged with nonsupport (usually classed as a misdemeanor) or child abandonment (usually called a felony), according to the laws of the state in which the husband resides or the strictness with which the law is administered. If it is a particularly vicious case and there is little likelihood of the man reforming and supporting the family, he may be imprisoned. But if he is seemingly repentant and willing to try again, he is usually paroled, on the grounds that whatever he manages to contribute to the support of the family is better than nothing and it will not help the family for him to remain in jail. But social workers have learned not to look for a permanent solution in the forced reconciliation upon which the court sometimes insists. Character cannot be changed, nor can family discord be eliminated, by a court order.

THE RESULTS OF DIVORCE

The results of divorce are not all measurable statistically, but their study is becoming more realistic. In this section the effects of divorce upon the interests of three parties, the divorcees, the children, and society, will be considered.

Effects upon the Divorcees.—It is impossible to lump all divorcees together and describe the effects of divorce upon them, for they are not all branded with the same stigmata, as gossips of a few generations ago would have said. They are indeed a variable lot, including young and old, rich and poor, flippant and brokenhearted, and every shading between these extremes. Manifestly, divorce has very different effects upon the mate who has ceased to care for the other than upon the one who still cares passionately. Likewise, the effects will be clearly different on the childless well-to-do young woman who divorces her husband because she is in love with another man than on the middle-aged woman with children and no professional or business skill, who reluctantly grants the divorce her husband is demanding, not because she has ceased to care for him or can manage economically alone, but because she cannot bear to be longer bound in daily association to one who no longer cares for her and who seizes every opportunity to make the union unbearable to

¹ JOANNA COLCORD, *Ency. Soc. Sciences*, 6: 79

² E. E. EUBANK, "A Study of Family Desertion," Chicago, 1916.

her. Then, there are husbands and wives who still care for each other but find that their marriage interferes with their mutual professional ambitions and who decide with as little emotion as possible that they will both be better off apart. There are also those few—fortunately, too few to be representative—who for mercenary or other selfish reasons envisage and plan divorce from the very first. To them, divorce is success, and the effect upon them is far different from the effect upon those to whom divorce is failure. For in most cases, divorce is failure—flat failure. It may not be disgraceful failure; one or both parties may be innocent of any vicious or deliberately antisocial characteristics or conduct. But since the intent of the marriage was sincere and there was genuine expectation of its continuance through life, its artificial dissolution denotes failure, and failure has a disorganizing effect on most people. Of course, the sense of failure may exist in varying degree, with the attending effect ranging from very mild disappointment to utter discouragement.

It is therefore necessary to select a type for analysis. For several reasons, it is probable that the effects of divorce are greater upon the woman than upon the man. It would be difficult to say, all causes considered, whether the husband or the wife is more to blame in the typical divorce; usually both parties contribute. Divorces are granted to the wife three times as frequently as to the husband, but this does not mean that husbands are the chief offenders in three out of four cases. It is probable, however, that on the more serious charges they contribute more than their share to the causes of divorce, and hence in the terminology of the law there are more "guilty" husbands than wives in the divorce suits of the country. A glance at specific causes supports this opinion. There can be little question but that more husbands than wives commit adultery. The 4-to-3 ratio of divorces granted to wives and husbands, respectively, because of adultery on the part of the other spouse, would undoubtedly be widened if all adultery cases resulted in divorce. Even in this age of nominal sex equality the traditional double standard has not disappeared. The husband, to some extent, still retains the role of chief philanderer, and the wife, still partly accepting the historical pattern, is less likely to divorce her husband for his sex derelictions than he is to divorce her for like offense. Furthermore, owing to the greater freedom of movement of the husband, he can more easily avoid detection in his amours than can the wife. As to the cruelty ground, when strictly interpreted by the law, the holdover of the traditional conception of the male holding patriarchal authority as head of the family makes it reasonable to believe that husbands are more frequently guilty of genuine cruelty than are wives. Regarding desertion, one can speak with more assurance, for studies have shown that in bona

fide long-time desertion (aside from all collusive make-believe) more husbands than wives desert. Again, in respect to drunkenness it is not difficult to prove that husbands are more at fault than wives. On the ground of "neglect to provide" the fault must always be one-sided, for the husband is legally bound to support the wife. It appears, then, that as far as some of the major factors are concerned, the husband is more responsible for divorce than is the wife; but it must be remembered that the final end cause that brings about the breakup may not turn out to be the most important factor when the whole history of the case is viewed. On the assumption, also, that the offender in personal relationships is less sensitive to a break than is the one offended, that in divorce the occupation of the man and his method of supporting himself economically is seldom affected, and that what social disapproval still remains is less severe on the divorced man than on the divorced woman, it may be reasonably concluded that in the majority of cases the effects of divorce are more severe for the wife than for the husband.

If the above-mentioned considerations are true, we must select a divorced woman, rather than a man, as reflecting the most significant effects of divorce. If typical, she will have no children, for nearly two-thirds of our divorces are granted to childless couples. She will probably be not much more than thirty years old.¹ She will not be one of the matrimonial professionals classed as "gold diggers," but her divorce will terminate a marriage which was happy at first and in which both spouses looked forward to success. The chances are perhaps about even that sooner or later she will remarry. But what are her reactions to divorce? What are some of the effects upon her as she emerges from the wreckage of her dreams?

The Collapse of One's World.—First, there is the feeling of the unreality of it all. Can this be happening to *her*? She knew it happened to other people who were unfortunate or foolish or selfish and flippant toward marriage, but it seemed impossible that it could happen to her, who had looked forward so eagerly to marriage and expected so much from it. What of all her dreams of the future? Shattered! The many years stretching ahead with a loved companion by her side—how would she spend them now? Alone. The trips they had planned together, the new

¹ This is lower than Ogburn's figure of thirty-six for three reasons: (1) Ogburn was evidently giving an average for both sexes combined, and since the typical difference in age between husband and wife is 3 years, this would lower the wife's typical age by 1½ years. (2) He was basing his figure on Massachusetts data, which state has one of the lowest percentages of young folk married. (3) We are here using Cahen's figure of 7 years as the median average duration of marriages ending in divorce, instead of the figures 10 and 11 named by Ogburn without stating whether these were median or arithmetic average.

house they were to build some day, the child they might have sometime—what of these? All gone!

The crushing sense of failure frequently leads to brooding over the reasons for failure, resulting in an inferiority complex and introspection too much indulged. This leads to oversensitiveness, with an accompanying tendency to withdraw from normal associations. For not only has her individual world but also her social world collapsed. She now has a new status, that of a "divorced woman." She thinks of the many jokes about "grass widows" at which she has laughed and suddenly realizes that she is now in that class. She is different from her friends, and she is sure they look upon her as being different, as in some way to blame for it all. She imagines they are thinking that if she had been more attractive or had had more brains or had tried harder she might have held her man. If her friends treat her as though nothing had happened and invite her out as before, she may think they merely pity her; if they respect her desire to keep to herself, they may be accused of "cutting" her because of her new status. In public, she imagines people are looking at her, men casting amused or meaningful glances and women whispering behind her back. She has no protector against all this—she is *alone*. She does not realize that it is difficult for her friends to know how to treat her. Her married friends who have parties among themselves may find it awkward to have an "extra" who does not fit into affairs, because she is only one instead of the ubiquitous "couple." And if they invite a lone male to pair with her, they may embarrass both, even though the implication of "match-making" be wholly unfounded. The younger unmarried set do not consider her one of them, and she feels that she has no social position left.

Her economic world has also collapsed. She may be capable, but she has no training or skill that is demanded in a fast-moving, competitive business world. She is too proud, being young and without children, to accept alimony from the man who broke away from her. She might go back to her parents, if living, or temporarily to the home of a married brother or sister; but they may not have considered the divorce entirely necessary, and she could not ask to share their home in the face of such disapproval, even though they would doubtless take her in. Anyway, this would be running away, an admission of weakness, and she must show people that she can manage by herself.

In his interesting analysis of divorce and readjustment, Waller¹ points out the necessity, after divorce, of reorganizing one's love life (including sex habits), repairing wounded pride, rechannelizing habits, reestablishing one's status in the social group, settling the constant conflict with self, and (in the case of a woman) solving the problem of economic rehabilitation. Now, not all divorced persons are beset with

¹ WILLARD WALLER, "The Old Love and the New," New York, Liveright, 1930.

exactly the same problems, nor in the same degree of intensity, but the one involving the affectional life is so nearly universal and so potent in its effect on personality that it deserves special consideration.

Reorganizing One's Affectional Life.—In the close companionship of marriage, each seeks affectional security. Being constantly tuned to the response of the other, it is easy to develop an affectional dependency, the full extent of which is not realized until circumstance reveals it. This dependency becomes as truly habitual in its manifestations as habits of dress and food, so that when interrupted there ensues a sense of incompleteness and frustration. The hunger for companionship may remain constant, but its satisfaction is impossible, at least for the time being. Or in terms of Thomas's four wishes, the "desire for response" is there but the response is lacking. There is nothing that so quickly makes an aching void of the world as the sudden cessation of a human relationship essential to one's happiness.

Included in the total affectional life of husband and wife are the sex habits that they have mutually enjoyed. Abstinence is difficult enough before marriage in our sex-stimulated society, but it is easy compared with abstinence after regular sex habits have been developed in marriage and then are more or less suddenly broken by divorce. The difficulty is even more acute than when marriage is dissolved by death, for in addition to the nervous strain occasioned by the urge for physical relief, divorce is sometimes followed, in the person considering himself the wronged party, by a cynical attitude toward sex and a hard determination to divorce it also from the spiritual aspects of life with which it was once associated. This is especially likely in cases where the divorce grew out of sex difficulties. The attempt to debase sex, following such a decision, is seldom satisfying for any length of time, for the comparison of what sex once meant with the sordid aspects of prostitution intrudes uncomfortably into the consciousness, bringing strong feelings of disgust to those who have previously maintained high standards. This temporary debauch may be partly due to bravado, and in some cases partly to one's secret desire to prove to oneself one's sex adequacy, which may have been called in question in the mutual recriminations of sexual maladjustment in marriage. For such persons, thrown temporarily off balance, time is a great healer of wounds for all who do not refuse to be healed.

But there is sometimes another solution to this phase of the problem, which may also solve, almost automatically, the others mentioned. This is the transference of one's affections to another so completely as to satisfy once more the affectional life. This is frequently attempted, sometimes quite hastily, but the attempt is by no means always successful. Waller¹ shows the dangers of the rebound phenomena which one finds in novels.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

He asserts that the transference of affection may not be so real as was supposed, for one's first love is not easily forgotten; also some of the factors growing out of the dissolution of the first marriage—both personal and impersonal—may make it difficult to hold the affections of a second mate. However, in spite of such dangers remarriages are rather frequently successful, for the thoughtful profit by past mistakes. One may conclude that in some ways the personal reorganization of the divorcee depends upon much the same factors as those involved in rehabilitation after almost any great emotional shock, but that in divorce the danger of becoming subject to a failure complex may be greater than in other experiences.

There are two mitigating circumstances that must not be overlooked in all this discussion of the effects of divorce on the person who cares most. One is that most divorces are granted to relatively young people who, though they may be almost completely disorganized for a time, will emerge from the confusion and rebuild their world. The resiliency of youth is the nearest guarantee to recuperation. The second circumstance relates to the predivorce period. We have tacitly assumed, for the sake of emphasis, that the blow falls with considerable suddenness. In many cases this is true, but in many others there has been preliminary sparring of varying duration and with a quickened pace that almost assures a "knockout" sooner or later. Many divorce cases show a history of some years of increasing discord, with final dissolution easily predictable to the objective observer on the side line long before it actually occurs. Such quarrels, with their implied and sometimes open threats of separation, cause each to consider in the quiet of later reflection what the possibilities of separation actually are and what changes in his life it would occasion if it did occur. Thus, by progressive stages, both are sometimes more or less consciously preparing for the shock if it does come, and it is lessened accordingly. But when all is said and done, it still remains a shock. It is impossible accurately to foresee all the implications of such a situation or to experience in anticipation the emotional emptiness that follows great pain. Hence, although such preparation is at best incomplete, its mitigating influence may be classified as a real factor in recovery.

Effects upon the Children.—Divorce is not a frequent visitor in families previously visited by the stork, particularly if the latter has dropped in several times. In 1930, about 62 per cent of the divorces granted in the United States went to childless couples, and another fifth went to one-child families. The total distribution is shown in Table XX.

Since about 18 per cent of our marriages end in divorce, it works out that about 71 per cent of childless marriages terminate in the divorce

courts, whereas only 8 per cent of marriages with children so end.¹ But in spite of the relatively small percentage of children involved in divorce, the actual number is considerable, and increasing, being over 127,000 for 1930 divorces alone. In fact, in the five-year period 1925-1930, the actual number of children involved in divorce increased about twice as fast as the population increased during the same period. During the past decade, it is safe to estimate that between one-quarter and one-third million children have had their life organization affected by the divorce of their parents.

TABLE XX.—DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES ACCORDING TO SIZE OF FAMILY, 1930*

Size of Family	Percentage of Divorces
No children.....	62.2†
One child.....	21.0
Two children.....	9.7
Three children.....	4.0
Four children.....	1.7
Five or more children.....	1.3
Total.....	99.9

* Adapted from 1930 report of the Bureau of the Census on marriage and divorce.

† This figure may be slightly too high, as it combines "no children" (57.4 per cent) and "no report as to children" (4.8 per cent). Since the court makes the protection of children one of its first objectives in a divorce, it is almost certain that, when there is "no report as to children," there are none. Even the Census report assumes that this is largely true when it says, "Thus, it is evident that in over 60 per cent of the cases there were no children to act as a deterrent."

It is unsafe to say that childlessness causes the divorce. Perhaps it does in a few cases, but most of the relationship is probably due to other factors. One is that the peak of divorce now comes between the third and fourth years of marriage, with a considerable percentage in the first and second years. This fact, coupled with the growing tendency to postpone children until a few years after marriage, accounts for many of the childless divorces. Marital troubles frequently come before the couple is ready for children, and the very fact of their seeming incompatibility makes them postpone children still longer, until they see how their marriage is going to turn out. Also, is it not possible that the most self-centered of the divorced group are the least likely to want children—that the extreme individualism which is so conducive to marriage failure will rebel at the restrictions of parenthood? The demand for "freedom" often includes freedom from children. In so far, therefore, as divorce seems to select the less stable for temporary childlessness, it is euthenic in effect, which helps to offset at least a part of its costs to society.

There have been such conflicting statements issued regarding the effect of divorce upon children, both in the way of unsupported opinions and

¹ CAHEN, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

statistical studies, that the public is left in a quandary. On the one hand, we have "estimates" that 80 per cent of delinquent children are from divorced homes, and on the other hand assurances that children adjust to the situation very quickly, after a brief period of disturbance. Part of the confusion comes from the careless use of the term "broken homes." Strictly speaking, the term denotes any home in which either parent is left alone by the loss of the other through death, desertion, separation, or divorce. But in public speeches and popular magazine articles, one sometimes finds the loose implication that "broken homes" refers only to homes broken by divorce. To see how great the error, one need only note that of all broken homes having children, not more than one-fifth (and possibly only one-sixth) were broken by desertion, separation, and divorce combined. Considerably more than one-half the divorces involving children were in one-child families, so the modal child-of-divorce is an "only" child, but the median child has a brother or sister. This "aloneness" is a much greater handicap in the abnormal situation into which such children are thrown than in normal families. The ages of these children are not known. Some are too young to be affected immediately but may run into difficulties later, and some are almost old enough to be established for themselves. But nearly all will sooner or later feel the effects of their parents' divorce.

Omitting homes broken by death and considering only those broken by divorce, separation, and desertion, let us glance briefly at some of the statistical studies. M. C. Elmer¹ has brought together the data on broken homes among 18,741 juvenile delinquents in four studies, some of which were multiple, involving 9 or 10 groups in all. Selecting only the data on delinquents coming from homes broken by divorce or separation and weighting his averages, we find the percentage of such children to be: for 810 girls, about 23 per cent; for 13,931 boys, about 11 per cent; for 4,000 others, sex not specified but merely listed as "delinquents," about 14 per cent. Two more studies² of delinquents in Wisconsin showed 9.8 per cent of 492 boys and 20.3 per cent of 252 girls to come from homes broken by divorce, separation, or desertion. Thus, roughly, one-tenth of the delinquent boys in these studies and one-fifth of the girls came from homes broken by divorce, separation, or desertion; exact percentages are not obtainable because the bases are not strictly comparable.³

¹ M. C. ELMER, "Family Adjustment and Social Change," New York, Long & Smith, 1932, p. 175, reporting on studies by Shideler, Slawson, Healy and Bronner and a United States government bulletin.

² Studies by Katharine D. Lumpkin and Morris G. Caldwell, cited in *ibid.*, p. 183.

³ There are plenty of other studies on the relation of delinquents to broken homes, but many of them lump "broken homes" all together, without distinguishing between those broken by death and those broken by divorce, separation, or desertion. In some respects the results on the children of the death of one parent are similar to

Now, at a given time, only about 20 per cent of all families in the United States are broken by all causes, of which death accounts for about four-fifths. It will be seen, therefore, that allowance could be made for considerable error in these figures of 10 and 20 per cent given above, and still the number of delinquents coming from this type of broken home would be high enough to warrant the assumption of a causal relationship. But how much relationship? That cannot be known from data now available, for some of the data are conflicting. The report of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement stressed the danger of emphasizing too much the single fact that the home from which the delinquent came was "broken," pointing out other related factors such as race, nationality, and age groups, as well as the areas from which delinquents come. This stand is supported by the findings of certain local studies, such as that for Pennsylvania¹ and Chicago.² They found wide variance as to delinquency and broken homes among different racial, nationality, and age groups. The latter study, using some thousands of cases and comparing delinquents with a control group in various ways, concluded that, although there was some difference in the incidence of broken homes, it was not enough higher to be very significant. But here again, all broken homes were included.

Divided Loyalty.—Since statistical studies do not show clearly what we are after, let us consider a few factors in divorce to which the child is subjected that may affect him in one way or another. Admitting that at present we cannot measure these factors, we may still get some idea of what they are and how they operate.

The first question is: Who gets the children? Under the old common law, the mother had no rights in the matter; the sole right to the custody of the children resided in the father. But today there are statutes replacing this common law in all but 1 of the 50 jurisdictions that grant divorce, and in all cases the matter is left to the discretion of the court. Theoretically the "welfare of the children" is paramount, but in the battle between the lawyers of plaintiff and defendant it does not always work out that way. The children, who did not bring on the conflict but are as vitally interested as either party, are shuffled about like bewildered pawns. There is even some question as to whether, as wards of the state, they should not have counsel of their own in addition to the usual protection of the court. In Michigan an officer known as a "friend to the court" is appointed in all divorce cases involving children, repre-

those of divorce, but in others they are different enough to make such vague studies useless for our purpose here.

¹ Data by Marguerite A. Snyder, in *ibid.*, pp. 186 ff.

² CLIFFORD R. SHAW and HENRY D. MCKAY, Are Broken Homes Causative Factors in Juvenile Delinquency?, *Soc. Forces* 10: 514-524, May, 1932.

senting them and the state and seeing that the decrees affecting them are obeyed.¹

In the United States it is the custom in most cases to grant the custody of minor children to the mother,² though the father must share in their maintenance. If the mother is not of good moral character or is otherwise an unfit guardian for the children, they may be placed under their father's care. Occasionally, they are divided between father and mother, which may break up the family even more hopelessly than ever. Or the child is ordered to spend a part of his time with his mother and part with his father, shuttling unhappily back and forth between more or less hostile camps, being conditioned in each against the other. One judge, who is reported to have handled 40,000 divorce cases involving the welfare of more than 10,000 children, considers the lot of the "part-time" child the most unhappy of all. He declares that frequently each parent seeks to make the child a spy on the activities of the other—for a price. With bribes of toys the child is induced to find out "how Mamma spends her alimony money" or "whether Daddy seems to have plenty of money—and a sweetheart." Small wonder that such youthful secret agents learn to lie like true diplomats. Small wonder that such tactics produce little "cynics under six."

Says another judge of long experience in the Reno courts, "I know of a case in which a father of four children had all the money. He won the children's allegiance away from the mother by giving them luxuries and pleasures far beyond what was good for them. They were too young to judge for themselves and succumbed to this species of parental bribery until their normal affection for their mother was almost completely eradicated."³ He also gives the testimony of a man of wide experience with children that such "psychological orphans" might be better off in cases of aggressive antagonism between the parents if the parent to whom custody was not given be denied even the right of visitation. On such an extreme policy the judge comments, "In this way the break between the two families would be complete, the wounds made have a chance to heal, and the child have some consistent policy of direction in his discipline. This would be a harsh course to follow in most cases; and yet I believe courts will come more and more to consider it seriously rather than submit a child to the ugly influences that come in many divided-custody arrangements."⁴

¹ CHESTER G. VERNIER, "American Family Laws," Vol. 2, p. 203.

² Marshall and May found that of the 2,757 minors in the cases studied 75 per cent were put in custody of the mother, 10 per cent with the father, and the remainder had miscellaneous provisions made for them, or none.

³ GEORGE A. BARTLETT, "Men, Women, and Conflict," New York, Putnam's, 1931, p. 192.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

Divorce subjects the child to an abnormal family situation. Often his loyalty is divided, and the attendant strain makes him miserable. He cannot understand why his father and mother, both of whom may be very dear to him, cannot continue to live together in his home. His timid questions are evaded and his later protests disregarded. He is helpless to avert the catastrophe and sees his affectional world collapse about him, which is harder for him to bear than economic privations. Children are happy in normal homes, be they rich or poor, frequently not even realizing it if they are poor. They endure want more easily than parental discord. To them the parental overpattern is like a sheltering tent; when it is rent asunder, they stand starkly exposed to fear, loneliness, and uncertainty. The protective adult pattern—taken for granted by children as they take for granted food and shelter—has failed, and they are assailed with a dread peculiar to children in the presence of strong emotions revealed by their elders. The pathetic little figure in "Wednesday's Child" portrayed poignantly the bewilderment, grief, and finally the apparent resignation and cynicism of a child of divorce whose parents married other mates, leaving him in a sort of no-child's land. He found that the prep school to which they sent him was a sort of modern adolescent foundling asylum for the convenience of self-centered parents intent on making new alliances.

Difficulty of Establishing New Loyalties.—Social disapproval of the disregard that divorce has for children has added to the unpleasant connotation of the word "stepmother" or "stepfather," and the child is thus conditioned against acceptance of such a relationship from the first. When a divorced mother or father with children remarries, there is usually every opportunity for conflict with the children. Frequently, such marriage takes place without consulting them or even without their knowledge. They are suddenly asked to accept and love a new "mother" or a new "father." This may cause covert or overt resentment, for children object to assuming such intimacy with a stranger without preparation. The resentment is particularly strong if the children are still loyal to the absent father or mother, whose place is now found to be taken by another, whether they will or not. Even the kindest of stepmothers may find it a task calling for all her tact and patience to become *en rapport* with her stepchild, particularly if he is more than five or six years old at the start. In such a situation an "only" child may withdraw within himself, brooding over his unhappiness until the sheer healing of time and routine ease the pain. But when several children find themselves in such a situation, particularly if they are spirited, the possibilities of harmony in the household take hasty flight. In a hundred ways they can make the newcomer feel their animosity, aiding and abetting each other when about to get caught in a bolder stroke than usual. This conflict pattern may widen

till it covers practically the whole sphere of family activities, or it may gradually give way to accommodation as the children grow older and more reasonable.

Such inner turmoil might well be expected to affect the child in both his play world and work world. Concerning the latter, Dean Gauss of Princeton is quoted as saying that children who are "orphaned" through divorce are too uniformly unsocialized and lacking in poise to be successful. He is reported to have said that the headmasters of many preparatory schools refuse to accept such children "because they feel that the careers of the children are foredoomed to failure."¹ It would be difficult to support such a broad statement, for children are not so much of a kind as that. But there is no question but that family breakup is frequently very detrimental to a child's schoolwork. One writer² reports very little effect on work, though a little more on conduct, but neither as being more than temporary. But others have found more correlation, and case studies of young people even of college age have shown a very close relationship between family trouble and failure in college work.³ Sometimes young children of divorced parents are more or less ostracized by schoolmates and playmates, not from any antagonism of their own but because of the prejudice of their parents who admonish them "not to play with so-and-so." This further isolates the child, making him self-conscious and unadjusted in some of the primary groups that are most essential to his socialization.

There is, however, another side to what has been said about children and divorce. Any thoughtful student of the family must admit that there are cases in which divorce is actually a boon to the children. Granting all that has been said regarding the personal disorganization of children torn between two loyalties in divorce, they can be harmed still more by living year after year in a so-called "home" which bitter conflict has turned into a shambles. When hate is thinly veiled, if at all, when each parent delights in the humiliation and suffering of the other, when each points out to the children the faults of the other in an attempt to "proselyte," when it is evident that each has enlisted "for the duration of the war" and truces are brief and far between, it is mockery to speak longer of the "home." The children of such a battlefield should be taken away and cared for as casualties. In such a situation, divorce is much to be preferred to the outward maintenance of the family when inwardly it has hopelessly disintegrated. Divorce

¹ *Literary Digest*, May 2, 1931.

² MARIAN W. CAMPBELL, *The Effect of the Broken Home on the Child in School*, *Jour. Educ. Sociology*, 5: 274-281, January, 1932.

³ LUELLA C. PRESSY, *Some Serious Family Maladjustments among College Students*, *Soc. Forces*, 10: 236-242, December, 1931.

and complete separation will at least bring the "cease-firing" order, for the enemy will be out of range; and when the smoke has cleared away childish memories may in time be mercifully dimmed.

Social Consequences.—Enough has been said of the consequences of divorce to husband and wife and children to make unnecessary more than a brief statement about its wider social effects, for all the direct consequences to spouses and children are also indirect consequences to society at large. All the active participants in divorce are also members of society, and without accepting any extreme theory of "social solidarity" we know that sensational, highly publicized activities of individual members of a group do affect the attitudes of others in the group. Divorce is still sensational in America, strange as it may seem. One would think that with one marriage in six ending in divorce we would learn to take it in stride, but the mores of the past still appear and make their bow to the somewhat hypocritical "oh's" and "ah's" of the audience. We are loath to give up our pet scandals, not only because we get a vicarious thrill from them but also because the judicious handling of the scandals of others serves privately to condone our own faults and publicly to accentuate our virtues. Such a convenient ally is not to be lightly deserted.

Society has a deep concern for the stability of the home. The increase in divorce is disquieting evidence of a growing instability, and society fears that the divorce pattern may come to be considered normal instead of abnormal. It being granted that "normal" is a relative term and any technical discussion of what is normal and what abnormal being avoided, the typical American attitude toward divorce is fairly clear. It is still considered an "evil," but sometimes a necessary one. It is to be used sparingly and only after sincere efforts at adjustment have been made. But in this as in most areas of social interaction, ideal and practice do not coincide. We still cling to the ideal but make more and more exceptions thereto, thus deceiving ourselves about maintaining the standard. But sooner or later we are forced to realize the divergence, and then discussion is aroused, which may or may not lead to attempts at reform. The reason that analysis at any time is so difficult is that the attitudes of people toward divorce cannot be classified in two or three simple categories. They range through every shade of opinion from the severest intolerance to the most flippant unconcern, and because some are much more militant than others in their convictions it is impossible to judge correctly, by their degree of articulateness, the number taking a given stand on the question.

But the thoughtful student of social problems soon perceives that the major issue is not divorce, but marriage. Not all the increase in divorce represents a true increase in marital unhappiness; much of it is

due to the growing unwillingness to endure such unhappiness. But to whatever extent increased divorce does come from a true increase in marital discontent, there is provided a fit problem for attack. Divorce in itself, therefore, will claim little attention from the discerning; rather, they will concentrate their efforts on those factors which are conducive to marriage failure. Harsh pronouncements on the evils of divorce will have little effect. Our divorce laws seemingly need some relatively simple revisions to make them fit the existing mores, but even with such changes we could expect few results. Any major results could come only from changing certain underlying conditioning factors in marriage. Such changes, if the social diagnosis were correct, might help marriage more nearly to fulfill the social expectation—a reasonable degree of success. This would automatically lower the divorce rate—that bugaboo beyond which the nearsighted cannot see. The futility of blindly attacking a problem is well illustrated by the list of marriage and divorce reforms proposed by the Nazi regime, as reported in the publication “National Socialist German Jurist.” Among the proposals is one to make divorce impossible in marriages where there are children. Such a law would condemn some children to far worse influences than would divorce.

But the difficult question still remains: How can the mores be stabilized? There are those who refuse to admit that standards are, and must be in the very nature of things, relative to time and place. Marriage will undoubtedly continue to change in the future as it has in ages past. This disconcerting knowledge gives pause, but it does not and should not keep the socially minded from attempting to bring at least temporary stability to the social values they consider most sound. It does, however, dispose them to be ever mindful of the rise of new values that may modify or even replace the old. For to seek by legal means reforms directly opposed to the fundamental mores of a people is to ensure defeat. Only in so far as the values that the socially enlightened seek to preserve are made more satisfying will they be stabilized. Focusing so-called “public approval” upon a value is not enough to maintain it; outward observance may thereby be prolonged, though inwardly disregarded. Only by increasing, or at least conserving, the human values in married life can we increase its stability. Apparently the only hope of success in such a course lies, first, in thorough research in every phase of marriage and family life and, second, in the dissemination of the findings through a widespread process of education.

THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHER COUNTRIES WITH DIVORCE

Divorce has been practically universal in time and place since the recognition of marriage. The difference between the crude action of the

savage who merely drives his wife away and the ceremonial decision of the court granting adequate support to the divorced wife is not so great as it first appears. It is largely a difference in refinement of procedure, a contrast in cultures, but the chief fact of divorce—artificial interruption of the marriage—is the same in both.

Whatever the family organization may have been behind that baffling mist where history begins, we know that the patriarchal type has prevailed in an overwhelming majority of peoples, both civilized and preliterate. Therefore it was only logical in early times for divorce to be almost entirely man's prerogative. As Sumner put it, "There is no adultery for a man and no divorce for a woman." However, through early history woman's status gradually improved among most peoples, until she had a number of recognized rights. Even in ancient Sumerian times the wife finally secured the right to annul the marriage under certain circumstances. In ancient Egypt the husband was required to pay the wife if he divorced her without sufficient cause. In Rome, divorce became so common that historians and statesmen denounced it as a national scandal. But when the emperor forced the husband of the beautiful Livia to free her so he could have her for himself, there is little wonder that the popular attitude toward divorce remained cynical.

During the Middle Ages, divorce was made more and more difficult as the Christian church increased in power. It was finally forbidden on any grounds, except by special dispensation, even though the New Testament recognized adultery as just cause. But divorce did not die out, as some writers have implied. The special dispensation was usually granted if the request came from the wealthy or powerful. Furthermore, ecclesiastical side-stepping frequently permitted annulment in lieu of divorce, which in reality liberated the parties more completely than absolute divorce.

The Reformation brought a more realistic treatment of divorce, with marriage regarded as a civil contract that could rightfully be dissolved when one party was guilty of such serious offenses as adultery, malicious desertion, extreme cruelty, and (in some Protestant countries) insanity and incurable disease. This does not mean that in Protestant communities divorce suddenly became easy and common. No such rapid change occurred. But the legal opportunities for divorce on just grounds became available to poor as well as to rich, though the disapproval of divorce, except in cases of great provocation, was slow to yield.

In England a very conservative attitude on divorce prevailed up to the present decade. Cromwell's Civil Marriage Act of 1653 restored marriage to its former basis of a private contract, but after the Restoration the Church of England brought marriage under ecclesiastical control

that was almost as strict as that of Catholicism. Until 1857, it was impossible to get a divorce except by a special act of Parliament, and since the minimum cost of such service was £500 the poor were effectually debarred. Since 1857, the High Court sitting in London has heard divorce suits at more moderate cost, but not until 1912 were certain provincial courts given jurisdiction over divorce cases, bringing the right of divorce within reach of more people. But, as adultery remained the only ground for divorce (and the judge could refuse the divorce if the plaintiff had ever been guilty of like indiscretion) the divorce rate remained low. The Royal Commission of Divorce, after sitting for five years, in its three-volume report in 1912 recommended that in addition to the single ground for divorce the following five be added: willful desertion for three years, cruelty, incurable insanity after five years, habitual and incurable drunkenness after three years, and imprisonment under a commuted death sentence.¹ The drive was particularly strong for the desertion and insanity grounds, for there had been several scandals involving such cases. The inclusion of desertion seemed entirely reasonable, since Scotland ever since 1560 has permitted divorce for four years' malicious desertion. But the reforms were not adopted. G. K. Chesterton thundered against granting any divorces at all, but the Divorce Law Reform Union kept up its pressure for liberalizing the law.

In recent years, three new developments have lifted the English divorce rate so rapidly as to focus public attention upon it more sharply than ever. In 1914, the Poor Persons Rule made it possible for anyone with less than £2 per week income to secure free counsel in any court measures, including divorce. This law tapped a new source of material for the divorce mill. In 1923, women were given equal rights with men in suing for divorce, with the result that within five years suits by wives were nearly twice as numerous as those by husbands. But the greatest impetus of all was given in 1926, in a law sharply limiting the press in reporting divorce cases. The effect was to give the contestants virtual privacy on all but the fact of the divorce, and England responded with such promptness as to make one wonder how much pent-up marital unhappiness was waiting for an outlet. From 1925 to 1927, the number of divorces increased 19 per cent, then in *one* year increased 26 per cent over the previous year.² Since then the increase has continued at such a rate that in February, 1935, the courts were reported to be planning to increase their diligence in administration and eliminate all except bona fide cases, for there has been much collusion in England as well as in the

¹ LORD SALVESSEN, *Divorce and Marriage Reform in England*, *Eugenics Rev.*, 23: 107-113, July, 1931.

² Computed from figures given in a London dispatch to the *New York Times*, dated Oct. 31, 1929.

United States. But with all its increase, the divorce rate in England in 1930 was only about one-eighteenth the American rate.

Finally, in 1937, three new grounds for divorce (desertion, cruelty, and insanity) were adopted by Parliament, to the surprise of both camps. This liberalization of the divorce law was largely due to the untiring efforts of one man, A. P. Herbert, M.P. His widely read novel, "Holy Deadlock," which humorously portrayed the absurdities and injustices of the divorce law, did much to arouse public opinion, and his unceasing activity in Parliament finally bore fruit.

In France the divorce law has long been liberal, but the divorce rate is only about one-third that of our country—a curious fact to those who like to characterize French marital matters as exceedingly irregular. It was Napoleon who insisted on wifely "obedience" in the marriage code (was this due to his troubles with Josephine?), but this was in effect nullified in 1884 when women secured the right to sue for divorce on the same grounds available to their husbands, including adultery, cruelty, personal violence, conviction of crime involving imprisonment, three years' judicial separation, and grave indignities. This last item may be made to include desertion, mental cruelty, or almost any distressing action.

Like other West-European countries, France had a marked increase in divorce just following the war, the number exceeding 30,000 in 1921; from that year, however, the trend has been generally downward, there being fewer than 19,000 divorces in 1927. There are several good reasons why France, with its world-wide reputation for easy sex morals, has a lower divorce rate than the United States, but there is not space here to discuss them. Suffice it to say that the traditional attitude of the French toward marriage and family obligations paradoxically remains one of great respect, in spite of the tolerance manifested toward liaisons.

In Germany the divorce rate is more than twice as high as it was before the war, but even so in 1931 it was not more than one-third of the rate in the United States. The Nazis have been frowning ominously on divorce, for in addition to its universally recognized ill effects it helps frustrate the German plan for a high birth rate. Whether from repressive measures or other causes, the divorce rate, which had been rising up to 1934, dropped off sharply in 1935. Recent reports indicate that the Nazis may forbid divorce to any couple who have children, a law which if enacted may prove to be a boomerang.

In Russia before the revolution, marriage and divorce were under religious control; but when the revolution came in 1917 a simple court procedure for divorce was inaugurated. This was abolished in 1927 by the Family Code of Soviet Russia, which substituted for it divorce by mutual consent. This new divorce law reduced to an absolute minimum

the trouble involved in getting a divorce. Both parties could ask for the divorce, or either one separately without the consent or even the knowledge of the other, the divorce being granted in either case. The fee was trifling, the procedure lasted only a few minutes, and the questions did not relate to causes, but merely such facts as names, addresses, and occupations. If a woman whose husband happened to be temporarily away from home came to the registrar asking for a divorce it was granted at once, the husband being notified by mail that he was no longer married. Such procedure was sometimes disconcerting, to say the least.

Soviet divorce requires no trial, and no legal representative is necessary for either party as long as there are no children, and both husband and wife are able, healthy workers, for sex equality repudiates the idea of "nonsupport." If the wife is unable to work, however, the husband must pay her alimony amounting to one-third of his wages, but in no case for more than one year. Likewise, if the husband is incapacitated, the wife must pay him alimony on exactly the same basis. If there are children, the law steps in and gives them full protection. The child is usually given into the mother's custody, the father paying her one-third of his income for its support until it is eighteen years old. No matter how many children there are, the father need not pay more than one-half of his income for their support. Sometimes the process is reversed. Hindus¹ tells of a case in Moscow in which the mother was a physician and the father an engineer. Both sued for the custody of their nine-year-old boy; however, the father being a Communist the court considered him more competent than the mother to bring up the child, but since the mother was earning more than the father she was made to pay him one-third of her income until the child should reach his eighteenth birthday.

It was inevitable that such a sudden and wholesale loosening of lifelong responsibilities should result in excesses. Many took advantage of the new freedom, and in Moscow the number of divorces more than quadrupled in one year, leaping from 2.12 per 1,000 population in 1926 to 9.59 in 1927, though outside the cities the increase was smaller.² Many old wives were cast aside for younger, more comely ones. New records were established in "marriage turnover," and there were waiting lines in front of the divorce bureaus similar to those at the food depots. The peak was reached in May, 1935, when in Moscow there were 44 divorces for every 100 marriages during the month.³ For a time, there was such domestic chaos that protests began to pour in. Women demanded

¹ MAURICE HINDUS, "Humanity Uprooted," New York, Cape and Smith, 1929, pp. 116-117.

² FRANK H. HANKINS, Divorce, in *Enc. Soc. Sciences*, 5: 180.

³ *New York Times*, Sept. 29, 1935.

greater security in the home, and such pressure was brought to bear that in 1936 the divorce law was amended so as to remedy some of its most flagrant abuses. Divorce remains an easy, simple matter, but no longer can one spouse divorce the other without even notifying him or her. Also, the fee for divorce has been increased considerably and rises progressively with each divorce granted to the same applicant.¹ Divorce is still further discouraged by making it a hindrance to political preferment. Those who have had more than one divorce are less eligible for advancement and become less so with each successive divorce. These restrictive measures resulted at once in a remarkable drop in divorces. The law became effective late in June, 1936, and in the first 20 days of July there were only 215 divorces granted in Moscow, compared with 2,214 for the same period in June, a drop of 90 per cent. The lower rate prevailed through 1937, also.²

The Scandinavian countries have pioneered in the field of divorce, but without the recklessness just described. In 1910, a joint Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish commission was appointed to make an extensive study of divorce. The first result was Sweden's new divorce law in 1915, which, in addition to a liberal list of grounds on which one party could sue the other for divorce, provided for divorce by mutual consent. Such divorce, however (except when certain serious offenses are present), is not granted at once. The couple must separate for a year during which time the court is supposed to study the case and seek reconciliation. Which spouse remains in the home during this period is determined by the degree of culpability of each and by the best interests of the children. At the end of the year, if husband and wife still want the divorce it is granted without further question. The alimony problem, as we know it in America, does not exist, for husband and wife have equal rights in money, property, and children. If the parents make mutually satisfactory arrangements about the children out of court, there is no judicial interference.³

Norway passed a similar, though not identical, law in 1918 and Denmark in 1920. The divorce rate rose in each case. In Sweden, it increased 55 per cent in the five years from 1915 to 1920. Before the new law was passed, desertion was the most common plea, but since 1915 about three-fourths of the divorces are asked frankly for incompatibility, usually both husband and wife making the request. In this country, that would be collusion and would make the granting of the

¹ MILDRED FAIRCHILD, *The Status of the Family in the Soviet Union Today*, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 2: 619-629, October, 1937.

² *New York Times*, July 27, 1936, and Jan. 9, 1938.

³ H. S. TILLOTSON, *Scandinavia's Solution of the Divorce Problem*, *Current History*, 34: 551-554, July, 1931.

divorce impossible. The divorce rate is higher in Denmark than in either of the other two countries, perhaps owing partly to a larger percentage of the population being urban. Naturally, there has been some abuse of the law on the part of the more fickle, but on the whole the three countries seem to find the new laws more satisfactory than the old.

Japan only a few years ago outstripped the United States in divorce but is now far behind. This has been due both to the speeding up of our rate and to the slowing down of Japan's. Before 1898, when a new code was placed in force, divorce was frequent. But it began to decline thereafter until in 1926 it was only one-third as high as in 1897; this was in spite of the fact that in 1914 "mutual consent" was added to the usual grounds for divorce. It is difficult to understand fully this decline, for it took place under circumstances very similar to those accompanying a rising divorce rate in the United States—urbanization, industrialization, emancipation of women (including education, occupation, and greater economic independence), and an avalanche of periodicals and commercialized amusements. On the other hand, the decline of the custom of the husband bringing his wife to his parents' abode may have reduced friction between daughter and mother-in-law, and the advancing age at marriage may have worked for more mature selection and greater emotional stability; but such explanations must remain mere supposition until proved.

There have been drastic changes in divorce laws in other countries as well, usually constituting only one phase of a general social upheaval. Following the Mexican revolution of 1917, several states passed extremely liberal divorce laws, partly as a bid for American business. The recent Spanish revolution also resulted in a radical change in divorce law. Before the upheaval, divorce was not recognized on any grounds, but the new Spanish Constitution provides for divorce by mutual consent. What the policy will be following the civil war remains to be seen. Under the Young Turks movement and the liberal new regime, Turkish women have been given divorce rights comparable with those of men. Even India has joined the procession. In 1931, a new law gave Hindu women the right to divorce their husbands for infidelity, nonsupport, bad temper, and even laziness. This is indeed a far cry from the "Mahabharata" and the "Ramayana."

THE TREND OF DIVORCE LAW IN THE UNITED STATES

Many people think that the chief reason for the great increase in divorce in this country during the last 50 years has been a growing laxity or leniency in our divorce laws, but such is not the case. Actually, during that period certain phases of the divorce laws were being made more stringent in several respects, and not until the last decade has there

been much easing of the other phases, except in one or two states. The very recent trend, however, is definitely toward easier divorce.

J. P. Lichtenberger,¹ in his excellent study of divorce legislation, names four types of changes in the divorce laws since 1886 that might be expected to have an effect upon the divorce rate: "those which deal with notice to the defendant, provisions for defending the suit, regulations regarding previous residence, and statutory grounds." The first of these is aimed at hasty and irregular divorce, by requiring more care in properly notifying the defendant when a nonresident of the state. A number of states have stiffened this requirement. The second deals with cases in which the defendant, even though notified, does not appear, in which case the court provides counsel to represent the state and ensure a fair trial. But these two laws are concerned with procedure only, and Lichtenberger finds they have little effect on the amount of divorce. Third, a number of states have changed their requirements on the period of residence necessary before divorce proceedings can begin, the chief purpose being to discourage migratory divorce. Between 1886 and 1926, there were 21 states that enacted or revised their residence laws, most of them in the direction of greater strictness. But beginning with Nevada in 1927, there has been a scramble for the divorce business by shortening the residence requirement.

The fourth main change, that of statutory grounds, has been mostly toward leniency. Some states have decreased the number of grounds for divorce, others have dropped some previous grounds and added new ones, but in slightly more cases the number of grounds has been increased, though on the whole the trend has not been so pronounced as is generally supposed. Very recently, however, two new grounds for divorce have appeared which may mark a new trend that will eventually bring theory and fact more closely together. In New Mexico (1933) and Alaska (1935), divorce can now be granted for incompatibility. For some years, incompatibility has been the real cause of a large proportion of all divorces granted, yet until 1933 it could not be openly admitted in any state in the union, for one party to the marriage had to charge the other with some serious offense before the court could legally listen. But still more significant is the unheralded, almost unnoticed advance of another ground for divorce—voluntary separation for a period of years. By 1937, 12 states had provisions permitting divorce to persons who have simply lived apart for a certain period, usually three to five years. There need be no charge of desertion—in fact, there need be no assumption of "guilt" or "blame" if the living apart is voluntary on the part of both husband and wife. This would appear to nullify in some cases the antiquated "adversary procedure" that has dominated divorce law in the

¹ J. P. LICHTENBERGER, "Divorce," New York, McGraw-Hill, 1931, p. 163.

United States thus far. It may prove to be the back door by which divorce by mutual consent may slip inside, although it would have the front door slammed in its face in any state in the union. If the required period of living apart is reduced from three years to one year, then to six months, then still further, we shall have divorce by mutual consent in fact if not in legal phraseology. In 1933, North Carolina reduced the period from five years to two, which may be the first move in a trend that may conceivably reduce all other grounds for divorce to the rank of relics.

To these changes in divorce law, we might add two others: an increase in the number of states granting the interlocutory decree (*decree nisi*), and an increase in those lengthening the period between divorce and remarriage. Both measures seek to deter hasty divorce, particularly when it is for the purpose of remarriage, the latter one undoubtedly retaining much of the "punishment" idea. About one-third of the states have the interlocutory system; that is, they grant a preliminary and a final decree with a waiting period between, ranging from one month to one year. Theoretically, at least, there are several advantages to such a procedure. Says Vernier:¹

It is rather surprising that only 16 jurisdictions have adopted the system of preliminary and final decree. It would seem to have a number of advantages: (1) to discourage hasty divorce; (2) to promote reconciliation; (3) to afford opportunity for the discovery of fraud or collusion; (4) to prevent hasty remarriage. . . . If conscientiously administered, such a system should at least have the effect of discouraging some divorces where abuses are greatest and of saving some marriages worthy of further trial.

The catch is in the words "if conscientiously administered." It is reasonable to expect that if the divorce courts were provided with staffs of competent investigators and counselors who could follow up each case individually some reconciliations could be made. But the courts are not so equipped, and some of them seem content to consider the evidence submitted to them without looking for further trouble. A Middletown judge, of 18 years' experience, was amazingly frank on this point. Said he, "A judge never knows the inside reasons in divorce cases. . . . I never look over the records. The lawyers get all those details. You see, if the judge knew these details, he might not grant the divorce."² But even though there is no assurance that the interval between the preliminary and the final decree would be used in searching for fraud or collusion, the interlocutory-decree system may prove of genuine value if properly integrated with other regulatory measures.

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 152.

² ROBERT S. LYND and HELEN M. LYND, "Middletown in Transition," New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1937, p. 161.

THE TREND IN ECCLESIASTICAL ATTITUDE

The regulations imposed by different religious faiths upon marriage and divorce have had a number of changes in the last decade or two. The Roman Catholic church still permits separation, but remains firm in its refusal to allow divorce. It does, however, grant annulment for certain causes.

The Protestant Episcopal church went through a stormy season in 1931, when its Commission on Marriage and Divorce, after six years of study, submitted a report calling for a new canon of divorce. In one or two respects the proposed canon was stricter than the 123-year-old one it replaced, but it was more liberal on the matter of remarriage and hence drew a great deal of fire. After heated debate in the General Assembly at the Denver Convention, a compromise measure was adopted, nominally preserving the historic stand of the Episcopal church against divorce, but actually slightly more liberal on the whole than the old canon. The only ground for divorce previously recognized—adultery—was removed as a cause, thus bringing the Episcopal church to the Roman Catholic standard on the "no-divorce" issue. Likewise, the Catholic pattern was followed in listing a number of grounds for annulment, each case to be decided on its merits in the church courts set up by the act. This permits a person wishing to be divorced but to remain in good standing in the Episcopal church to secure his civil divorce in the usual manner, then petition the bishop for annulment. If his petition is granted, he may be remarried by an Episcopal clergyman with the blessings of the church. Also, persons who have been married in contravention of the Episcopal laws may be admitted to the sacraments if the bishop of the diocese to whom appeal is made is convinced that such persons are worthy. This juggling of terms is typical of the last stand of many culture patterns. Folsom¹ makes the following searching comment on the new Episcopal divorce canon: "It stands, like a lone turret amid the ruins of a demolished city wall, hindering few from actually passing, yet proclaiming through its sturdy tenacity that the wall is not yet gone."

The United Lutherans, in 1930, made their divorce law more stringent by dropping cruelty as just cause, retaining only adultery and malicious desertion. The following year the Presbyterians tightened their law by abolishing desertion as a rightful ground. The Methodist Episcopal church, however, liberalized its code in 1928 by permitting its ministers to remarry persons divorced for desertion.

WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF DIVORCE LAW?

Two-hundred thousand divorces a year are enough to cause social concern, even though the mere number of divorces in a country tells

¹ J. K. FOLSOM, "The Family," New York, Wiley, 1934, p. 370.

little of the story. Sooner or later in any thoughtful discussion of divorce we must face the question of just how effective divorce laws can be in handling the problem of marital breakup. We have already seen that a mere "tightening up" does not necessarily cut down the divorce rate; in fact, for a number of years its rapid rise was concurrent with a limited increase in strictness of law. Lichtenberger¹ studied divorce behavior in 12 states for a period of five years following significant changes in their divorce laws, but he reports that "in not a single instance is there the slightest suggestion that the divorce rate in any state has been influenced materially by the introduction of new causes." However, it is easy to conceive of cases in which increasing the number of grounds would materially increase the divorce rate. In New York, for example, where the sole ground of absolute divorce is adultery, there is little doubt that divorce would increase if desertion and cruelty were added; but in a state already having these three most common grounds, the addition of several more would have little if any effect. On the whole, therefore, we cannot expect law to determine the *amount* of divorce unless it is made so restrictive as to defeat its own end. But it has two values that are real: First, discussion of proposed and enacted laws helps to educate the public. Second, we must still depend upon law to safeguard as fully as possible the rights of all parties concerned in divorce by compelling proper procedure.

From time to time, there has been much agitation for a uniform divorce law, its sponsors claiming that it would iron out most of the difficulties. The movement for such uniformity originally grew out of the erroneous assumption that the bulk of divorces were migratory, a condition that a uniform law was supposed to cure promptly. The interest of the American Bar Association as far back as 1889, aided by the efforts of President Roosevelt in 1905, resulted in a conference in 1906 in which 42 states and territories were represented. After much work a proposed divorce law was prepared, based upon enactments already existing in the various states. It was not considered the ideal law, to be accepted or rejected *in toto* by the sovereign states, but as a body of provisions, any one or all of which could be adopted. Only three states² adopted the law with slight revision, and little interest has been shown since. However, in 1911 and 1912, the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws proposed a marriage license act and a marriage evasion act which have been accepted either wholly or in part by several states.

The next move for uniformity was the proposal of a federal amendment to the Constitution, although interest in such a move had started as early as 1884. In 1917, a resolution giving Congress the power to

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

² Delaware, New Jersey, and Wisconsin.

regulate marriage and divorce was introduced, but it was never reported out of committee. In 1923, Senator Capper introduced a similar bill, and a public hearing was given. A number of influential national organizations supported it, but without success. Since then the Capper bill, with slight revisions, has been reintroduced a number of times, the last being in 1937. In 1938, the National League of Women Voters gave its support to a uniform marriage and divorce law.

Many of the same arguments offered for and against a uniform marriage law, discussed in Chap. V, apply here, also. Relief from the baffling confusion of our present tangled assortment of divorce practices would be an ineffable boon—if it were possible. But the old difficulty of creating uniform culture by fiat will not down. The move toward uniformity, in so far as it grows out of education and the spread of like attitudes, is commendable, for it would save endless litigation over property rights, marital status in migratory cases, and a host of other entanglements. But any attempt at coercion is bound to fail. A federal divorce law would in all probability recognize at least three grounds for divorce. This would mean that South Carolina would be forced to grant divorces, and it does not wish to do so. New York, where several attempts to add to the one ground now recognized have failed, would have to increase its grounds, regardless of its wishes. Some of the states that have 10 grounds would have to give up two-thirds of them, even though public opinion in those states supports the larger number. States as far apart in divorce ideology as South Carolina and Nevada would be forced into line side by side. The American Institute of Public Opinion found that in nearly every state the people said the divorce laws were liberal enough. The country over, the vote was 3 to 1 against liberalizing them further.¹

The whole question comes back to our conception of divorce. What is its nature? What function is it supposed to perform? And these questions force us back one more step, to our basic conception of marriage. We cannot decide what attitude to take toward divorce until we have decided upon the essential nature of marriage.

The first question must be: Is marriage a sacrament or a civil contract? If the former, we may be content to rest upon the theory of its indissolubility; but if the latter, we cannot escape the logic that like all other contracts it is subject to cancellation under certain conditions. The historical trend, from both legal and ethical standpoints, is overwhelmingly toward interpreting marriage as a civil contract. A second question is: What is the essence of marriage? Is it chiefly a legal relationship or an inner union? If two persons are in such spiritual harmony that they

¹ *Reader's Digest*, 34: 91-96, January, 1939.

seem indispensable to each other, does the five minutes' ceremony actually unite them, or does it merely publicly record, for purposes of protecting all parties concerned, a union already existing? Conversely, if for some reason the inner accord fails and the mutual love turns to hate, is there any statute powerful enough to restore the unity that no longer exists? In such a case, does divorce occur when the judge says, "Decree granted," or is he merely once more publicly recording (and again for the protection of all) a divorce that already existed before it was brought to court? Finally comes the question: What is the function of divorce? This must be answered in the light of the two previous questions. If marriage is in reality "a psychophysical relationship of such intimacy that law can only register its beginning and its end, and is powerless to effect its satisfactory continuance,"¹ we cannot expect divorce to do much more than perform appropriate ceremonies over a marriage already defunct. This conception of divorce law has been admirably stated as follows:² "A major function of law, then, is not to prevent divorces or to render them less frequent, but to regularize procedure through which they are obtained, by the codification of approved practices, in the interest of . . . social solidarity. Group safety is threatened when the individual exercises unrestrained liberty; he must obey the 'rules of the game.'"

When divorce law is too strict, it inevitably produces certain anti-social results. One is the resort to the subterfuge of nullification, an evasion that certainly does not strengthen a people's moral character. Another is the encouragement lent to clandestine and illicit unions. One of the worst is the invitation to collusion and the appearance of a new class of professional co-respondents whose names need not even be known in court and who for a price agreed upon will stage a bedroom scene with witnesses conveniently posted to furnish "evidence" for the trial. And finally, and perhaps most important of all, is the cynical attitude engendered toward law in general, a profound disrespect for the legal hypocrisy that condemns two people to lifelong misery, perhaps for no other cause than that they were human and made a mistake in selecting each other, though at the time they sincerely believed they were right. Many condemn the inconsistency and injustice of the law that permits its duly appointed representatives to unite in marriage, almost without question, persons so patently mismated that failure is almost assured, yet holds up its hands in righteous indignation when the error becomes intolerable to the two parties most interested. The test of sincerity would seem to

¹ FRANK H. HANKINS, *op. cit.*

² J. P. LICHTENBERGER, Divorce Legislation, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science*, 160: 116-123, March, 1932.

be to what extent society guards the *entrance* to marriage rather than the *exit* from it, not so much through law as through education and guidance both before and after marriage.

Some religionists, when other arguments fail, fall back upon the statement of Christ, "What therefore God hath joined together let not man put asunder," which is interpreted as a blanket indictment against all divorce, even though Jesus did justify divorce on the ground of adultery. But others equally sincere and devout question whether "God hath jointed together" all who marry. They cannot conceive of divine approval being granted indiscriminately to all marriages, whether for lust, greed, selfish advancement, or love of the highest type. Nor can they believe that the continuance of an error should have divine approval. Nor does the denial of divorce to "preserve the sanctity of the home" impress them; for they point out that, when hate and abuse come in, the sanctity of the home no longer exists. Divorce does not make broken homes—they are broken before they ever reach court.

In conclusion, it would seem almost inevitable that a more realistic attitude toward divorce will in time be adopted in the United States. This does not mean that respect for marriage and family life need decline; indeed, it may be that such respect will be heightened and the traditions of family loyalty and devotion better maintained if those unions which fail miserably to come up to an acceptable standard are dissolved as expeditiously as possible. Marital happiness and family stability are highly important; yet nothing is gained by making unbreakable the lock in "wedlock." The values of marriage and family life that society is so insistent on conserving are voluntary fruits and do not respond to command. Certainly, the answer does not lie in either "harder" or "easier" divorce. As has been repeatedly pointed out, the emphasis must be shifted toward marriage and away from divorce. Sooner or later, we may get cause and effect untangled. *The big problem is not to keep people who want divorce from getting it, but to keep more people from wanting divorce.*

Nevertheless, there will be some marriage failures, no matter how good the educational program may be. It is probable that society will come to treat these failures more honestly, distinguishing between those who have committed grievous offenses against their spouses and those who fail from causes beyond their control. The interlocutory decree, with a reasonable delay acting as a safeguard against hasty action, may become the general rule, with exceptions for imperative cases. More thorough investigation and juster settlement of economic claims are already on the way. The interests of children will be given more consideration than ever before. And though we are naturally jealous of the freedom

of our press, in the interests of public welfare we may find a way, as has England, to avoid newspaper exploitation of the unsavory details of the more scandalous divorces.

Selected Readings

- ANONYMOUS: Can Divorce Be Successful? *Harper's*, 176: 255-262, February, 1938.
(A mother of three children discusses the advantages and disadvantages of her divorce.)
- ANONYMOUS: And So My Wife Divorced Me, *Harper's*, 162: 460-471, March, 1931.
(A self-defense plea that reveals not only the wife's shortcomings but more of the husband's than he seems to realize.)
- GRETCHEN: I'll Take My Parents Separately, *Harper's*, 176: 441-444, March, 1938.
(A girl rationalizes on her broken home.)
- MOWER, E. R.: Divorce and Readjustment, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science*, 160: 191-196, March, 1932.
- POPE, PAUL: Remarriage of Divorcees to Each Other, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 3: 695-699, October, 1938.
- : The Fertility of Divorcees, *Jour. Heredity*, 27: 166-168, April, 1936.
- UNSIGNED NOTE: Divorce and After; the Insecurity of the Child, *Nation*, 130: 323-325, March 19, 1930. (Four brief case histories of the effects of divorce upon children.)
- WALLER, WILLARD: "The Old Love and the New," New York, Liveright, 1930. (On the problems of readjustment after divorce.)

Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. Write a case history of a divorced couple whom you know, using fictitious names and location. Follow outline given by instructor, including full personal data on each partner, the chief *real* causes of divorce, the legal cause used in court, the effects of the divorce on both parties, etc.
2. Tell the story of Leopold Atlas' play, "Wednesday's Child," tracing the emotional bewilderment and conflict of the child through the various situations presented. What lasting effects upon his personality would you expect his experience to have? Would it be likely to make him a better or a poorer-than-average marriage risk? Give reasons for your answer.
3. Give arguments for and against allowing divorce by mutual consent in this country.
4. Review Edith Wharton's novel "The Children," and analyze the frustrations and uneven development of the juvenile principals in the story.
5. Set forth the main features of what you believe would constitute a model divorce law. Show at what points it would differ sharply from the present divorce law of your state. What features of your model law would probably meet with the strongest opposition? From what classes or elements of the population would this opposition be most likely to come?
6. A woman divorced her husband when their little boy was eight years old, because the husband was an alcoholic. Now, after 10 years, she feels that the divorce was a mistake even though the husband has not reformed, for she believes almost any kind of father is better for a boy than no father at all. Read her story, and give reasons why you do or do not agree with her conclusion. (Anonymous, Ten Years after the Divorce, *Harper's*, 165: 313-321, August, 1932.)

CHAPTER XVI

DETERMINANTS OF FAMILY SIZE

Among primitives, it is taken for granted that marriage will result in children. In fact a sterile union is so abhorred that among some tribes girls who have proved their fruitfulness by pregnancy or childbirth are more sought after in marriage than are their unproved sisters. In ancient civilizations, numerous progeny were considered a blessing, both to their parents and to society. They were the richest gift of heaven. Said the Hebrew Psalmist:¹

Lo, children are a heritage of Jehovah. . . .
As arrows in the hand of a mighty man,
So are the children of youth.
Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them.

No worse disaster could befall a man than that "his name die out of Israel." Among the Chinese, and many others, ancestor worship favored large families, for many sons ensured that the ancestral temple and votive tablets would be cared for, and the parents of many sons were worthy to join their ancestors and receive with them the veneration of those who were left to worship them. In Rome the celebrated matron Cornelia, daughter of Scipio Africanus the Elder, when asked why she wore no jewels, said of her twelve children, "These are my jewels." And so they were, for among them were the great tribunes Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, whose fame brought Cornelia the title "mother of the Gracchi."

In American colonial days the average family had eight children; childless couples were almost an oddity. But since the seventeenth century the percentage of childless couples has increased sevenfold. The trend is the same in many other Western countries,¹ in spite of the advance in medicine, which makes childbearing much less dangerous and painful than formerly and ensures a much higher infant survival rate, and in spite of the steady rise in the standard of living in the past century. This inevitably raises the question: What determines the size of families? The answer is of course legion and depends upon time and place, mores and institutions, personal and impersonal factors in such a hopeless jumble of motives that the best we can hope to do is to point out certain

¹ Ps. 127: 3-5.

of the component elements and show under what circumstances their role is magnified or minimized. There are those who do not have children because they do not want them. There are others who want children but *want something else more*. The end result is the same. In this matter, as in others, wants are relative. Few if any are able to satisfy all their wants, and this entails a constant selection. One must weigh values and turn one's attention, time, and money to those issues which seem to promise the greatest yield in value. The process of weighing will be different for different people, for their scales are different. They do not use the same set of weights and, hence, will not get the same results.

Sterility.—How much actual sterility there is in our population is not known, but there is reason to believe that it has been overestimated. Herbert Spencer's theory that man's fecundity decreases as his life becomes more complex no longer receives much credence. He thought that as the complexity of life increased man had to use more and more energy to adjust himself to the new existence and therefore had less energy left for reproduction. Sadler's theory that the fecundity of human beings varies inversely with their density or crowding and Doubleday's theory that man's fecundity varies inversely with the food supply are also relics of an almost extinct school of thought.

Various writers have sought to estimate the number of infecund (sterile) marriages from the number of infertile (childless) marriages, but this is a dangerous procedure. Reynolds and Macomber,¹ two leading gynecologists of Boston, maintain that 10 to 13 per cent of Massachusetts couples are infertile, most of which are also infecund. However, they do not substantiate their assumption regarding infecundity but base their opinion on the relatively few married men and women *they know* who do not want at least one child. Whelpton² thinks their estimate of sterile unions is too high and points out that having built up a reputation for curing sterility they would naturally attract childless couples who *wanted* children and that childless couples who wanted to avoid having children would have no reason to consult them. Thus their patients did not constitute a typical cross section of the Massachusetts population.

If there has been any increase in actual sterility, we do not know how much it is. Surely it is not safe to assume that sterility has increased 700 per cent since colonial days merely because childless couples have increased by that amount. There is no evidence that modern life is having such a profound effect as that upon our biological structure and function.

¹ EDWARD REYNOLDS and D. MACOMBER, "Fertility and Sterility in Human Marriages," Philadelphia, Saunders, 1924.

² P. K. WHELPTON, *Causes of the Decline in Birth Rates, Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 13: 237-251, July, 1935.

It is probably true that most wives want at least one child on which to lavish their affection. To be able to produce a small replica of oneself is highly pleasing to one's vanity—which is one of nature's ways of ensuring man's survival. Nearly every husband wants at least one son "that his name die not out of Israel," or Ohio, as the case may be. Sterile Chinese mothers pray to Kwan Yin, and a few childless American mothers pick up good-luck stones from the Dionne yard in Ontario.

Artificial Insemination.—Various practices have arisen to provide for children when one party to the union is sterile. In ancient China a man would promptly take a concubine if his wife were sterile, for sons he must have. Among the early Hebrews the sterile wife might give her maid servant to her husband, thus obtaining children vicariously. "Now Sarai, Abram's wife, bare him no children: . . . and Sarai said unto Abram, Behold now, the Lord hath restrained me from bearing: I pray thee go in unto my maid; it may be that I may obtain children by her. . . . And he went in unto Hagar, and she conceived."¹

But what if it were the husband who was sterile? Adoption was the only solution. In China and India a man could usually adopt a son from some relative who was amply supplied. But today another way is possible. With the consent of both husband and wife and the cooperation of a third person—a man perhaps entirely unknown to either husband or wife—the wife may be artificially impregnated and give birth to a child that is hers both legally and biologically, but her husband's only legally. Artificial insemination has been used by stockbreeders for some time, but recently the principle has been applied to human beings so successfully that a good deal of interest has been aroused. Male semen can be kept in an ordinary refrigerator for several days without losing its potency. Popular articles on "test-tube babies" have done their share in focusing public attention on this simple technique which sounds so fantastic to the average layman.

The medical aspects of artificial impregnation are much simpler than the legal aspects, which is the reason for the elaborate precautions taken in every case. Seymour and Koerner² explain the legal difficulties they have encountered and how they have sought to protect all persons concerned—husband, wife, sperm donor, child, and doctor.

1. There is the question of the legitimacy of a child born to a married woman by artificial insemination of a man other than her husband. Such a case has not yet been brought to trial, and so it is impossible to know what the court decision would be. The safest way for the father to be sure that the child is his legal heir would be to go through legal-adoption

¹ Gen. 16: 1-2, 4.

² FRANCIS I. SEYMOUR and ALFRED KOERNER, *Medico-legal Aspects of Artificial Insemination*, *Jour. Amer. Med. Association*, 107: 1531-1534, Nov. 7, 1936.

procedure. But this would have the disadvantage of publicizing the very thing he wants to conceal—that the child is not biologically his own.

2. Next comes the question of whether the mother is guilty of adultery if she bears a child by a man other than her husband. In New York state, this does not constitute a problem, for adultery is defined as “the physical relationship between a woman or man with a partner other than the legal mate.” Since the prospective mother does not know or even see the man who donates the semen, she can hardly be charged with having a “physical relationship” with him.

3. Both husband and wife must sign a document (and affix their fingerprints) stating that the husband is sterile, that they both want the wife to be inseminated, and that the doctor is authorized to select the donor. This is signed before a notary. Elaborate care is exercised that husband and wife do not know who the donor is and that the donor is equally ignorant of the identity of the recipient of his spermatozoa. They are usually hospitalized briefly at separate hospitals, or else they appear at separate addresses for their share in the procedure. This reduces to a minimum the possibility of blackmail in either direction. The doctor who performs the artificial insemination does not act as the obstetrician when the child is delivered. The obstetrician who does act does not know that there is anything unusual in the case and hence has absolutely no reason for making out the birth certificate in any but the normal way. This subterfuge is considered necessary, for it establishes the legal parentage of the child.

4. To protect the mother and child, if the husband should some years later seek a divorce (charging her with adultery and offering proof of his sterility at the time that the child was conceived), the agreement signed by husband and wife is kept by the doctor, in a vault to which a younger assistant, who is likely to outlive both husband and wife, also has access. Thus the document could be presented in court if necessary.

The health factor is also safeguarded rigorously. Both prospective mother and male donor are subjected to thorough physical and medical examination, and the family history scanned. The donor must be a man of excellent health and good education and successful in his business or profession. He must not be a relative of the sterile husband, even though such a request is often made. He receives no pay for his services, being interested only in helping a childless couple, anxious for children, to have them. The selection is made on the basis of the best eugenic choice.

Artificial insemination is not yet common; whether it will become so is hardly predictable. Muller¹ thinks that it will, and he paints a startling picture for the future. He is sure that a process of preserving human

¹ H. J. MULLER, “Out of the Night,” New York, Vanguard, 1935.

semen for a generation will be perfected, thus making it possible, after time has proven the greatness of a leader, to impregnate artificially thousands of women with his genius-giving spermatozoa, thus making possible a race of supermen! Such a vision, however, leaves most people cold, and they are unconvinced that the millenium, like prosperity, is just around the corner.

The Price of Babies.—The young father who beamingly announced to his wife that he had just paid the last installments to doctor and hospital and *now the baby was all theirs* typifies a growing problem connected with childbirth. The "first cost" of a baby used to be relatively small, the parents being concerned chiefly with the "upkeep," but today the first cost is often a blow from which it takes the young parents long to recover. Our mothers and grandmothers bore their babies at home, but today among urban dwellers it is considered somewhat less than respectable to be born in any place but a hospital. In place of the \$10 fee of the doctor (\$25 for people well able to pay), the hospital and specialist present bills that to a young couple just getting started on a small income look formidable indeed and sometimes almost take the joy out of the new possession.

As a matter of fact, most babies today could be born at home quite as well as in hospitals, although with less convenience to both doctor and patient. The exceptions would be cases that, during prenatal care, showed promise of complications. Occasionally, a seemingly normal case develops into an emergency, but the vast majority of births could occur at home with safety. Recently a committee of the New York Academy of Medicine found that over a three-year period the death rate for babies born at home was less than one-half the death rate for hospital-born babies. Even making allowance for the fact that more of the complicated cases—in which the death rate is likely to be higher—go to hospitals, the doctors were evidently surprised at the findings. They declared that the present attitude toward home confinement should be reexamined and that "the relative safety of delivery at home should be emphasized."¹ However, if hospital and medical costs were brought within reach of all, the hospital would be the logical place for deliveries, both from the standpoint of convenience of all concerned and the added margin of safety. But, as it is now, the husband who is devoted to his wife loyally shuts his eyes to the expense in order to reduce her risk to the absolute minimum and seeks out a high-priced specialist who recommends an expensive hospital. And the wife, knowing how much the outcome means to both, agrees to the arrangement in spite of her misgivings at the cost involved.

¹ *New York Times*, Nov. 20, 1933.

Various studies have been made on maternity costs in different cities, and the findings look forbidding to many young married couples. In Columbus, Ohio, the cost ranged from an average of \$27 for dependents up to an average of \$270 for those with an income of \$3,000 or more—nearly one-tenth of their annual income. Individual cases ran up to \$700. In Berkeley, Calif., the cost of obstetrical service alone averaged \$214, with exceptional cases running to \$1,000 or even \$1,800. In a number of large cities across the country, the average maternity costs for families with incomes under \$1,200 was \$150 (home deliveries cost only one-third this sum), and for those with incomes over \$5,000, the average was \$550. Thus, for both high- and low-income groups, the cost was slightly over 10 per cent of the total annual income.

The "Cost of Upkeep."—It has been recognized for some time that in this country, with its rapid trend toward urbanization, children are becoming an economic liability instead of the asset they used to be. Child labor laws which deprive the parents of their children's earnings, urban dwelling which provides few useful tasks that children can perform and therefore makes them wholly consumers, and the lengthening period of education—all tend to increase the financial burden of rearing children. A high-school education is almost taken for granted by young folk today, and college attendance is fast becoming common.

In addition to school costs, the expense of rearing children in the city is formidable from other angles. Doctors' bills, dental care, and higher rent for every additional room in the apartment—all swell the total cost. Also, the bombardment of the child with sales appeals, particularly in the field of commercialized amusement, brings pressure upon parents for freer spending. It has been estimated by a noted statistician that it costs an American family with a \$2,500 income approximately \$7,000 in money, to say nothing of the value of the personal service devoted to it, to bring up a child to the age of eighteen.¹

But though most couples are willing to sacrifice to any extent necessary to have at least one or two children, there are some who frankly admit that, although they could pay the price as others are doing, they are unwilling to do so. Says one young wife, who complains that children are expensive to begin with and progressively so for at least twenty years, and then leave home without repaying any of the money invested in them:

Suppose we had a child. We now live comfortably in a so-called three-room apartment in New York. It is 10 minutes from my husband's office and 12 minutes from mine. It costs \$70 a month, and we cannot afford to pay any more. If we had a baby, we could not afford to pay that much, for I should have to give

¹ LOUIS I. DUBLIN, in *Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Statistical Bulletin*, 5: 5.

up my job and our income would be cut about one-third; and anyway our present apartment would not do; we should have to get a larger one. That would mean moving farther out of town . . . to the Bronx or Astoria, which are an hour away from my husband's office but may be reached by subway for a nickel. . . . We might have a cleaning woman once a week, but that is all the help we could have. I should see a lot of baby. We could never go to the theater, now one of our chief delights. We couldn't join our guests in a good Martini before dinner and a highball of decent Scotch afterward, as we like to do; we should never be able to drink each other's health for special celebrations. Concerts and the buying of books would become impossible luxuries; doubtless we should find ourselves compelled to give up other amenities one by one.¹

Obviously, this couple should not have children; just as obviously, their income is wholly adequate if they *wanted* children. But when they balance children against highballs and frequent theater parties, with the scales tipping in favor of the Scotch and soda, it is evident that the very first requisites of parental qualities are lacking. The philosophy of individualism reaches such an extreme in some persons that self-regard excludes all activities that do not contribute to it. In such cases, if children are desired it is because they fit into the egocentric picture, to which they must rigidly conform.

Maternal Mortality.—The United States has one of the highest maternal mortality rates in the civilized world. In Europe, only two countries—Lithuania and Scotland—are more prodigal in their waste of mothers than we are, and Italy has less than half our rate.² Even when we make allowances for possible differences in reporting, it has long been admitted in medical circles that our loss of mothers in childbirth is unjustifiably high. *Approximately every 30 minutes in the United States a mother dies in childbirth*, as is shown by an arresting chart prominently displayed in the Children's Bureau in Washington. Another way of showing the enormous waste is to compare the loss of life in war and childbirth. Miss Hazel Corbin, Director of the Maternity Center Association, states that in the last 25 years more than 375,000 mothers have died from causes associated with childbirth.³ The report did not say how many of these died *in* pregnancy and childbirth and how many later from the results of pregnancy and childbirth, but comparison with soldiers killed in battle and those who died of wounds would be legitimate. On this basis, we can say that within the last 25 years the number of mothers

¹ ANONYMOUS, *Must I Have Children?*, *Forum*, 89: 52-54, January, 1933.

² A release by the Children's Bureau in March, 1937, giving the number of deaths from pregnancy and childbirth per 1,000 live births in 1934 for Europe and the United States, showed the highest rates for Lithuania (67) and Scotland (62) and lowest for Italy (27) and Norway (29). The rate for the United States (birth-registration area) was 59.

³ *New York Times*, Jan. 24, 1937.

who have died from pregnancy and childbirth is greater than the number of soldiers who died in battle or from wounds received in battle in our 160 years of history, including the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, Civil War, Spanish-American War, and World War. The losses in these wars have brought forth uncounted protests—books, pamphlets, and articles by the thousands—as well as numerous peace organizations that have worked unceasingly to prevent the suffering and loss of life which war entails. Yet very little has been heard, until recently, of the even greater amount of suffering and loss of life connected with childbirth.

From the bare figures, it would appear that we have made practically no progress in stemming this tide of death in the last 20 years; for the deaths assigned to pregnancy and childbirth in the birth-registration area in 1915 were 61 per 10,000 live births, and in 1935 the number had dropped only to 59. However, this is not a true picture; for as the birth-registration area expanded during the two decades indicated, more high-death-rate areas were included, which sometimes more than offset the gains made in certain progressive areas. For example, in 1918 the figure jumped to 92, and as late as 1929 it was at 70. When the same 1921 registration area is compared through the years, there is a decline from 67 in 1921 to 54 in 1935, a decrease of 19 per cent in 14 years.¹ The maternal mortality rate is much higher in urban than in rural districts, the rates in 1935 being 68 and 50, respectively. Also, the rate for Negroes is higher than for whites in every state, which partly accounts for the high rates in Southern states, although the highest rates for whites are also found in the South.

The New Attitude of Women.—Until recent years, women accepted the bearing of children as their natural and inevitable lot. Luther's statement that if a woman die from the bearing of many children, "let her die," appears brutal today, but it was in line with the mores of his day. Women were expected to bear not one or two children, but a "respectable" family of six or more. But the feminine revolution has changed all that. Today, in those countries where women have attained near equality with men, they can no longer be scolded into bearing more children than they desire. This new source of authority which determines the size of families is based upon two new developments: (1) the recognition of childbearing as a *personal* matter which a woman may or may not choose, (2) the rise of contraceptive knowledge which provides her with a satisfactory means of avoiding childbearing to any extent she desires.

Women are asking today why, in the face of this or that problem, they should have children, and if so why they should have more than one or

¹ The four states with the highest maternity death rates were: South Carolina, 95; Florida, 87; Louisiana, 79; Nevada, 77. The four states with the lowest rates were: Wisconsin, 40; Wyoming, 41; Connecticut, 43; Rhode Island, 44.

two. The more pessimistic say that the world is such a mad place that it is unethical to bring into it new lives that have no choice in the matter, and that not until we have made the world a better place in which to live shall we be justified in asking children to share it with us. Some have made a failure of marriage and can see no hope that their children will turn out well. Others are discouraged because their children have already turned out badly, and so they are ready to preach to young matrons that where children are concerned "all is vanity."

The more confident, however, are not ready to admit that man has made such a sorry mess of things that he should shuffle off the world stage. They have hope of improvement; yet even they are checked by the fear of specific rather than general problems. A good many mothers in this group, who have one or two children and would like to have more, ask, "Why should I have more sons only to have them killed in war?" Or "Why should I have more children unless there will be jobs for them when they grow up?" Such questions are not merely rhetorical; they are realistic to many mothers. Even as mere contributing rather than solely determining factors in the birth rate they have some effect, though how much we at present have no way of knowing.

Finally, there are the optimists, who believe that the world is a good place and is getting better and that they should share it with others. They also believe that large families are happier and that children growing up in them are better adjusted and have a better chance of success in the larger society. One father of 12, who supports them with "one battered typewriter and a chronic case of writer's cramp," in spite of his hard-headed realism reveals an attitude of sanguine expectation.¹ He does not advocate large families for those who do not want them; he merely shows the issues that large families raise and balances the advantages against the disadvantages. Perhaps it is well that relatively few parents are inclined toward such large families, no matter how well equipped they are with common sense for rearing them, for if the 12-child family became the accepted norm we should soon be paging the shades of Malthus.

BIRTH CONTROL

Medical research has at last led to the discovery of relatively simple and harmless means of preventing conception. The spread of this information, according to the best authorities, has been the greatest single factor in the rapid drop in the birth rate in Western countries in the last few years. In one sense, contraception is not coordinate with but subordinate to the other determinants of family size here discussed, for

¹ DONALD F. ROSE, *Seven Jobs and Five Husbands*, *Atlantic Monthly*, 152: 698-704, December, 1933.

it is merely a technique whereby the basic wish for smaller families is made possible of fulfillment. However, in another sense, contraception might well be considered the dominant determinant today, for some of the powerful social and economic determinants would become largely inoperative unless abortion were resorted to. For that reason, contraception is here treated as a major topic. *At last the family size can be determined by choice rather than by chance.*

There have been so many erroneous statements about birth control that it may be well to set forth its exact nature. The term "birth control," interpreted broadly, might seem to embrace any and all measures tending to reduce the birth rate, including such widely different practices as castration, mutilation, abortion, continence, postponement of marriage, celibacy, limiting intercourse to safe periods, and artificial contraception. All these do operate to control birth, and yet they do not belong under the modern term "birth control," which in its commonly accepted connotation is limited to one of them—contraception. Technically, the term "birth control" is the broader term, for it denotes the positive as well as the negative aspects of control; it is not mere birth *prevention*, but *the choice and timing* of birth. Contraception, on the other hand, denotes only the negative or preventive aspect. But since birth control is maintained by using or not using contraception, the theoretical differences become a fiction of terminology, and for all practical purposes of discussion the terms "birth control" and "contraception" can be used interchangeably. Since "birth control" is the term under which the long battle has been waged, it is better known to the public than the other term.

Birth control has been so persistently confused with sterilization, abortion, and infanticide that the very term has become stigmatized to multitudes who do not even know its true meaning. Recently, in an Eastern city there was uncovered an "abortion club" reputedly having 800 dues-paying members and performing on the average of eight abortions per week. The press gave the racket nationwide notoriety, but a number of the articles appeared under such headlines as "birth-control racket" and "birth-control club." On the other hand, many people are following practices having the same results as birth control and yet never think of associating them with that term. When intercourse between husband and wife is carefully limited to the so-called "safe period," the purpose is exactly the same as that of the husband and wife who resort to modern contraceptive measures, the only significant difference being that one method is more reliable than the other, though neither is infallible. In man, as among all the higher animals, reproduction depends upon the union of the male sperm and the female ovum. If for any reason, whether by continence or the use of contraceptive

devices, these microscopic germ cells are kept apart, the sperm cannot fertilize the ovum and hence no new life is produced. Or if by the use of chemicals these myriad sperms are killed before any one of them has had opportunity to fertilize an ovum, the result is the same. The latter method involves the destruction of certain cells ejected from the body, but not the destruction of human life, for a new life begins only with conception.

In a word, the purpose of birth control is to prevent conception except where conception is definitely desired. It seeks to make sexual intercourse possible without launching a new life into the world. Manifestly, it has no relation to abortion, which is the practice of inducing birth of the fetus before it is viable. Abortion, therefore, involves destruction of human life, no matter how immature such life may be. By the same token, birth control has no relation to infanticide, which is the destruction of the child born viable. Birth control does not permit an unwanted life to begin; both abortion and infanticide destroy the life already begun. Finally, there is no justification for regarding birth control and sterilization as identical merely because both tend to diminish births. Sterilization is usually a defense measure applied by the state to make it impossible for certain undesirable and irresponsible persons (chiefly the feeble-minded) to multiply their kind. Birth control is a measure used voluntarily by responsible persons to limit births to those that are desired. However, in a few cases, normal, healthy persons who wish for no more children (or no children at all) have had themselves sterilized in order to make contraceptive precautions unnecessary. In so far as sterilization is voluntarily used as a sure, convenient, and permanent method of preventing conception, it becomes a form of birth control. Modern sterilization, quite the opposite of castration, has no ill effect on the health, sexual desire, or general physiological well-being of a person. Since the operation for the woman (salpingectomy) is no more serious than that for appendicitis and the operation for the man (vasectomy) is so simple that it is practically bloodless and requires no hospitalization, sterilization may possibly come into wider use. However, the fact that sterilization, although theoretically reversible, would usually result in permanent sterility¹ has thus far prevented it from being a popular con-

¹ Gosney and Popenoe, in their book entitled "Sterilization for Human Betterment" (New York, 1929), classify the reasons given by 65 men who were sterilized in private practice. Though a few gave as a reason the health of the wife, eugenic reasons, etc., over half admitted that it was merely a convenient substitute for birth control. Theoretically vasectomy is reversible, and skilled surgeons have had about 25 per cent success in the cases attempted. Theoretically salpingectomy is also reversible, but it has been requested by so few women that there are no reliable data on the probability of success. The authors state that in California, where their study of sterilization was made, there are probably as many women sterilized in

traceptive, and very few have resorted to it. Moreover, as less stringent methods of birth control become more convenient and dependable there will be little need for normal persons to resort to such a generally irrevocable step as sterilization.

The story of the rise of the birth-control movement, both abroad and in this country, is an interesting one, for there are many dramatic chapters, but it is too long to be told in these pages. We need not pick up the story until 1914, when Margaret Sanger, a public nurse in New York City, made her entrance and assumed an aggressive leadership. In that year she founded the Birth Control League of America and started publication of a journal called *The Woman Rebel*. She also decided to make a direct attack on the Comstock Law by sending out a large number of copies of a pamphlet entitled "Family Limitation," which described certain contraceptive measures. She then left for Europe, just ahead of the storm, to gather defense data for the inevitable trial. In her absence her husband was arrested (Anthony Comstock having secured two copies of the leaflet from him) and sentenced to 30 days in jail in lieu of the \$150 fine which he refused to pay. When Mrs. Sanger returned and surrendered for trial, public interest ran high. The affair ended in the case being dismissed in 1916. Meanwhile, in 1915, the Birth Control League of America had been reorganized as the National Birth Control League, and branches were founded in various cities and states. This was supplemented by the Voluntary Parenthood League, with Mary Ware Dennett as president, whose purpose was to work for a modification of the federal laws.

The first American conference on birth control was held in New York in 1921 and obtained much free publicity from the fact that it was raided by the police even though it claimed it was remaining strictly within the law. At the close of the conference the American Birth Control League was formed by combining various organized bodies, and the *Birth Control Review*, a monthly magazine that had been published by Margaret Sanger since 1917, was adopted as the official organ of the league. In 1917, Mrs. Sanger ventured on another line of activity by opening a birth-control clinic in New York City, for which she served a term in jail. Undaunted, she opened the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in the same city in 1923, fortified by the decision of the New York Court of Appeals that a physician could give contraceptive advice "for the cure and prevention of disease." Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that she put physicians in charge of the clinic, it was raided by the police in 1929 and the physicians arrested. But the protests were so wide-

private practice as in the state hospitals, most of them because of ill-health (such as bad heart, lungs, or kidneys) that would make childbearing dangerous to the life of the mother.

spread and came from such influential quarters that the indictments were soon dismissed. Since then, clinics have been established in 42 states plus the District of Columbia. At the beginning of 1938, the total number of such clinics in continental United States was 374, with 7 more in Puerto Rico and Hawaii.

Health Aspects.—In spite of the fact that birth control is first of all a medical question, very few medical schools give adequate instruction in contraception—some none at all—and only a decade ago the *Medical Journal and Record*, upon collecting the opinions of physicians upon this subject, found that many admitted their ignorance and deplored the lack of opportunity to get scientific information. Only since 1923, when the National Committee on Maternal Health was organized, has there been any large-scale scientific research in contraception. The unbiased work of this committee, under the vigorous leadership of Dr. Robert L. Dickinson, has won the sanction of various medical societies and provided a fund of reliable, clinically tested data.

A number of physicians have opposed contraception, a good many because they are Roman Catholics and their church condemns it, some because they fear its use by the married will lead to race suicide and by the unmarried to immorality, and a few because they consider it physically harmful. The charges usually brought by the latter are that contraception may cause: (1) sterility, (2) cancer, (3) drug poisoning. The clinical research of the National Committee on Maternal Health, however, shows these fears to be groundless. It is admitted that two or three long-condemned methods do cause irritation and might possibly cause cancer, but long-condemned methods should not be used when harmless ones are available. It is admitted that needlessly strong drugs, used excessively, would be harmful, but there are mild, clinically approved drugs that are harmless. As to sterility, the committee has been unable to find, after years of search, a single case caused by clinically approved contraceptives.

Physicians have also pointed out the dangers of pregnancy when certain diseases are present. The late Dr. J. Whitridge Williams, who was obstetrician-in-chief of Johns Hopkins Hospital, in testifying before the Senate subcommittee in February, 1931, in favor of a proposed bill liberalizing the federal law on birth control, named three diseases that make pregnancy extremely hazardous: chronic nephritis, organic heart disease, and tuberculosis. The woman suffering from nephritis, he said, may bear one child or more and live, but every pregnancy leaves her in a much more serious condition. A study of the several hundred cases of chronic nephritis passing through Dr. Williams' clinic in a 10 years'-period brought out the astonishing fact that 40 per cent of the women had since died, and led him to conclude that "while chronic nephritis

does not kill the woman at the time of delivery, it kills her afterward. . . . " He stated that if these women had not become pregnant only a fraction of the 40 per cent would have died and therefore it was his duty as a physician to tell all sufferers from chronic nephritis, and also from organic heart disease, and tuberculosis, who came through his clinic how to avoid future pregnancies.¹ Syphilis is also frequently an impossible teammate for pregnancy. Dr. Moore, of Johns Hopkins, studied 100 cases of syphilitic women who had become pregnant. He reported that 70 of these pregnancies ended disastrously, the ultimate fate of 25 could not be determined, and only 5 women were known to be living and well.² Syphilis is a very common cause of abortion and stillbirth.

Another health factor that physicians emphasize is the heavy loss of life from abortion. One of the most conservative estimates states that in the United States 8,000 women die annually from this practice. That most of this abortion is criminal and hence involves a moral question need not blind us to the fact that this ghastly toll could have been avoided by a knowledge of contraception. A study³ of abortion in East Prussia, where the practice is very common, showed the motive in over half the cases to be the fear that another child would put too great an economic strain on the family. Only 13 per cent of the abortions were by unmarried mothers. In this country, Dr. Taussig⁴ found, in his comprehensive study of abortion, made under the auspices of the National Committee on Maternal Health, that nine-tenths of the abortions are by married women, most of them mothers already having two or three children. He says that of all the measures suggested for the control of abortion none is so promising as the widespread establishment of clinics where contraceptive advice and materials can be secured under proper medical supervision.

Also, statistics show that the proper spacing of children conserves the health of the mother and makes for better care and health of the infants. Nevertheless, in a recent public debate on birth control a bitter-end opponent denied that child spacing made for healthier babies, pointing in proof to the Dionne quintuplets, "the pride of the British Empire!"

Social and Economic Factors.⁵—There are few things on which the typical American is more determined than on the maintenance of his standard of living; yet every year many families of low income are pushed

¹ Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, Feb. 13 and 14, 1931.

² S. A. KNOFF, "Various Aspects of Birth Control," New York, 1928, p. 33.

³ MAX S. HANDMAN, Abortion, in *Ency. Soc. Sciences*, 1: 373.

⁴ FREDERICK J. TAUSSIG, "Abortion—Spontaneous and Induced," Saint Louis, Mosby, 1936.

⁵ See Ray E. Baber, Birth Control—A Balance Sheet, *Forum*, 88: 294-299, November, 1932. Material used by permission.

below the poverty line by the appearance of too many children. An income large enough to cover a family of four cannot be magically stretched to cover a family of seven or eight—somebody's feet are bound to stick out. When President Harding wrote a congratulatory letter to the New York couple who had 16 children, he doubtless did not inquire how they could maintain an American standard of living on the father's earnings of \$20 a week as a porter or how many of the children had to work to supplement this pittance. The prolificacy of the poor is common knowledge, and all too frequently another visit from the stork must be followed by a visit from the family welfare agency.

It has also been claimed by the opponents of birth control that its spread would lower the marriage rate and raise the age at marriage. Its proponents point out that exactly the opposite has happened on both counts; for during the last 40 years, with contraceptive knowledge spreading rapidly, the proportion of the population married has steadily increased and the average age at marriage has declined. Young people of very slender means cannot marry if they are to be burdened with a family immediately, and it stands to reason that if they can be sure that children will not come until they are economically ready for them they can marry earlier than otherwise.

Illegitimacy and abortion are two very grave social problems. Nearly two decades ago, the Children's Bureau estimated that there were over 32,000 white illegitimate births a year in the United States. There are also from 700,000 to 1,000,000 abortions annually, and both illegitimacy and abortion are increasing. The foes of birth control say this is due to the luring of girls and women into illicit intercourse on the false promise of security through contraception. The proponents of birth control admit that the dissemination and misuse of contraceptive information is probably partly to blame for the two increases and that it may continue for a short while, but they assert that this temporary effect is bound to be followed by a sharp decline in both illegitimacy and abortion as reliable information is substituted for the bootleg variety now used. Illegitimate children are with few exceptions unwanted children and would not be born if their mothers (a great many of whom are girls under twenty) knew how to prevent birth short of abortion; thus the lives of many thousands of mothers and children continue to be darkened by public scorn and stigma. Also, abortion is antisocial. In Chicago, at a social center dealing with dependent families, almost half of a group of 104 women studied were found to be practicing abortion. Many admitted six or seven abortions, and some had one every year. It is the purpose of birth-control clinics to substitute contraception for abortion, which certainly should be a social gain.

Moral and Religious Aspects.—By far the strongest opposition to birth control comes from moral and religious leaders, and therefore this phase of the question has produced some of the sharpest debate.

The following are the chief indictments against birth control which have been handed down by religious leaders:

1. *Birth control is unnatural.* It thwarts nature by deliberately frustrating her method of passing on the torch of life and is therefore wilfull noncooperation with the Creator.

2. *Birth control is anticipatory murder.* It deprives innumerable infants of the right to live here and hereafter. It has been called a "slaughter of the innocents" worse than Herod wrought. Not only is it "better to live in hardship than not to live at all," but one opponent went so far as to say, in public debate, "Better to be a baptized idiot than not to be born at all."

3. *Birth control degrades the marriage relationship.* It changes love to lust, enthrones the carnal in place of the spiritual, and makes of marriage mere legalized prostitution. It weakens self-control, looses passion, and leads to bestiality.

4. *Birth control corrupts youth.* By removing the fear of consequences, it makes for premarital intercourse and invites promiscuity.

To these charges the friends of birth control make vigorous reply. Their answers may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. They admit that contraception is unnatural, but so also are houses, clothes, automobiles, radios, vaccination, eyeglasses, false teeth, and a thousand other benefactions to mankind. The whole march of civilization has been from the natural to the artificial, a substitution of man-made for nature's methods.

2. They refuse to take seriously the charge that birth control is anticipatory murder. If it were murder to refuse to conceive children who *could* be conceived, then every wife who did not bear 10 or 15 children—up to the limit of her capacity—would be a murderer!

3. They claim that the use of contraceptives requires *more*, not *less* self-control. For the indulgence of uncontrolled passion, it substitutes a thoughtful regard for the welfare of wife and children and permits that intimate communion of husband and wife so productive of tenderness. To demand abstinence of the married, says Lord Dawson of Penn, is to "ask two people surrounded by the intimacies of love not to be lovers," even though their married life would be mutually enriched thereby.

4. The charge that birth control has a bad effect on the morals of youth is not to be taken lightly. Admittedly such a powerful device as contraception can be and often is misused. But so also are dynamite, acids, guns, and poisons misused; yet we have no thought of abolishing them. We seek rather to train people to use them rightly. In spite of society's disapproval of premarital intercourse, there are always some youth who indulge in it. The availability of reliable contraceptive knowledge would undoubtedly increase this number somewhat, but the extent to which immorality would thereby be increased is problematical. For those who now refrain wholly because of fear can hardly credit their motives to morality. Moreover, there is no reason to think that most youths are ruled by fear rather than by training and ideals. As Harry Emerson Fosdick pointed out, a generation trained in the right use of birth control will be more likely than their mid-Victorian parents to regard it thoughtfully and make it conform to social welfare.

Several religious organizations in the three great faiths in this country have taken an official stand on birth control. In the statements given below it is not intended to imply that all the adherents of a particular faith have endorsed or condemned birth control because such action was taken by some official body of their organization. But since the views here given are those of official representatives of the three great faiths (in one case, representing the whole faith and, in two cases, representing either large or numerous groups in the faith) they carry more weight than do individual utterances.

Roman Catholic.—The Catholic clergy has long been outspoken against birth control, but not until the encyclical of Pope Pius XI (December, 1930) was there any official pronouncement from the Vatican on the subject. This utterance completely closed the question for orthodox Catholics, for the Pope declared birth control to be unnatural and *intrinsically* evil and therefore not to be justified for any reason *however grave*. Presumably this means that birth control is not justifiable even if it were known that a pregnancy would be fatal to the mother. But restricting the size of the family by limiting intercourse to the so-called "safe period" is permitted. To many non-Catholics this seems illogical, for the desired result—the prevention of conception—is exactly the same as when contraceptives are used.

Jewish.—There has seemingly been no official pronouncement of the orthodox Jews on this subject, but the prevailing sentiment of reformed Jews seems to be favorable to birth control. The Central Conference of American Rabbis, meeting in Detroit in 1929, adopted the report of its Commission on Social Justice which urged the recognition of birth control as a necessity in coping with social problems. At the 1930 conference, further recommendations were adopted. In a later statement the chairman of the commission, Rabbi Edward B. Israel, asserted that birth control was not only a permissible course for the modern religionist, but a divine mandate, and that Church and synagogue should not trail the social conscience on this issue as they have on important social questions of the past.

Protestant.—Perhaps the best measure of Protestant opinion on birth control is the report of the Commission on Marriage and the Home appointed by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. The council is composed of 400 members elected or appointed by the 27 denominations cooperating. The report of their committee was the result of more than a year of study with the assistance of eminent physicians and psychologists, including leaders from the New York Academy of Medicine. The report declares that sex has a divinely instituted twofold function: the reproduction of life, and the expression of affection and comradeship. The majority report (signed by 21 of the 24 on the com-

mittee) holds that "the careful and restrained use of contraceptives by married people is valid and moral." This position is taken on the grounds that "it is important to provide for the proper spacing of children, the control of the size of family, and the protection of mothers and children; and because intercourse between the mates, when an expression of their spiritual union and affection, is right in itself." The committee recognizes that extramarital relations may be increased by a general knowledge of contraceptives but holds that a scientific discovery so revolutionary is bound to carry dangers as well as benefits and that education and religion must teach the proper use of knowledge.

Legal Aspects.—In this country the federal law against the dissemination of contraceptive information has the misfortune of being linked with laws against obscenity. In fact, contraception, abortion, lewdness, lasciviousness, and obscenity are all ingloriously lumped together and banned as equally vicious. This is largely due to the indefatigable efforts of the militant reformer, Anthony Comstock. All but his most rabid enemies admitted his sincerity of purpose, but many thought him gifted with more energy than insight. After years of effort, he succeeded in 1873 in getting Congress to pass a law making it a criminal offense, carrying a penalty of a fine up to \$5,000 or imprisonment up to five years, or both, to send through the mails or by other common carrier any "obscene, lewd, or lascivious, and every filthy book, pamphlet, picture, paper, letter, writing, print, or other publication of an indecent character, and every article or thing designed, adapted, or intended for preventing conception or producing abortion, or for any indecent or immoral purpose . . .," or information where any of the above-mentioned articles or knowledge may be obtained. This ties together five distinct items (obscene books and pamphlets, lewd pictures, contraceptives, abortifacients, and things that might be used for any indecent or immoral purpose), only the first two of which bear any similarity whatever.¹ It was a clever way of striking at contraception, for most people favor the suppression of vile books and filthy pictures, and birth control was merely added to this category instead of being allowed to stand or fall on its own merits. The effect of this term juggling has been to confuse the issue in the minds of the people. Undoubtedly, it accounts for much of the misunderstanding of the nature and function of birth control. Laws against obscenity and abortion could easily have been passed separately, but by lowering the practice of birth control to their level Comstock is charged with doing more harm than good.

Many of the states have passed laws supporting the federal statute, though these vary widely in nature and intent. Some of them are

¹ Not content with such a fivefold omnibus clause, the statute goes on to include under the term "indecent" any matter tending to incite to arson, murder, or assassination!

modeled closely after the Comstock law, but others are much more discriminating. Twenty-six of the states, in their obscenity laws, make no mention of the prevention of conception. A recent survey on this subject shows that two states prohibit the publication and distribution of information on the prevention of conception and that nine prohibit the publishing of information and distribution of material designed to prevent conception. Eight states make exceptions for teaching in chartered medical colleges and the publication of medical books, five of the eight extending the exemption further to regular practitioners of medicine. In two states, physicians may give information for the cure and prevention of disease, but in one state even the use of contraceptives is prohibited.

How much leeway is permitted the medical profession on this question? Considering the data entirely from the standpoint of whether physicians can legally give contraceptive information in the various states, the facts are as follows: In 31 states, they may legally give such information; in 4 states, their right to do so is doubtful; in 11 states, they may legally give such information but cannot publish it; in 2 states, it may be given only for the cure or prevention of disease; and in 1 state, physicians may not give such information.

The penalties for the violation of these state laws range in fines from \$5 to \$3,000 and in prison sentences from 10 days to 5 years. In one Southern state the minimum fine is \$500, and in a Western state the minimum is \$1,000. In eight states the fine may be \$1,000 or more. In seven states, imprisonment may be for as long as one year, in addition to heavy fines. The extremes to which the foes of birth control will go may be seen by examining the possible penalties under several of these state laws, in four sections of the country. In each of the following hypothetical cases the punishment indicated would be entirely legal. (1) In a certain Southern state, if a woman, after bearing a large family of children, should develop such physical ailment as would make another childbirth fatal to her and if she should seek from her physician advice on how to prevent conception, he could not legally give her such information. To do so would make him subject to a fine of \$25, to \$200 and imprisonment up to three months. Presumably, if the woman became pregnant, the physician could legally save her life by abortion, but he could not tell her how to prevent the necessity of such abortion. (2) In a Western state, should two friends—both of them married men—happen to be reading their daily newspapers in each other's company (whether in office, home, or elsewhere) and should one call to the attention of the other an advertisement regarding contraceptives, such as are found in many reputable papers, he would be liable under the law to a fine of not less than \$1,000 or more than \$3,000, or to imprisonment of not less than six months or more than a year, or both. (3) In a New England state,

should a father and mother, with a family already too large to support properly, mutually seek to prevent a further increase in the family by using contraceptives recommended to them by their family physician, both father and mother would be subject to a fine of at least \$50 and to imprisonment for not less than 60 days or more than one year, or both. (One cannot avoid a mild speculation on the number of new prisons this state would need if the law were enforced.) (4) In a Midwestern state, should the mother of a family come to depend upon a contraceptive compound that she had found harmless but effective and should she give some to a neighbor, also the mother of a family and in need of contraceptive information, the would-be benefactress might be fined up to \$2,000 and in addition might be imprisoned for as long as five years. But the federal law refuses to yield the leadership to mere state laws. It even prohibits a person sending a friend, by letter, the address of a legally recognized birth-control clinic. In some states a woman could tell her friend the address, she could help her look it up in the public telephone directory, she could even take her friend to the clinic, and in all these acts be within the law; but if she dropped her friend a note by mail, telling her the location of the clinic, she would be liable to a fine up to \$5,000 or imprisonment up to five years, or both.

What of the effectiveness of these laws? One hardly need ask the question, for it is obviously impossible to enforce them fully. Such partial enforcement as occurs usually operates against those most needing contraceptive information. The wealthy and the educated have no difficulty in securing medical advice or in purchasing contraceptives, but the poor and the ignorant are unable to secure adequate information. This uneven application of the law merely accentuates the already unfavorable differential birth rate. Attempts to enforce the law also encourage "bootleg" contraceptives, many of which are ineffective and some of which are harmful. Quackery flourishes, for an ignorant public may adopt harmful methods as readily as harmless ones. In most places, however, little attempt is made to enforce the law. Not only can contraceptive materials be purchased in practically any drugstore, but cigar and confectionery stores, and even grocery stores and filling stations have been known to handle them. The most respectable magazines, with some of the largest circulations in the country, constantly carry advertisements so thinly disguised that even a moron need not err. A great New York City daily, one of the most conservative and respected newspapers in America, from time to time runs a prominent advertisement of a contraceptive in its Sunday rotogravure section. A recent catalogue of one of the largest mail-order houses in the United States, reaching into tens of thousands of homes from coast to coast, advertises 16 separate contraceptives in five different forms, most of

them illustrated. Clearly, the law is unenforced and unenforceable under the present state of public opinion.

The Trend of Public Opinion.—During the last 20 years, birth control has been a hotly debated subject in this country. There have been repeated efforts on the part of the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control to get the federal law changed, but without success. Bills have been introduced in both branches of Congress, and both House and Senate subcommittees have held a number of public hearings. Usually the proposed law has sought to place the dissemination of contraceptive information under the control of the medical profession, giving physicians, hospitals, and legally recognized clinics the right to dispense both information and materials. However, the 1931 bill proposed, in addition to the above, that any contraceptive information published by any government agency, or any medical school, society, or journal, *either here or abroad*, could be reprinted by *any person or organization whatever*. This glaring defect, which would have allowed any quack to publish whatever he pleased under the pretense that it came from some foreign medical source (for the government could not possibly trace down such items all over the world), was quickly seized upon by the foes of birth control and they were able to show that the so-called "doctor's bill" was in reality no such thing. The mistake was not repeated.

Those working for a revised law were supported at the hearings by the testimony of prominent doctors, educators, and religious leaders, and had the printed endorsement of many medical, educational, social, and religious organizations. But the opponents of change also brought forth prominent men in these same fields, backed also by endorsements of many organizations. The division, however, was always clearly along religious lines in the last analysis, with Catholic organizations successfully resisting any change in the law. Each side stood by its honest convictions, and it looked as though there would be a long stalemate as far as legislation was concerned.

However, public opinion in favor of properly supervised dissemination of birth-control information was growing steadily. The subject was debated in books, magazines, and daily press, and conferences and forums were numerous. Various polls of opinion were taken, and studies made of the prevalence of the use of contraceptives. In a five-year study, involving nearly 31,000 married women from twenty-six large cities in fourteen states and the District of Columbia, Raymond Pearl found that approximately half of the married white women in his sample practiced birth control in some manner. For Negro women the rate was not much more than a third of that for white women, the percentages

being 17 and 46 respectively.¹ He believed that if the total truth could be had the percentage of white contraceptors in the general population from which the sample was drawn would be between 55 and 60. In Davis' earlier study² she found that three-fourths of her 1,000 married women admitted using contraceptives to control the size of family, but more than half of her sample were college graduates, and the percentage using contraceptives is always found to be higher in the well-educated than in the less-educated classes. Various studies also show that the rural rate for the practice of birth control is lower than is the urban rate, as would be expected. Beebe and Gamble³ found that before the first pregnancy Protestants practiced contraception twice as much as Catholics but that afterward there was no difference in the practice of the two groups; also, that clerical workers practiced contraception less than manual laborers before the first pregnancy, but more thereafter.

In 1936, the American Institute of Public Opinion polled a cross section of 100,000 voters in all the states, using its regular method of representative sampling, and found that 70 per cent of the people the country over favored the legalization of birth-control information.⁴ In 1938, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, in one of its monthly polls of a large, representative sample of American women, found that 79 per cent of the women were in favor of birth control. Urban women were 81 per cent favorable, small-town women 80 per cent, and farm women 71 per cent.⁵ Only 51 per cent of the Catholic women favored it, but 84 per cent of the Protestant women and 89 per cent of "all others" favored it. In families where the income was less than \$1,500 a year, 75 per cent of the women favored birth control; in the "over-\$1,500" group, 85 per cent. Other surveys have been made, but these are sufficient to show that approximately three-fourths of the population apparently favors birth control, and the percentage has been rising. It will be interesting to see whether there is any reversal of the trend of opinion when the full effect of the rapidly declining birth rate begins to be felt.

Some Practical Results of the Trend.—In the midst of these polls of opinion and practice came a court decision that changed the whole birth-control picture from the legal viewpoint. One of the sore spots in the matter had been the inability of physicians to import contraceptive

¹ RAYMOND PEARL, Third Progress Report on a Study of Family Limitation, *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 14: 1-27, July, 1936.

² KATHARINE B. DAVIS, Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women," New York, Harper, 1929, p. 14.

³ GILBERT W. BEEBE and CLARENCE J. GAMBLE, The Effect of Contraception upon Human Fertility, *Human Biology*, 10: 372-387, September, 1938.

⁴ *National Birth Control News*, 1: 7-8, December-January, 1936-37.

⁵ HENRY F. PRINGLE, What Do the Women of America Think about Birth Control?, *Ladies' Home Journal*, 55: 14-15 ff., March, 1938.

materials from abroad, even for testing and clinical use in legally operating clinics or hospitals. Such materials had been confiscated from time to time. The final test case, *United States v. One Package*, began in 1933 when a package of contraceptive materials from abroad, consigned to an American doctor, was seized on the ground that it violated the Tariff Act of 1930. In 1935 the United States District Court ruled that the Tariff Act had not been violated and the package must be released. The case was appealed, and in 1936 the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit handed down a far-reaching decision that has, by reinterpretation, nullified the strict provisions of the Comstock law of 1873 and freed the medical profession from fear of federal prosecution in this matter.

The decision admitted that the wording of the 1873 act was very definite on the point in question and that literally interpreted it would completely bar the use of such articles. But it argued that a better interpretation was to bar only such articles as Congress would have denounced "if it had understood all the conditions under which they were to be used." The three justices signing the decision stated the new interpretation clearly when they said they were satisfied that the purpose of the federal law "was not to prevent the importation, sale, or carriage by mail of things which might intelligently be employed by conscientious and competent physicians for the purpose of saving life or promoting the well-being of their patients."¹ When the United States attorney general announced that the government would rest its case and not carry it to the United States Supreme Court, the decision quoted above became, in effect, the law of the land.

A second major development in the status of birth control came the following year in the new attitude adopted toward it by the American Medical Association. For years the friends of the birth-control movement had sought to get the association to undertake or at least sponsor research in contraception, but without success. Various state and local medical organizations had sponsored such work for years, but the larger organization had been timid about having anything to do with the subject officially. However, in 1935 the American Medical Association appointed a Committee to Study Contraceptive Practices. It is not unlikely that the poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion and the widely heralded court decision, both of which came in 1936, had something to do with the decision of the American Medical Association at its 1937 meeting to adopt the committee's report. This report pointed out that contraceptive information was available to persons in favorable economic circumstances, that there appears to be no law prohibiting physicians

¹ *U. S. v. One Package*, 86 Fed. (2d) 737.

working in dispensaries from giving the same information to those in the lower economic groups, and that because so many women without medical advice resorted to the use of ill-advised contraceptive methods it was important for medical schools to give careful instruction to their students on the therapeutic application of contraceptive methods.

The three main recommendations of the report were:¹

1. That the American Medical Association take such action as may be necessary to make clear to physicians their legal rights in relation to the use of contraceptives.

2. That the American Medical Association undertake the investigation of materials, devices, and methods recommended or employed for the prevention of conception, with a view to determining physiologic, chemical, and biologic properties and effects, and that the result of such investigations be published for the information of the medical profession.

3. That the council on medical education and hospitals of the American Medical Association be requested to promote thorough instruction in our medical schools with respect to the various factors pertaining to fertility and sterility, due attention being paid to their positive as well as to their negative aspects.

Conclusion.—Birth control is inevitable. It is not a theory to be accepted or rejected in principle, but a fact already accepted in practice. The question is not *whether* man will use it, but *how* he will use it. It can no more be stopped than the rising tide. Both the principle and practice are now firmly established in practically all civilized lands. Havelock Ellis suggests that soon the only controversy over it will be on the relative merits of different methods. With all the official opposition France has given birth control the French continue to limit their families. In Germany the stork has almost replaced the swastika as the national emblem, and in Italy contraception is almost Public Enemy No. 1; yet it is not stamped out. When an idea gets loose in the world, it can never be recalled.

Whether friend or foe of birth control, one must recognize its immeasurable power to change human destiny. Scholars in the field of population are beginning to point out its profound significance. Some see it as the savior of mankind, stepping in at a time when world hunger was scarcely more than a century ahead; others see in it the stagnation of humanity when previously the promise had been so bright. But all recognize the potential power it carries. Thompson² considers it one of mankind's truly great discoveries and says that "it will have an influence on human affairs as great as the discovery of fire, the invention of printing, or the application of electricity to communication and industry."

¹ *National Birth Control News*, 1: 6, June, 1937.

² WARREN S. THOMPSON, *Danger Spots in World Population*, New York, Knopf, 1929, p. 331.

He predicts that absolutely nothing can stop it and that it will change the entire course of history. And in all this the home will be the council room where the great decision is made; the quiet choice in innumerable families will determine the destiny of mankind.

ATTEMPTS TO INCREASE THE BIRTH RATE

It was Sumner who said, "The first task of life is to live." From the group angle, this might be stated: The first concern of the group is survival. For survival is the *sine qua non* of group philosophy. It is only natural, then, that when a group feels that its slow rate of growth threatens its welfare, or perhaps even its survival in competition with strong neighbors, it will attempt to raise its birth rate by whatever means seem appropriate. This has occurred at different times in history, some of the measures being negative, such as punishment for not marrying, and some positive, such as rewards for families of a certain size. Historically, these attempts have met with only indifferent success; but if the situation in any group becomes desperate enough, it is probable that very stern measures will be taken. In the light of the rapid drop in the birth rate in Western countries today, which may very shortly result in a stationary or even a declining population, the question takes on more than academic interest. Already several nations are trying out various schemes for coaxing the stork into greater activity. Part of these measures have been repressive and part positive.

Discrimination against Bachelors.—A fairly common method of attempting to force persons into marriage has been the levying of a bachelor's tax. In the past the theory was that all married people had children and therefore if bachelors could be forced to marry they would have children, whether or no. But today, with reliable contraceptive knowledge available, it is doubtful whether unwilling husbands would become willing fathers, and there might result very few births from such rebellious marriages. As a matter of fact the marriage itself may be successfully resisted, for the man who deliberately chooses to remain single will defend his so-called "right" as far as he can, and frequently will pay his special tax rather than be forced into matrimony.

Bachelor taxes have been resorted to often, partly to encourage marriage and partly to raise revenue. In France, centuries ago, the Duke of Burgundy put a heavy additional tax on bachelors, but the result was chiefly financial, for they paid the tax rather than marry. France has used the bachelor tax at other periods. It was tried during the French Revolution and also as recently as 1915. Its chief purpose was to increase marriages, but it had no appreciable results.¹

¹ Vorwaerts, Berlin, quoted in the *Literary Digest*, July 19, 1930, p. 14.

In Germany in the state of Reuss, prior to the World War, in the case of bachelors, 10 to 15 per cent was added to the regular income tax.¹ In 1930, the German cabinet, faced with a need for additional revenue, decided upon a bachelor tax, which added 10 per cent to the regular income tax, and also upon an increase of 1 per cent on unemployment insurance premiums. In Catalonia, the bachelor tax was recently interpreted (1934) as including priests as well as laity, which aroused considerable protest. The unmarried fathers of one or more illegitimate children were declared exempt from the tax.² In Italy a tax on bachelors between ages 25 and 65 was imposed by the fascist government in 1926 and doubled in 1928. Also, bachelors and childless couples pay extra rates on their income tax. But these burdens are not heavy, the tax on bachelors between 35 and 50 years of age being only 100 lire a year.

But discrimination against bachelors does not always take the form of special taxes; it has sometimes involved the loss of certain rights. In ancient Athens celibacy was considered a crime against the household gods, for it might cause a family name to die out. An Athenian law enjoined the chief city magistrate to see that no family name so suffered. In Sparta, according to Plutarch, a bachelor lost certain civil rights.³ In Rome, in the later period, marriage declined to such an extent that much concern was manifested by leading statesmen. The rising power of women, who married without *manus* and controlled their own property, made marriage unattractive to men who wanted to rule instead of be ruled. In 3 B.C., Augustus Caesar, after 15 years of effort, succeeded in getting through the famous Lex Julia (Julian Law) which 6 years later was strengthened by the passage of another statute, the Papia Poppaea. These laws provided that unmarried men between the ages of 25 and 60 and unmarried women between 20 and 50 years of age should not be eligible to receive legacies or inherit estates unless they married within 100 days or, if engaged, within two years.⁴ However, Tacitus states that the law had little effect in increasing marriage or the rearing of children.

In the American colonies, discrimination against bachelors and "antient maids" took various forms. The Puritans considered it bad enough not to marry, but to live alone made the offense still worse. Unmarried men and women were required to live either with their own or with some other respectable family that would be responsible for their conduct. In New Haven such a law was passed in 1656; if the

¹ *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin, quoted in *ibid.*

² *New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1934.

³ WILLYSTINE GOODSELL, "A History of Marriage and the Family," New York, Macmillan, 1934, p. 89.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

family with which such unmarried person lived were not his or her own, it had to be approved by the court, and the head of the family made faithful reports on the "carriage and behavior of every such person, whether he or she walk diligently in a constant lawful employment, attending both family duties, and the publick worship of God, and keeping good order day and night, or otherwise."¹ Similar laws were passed by the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies, and instances are on record of offenders being haled into court. In Hartford, those who indulged in "the selfish luxury of solitary living" were taxed 20 shillings a week.² All in all, the lot of bachelor or maid was not an enviable one in colonial New England.

A recent example of bringing pressure to bear upon bachelors is found in a 1929 law of fascist Italy, which provides that in all government service, whether national, provincial, or municipal, married persons with children are given preference over those without children and married persons without children over unmarried persons. In fact in the latter part of 1933, it was reported that Mussolini had issued a marry-or-get-out decree to bachelor fascist executives and candidates for Parliament.³ The unmarried are also last on the preferred list for apartments in the housing projects that receive government aid. Likewise, in Nazi Germany, marriage is essential to party advancement. A statement issued by party authorities regarding the selection of National-Socialist leadership asserts that candidates who are twenty-six or older but still unmarried "display grave indications as regards their power of decision, their personal courage, and their view of life."⁴ Since parachute jumping, high diving, and Alpine climbing are other tests of courage for these leaders, it would seem that making marriage the fourth "courage test" is a rather severe reflection on German women!

The repressive measures have never been very effective, and recently certain European countries have been trying out some positive measures on a large scale. In Germany, during the years of despair following the war, the birth rate fell until in 1930 it lacked only one-tenth of 1 per cent of being at the bottom of the European list, and the abortion rate rose to an amazing level. With the rise of Hitler and the repudiation step by step of the Versailles Treaty, national humiliation and despair gave way to national pride and intense patriotism. The revival of the old "will to power" through military strength called for greatly increased marriage and birth rates, and the Nazi government promulgated what

¹ JAMES H. TRUMBULL, "True Blue Laws of Connecticut and New Haven," Hartford, American Publishing Co., 1876, quoted by Goodsell, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

² GEORGE E. HOWARD, "History of Matrimonial Institutions," University of Chicago Press, 1904, Vol. 2, p. 153.

³ *New York World-Telegram*, Nov. 6, 1933.

⁴ *New York Times*, May 8, 1936.

is probably the most extensive and carefully planned program of marriage and birth encouragement ever attempted. Its chief features are: "(1) Establishment of homesteads, rural and suburban; (2) marriage loans; (3) the honorary godparent plan: (4) favors to large families, or to their fathers, of (a) income-tax reductions; (b) inheritance-tax favors; (c) rent allowances; (d) preference in public employment; (e) special safeguards against discharge when employed; and (f) special gifts, allowances, and extension of public services."¹

Mussolini, complaining that Italy was overpopulated but nevertheless must have bigger and better armies, has also striven valiantly to raise the marriage and birth rates, though the Italian program is not so extensive as the German. A few of the above-named policies will be described briefly.

Marriage Loans.—In Germany, the Marriage Loan Act went into effect in August, 1933. It had two purposes: to encourage marriage, and to withdraw women from industry and make more jobs available for men. It was assumed that woman's abandonment of paid work would remove one of her chief objections to bearing children. Only those who pass strict medical examination and whose personal history has been scrutinized for taints of mental and venereal disease, alcoholism, or delinquency are eligible for the loan. If either person is sterile, it is not granted. The minimum loan amounts to Rm. 300 (\$120), the maximum Rm. 1,000 (\$400), and the average Rm. 600 (\$240). The loans are not in cash, but in coupons exchangeable for household furnishings. They bear no interest but must be paid back at the rate of 1 per cent a month, beginning the second month; but one-quarter of the loan is remitted for each child born. Early in 1937, the Reich Statistical Office stated that from August, 1933, to the end of 1936 a total of 694,367 loans had been made.

There seems to have been an immediate response to this marriage stimulus, but there is no way of knowing just how much of the increase was due to marriage loans and how much to other factors, such as recovery from the 1932 trough of the depression and the revival of faith in the destiny of the Reich. But after making liberal allowance for the effect of economic improvement there can be no question but that the marriage loans contributed at least temporarily to the phenomenal rise of the marriage rate. If the low of 1932 is taken as a base, marriages increased 24 per cent in 1933, 43 per cent in 1934, and 26 per cent in 1935.

But how about births? Reflecting the low marriage level of 1932, the birth rate reached its lowest point in 1933; but the great increase in marriages in 1933 was followed by an increase of 23 per cent in births in

¹ FRANK H. HANKINS, *German Policies for Increasing Births*, *Amer. Jour. Sociology* 42: 630-652, March, 1937.

a single year! However, not all of this was due to the marriage loans. An estimated 200,000 marriages took place in 1933-1935 above the usual average, and many of these were "catch-up" marriages that had been postponed during the depression. Also, the tables show that many of the increased births were third and fourth births, which could not have been due to the marriage loans for they had not been in effect long enough to affect more than the first and second births. First births actually accounted for 23 per cent of the total increase; second births, 37 per cent; and third and fourth and following births, about 40 per cent.¹ This suggests that many pregnancies that previously would have been evaded by abortion were being allowed to terminate in births, and in the case of third and fourth births this may have been partly due to the abandonment of the defeatist attitude of the people and the revival of national confidence. In fact, about two-thirds of the increased births in 1934 came from older marriages, showing that fewer abortions was part of the answer, and the figures available for the two- or three-year period indicate that the decline in abortions might alone account for a large percentage of the birth increase. The marriage loan played its part with the *first* births, many of which otherwise would have been abortions. In Berlin, abortions dropped from the astonishing figure of 103 per 100 live births in 1929 to 14 per 100 live births in April, 1935.² Furthermore, the opportunity for the loan induced the expectant mothers of illegitimate children to marry and claim the benefits, the new births then swelling the increase in legitimate births. The percentage of illegitimate births to all births dropped from 12.2 in 1926-1928 to 7.6 in 1935.

But neither the upward surge in marriages nor the startling rise in births could last. The heavy hand of war was taking a belated but inexorable toll. Marriages reached their peak in the fourth quarter of 1933. The next year—when the first crop of World War babies became twenty years old—the number of young folk coming to marriageable age was one-quarter under the 1933 group, and in 1935 and 1936 progressively smaller. This meant an almost inevitable drop in the marriage rate; as a matter of fact, marriages dropped 13 per cent from the second quarter of 1934 to the second quarter of 1936 and, but for the marriage loans, doubtless would have dropped farther. On the whole, it is doubtful whether the new law can give more than a temporary stimulus to the marriage and birth rates. The loan is very small compensation for the burden of rearing three or four children, and may lose its initial popularity.

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS, "World Population," Oxford University Press, 1936, p. 232.

Italy has experimented with both gifts and loans as a stimulus to marriage and parenthood. In various Italian cities, prizes have been given to needy couples on their wedding day. These vary in size, but in Rome a common sum for this purpose is \$75. Not long ago the press reported an offer by Il Duce to army, navy, and air-force officers of 5,000 lire (approximately \$400) each upon marriage. Sums available to lesser government functionaries range down to 1,500 lire, according to rank. In March, 1937, after a meeting of the Grand Fascist Council, a seven-point program for increasing births was announced. One of the provisions called for loans that would enable couples to marry and dowries for girls not otherwise provided with them.¹ A later report announced that the Cabinet had approved the council's recommendations. Each province would grant wedding loans to couples intending to wed, ranging from 1,000 to 30,000 lire. If no child had been born by the end of 12 months, the couple would make the first installment payment on the loan. Ten per cent of the loan would be written off on the birth of each child, which is less generous than the 25 per cent for each child under the German system.²

Bonuses for Births.—These rewards take several forms. Sometimes they are specific sums given for any birth; sometimes the amount is graduated, each succeeding birth being rewarded more generously than the previous births; in other cases the prizes go to parents having the largest families.

In Italy, Mussolini has used every promising device for inducing the people to have larger families, and the results have been disappointing. The Italian birth rate dropped from 29.7 in 1921-1925 to 26.8 in 1926-1930, then to 23.8 in 1931-1935. While in Germany the birth rate jumped from 14.7 to 18.0 in the single year from 1933 to 1934, in Italy it dropped from 23.7 to 23.4, in spite of the expected increase from the consummation of postponed marriages as the depression lightened and in spite of all the threats and pleadings of the government. Furthermore, the decline continued, while Germany's rate flattened out. By 1936, the Italian birth rate had dropped to 22.2.³

This steady decline in births has been disappointing to Il Duce. In his newspaper *Popolo d'Italia*, of Milan, two editorials recently appeared, taunting the middle class for having so few babies and complaining that since 1924 the low birth performance had lost Italy enough babies to make 15 army divisions!⁴ An earlier editorial of *Popolo d'Italia* had

¹ *New York Times*, Mar. 4, 1937.

² *New York Times*, Apr. 17, 1937.

³ *Population Index*, Population Association of America, Princeton, N. J., 3: 209, October, 1937. The figure for 1936 is provisional.

⁴ *New York World-Telegram*, Feb. 27, 1937.

charged that since the war Italy's low birth rate had deprived her of four times as many as she lost in the World War. "The country is defrauded of more than a million males, that is, future soldiers. A million soldiers can decide the life of a nation."¹ Accordingly, Mussolini began giving out more medals to mothers of large families and fixed new birth premiums. In May, 1937, the schedules were announced. For a typical factory worker the additions to the wage increased progressively, from 25 cents a week for 1 baby to \$1.50 for 4, and \$3.75 for 10, which for the average workman would mean a 50 per cent increase over his regular wage.² This system is described more fully a little further on under Family Allowances.

Every year, Mussolini entertains the "champion mothers" of Italy and in a public ceremony lauds their performance, asking all Italian mothers to emulate them. The pictures of these mothers are printed in Italian as well as in foreign newspapers. One of the 1934 group was the mother of 14 sons. The 95 mothers (one from each province) in the 1936 group had given birth to 812 children, all of whom were living. Each mother received a cash prize of 5,000 lire and an insurance policy for 1,000 lire. In addition to the national prizes, there are numerous local honors and rewards to the most fertile mothers. Many of the communes offer medals and diplomas, as well as cash prizes. One commune established five yearly prizes of 100,000 lire each, payable to the families in which the largest number of children are born during a six-year period.

In other countries, there have been official or unofficial efforts to raise the birth rates by gifts and honors to large families. In France, the Cognac-Jay award of 20,000 to 25,000 francs is made each year to the largest family in France. In 1932, it went to some ragpickers of Metz, who had 12 children. There are also direct state subsidies which range from 120 francs for the third child to 540 francs for the fifth. In Hungary, the government gives annually a first prize (although a small one) to the mother having the most children. In 1934, it went to a woman forty-eight years old who had 21 children. Gold medals were awarded to 6,000 other mothers who had a total of 80,000 children, or an average of $13\frac{1}{3}$ each.³ In White Russia (White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic), there was instituted in 1936 a family law granting bonuses, under certain conditions, to parents of 7 or more children.⁴

Other Forms of Subsidy.—Various other means of encouraging large families have been used, especially in Germany and Italy.

¹ *New York Times*, Mar. 4, 1935.

² *Saint Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 4, 1937.

³ *New York Times*, Aug. 22, 1934.

⁴ *New York Times*, July 27, 1936.

1. *Tax Reductions.*—It is a fairly common practice to reduce taxes in one way or another for the parents of large families. In Italy, all officials or other employees of the state (even those on the pension list) are wholly or partly exempt from taxes if they must provide for 7 or more children of Italian nationality. Those not in government employ, who have to provide for 10 or more children, are also exempt. Glass¹ estimated that roughly 15 per cent of the Italian population benefited under the 1928 laws favoring large families, and the percentage has probably increased substantially since then with the introduction of new measures. In Germany, the new tax laws adopted by the Cabinet in 1934 call for progressive reductions in a man's income tax according to the number of children he has. There is a reduction of 15 per cent for the first child and 20 per cent for each succeeding child, and the children continue to justify such deductions until they are twenty-five years old. Reductions in the inheritance tax are also made for each child.² France, also, allows tax reductions based upon size of family. In the United States, a \$400 deduction on taxable income is allowed for each child under eighteen years of age, but the chief purpose of this law is not to increase the birth rate but to make the tax more equitable.

2. *Special Railway Rates.*—In Italy, honeymoon couples are said to receive an 80 per cent reduction on state railways. In France, the railways grant reductions in fares for large families.

3. *Utility Rates.*—In France, large families are given reduced rates on their water, gas, and electricity. This is true also in parts of Italy, with the further provision in some localities of free tram service for large families.

4. *Educational, Health, and Recreational Services.*—In some parts of Italy, the children of large families are provided with schoolbooks and supplies, and are given special scholarships. In other sections, they receive free medical care and medicines. Frequently, they receive special terms at mountain and seaside resorts.³

5. *Honorary Godparenthood.*—In certain German cities, parents having two children, after thorough research into their family pedigree, may be accepted for bearing a third, or fourth child that will be a godchild of the city and favored in educational opportunities and future public service. The child must be born within two years of the parents' acceptance. During the first year of the child's life, the parents receive Rm. 30 per month and for the next 13 years Rm. 20 per month.⁴

6. *Housing Favors.*—In Italy, houses that have been built with the aid of public money (whether national, provincial, or local) are available first to families with children, next to married couples without children, and last to the unmarried. There is also a homestead plan in Germany. In France, there is a model village on the outskirts of Strasbourg that is devoted exclusively to young married couples pledged to rear large families. A number of childless couples are said to have been ejected because they did not live up to their pledge. Several years ago, it was reported that a new settlement in Altenburg, Thuringia, made available to German couples of unimpeachable stock free houses after they had borne two eugenically sound children. The rent of \$13.50 per month ceased at the birth of the first child, and upon the advent of the second they received title to the house.⁵

7. *Employment.*—In both Germany and Italy, in public employment the fathers of children are given preference over married men without children, and the latter in

¹ D. V. GLASS, "The Struggle for Population," New York, Oxford University Press, 1936.

² *New York Times*, Oct. 18, 1934.

³ CORRADO GINI, *The Italian Demographic Problem and the Fascist Policy on Population*, *Jour. Pol. Economy*, 38: 682-697, December, 1930.

⁴ HANKINS, *op. cit.*, p. 631.

⁵ *Literary Digest*, Aug. 11, 1934.

turn are chosen before single men. Furthermore, the fathers of good-sized families are surer of tenure than are the others, for in times of widespread unemployment they would be the last to be discharged.

8. *Maternity and Infancy Protection.*—Since 1925, the great increase in the concern of European countries over the welfare of mothers and babies has resulted in numerous new provisions for their care. In Italy, the Opera Nazionale della Maternità et dell'Infanzia was instituted in 1925 to protect women before, during, and after birth, as well as babies and children of preschool age. Care during pregnancy is available for all, but especially for needy and abandoned mothers. Hospitals and lying-in stations provide for women after the seventh month of pregnancy, during confinement, and for four weeks after delivery. This service is free if circumstances warrant and is free in any case if the mother has had a certain number of children previously. State concern also extends to the suckling children and to weaned children even up to the fifth year. Schools have been established for training mothers in the care of infants, and popular instruction regarding maternal hygiene is provided in many places.¹

France, Germany, Russia, and other countries provide similar services for mothers, which it is unnecessary to reproduce here in detail. An illustration of Russian care will suffice: "Before and after confinement, a woman worker is granted a total of from 12 to 16 weeks' leave on full pay, with additional cash allowances for nursing, for layette, and for milk for infants. Appropriations for this purpose amounted to over 150 million roubles in 1932."²

Family Allowances.—The system of supplementing the wages of a man in proportion to the size of his family is called the "family-allowance" system. It is applied somewhat differently in different countries, but the central provision is the same in all. A married man with one child has his wage supplemented by a certain amount (either a fixed sum or a percentage of his basic wage), and for each additional child the wage is still further supplemented, sometimes by equal amounts, rarely by decreasing amounts, but more frequently by increasing amounts, i.e., a larger wage supplement for each succeeding child.

The family-allowance system originated in France, and in that country and Belgium it has attained its greatest development. It was really an emergency measure; for late in the war and in the postwar period, inflated prices lowered real wages to a dangerous point, and it became necessary to supplement wages on the basis of need, which was most easily determined by the number of persons dependent on the family breadwinner's wage. There had been a slight beginning of the plan by some of the railroads before 1900; but not until 1916, when a large iron-manufacturing and engineering firm in Grenoble introduced the system, did it get a real start. The first scale of payments was low—only 7.50 francs per month for one child, 18 for two, 31.50 for three, and 48 for four.

¹ GINI, *op. cit.*

² KENNETH DUNCAN, Social Insurance in the Soviet Union, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science*, 178: 181-189, March, 1935.

The few firms who first tried the system found that in order to avoid employment discrimination in favor of single men as against the fathers of large families—the very ones it was intended to help—it was necessary to form a pool, or equalization fund, each firm paying into it an amount based upon the number of workers employed, without regard to their marital status or size of family. The special allowances were then made available from this pool to fathers employed in all the member plants. Thus there was no incentive for an employer to discriminate against family men, for his allowance payments remained the same regardless of what proportion of his workers had families.

Once the principle was established, it spread rapidly. By 1930, there were four million families in France receiving allowances amounting to about 1,500,000,000 francs.¹ The system began on a voluntary basis, but step by step it has become compulsory. In 1922, the French state, pleased with the success of the plan in private industry, required all contractors for public works to pay allowances and join an approved equalization fund. In 1932, after several years of study, a law was passed that made payment of family allowances compulsory to all employees, whether of wage-earning or salaried classes, both men and women, in commerce, agriculture, and the liberal professions. However, the law was not to go into effect at once, but the minister of labor was to issue decrees from time to time extending the system to new areas and types of work as they were able to bear the added expense. By 1936, it had not yet been extended to agriculture, but it was expected to be later. The allowances apply to all children up to thirteen years of age (sixteen, if in school), whether legitimate, illegitimate (if recognized by the father), or adopted. The low allowances of the experimental days have been greatly raised. By 1929, the *minimum* allowances an employer working on public contracts could give were 15, 30, 45, and 65 francs for the first, second, third, and fourth child, respectively. For state officials, the average monthly allowances were 50 francs for the first child, 67 for the second, 100 for the third, and 117 for the fourth and each succeeding child.² Near the Belgian border, the French allowance system began to attract Belgian workers, and partly to keep these workers at home a few Belgian employers adopted the plan. Once started, it spread as rapidly as in France. More than a dozen other countries in Europe, as well as New Zealand and Australia, tried out the family-allowance system in varying degrees in the period of economic stress during or following the war, but in most of them it has been dis-

¹ The Family Allowance System, *International Labor Rev.* (Geneva), 31: 1-24, March, 1930.

² *Ibid.*

continued in most private industries but retained for all or part of those employed in public service.

In the United States, the system has never taken root in industry. In fact, quite the contrary; instead of receiving higher wages because he has a large family, frequently a father is dropped in favor of a young man who is a little faster in his work. Also, some executives deliberately hire single or childless married men in preference to family men because it hurts their conscience less to lay them off in times of depression or labor trouble. However, the principle of family allowances has been adopted by certain religious and educational organizations, though on the basis of equitable pay rather than encouragement of births. Most of the foreign mission boards have for many years paid married missionaries more than unmarried and made an extra fixed allowance for each child. This has been done on the grounds that a missionary's salary is supposed to be only large enough to provide a reasonable living and therefore marriage and children would be impossible unless the mission boards adjusted the salaries accordingly. A number of colleges also have used the allowance system for the faculty. Wells College allows \$1,000 extra to married teachers and \$250 extra for each dependent child under the age of 21. Bennington College has a similar plan. In addition to his basic salary, a faculty member receives \$500 for a non-earning spouse, dependent child under 21, or dependent parent, provided that the total of such extra payment shall not exceed \$1,500.

Both in France and Belgium, by official admission, the first aim of the bill was to encourage larger families, and the second to relieve want. The second purpose has been partly met, but there has been little progress toward the fulfillment of the first. During certain years, there was a slight gain in births among workers covered by the system in both countries, but it is impossible to know how much of it is due to allowances. For example, in France from 1926 to 1928 the percentage of families having five or more children rose from 2.59 to 2.98, and that of families having four or more children rose from 4.71 to 4.92. But the total French birth rate was falling meanwhile. In Belgium, the birth rate rose from 8.27 births per 100 workers in the year 1923-1924, to 9.36 in the year 1927-1928.¹ At the same time, the Belgian birth rate as a whole was declining. The best that can be said of the measure, from the standpoint of increasing births, is that it has somewhat retarded the rate of decline in the birth rate. Since 1930, the birth rate in both countries has dropped rapidly, in spite of the extension of the family-allowance system to increasing numbers of workers. In Belgium, from 1930 to 1936, the birth rate declined from 18.7 to 15.1, and in France from 18.0 to 15.0. It is probable that the saving of life due to the medical

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

privileges granted to workers' families will prove to be more significant for maintaining the population than is the encouragement of additional births.

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. From data available in the publications of the Children's Bureau, make a bar diagram showing the maternal mortality rate for the five highest states, five

lowest, and your own state unless already included. List what reasons you can discover for the wide differences between certain states.

2. Show the present extent of ecclesiastical celibacy in the United States, and give arguments for and against its continuance, from the standpoint of its personal, religious, and social values.
3. If population growth in this country soon comes to a standstill and then begins to decline, what constructive and democratic measures might be adopted to encourage larger families?
4. What are the provisions of the law on the dissemination of contraceptive information in your state? Do you think the law is liberal enough? Under proper supervision? What changes would you favor, if any?
5. How many children are there in your family?¹ How many were there in your father's family? Your mother's? (Average these two.) How many were there in your paternal grandfather's family? Your maternal grandfather's? (Average these two.) Now compute the percentage increase or decrease in the size of family in the last two generations in your family line. (Hand your paper in so the average for the whole class can be obtained.)
6. From data available from the Bureau of the Census, make a table showing which states had a decline of more than 25 per cent in the birth rate in the last 10 years, and those with the smallest declines. (The decline for the whole United States from 1926 to 1936 was 20 per cent.) What reasons can you uncover for the great disparity between the states?
7. Show the effects of the rapidly falling birth rate on our public schools. When will the effects be felt by the colleges? (See Rufus D. Smith, *The Population Curve Hits the Schools*, *Survey Graphic*, 27: 445-449, September, 1938.)
8. Make a report on the differential fertility of the various classes or cultural groups in the American population, divided as to race, nativity, economic status, occupation, education, and urban or rural residence. Give only outstanding figures in each case.

¹ Count all live births, whether now living or not.

CHAPTER XVII

CONFLICTING SEX PATTERNS

All peoples have found it necessary to regulate sex conduct in one way or another. The sex urge is so powerful and its capacity for harming or serving society so infinite that as far back as we can trace this aspect of human culture it has been circumscribed with social rules. How varied these rules are has been shown in the discussion of the natural history of the family. Frequently, the impact of civilization upon preliterate people upsets their culture almost completely. Such was the case of the Hawaiians and other similar peoples, when contact with traders first opened the vista of other modes of behavior, for sex ways can be borrowed by one culture from another as surely as can basket weaving or weapons. Sudden and violent changes may completely disorganize a people, and some have been unable to survive.

In our own country, social change has taken place so rapidly that it is now—whether rightly or wrongly—the accepted password for “progress.” It was inconceivable in this rapid stream of change, with its new economic, religious, and scientific ideas dashing against the rocks of custom, that the conventional sex patterns should not be challenged, for seldom do the patterns change greatly in one important phase of culture without definitely affecting other phases. Our sex attitudes have been affected by such social changes as urbanization, scientific contraception, the lengthening period of education, and other significant characteristics of modern life. This has led some observers to say that our sex ways are out of line with the rest of our culture and that only as all factors are brought into balance can we have a rational civilization. This deserves serious attention, for there is no reason to think that sex standards, once set, require no readjustment of any kind. However, in such an overhauling there are two difficulties involved: First, one group clamors for radical changes and the other group resists any change at all, which greatly retards any carefully reasoned solution. Second, the shallow thinkers assume that the same degree of change is necessary in *every* phase of the culture. But change is never uniform. For example, there has been little change in the general type of our clothing, but great change in clothing manufacturing. Even moving from country to city (a profound change in many ways) brought little change in our clothing. We may dress more lightly, owing to indoor occupations, but the type

of dress remains essentially the same. On the other hand, the type of housing has been profoundly affected by the shift from country to city.

Various proposals have been made for reforming our sex code. Some have had the support of a considerable number of people, but others have been advocated by only a few extremists. However, it is only fair to set forth briefly the merits and demerits of these proposals, as gathered from the writings of their proponents and opponents.

COMPANIONATE MARRIAGE

A decade ago "companionate marriage" was a hotly debated subject. Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of the Denver Juvenile Court, was stumping the country, advocating companionate marriage as the correct substitute for our conventional marriage relation which was said to be crumbling. Intellectuals debated the subject in high-class magazines, and pseudo intellectuals held forth in lesser publications. Ministers scotched the idea from their pulpits, and Y.M.C.A. secretaries projected it into the ubiquitous discussion group. For a while it held the spotlight; today, the term is seldom heard, though the pros and cons of the question have changed little in the past 10 years. Perhaps the futility of the debate became apparent, for truly it was "much ado about nothing." One could argue with equal veracity that there was no such thing as the companionate, or that nearly all marriages were companionate at first—according to one's definition.

M. M. Knight¹ seems to have been the first person to use the term "companionate," which he defined as "the state of lawful wedlock, entered into solely for companionship, and not contributing children to society." He differentiated it from the term "family," which he considered the true, historical institution "for regulating reproduction, early education, property inheritance, and some other things." By this definition, all those couples who for one reason or another postpone for a year or more the birth of their first child are practicing "companionate marriage" during that period, but these marriages automatically become conventional marriages as soon as a child is born. Knight probably meant that those entering companionate marriage did not intend to have any children. But some couples change their minds, and others find that they have children without changing their minds.

This evidently led Judge Ben Lindsey to define companionate marriage in his own way, including several more factors as follows: "Companionate marriage is legal marriage, with legalized birth control, and with the right to divorce by mutual consent for childless couples, usually

¹ M. M. KNIGHT, *The Companionate and the Family*, *Jour. Soc. Hygiene*, 10: 257-267, May, 1924.

without payment of alimony."¹ According to this definition, there is no companionate marriage in the United States; for we do not have divorce by mutual consent, and birth control is not yet fully legalized in all the states.

There have been other definitions of companionate marriage, the result being that the term has never acquired a clear-cut meaning. For this reason, the discussions centering in it have been confused. In the public mind, companionate marriage implies a *temporary* marriage, which seeks to avoid all social responsibilities and is easily terminated so that the partners can seek new and more congenial "companions." This puts it in the same category with *trial marriage*, which is not entirely fair to its proponents. Judge Lindsey would have the present divorce courts supplanted by a special kind of domestic relations court which he would call a "House of Human Welfare." This would consist of psychiatrists and other specialists qualified to give expert advice on marital problems. Childless couples wanting a divorce would first receive the services of the House of Human Welfare, and only if its staff failed to bring about a reconciliation would the divorce be granted. It would then be given without the necessity of one party bringing a serious charge against the other. In this sense, it would be divorce by mutual consent, by abolishing the necessity for adversary proceeding, but it would not necessarily be "easy" divorce. No divorce this side of the Mosaic code could be much easier than that obtainable in some of our states today.

Judge Lindsey's plea for a completely reconstructed domestic relations court is earnest and in line with the best thought of many others who have studied the problem. It is therefore regrettable that his book on companionate marriage—a curious mixture of racy cases presented in such a way as seemingly to condone irregular sex relations, together with staunch denials of such condonation—should have so aroused public resentment that whatever good points it had were obscured. That the judge's valor outran his discretion is society's loss, for what wheat there was was blown away with the chaff. It therefore seems unnecessary to cling to the term "companionate marriage" as a definite marriage form. With no agreement on its definition, there is no point in trying to maintain it on a par with well-established terms. If we could hold to Knight's original definition—regular marriages that are deliberately childless because the partners are seeking companionship only—it would perform a function, but this central idea has been so cluttered up with controversial amendments that its usefulness can scarcely be restored at this time. Its epitaph might well be: Here lies a useful term, killed by its friends.

¹ BEN B. LINDSEY and WAINWRIGHT EVANS, "The Companionate Marriage," Garden City, Garden City Publishing Co., 1927.

TRIAL MARRIAGE

There are some who hold that the high rate of marital breakup could be lowered if trial marriages were permitted. They argue that marriage is such a complex and difficult relationship that there is no way for two people to know, without living together in full intimacy, whether or not they are suited to each other. Ordinary courtship is said to be inadequate; couples who have been engaged for years find after marriage that they knew very little of each other.

Trial marriage is nothing new. Many primitive peoples have used it. Among some, the trial marriage is for the purpose of determining whether the bride is fertile. If she becomes pregnant, the young man is usually satisfied and the marriage becomes permanent; if she does not, her temporary mate drops her and tries out another. Among some tribes where prenuptial unchastity is not forbidden, a girl who has borne a child is more sought in marriage than her still-unproved sisters. Sometimes during the trial period the young man takes the girl to his own home, and sometimes he lives with her in her parents' home. The latter is likely to be the case when the husband has to render a period of service to the girl's father.

But one need not seek among savages for illustrations of trial marriage. In his recent book on the future of marriage, Westermarck¹ says trial marriage was formerly very common in Europe and that there is still a considerable amount. German peasants say that "one does not even buy a penny pipe without trying it." In certain parts of Germany, as many as half of the legitimate firstborn children are conceived before marriage.

To what extent such practices prevail in this country, it is difficult to know; for public disapprobation being what it is, most such cases naturally are secret. It is well known, however, to all who have the confidence of young folk, that there is a considerable amount of sexual intimacy between betrothed persons. How much of this is due to a genuine desire to test their compatibility in preparation for marriage and how much to lack of restraint or rebellion against present conventions is not known. But suppose trial marriage² were made legal in this country and received full social sanction. Would it perform the function its sponsors claim it would? Or would its faults outweigh its merits? It is of course impossible to foresee all the results of such a policy, but many

¹ EDWARD WESTERMARCK, "The Future of Marriage in Western Civilization," New York, Macmillan, 1936, pp. 105-106.

² The term "trial marriage," as advocated by some in this country, is actually a misnomer, for it is not marriage at all but merely premarital intimacy with marriage as a possibility.

studies have revealed enough about the psychology of sex to enable us to foresee at least some probable results. First, among the hasty, reckless element, it is undoubtedly true that some ill-matched marriages would never take place if the partners lived together as man and wife for some months before marriage. Those who marry on the spur of the moment are often so completely mismated that even a few months together would have convinced them that they were hopelessly incompatible. Second, even among more thoughtful young people the physical and psychic intimacies of such a relationship would occasionally reveal some seemingly insurmountable difficulty, such as impotence, frigidity, sex fear, mother fixation, intolerable jealousy, or almost total lack of common interests.

But granted that there might be some advantages in such a policy, the question is whether or not the disadvantages would outweigh them. Some of the chief dangers of such trial marriages would be as follows:

1. There is no assurance that such unions would be childless, for even the most scientific contraceptive methods, conscientiously used by intelligent persons, are not 100 per cent effective. Many entering the trial union would be neither conscientious nor intelligent, and the result would be either abortion or children with one parent, or state care if marriage proved undesirable.

2. Such trials would place too much emphasis upon sex in marriage. Those who advocate such a trial period are almost invariably thinking of the sex side of it, for with our present-day freedom of association between the sexes there is ample opportunity in ordinary courtship for the parties thoroughly to explore one another's personalities, common interests, and psychological adaptability if they will make the effort. Sex compatibility, the only area of test not permitted in conventional courtship and the one which trial marriage is supposed to correct, is not necessarily tested thereby. Sex incompatibility in marriage, in a vast number of cases, is due to ignorance and could be prevented by proper education. Physical abnormalities that might prevent satisfactory sexual intercourse are very rare and can be discovered before marriage by any competent physician: likewise, psychic disturbances, such as sex fears or frigidity, can frequently be treated successfully. Overemphasis on sex might also bring quick disillusionment on passion as the whole of life and terminate the mating before the more stable values of married life could take root.

3. Trial marriage would favor rather than discourage sexual promiscuity. The heavy emphasis on the temporary nature of such matings and a high expectancy of failure would constitute a perfect cloak for the unscrupulous. An attractive and persuasive young libertine could step from one sex adventure to another, callously abandoning his "trial"

companion whenever his appetite for variety found another mate who stimulated him more—and all without personal or social obligation. If young people entering into such a trial relationship take it seriously, says Popenoe,¹

. . . if it represents to them a deep and peculiar emotional experience, then it is clear that it cannot be terminated without producing corresponding effects on the personalities. . . . If, on the other hand, they do not take it seriously, if it represents to them a mere search for thrills, a selfish and casual episode, then it is obvious that it reveals a deficient education, a shallow character, which further indulgence will make still more shallow and defective, and which is a disastrous preparation for permanent and happy family life.

4. Even if seeming adjustments were attained in the trial period, it would not guarantee adjustment in regular marriage. Lorine Pruette,² commenting on John B. Watson's opinion that no man and woman should be allowed to marry until they have lived together for a reasonable period, says that ". . . a considerable body of experience is accumulating to suggest that adjustment outside matrimony is no necessary guarantee of adjustment within the social, traditional institution of marriage, and that their happiness as lovers may work against, as well as for, happiness as married partners."

5. Finally, as an inclusive rather than a coordinate point, trial marriage would perform almost no function that could not be performed by sound education and guidance in marriage selection and marriage adjustment. Either method would certainly have its failures, but it is exceedingly doubtful that trial marriage would have anything like the degree of success that an intelligent and courageous educational program would have.

TERM MARRIAGE

Marriage for a definite term, to be renewed or terminated at the expiration of the period, has been proposed by some writers. Such marriage, if the term were short, would be more truly "trial" marriage than is that now commonly given that name. But since it is definite, whereas trial marriage is indefinite, it may properly be designated "term marriage." Such marriages, like other contracts, would be for a specified period of time, during which they would be as binding as any other marriage. In Tibet, Abyssinia, and some parts of Arabia and Persia, temporary marriage is recognized as legal. In some cases, as with the

¹ PAUL POPENOE, "The Conservation of the Family," Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins, 1926, p. 14.

² In Ira S. Wile (editor), "The Sex Life of the Unmarried Adult," New York, Vanguard, 1934, pp. 297-298.

Shi'ah Moslems, it resembles concubinage rather than term marriage; for the term contracted for may be as little as a month or even a day, and although the children of such a union are legitimate and have the right of inheritance from their parents, neither husband nor wife acquires the right of inheritance from the other.¹

Term marriage was proposed in this country a half century ago by Dr. E. D. Cope, but the idea did not take root. He thought that the first term might well be 5 years, the second term 10 or 15 years, and entering a third term would entitle each party to a sort of "permanent tenure." This was to protect women from nonsupport in their later years. The idea seems to have been that the men would usually be the ones seeking release, and the women would be demanding permanence. Goethe, in his work "Die Wahlverwandschaften," makes the count champion a 5-year term marriage. A decade ago, Charlotte Burchow-Hohmeyer proposed a *Zeitehe*, or temporary marriage, in place of permanent marriage. She advocated a 5-year period, with divorce during that time not permitted and the marriage to be extended automatically by 8 years if a child were born. She admitted that many wives would be left desolate at the end of the term but claimed that temporary happiness was preferable to none at all and that without some such system many women would never get any chance at marriage and motherhood. She evidently had in mind the unbalancing of the sex ratio by the World War.²

Since term marriage is not receiving any serious consideration in this country, it needs only slight mention here. Its advantages and disadvantages are similar to those of trial marriage, but with an additional disadvantage; if no divorce were allowed for five years, it would work a great hardship in those cases where the conduct of one party has become so intolerable that immediate release is essential.

FREE LOVE

There is a small minority who advocate extreme freedom in sex behavior. They claim that sex is an entirely private matter and that society therefore has no right to interfere with its expression. They refuse to accept the principle of social control in the field of sex, although they accept and even demand it in such fields as health and education. This claim that sex conduct is a matter to be individually determined is the core of free-love doctrine; *in its extreme form, free love is to sex ethics what anarchy is to government*. However, the more thoughtful advocates do not make it synonymous with promiscuity. On the contrary, they argue that it alone can secure the factors essential to true monogamy. Nor do they believe that all restrictions can be thrown

¹ WESTERMARCK, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

off at once, for man has been too fettered to learn self-discipline in a day. The transition must be gradual.

The fact that free love means different things to its various advocates makes it difficult to evaluate with fairness. In scope, it ranges all the way from sheer promiscuity to the gradual transition from an emotional to a rational conception of sex. Its literature includes a wide variety of approaches, from ranting to scholarly exposition. The contributions of such writers as Edward Carpenter, Ellen Key, Havelock Ellis, Bertrand Russell, Aldous Huxley, and Floyd Dell will be evaluated by their readers according to the position of the readers themselves on the radical-liberal scale. A few will join the heated demand for "freedom without let or hindrance"; a few will applaud Bertrand Russell's belief that there should always be sexual experience before marriage, that marriages should not be legally binding until the woman becomes pregnant, and that infidelity after marriage should be expected as a matter of course and occasion no disturbance in or protest by either spouse. But most of the exponents of greater freedom in love are found nearer the "liberal" than the "radical" end of the scale. They point to the present weaknesses of conventional marriage and offer as evidence the high rate of failure and the large group of dissenters who elect to live outside the law. They claim that a majority is justified in insisting on its standards only if it can make them work. The main arguments of the advocates of free love are given below, together with the opposing arguments of those who consider it dangerous to the best interests of marriage and family life.

1. Sex desire is a natural urge, as natural as hunger or thirst; therefore, its satisfaction should be as natural as the satisfaction of these other wants. Sex taboos are artificial; they are a bigoted attempt to improve on nature.

The opponents agree that sex desire is a natural urge. It is at first almost entirely physiological, the result of glandular activity, and it can never be wholly "spiritualized," as some would have it. We must not be "too nice" to accept the facts of nature. But as the psychic side of sex develops, it becomes of enormous importance, for sex imagination (which can affect even the glandular activity) is almost limitless. For this reason, much of our sex desire today is artificial rather than natural, for it has been built up by a great variety of sex stimuli in society, some of them socially approved and some disapproved. This socially conditioned part of sex desire is susceptible of social control; hence, society need not despair at the argument that sex desire is "natural" and therefore irresistible. So are many other urges "natural," but society demands that they be controlled in the interests of social welfare. Sex taboos are admittedly artificial, but so are all laws; in fact, almost the whole frame-

work by which man has lifted himself from the crude preliterate stage to the present level of civilization is artificial, and a great deal of it has necessarily been built upon "thou shalt not's." Society learned in its infancy that if each man did exactly as he pleased he would soon run afoul of the wishes of his fellows. The whole philosophy of group life rests upon this fact. Only by living in complete isolation could a man do as he pleased—and even that would not be doing as he pleased, for one of his most powerful wants is the companionship of his fellows. Hence, we have the seeming inconsistency in nature of all human beings wanting to do as they please, but none of them succeeding in doing so. This is the theme of Freud's "Civilization and Its Discontents," which he might as well have named "Mankind and Its Discontents," for neither civilized men nor savages can do as they please. The savage, no matter how low in the scale, has a long list of taboos socially set up. In some areas of life, his taboos are fewer than ours; in others, more numerous. He does not lead the "wholly natural" life of which certain writers prate; he is held to the approved pathways by rigid social restrictions. The fact that these are customs rather than written law has nothing to do with their efficacy.

The advocates of free love are enraptured when they read how "delightfully natural" the South Sea Islanders are in their sex life, and they look forward to the day when we can cast off our puritanical inhibitions and be as "free" as the dusky children of the Pacific isles. But do they realize what such "delightful naturalness" includes? Here are some examples from the "paradise" of Samoa. Little children watch with intense curiosity while a partly developed fetus is cut from the body of a woman as she lies in her shallow grave in preparation for burial; at night, bands of little children seek out houses where they can peek through the shutters and watch a birth or a miscarriage; the women, when they are jesting and gossiping in groups, frequently snatch playfully at each other's genitals. And these practices are delicate and refined compared with those of the Trobrianders. It is not clear just how such "delightful naturalness" could add anything of beauty, dignity, and respect for personality in our own society.

2. Another argument for free love is that sex permeates every phase of life and should therefore be given the fullest possible expression, for thereby life will be most enriched. Inasmuch as sex is basic to all our behavior patterns, any restrictions on its manifestations are restrictions on the full development of personality.

In reply, the opposition admits that sex permeates, at least indirectly, every important area of life. Nor is it denied that the full expression of sex enriches life. It is in the interpretation of "full expression" that the difference of opinion arises. The radical school of thought interprets this

as *carte-blanche* permission to follow any impulse in the interests of "fulfilling personality." The less extreme liberals see the possibility of erecting a social framework within which man may attain a full and satisfying expression of sex without harming the interests of the group.

3. A third point the advocates of a free sex life make is that the sex taboos are the fruit of religious dogmatism and that these restrictions which make sex a source of shame instead of pleasure do not conform to the scientific findings of physiology, psychology, and sociology.

There is little that the opposition can say in reply to this point, for most students of marriage agree that sex standards have been based too much on the doctrines of ancient theologians. St. Paul's conception of marriage as a necessary concession to man's lust—for "it were better to marry than to burn"—and the continuance of the doctrine that woman is the original source of sin are the foundation upon which a narrow and intolerant conception of sex was raised. But most religious bodies, with the rise of scientific knowledge not available in the earlier age, have seen the necessity of examining anew the question of sex in an effort to make it conform to a wholesome and complete concept of life.

4. The fourth point in the free-love argument is that one's sex conduct concerns only oneself and one's partner. It has no social ill effects that warrant regulation, and the state has no right to interfere, unless a child is born. Havelock Ellis says that "the sexual act is of no more concern to the community than any other physiological act" and that "it is an impertinence, if not an outrage, to seek to inquire into it."¹ This claim is the very core of free-love doctrine, upon which all its minor claims are based. The claimants would reject the argument that society must place restrictions upon sex impulses just as it does upon the impulse to take whatever food is within reach when one is hungry, even though both are natural impulses. They reject it on the grounds that in following a natural urge to snatch food one may be depriving another of something against his will, but that in unrestrained sex relations (except for rape) one is not taking anything against the other's will.

In reply to Ellis's statement, the opponents point to Cooley's clear exposition of the individual and society as merely two aspects of the same thing and maintain that an act which affects individuals as profoundly as the sexual act cannot fail to be of social concern. Says Margold,² after an extensive survey of the social control of sex in both primitive and civilized societies, "The underlying theoretical conception of a sexual life existing apart from control, more or less effective, by the public

¹ HAVELOCK ELLIS, "Studies in the Psychology of Sex," Philadelphia, Davis, 1910-1928, Vol. 6, p. 417.

² CHARLES W. MARGOLD, "Sex Freedom and Social Control," University of Chicago Press, 1926, p. 7.

opinion and the mores of the community, is unreal, incompatible with human nature, never realized . . . in any society." He says that the prevailing type of sex behavior is the result of group attitudes and that "individual" sexual acts are phases in a general social process and therefore cannot be wholly individual.

But even assuming that the individualistic argument is good as far as it goes, its opponents assert that it stops short of certain social implications that tend to nullify it. In the first place, the only justification for such a view would be that the sex act is purely physical, a view that very few students of the subject accept. Most of them agree that the physical and psychic aspects are inseparably intertwined, especially among civilized peoples, and that although in a given case either the physical or the psychic may predominate there are often such profound emotional concomitants that wholly unanticipated effects accrue.

The development of personality is a goal upon which all seem to agree. When a man and woman share each other sexually, it is not only a profound physical and psychological experience but the most intimate relationship they can assume. Is it reasonable, therefore, to believe that they can attain the finest development of personality by sharing this profound intimacy with everyone who catches their passing fancy? Reserve, rooted in self-respect, is an essential element of personality, and the self comes to its greatest stature only by reserving its most intimate fellowship for the one most loved, and with the expectation of permanency. Says Johanna Elberskirchen:¹ "We do not long only for the rude sexual act. We spiritualize it—at least some of us do; at any rate, we individualize it. It is one particular man whom we desire; he alone can still our longing, our bodily and mental hunger for love."

Into this matter of reserve in personality development comes the desire for *exclusive* intimacy with the loved one. One may call this jealousy, selfishness, instinctive monogamy, or an interesting perversion of the "natural" state of promiscuity, according to one's school of thought. Briffault tries to show that monogamy was at first resented as antisocial—an unwarranted selfishness that restrained man from the free, promiscuous favors he had previously enjoyed. Others have just as much trouble trying to prove a monogamic *instinct*. But one need not go back of the historic fact that, as women in various parts of the world have emerged from male dominance, polygyny has tended to disappear and marriage has become more an exclusive relationship than previously.

If men and women hunger for this exclusive possession of each other and if in such an intimate companionship they discover treasures of

¹ JOHANNA ELBERSKIRCHEN, Quoted by E. H. Kisch, "The Sexual Life of Woman," London, n.d., p. 173.

fellowship not elsewhere found, it is evidence that such a relationship is one of the greatest of all stimuli to the fullest personality development. It brings an expansion of sympathy and a willingness for self-sacrifice that surprises even themselves. Such a relationship is based upon mutual trust in maintaining the exclusive element that has ministered so largely to their happiness, for both crave affectional security, that is, *permanence* in their mutual love. Not all attain this permanency, but it is the ideal toward which most strive, and they have the satisfaction of having been sincere in their attempt. They are more likely to attain their goal by cultivating this fruitful approach than by dissipating their emotions in a series of shallow experiences until the very capacity for enduring satisfaction has diminished. No one is "captain of his soul" to the extent that he can suspend the operation of psychological laws while he takes time out for his own amusement. One can have temporary, stimulating affairs with little effort, or one can conserve his emotional deep for the abiding experience that can be attained only in an exclusive relationship. The first course is inimical to the second. If one cultivates a taste for sexual variety by moving from the embrace of one consort to another in search of fresh stimulation, it is hardly reasonable, when finally desiring the comforts of a stable union, to expect to find permanent happiness in an exclusive relationship. The mental channels worn by habit do not suddenly disappear by command. There must be a complete life reorganization, which a few will achieve but many will not.

5. Finally, the free-love school of thought asserts that our present marriage and divorce laws have produced a psychology of compulsion, which conditions a marriage to failure from its very outset. If there were complete freedom in love, the same partners, knowing that they *need* not stay together, would be much more likely to *want* to remain together, thereby supporting rather than undermining true monogamy. A perfect union cannot exist without perfect freedom. Love cannot be compelled, and any fetters whatever defeat their own purpose.

The critics of this viewpoint do not waste much ammunition on what they consider to be one of their opponents' weakest points. They admit that there is too much compulsion in marriage but claim that this is a fault not of marriage but of divorce law. To the claim that marriageless unions would be more stable than marriage unions, they answer that in either case *the same people* are involved and therefore the results could not be so very different. If all the marriage bonds in the country were magically dissolved, would all the couples, finding themselves in "free unions," suddenly become compatible? Would the "prison psychology" of the married vanish as a mist, and the "peace and harmony" of the free union take its place? How could this be if the same people were concerned? Whether married or unmarried, they would have the same

physical characteristics, the same good or ill nature, the same generosity or selfishness, the same passion or frigidity, the same pleasant or irritating mannerisms, and the same adequate or inadequate income. Actually, the marriageless union would have *less* likelihood of success than the other, for it would start without the social expectation of success and permanence which marriage imparts. The partners could separate completely at any time, in a moment of anger. The expectation of temporary rather than permanent mating would spring naturally from an arrangement that deliberately refused to accept any binding obligations. Such unions would start under a handicap instead of an advantage. And when divorce law is put upon an honest basis, the advantage of marriage over its substitute will be even greater.

In summary, the opponents of free love point to its effects in the nearest approach to such a state that has been made by any Western nation. In the Soviet Union for several years there was, by deliberate official encouragement, a state of affairs almost identical with free love. Not only was divorce granted to either party, even without the knowledge of the other, with no questions asked and at the cost of only a few cents, but family loyalty was discouraged in favor of loyalty to the state. But the social disorganization resulting from this sex anarchy ensured its own repeal. Said Lenin, "This 'glass-of-water' theory has driven some of our young people crazy, quite crazy. It has been the destruction of many young men and women."¹ Certainly thirst must be satisfied, but, he asked, does that justify one in lying in the street and drinking from mud puddles? Or even in drinking from a glass that others have been drinking from? He was not pleading for asceticism, he said, but for self-control and self-discipline in love as in other areas of life, for only through these channels could the full joy and vigor of life be reached. Nor was he arguing from the standpoint of morals, but in the interests of a balanced and satisfying life which he considered essential to the nation. Since then there have been changes in the Russian divorce law, and a constant effort has been made by the government to stabilize marriage and family life. To some, it sounds somewhat odd to hear ultraradical Soviet leaders pleading for conventional marriage standards. Recently, Emelyan Yaroslavsky, one of the most prominent Bolsheviks and head of the League of Militant Atheists, in an article in *Communist Youth Pravda*, thundered against sex laxness and temporary unions. He said that unfortunately there were many persons whose attitude was, "I will fall in love if I want to and end it if I want to. I am free to do as I like. Life is for happiness." Such an attitude, he declared, could not yield the permanent, stable unions that are the ideal. Temporary unions, he said, "leave nothing but early disappointment," and they "develop

¹ FANINA HALLE, "Women in Soviet Russia," New York, Viking, 1933, p. 112.

an attitude of irresponsibility" that is usually harder on the woman than on the man.¹

It is this irresponsible, entirely self-regarding aspect of free love that others have put their finger upon as the sore spot. A. A. Brill, the psychoanalyst, tells of a couple who came to him many years ago for advice regarding a free-love union. He encouraged it but changed his mind when the girl came back to him a few months later in such nervous distress that she could scarcely talk rationally. The young man had suddenly fallen in love with a French dancer and left his free-love partner on the spur of the moment, as per their previous agreement, and she was wild with grief. Here, discovered Brill, was a serious catch in the fine-sounding free-love agreement: the man and woman can't depend on getting tired of each other *at the same time*, and one is deeply hurt.²

PREMARITAL RELATIONS IN OUR PRESENT CULTURE

If premarital experimentation has unfavorable effects in a culture where it is condoned, the results may be even more serious in a culture that is distinctly hostile to it. With society set against it, premarital intercourse provides the poorest kind of training for marriage. Being of necessity clandestine, with the fear of discovery always present, it frequently takes place hurriedly and under the most unaesthetic circumstances. To be sure, the physical appetite can be satisfied in a few moments; but the act has little of the satisfying emotional value that it has in marriage, where the assurance of exclusiveness and the knowledge that the intimate companionship—of which the sex act is only one expression—will continue through the years add a sense of well-being. In the clandestine union—kept so frequently on a purely physical, self-regarding basis—the attitude is diametrically opposed to the mutual basis needed in marriage. This may be one of the reasons why in Terman's study³ the marriages in which neither husband nor wife had sexual intercourse before marriage were happier than the others. His data do not show *why* they were more successful in marriage, but they do show that both the husbands and wives in these marriages rated between four and five points higher on the happiness scale than did those who had premarital experience. In Hamilton's study,⁴ the difference between the two groups was even greater. The women who were virgin at marriage were 12 per cent higher on the marital-happiness scale than were the nonvirgin women, and

¹ HAROLD DENNY, in *New York Times*, Oct. 19, 1934.

² *New York World-Telegram*, Mar. 22, 1933.

³ TERMAN, "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, Chap. 12.

⁴ G. V. HAMILTON and KENNETH MACGOWAN, "What Is Wrong with Marriage?," New York, Boni, 1929, p. 234.

the corresponding difference for men was almost as great, 11 per cent. There are undoubtedly cases in which previous experience has helped in sexual adjustment after marriage, but the majority of findings do not indicate that this is the usual result. A mutual understanding of the physiological and psychological elements that go into sex adjustment, says Exner, "seems to serve as a more reliable equipment for happy marriage than premarital experience."¹

One of the most serious effects on the personality of the more sensitive of those who indulge in premarital affairs is the feeling of guilt and shame. The constant dread of exposure and the uncomfortable sense of hypocrisy before loved ones whose trust is highly valued are hardly compatible with peace of mind and self-respect. Betrothed persons who are sexually intimate are sometimes particularly dissatisfied, for being in love and proud of each other they resent having to "feel sneaking" about any of their relationships. Sometimes in later years, even when happily married, they regret that there was a period that must always be guarded from discovery. On the other hand, if their marriage turns out unhappily, the husband may entertain the suspicion, which before marriage he steadfastly refused to harbor, that if his wife yielded to sex intimacies with him before marriage she might have done the same with others. Whether or not this is true, the suspicion is more likely to arise than if she had refused to consider intercourse during betrothal. Mowrer² cites such a case and says they are common.

The girl in premarital affairs is usually more subject to personality disorganization than is her partner. Yielding perhaps reluctantly, hoping that it will lead to marriage, she often finds after a brief season that her companion is not serious but only seeking sex adventure. A second or third such experience and she becomes disillusioned and cynical and may easily drift into more promiscuous affairs. She becomes known as "easy," and men who seek her company do so for one reason only. Her chance of marriage is now greatly diminished; for though some young men will marry a girl who has had one affair, very few will marry one who has become promiscuous. A psychologist³ has summed up her difficulties clearly: "The woman who achieves her erotic education without marriage is in a peculiarly unfortunate position." She seldom realizes the strength of the forces that will be liberated within her, the importunity of the males who will seek her favors, or the strength of the conventions she is tempted to disregard, and therefore "in few cases can she possibly know beforehand the consequence of the step which she may contem-

¹ M. J. EXNER, "The Sexual Side of Marriage," New York, Norton, 1932, p. 163.

² HARRIET MOWRER, "Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord," New York, American Book Co., 1935, pp. 166-167.

³ KNIGHT DUNLAP, "Civilized Life," Baltimore, Williams & Wilkins, 1934, pp. 130-131.

plate." She does not realize that "the awakening of her amatory desire is a smoothly progressive process, beginning in details that may seem to her not in the least dangerous, but grading by small steps to a culmination in which she has no further control, and that she cannot foresee the point at which control will be lost." Quite apart from the ordinary question of right and wrong, "the serious ethical problem grows out of the psychological facts." If she fully understands that "the complexities of the new life are such that she cannot evaluate them in advance, and society is so organized that woman is put at every possible disadvantage in dealing with these complexities, she is not apt to entertain lightly an experimental attitude."

There is, however, considerable experimentation in spite of the difficulties, and with varying results. Bromley and Britten¹ collected data on the sex attitudes and behavior of more than 1,000 students in some twoscore colleges and universities the country over. Although their method was such that they did not reach a true cross section of the student population, they secured fairly good samples of some different types to be found among students. They found the girls, despite their veneer of sophistication, definitely worried and seeking for information. Many wanted to know whether in most schools a girl had to "go the limit" in order to be popular or whether she could hold the interest of the men if she refused. Would they respect her more, or would they merely drop her and go with others who would yield? In their own schools, the testimony was conflicting, and many were in a state of uncertainty. As a matter of fact, on their own campuses as elsewhere there are girls who have no trouble in remaining attractive and popular without compromise on their sex standards, just as there are others who have so little personality that they can seldom get escorts without granting special favors; in between are a variety of types.

The investigators found that, although a vast majority of these college girls (most of those studied were juniors and seniors) had never had sexual experience, a good many of them had. Taking the "experimenters" as one type, the authors found that with most of these the first experience did not come up to expectation, and they were left disillusioned, some to try no further but others to seek again. Say the authors, "It is curious that young people should expect to find Paradise by invoking a biological formula." One of their chief difficulties is that they are striving "to solve by purely intellectual methods what must forever be, first and foremost, an emotional problem." Such a loveless introduction to sex gives one very little knowledge of love. Yet so determined were these young experimenters to achieve their "freedom"

¹ DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY and FLORENCE HAXTON BRITTEN, *A Compromise with Chastity*, *Redbook*, 69: 52-55 +, 60-62 +, May, July, 1937.

and learn the "facts of life" that even when their sex adventures fell flat some of them insisted that the experience had been worth while, for they had "learned about life." Some reserved further favors for a loved companion, whereas some of the type the authors classify as "the burnt" after a bitter, disillusioning experience became cynical and promiscuous. A good many girls were restrained from experimentation by fear of pregnancy, but a great many also by personal ideals, moral and religious training, self-respect, regard for their parents' views, and similar reasons. All in all, the students showed a considerable degree of uncertainty; there was a tendency to rebel at the strict standards of the past, but there was little genuine confidence in the "freedom" which some were essaying to practice. As Waller¹ puts it, young people are in revolt against things as they are, but they have not worked out an integrated set of behavior patterns of their own. "For the most part the much-vaunted new attitudes of the young are merely compromises of the persons who are neither willing to pay the price of conformity nor to suffer the pains of nonconformity."

At present, there is no way of knowing how extensive is the sex experience of young people before marriage. Some students of the subject state that there is less of it than during the "mad twenties" following the war. Others say that it is definitely on the increase but that it is more restricted to engaged couples than formerly. At any rate, there is little doubt that premarital sex experience is more widespread than it was a generation ago, as shown by the studies by Dickinson, Terman, and others. Its exact extent, however, is less important for this discussion than its causes, and hence we will look briefly at some of the factors chiefly responsible for this change. Only as we understand the causes can we evaluate the efforts of society to control this trend.

Several of the causes for the increase in premarital sex relations are obvious, and for our purposes may be disposed of briefly.

1. The emergence of scientific contraception has removed the fear of pregnancy from some who previously were restrained chiefly by fear. It would be grossly unfair to intimate that most young people are deterred from sexual adventures by fear alone; most are restrained by the strength of the standards that they hold to be worth while, whether those standards are acquired from parents, church, school, or other influence. In Hamilton's study the most frequent reason given by the men who refrained from premarital intercourse, even with their fiancées, was "reverence for the person loved," that is, respect for personality. But it is also true that a certain percentage are held in check by fear alone, and these are the ones who break over the line as soon as they feel safe from serious consequences. That their "security" is often false,

¹ WILLARD WALLER, "The Family," New York, Cordon, 1938, p. 183.

owing to ignorance or faulty contraceptives, is beside the point. They *think* they are safe and proceed accordingly.

2. The decline of religious authority, with the lessened respect for religious teaching, is another cause. Today young folk have less religious education than formerly and hence turn less to religion for their guiding principles. Since religious dogmatism is being replaced by socialized religion, the latter may develop new ways of lending support to the maintenance of socially approved sex standards.

3. The philosophy of individualism—that what one does is his own business—is a prime factor in this as in other questions of social behavior. The “I-live-my-own-life” theory is gaining ground and is partly responsible for young folk throwing off time-honored restraints. Sex curiosity is often of consuming strength, and the craving for sex adventure is abetted by the doctrine of complete self-determination. A corollary is the semi-defiant determination, particularly upon the part of girls who insist upon a single standard, to prove to themselves and their youthful associates their equality and freedom by breaking conventions that have been considered all but sacred.

4. Our sex preoccupation is undoubtedly a large factor in shifting standards. We are living in a time when the accent on sex is all but overwhelming. One has only to stop and consider the extent to which sex is exploited on every hand to see how near to a sex obsession we have come. Sex is a powerful determinant of culture patterns among any people, but its intensity frequently varies in time. One need only compare our plays, movies, novels, magazines, night clubs, and newspapers with the same or comparable items of 25 years ago to see the great increase in the accent on sex. If the sex appeal were suddenly taken from commercial advertising, for example, it would be as helpless as a judge without a precedent on which to lean, for the omnipresent bathing girl appears on advertisements of everything, from tractors to soft drinks. This enthronement of sex in so many areas of life is hailed by some as a liberation from the fetters of dogmatism, an emergence into the sunlight of “naturalism.” But as a matter of fact, its roots are not in philosophy, but in private profit. Burlesque or legitimate play, peep show or nudist exhibit at a world’s fair, the “art” magazine that is forced to change its name every few months to avoid prosecution or the “realistic” novel by a noted author—all are exploiting sex for money, not for principle. Now, whether this trend is commendable or not, the result on youngsters is inevitable. All the activities mentioned above are run by adults, who help set the social standards. If the mature generation glorifies sex at every turn, it can hardly be surprised if the younger generation becomes its devotee. The elders in every society set the basic patterns of behavior, whether in the Congo or in the Mississippi Valley.

5. The lengthening period of education is postponing marriage for an increasing number of young people. There was a time when a "common school" education was all that was considered necessary, and a young man could be through with school and ready to go to work by the time he was fifteen. Then the high school opened further opportunities, and today we have more than six million boys and girls in high school and more than a million in college, not counting normal schools and teachers' colleges. Postgraduate training, in various professional and business fields, is claiming an increasing number to meet the demand for experts. Every such step pushes up the age at which these young people can marry, for few are able to do their schoolwork and assume the economic responsibilities of a home at the same time. In law and medicine the educational requirements have kept lengthening until the medical student, for example, is scarcely through with his internship before he is twenty-eight, and he still has some lean years ahead of him in getting his practice started before he can hope to marry.

Thus the piling up of culture content and the enormous increase in its complexity make lengthening of the training period inevitable, unless we can learn to offset it by compressing knowledge into shorter formulas. We have reduced an amazing amount of knowledge in the field of chemistry and physics to short formulas; but, even so, new knowledge is accumulating so rapidly in these vast fields that our compression machinery (by which we squeeze much knowledge into small capsules) cannot keep up with the demand. This raises a serious problem for young people. Years of waiting for marriage and home, particularly when they have found a prospective life partner and have become engaged, put a strain upon them that is all but unbearable. Not only are they just at the age when the sex urge is vibrant within them, but they feel that they are being cheated of the various comforts of an established home of their own. Close association for years, with a discouraging outlook for marriage for still more years, sometimes makes them conclude that they will enjoy each other as fully as possible—physically as well as otherwise—during the years of waiting. This is known to be a potent cause of premarital intercourse.

6. It is not higher education alone that forces a postponement of marriage in many cases; in many other cases, no matter how early the young man quits school he cannot get a job that will allow him to marry. This has been particularly true since 1930. The depression years caused the marriage rate in the United States to drop to an all-time low. With a 20 per cent decline in three years, one can easily see why the first five years of the depression produced an accumulated deficit of approximately three-quarters of a million marriages, directly affecting one and one-half million persons who otherwise would have married.

Such a situation constitutes a major crisis in the lives of many thousands of young people each year. No longer does the father give his boy, when he reaches the age of twenty-one, "the south eighty and a team and wagon." Today our population is more urban than rural, and the typical young man all too frequently is still looking for a job at twenty-one. As the years pass with no job, or one too ill paid to marry on, the young man and his betrothed become discouraged and sometimes cynical. They want to marry and raise a family. Society lauds this ambition but gives them no opportunity to fulfill it. They ask for no charity, they offer hard, honest work in exchange for a home, but it is denied them. Meanwhile, the sex urge is straining at the leash, aroused time and again during the long engagement by the minor intimacies of betrothal. It is not surprising that some of these young folk at last become defiant of the standards of a society which they consider unfair and seek in engagement the major physical satisfactions which the marriage they long for would bring. This anticipation of the sex intimacies of marriage is looked upon by many of these young folk not as *better* than the old way, but as the *only* way left to them; it is not so much a deliberate attempt to change the whole sex mores as it is to meet an immediate personal situation. They are faced with two alternatives: a self-denial that requires all the inner control they can muster—sometimes attained by what Janet Nelson¹ has called "a studied casualness toward a strong and growing urgency"—or sex expression in one form or another.

Society's responsibility in such cases is heavy. This is not to condone the breaking of the sex codes, for repeal by nullification is usually not a good way to secure a reform. Furthermore, it is not the sex code but the economic system that the young rebels are attacking. They demand a new system that will let them found a home where their love need not be furtive and where they can live under the normal conventions of life. How to achieve such a system they do not know, but they are increasingly ready to support any plan, however radical, that promises a solution.

Various proposals for bettering the situation have been set forth from different quarters. One is the public subsidy of marriage (as in Germany and Italy) discussed in the previous chapter. But the temper of the American people does not support such procedure at present. It is foreign to the reliance on individual initiative characteristic of a new country. Educational subsidies, especially to graduate students, is another proposal. But unless such aid were restricted to those selected through competitive examinations it would hardly be sound educational

¹ Quoted by Genevieve Parkhurst, *Shall Marriage Be Subsidized?*, *Harper's*, 175: 570-579, November, 1937.

policy, and such restrictions would pass by the vast majority needing help. Still another proposal is the previously described family-endowment system which is used in several European countries, but it has made little headway here. There remains one practical proposal that could be put into effect at any time, although admittedly it would apply to only a minority of cases. If those parents who are able to do so would help establish their sons and daughters in their married life at its *beginning*, instead of leaving money in their wills to offspring who are then in middle life and presumably already established, they might relieve some of the difficulties. But such procedure would have its drawbacks. It would run counter to the self-respect and self-reliance of the young folk themselves, which in a frontier country has been one of their chief heritages. A study already quoted showed that most of the young people did not want help. Second, it would strike the same snag in the thinking of the parents, who do not want to risk destroying their children's ability to stand on their own feet. Many a parent who could afford to give his son an easy start deliberately refrains from doing so lest he destroy the initiative and determination considered so essential to success. That there is good argument on both sides of this question is self-evident. One need only look about him to see cases in which parental indulgence of offspring at marriage has fostered a dependent attitude. On the other hand, a moderate amount of aid granted at just the right time and in a judicious way has been the saving grace in many a difficult situation.

This marriage dilemma is a serious one from every angle, for it involves most of the basic values of life. Young people get desperate and act rashly. They overestimate both their own capacity for "free action" and the degree of emancipation possessed by others. They determine to take matters into their own hands, but soon run up against solid reality. Says Waller,¹ "The fact that the individual believes our culture norms to be wrong is by no means an indication that he can violate them with impunity, either in terms of his own mental hygiene, or in terms of the reaction of his group." Likewise, society is in a quandary. If it is to uphold the standards of monogamy, it must make it possible for the young to marry. Unless it reorganizes its social and economic institutions, it may have to abandon the sex standards it has tried so hard to maintain. It cannot expect marriage, instead of the economic system, to do all the adjusting, for this one-sided adjustment is at last approaching a limit. Radical theories, whether in sex or economics, usually grow out of galling maladjustments. At present, the search for economic well-being and the legitimate satisfaction of the sex urge in its broader sense are inextricably bound together. Adjustment in the former would

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

greatly facilitate adjustment in the latter and would certainly relieve much of the pressure on certain standards that society is loath to give up.

But solving the economic factors of marriage would not bring all sex experimentation to an end. In the first place, not all of it has economic roots; second, experimentation once started has a way of continuing. The restlessness of young people in the trying years of recent times and our increasing preoccupation with sex have already brought considerable change in the sex ways of the country, at least, in most sections. How far this trend will go it is impossible to say. If it goes far enough and the exception becomes the rule, we shall find ourselves with a new set of unofficial sex standards. On the other hand, if the new sex ways bring serious antisocial results and deep social concern is aroused, there may be a swing back toward the older standards which are considered safer than the new. Whichever the trend, we now accept the fact that the sex pattern must be a consistent, integral part of our total design for living. Under no other conception can unity of life be achieved.

Those who are most convinced that the trend of change is too radical—that its object seems to be the elimination rather than the liberalization of sex standards—are the ultraconservatives who insist that there be no change whatever. This attitude is one of the difficulties previously pointed out and merely invites rebellion. Perhaps the moderates are in the best position to work out a sensible course, but moderates are less interested than those at either extreme and less likely to put forth effort. However, there are two moderate steps that would appear to be definitely constructive, and that might result in a reasoned, orderly change rather than rash rebellion. The first of these is the removal of the doctrine—still potent in many circles in spite of all the teachings of the physical and social sciences—that sex is essentially unclean, even nasty. The dissipation of this cloud of stigma that for centuries has hung over legitimate and illegitimate sex acts alike and the frank recognition of the double function of sex in marriage—procreation and mutual pleasure—would in itself do much to create a wholesome attitude. The second step, necessarily correlated with the first, would be a thoroughgoing program of sex education for both children and adults. That sex ignorance should be so prevalent today among an enlightened people is almost incredible. A clear understanding of the physiological, psychological, and sociological aspects of sex would make possible a planned course instead of one based upon uncontrolled emotion. The sex urge is so powerful that it is difficult to bridle even under the most favorable circumstances; under the confused conditions of today, it is not surprising that it has started a runaway. Not until we apply to sex behavior the same scientific research that we have applied to other areas of behavior can we hope to bring it under rational control.

BY-PRODUCTS OF IRREGULAR SEX EXPRESSION

It has been noted that in every age there are some who refuse to abide by the sex standards which society seeks to maintain. They might be divided roughly into two groups: those who more or less habitually show contempt for all sex rules not of their own making, and those who only occasionally disregard the accepted pattern. There is of course no hard and fast line between these groups, for they range from the most debauched rake at one extreme, to the most respectable person, who indulges in a single indiscretion, at the other extreme. Likewise, the results—both personal and social—may range all the way from the most devastating to the mildest temporary effect. Yet, in the long run, a considerable proportion of these persons, all along the line from one extreme to the other, contribute to social problems that are centuries old. Whether it be the prostitute spreading venereal disease in ever-widening circles or the girl of good character who because of one error dies under the hand of a bungling abortionist, each contributes her full share to the continuance of these problems. Some of the problems are wholly, and some only partly, the result of irregular sex expression, but in either case they constitute a serious threat to the stability and happiness of the family.

Illegitimacy.—This is wholly a by-product of irregular sex expression and constitutes a problem from at least three angles: the welfare of the child, of the mother, and of society. The father is usually a "silent partner" in the affair, and as such he commonly avoids the spotlight. In a male-dominated world, such a division of consequences has not been difficult to maintain; the mother and child have shared the mental and sometimes physical suffering involved, and society has paid the bills. Actually, society's share of the burden is far more than financial, but the less obvious factors were not realized until modern medicine, mental hygiene, and scientific social work uncovered the far-reaching effects of illegitimacy.

The question of one's status at birth is important from many angles, involving rights as to name, support, inheritance, marriage, religion (as in ancestor worship), etc. In the ancient Roman law, the illegitimate child had practically no rights; he was not considered as having either father or mother. In the Middle Ages, his status was still little better than that of a criminal. Even in England, he had no right of support by his mother, much less by his father, and he was thrown upon the parish for what miserable support he had. Not until the parishes finally rebelled at this burden did the Poor Law of 1576 make the parents jointly responsible for his support, and not until the beginning of the nineteenth century was the burden legally shifted to the father. In 1926, the English

Legitimacy Act provided for legitimation by subsequent marriage of parents and gave the legitimated child certain inheritance rights, but in competition with other children born legitimate his rights are ranked according to his date of legitimation instead of his date of birth.

The Scandinavian countries have blazed a new trail in the treatment of illegitimacy. Any birth out of wedlock must be reported by the physician or midwife in attendance or by the mother herself if she had no aid. The man she names as the father is then summoned by the proper officials, and if he denies the paternity *he must either establish the true paternity of the child or be held liable himself*. Thus the burden of proof is put upon him rather than upon the mother or the state. The child can use the father's name, has liberal inheritance rights, and is entitled to adequate support and education from both parents, befitting the economic station of the father or mother, whichever is higher. The term "illegitimate" has been dropped, and the stigma minimized. In Germany, the Nazis have been so anxious for births that they have given unmarried mothers the right to the title of *Frau*, and have opened home-like institutions where unmarried mothers can live comfortably with their babies.¹ In Soviet Russia, there is no such thing as illegitimacy, every child being legitimate by virtue of its birth.

In the United States, all the 51 jurisdictions have modified in some way the harsh provisions of the common law which made any child born out of wedlock *filius nullius*, that is, nobody's child. The most common provision (48 jurisdictions) is that subsequent marriage by the parents legitimizes the child, though some states also require acknowledgement by the father. Two states, Arizona and North Dakota, have gone further than any others by declaring *every child to be the legitimate issue of its natural parents*, even if the natural father is married to a woman other than the mother of the child. However, this is not so liberal as it sounds, for unless the father acknowledges the child or unless the mother brings suit *within one year* after the birth of the child to establish its paternity, the paternity is not established and the statute becomes meaningless. The child has no recourse later.

The provisions regarding the establishment of paternity and for the support of the child vary greatly in the different states. In some the father is required to take only a nominal responsibility. For example, in Arkansas he is liable for the mother's lying-in expenses (not less than \$5 or more than \$15) and for not less than \$1 or more than \$3 per month till the child is *seven*. Little wonder that one socially minded legislator exploded, "Why, you can't raise a mule colt on a dollar a month!" Does the cessation of "support" at the age of seven imply that the child is then able to support himself? At the other end of the scale, in Dela-

¹ *New York Times*, June 3, 1937.

ware the father may be made to pay up to \$40 per month till the child is sixteen, that is, a total of \$7,680 as compared with the maximum of \$252 in Arkansas. Some states have no maximum, and the court can set any figure it thinks proper, according to the father's financial status. The methods of enforcing payment are sometimes exceedingly lax, and very frequently the payments ordered are never paid, or paid only in part. The Minnesota law has some excellent features. The father of an illegitimate child is liable for its care and maintenance in the same way that the father of legitimate children is responsible for them.

Provision for the welfare of unmarried mothers is another phase of the illegitimacy problem. In her study of 1,600 cases of illegitimacy, Reed¹ found that more than four-fifths of the mothers were under 25, more than one-third were under 20, and 5 per cent were under 16 years of age. Nearly seven-eighths were having their first child, but 200 were having their second, third, or even up to their eighth. The mothers came mostly from domestic service (43 per cent), but clerical workers were also numerous (30 per cent), and 8.5 per cent were from the professional group. More than 62 per cent of these mothers had no more than eighth-grade education, and 7 per cent had never gone beyond the fourth grade.

The attitude of society toward the unmarried mother is still one of scorn and persecution. True, she is not forced to wear the scarlet letter, but her ostracism is often as genuine as if the letter were branded on her forehead. Logically, illegitimate births are the result of illegitimate sex intercourse, involving equally a man and a woman, but judging from society's attitude the man has little share in the episode. Often the social verdict is that the man was merely "foolish" but the girl was a "shameless hussy." He may be made to contribute to the support of the child, but the mother is the one who remains an outcast.

This stony attitude of society causes most unmarried pregnant girls either to induce abortion or to go to a city where they can bear their children in secrecy and dispose of them through some child-placing agency. Under such circumstances a girl goes through a terrific emotional crisis. First, through fear of detection she must leave her home and loved ones at the very time she most needs understanding and counsel; second, she must seek out some place in a strange city where she can await the event, and alone and without friends go through the trial of childbirth; third, just as she is becoming greatly attached to her baby she must give it up—often forever—if she is to resume her normal position in society undetected. The whole experience seems almost a perfect setup for producing personal disorganization, and the fact that some of

¹ RUTH REED, "The Illegitimate Family in New York City," New York, Columbia University Press, 1934.

these young mothers come through the experience with a certain equanimity testifies to the resiliency of youth.

Some of the institutions handling such cases have records of such sordid exploitation that they could never stand the light of official investigation. In one state the commissioner of charities recently uncovered evidence that babies were actually being sold for adoption, the physicians charging \$70 to \$100 under the guise of paying for the "costs of hospitalization."¹ However, some institutions have maintained their work on a high social level. Some will not accept a patient unless she agrees to stay three months after the birth of the child. After carefully studying all the factors in her particular case, if it is thought best for her to keep her child the three months' period allows the growing attachment to make such a decision easier. In cases where it seems entirely unsuitable for the mother to keep her child, the institution will help place it in a carefully selected family.

From the standpoint of society's interests, illegitimacy presents a real dilemma. "There are no illegitimate children; only illegitimate parents." Therefore, society would like to ease the burden on innocent children, and yet it does not wish to endanger the stability of marriage and family by abolishing all distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate sex relations. In other words, it does not know how to penalize the guilty without also penalizing the innocent. Should it abolish all rules of the game just to save the embarrassment of naming the players who violate the rules? Or must it fall back upon the old dictum that the rain falls on the just and the unjust alike? Such an attitude does not make for social progress. If society fears that there is no single step by which it could remove all social stain from illegitimacy without endangering, in some degree at least, respect for marriage and family stability, it could at least assume the limited risk of proceeding step by step, experimentally. (1) It could begin with the child, who is the innocent party, and lift from him the legal stigma of the term "illegitimate" by doing as a few states have done in erasing from his birth certificate any evidence of his irregular origin that can rise to plague him at various stages of life. (2) It could give him full rights of support and inheritance, support on a par with that which his father and mother would provide for him if they were married to each other. (3) It could also provide, or supervise if privately provided, suitable hospitals and homes for unmarried mothers before and after the birth of their children and adequate guidance in securing paternal responsibility and maternal rehabilitation in society. Likewise, it could furnish the strictest supervision over all child placement and adoption. (4) Finally it could abolish the *legal* distinction between legitimate and illegitimate, giving all children

¹ *New York Times*, Apr. 20, 1933.

(and parents) equal standing before the law. Since attitudes cannot be legislated out of existence all at once, *social* distinctions would subside slowly, leaving in force a social pressure of disapproval, though slowly diminishing, against those who flouted the sex standards.

But more important than these mere remedial measures would be a strong and persistent emphasis on preventive measures, for in these lies the hope of ultimate solution. Whatever constructive measures society can use to promote respect for its rationally approved sex standards will automatically reduce the problem of illegitimacy. In so far as it can provide wholesome recreation, enlightened education (including adequate sex instruction), and opportunity for early marriage and economic self-maintenance, and can keep the mentally and morally unfit out of circulation, it will thereby reduce some of the underlying causes of irregular sex expression, and hence of illegitimacy. Contraception also plays an important role. Society prefers that contraception be used *in marriage*, for the purpose of limiting births to those desired. Actually, there is no way of preventing it from being used by those outside of marriage who refuse to follow the conventions. We have already pointed out that contraceptive knowledge actually increases this unconventional group by adding to it those persons, of undetermined number, who previously have been restrained by fear of consequences. This fact may temporarily increase illegitimacy, but ultimately the spread of contraceptive information may reduce it to a minimum.

Abortion.—By abortion is meant the destruction or expulsion (or both) of the fetus before it is viable, that is, capable of sustaining life after birth. In human beings, this usually means before the twenty-sixth to twenty-eighth week. Birth after the fetus has become viable but before the expiration of the usual period of pregnancy is called "premature." *Spontaneous* abortions are those occurring without any intentional interference with pregnancy and are sometimes called "miscarriages." *Therapeutic* abortions are those produced by authorized persons in order to save the life or conserve the health of the mother. Most of the states permit this practice. *Induced* abortions are those purposely brought on, by self or others, and therefore include illegal abortions.

Abortion is not entirely or even chiefly a by-product of irregular sex expression, for the vast majority of induced abortions are by married women. But since many of the figures available do not discriminate between the married and the unmarried, it is not possible to keep them entirely separate in the discussion. Furthermore, the causes and even the results of abortion in these two groups are not always different.

It is obvious that no entirely accurate statistics can be obtained on a practice as secret as abortion. The therapeutic cases are on record, but

even the most thoroughgoing study cannot expect to uncover all the self-induced and criminally aided abortions. It is remarkable that persistent research has done as well as it has in getting those who have practiced abortion to talk. The figures, as might be expected, vary widely, partly because of the very different population samples studied. Perhaps the most authoritative study made to date in this country is that of Dr. F. J. Taussig,¹ under the sponsorship of the National Committee on Maternal Health. After an exhaustive comparison of the most significant studies available, he comes to the following conclusions for the United States:

1. That there are close to 700,000 abortions annually.
2. That 8,000 deaths from abortion occur each year.
3. That there has been a marked increase in abortions in the last few decades, the ratio of abortions to confinements having changed from 1 to 7, forty years ago, to 1 to 3, at present. In certain industrial centers, abortions and full-time deliveries are practically equal in number.
4. Of all abortions only about 25 to 30 per cent are spontaneous, 10 to 15 per cent therapeutic, and 60 to 65 per cent illegally induced.
5. Physicians perform more than half of the illegal abortions, midwives one-fifth, and the patients themselves the remainder.
6. Approximately 90 per cent of all abortions are by married women, especially wives in the 25-35 age group who already have several children. Most of the recent increase in abortion has been in this group. The unmarried who practice abortion are mostly in the younger age groups.
7. Whether spontaneous or induced, abortions occur most frequently in the second and third months of gestation.
8. There is no great difference in the incidence of abortion among Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish women.
9. The abortion death rate is a half higher among Negro than among white women.
10. Both the abortion rate and the abortion death rate are twice as high in cities as in country districts.

The death rate from abortion is much higher among unmarried than among married women. Most of the unmarried are young and terrified by the whole experience. Many come from the lower economic classes and therefore cannot afford to go to any but the cheapest doctors, whose methods are often appallingly crude. Others resort to an amazing variety of self-torture in an effort to end their pregnancy without discovery. When it is over, some throw off their sense of guilt quite easily, but the personalities of others are seared for life.

The exploitation of abortion makes a sordid picture indeed. In a great city, hundreds of doctors, midwives, and quacks prey upon pregnant girls and women in distress. A medical examiner for the board of health in New York City once listed 75 physicians who specialized exclusively

¹ F. J. TAUSSIG, "Abortion, Spontaneous and Induced," St. Louis, Mosby, 1936. pp. 387-388.

in "bootleg" abortions. A former health commissioner claimed that in that same city there were 100,000 abortions a year—a very lucrative business. One writer¹ who investigated this field claims that, although many "respectable" doctors will not themselves perform the abortion, they will send their patients to disreputable abortionists for a cut of one-third to one-half of the fee. He quotes the brutal statement of one physician who boasted that within four years he had received his cut on 2,000 abortions without ever acting as principal. The same writer claims that it is an open secret that those who perform these criminal abortions have police protection—for which they pay handsomely. The police shakedown, in which a raid is staged, usually nets \$1,000 per raider, the minimum hush money required of an abortionist with a good business being around \$5,000 per year. The fees charged the patients range from \$25 by the little fellows to \$3,000 by the fashionable but undercover "specialists."

The ethical and legal aspects of abortion have disturbed people through the ages. The question of just when a new human life becomes "human" has long been troublesome. Aristotle reckoned that the fetus "quickened" within the womb after 40 days; St. Augustine and St. Thomas considered that the male fetus had life within 40 days after conception and the female fetus within 80 days. Punishment for abortion before the fetus "quickened" was relatively light under canon law, but for abortion beyond that period was long imprisonment or death. One theological objection to abortion was that since original sin resided in the fetus its destruction before baptism resulted in its eternal damnation.

But moralists and lawmakers have had as much difficulty with the question as have theologians. We now know that there is no stage in the period of gestation when the fetus becomes human but that the new life begins at conception with the union of the sperm and ovum. Therefore, its destruction at any stage of development is the taking of life, which is repugnant to our ethical standards. The sacredness of human life is a concept that has been built up with infinite pain and care through the whole history of man. From savage customs to the high spiritual values of today, as expressed in our humanitarian laws and institutions, we have come a long hard road. It is not wisdom lightly to endanger the gains so slowly and hardly won. We rightly fear that an opening wedge that justifies the killing of the unborn baby and the "mercy killings" of defectives would lead to a loss of respect for human life and to a doctrine of expediency applied too recklessly to fundamental principles.

On the other hand, we can argue that human life has *never* been held sacred except relatively; *i.e.*, there have always been occasions and situations in which the taking of life has been approved. Our basic group

¹ B. B. Tolnai, *The Abortion Racket*, *Forum*, 94: 176-181, September, 1935.

philosophy has necessarily placed the welfare of the group above that of the individual. We have had holy crusades against the infidels and have burned heretics at the stake. Coming down to date, we kill criminals, justify murder in self-defense, and commend and even reward both single and mass murder in war. Since killing another mature person has always been rated on a scale whose extremes are infinitely far apart, is it any wonder that a similar scale exists regarding the destruction of the partly formed fetus—human life in its preinfancy stage? In a sense, it is murder; but so is the execution of a criminal or shooting down one who attacks you or your loved ones. In either case, the question is: What procedure in this specific situation will result in the greatest social value?

Most persons will agree that abortion is justified to save the life and health of the mother, for she has already reached maturity, represents a large social investment, and is of great social value to others. But when some advocate that it is also justified "to maintain her standard of living" or "to avoid interruption of her work," others see the risk of a general overthrow of standards, for such reasons—and excuses—could be stretched to almost any limit. But it is just at this point that the sociologist might argue that there is as much danger in fixity as in elasticity. Social needs change, and social values and codes change with them. Such a statement merely increases the dilemma. The argument cannot and need not be resolved here. It is not the function of this text to set moral standards but only to present as fairly as possible the arguments on both sides of a question and point to any trend or conclusion that may stand out with sufficient clearness to warrant general acceptance. On this particular subject, public discussion is limited to undertones and hearsay. Yet the issues at stake are so momentous that the whole matter might well be carried into the light of free and prolonged discussion. Only then can a definite, measurable public opinion emerge that will justify the charting of a course.

One of the most significant social experiments that has occurred in this century is the legalization of abortion in Soviet Russia. Abortion had been increasing in Russia, as in the rest of Europe; and in half the cases, the aborted women became infected and 4 per cent died. To save the life and health of women, Russia passed a law in 1920, legalizing abortion under the following conditions:¹

1. Abortions could be performed only by registered physicians.
2. Physicians could accept no remuneration.
3. Abortions could be performed only in hospitals. Hospitalization for three days after the operation and a two weeks' rest before returning to work were mandatory.

¹ TAUSSIG, *op. cit.*, pp. 405-406.

4. Abortion was not permitted if the woman had been pregnant more than 2½ months.

5. First pregnancies could be interrupted only if the woman's life were seriously endangered.

This new law led to such a flood of requests that the hospitals could not accommodate them all, and in 1924 the law was modified so that preference was given to (1) a woman with one child but no means of support, (2) a woman with several children and means of support. This modification promptly increased the illegal abortions, and the mortality and morbidity rates rose, but still the hospitals were inadequate. So a small charge was made for each abortion, ranging from 50 cents to \$20, according to the economic status of the patient, and the funds were used to build special hospitals, or *abortoria*. Still, all was not well. Abortions continued to rise. In Leningrad, in 1924, there were 21 abortions per 100 births, but in 1928 there were 139 per 100 births, a ratio increase of nearly sevenfold, with abortions nearly 40 per cent more numerous than births. In rural districts, the rate was only about one-half as high as in the large cities.

In spite of the fact that Russian medical authorities achieved a remarkably low mortality rate for abortion (in some hospitals only one death in 10,000 cases, which was less even than the German rate), physicians began to point out the harm in subsequent years resulting from abortion. Maternity clinics as well as the state research institute began to study the aftereffects—both physical and psychic—of abortion, and their reports piled up unfavorable evidence. Added to this was the political disapproval of the effect of abortion on the birth rate. Various means were used to discourage abortion, and in 1936 its legalization was abolished “in the interests of the health of the woman”—the same interests for which the law had been passed. Thus, the first experiment to legalize abortion ended in failure—at least in the eyes of those who promulgated it. They had foreseen neither the extent of its effect on the birth rate and on the physical and mental health of the repeaters even when given the best of medical care nor the legal inducement—almost invitation—to throw aside the old moral restraints and the steady responsibilities of parenthood. It remains to be seen whether once having loosed the tide of abortion the authorities can turn it back. An appeal to superpatriotism may be the first approach.

Prostitution.—The sale of sexual intercourse is a huge and prosperous business. In the United States, as in other countries, commercialized prostitution has a widespread network of organization that facilitates the shifting of girls from one center to another when social pressure becomes too great in a given place. A regular chain system has been developed, whereby girls are shifted from one city to another at such brief intervals that it is difficult to collect evidence and prepare a case

before the chief witnesses are gone. Also, operators understand reform psychology, knowing that social determination rises and falls but never remains constant long.

Prostitution is as old as history, for it is based upon the profit motive. Any commodity or service, social or antisocial, will be supplied if there is an effective demand for it. The almost constant sex urge of men provides customers, the desire for economic gain provides the prostitute, and the opportunity for profit in managing the transaction provides the middleman who brings buyer and seller together. To be sure, some prostitution of the past was religious, but by far the greater proportion has always been for profit. There were early attempts at control, but always with indifferent success. The Hebrews punished harlots severely, sometimes with death; yet harlotry flourished. In Rome, harlots were required to register, wear distinctive dress, and confine their trade to *lupanaria*, and the emperors got much revenue from their tax on them. In England, in the twelfth century, Henry II legalized certain houses of prostitution after earlier rulers had sought to drive them out. Church control proved ineffective, for some church officials derived revenues from brothels. Municipal control was not effective—in fact, the cities used brothels as a source of revenue, and in French and German cities they even “figured in the hospitality tendered to important guests.”¹ Not until the virulent epidemic of syphilis in the fifteenth century took an appalling toll of lives did Europe see the fearful results that could come from uncurbed prostitution. From then on, the health angle received a major share of the attention accorded the problem, and the Reformation gave impetus to the moral and religious phase as well. But since prostitution still prevailed and venereal disease was a constant threat, many cities turned to registration and periodical examination of prostitutes and sought to confine their activities to licensed houses.

In the United States, licensed prostitution never was able to get a foothold although for a good many years cities attempted to limit open prostitution to segregated or “red-light” districts, where police interfered little with the business. But with the turn of the twentieth century the surveys of several vice commissions led to the closing of the segregated districts and the driving of prostitution under cover. America was at last convinced that the European policy of regulation did not work and that, although prostitution could never be completely abolished, the best way of fighting it was to work toward abolition as far as possible.

The extent of prostitution in this country has been variously estimated. Woolston² figured that before the World War there were at least 200,000 prostitutes. During the war there were determined drives

¹ GEOFFREY MAY, Prostitution, in *Enc. Soc. Sciences*, 12: 554.

² H. B. WOOLSTON, “Prostitution in the United States,” New York, Appleton-Century, 1921.

to close every red-light district possible, in the interests of military efficiency, and in many cities the campaigns were very effective. But vigilance was relaxed soon after the war, and since then prostitution has been increasing. The American Social Hygiene Association made surveys in 58 cities (including every state) in 1927, 1932, and 1936, which showed that conditions were steadily growing worse.

Various studies have shown that most prostitutes are in their early twenties, with very few as old as thirty. Many of them begin their careers well under twenty. Some studies show sixteen to be the most frequent age at which these girls have their first sex experience leading toward prostitution. They must be young to please the customers, and as they advance in age they gravitate to cheaper houses or become street-walkers. Thus a constant influx of new recruits is necessary if the army of prostitution is to be kept up to full strength. Various reports indicate that their average age is decreasing.

Reformers in the past have overstressed the entry of women and girls into this life from economic necessity, alleging that prostitution could be practically wiped out if working girls were paid higher wages. It is true that the *economic-betterment* factor is a very important one, but the *economic-necessity* factor is relatively unimportant. Very few are forced into prostitution to live. But factory work, domestic labor, and many other occupations are hard, often uninteresting, and poorly paid. Prostitution, to girls of limited education and experience, appears to be an avenue of escape from drudgery. Its drab elements are seldom realized, for they are lighted up by the glitter of promised luxuries—jewels, fine clothes, entertainment, and gayety. Girls whose moral training has been deficient, girls whose workaday lives are colorless and uninteresting, girls unhappy and rebellious for one reason or another, and a sprinkling of girls with limited mentality make up a large part of the army of prostitutes. Many do not deliberately enter prostitution, but as they proceed from one private affair to another they find to their own surprise that they have become promiscuous, and from there it is but a step to professional prostitution.

The unfavorable effects of prostitution on marriage and family life are too obvious to need more than mention. (1) The young man who frequents houses of prostitution builds up physical and psychic habits inimical to later sex adjustment in marriage. The quest for variety, the emphasis on only the physical aspects of sex, the completely self-centered motive, and often the stimulation of perversions he will not find in his young wife—all tend to unfit him for monogamy. (2) The husband who goes to prostitutes may lose his wife's respect and affection. Knowing that he comes from the paid embraces of a prostitute, she is less likely to welcome his advances and may become frigid. (3) When

the husband infects his wife with syphilis or gonorrhea, causing painful illness, stillbirths, premature births, or sterility, there is little basis for love and happiness in the home. (4) One of the chief functions of the family is the development of personality; one of the chief results of prostitution is its degradation. The prostitute must accept the customer, no matter how repulsive he may be to her. They are not man and woman but male and female, and his one aim is physical satiation. The element of love—even clandestine love—is lacking. Sex is reduced to its lowest denominator. The male contributes raw passion—and money. The female contributes her body—for a price. Respect for personality has no part in the transaction.

Venereal Disease.—Syphilis and gonorrhea both have some very direct effects upon marriage and family life, and since both are contracted in such a large percentage of cases through irregular sex activities we are justified in listing them as antisocial by-products of unregulated sex expression. If all sex activities were confined to marriage, syphilis and gonorrhea could quickly be brought under control. But such is not the case and is not likely to become the case; hence, authorities in the field agree that prostitution and noncommercial liaisons will greatly slow up the control of these two diseases. But they are hopeful of control in spite of the difficulties.

Syphilis is a contagious disease caused by a minute organism called the "spirochete," which enters the body through even the slightest break or scratch in the skin or through mucous surfaces such as the lining of the mouth or the genital tract. They get into the lymph first, then into the blood, and are carried to every part of the body. Parran¹ states that the spirochetes have been found in remote bone marrow and spleen within 48 hours after infection, so fast do they work. Gonorrhea is not so serious as syphilis, unless there are complications, but there is no known way of making it noninfectious as there is with syphilis, which may account for the fact that it is probably two to four times as prevalent as syphilis. The gonococcus causes sterility in women through abscesses in the Fallopian tubes and affects the prostate gland and seminal vesicles in men. It also causes arthritis in both sexes, and blindness in the newborn babe unless preventive measures are taken.

Syphilis develops in three stages. In the first, a lesion or ulcer appears on whatever part of the body the spirochete found entrance. In the second stage, there is a skin eruption, varying from a mild rash to such a violent eruption that it was originally known as great pox in contrast to smallpox. In its third stage, the outer symptoms disappear, and in nearly all cases the disease becomes latent, the spirochetes burrow-

¹ THOMAS PARRAN, "Shadow on the Land," New York, Reynal & Hitchcock, 1937, p. 4.

ing into bone and tissue and entrenching themselves for a long war. The final attack may be on bones, lungs, heart, liver, or other organs. Syphilis causes 10 to 12 per cent of all heart diseases and also produces a great deal of locomotor ataxia and paresis, or softening of the brain. On many respectable death certificates naming heart failure, abdominal dropsy, and other diseases as the cause of death, the word "syphilis" often stands out as clearly to the attending physician as if he had written it in ink.

At present, there are about 683,000 cases of syphilis under treatment or observation in the United States, and authorities agree that there are several times as many not under treatment, many people not even knowing they are infected. Various sources give a total figure of between five and six million cases. Its death toll in this country is about 100,000 annually. Little wonder that the great Sir William Osler called it "the greatest killer among infections." Syphilis is six times as prevalent among Negroes as among whites, and its rate is four times as high in cities as in rural areas. The surgeon-general estimates that prostitution is responsible for 25 per cent of syphilis, clandestine love affairs cause another 25 per cent, and about half of all cases are acquired innocently. He points out that various studies have shown 50 per cent of all prostitutes to have syphilis and 80 per cent to have gonorrhea. This makes prostitution, he says the "greatest social handicap to complete eradication of America's No. 1 killer, syphilis."¹

It is encouraging to know that, although scarcely more than a generation ago syphilis was considered incurable, today nearly nine-tenths of the cases can be cured if treated in the early stage. It is discouraging, however, to know that at present less than half of the new cases are recognized or request treatment within a year after infection, which greatly reduces the chances of a cure. It requires 30 or more injections to effect a cure; yet 60 per cent of the patients take less than 10 injections, which means that they will suffer a relapse. Only 10 per cent receive the full quota of injections, and of these only slightly more than 1 per cent suffer a relapse. There is little doubt but that we shall soon come to compulsory treatment. In Denmark, treatment is free and compulsory, and 98 per cent of the patients complete the full number of treatments advised. The result has been an amazing drop in the number of new cases. In Sweden, the drop was even more phenomenal, from 97 down to 7 new cases per 100,000 population, in the 16-year period 1919-1935. When we compare the rates of Sweden and the United States, 7 against 796 new cases per 100,000 population,² we cannot but wonder where the vaunted American efficiency is. But for many years the American Social

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

² Average for the 1927-1936 decade.

Hygiene Association, under the leadership of Dr. William A. Snow, has carried on a quiet campaign of preparation and education which is now bearing fruit. Now the United States Public Health Service, with the cooperation of many state and local boards of health and of doctors, educators, and clergy all over the country, is conducting the greatest campaign against syphilis and gonorrhea since the World War.

One practical legislative result of the aroused interest is the New York law, passed in 1938 and the first one in this country, compelling all pregnant women to take blood tests for syphilis. This law, according to health authorities, will save the lives of thousands of infants. In five out of six cases the unborn child contracts the disease from his syphilitic mother unless she is treated; and approximately one-half the infants who contract syphilis *in utero* are born dead, and one-quarter more die before they are a year old. This law is almost certain to be adopted in other states.

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. List the sex questions on which young people of high-school and early college age are most uncertain and on which they are anxious for scientific knowledge and sympathetic guidance. What ways can you suggest whereby they might be helped to establish and maintain sex standards that would preserve their own self-respect and the respect of the community?
2. If prostitution can never be wholly stamped out, list the arguments for and against having legally and medically supervised prostitution in a segregated district of each city.
3. Formulate a program that you think would wholly or partly eliminate the stigma now borne by the illegitimate child and increase the chances of social readjustment by the mother, without endangering the sex standards which society considers necessary.
4. List a number of novels you have read which, without moralizing, definitely leave the impression that the maintenance of high sex standards is eminently worth while, both personally and socially. List a number of novels which definitely give the impression that virginity before marriage is a quaint relic of puritanism and that fidelity after marriage is only slightly less old-fashioned.
5. See how many different advertised products you can list in which sex appeal has been used to catch the reader's attention.
6. Among the boys and girls of high-school age of your acquaintance, have you noticed any effect of the movies on their codes of sex behavior? If so, describe them.
7. Make a list of the attitudes of young people you know toward premarital sex relations. What proportion do not justify it under any circumstances? What proportion under certain circumstances (give the circumstances)? What proportion, if any, think there should be no restrictions whatever? Is there any perceptible difference between the persons in these three groups, as to their degree of social adjustment, ability to make and keep friends, unselfishness, honesty, dependability, respect of others, etc.?
8. Think back over the movies you have seen in the last year or two. Describe the sex behavior that is most prevalent in them. Trying to be wholly objective and honest with yourself, can you think of any movie that made the suggestion of lowering your own previously held sex standards seem a little less serious—perhaps even justifiable and more "enlightened"?
9. Make a list of the attitudes toward abortion that you have heard expressed by others, whether single or married—whether ever justified, if so under what conditions, etc. What is the prevailing thought among these opinions?

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CONSERVATION OF FAMILY VALUES

Any picture of the modern family must be a moving picture. An institution long considered stable—even static—has become an outstanding example of social change. To many, this change is highly distressing. Before their very eyes, they see the old familiar family pattern rapidly disintegrating, and they are fearful lest the new forms emerging will prove inadequate, both personally and socially. Their distress is the greater because they are emotionally unprepared for it. The deep emotional content of the family concept makes objective evaluation difficult. They ask plaintively, of this or that factor caught in the current of change, "Must this go also? Cannot this, at least, be spared?" They forget that change, like yeast, once set to working, is likely to leaven the whole loaf. It were better to use the energy expended on lamentations in analyzing and directing the change, for there is no evidence that it cannot be directed in this as in any other field. This is not to say that human beings are yet wise enough to look into the distant future and unerringly steer their social institutions toward a fixed goal. It does mean, however, that society, now that it has become self-conscious and particularly since it has acquired the scientific technique, should be able to observe intelligently the process of change, analyze samples from time to time, and concentrate its energy on "changing the changes" that show signs of becoming antisocial and encouraging those that are producing new or greater values. If such an attitude is adopted by society, there is more reason to expect an ultimate net gain than a net loss in family values. Social change cannot be stopped, but certain values may be conserved.

THE CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

A New York State official tells of a young woman who received \$25,000 from her father as a wedding present. When asked whether she was going to put the money into a home, she was surprised at the suggestion. Why, she asked, should she spend that money on a home, when she was born in a hospital, brought up in a nursery, educated in a college, married in a church, would live in an apartment hotel, and would be buried from a funeral parlor.¹ She was a product of the modern age,

¹ SILAS BENT, *Machine Made Man*, New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1930, p. 322.

anchors aweigh, and with no restraining sentiments of a "home, sweet home" to hamper her mobility.

Contrasted with the touch-and-go family contacts so frequently found today, James Truslow Adams¹ describes the family life of his boyhood home in 1890 and the homes of his friends. Home then was a place of natural and genuine family fellowship. The evening was the "family time," when the various members gathered together "as naturally as any animal group at nightfall." This gathering at evening was to the children a part of "the established order of the universe" and gave them a sense of security and family solidarity. Parties were home parties, and the play of boys and girls was home and neighborhood play, and mostly active play that tired the muscles instead of stimulating the nerves. Parents knew their children's playmates and their parents. Twenty-five years later, in a small and typical American city, a survey of high-school students showed that practically all of them took part of their recreation at the movies, 85 per cent of them at least once a week. At a given street corner on a normal evening, an observer counted 1,275 passing young people in a 30-minute period. Home had become a place to go, not to, but away from.

Perhaps the contrast is too sharp, but there is no denying the great change in function that has taken place in the home in the last half century. From a place where most of life's activities once took place, it has now become a sort of "landing field" where one refuels or snatches a little sleep before taking off again. The various members of the family are all on the go, and often in as many different directions. A few years ago when midget golf was popular, a cartoon in four sections was accompanied with these lines:

Daughter drives a speedboat, entered in the races,
Grandma's in the roadster, busy going places,
Mother's at the airfield, where she's hopping off,
And all the brawny he men are playing pee-wee golf.

Family Functions in the Past.—In the past some of the most commonly recognized functions of the family were as follows: biological, economic, educational, religious, social, recreational, and affectional. The biological was and still is the most basic function of the family. It is nature's way of getting mankind perpetuated, and with the long period of human infancy necessitating prolonged and faithful care of offspring it is likely to remain basic. To be sure, substitutes can be found for parental care in rearing children, but not in bearing them.

The economic function still holds firmly, though modified in some ways. In the past types of economy, the family was often the simplest

¹ JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, *Our Way of Life Yesterday and Today*, *New York Times Magazine*, Aug. 3, 1930.

and most efficient economic unit. It afforded a good grouping for making a living, accumulating property, and passing it on from one generation to another through inheritance. Today, the family is no longer a producing unit as before, but it remains a consuming unit. Usually, one person, the father, does the producing and all do the consuming. Even if the mother works out, it is not usually at a common family task with the father, but as a separate producing unit who brings her earnings to the family pool at intervals. Nevertheless, the children remain helpless and dependent on the parents, and so the economic function of the family is still being fulfilled.

The educational function has been largely shifted, at least the formal part. Once, the home was the place where whatever learning there was took place, with parents as instructors. Then, those able to do so hired private tutors for their children and passed on the major responsibility to them. Next came the "itinerant" schoolteacher who lived in the homes of the families whose children he taught, staying as long as the food was good and the children not too unruly. Finally came the public schools with fixed terms, adequate schoolhouses, equipment, and teachers, and upon them the parents unloaded more and more of the education of their children. Terms were increased in length; extra-curricular activities were added; and, today, teachers are protesting that parents want them practically to rear their children for them, complaining when they fail to overcome unlovely traits which the children learn at home. The efficiency of the ever-spreading functions of the school is giving many children opportunities they could never otherwise have, but it has taken from the home much of the effort and sense of responsibility that parents once had for the development of the intellect and character of their own young.

The religious function, once a fixed part of family duty, has been almost entirely delegated to the church, Sunday school, and other agencies. In the homes of the past, from early civilizations when the father was both patriarch and priest, to the present, it was the custom of devout fathers and mothers to read to the children from the Bible or other sacred book and explain what they read. Prayers were a normal part of the day's proceedings, and religious instruction was fully accepted as a parental duty. Today, children are given into the care of religious organizations for an hour a week, the parents disclaiming all further responsibility for their religious training, even though the brief weekly hour—often involving not more than a half hour of actual instruction—is wholly inadequate for any but the most superficial instruction.

The social function of the family remains important, though it, too, has changed somewhat in form. The family still represents society to the small child; it still gives him his informal education in the form of

language, physical skills, customs, social standards of conduct, and the development and adjustment of the personality in interaction with others. In the family his personality grows, and he is encouraged to expand it to its fullest possible development. Inseparable from this is the development of character, to which discipline contributes its needful share. If it is not too harsh, the child himself recognizes the protective element in the discipline applied to him, and it does not destroy the "we feeling" and primary group loyalty so necessary to a well-balanced personality. In a word, the family *socializes* the child. It is what has been called "the halfway house between the ego and society." As a further part of the process of socialization, it provides the child with social status as a member of an established group in the community and makes contacts for him with other persons, activities, and organizations. The family stands behind him, backs his cause, and in general "places" him in society. The process is somewhat different than formerly, but the function remains much the same.

The recreational function of the family has been taken over almost wholly by commercialized amusement. Homemade fun has given way to purchased entertainment. Small children do not have to make their own toys, nor do their parents make them for them. As they grow older, their play participation is reduced by the spectator role that depends upon vicarious satisfaction. Movies, shows, and other "sitting" types of amusement cut into the active sports that are better for nerves, muscles, health, self-reliance, and socialization. The home loses the values of family night and family games, with assorted fellowship for all ages, and the profit-minded vendor of amusement draws the children from their homes like the Pied Piper. The radio and the automobile, as pointed out in another chapter, have restored to the home a limited amount of pleasuring together, but they are no match for the varied array of amusements commercially offered on the outside. In fact, the car frequently merely permits the young folk a wider range in their search for new shows or dance halls. Without doubt, the home has lost most of its recreational function.

Affectional security has long been recognized as a fundamental need, a basic wish, of both old and young. In children, it manifests itself somewhat differently from the way it does in adults, but in essence there is little difference. We all want to know that someone cares for us, that it matters to someone what happens to us. Even adults want someone to whom they can take their troubles and find sympathy and occasionally confess their wrongs and find forgiveness and counsel. Such a need with children is even more intense than with adults, for they are bewildered and disillusioned at the unfairness or meanness of others. They have not yet developed the crust of armor with which the more sophisti-

cated adults protect their feelings from too great hurt. Children are wide open to all hurts except those too subtle for them to recognize and take to heart, and therefore they rush to the protection of those whose affection restores their sense of security.

It is the family, par excellence, that provides most naturally this refuge, where the atmosphere of mutual love, altruism, and self-sacrifice gives the affectional security which all crave. This has been largely taken for granted in the past as a normal and enduring function of the family, but now with the family in a transitional stage there is concern as to whether affectional security will be one of the functions that will survive the change. The family used to be *centripetal*, with most of the activities of its members pulling inward toward a common center; now it is becoming *centrifugal*, with most of the activities of its members pulling outward from the common center. It is being asked increasingly what will hold the family together once the cohesive force of affectional need is gone. The compulsion of authority is giving way; will spontaneous affection be strong enough to take over the control? It is ordained that man be born of male and female parents, but beyond the purely biological functions of impregnation and parturition parents are not absolutely essential to the physical, mental, or spiritual development of children. Other agencies can keep them strong and well, pass on to them the accumulated knowledge of the past, and instill those elements of character necessary to social living. Whether they can do these things as well alone as with the help of organized family life is another question, but they can do them, and they are likely to have the task thrust upon them if the family collapses on its affectional front. For it is the affectional element in the family that generates the self-sacrifice necessary to successful family living. Destroy the affectional element, and the current goes off; then there is not enough light left to make the family a comfortable place to stay.

CONTEMPORARY CRITICISM OF THE FAMILY

It is a healthy sign that our present society allows free criticism even of those institutions which we hold most dear. An institution so revered that it is shielded from all criticism need not keep up with social needs to survive for a time, but if it stands stagnant too long public disillusionment will ultimately permit its collapse. On the other hand, if it is constantly subjected to searching criticism, friendly as well as antagonistic, it must make some effort to overcome its faults and develop new elements of strength if it is to command both respect and devotion.

The family has had its share of criticism, particularly in the last quarter century. Some of it has been in the form of bitter attacks by a

few implacable enemies who would destroy it as a vicious survival of the past that is blocking the release of men and women into complete personal freedom. But much of the criticism has been highly constructive, coming from friends that would strengthen rather than destroy the family as a social institution. The criticisms, therefore, range from the vituperative to those that are almost apologetic for being criticism at all and amount to mild admonitions to do better.

One writer¹ says the family provides the psychoanalyst with a perfect laboratory for the study of "every kind of idiocy and imbecility [and] every phase of insanity," for family life "makes idiots and lunatics of us all." He rejoices that "there is no place like home—thank God." To him it is "unnatural" for parents to love their children or for children to love their parents. He asserts that "the parent who would dare to love a child spontaneously and wholeheartedly would have to commit incest," which makes the family "the cradle of incest." Worse yet, it develops an emotional bondage; for though "parents and children love one another unnaturally they hate each other naturally," because they want to be free, free! To this writer, infantilism, the will to power, emotional slavery, narcissism, psychological incest, neurotic bondage, ego and power mania, ego humiliation, unconscious homosexuality, sadism, masochism, exhibitionism—these and other ugly beasts not only break into an occasional home (as all students of the family admit); they are household pets in nearly all homes. No wonder he gives as his "thoughtful judgment" that marriage as generally practiced makes an insane asylum look like a place of sweet reasonableness. It makes of marriage a "training school in malice," where the only joy of the partners (all of whom are assumed to be socially coerced) is "the sadistic joy of destroying whatever is sweet and promising and significant in one another's life."²

To some, such vituperative charges may suggest mental halitosis. If applied without venom by competent psychiatrists to the ultrapathological cases that actually exist, they perform a genuine function in stimulating preventive treatment, just as the study of loathsome diseases encourages avoidance by all possible preventive means. But to hold up such an assortment of ill-smelling qualities and call them the common attributes of "normal" families is as misleading as to hunt out a handful of the most bleary-eyed, perverted sots from the gutter, declare them to be typical "normal" men, then excoriate all the men in the country for their vile and dissolute conduct.

¹ S. D. SCHMALHAUSEN, *Family Life—A Study in Pathology*, in V. F. Calverton and S. D. Schmalhausen (editors), "The New Generation," New York, Macaulay, 1930, Chap. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 292.

Floyd Dell¹ attacks the present family setup on several grounds, but his best-founded complaint is that the old patriarchal type is trying to survive in an industrial age where it is a sad misfit. He claims that we are now in an interstitial era between two sociological eras—the patriarchalism of the past and the individualism of the future—and that it is producing family disorganization and neurosis all too often. Certainly, this touches one of the sore spots of the modern family. The patriarchal system, from the standpoint of both economics and personality development, gives the patriarch too much control over the other members of the family and tends to infantilize youth. Adolescents are held back from attaining adulthood and remain in economic, emotional, and disciplinary subservience long after they have a strong urge to assert their independence.

Dell's further contention, that patriarchalism rests upon homosexuality and encourages it in youth by the unnatural segregation of the sexes in childhood, is less well founded, for there is relatively little segregation of the sexes in the American family today. He asserts that children are blocked from attaining heterosexual emotional maturity, which makes it impossible for them to find adjustment later in marriage. His solution is for youth to be emancipated from the family, both economically and emotionally, so that it can achieve heterosexual adjustment before marriage (on the minor plane of petting) which will increase the chances of adjustment in marriage (on the major basis of full sex relations) and result in a consistent philosophy of life. He blames the patriarchal form for "polite adultery," "sacred celibacy," and prostitution, as well as homosexuality. He has few constructive suggestions and sees little chance for a solution to the family problem in the near future.

Bertrand Russell is one of the best known and perhaps one of the most influential advocates of a "new sex ethic." He holds neither with Freud, that all conduct springs from a sexual source, nor with Marx, that it is all derived from the economic, although he recognizes the profound effects of the industrial revolution on family life. He is a great admirer of the Russian experiment, asserting that no country in any age, with the single exception of Soviet Russia, has determined its sexual ethics and institutions by rational considerations.² Russell claims that he preaches, not the doctrine of license, but of control, but he reserves the right to make his own definitions of these two words. He sees a healthy step toward "freedom" in the increased sex experimentation of young persons before marriage. He believes that in order to free university students from sex obsessions so they can do better

¹ FLOYD DELL, "Love in the Machine Age," New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1930.

² BERTRAND RUSSELL, "Marriage and Morals," New York, Liveright, 1929.

work they should be "temporarily married," which should also act as a desirable "prelude" to a later more "serious" marriage in which children would be expected. This is much the same as the French idea that the young man needs a mistress to "steady him down" for his most productive work. Russell also rejoices in the new freedom of women which is releasing them from the slavery of outmoded conventions. He even holds out to them an opportunity to raise their I.Q.'s (which must occasion some feminine smiles), for he is "inclined to think that the intellectual inferiority of women, in so far as it exists, is mainly due to the restraint upon curiosity which the fear of sex leads them to impose"!

Russell believes also in much sex freedom after marriage. He sees in adultery itself no ground for divorce. He claims that when a man must be away from home for several months at a time it is natural that he should find continence difficult and right that he should seek a sex partner and that his wife will naturally and rightly want to avail herself of this same privilege while he is gone. Such infidelity, he claims, ought not to form any barrier to happiness as long as no "melodramatic orgies of jealousy" are indulged in. He considers such liaisons mere temporary fancies, which should occasion no resentment on either side, "provided that the underlying affection remains intact." In view of Russell's stentorian announcement of this theory, his critics have been somewhat amused at the outcome of his own marriage.

However, Ruth Hale, feminist leader, subscribed to Russell's doctrine as just as valuable on this side of the Atlantic as on the other. "Sex fidelity," she said, "should never be made an essential of the marriage one makes for a lifetime. True marriage is based on an affection for your spouse's weaknesses, and perfect reliance on his strength." She believed that "sexual fidelity is becoming the exception rather than the standard in family life."¹

The psychoanalyst A. A. Brill admits that one man and one woman may not find complete and indefinite sexual satisfaction in each other but says that this constitutes no argument against monogamy, which he thinks will survive. "There could be no stability in society if sex hunger were not restrained," he is quoted as saying. "Monogamy is not perfect, but it is better than a state of savage freedom in sex expression." It helps control the "impulse to desert the other person at the spur of a whim."²

It is interesting to note that many of the critics of marriage and family ethics base their criticism mostly upon their own resentment at being restricted in their sex expression. Much of it seems to be a rationalization of their wish to follow their sexual impulses without

¹ *New York World-Telegram*, Mar. 20, 1933.

² *New York World-Telegram*, Mar. 22, 1933.

hindrance, or at least with the least possible social control. But we are not allowed to follow the free, unhampered expression of other natural urges that might easily be said to be as private as that of sex. William Graham Sumner,¹ great student of folkways the world over, denied that because sex is a natural appetite anyone has a right to satisfy it as he pleases. The limitations on behavior are as essential to welfare as is liberty; it is discipline, not license, he says, that produces the moral strength that society rightly demands.

This heavy accent on sex in the criticisms of the family raises again the point that the ability of two persons to satisfy each other sexually is no guarantee that they will be happy in marriage. Repeatedly, doctors and psychologists have testified, from their files of case records, that almost any normal man and woman are capable of sexual adjustment but that it takes far more than that to make a happy marriage. Thoughtful writers, experts in psychology and medicine, admit that we have had an overdose of Freud, whose ideas should be greatly diluted before taking. No matter how inconsequential a thought or dream one may have, it must be "interpreted," and the Freudian is sure to find in it some grave sexual frustration or fear. Dr. Logan Clendening² says that if one dreams of losing his false teeth and happens to mention it to an orthodox Freudian friend, he will be solemnly warned that he has a "castration complex."

As might be expected, monogamy is the special target of many critics of present-day marriage. It is pictured as the foul offspring of capitalism, the fettered child of a decadent system of private property. Monogamy forces men and women into intolerable slavery, emotionally and sexually, whereas they are naturally polygamous. Men have always known that they were polygamous, and women, under their "new freedom," are just finding out that they, also, are polygamous by nature, much to their surprise. Monogamy is represented as giving birth to a whole litter of inhibitions that prey upon married life and destroy its beauty and validity. To Shelley, monogamy presented a drab and gloomy outlook for life.

With one chained friend, perhaps a jealous foe,
The dreariest and the longest journey go.

Now, a prolonged debate on the merits and demerits of monogamy is not justified in these pages. The evidence is already at hand for all who care to read it. Furthermore, no one is wise enough to predict what form of marriage—if any—will be found so superior that it will

¹ WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, *Modern Marriage*, *Yale Rev.*, 13: 249-275, January, 1924.

² LOGAN CLENDENING, *Sex Madness*, *Forum*, 84: 208-212, October, 1930.

always survive. We do not know whether 1,000 years from now there will be any marriage at all. A few years ago, J. B. Watson predicted that in 50 years there would be no marriage, but few persons take his statement seriously, for fundamental customs do not fade entirely out as suddenly as that; if they disappear, it is over a very long period. It is entirely possible that at a future time monogamy may be discarded for another form of regulation of sex and family organization, but we have no way of knowing. Predictions in this realm are mere speculations.

The best we can do is to evaluate both the personal and the social merits of monogamy for the day in which we live. If monogamy is found, upon impartial analysis, to be foreign to our whole social ideology, it is likely to be discarded; on the other hand, if it is found to conserve and perpetuate socially approved values better than any other known form of marriage, it is likely to be retained, with the knowledge that there will always be a few rebels, as in other areas of social conduct, who must be dealt with in whatever way proves most expedient. The arguments for and against monogamy depend upon one's conception of the nature and purpose of marriage; they have been discussed with varying emphasis, according to the different phases of marriage and family life being considered, in the several chapters of this book and hence need no reassembling here in formal array. Suffice it to say that, although the argument is not all on one side, the trend is toward, rather than away from, monogamy. There are undoubtedly some advantages in polygamous practices under certain conditions, such as a great scarcity of males following a devastating war, which deprives millions of women of marriage—although this by-product of war is now being corrected by "civilized combat" which bombs men, women, and children alike, thus maintaining a correct sex ratio! If the basic charge of enemies that monogamy consigns men and women to slavery is true, if the mutual confidence and companionship of exclusive marriage are really shackles instead of free expressions of love, then it is indeed passing strange that coincident with the spread of democracy over the world there has been a steady turning away from polygamy to monogamy.

The nub of the question, from the viewpoint of both the individual and society, seems to be not whether the general principle of monogamy is worthy of support (on this the answers are usually affirmative), but whether wedlock shall be deadlock, that is, whether there shall be adequate and dignified ways of withdrawal when a grave mistake has been made or circumstances have brought intolerable change. The monogamic ideal, accompanied by a just divorce law for the minority who are unfortunate enough to need its services, seems to have a heavy majority vote in our own society at the present time. If most people believe the general framework of the present family system to be satis-

factory, but some of the interior appointments to need changing, it would seem that the most logical procedure would be not to tear down the structure, but to alter certain parts so as to increase the comfort and well-being of the various family members.

There needs to be more constructive criticism of marriage and family life in both literature and drama. The latter's preoccupation with the adultery theme is mostly a bald exploitation of sex for its well-known effect on the box-office receipts, and the typical modern novel has enough triangles in it to pass for a text in geometry. Marriage is portrayed as a farce, faithfulness in marriage as quaint and old-fashioned, and the typical home as the feeding ground of wolfish egos that snarl and fight for all they can get. Joseph Wood Krutch¹ says that to such writers as Aldous Huxley and Ernest Hemingway "love is at times only a sort of obscene joke." One comes to expect that the characters in such writings shall do their daily "sexual shopping" quite openly, so as not to let down the avid reader. The constant tendency is to dissociate love from marriage and family life and to make illicit love the only romance exciting enough to be worth the name. The constant emphasis on such attitudes is certainly not favorable to a pattern of family stability. On the other hand, those plays and novels that sincerely portray the glaring contrasts between ideals and actuality perform a needful clarifying function. Irony is a sharp teacher and frequently prods one out of his complacency. Plays and novels on problem families or marriage problems may meet a genuine educative need and still be popular enough to pay handsome financial returns. For in this "criticism of criticism" it must be remembered, in fairness, that dramatists and novelists are human and that most plays and novels are written not primarily to support or attack some social value, but to make money.

THE NEED FOR RESEARCH

Without being so rash as to predict changes in the centuries to come, it is safe to assume that the family is not going to disappear as a unit of social organization very soon—at least, not in this or the next generation. The family has shown remarkable vitality, in that it has survived from earliest known times to the present under every type of economic and political control and every form of sex organization. It has shown great adaptability, for it has persisted in the face of profound changes in life organization in many countries. Its history, therefore, makes reasonable the assumption that what we now see happening to it is not disintegration but transition and that it will survive the period of change in which it is now struggling and become accommodated to the new social

¹ JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, Love, or the Life and Death of a Value, *Atlantic Monthly*, 142: 199-210, August, 1928.

philosophy as soon as the latter assumes definite enough form to make accommodation consistent. Even Bertrand Russell¹ says the breakup of the family would be no matter of rejoicing to him, because the affection of parents for their children makes the family a far better place for the development of personality than are institutions for children. Eden Paul² is pessimistic about the survival of the "decaying family," basing his pessimism upon the gloomy predictions of Müller-Lyer's "Evolution of Modern Marriage," but Paul pays unconscious tribute to the essentiality of the family by proposing a substitute as nearly like it as possible—children's "homes," somewhat on the cottage system, whereby children of both sexes could live together throughout childhood, in groups somewhat larger than a family but small enough to provide its primary associations, and under the care of adults acting in lieu of father and mother.

But the assumption that at the present stage of social organization the family is indispensable to human culture is weighted with obligation. If the family is performing even imperfectly certain essential functions but is bewildered at how to continue them under new and strange conditions, it behooves society to lend a hand if it really cares what happens to it. But lending a hand is not so simple as it sounds. What kind of help does the family need, and what is the best way to provide it? Strange as it may seem, these questions cannot be answered with assurance. There are hundreds of opinions, but little exact knowledge. Every question asked raises other questions, and they in turn raise others, until what some considered a simple matter of "doing something about it" turns out to be one of the most complex social problems of our day, calling for a carefully planned but tentative program of research.

Modern society has been converted to the research technique. Endless studies are carried on in every field of agriculture, every phase of industry and commerce, and in the more socialized areas of health, education and recreation. It seems paradoxical, therefore, that there should be so little research in the field of the family, when it is perhaps the favorite social institution; it is left to struggle along as best it can. The reason may be that it has never occurred to most persons that an institution considered so fundamental and stable needed any special attention; it was just taken for granted, as too vital ever to show signs of decay. In this, they are just now receiving a rude awakening but still show little sign of comprehending the need. Ample research funds flow into almost every other field of inquiry. Millions are given annually from public funds and private fortunes for the study of the stars above us, the deep-sea life below us, and the icecaps at the ends of the earth. Millions are voted without question to fight the boll weevil, the chinch bug, hog cholera, or the Dutch elm disease. Other millions are spent

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 308.

² EDEN PAUL, "Chronos, or the Future of the Family," London, Kegan Paul, 1930

ungrudgingly for research on health, industrial fatigue, accident prevention, labor relations, educational methods, and for many other studies on the conservation and enrichment of human life. It would seem at least equally important that funds be provided for thorough research into the factors that make for successful marriage and parenthood. If preventive measures are insisted upon in such fields as health, accidents, and crop protection, it would seem logical to apply preventive measures to the problems of family relationships. Yet only the smallest beginning has been made along these lines.

But any research aimed at helping the family through the changes that are bewildering it must first know what the changes are and how they are affecting the family. Numerous observers, working mostly individually and each attacking the problem from the angle of his special interest, have turned up a large assortment of changes bearing upon the family. This was of course inevitable, for nearly all social changes (and they are legion in a dynamic era like ours) affect the family directly or indirectly. Nevertheless, it has been of great value to analyze and seek to classify those changes that have played prominent roles. They have been classified in various ways. Sanderson¹ has divided them into two groups: those affecting the internal structure of the family and those affecting its social relations. His analysis is excellent. Frank² also uses a twofold classification: the changes in material culture (tools, equipment, and techniques), and changes in nonmaterial culture (customs, traditions, ethics, behavior codes, etc.). He shows how man seemingly adapts himself quite easily to the material changes but that in reality they may throw him so far out of adjustment with his non-material culture that he has to reorganize his life. But for an extended listing of changes it may be more useful here to use a fourfold classification, with two of the classes emphasizing the persons most heavily involved, and two emphasizing the specific or general nature of the cultural change. In any classification there will be overlapping, for the factors are too interrelated for the categories to be mutually exclusive. Several of the items below could have been placed in one of the other groups as logically as in the ones where they appear. Also, the list, though long, could be greatly extended and subdivided, but this would serve little purpose in this brief discussion.

Changes Centering in the New Status of Women.

The rise in women's political and economic rights.

The shift of marriage from a coercive to a voluntary basis.

The substitution of an equalitarian partnership for male dominance.

¹ DWIGHT SANDERSON, *Science and the Changing Modern Family*, *Jour. Home Economics*, 22: 810-818, October, 1930.

² LAWRENCE K. FRANK, *Social Change and the Family*, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science*, 160: 94-102, March, 1932.

The approach of women's educational level to that of men.

The decreasing duties and increasing leisure of the housewife.

The entrance of both single and married women into the business and professional world.

The increase in mothers working outside the home.

Changes Centering in the New Status of Children.

The association with parents has decreased; there is less communication, and fewer things are done together.

The understanding between parents and children has lessened.

The conflict between generations has increased.

The father is absent from the home most of the time, which increases the proportion of maternal control.

The increasing absence of the mother from the home puts children more on their own initiative.

The softening of parental authority and the democratization of control give children more freedom and necessitate the assumption of more responsibility in personal decisions.

The absence or smaller number of siblings increases the dependence on outside associations.

The economic exploitation of children has greatly decreased.

The household and family duties of children are fewer than formerly.

Changes Growing Out of the Rural-urban Shift.

The dependence on money has increased, as making a living has given way to earning a living.

There is less economic independence and more working for a boss.

There has been a great increase in "soft-handed" jobs.

The family has changed from a producing-consuming unit to a consuming aggregation.

The family members no longer all share in a common task.

The city has made children a liability instead of an asset.

The primary group associations of the country have been replaced by the secondary associations of the city, but with a very imperfect transfer and reorganization of loyalties.

The cramped living quarters of the city have put personalities on the defensive.

The economic services of the home have shrunk almost to a minimum.

The home has lost other functions to such competing organizations as theaters, dance halls, and restaurants. (Church and school are seldom considered competitors.)

The city provides antisocial substitutes for marriage, such as prostitution, which may be used without fear of detection.

The impersonal contacts of urban life make mate selection more difficult.

The diversity of interests, associations, and activities of the different members of the family has produced a decentralized or "dispersed" family.

General Cultural Changes.

The rise of birth control and the adoption of the small-family ideal.

The advent of the child-centered family in only-child situations.

The changing age distribution of the population.

The rise in divorce.

The increase in farm tenancy.

The multiplication of laborsaving devices.

The high degree of mobility resulting from new means of transportation and communication.

The provision for comfortable single living, by either men or women.

The decline in religious authority.

The rise of the philosophy of individualism.

The depression, or "great change."

Even such an incomplete list as the above is extremely formidable when one thinks in terms of a research program comprehensive enough to encompass even the more vital items. It gives point to the insistence of the more thoughtful observers that a scientific methodology of research in family life must be devised. The same rigid discipline used in the physical and biological sciences must be applied to family problems. Observers must go over the field of change carefully and decide specifically what they want to know about the family and what is happening to it. There will be a number of unlooked-for by-products, but the main lines of research should reveal the answers to many questions now being asked.

A few of the questions being raised by scholars here and there, committees, and the few organizations that have begun work in this field show how skeptical investigators have become of the conflicting opinions, many of them unverifiable, by which individuals and organizations have steered their course. Many of the beliefs of the past may be proved to be true, but until they are verified they are assumptions, and it is unsafe to use them for foundations on which to build. However, there seems very little else for organizations dealing directly with the family to do but to continue to use the more widely accepted assumptions until research either proves or disproves their validity, for any other course would mean the complete cessation of ameliorative and educative effort on the ground that because their knowledge was incomplete it should not be used at all. Such a procedure is not socially acceptable.

Such questions as the following are bound to be asked:

Is the family essential to human culture? Is it safe to assume that it is superior to any other grouping or type of organization in promoting the development of human personality?

If the family is essential, what functions must it perform to justify its existence? Is there a minimum of functions without which the family will disintegrate? Are there other functions that would enrich the family still further? Has it already delegated too many functions to other groups or organizations? Have the functions thus delegated been performed more efficiently than the family performed them? Have the results been good on the individual? On the family?

Why do young people get married? What satisfactions do they expect to get from the family? In the light of the high breakup rate of the family are they justified in their expectations? Are their frustrations mostly major or minor frustrations? What price do they pay—what do they give up—for the satisfactions they expect to

get out of family life? Is the price too high for what they actually get? Do they get more or less than they expect?

Is there any evidence that the participation of married women in business and the professions results in a conflict of loyalties between work and home that is personally disorganizing? Is the participation of married women in work outside the home, already a commonly accepted pattern, bringing about a continuous depreciation of the family? Is it producing a disproportion of childless and one-child families? Is there any evidence that children in homes where both parents work out are any less well developed in personality and socialization than are other children?

Has the affectional element in family life been weakened or strengthened by the changes that have taken place? What are the affectional and emotional needs of parents? Of children? Are there any changes in family life that could be deliberately undertaken that might increase the emotional satisfactions of the members of the family group? Is the affectional element in family life strong enough to keep it together if all else fails?

Has the democratization of the family produced more good than harm? Have parents used it to shirk responsibilities, or have they actually increased their effort to make democracy strengthen the children? Have the responsibilities of democracy steadied and developed the children (particularly adolescents), or have they become irresponsible? Do they show any evidence that they want more guidance than they are receiving?

Many more questions could be propounded, but these are sufficient to show something of the magnitude of the task. One need not look far to find a fertile field of inquiry, and yet the amount of genuine research being carried on in this field is very limited. The following are a few organizations that have conducted or sponsored at least some research in one or more phases of marriage and family life: Children's Bureau, National Committee on Maternal Health, Social Science Research Council, Bureau of Social Hygiene, Child Study Association of America, National Council of Parent Education, American Social Hygiene Society, Institute of Family Relations in Los Angeles, various schools and departments of home economics in universities and state colleges, and the graduate divisions of departments of sociology and psychology in various universities. There are others just as noteworthy, but these show the type and range. Also, some of the great philanthropic foundations have backed particular research projects or worked through existing agencies qualified to distribute the funds on worthy pieces of investigation. Yet all these efforts together have thus far been able to make only a slight impression on the work needing to be done.

AGENCIES OFFERING GUIDANCE IN MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

Though a comprehensive program of research is essential to any long-range plan for conserving marriage and family life, there is much work that needs to be done now, before such research can be launched. Family trouble, like time and tide, waits for no man—or no research program. Young people are daily confronting problems too great for

them, husbands and wives are running into storms they cannot weather alone, and both parents and children are bewildered at the conflicts that repeatedly shake the family to its foundations. The family courts are crowded with cases, the divorce figures reach new highs, and on every hand there is need for aid in family adjustment. The "cases" are not merely academic; they are *life* cases of men, women, and children who are hurting each other, sometimes purposely in resentment, sometimes unintentionally, but usually without fully understanding how they got into such difficulty. Nor do those who seek to help them fully understand the factors which brought on the conflict, and they have no time to invoke the aid of thoroughgoing research. They must utilize the limited research findings already available and for the rest follow the procedure that is in line with the best theory and experience. Some of their work is frankly ameliorative, necessitating rather superficial diagnosis and treatment because of the press of work and the scarcity of workers; but some is educational and preventive, in the hope that it will bear fruit perennially. In this latter type of work, they are seldom permitted to know just how effective their efforts are, for few checks and measurements have been devised and there is little follow-up. The workers in the educational and preventive field are borne up by their faith in the educational process in general, rather than by specific proof of its efficacy.

Social Case-work Agencies.—Family case work has developed out of a long history of "social work" which dealt chiefly with families in economic distress. For many years the emphasis was on the giving of direct relief—food, clothing, fuel, rent—and the storerooms of charity and welfare agencies were stocked with groceries and clothes. Most of the budget of these agencies was spent on provisions, and the less spent on "overhead" the more efficient the organization was considered. Today, however, the storerooms of family welfare agencies have given way to offices and consultation rooms, and the budget is spent mostly on investigation, supervision, and advisory work. For the emphasis has changed from handing out bread to the social adjustment of the family. Clients are no longer ordered to do this or that or the agency won't help them; they are now encouraged to understand their own problems and assume the major portion of the responsibility in solving them. They thus gradually develop enough self-reliance to stand on their own feet. Pecuniary assistance may have to be given for a time, but it is incidental; the important task is to develop the client's ability to use his own resources so that the life adjustment may be permanent.

It was inevitable that family case work should come to lay heavy emphasis on marital problems, for many of the cases handled by the agencies were caused partly by family quarrels, desertion, sex difficulties,

parent-child conflicts, and other marital problems. Often, these domestic conflicts were the result of deeper, underlying causes (illness, loss of work, dissatisfactions with the job, drink, gambling, etc.); but by the time the case reached the welfare agency, the resultant marital discord had become so acute that it had also become causal, forming a vicious circle. So case workers, whether they would or no, were literally pushed into marriage counseling. They did not always feel qualified to give such advice and had little training for it; so they had to use common-sense methods which were often very superficial and showed disappointingly poor results. A decade ago, in a study¹ of 1,573 discordant families dealt with by two social welfare agencies in Chicago, not more than 1 in 25 cases, after an average interval of two years, showed adjustment. However, as workers become better trained they may be expected to develop better techniques, although even today most case workers will admit that they do not have the highly specialized training needed for expert counseling.

Case-work agencies have been constantly raising the educational requirements for their professional workers, and this has resulted in a better selection of workers, better training (in general education, professional work, and supervised experience), and more prestige in the eyes of the client. The old rule-of-thumb method of diagnosis and prescription is giving way, and in its place is coming the clinical technique of personality study. Both basic and specialized courses in sociology and psychology are coming to be required in schools of social work, and psychiatry is beginning to get a fuller hearing. But because the average case worker cannot go thoroughly into all these fields, a few case-work agencies have on their staffs psychologists, psychiatrists, nurses, and other specialists who can contribute to the understanding of difficult cases. The authority and prestige of such a staff is helping dispel the stigma formerly associated with receiving help from such agencies, and in many cases there is no more shame in going to them than in going to a hospital. This new attitude is of great help in securing the necessary cooperation of clients.

So common are marriage maladjustments in the cases handled by family welfare agencies today that the case workers have come to expect some such trouble and accept it as a normal part of their work. In the class of people with which they work, there is frequently need for reliable contraceptive information to prevent the increase of an already overlarge family, and mothers are referred to clinics or reliable physicians. Also, ignorance of sex matters and squabbles over the sex relationship are exceedingly common, and the workers assume the task of sex educa-

¹ ERNEST R. MOWRER and HARRIET MOWRER, "Domestic Discord," University of Chicago Press, 1928, p. 105.

tion. One agency, the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago, was so impressed with the need of sex education and contraceptive information that as early as 1922 it established a sex-hygiene department to which women clients can be referred by case workers, with the approval of their supervisors. The staff of this department includes a woman physician, a man physician, a nurse, and a case worker with special training, who advise both husbands and wives. The bureau is convinced that this service has proved itself "indispensable in the treatment of the type of problems with which the organization deals, and that it has helped to reduce sex incompatibility and domestic friction by lessening fear of pregnancy and by increasing gratification in sex relations."¹

In recent years, with the assumption by the federal government in conjunction with state and local governments, of much of the responsibility for the economic relief of the unemployed and otherwise underprivileged, the family welfare agencies have turned even more attention to family counseling. It seems logical to them that this field should absorb the effort released elsewhere, for they argue that if they could so organize their work as to reach couples before or soon after marriage the emphasis could be shifted to prevention and there would not be so many cases coming to them after the conflict had dragged on so long that it had become chronic. Also, with the economic relief coming from other sources, the relationship between case worker and client should become more natural, for it will be relieved of the element of false docility, the anything-to-please attitude of the client who believes his financial aid depends upon keeping in the good graces of the case worker.

Some of the more highly trained family consultants, in private practice or connected with consultation bureaus, may deplore this trend of family case work into the field of marriage consultation on the ground that the workers are not trained and will merely give all such counseling service a "social-work flavor." However, it would seem more logical to welcome than to oppose the trend. There is room for all. The history of social work shows that it is continually raising its standards, and if it turns its full attention to this new field it will assuredly demand more specialization of its workers. Moreover, working in general with the underprivileged, it reaches people who are not financially able to go to private consultants, and who probably would not contact them anyway. The family case workers already have contacts, know the class of people they deal with, often have their liking and respect (when the compulsive features of their work have been minimized), and can give considerable help, even if not all of it at present bears the stamp of orthodox technique.

¹ RALPH P. BRIDGMAN, *Guidance for Marriage and Family Life*, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Science*, 160: 144-164, March, 1932.

In several cities, some of the welfare agencies have tried establishing separate departments or bureaus of family consultation or guidance. In Cleveland, the Associated Charities organized an Institute of Family Service, which gave service to a total of 2,452 cases in 1935. This sounds impressive but is somewhat misleading, for it does not mean that 2,452 family-conflict cases received expert and extended service. Since "in practice the staff makes no distinction between counseling and case work" and "there are no specialists within the agency,"¹ it appears that the work is not greatly different from the ordinary case-work routine. Each client is interviewed first by a graduate case worker, and in one-fourth of the cases this is the last contact had with him. Others are followed up in other interviews by the same or another case worker, some having repeated contacts throughout the year. The more difficult cases are turned over to the more experienced case workers, and some are referred to specialists such as lawyers and doctors, both in private practice and in the employ of other social agencies. To those hoping that such special bureaus would be equipped with highly specialized staffs competent to give a broad, integrated counseling service, the setup just described is doubtless disappointing. It is possible, however, that as the need for specialization becomes more evident, and if funds are available, such agencies will supplement their services.

Another Cleveland agency, the Maternal Health Association, established a Marriage Adjustment Service for women having problems of sex maladjustment. The service is conducted by a woman doctor (a gynecologist), and the clients have anywhere from 2 to 20 conferences during the year, according to the need. Of the first 50 cases, 21 were reported to have achieved complete sexual adjustment and 17 were said to have shown improvement. The Associated Charities of Cincinnati has also organized a Family Consultation Service, and there are doubtless others either formed or forming.

Religious and Socio-religious Organizations.—Ministers are usually highly respected, not only by the members of their church but by the community in general, and often receive fuller confidence in interviews than do social workers, teachers, and sometimes even doctors. Because of this deep confidence shown him, the minister is in a strategic position to render aid in family troubles. If he is fairly active in pastoral work, calling on his people in their homes and visiting outsiders who need a friend, he comes into direct contact with many personal and family problems centering in marriage.

The immediate question is: How well trained are most ministers to give adequate counseling of this kind? It must be admitted that their

¹ JOHN A. REIMERS, *The Institute of Family Service, Cleveland Associated Charities, Parent Education*, 3: 26-28, April-May, 1936.

specific training for it is limited, although they usually have a good general education and background. The hope of developing fairly efficient counseling lies in several factors. (1) The seminaries have begun to recognize the opportunities and responsibilities of ministers in this field and are requiring more and more courses that will contribute to it—sociology, case work, interviewing, psychology, mental hygiene, and even psychiatry—and if they do not require them, they at least offer them in the curriculum. In two seminaries, supervised clinical experience is provided. (2) Ministers usually read widely and are more open than many think to the newer approaches of psychology and psychiatry. (3) Ministers have wide contacts and are given free entree almost everywhere. This puts them in touch with doctors, lawyers, judges, social workers, and other specialists in the community to whom they can go for aid and to whom they can send persons when they consider it essential. In fact, they sometimes perform their best service by giving “first aid” only and referring their clients to sympathetic experts with whom they have contact. This ready access to expert consultation, added to their maturity and the prestige of their position, gives them a unique opportunity to develop considerable skill in marriage and family consultation.

But the minister also has several handicaps as a family consultant. Unless the church be a large one with a specialized staff, he must supervise nearly every detail of the whole church program, in addition to his major tasks of preaching and pastoral work. His time is often so completely occupied that he cannot prepare any of his work as carefully as he wishes, and even his interviews must be hurried. Second, he is frequently inclined, because of his specialized interest and training in religion, to lay more than a proper share of the emphasis upon religious factors and also to try to preserve the marriage intact even when more impartial investigation might advise its dissolution. Furthermore, in spite of his wide reading and contacts, he is often inclined to apply only the so-called “common-sense” advice that can be given offhand rather than the laborious and time-consuming case technique with which he may be reasonably familiar. However, at least one Protestant church requires its clergymen to interview couples before they are allowed to marry them, giving them as much instruction as they can in the elements of successful married life.

Butterfield,¹ after some study of the matter, believes that only about 20 per cent of Protestant ministers are doing fairly effective work in guidance for marriage and family life. Some of the objections raised by ministers to doing such counseling were as follows: they had no

¹ OLIVER M. BUTTERFIELD, *Family and Marriage Counseling by Protestant Pastors, Parent Education*, 3: 32-33, April-May, 1936.

preparation for it; it was not expected of a pastor; people would resent attempts to advise them in their private affairs; they had no time or adequate library to become qualified for such work; such work is for physicians and special educators; if people were truly religious, such matters would take care of themselves. It must be remembered that not all pastors are qualified either by training or temperament to do good counseling, and Butterfield is probably optimistic when he says that "any man qualified for general pastoral work can learn to counsel passingly well." However, he admits that only a minority are likely to become expert at it. He found the best consultants to be happily married, middle-aged pastors, with well-adjusted personalities and a genuine interest in and sympathy for people, and men who had had some specialized graduate courses in sociology, psychology, or allied fields, over and above their arts and divinity courses.

Some ministers in the larger churches have become so convinced of the need for such consultative service that they have established regular clinics in connection with their churches, the staff ranging from the minister himself, plus several volunteer consultants to whom he can refer (psychologists, psychiatrists, gynecologists, etc.) to a paid staff of psychiatrist, secretary, and 15 or 20 consultants. In one church clinic, more than 1,000 cases were handled in one year. A change in pastors has disrupted this work in some churches, and the difficult financial situation of the last few years has caused the restriction or discontinuance of certain other church clinics.

Another type of service which has been increasingly offered by ministers of late is that of premarital consultation and guidance. This is considered so important that some denominations have passed resolutions in their conventions either urging or requiring their clergy to make careful inquiry, on certain points, from young people wishing to be married and to give certain instruction before the wedding takes place. It is obvious, however, that such procedure is in effect optional with each minister, and not all abide by the ruling. Others have one brief interview on such matters as budgeting, children, sex problems, and in-laws, and some give to each couple a booklet on sex hygiene. But a few have worked out a system of careful instruction that requires many hours of time devoted to each couple, and without even the customary remuneration of a wedding fee. One pastor of a city church that has an active program for young people describes at some length his training course for prospective brides and grooms, which evidently gets results. It is worth quoting in full:

After making sure that they understand how to secure a license and after completing arrangements for the ceremony I explain to them that I do not take

marriage fees, because I want them to think of me as an entirely disinterested third party who is mediating to them knowledge of vital importance for their future happiness. Then I tell them that in my experience money and sex are the rocks on which marriages are most likely to fail and that if young people get started straight in these two matters they will have happy married lives. I tell them how important it is to make a plan for the use of their income, and with the help of some budgeting material from a local bank officer I explain how this can be done. Then I ask them to talk it over together and make a tentative plan; this they sometimes discuss with me later, sometimes not, as they prefer.

Next I explain to them that satisfactory sex relations must be learned, often slowly and patiently, and that happily married couples reach the heights only after several years of experience in cohabitation. Then I talk about the differences between the sex natures of women and men. If I see that they are embarrassed, I give the next part of the instruction to each separately. By this time, however, most couples are willing to have me talk about sex intercourse, which I explain with the help of diagrams. Some couples already know a good deal, either from reading or from previous sex experience. Other couples, including many who think they know a lot, are completely ignorant and have to be handled very carefully. I make sure not to embarrass either by referring to what the other has told me privately, and I try to lighten any guilt that there may be over earlier experiences.

The next point, unless they have previously brought it up, is the control of conception. I discuss the hygiene and the psychology of different methods commonly used and secure for them an appointment with a physician, if they wish it. I finish with several general suggestions about physical health and living arrangements. In case they are planning to live with either family of in-laws, I discuss at some length the pros and cons of the course they propose, for most young people have not thought that there are in this generation good reasons against, as well as for, such an arrangement. Then I give them one or two booklets containing the material I have talked over with them, so that they can remember better what I have said.

All this takes from 8 to 12 hours with each couple. More than half come back for another talk before the marriage service, sometimes to clear up a point, more often just to thank me. If they are living in the neighborhood, I make a point of inviting them to another interview two or three months after the ceremony.

This is the plan I have followed for more than 10 years, and not one of the couples that I have prepared in this way has separated. Most of them have as many children as they can afford, which is what I would expect of couples happily adjusted financially and sexually.¹

A number of Jewish rabbis have done the same kind of counseling through their synagogues that certain Protestant ministers have done through their churches. Catholic priests also give some counsel on marriage and family matters through the confessional. The Catholic church has not separated this service to the extent of the other faiths

¹ BRIDGMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

but considers marital problems an integral part of the total life problems the church tries to help its people solve.

The Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association, and in some cities the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations, have made considerable effort at guidance of young people, particularly before marriage. They have organized their own conferences and sponsored many others and have offered study courses, forums, discussion groups, and individual lectures on such subjects as mate selection, courtship, sex standards, sex education, and marriage problems. In some of these courses, they use the same person for the whole course, and in others bring in a number of experts in various lines. In some of the summer conferences, both parents and young folk attend, each group meeting day after day in separate discussion groups, raising every kind of problem and grievance, then in the last few sessions meeting together and exchanging face to face the views of each. Some of these conferences are truly eye openers to parents, and young folk also see more clearly what their parents—and other children's parents—are trying to do, and why. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have always stressed a normal, balanced life, and this has meant continuous emphasis on wholesome associations between young men and women, leading to marriages in which they will know how to adjust themselves.

Medical Counseling Services.—The more direct contributions of physicians to marital and family counseling are along five lines: contraceptive instruction, gynecological treatment, premarital examination, social hygiene, psychiatric service. Physicians are in a peculiarly strategic position to contribute to family guidance. They enjoy an immense prestige in any community, and they are freely given personal confidences, which they are bound to respect by the ethics of their profession as stated in the Hippocratic oath, which Folsom calls "the Magna Charta of humane case treatment." Also, they are more objective than most other persons who work with people, partly because of the particular type of their scientific training and partly because they have no social institutions to defend. They cannot sway germs as lawyers do juries by emotional oratory; nor can they exorcise the germs by preaching, teaching, or case interviews. Also, the doctor, in the regular routine of his work, is in such intimate contact with some of the basic causes of family discord that it would be a relatively short, though admittedly difficult, step to the giving of socio-psychological advice.

It is therefore regrettable, in view of the special opportunities mentioned, that more physicians do not avail themselves of these opportunities. Many of them can plead lack of time, for they must first serve the physical-health needs of their patients. Also, the very limitations of

their scientific training make them indisposed to go beyond what they have been taught to do—cure disease. Furthermore, up until the late court decision that in effect freed the profession from the fear of legal interference with the legitimate use of contraceptive instruction, many a doctor was afraid to risk his professional standing by becoming known as a "birth-control doctor." Even now, a good many fear that too much preoccupation with their patients' sex maladjustments will give them an unsavory reputation. And finally, quite a number of doctors feel that the private lives and quarrels of their patients are no concern of theirs, either through lack of interest or because they fear the patients would resent an intrusion into their intimate family affairs.

Nevertheless, some doctors are willing to undertake the broad service indicated, in spite of its great difficulties. One doctor¹ says that the study of a marital situation is more time-consuming and requires a wider knowledge than any other type of diagnosis but that it is gratifyingly fruitful, for the recommendations "bear more weight and consequence in this situation than in any other in which a physician is called upon for advice." He suggests that instead of expecting such versatile service from the lone physician there should be medical clinics established, with a staff that could spend enough time with each patient to make the service adequate.

But along the five lines mentioned above a good deal of medical and socio-medical advice is being given, both individually and through clinics. The work of the American Birth Control League not only gave the initial impetus to the wide dissemination of contraceptive information through medical channels in this country but also kept up such steady pressure that by the beginning of 1938 there were 374 birth-control clinics in the United States. These clinics interview the women who apply for information, a physician (usually a woman) gives them a physical examination, and if satisfied as to the need fits the patient with a proper contraceptive appliance and instructs her in the use of it. Since all the persons coming to these clinics are in search primarily of birth-control knowledge, it might seem that the opportunity of the physician is limited to the giving of contraceptive information, but such is not the case. The fear of pregnancy is often a cause of wife refusal, with consequent resentment by the husband which may lead to extramarital relations and further quarreling. Or sometimes the husband becomes angry when his wife becomes pregnant when he had told her to avoid it in any way she wished to. In such cases the giving of reliable contraceptive information to mothers, together with even a short interview on the sex life of husband and wife, sometimes clears up the basic cause of unhappiness which in turn dispels the minor

¹ ENDRE K. BRUNNER, *Marriage Counseling by Members of the Medical Profession*, *Parent Education*, 3: 30-31, April-May, 1936.

disagreements. It is not usually so simple as that, but most specialists agree that the restoration of a normal sex life to husband and wife, without fear of unwanted pregnancies, is one great factor in the adjustment of domestic discord.

In addition to the hundreds of birth-control clinics now in operation, there is a growing number of physicians in private practice who have qualified themselves to give expert advice on contraception, and their number will now increase with the new court interpretation of the Comstock law.

The second line of service, gynecological treatment, is naturally stressed less by general practitioners than by those who have specialized in gynecology and obstetrics. Dr. Robert L. Dickinson is recognized as the dean of medical workers in this field of service. There were plenty of distinguished gynecologists, but Dickinson was not content to be merely a good gynecologist. He kept careful case records on his patients for 35 years, developing through this period a theory and technique of preventive gynecology and marriage guidance. He strove to convert his colleagues, showing them their opportunities to promote marital adjustments and happiness. In 1923, he helped organize the Committee on Maternal Health, and two years later retired from his active practice in order to devote full time to the expanding work of the committee, which in 1930 became the National Committee on Maternal Health, Inc. The clinical research work carried on and supervised by this committee, particularly in the opposite fields of contraception and sterility, soon attracted wide attention and approval.

The premarital physical examination, with sex instruction, has been heavily stressed by the committee and bids fair to become in time the orthodox procedure for those planning to marry. Says Dr. Dickinson,¹ "Examination for fitness has become customary for all occupations save marriage and parenthood. Eventually common sense may be expected to demand a similar preparation before deciding on matters so important to the life of the individual and the race." He favors a thorough physical examination of and consultation with both prospective bride and groom at least a month before the wedding day is fixed. Such examination reveals any physical abnormality, weakness, or disease that might cause trouble and allows preventive measures to be taken. Sterility can usually be discovered in advance and quite frequently yields to treatment. The examination also provides a good opportunity for the physician to discover any sex fears, misinformation, or inhibitions that may prevent sex adjustment and to treat them preventively. The wide practice of such premarital examinations, together with socio-medical instruction, would constitute at least one important step toward better marital adjustment.

¹ ROBERT L. DICKINSON, Premarital Examination as Routine Preventive Gynecology, *Amer. Jour. Obstetrics and Gynecology*, 16: 631-641, November, 1928.

Work in social hygiene has long been carried on by various agencies in this country, but the American Social Hygiene Association has pioneered in much of the more effective effort. A large part of the activity of this and other organizations has been directed against prostitution and venereal disease, two sworn enemies of family life, but there has also been much positive sex education for persons of all ages.

The United States Public Health Service, under the leadership of the surgeon general, has recently launched one of the greatest drives against venereal disease that has yet been made. This is being carried on in close cooperation with many state and local public-health organizations all over the country and with the American Social Hygiene Association. There is relatively little marriage guidance and family counseling as such in this program, but it is aimed at the common goal of better marriage and happier family life.

Psychiatric services for marriage and family counseling have been increasing. A good many psychiatrists in private practice handle cases of marital conflict, and others are connected with child-guidance clinics, family-consultation bureaus, mental-hygiene clinics and occasionally social case-work agencies. The psychiatrists have better training than the general practitioners for ferreting out hidden impulses or repressions that are sometimes a cause and sometimes a result of marital conflict. They analyze these factors in the light of the patient's life history and are sometimes able to reorient the disorganized lives with which they are dealing. It is probable that psychiatrists will be used increasingly on the staffs of all types of organizations for family guidance.

Educational Agencies.—The organizations doing some kind of educational work in the field of the family are so numerous and diversified that they can merely be enumerated here. A few of them are: National Conference of Parent Education, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, American Association for Adult Education, United States Bureau of Home Economics, American Home Economics Association, Women's Bureau, Children's Bureau, General Federation of Women's Clubs (Department of the American Home), Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (Committee on Marriage and the Home), Child Study Association of America, International Council of Religious Education, New York State Conference on Marriage and the Family, Child Development Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University (and similar institutes or clinics in connection with other universities), Juvenile Research Bureaus, Merrill-Palmer School, the recently organized National Council on Family Relations, numerous schools and departments of home economics, Vassar Institute of Euthenics, American Social Hygiene Association, various social-work agencies (public as well as of all three faiths—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish), hundreds of college—and a few high-school—courses on

marriage and family life, some of the family counseling bureaus (such as those in Los Angeles and Philadelphia), and others. A number of the organizations named above (Parent-Teacher, Mental Hygiene, Adult Education, etc.) have state and local groups all over the country. Also, there are many specialized journals and other periodicals, such as *Parent Education*, *National Parent-Teachers Magazine*, *Journal of Home Economics*, *Parents' Magazine*, *Childhood Education*, *Parent Education*, *Child Study*, *Journal of Adult Education*, *The Child* (published by the Children's Bureau), *Journal of Social Hygiene*, to name only a few, that are wholly or partly devoted to family relationships. A large number of general magazines—*Harper's*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Forum*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *Cosmopolitan*, and many others—frequently carry articles, some of them in practically every issue, on marriage and family-adjustment problems. Some of these are either light or sensational, but a good many are written by the best authorities in the field. Some of them are popularly written interpretations of recent research on the family, and in this way thousands of persons are reached who would otherwise never know there was any such research. It goes almost without saying that most of the learned journals in the fields of sociology, psychology, education, mental hygiene, and psychiatry constantly carry educational articles on marriage and the family, some of them having a regular division on the family in each issue. Several times the *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science* has devoted a whole issue to the family, as has the *Journal of Educational Sociology*. In 1937 the *American Sociological Review* published an issue entirely on marriage and the family, which covered so many phases of the subject that it was widely used as a supplementary text in college courses on the family. The veritable flood of periodical literature and textbooks on the family gives evidence of the rapidly developing interest on the part of all ages, from high school on.

Only brief samples of the kinds of work done by the organizations named above need be given. The National Council of Parent Education has provided, first of all, a service bulletin for members of interested professions, entitled "Parent Education," which has been one of the most useful publications in the field, carrying reviews and digests of the best research, writings, and conferences in all fields bearing on family relationships, as well as articles of its own. In addition the council holds conferences, provides bibliographies, and cooperates with any agencies possible in educational publicity. The American Social Hygiene Association, in addition to the publication of its journal, organizes and helps sponsor many conferences and institutes, issues books and pamphlets, and provides selected bibliographies on sex education and related subjects. It also loans exhibits, charts, slides, and moving pictures. Its lecturers,

both from the home office and the many branch offices, have gone into every section of the country, giving educational service and encouraging local groups to use their own resources in developing institutes, campaigns, and continuous educational facilities.

The parent-teacher societies all over the country have provided innumerable lectures by specialists, usually held in school buildings and attended by parents of school children, and also a large number of carefully organized study courses in which the parents (more mothers than fathers) have followed the work through the term. Classes in sex education for parents do not always change attitudes as much as is hoped. Some years ago in Minneapolis a number of mothers were induced to attend a course on the sex education of children. The attitudes of the mothers on this subject were secured before they entered the course and checked with their attitudes at the end of the course. It was found that their opinions of what sex education should be given to children had not been materially changed.¹ However, the young people who have access to courses on sex education are much more susceptible to their influence.

The Committee on Marriage and the Home, of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, made an extended study, with the help of physicians and psychologists, of the question of birth control, adopted and published a report declaring it beneficial when rightly used, and by getting its publications before thousands of ministers over the country has sought to foster an enlightened stand on the subject. The committee, through its executive secretary, sets up in various states institutes on marriage problems of young people, issues booklets on adjustment of marital problems, and gives out a great many selected bibliographies for the use of individuals and small study groups in churches that are building up a limited library on family matters. Cooperating with this committee in 1938 in a united conference on Christian marriage, family life, and parent education were two other organizations, the National Council of Church Women and the International Council of Religious Education.

The Child Study Association of America is one of the most persistently active organizations in the family field. For nearly 50 years, it has been carrying on a program of parent education. It has brought together the best talent available in conferences, sponsored a research program, organized institutes and series of lectures, and issued publications. A typical year's program includes seven study groups, each of 12 weeks' duration, on such topics as problems of children at different age levels, family relationships, and leadership training. Also, there is a consultation service for parents, with a doctor and a psychiatric social worker

¹ HELEN L. WITMER, *The Attitudes of Mothers toward Sex Education*, University of Minnesota Press, 1929.

in charge, which gives as many as 10 or 12 interviews on some cases. Radio broadcasts are also made.

The Merrill-Palmer School in Detroit is a unique organization. The will of Lizzie Merrill Palmer left a considerable sum for the founding of a school for girls, in which they would be fitted "mentally, morally, physically, and religiously for the functions and service of wifehood and motherhood, and the management, supervision, direction, and inspiration of homes." In accordance with the will, the Merrill-Palmer School was founded in 1920. After testing out a number of projects, the following remained: an infant service for babies, a nursery school for children from two to five years of age, and recreational clubs for children up to the age of sixteen, all these providing the students of the school with actual experience and firsthand study. There is also a program for parents of children enrolled in the nursery school and recreational clubs, consisting partly of an institute with a variety of evening courses, and partly of parent interviews. The advisory service for college women, over an experimental five-year period (1932-1937), was one of the most interesting features of the school. The purpose was to explore the life problems of college women in the community, to help shape the future educational policy of the school, and possibly to work out a technique that would be useful in other communities for consultation service to educated women. More than 350 college women received one or more interviews, mostly on home and family-life problems. Some of the cases were followed up intensively, with numerous interviews and expert analysis.¹ The results of the five-year program, in the opinion of the school staff, demonstrated two things: first, the need for a counseling service for families of the middle and upper social and educational level; second, an opportunity to develop the service as a training center for persons doing or planning to do family counseling.

The Summer Institute of Euthenics at Vassar College is another attempt at giving educational guidance in family matters. The course runs for six weeks, both parents and children (aged two to ten) living on the campus. The children are graded in five age groups and live with full-time supervisors and teachers, being with their parents for at least an hour a day or more if necessary until they are adjusted to being separated from them. The parents spend the forenoons in study courses (but without examinations or credits) and the afternoons in recreation. In 1939, the institute conducted three study groups, the topics being: (1) development and guidance, (2) conservation of natural and human resources, (3) conservation of family resources. According to the catalogue, the purpose of the institute is broad—for men and women

¹ For further mention of the technique used, see under Marriage and Consultation Bureaus a little further on in this chapter.

"to study the problems that confront them in their adult lives." But the emphasis is on human relationships, which naturally leads parents to "seek help in guiding their children toward more effective and satisfying living." The institute is now in its thirteenth year, which is some indication that it has met the test and is performing a real service.

The National Conference on Family Relations is one of the latest entrants into the field of education for family life. It plans to hold an annual conference, the first of which was in New York City in the fall of 1938, and numerous regional and state conferences are now in the process of organization. The purpose of the conference, in the words of its constitution, is "to advance the cultural values that are now principally secured through family relations, for the advantage of the individual and the strength of the nation." The conference publishes a quarterly magazine entitled *Living*, which carries news of the various conferences and special articles on marriage and the family. There has been a genuine need for a nationwide conference such as this organization provides, and it is to be hoped that the various educational programs aimed at conserving the family may be brought into closer cooperation.

Regular courses on marriage and the family given in colleges and universities the country over are coming to be one of the most important sources of instruction for young people, as well as of interest to the general public, for such courses have recently received a good deal of attention in the press. Also, college graduates are usually active in their support of social and educational projects in their community, and those who have had a course in family relationships are better prepared and also more inclined to aid such projects.

For a good many years a few college courses on the family have been offered, but until the last two decades these courses dealt chiefly with the historical family and were therefore considered "safe" for students. In one large state university some 15 years ago when the students in the course brought up vital questions of present-day marriage problems and the instructor allowed such topics to be discussed, the authorities ordered the course entirely discontinued. But in general there has been a strong trend toward placing the emphasis on modern problems of marriage and family life. A sampling of opinions of teachers of such courses in various parts of the country showed that most of them still treat the historical development of the family, for they consider it necessary to a full understanding of the family in modern times, but they devote from three-fourths to four-fifths of the course to contemporary marriage and family life. There is a further tendency to emphasize *preparation for marriage*, and on a good many campuses in the last 10 years such courses have been established through the popular demand of the students. Sometimes it is first given as an extracurricular course without credit and later is

accorded a regular place in the curriculum of one of the departments, usually sociology; as a rule, it is open only to juniors and seniors. But whether a credit or a noncredit course, the classes are usually crowded, and in some cases where the enrollment is limited they are filled and closed long before the registration period is over. In one large Eastern university, the demand was so great for new sections of the class to be opened that three sections were given, and they were so promptly filled that it was evident that there was still further demand. The average size of classes of this type, the country over, is about 40 students; in a few colleges the class is allowed to go to two or three times that size and is handled entirely by the lecture method, but most instructors prefer not to enroll more than 40 students so that there can be plenty of class discussion. It is encouraging to note that the interest of young men in these courses is almost as great as that of young women, the enrollment in mixed classes being on the average about 55 per cent women and 45 per cent men.

Several studies have been made of the number and types of marriage and family courses given in American colleges and universities; and though none has completely covered the field, they have produced enough information to give a fairly good picture of the present situation. Drs. M. A. Bigelow and Helen Judy-Bond¹ received a report from 145 colleges in all parts of the country on the family courses they offered or the interest of students as evidenced by family topics discussed in other courses. They found that very few of the courses on the family were open to all juniors and seniors without prerequisite; since most of these courses were given in the departments of sociology, the prerequisite was usually the introductory course in sociology. They declare that a study of the content of many of these courses shows little justification for insisting upon prerequisite courses, for there is nothing in most of the courses that could not be grasped by most college juniors and seniors, whether or not they had had a previous course in sociology. They contend that there is a greater need for a general or "service" course which aims to help young people prepare for marriage and family relations than for a technical course on the sociology or psychology of the family. Since the student demand is largely for the more practical rather than the purely academic side of the subject, it may sometimes be necessary to give in addition to the general course a more specialized course in which those enrolled must have had courses in both sociology and psychology. The writer has found that either a senior-major class or a graduate seminar lends itself well to the more detailed analysis of family relationships.

¹ M. A. BIGELOW and HELEN JUDY-BOND, Courses on Marriage and the Family in Undergraduate Colleges, *Jour. Soc. Hygiene*, 22: 26-34, January, 1936.

However, outside of the larger universities and colleges it is not usually possible to offer several types of courses on the family, and most instructors seek to combine the theoretical and the practical in a single course. Many of them feel justified in making at least the prerequisite of introductory sociology, for students little realize how much of their understanding of personality factors and family interaction would be deepened if they knew some sociology and psychology. In this single course the teachers try to devote enough time to the sociological and psychological analysis of family relations to provide some foundation for the more practical problems that the students want to discuss. Moreover, they find that the students themselves soon see that marriage and family problems are complicated and that some of their questions which they had assumed an "expert" could easily answer involve a whole series of interacting factors, any one of which calls for patient investigation. This gives them more respect for the prerequisites.

In his study of the catalogues of 403 colleges in the Association of American Colleges, Haworth¹ found 234 courses in 225 colleges which dealt in part or in whole with the family. Most of these (188) were in departments of sociology, and most of the others (38) in departments of home economics. As might be expected, the women's colleges were more aggressive in this field than were the men's colleges; nearly two-thirds of the former but less than one-third of the latter had such courses. The coeducational colleges were almost identical with the women's colleges in this respect. More than nine-tenths of the state-controlled schools had such courses. On 105 of the courses there was secured by questionnaire information regarding the teachers and the content of the courses. The men teachers outnumbered the women teachers more than 2 to 1; two-thirds of the teachers were married, but fewer than one-half had children. The percentages of courses devoting one or more hours to certain topics were as follows:

Divorce.....	92	Recreation in the home.....	65
Personal adjustments in marriage....	91	Problems of the unmarried.....	61
History of marriage.....	91	Religion in the home.....	57
Eugenic aspects.....	86	The engagement.....	41
Legal aspects.....	84	The wedding.....	40
Choosing a mate.....	82	The honeymoon.....	36
Philosophy of birth control.....	81	Petting.....	32
Comradeship in home.....	80	Pregnancy and childbirth.....	24
Careers for married women.....	78	Sex deviations.....	21
Courtship.....	70	Physiology of sex organs.....	15
Family finance management.....	70	Contraceptive techniques.....	14
Child psychology and care.....	65	Autoerotism.....	8

¹ CECIL E. HAWORTH, *Association Amer. Colleges, Bulletin*, November, 1935.

Haworth was impressed with the wide variety of treatment and the utter lack of standardization.

It is a notable fact that schools and departments of home economics now lay a great deal of stress upon family relationships. The days when "domestic science" consisted mostly of cooking, marketing, sewing, cleaning, furniture arrangement, etc., have passed. These necessary skills are not neglected, but a new emphasis on personality development and social interaction in the family group has greatly broadened and enriched the whole content of the work in home economics. In such departments the courses on the family constitute a fine blending of sociology, psychology, and practical training.

Courses on the family are more and more included in high-school curriculums. They develop naturally in the divisions of home economics, but in other divisions they still meet considerable opposition. School boards and many parents are afraid that the boys and girls will discuss things they should not. They are not willing to trust the judgment of the teachers. However, the latter sometimes get in some excellent courses under topics that use the word "home" (which seems a safe word even to schools boards) and thus give their students some sound teaching. However, some high schools now have little trouble on either the title or content of such courses. Their leaders have done their work so well that they have the support of both school and community. The program in child development and family relationships in the Central High School of Tulsa, Okla., has attracted considerable attention. Under the leadership of Maude M. Firth, Director of Education for Home and Family Life, there has been developed a course which begins with adolescent psychology and leads directly into the consideration of many basic family relationships. The 1,100 boys and girls are organized into groups which perform practical duties that lead back to the classroom for further discussion of personality and relationship problems. Ways in which adolescents concurrently seek to obtain independence as well as to establish status with the group are given major attention.

Courts of Domestic Relations.—A good many students of family affairs are of the opinion that the legal profession has not contributed its proper share to the conservation of the family. Lawyers in private practice and on the bench are constantly handling cases of domestic discord, yet it is usually from the purely legal angle. Rarely do they go carefully into the whole social history of the case and try to work out a harmonious adjustment. They are interested primarily in the legal requirements of the case and in getting decisions favorable to their clients. It must be admitted that they are usually brought into the picture at a discouragingly late hour, for people do not usually seek legal advice until some serious trouble has arisen and frequently not until a

break has been decided upon. Furthermore, the lawyer can argue that it is not his function to patch up family quarrels; his business is to advise the client legally on the course of action he wants to pursue. And if his conscience is still a little uneasy, he can fall back upon the thought that if he does not push the claim presented to him his client will get another lawyer who will. None of these points, however, refutes the argument that except for certain legal aid societies, a handful of socialized courts, and a small minority of judges and private lawyers the legal profession is doing relatively little to stabilize the family.

The first genuine step toward applying a socialized attitude toward family troubles was the establishment of the juvenile court. The first real juvenile courts in the United States were established in Chicago and Denver in 1899, and so quickly did they prove their merit that within 25 years there were such courts in every state but two and in every city with a population of 100,000 or more. The basic principles of the court are too well known to enumerate, but the one bearing most directly on the family was the principle of case-work investigation. This brought the case worker into the home, for in getting a picture of the background and environment of the young offender the home was naturally the first place he went. The case workers and probation officers connected with the court thus had on their hands not only juvenile-delinquency cases but also family cases, for they usually found them to be inseparable. The court thus became the friend and ally of many thousands of families, trying to rehabilitate them and make them the senior partners in the court's efforts to save the boys and girls who had run afoul of the law. This was a new procedure, for which the country was ripe, and as usual with such reforms, many wondered why it had been delayed so long.

It was but a step from the idea of the juvenile court to the establishment of the "family courts" or "courts of domestic relations." The first step was taken in 1910 when a domestic-relations division was established in the city court at Buffalo, having jurisdiction over all criminal matters relating to family affairs, including bastardy cases.¹ In 1914 in Cincinnati there was opened the first family court to exercise jurisdiction over both domestic-relations and juvenile cases. Both of these types of procedure have been followed in other cities. In New York City, in 1933, after a bitter struggle by the opponents and proponents of the latter plan, the Children's Court, which had been operating separately for a good many years, absorbed the family court, and took the new name of Domestic Relations Court, with a children's division and a family

¹ BERNARD FLEXNER, REUBEN OPPENHEIMER, and KATHARINE F. LENROOT, "The Child, the Family, and the Court," *Children's Bureau, Pub.* 193, p. 13, Washington, 1929.

division. There are today, over the country, at least five different types of the family or domestic-relations courts; but the differences are largely of jurisdiction (whether they cover divorce or not, etc.), and the principle of socialized treatment is theoretically basic to all. Unfortunately, in actual practice the underlying principle just mentioned is observed in almost every degree, from almost none at all to a relatively full application. The extent to which the principle is applied depends partly upon the attitude of the chief justice and partly upon the adequacy of his special staff, which is often a matter of appropriations.

The ideal setup of a family court is usually described as one having an adequate staff of social case workers, probation officers, clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, and medical doctors. The case load must not be too heavy for the workers if they are to be efficient. A case load of 40 is considered the highest that can be carried efficiently by a case worker or probation officer, but in a number of courts in various cities the load goes up to 80, 90, or even 100 or more cases per worker, which means terrific overwork or else very superficial work. In a surprising number of cases the workers choose to overwork and carry on until they have to ease up or break, rather than to "let down" any of the persons they are trying to help. In a few courts, there were found to be 200, 250, and even 500 adult probationers under a single probation officer, which meant there could be no probation work in the true meaning of the term.¹ The ideal of the court is that there need be no lawyers unless desired, there are no juries, and the decisions are private. The cases are studied by the tireless case workers, who call upon the psychologists and psychiatrists when needed, and the whole case is summarized for the judge before he sees the plaintiff or defendant or hears their stories. Cases are then heard and decisions are made, but the cases are kept open for possible changes in the light of new developments. Into each case goes all the skill of experts, all the stimulating encouragement of a friend, all the guidance of an elder brother. Small wonder that at its best such a court saves many families from breakup.

But that is the court at its best; its usual level of performance is far below this ideal plane. Judges without special training, too few probation officers or officers with little or no qualification for their work, and a lack of technically trained specialists such as psychiatrists frequently make of the court a poor imitation of what it could be. It is depressing to sit and watch cases pass in array before the judge—cases in which the trouble has been developing for 10 years, yet which are disposed of in 10 minutes by a judge whose remarks to the person or persons before him show no understanding of their problems. Sometimes the procedure is not so bad as it looks, for a tired officer will lay

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

a few record sheets before the judge before he hears the principals and whisper a few words to him in recommendation. But often these are based upon an extremely brief contact with the principals, with no time fully to learn the real story of the trouble. It is no wonder that a man is bitter when he is ordered to pay alimony when he has no work and cannot find work or when the estranged wife drives to the court house on "collection day" with her new "boy friend" whom she is supporting on the husband's payments. The "majesty of the law" loses much of its respect when those caught in the agony of domestic conflict hear a snap judgment on affairs that are of enormous importance to them, a judgment that runs counter to their whole sense of fair play and justice. Some of the courts have no doctors or psychiatrists and are working in the dark as far as hidden physical or mental defects are concerned. Even in one of the so-called "better" courts of domestic relations only 4 per cent of the cases received psychiatric attention and only 3 per cent were examined for physical defect. To show the need of medical or psychiatric examination in cases in any type of court, Magistrate Goldstein¹ of New York City cites the case of Irving Rose, who came into his court in 1932, on a serious charge. He was given a thorough physical and mental examination and found to be insane, so was sent to a state hospital for treatment. When his record was looked up, it showed that Irving had been in court twelve times between 1912 and 1928, being discharged twice and sentenced ten times to juvenile reformatories, workhouse, state prison, and finally penitentiary. He was a persistent violator of parole, his parents repeatedly reported that they could not handle him, and his low intelligence was obvious even without examination; yet in the 16 years covering his 10 commitments, he had never been given a psychiatric examination.

One of the best features of some of the better staffed domestic-relations courts is their success in adjusting cases unofficially. One very efficient court reported that in one year its referees adjusted out of court 90 per cent of the cases involving children; another adjusted 70 per cent of all its cases in this way. A few years ago, the Brooklyn Domestic Relations Court began to try out an unofficial arm of the court in the form of a Welfare Council Committee, sponsored by the National Desertion Bureau and the Jewish Board of Guardians. A trained case worker was loaned to the court by the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, and it was her duty to interview many cases before they actually got to court, as well as to accept cases referred to her by probation officers and the court. The experiment was so successful that a similar plan in Queens was sponsored by the Catholic Charities and Big Sisters. In

¹ JONAH J. GOLDSTEIN, "The Family in Court," New York, Clark Boardman, 1934, pp. 62-67.

both places the courts have hoped that the work will demonstrate the need for a larger staff of trained referees for social adjustment without legal action.

Without a staff of social experts attached to the court to humanize the law, what a travesty of insight and justice the court sometimes reveals; how little of the human understanding that it might have.

Mary Jones was a June bride. She had promised to love and honor. So had Henry. They were married and started housekeeping. Their friends and families had hoped for a happy union. In the course of time the young married people learned that marriage was not a continuous honeymoon. New machinery requires adjustment; so does human machinery. When they bought their automobile the salesman told them to drive it slowly and bring it in for adjustment after they had driven it 500 miles. No such common-sense advice was given to them at the time they were married. Both of them, without any previous experience, were expected to make their own adjustments. In fact, they were ashamed to discuss domestic breakdowns with anyone. In years past the family physician often played the role of human adjuster. The family physician is nearly as extinct as the Indian. He has given way to the Specialist.

Mary was a modern girl. Being a believer in equal rights, she would not subordinate her individuality. Compromises were made. When Henry finally tired of compromising, something happened. She had in the past threatened to leave. This time she carried out the threat, and she went back to her parents. After crying her heart out she waited for Henry's call and abject apology; no call—no apology. Henry waited for her return and apology. He was sure she was wrong. She was equally sure that he was wrong.

After a family conference, Mary went to see a lawyer. A letter was written with the implied threat of suit. . . . In anger Henry tore up the letter and threw it into the basket.

A summons, and complaint, affidavits, and motion for alimony and counsel fee, were drawn and served. To make sure that a liberal allowance would be awarded by the court for temporary alimony and counsel fee, Henry's shortcomings and wrongs were exaggerated. Molehills were made to appear like mountains. A modest income took the form of great wealth. Nothing was holy to the legal draftsman.

When Henry read the papers, he saw red. No time was to be lost. He took them to his lawyer who immediately drew up a set of answering papers reducing mountains to anthills. Both attorneys met in court on the return day of the motion. The papers were filed. The judge did not meet or call for either Mary or Henry. The issues involved were to be decided by reading the affidavits. Not even a judge can get at the truth by reading affidavits.

Decision was rendered and, despite the old adage that "the woman pays," Henry commenced to pay. With each payment the divide between Mary and Henry grew wider. Motions and counter motions were made—all without the judge's seeing or talking to Mary or Henry.

About a year later the case was called for trial. Mary looked at Henry and Henry returned the look. If looks could kill, there would have been two jobs

for the undertaker. Seated in the open courtroom were a few friends and many strangers. When the legal battle first started there were the usual newspaper headlines, the pictures of both Mary and Henry, the carefully chosen extracts from the complaining and answering affidavits. Newspaper accounts merely served as added fuel for the flames of marital discord.

The judge, before proceeding with the trial, asked whether matters could not be adjusted. A brief consultation between counsel and their respective clients—"No, not now."

Another romance wrecked. Two more disillusioned, embittered souls. Nothing mattered—the judicial mill continued to grind. Truly, Justice was blind.¹

But though the court was blind, for it could have refused to make any disposition of the case until it had made its own *social* as opposed to *legal* investigation, the court was not wholly to blame. It did not get the case until the accumulated bitterness had reached such a stage that reconciliation was all but impossible. Yet even at such an extreme stage a skilled worker has sometimes been able to get each party to see just enough of the other's grievances to form a small basis on which to work. Then by patient effort through analysis of personality traits, health factors, childhood and background experiences, contemporary environmental influences, and other contributing factors, the "family friend" has at last restored the companionship, on a new basis of better understanding and willingness to contribute one's share to harmony. But how different the whole story might have been had there been available some place, having none of the legal flavor of the court or the charity flavor of the welfare association, where either Mary or Henry could have gone for friendly counsel when they began to have trouble. Had there been, for example, a family consultation bureau in which Mary and Henry had confidence, the marital disaster might have been avoided. True, the description given of their trouble is too brief to give much inkling of what such a bureau would have to build on. Perhaps there was so little personality stability in either Henry or Mary that if they had been pulled out of this difficulty they would promptly have fallen into another. But at least the *chances* of adjustment would have been greatly increased if friendly, competent aid had been available.

What *can* be done is shown in Hixenbaugh's analysis² of 101 cases that went through the unofficial Reconciliation Department of the Court of Domestic Relations in Dayton, Ohio, in one year. There were 163 cases in all, but 62 of them either were for minor difficulties or were of a type that required immediate reference to other social agencies; the 101 left

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-7.

² ELINOR R. HIXENBAUGH, Reconciliation of Marital Maladjustment—An Analysis of 101 Cases, *Soc. Forces*, 10: 230-236, December, 1931.

were all cases that required thorough investigation and case work. In 27 of these cases, official divorce papers had already been filed in the court, but the others had no papers in court yet. In the 101 cases there were 577 specific complaints, classified as follows: personal factors (personal behavior, sex attitudes, temperamental incompatibility, cruelty, drink or drug habits, age variance), 278; economic factors (poor management, woman independent, occupational condition, nonsupport, poverty, financial reverses), 126; social factors (relatives, friends, religious differences, social inferiority, difference in social background), 103; health factors (sickness or disease, psychopathic condition, psychological change due to age, mental deficiency, physical deficiency), 70; total, 577.

The mere listing of these items shows their wide range; there is little missing from the whole gamut that would be shown by a larger sample. Yet the record of reconciliation and adjustment is surprisingly high.

	Official cases	Unofficial cases	Total
Reconciliations.....	8	39	47
Adjustments.....	6	14	20
Divorces.....	7	3	10
Current cases.....	6	18	24
Total.....	27	74	101

It will be seen that nearly one-half of the 101 cases showed reconciliation, including nearly one-third of those who had gone so far as to file divorce papers with the court. In addition a large number were specified as "adjusted," but since the disposition of these particular cases is not fully described we cannot know the exact nature of the adjustment. But the reconciliations alone constitute an imposing tribute to intelligent social effort. To be sure, not all of them may have been permanent, but at least the families had been induced to make another attempt to achieve happiness, and this time with the supporting knowledge that they had skilled friends who would help them in their difficulties.

Marriage and Family Consultation Bureaus.—There has arisen in the past few years a new kind of family guidance that is most promising, offered by private but nonprofit organizations qualified to give expert counseling on most types of marriage and family problems. Thus far, only a few such family guidance clinics have been established, and so the accumulated experience is still small. They are necessarily experimental, but their accomplishments to date have aroused so much interest on the part of professional and social leaders that the idea may soon procure action in many localities.

It is impossible to foretell the exact line of development these organizations will take, for they will necessarily remain flexible in procedure until various methods have been further tested. But they are sure to include certain features. Ten years ago, the Rosenwald Fund of Chicago sponsored a conference of professionals in psychiatry and social case work, to consider the need for marriage and family consultation bureaus and the form they should take if established. There emerged from the conference a definite opinion that such bureaus are needed and that they should perform several definite functions. For the immediate service to clients, there should be personal consultation and the preparation and distribution of literature; for the long-time improvement of such service there should be a continuous research program and a personnel training service.¹

There is no longer any question about the need for better family counseling service. We have previously pointed out that the individual social worker, educator, minister, psychologist, physician, lawyer, and other professionally trained persons can frequently perform a worth-while service in counseling, but these are the very persons who soon come to see that no *one person* is wise enough or has broad enough training and experience to solve the wide variety of problems that arise. More and more, they are calling attention to the need for clinics where the knowledge and experience of a *group* of professionally trained specialists can be brought to bear upon the most difficult problems. Such facilities make possible the development of a genuine social-therapy technique for treating marriage and family ailments, as well as more far-reaching preventive measures.

The objectives of family consultation centers must cover a broad scope if they are to take on all comers. They must give premarital advice to young people, which is one of their most constructive services; they must give definite information and advice on sex problems, including contraception; they must offer health and medical advice, either through their own organization or by referral to the client's family physician or other doctors known to be competent; they should aid mothers, who know little of child care, and assist in preventing serious parent-child conflicts that threaten, or in solving them if they do arise; they must provide practical guidance in home management, finances, and sometimes in legal matters. This is a large order, but just as disease in one member of the body can make the whole body ill, so can conflict in one phase of family relations spread through the whole area of family life and bring complete disorganization. For this reason, impossible as it may sound, the family guidance center must take as the ideal toward which it works a complete consultative service.

¹ BRIDGMAN, *op. cit.*

One of the most interesting of the experimental counseling services sponsored by universities was the Family Consultation Bureau which recently carried on a four-year service and research program in connection with the Child Development Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University. Under the competent leadership of Miss Lois Meek, Director, and Mrs. Margaret Benz, General Secretary, the bureau offered advisory service to staff members of Columbia University and to the families of the children in the demonstration schools conducted by Teachers College, for the double purpose of rendering genuine service to the families and building up a fund of information on the advisory needs of middle-class families in a large city. The service provided by the staff of specialists covered nearly every family problem, including family health, house management, child guidance, family relations, legal matters, and family finance.

The usual procedure in a counseling agency is for the client to be interviewed first by the secretary or by a staff member, then referred to a specialist if it appears necessary. In difficult cases, requiring many interviews and the help of various specialists, there may be a number of staff conferences in which the most likely procedure is worked out from a consensus of opinion. Clients must be cooperative if they are to receive much help. Those who are too reserved and want to hide shameful elements in the conflict must be drawn out until they have enough confidence to give all the information requested, no matter how private. Those who expect a complete solution of their problems at the first visit must be brought to realize that human relationships are not so simple as that and that it may require months of close cooperation to clear the matter up. Those who seek to throw all responsibility on the bureau must learn that they themselves are the only ones who can solve their problems and the most the bureau can do is to help them find the way. Those who look for quick sympathy and instant championing of their cause must be brought to see that there are two sides to the matter and that the bureau cannot possibly understand the problems until it has both sides of the story and has examined every factor that may bear on it—and that even then the bureau is interested not in determining who is to blame, but only in helping all parties reach as satisfactory adjustment as possible.

A brief description of the organization and work of one or two family guidance bureaus with several years of successful operation will suffice to show the nature of the work and give some idea of its social value. The Institute of Family Relations in Los Angeles is widely recognized as the pioneer of this kind of work in the United States. Organized in 1930 under the direction of Dr. Paul Popenoe, it has three main departments: personal service, public education, research. The general direc-

tor of the institute is a biologist who has specialized in heredity and eugenics. There are also an educational director and a research director (both sociologists), a medical director (a gynecologist), a director of personal service (a biologist and educator), and a director of psychological service who works in cooperation with the Southern California Society for Mental Hygiene. In addition there are four medical counselors with whom the staff members consult, seven family relations counselors, a counselor in parent education, a staff lecturer, an office manager, and an assistant to the general director. Owing to a limited budget only the general director and office manager are full-time staff members, all the others being on a part-time basis.

The Institute of Family Relations is not organically related to any other agency, but it actively cooperates with many. Through the Department of Personal Service, men and women, married or unmarried, can receive personal counseling on any phase of marriage and family relationships. Various psychological instruments such as the Humm-Wadsworth Temperament Scale, the Bernreuter Personality Inventory, the Willoughby Emotional Maturity Scale, and the Bernard Scale for marital happiness are used. Clients are encouraged to read certain library books pertaining to their particular needs, which often simplifies the later interviews. Also, the institute has its own specially prepared pamphlets on a number of specific problems. If there are medical or legal problems, the client is referred to his own physician or lawyer or to charity organizations if he is without funds. In this personal counseling service, the typical client receives about four counseling periods in addition to the initial interview.

The following case is typical of a good many handled by the institute:

After Jack and Louise married they dropped out of the crowd with which they had been going. It was made up of young unmarried people, and they felt that they didn't belong to it any more. Besides, they enjoyed being alone together. In a year the baby came, so there was all the more reason for Louise to stay at home, and Jack stayed with her. But she seemed to think and talk of nothing but the baby. If Jack offered a suggestion she would remind him that he didn't know anything about babies; it wasn't his job to tell a mother how to take care of her baby.

Jack was bored. He began to think of the good times they had had together in the old days when they were going around with a congenial group of young folks. They had lost touch with that group and hadn't made any other friends yet. He wondered why they didn't find some young married people to go out with, but he couldn't think of any. Anyhow they could at least go to the movies once in a while. Louise hadn't been able to go out for some months, but there was nothing to prevent it now.

"Gosh, we haven't been away from home for weeks," he remarked. "Let's go to the movies tonight."

"Why, Jack, I can't leave the baby."

"Can't we get somebody to stay with the baby for a few hours? Plenty of women advertise in the papers for jobs like that."

"But Jack, surely you wouldn't go off and leave our baby with a perfect stranger! I'd never forgive myself if anything happened."

"How about parking the kid with your sister for the evening?"

"I don't like to trust anybody with Junior—he's too precious. Besides, he's been sniffing a little today. No, it's my duty to stay right here and take care of him."

So it continued, until Jack began to feel that the baby was not binding him and his wife closer together, but was a wedge forcing them apart. Anyway, if Louise wouldn't ever go out in the evening, there was no use for him to sit around and do nothing. He phoned her one evening that he was going to stay downtown for supper and then go to a bowling alley with some of the boys in the office. Next time they wanted to play pool, and after that they were going out to see a fellow who had just built a new short-wave rig. More and more of Jack's evening were spent away from home, and Louise acted more and more like a martyr. This made the home atmosphere all the gloomier, and made Jack stay away even more frequently.

Finally Jack began to go to dances with several couples, including a divorcee who needed a partner. One morning an anonymous phone call asked Louise if that brunette with whom her husband was so sweet last night was a particular friend of the family; and then hung up. Louise wept most of the day and confronted Jack with an accusation at night.

He tried to laugh it off. "Sure; the boys wanted to go to a dance and I went along. I couldn't dance with myself so I danced with all the other girls that were there. I'd rather have danced with you, but you wouldn't go."

"You didn't ask me to go."

"I've asked you fifty other times. Will you go tonight?"

"Of course I won't. You don't really want me to go. You're just asking me because you feel guilty. Go and dance with your brunette if she means more to you than your own wife and child."

"Now look here, Louise, you can't get away with that sort of stuff . . ." and so on until she became hysterical and he was both indignant and disgusted. Next morning he did not kiss her good-by, and when he came home in the evening with a box of candy as a peace offering he found her gone. A note on the table informed him that since she was not appreciated she would not be a drag on his happiness.

He knew well enough where she would go—to her sister's. The sister answered his phone call, informing him coldly that the least he could do was not to torture his wife any more by trying to see her, and rang off. He spent a miserable and sleepless night, notified the office next morning that he would be late, and came to the Institute of Family Relations instead. He felt that his whole future was in jeopardy.

After a talk with him one of the institute's counselors sent him on to his work and then phoned his wife. She came down in the afternoon for a long talk in which the whole situation was discussed, and Jack came again in the evening.

In the course of a few more weeks, a drastic reorganization of their life had been worked out. Their budget was overhauled and provision made for a high-school girl to come in alternately afternoons and evenings. When she was there in the afternoon Louise could go out to visit her sister or she could lie down at home and take a rest. On the days when the girl came in the evening Jack and Louise could go out together. They joined a dancing class which some young married people in the neighborhood were organizing. They agreed to go to the movies or some other entertainment one evening a week. Louise decided to go one evening a week to a class in costume designing at one of the evening high schools. Finally, some necessary readjustments were made in their emotional life.

This was five years ago. They have a second child now and are completely happy.¹

The institute's Department of Public Education cooperates with state and local boards of education, with private schools and colleges, and with many public and private organizations, such as clubs, churches, Y.M.C.A.'s, Y.W.C.A.'s, etc., in its educational program. It presents lectures, both singly and in series, organizes discussion groups, holds institutes and conferences in various cities and towns, and promotes a circulating library of up-to-date books on love, marriage, parenthood, mental hygiene, social hygiene, etc.

The Department of Research carries on as much research as its budget permits. Recently it cooperated in the comprehensive study by Lewis M. Terman and his associates on factors making for success or failure in marriage. The constantly growing files of the institute will increasingly provide a wealth of case material for various kinds of intensive study.

The typical married clients coming to the institute for aid are 25 to 35 years of age and have been married 8 to 10 years. They are usually of the white-collar class or from the upper levels of skilled labor and have had at least a high-school education. Those seeking premarital advice are usually in a little higher social and economic class than the married clients. About three-fifths of the clients are women, but it is a rule of the institute that both parties be interviewed before any attempt is made at adjustment. The premarital service fee is \$10 per person, which includes a physical examination and four periods of counseling. The fee for married persons seeking family adjustment is also \$10 and includes a careful study of the case, personality and temperament tests, and four consultations, usually about a week apart. A few clients are accepted who are unable to pay any fee, but their number must be limited because the institute, which is a nonprofit service organization without endowment, must try to pay its own way.

In 1932, a marriage and family guidance service, called the Marriage Counsel, was established in Philadelphia, under the direction of Emily

¹Quoted by permission of Dr. Paul Popenoe, Director.

H. Mudd. This was accomplished through the cooperative efforts of several educational, welfare, religious, and other professional groups interested in studying the preventive approach to family difficulties. The service was meant especially for young persons before marriage and for young married couples in the first few years of their marriage. It was hoped that counsel with the unmarried would help prevent some of the problems which arise in marriage, and counsel with those married only a short time would get at minor difficulties before they had time to assume disastrous proportions. The clients, some of whom come of their own accord but many of whom are advised to come by social workers, educators, ministers, and physicians, are interviewed by a counselor, and if necessary referred to individual specialists who cooperate with the counselor.

Of 100 consecutive cases in 1934-1935, four-fifths were women.¹ Slightly more than one-half were from the skilled occupational group, and slightly less than one-half from the unskilled. They were almost evenly divided between the married and the single. Two-thirds of the unmarried clients were engaged, and of the married one-third had been married less than five years; so on the whole the counsel has been getting mostly young people, as it wished. Those coming for interviews could be classed roughly as (1) those about to be married and wanting information that might lessen the chances of difficulty in marriage, (2) those needing assistance in a specific situation, and (3) those with diffused or involved difficulties that upset them generally. Payment for the service was voluntary, and only a little more than one-third contributed anything, the average contribution being \$2. Two-thirds of the 100 clients made only one office visit, although the majority of those kept in touch with the counsel for a time through telephone calls, library service, special consultants, or letter. The majority of the questions raised by the clients had to do with the physiology and psychology of sex.

It is difficult to know how efficient the work of such consultation services is. All of them can point to cases that are seemingly happy and adjusted and to others where their efforts seemed to have no effects at all. There are no standards by which to go, for no one knows what percentage of adjustments such a service should have. There are many variables among those coming for service—their intelligence, their attitude (whether coming voluntarily or under semicompulsion), whether they come as free or paying clients, their age, sex, kinds of difficulties, etc. Also, there are variables on the side of the bureau—the size, diversity, and qualifications of the staff, the number of interviews, the

¹ EMILY H. MUDD, An Analysis of One Hundred Consecutive Cases in the Marriage Counsel of Philadelphia, *Mental Hygiene*, 21: 198-217, April, 1937.

amount of referral, the bias of the counselors, etc. The most that can be said now is that many persons are helped by the service, but its actual efficiency is yet to be determined.

Since marriage and family counseling is almost sure to continue to increase, there is a growing awareness of the need of training for personnel. Robert G. Foster has gone thoroughly into the question for the Merrill-Palmer School, where he has been developing a training school for counselors. In the advisory service for college women that the school maintains, a college woman coming for a first interview may, upon a second interview, show some problems difficult enough to be considered by the Case Committee, which is made up of a psychologist, sociologist, gynecologist, nutritionist, and any other specialist it may be necessary to call in for the specific case in hand. If the Case Committee decides that the case calls for intensive help, the client may receive as much help as she desires and over as long a period as she desires. Complete and detailed records are kept of all interviews and "there is repeated checking with the Case Committee in order that the opinions of different specialists may be brought to bear on the problems under consideration."¹ Not only does this method make for better treatment through the pooling of ideas, but it prevents the giving of conflicting advice to the client by the various specialists. In the Case Committee the client is referred to only by code number, under which all interviews are filed, so that only the counselor handling the case knows the client personally. The purpose is not to tell the client what to do but to get the specialists to throw as much light on her problem as possible so she can work out a solution that will fit into her own philosophy of life. The problems brought in cover almost every phase of marriage and family life, and so the counselors get excellent training, under careful supervision, in handling a variety of situations.

In speaking of the qualifications of counselors on marriage and family problems, Foster² says it is essential that there be not only good technical training and broad experience but also a certain amount of natural interest and aptitude for the work. They must be well adjusted personally and maintain an attitude of objectivity and tolerance. Pratt³ sets a high standard for anyone who would be what he calls a "doctor of matrimony" and insists that he should have the insight to evaluate seemingly inconsequential factors, size up the total problem, and finally integrate all

¹ PAULINE PARK WILSON, Advisory Service for College Women at the Merrill-Palmer School, *Parent Education*, 3: 20-22, April-May, 1936.

² ROBERT G. FOSTER, The Qualifications and Training of Counselors on Marriage and Family Problems, *Parent Education*, 3: 10-16, April-May, 1936.

³ GEORGE K. PRATT, A Specialized Technique, *Parent Education*, 2: 16+, April, 1935.

the various consultation aids without letting the true nature of the problem get lost in the shuffle. Whether the counselor is married or not—and in some ways marriage is distinctly in his favor—he must have a real appreciation and understanding of family life. It is of course assumed that he is a skilled interviewer, knowing when to give advice and when to withhold it, how to keep his client from leaning on him, and how to develop in him a will to solve his own problem with a minimum of guidance from the counselor. Such a profession is an extremely difficult one and not to be entered upon unless one is equipped with far more than good intentions.

At the Jewish Social Service Bureau in Chicago, Harriet Mowrer has stood out consistently against the assumption that anyone with a little psychological training can become an expert family counselor. She has worked steadily, through the medium of clinical research, to build up a body of tested techniques. Since a clinician can properly carry only a small number of cases, this method, she thinks, will not appeal to those who are impressed with large numbers.¹ Yet it is to clinical treatment that we can look for perhaps the most fruitful development of family research yet devised. For a scientific understanding of domestic discord, says Mowrer, "it will be necessary to look toward the establishment of research clinics rather than advice-giving stations." This is very true; yet it appears that there is room for both the highly specialized clinic, which can handle only a few cases in the most scientific manner, and the larger consultation bureau, which can perform a real service by handling a larger number of cases, particularly the less difficult ones, even without the best of staffs. Their percentage of failure will be somewhat higher than that of the more intensive clinics, but they will increasingly raise their standards as the others lead the way through better research. Social agencies, like individuals, prefer the best, but when it is not available the second best may be better than none at all, at least until the best can be secured.

One other phase of the counseling question needs brief mention. Like every other line of endeavor that attracts public interest, it is open to exploitation. Individual "counselors" are hanging out their shingles in various cities. Some of these—psychologists, psychiatrists, educators—are well trained and honest in their work, but some are out to catch the gullible with high-sounding phrases. The radio was quick to exploit the field, and now one need only listen to an unctuous "voice of ____" to find relief for all one's matrimonial ailments. Or court is held on the air, and "genuine cases" heard and disposed of within a few minutes. The "true stories of the unfortunate victims of love" are sobbed out over

¹ HARRIET R. MOWRER, *Clinical Treatment of Marital Conflicts*, *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 2: 771-778, October, 1937.

the air, with all the tense emotion of the old melodrama. Such cheap drama tends to discredit the legitimate efforts of bona fide counselors and to make it difficult to use the radio for the more dignified and restrained interpretation of family difficulties; for program sponsors must have audience volume and they seem sure that volume varies directly with the emotional content of the program. Not until radio listening habits can be accurately measured (for which a device is now being perfected) will it be possible to determine just how wide an audience a high-grade educational program on various family problems would attract.

WHAT IS THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FAMILY?

In the past pages of this volume we have surveyed the family briefly from many angles, from its natural and historical development to its present troubled situation. We have seen its tenacity of life under every imaginable type of marriage experimentation, and its ability to adapt itself to every form of economic and political organization. We have observed the family searching for its rightful role in the contemporary drama of social change, with its competitors forcing it to yield functions that it is hesitant to relinquish and its friends relieving it of responsibilities that it gratefully releases. We have noted the shift in social ideology, especially the emergence of the individualistic attitude and its effects on the relation between husband and wife and between parents and children. We have passed in review some of the areas of social interaction in family life where specific tensions are destroying the cohesive forces and releasing disruptive forces; but we have noted also certain interpersonal relationships which seem to remain basic to the fondest wishes of men, women, and children. In an era of such rapid transition that the family has become somewhat bewildered we have sensed the growing social concern for its welfare and have traced the slow marshaling of social forces to conserve its essential values.

What, now, is the outlook? Have the disintegrating forces achieved an initial advantage that cannot be overcome by the social organization of effort? Is the current process of family change disintegration or merely adaptation? Will the family disappear as a unit of social organization, or will it emerge from its test free from the restraints of historical functions that can be better performed elsewhere but with its more abiding functions redefined and revitalized? If we are to accept John B. Watson's attitude, we may well hasten the preparation of "flowers and slow music" for the family, for the end has almost come. He states that parents are ever more eager to shunt the care of their children to better-trained hands and that not only are they relieved at the growth of winter week-end camps that will take their children off their hands from Friday afternoon to Sunday night but also they now get their babies

accepted in kindergartens at the age of eighteen months.¹ This he considers a sensible trend, for the home is totally unqualified for bringing up children and is rapidly becoming an obsolete institution, now used chiefly as a place to change clothes, have cocktails before going out to dinner, and later catch a few hours of interrupted sleep. His philippic reduces the functions of the home almost to zero and outdoes the definition of the small boy who said, "Home is the place where you can scratch wherever it itches." Watson says the home will not be missed, and he is sure that "we can plan and equip an institution that will be better run than any home I have ever been in" and that children brought up in "our" care, beginning with the nursery, will be happier and far more civilized than those brought up in homes. But one cannot help wondering how many women would be willing to endure the ordeal of pregnancy and childbirth if their children were to be immediately turned over to institutions.

But on this subject the extremists have little following. All social scientists agree that many homes do not provide the proper environment and training for children, but few of them would abolish the home because of its shortcomings. There are many schools that provide very poor environment and instruction, but there is no move to abolish schools altogether because of this. The effort, rather, is to make all schools what they should be, for society is convinced that they perform a necessary function. The question about the home, therefore, is not whether it is perfect, but whether it has an indispensable function, and if so whether its skill in performing that function can be increased. Present-day society on the whole remains convinced that the family still satisfies, better than any substitute yet proposed, the basic wishes of men and women for intimate companionship, abiding enough to permit rearing their own children and giving continuity to their life pattern. And society is further convinced that the family constitutes at present the best agency for passing on the informal but nonetheless fundamental elements of the social heritage that children acquire from parents. We are not saying that these social convictions will always remain the same; we are speaking only of the present and the immediate future, for it would be rash indeed to prophesy regarding the family in the far-distant future.

The family will continue to change, and no amount of nostalgic yearning for the old familiar patterns can prevent it, for the particular form of the family at a given time in history is largely determined by the structure and functioning of the total social and economic order. We cannot expect any social institution, no matter how fixed it may appear in form, to remain unaffected by the rapid change in the other

¹ JOHN B. WATSON, *After the Family—What?*, in Calverton and Schmalhausen (editors), "The New Generation," *op. cit.*, pp. 55-73.

social institutions about it to which it is indissolubly linked. Folsom¹ thinks that in the immediate future the changes will be greatly affected by the kind of political ideology society adopts, and he shows clearly some of the results that might come from a widespread acceptance of fascism, for it reserves the right to determine the form and functions of all institutions, social and economic as well as political. On the other hand, liberalism permits experimentation, and the social and economic institutions are given wide latitude to develop along any lines that can prove their merits to both individuals and society.

But what of marriage? There need be less social concern over it than over the family, for the family is the basic institution; it existed before marriage and could do without it again if necessary. But marriage has been found to be an extremely useful social requirement, and as long as it serves the family faithfully society is not likely to abolish it. There are three types of opinion on marriage: (1) the opinion held by those who consider monogamic, indissoluble marriage the only divinely sanctioned form and therefore the only one that can ever be tolerated; (2) the opinion held by those few sophisticates at the other extreme that not only is the usefulness of marriage past, but also it is now doing a genuine disservice to the family and should be immediately abolished; (3) the opinion held by the vast number of persons in between these extremes that marriage performs valuable service in regularizing sex relations and stabilizing the primary group in which children are reared, and that it should be not indissoluble but subject to correction and improvement. The latter are not willing to say that monogamy must always prevail, but only that at present it fits into our total culture pattern better than any other form. It is conceivable that a condition might arise that would call for some other form of marriage. For example, some recent experiments with animals have shown some success in the artificial determination of sex. If the technique is perfected and can ever be applied successfully to human beings, is it not possible that for one reason or another the sex ratio might be thrown far enough out of balance so that monogamy would no longer fit the social need?

There will always be experimentation in the realm of marriage as in other social areas. Sometimes it is on a large scale, as when official Soviet Russia decided that romantic love was bourgeois, that divorce had no social significance, and that family loyalty should be minimized because it interfered with loyalty to the state. But when marriage and family bonds began to crack under the pressure of organized propaganda and personal and social disorganization brought a wave of protest, the government reversed its stand and sought to support the family values which it had so recently ridiculed. Official organs began to exhort

¹ J. K. Folsom, "The Family," New York, Wiley, 1934, Chap. 18.

youth on the values of stable family life, and the words "love" and "tenderness" began to appear in the orations and writings of the leaders. Some of Russia's social experiments have turned out to her liking. She has gone further in the matter of sex equality than has any other Western nation, and she would not go back. But she has found that the stable family group—father, mother, children—not only provides the greatest happiness to the majority of people in their present stage of culture but is also an asset to the state.

Does this mean that experimentation will stop? Not at all. At some future time, under a different stage of culture, a similar experiment might conceivably succeed. We cannot close our minds to change. Even within a given society there is always a rebel band that is pushing against the limits of social requirement. Although these must be restrained enough to protect others from sexual or economic exploitation, the tendency seems to be to use as little negative, legal restraint as is necessary and as much positive education in the personal and social values of marriage as possible. Life is too variable to be put through a single mold. Some persons, for various reasons, will never marry; others who marry cannot possibly make a success of it and must be released; a few unstable ones will achieve happiness only after several attempts—if ever; others are content from the first and ask nothing better than the lifelong fellowship of spouse and children. There can be no uniformity of performance; yet it would be illogical for this reason to abolish all rules in a relationship where order and responsibility are of such profound social significance. The logical procedure is to change the rules as needs arise and are proved.

The rules will be changed—of that much we may be sure. New marriage laws will be passed in an attempt to prevent undue haste on the part of the irresponsible in entering such an important relationship. New divorce laws will inevitably permit the dissolution of marriage in an honest and dignified manner when it becomes personally and socially advisable. But the legal changes are not truly fundamental, for they usually come after a social lag and represent only the *minimum* requirements upon which society insists. Negative control is not looked upon as the highest type of social control in any field. Positive control, through research and education in those qualities that best promote successful marriage and parenthood, will contribute far more than any laws can do to the conservation of the family.

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Topics for Discussion or Reports

1. Make a list of half a dozen research projects in the field of marriage and family relationships that you think would be of great value. Outline very briefly the main lines each project should take.

2. Describe a family-conflict case that has come under your observation, which you think might be adjusted with the help of someone of keen insight who is respected by both parties. What do you think such a person's first step should be in trying to resolve the conflict?
3. In your own community, assuming there is yet no regular family consultation bureau, what individuals—ministers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers, or others—do you consider best qualified to give marriage and family advice until a specialized bureau is available? Give reasons for your selection.
4. Make a list of the cohesive forces in your own family—the common bonds that develop family love and loyalty. Make a list of the inside forces *pushing*—and the outside forces *pulling*—the family members outward away from a common core. Compare the relative strength of these forces, and show the strain that the pull in both directions imposes on the individual.
5. Visit a domestic-relations court and listen to a number of cases. Record the amount of time devoted to each. From the brief presentations of the cases, state the apparent grievances of both parties. Was there any evidence of thorough case work having been done previously on these people? Did the judge's disposition of the cases show real insight, sympathy, and fairness?
6. In frontier days, family loyalty was powerful and taken for granted. Among young people today, what loyalties are often on a par with and sometimes stronger than family loyalties?
7. Read Krutch's analysis of the growing tendency to dissociate love from family life—the devaluation of love which he says threatens to make the sexual act again no more than a simple physiological act as it was in savage society. Explain what he means by his reference to people who are preoccupied with sex but have lost the capacity to respect their preoccupation. Also, explain what he means by his statement that when love is completely devaluated we shall at last understand what real atheism is. (See Joseph Wood Krutch, *Love, or the Life and Death of a Value*, *Atlantic*, 142: 199-210, August, 1928.)
8. A typical city magazine shop stocks between 200 and 300 different magazines. Spend a little time in such a shop, and find roughly what proportion of the magazines are devoted chiefly to love, romance, and sex. Of the latter, how many are serious and authoritative enough to be of genuine help to one seeking guidance in personal problems?
9. Interview a social case worker, and get an estimate from her of the proportion of her cases that are not merely poverty, unemployment, or ill-health cases, but primarily problems of social interaction between members of the family.
10. Report on Bertrand Russell's "Marriage and Morals." Are his arguments convincing, looked at from a personal viewpoint? From a social viewpoint?

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