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McGRAW-HILL SERIES IN SOCIAL AND COMMERCIAL STUDIES

S. HOWARD PATTERSON, CONSULTING EDITOR

OUR SOCIAL WORLD

OUR SOCIAL WORLD

An Introduction to Social Life and Social Problems

BY

GRACE ALLEN WALLIS

AND

WILSON D. WALLIS

Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Minnesota. Author of "An Introduction to Anthropology," "An Introduction to Sociology," "Culture and Progress"

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TO

V. D. W.

AND

W. A. W.

PREFACE

This book is in many respects a departure from the traditional way of presenting sociology. It omits abstractions and issues which have no immediate importance in the social world of today. Instead, it introduces the student to the social world of which he is, wittingly or unwittingly, willingly or unwillingly, a member. To understand his social world, the student must become acquainted with the character of the important social relations which prevail in both the small and the large community, and also with the character of the culture which shapes personal and social relations. *Our Social World*, therefore, presents social life in culture perspective.

The approach to the study of social life is also to some extent historical. But it is written for students in this country in this decade. No problem can be adequately understood without an understanding of its historical setting, for any problem is a creation of the past as much as of the present. Hence many of the chapters sketch the recent development of social institutions and of social relations in order to shed light upon present-day institutions and life.

The preparation of the text has been a cooperative effort, with a convenient, if unfair, specialization of tasks by the authors. With the exception of Chapters I, III, IV, and XXIV, Grace Allen Wallis (died January 3, 1930) is responsible for the content and the presentation of the material. The collaborating author at first served in an advisory capacity. It later fell to his lot to revise the manuscript, supply the diagrams, figures, illustrative material, and the

questions and exercises. Mr. Harold E. Briggs, of the English Department of the University of Minnesota, has read the manuscript and has made valuable suggestions. The author is under a similar obligation to Mr. Raymond H. Gray, of the Social Science Division of the Minneapolis Marshall High School, and to Miss Virginia D. Wallis and Mr. W. Allen Wallis. To Miss Jean Hirsch and Mrs. Richard E. Scammon he is indebted for the drawings.

W. D. W.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,
December, 1932.

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD TO TEACHERS

The attention of teachers is called not only to the careful organization of material into logical units and lessons, but also to the abundant student helps and spurs placed strategically and abundantly throughout the text. At the beginning of each chapter is an outline of its high spots and chief objectives. At its end is a brief summary or conclusion. Again, each chapter possesses a vocabulary test on new or difficult words used therein, in order to clarify and expand the vocabulary of high-school students beyond that of "a nation of sixth graders." Moreover, the student is given something to do beyond a mere reading of the text, in order to motivate his education in the social studies. As the fundamental skills, and indeed character itself, are created by doing, so the formation of socially desirable attitudes of mind requires more than the mere acquisition of accurate information, important though that be in the social sciences. With this aim of self-activity on the part of every student, each chapter possesses a list of questions for discussion, based on an intelligent reading of the text, and a group of exercises to be done by the student or a list of topics for further investigation or special report by him in class. These problems allow for individual differences among students and appeal to their varied and potential interests. Finally, each chapter includes a brief list of simple books for collateral reading and a list of a more advanced or specialized sort for reference or for reading by the more able students.

S. HOWARD PATTERSON.

GENERAL LIST OF REFERENCES

At the end of each chapter is a list of collateral readings, in many cases with chapter references, and a list of special readings, for more extensive investigation of the topics treated in the chapter. For general reference no single source is as valuable as the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (Macmillan), or as *Recent Social Trends* (McGraw-Hill), which should be in every high-school library.

The following periodicals are devoted specifically to sociology:

American Journal of Sociology (Chicago, University of Chicago Press).
Social Forces (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press).
Sociology and Social Research (Los Angeles, University of Southern California Press).

Among other periodicals, the most valuable to the beginning student of sociology are the *Survey*, and the *Survey Graphic* (both published in New York City).

The following books will be found especially useful for collateral reading in connection with the topics treated in this text:

BEACH, WALTER G., *An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems*, Houghton Mifflin, 1925.

BURCH, HENRY R., and S. HOWARD PATTERSON, *American Social Problems*, Macmillan, 1920.

DEXTER, ROBERT C., *Social Adjustment*, Crofts, 1927.

DOW, GROVE S., *Society and Its Problems*, Crowell, 1922.

DUNCAN, HANNIBAL G.: *Backgrounds for Sociology*, Marshall Jones, 1931.

ELLWOOD, CHARLES A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, American Book, 1919.

FINNEY, ROSS L., *Elementary Sociology*, Sanborn, 1923.

FOLSOM, JOSEPH K., *Culture and Social Progress*, Longmans, 1928.

KELSO, ROBERT W., *The Science of Public Welfare*, Holt, 1928.
ODUM, HOWARD W., *Man's Quest for Social Guidance*, Holt, 1928.
ROSS, EDWARD A., *Civic Sociology*, World Book, 1925.
WALLIS, WILSON D., *An Introduction to Sociology*, Crofts, 1930.
——— and MALCOLM M. WILLEY, *Readings in Sociology*, Crofts, 1930.
———, *Culture and Progress*, McGraw-Hill, 1930.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

CHAPTER I

MEANING OF SOCIETY

THIS CHAPTER WILL INTRODUCE THE STUDENT TO

1. THE MEANING OF SOCIETY.
2. THE NATURE OF GROUPS.
3. THE TENDENCY OF HUMAN BEINGS TO ASSOCIATE WITH THEIR FELLOWS.
4. THE TENDENCY TO DEVELOP LIKE-MINDEDNESS.
5. THE TENDENCY OF THE LIKE-MINDED TO FORM GROUPS.

1. Nature of Sociology.—Sociology is the study of social life, that is, of group association. It studies human beings, to be sure, but as members of a group rather than merely as individuals.

The word sociology is derived from the Latin word *socius* and the Greek word *logos* and means, literally, the science of our allies or fellows, that is, the science of society. The word was coined by a French philosopher, Auguste Comte, about a century ago. Because of his comprehensive work in social theory, many consider him the father of sociology, though some would give that honor to the English philosopher and theorist Herbert Spencer.

2. Relation of Sociology to Other Social Studies.—All the social studies are concerned with certain activities of man in society, but each has its own methods and problems. The methods and problems of sociology, therefore, differ from those of the other social sciences.

Economics studies the industrial phases of social life, the activities concerned with getting a living and with the accumulation, use, and distribution of goods and wealth. It studies such problems as banking, trade, finance, labor,

capital, wages, employment, interest rates, production, and many other aspects of our complex economic life.

Political science studies the forms and problems of government, whether local, state, national, or international. It is concerned with problems of voting, representation, the courts, lawmaking, the influence of the press and opinion upon voting and legislation, and other phases of legislative, executive, and judicial activity, as well as with the League of Nations, the World Court, and other international activities or relations.

History is concerned with the past, particularly the past forms of social, political, and economic life, and with other phases of the past which have influenced the present. It studies such problems as the origin and development of state and national governments, international relations, trade and finance, social life, and many other phases of the past which have given rise to present life and civilization.

Ethics deals with moral attitudes and standards, judgments of right and wrong, and the duties and rights of members of society. It studies such problems as good and evil, values, aims, and obligations.

Anthropology, too, is a social science, but it studies the lower rather than the higher civilizations. It is not concerned with Western civilization, but with the primitive, or preliterate, cultures, that is, with those peoples who have not developed writing. It studies the various aboriginal cultures of the world, such as those of the American Indians, the native African tribes, the Australians, and other savage or primitive folk of the lower civilizations.

Thus all the social sciences study social life, but each one of them selects its own special field of social life, and each uses its own distinctive methods of investigation. Sociology is the social science which is concerned primarily with the effect of human activities upon group life, and with

Association with others has, indeed, many advantages. Many tasks, such as hunting certain animals or catching fish, are more easily performed when several people cooperate than when each man hunts or fishes alone. Many kinds of work, such as paddling or rowing large boats, or moving large logs, are more easily performed by several people than by one alone. It is possible that the discovery of these advantages made evident to those who shared them the larger opportunities which come from association with others, and that the discovery of these larger advantages supplied a motive to perpetuate these associations. If this, or some similar supposition, is correct, the social disposition arose from certain real, and often obvious, advantages of association.

5. Men Live in Groups.—Human life is essentially group life. Men live in contact with their fellow men, but not with all of them; they are in more immediate and close contact with some than with others. Those with whom they are in immediate and direct contact constitute their group.

The world of men is essentially a collection of social groups, which are, to some extent, self-dependent and self-maintaining.

Thus, a man is, for example, a member of a village, or of a country community, in which his immediate associates live. The members of the church to which he belongs constitute a social group, and so do the members of his lodge, political party, or commercial club. The members of one's school constitute a social group, as do those who are members of a fishing party, a picnic party, a house party, or any other aggregate in which the members voluntarily belong to the group and converse with, or otherwise react to, those who are members of their group.

6. Character of Social Groups. Each social group has a specific character, which depends upon the character of the

people who are in it and also upon the things which they do as members of it. The character of a debating society, for example, depends upon the intelligence, diligence, and interests of those who are in it. But it depends also upon the kind of things which the members do while they are functioning in it, that is, while they attend its meetings and while they prepare its programs or participate in carrying them out.

The very same people may belong also to a picnic party; but then the character of the social group changes, not because the character of the people is different from the character of the people in the debating society, but because, as members of a picnic party, they do different things.

The differences in the characters of groups, therefore, depend largely upon the purposes for which the respective groups are organized. The purpose of the group is thus a guide to its character, but its character depends, in part, upon the character of the people who are members of the group.

7. Relations within the Group.—The relations with members of one's own group are usually more cordial and more intimate than the relations with those who are members of another group. We know the students in our own school more familiarly and more cordially than we know the students of another school.

With members of our own group we share stories, songs, jokes, plans, hopes, fears. We tell them things which we do not tell to outsiders, and we expect from them a more sympathetic hearing than we expect from outsiders. They are our confidants, and we feel more free and easy with them than with outsiders.

As a result of their intimacies and mutual understanding, the members of a social group live in a common world of shared intentions and meanings. They understand one

another better than they understand members of other groups, and they have more in common with members of their own group than with outsiders.

A social group, then, has its own world, and this is never identical with the world in which another group lives. When a member of one group learns the intimate life of another group, he discovers a new social world, and one which differs from his own. To understand fully the world of another social group one must live, think, and act in it, as he does in his own group.

8. Relations with Those outside the Group.—Those who are not in one's own group do not have as much in common with one as do the members of the group to which one belongs. There are fewer contacts with the members of another group, and usually there is less familiarity with them than with the members of one's own group.

There is, therefore, more antagonism toward the members of another group, and there is less understanding of them than of the members of one's own group. The interests of the members of another group differ, though sometimes but slightly, from the interests of the group to which we ourselves belong. This means, too, that the members of other groups do not understand us as well as do members of our own group.

As a rule, the farther groups are from one another, the greater the difference in the character of the people who compose them; and the greater the difference in the aims of the groups, the less the sympathy and understanding between members of the groups.

Thus the members of a school in this country differ less from the members of another school in this country than from the members of a school in France, England, or Germany; and the members of a school in this country differ less from the members of another school in this

country than from the members of a lodge or the members of a church in this country.

Our attitude toward the members of another group depends largely upon the attitude of the other members of our own group toward them. Our attitude toward a Frenchman depends largely upon the attitude of members of our group toward Frenchmen; and the attitude of a Frenchman toward us depends largely upon the attitude taken toward us by the Frenchmen with whom he associates. The attitude which is characteristic of members of a group may be called the group attitude. It is shared by most, or by many, members of the group.

The Puritans and the Indians are illustrations of groups which lived in contact with one another but had little in common. Neither understood the other. Their interests were different, and in most respects antagonistic, for there was no common language, tradition, custom or historical background to furnish a basis of understanding.

9. Majority and Minority Groups.—There may, of course, be marked antagonisms within a society, as is seen, for example, in the case of groups with different interests, such as employers and employees. The divergent interests may center about political issues, or about religious values. The fundamentalists may be antagonistic toward the liberals, the Protestants toward the Catholics, the poor toward the rich.

When interest centers in an issue, there may arise majority and minority groups which have different attitudes toward it. Examples of such groups are political parties, religious denominations, and nationality groups. In many communities one political party is easily in control, and the opposition party represents a small minority; in some communities one religious denomination represents the majority of the people, and only a small minority belongs

to any other denomination; in most communities a given nationality group includes most of the people, but some may belong to other nationality groups.

10. Primary and Secondary Groups.—Groups may be distinguished, also, as primary or secondary. In primary groups the members have direct, or face-to-face, contacts. A family, a local church, a school, a club, and a village are examples of primary groups.

In secondary groups there are only indirect and impersonal contacts, or only potential rather than actual contacts.

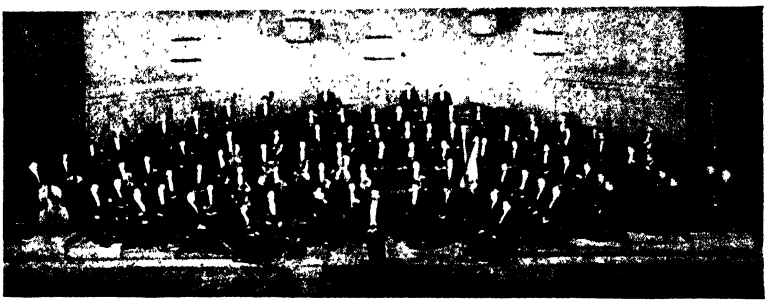

FIG. 2.—A symphony orchestra.
(Cooperation or team work is necessary in a symphony orchestra.)

Such groups are usually so large that face-to-face contacts are not possible. Examples of secondary groups are a state, a nation, a denomination, a political party, an army, a navy. Most of the members of these larger groups have only indirect and impersonal contacts with one another.

11. Loyalty to the Group.—Most people are loyal to their own group. This is expressed in the saying that "there is honor even among thieves." The loyalty of criminals toward other criminals is sometimes so strong that a man will not give the name of one who has mortally wounded him, even though his assailant is a sworn enemy.

We hear a great deal about loyalty to home, loyalty to school, loyalty to city, loyalty to country, loyalty to cause, all of which imply loyalty to one's own group. In many boys' gangs the loyalty to fellow members is seldom broken. Many people will sacrifice goods, or even life, rather than depart from the accepted principles of loyalty to their group, whatever the group may be to which they feel a sense of loyalty. This attitude may not always be admirable, but its existence is well attested.

The so-called love of country is really a form of loyalty to one's group. The "country" here referred to is not literally the "native land," but the people who live in the land, or country—in other words, the national group.

12. Basis of Group Loyalty.—The basis of group loyalty lies in the fact that the members of one's group are most like oneself. To exalt them is to exalt oneself, and to be out of sympathy with them is to be out of sympathy with oneself. Moreover, the members of one's group are one's associates, and they furnish not only companionship, but also one's human environment.

One's interests, aims, and values develop within the group, and one identifies oneself largely with the group. Loyalty to group, therefore, is, in large part, a phase of loyalty to self.

Group loyalty, indeed, is not limited to human beings, but is found also in other species of the higher animals. Parents protect the young, and, in the case of many of the higher animals, the entire pack will defend a member against outside attack. In the cities of the Near East, for example, the pariah dogs of a given district in a town do not fight among themselves, but they will join in an attack upon a dog that comes from another district.

Although group loyalty is not peculiarly a human characteristic, it is much more highly developed in man

than in any of the other animals. It is raised to a much higher plane of thought and action in human society than among the beasts, for in man it has more than a merely instinctive basis. Group loyalty is fostered by human institutions and is strengthened by sentiment, reason, and cooperative endeavor.

13. Group Solidarity.—The common language, common customs, common purposes, and common understanding which are shared by the members of the group give rise to a community of emotions and sentiments and are the basis of group solidarity. These common sentiments and common purposes consolidate those who share them, and, as a result, the members of the group are welded into a social community.

Group solidarity is thus a common phase of social life. It is manifested in the pack which hunts as a unit, or which, as a unit, goes to the defense of one of its members. A consciousness of group solidarity stimulates people to take up arms in defense of country or to vindicate national honor, however mistaken these actions may sometimes be.

The sentiment "My country, right or wrong!" is a response to the consciousness of group solidarity. The sentiment "Stick by the gang!" is not moral—it flouts the moral issues—but is the voice and urge of group solidarity. The exhortation "Never desert a companion in need!" is, however, a phase of group solidarity which rings truer to the higher sentiments associated with group life.

The group attains solidarity from the fact that its members identify themselves with their group, and even subordinate themselves individually to it. There is a sense in which individuals are lost in the group, as well as a sense in which they find themselves in the group, and only in the group. The group is a community of selves, that is, of individuals and of personalities, and only in the group and

in group life do individuals find their social values and their personal satisfactions.

The following chapters of this book will indicate some of these values and some of the ways in which individuals in group life find and exploit them. Group solidarity is one of the most important facts of social life. Those who would live intelligently and happily must reckon with group loyalty.

Whatever else man may be, he is social. As Aristotle said, man is by nature a social animal.

SUMMARY

The social group is an omnipresent phase of life. It is everywhere. It influences everybody, and it influences people in a variety of ways, some of them advantageously, some of them disadvantageously. But no one can escape social life, and no one can afford to disregard it.

Those with whom we live most intimately we understand better than those with whom we have only casual contacts, or no contacts at all. They, in turn, understand us better than do those who have no contacts, or only few contacts, with us.

If we wish to know the life about us, and to understand the groups of which we are a part, if we wish to discover how social adjustments and maladjustments have arisen and how our culture treats them, if we are interested in the changes which have taken place in our group, and in movements toward social progress, we must understand society and social institutions. Sociology is the study which analyzes and describes social life.

Questions

1. To what social groups do you belong?
2. To what social groups do the various members of your community belong?
3. When does a play group cease to be a social group? Why?

One boy is thinking of the promised job in the bank next summer; he is wondering if he can save enough money to buy the canoe he has long wanted. The boy next to him is planning what he will take to camp with him. One hopes his new necktie looks well with his suit; another, that Dad will decide to buy a new car. One boy is wondering who will be president of his class, and his neighbor across the aisle is still puzzling over that last "math" problem.

One girl is wondering whether her mother will allow her to have the pretty green dress or will insist that she take the brown. Another is composing a "Thank you" note for courtesies received during the last week-end visit. One thinks that it looks like rain and wishes she had worn her slicker. Another fears she will be called on in Latin class and regrets her failure to study the last paragraph of the assignment.

These, and, indeed, as many more stray thoughts as there are students in the class, would register on the thought machine. But no boy will be thinking of the ice blocks to be cut for the new ice hut, or of the snowshoes to be mended, as would the Eskimo boy. No one, however hungry, will wish that the acorns were ripe enough to eat, as would the Indian boy of central or northern California. Not one boy in the class will be wondering, as might a young Kafir, whether he can obtain enough cattle to purchase a wife for himself. In our country it is not the custom to purchase wives with cattle, and here a boy is not considered of marriageable age until he is several years older than the Kafir boy who is ready to marry. Among other peoples, customs are different, and consequently thoughts are different.

None of the girls who are thinking about new dresses will plan to weave her material from fibers, as would the girls in the Philippines; and none of them will be planning

lovely blankets, like those the Chilkat girls make, or fiber mats for her hope chest, as would the girls of Polynesia. It is a safe guess that not one girl in the class will be wishing that she could drink more milk in order to be fatter and therefore more beautiful—the main object in life among the girls of Nigeria.

Thoughts conform to a group pattern, and the thoughts of members of your sociology class resemble one another more than they resemble those of the members of a group in any other part of the world. Our thoughts conform to a group pattern because they are concerned with the things around us, with the way we do things, and with our customs and conventions. We assume that we are free to think as we please, whatever else we may be compelled to do or say. To some extent we have this freedom, but it is limited by our culture. Our thoughts are limited by the physical things around us, and by our ways of meeting the situations of life.

A native of New Guinea who has never come into contact with the white man's world cannot think about trains and steamboats, which are not a part of his physical world. He will not wonder whether he should tip his hat (if he has one!) to a lady, and he will not be bothered by the problem of what fork to use for his salad. None of these things enters his environment or the realm of the customs with which he is acquainted. Similarly, an American boy, if invited to the ceremonial meal of an Indian chief, would not know how to behave.

2. Culture of a People as Its Way of Life.—Each group of the peoples of the world has a distinctive physical equipment and a distinctive manner of doing things; these constitute its way of life, or what the sociologist calls its culture. Though the individuals of a given group make some departures in details, they conform with the same

general culture pattern, which is only another term for the typical manner of doing things. We grow up in a group-behavior pattern, and we act and think with our group long before we know that there are other behavior patterns.

In our own culture, people dwell in houses, congregate in cities, manufacture machines, and then make the machines work for them; they conform to the behavior which members of the group consider good manners in personal relations; they dress according to prevailing conventions: skirts, blouses, and high heels for women; trousers, collars, neckties for men. These appropriate types of dress are prescribed by our culture pattern, and we would not cheerfully abandon our ways for those of others.

Early in life we learn to follow the group pattern, to behave as do our companions, and to participate in community life. We know its institutions at first hand, because we are a part of them. We are members of families, pupils in schools, members of churches, and citizens of communities and nations. Why, then, study the life of which we are a part, and with which, so one would suppose, we are already familiar? The answer is: Many familiar things we do not understand. Frequently we do not understand the things with which we are surrounded, because we take them for granted and do not analyze them. Moreover, because of our personal interest in our culture, we do not see its larger aspects and problems. The details obscure the larger phases, and "we cannot see the woods for the trees."

3. Culture Setting.—In the preceding chapter we referred to some of the social institutions with which we are familiar and of which we are a part: the family, the school, and the church, of which we are members; the community and the nation, of which we are citizens. These institutions, the family, the school, the church, the community, and the

nation, are the framework of our civilization. But civilization is more than a social framework: it includes the implements, processes, customs, ideas, and the things which surround us and form the setting of our daily life.

The term civilization is often opposed to the term savagery and used to designate an advanced stage of culture. The term culture, therefore, is used by the sociologist to indicate the achievements of group life, whether advanced or primitive.

The equipment and activities of the Hottentot—his religion, magic, beliefs, ceremonies, tools, weapons, domestic utensils, the way he builds his hut, prepares his food, buries his dead, and so forth—constitute his culture. Comparable things, and many more, constitute American culture. Thus American culture is composed of our material achievements, such as railroads, automobiles, factories, houses, roads, and so on; of our ideas and systems of thought, such as our belief in law, in democracy, in government; of our customs, such as wearing collars, hats, and shoes, speaking English, calling greetings, celebrating Christmas, Hallowe'en and Thanksgiving; in short, of our social equipment and our ways of doing things.

4. Culture Traits and Culture Areas.—In studying a culture, our own or some other, we are interested in the elements which constitute the culture, and in the extent of the culture area. The elements which compose a culture are called culture traits. A culture trait may be material, for example, shoes, firearms, steam engines, telephones, food; or non-material, for example, a system of education, belief in the immortality of the soul, the manner of holding one's knife and fork.

A culture area is a region in which the people have the same fundamental ideas of religion, science, and morality, and use the same material equipment, such as machinery,

means of transportation, houses, and all the external surroundings of social life.

Western Europe is a culture area, although the component regions differ considerably in details. Western European nations may be Roman Catholic or Protestant, but Christianity is the basis of both forms of religion. The nations differ in scientific and artistic development, but the underlying principles of their art and science are the same. In language and traditions and in physical and spiritual equipment the national culture has individuality. Each nation has, however, essentially the same culture, derived mainly from ancient Rome and Greece.

A common culture base makes Western Europe one culture area. "Every nation in Europe today has contributed to and drawn from the same great fund of modern culture, yet each has built the traits it made and took, into a pattern of its own."[1] Western European culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was brought to America by our predecessors, the colonists, and has grown into our present culture. Thus America shares the culture of Western Europe, though an ocean lies between the two continents; when, therefore, we speak of Western European culture, we include our own. The term Euro-American has been used to designate what constitutes essentially one culture area.

5. Continuity of Culture.—Culture is continuous. Culture, like life, has unbroken continuity. There is no gap between one generation and another. Individuals die, but their ideas, beliefs, ways of life, and knowledge of material objects are handed on to survivors. Newton's discovery of the law of gravitation, for example, influenced science after his death. During the last thousand years there have been many innovations, but the changes have been continuous.

[1] DIXON, ROLAND B., *The Building of Cultures*, p. 277, Scribners, 1928.

Most of our modern machinery, for example, utilizes the wheel. Think of the things which would drop out of our culture if we suddenly lost all wheeled vehicles and machines and forgot the principle of the wheel! But the wheel is not new. The various uses made of it today are the result of a long, slow development since those far-away times when.

(Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal)

FIG. 3.—Continuity of culture.

(Early automobiles were modeled after the horse-drawn carriages. The flat top and the tassel borders are like those on the surrey of the period. The large wheels and high body of the car repeat the proportions of the horse-drawn vehicles of the day.)

men, using rolling logs to move heavy objects, had a flash of inspiration. When they cut away a large part of the middle section of the log and left discs at each end, the result was a more efficient device. It is a far cry from this primitive wheel to the axled, spoked, ball-bearing wheel of today, but the development from the one to the other has been continuous. Men did not forget the principle of

the wheel, once they had invented it, and they made many improvements upon the original invention.

Objects wear out, but the knowledge of their production and use continues. Locomotives may be wrecked, but our culture contains the knowledge and equipment which will produce others. Thus both the material and the non-material components of culture have continuity.

6. Culture Is Cumulative.—Culture is also cumulative. The new traits which are introduced are added to those already present. Thus the use of bronze was added to the use of copper, and the use of iron was later added to the use of bronze. If the new trait serves the purpose more adequately than the old, the old trait may in time disappear. In cutting grain and hay, farmers have abandoned the cradle and scythe for the mowing machine and the binder. But as long as a trait serves a useful purpose, it persists in the culture. We did not entirely abandon pianos when phonographs became popular, and the phonograph still lingers on, despite the competition of the radio. Thus these two older instruments, the piano and the phonograph, still persist in our culture.

Culture is the totality of the older things, ideas, and institutions which the group has known and now remembers, plus the traits which have been added by the present generation. We preserve from the past the things which we esteem good and useful, and to them we continually add new inventions. The outstanding advantage of man over the animals lies in the fact that he is "heir to all the ages." He knows the past, his social and material equipment have developed throughout generations and centuries, he loses little that is useful, and he adds much from year to year. This addition, or cumulation, of culture, material and non-material, into which we are born, is our *social heritage.*

The culture of today differs significantly from that of yesterday and from that of any past century. Modern

nations have developed from primitive tribes, and they have been influenced by Greeks, Romans, and barbarians. The principles of culture development are everywhere much the same, though the complexity and the content of cultures vary.

7. Invention of Culture Traits.— Culture grows in three ways: by modifying existing traits, by inventing new traits, and by borrowing traits from other groups. Much of the content of a culture is the result of development within the group of suitable devices and activities. The invention or the discovery of traits may be accidental or they may be the result of deliberation. In either case, the trait must serve some useful purpose in the group. The discoveries of the processes of making glass and of smelting ore are the classic examples of accidental invention or discovery. Many of the traits of primitive culture doubtless arose from accident or incident.

In modern culture, inventions are largely the result of scientific research and of deliberate planning rather than of accidental discovery. The process is cumulative and takes place with amazing rapidity and at an accelerated rate. In the year 1928, for illustration, 45,899 patents were issued by the United States Patent Office. In 1929, 48,565 patents were issued in this country, and many more than this number were issued in Europe. In 1930 the number was almost as large as in 1929, namely, 48,322. Compare these numbers with those of earlier decades:

Year	Number of Patents in United States
1870	13,333
1880	13,947
1890	26,292
1900	26,499
1910	35,930
1920	39,882
1921	41,401

In 1931, 47,806 patents were issued in this country. In all parts of the world scientists are busy in laboratories, striving to satisfy the needs of modern life, and also endeavoring to create new needs. Their efforts have added to our material culture such things as artificial leather, synthetic silks, jewels, flavors, medicines from unexpected sources, and a great number and variety of other things.

Research is carried on to discover the nature and the cure of disease. Diphtheria toxin-antitoxin, to mention only one discovery, is a monument to carefully planned research and inspired discovery.

Scholars work constantly on the problems of education, and new theories and methods are invented to meet the needs of a changing age. In the development of modern culture, little is left to chance, and the "accident" of invention happens only to the prepared mind.

8. Culture Stimulates Invention, and Inventions Change Culture.—Some inventions, because they are ahead of their times, are not adopted. The principle of the steam engine was known long before the engine was applied to useful work. Moreover, the traits developed in a culture are limited by the content of the culture.

The building of railroads could not have preceded the knowledge of the wheel; there were no paved roads before wheeled traffic required them; no fine tools until the development of steel; no long voyages on the open seas before the invention of the sail and the compass.

Inventions bring changes in a culture. When a new trait is introduced, it often affects other traits in the culture, and sometimes initiates extensive changes. The invention of the printing press, and the subsequent production of cheap books, made universal education possible. The concept of the "rights of man" affects the development of democratic forms of government. Telegraph, telephone,

and radio facilitate the transaction of business. The invention of methods of refrigeration, by making possible a supply of fresh fruits and vegetables, regardless of season, has changed the food habits of the nation. The germ theory of disease and the advances of modern medicine and hygiene depended upon the invention of the microscope and the discovery, which it made possible, of the world of the infinitesimally small.

9. Culture Acceleration and Culture Lag.—In the modern world, culture changes at an accelerated rate, and some phases of culture develop faster than others. Resistance to change and a slow rate of diffusion have characterized culture development in the past. The present rate of acceleration of culture is new and exceptional. All phases of modern culture do not, however, show the same rate of change. Some phases of culture change more rapidly than others. The tendency for the development of one phase of culture to drop behind the development of another phase is called culture lag.

Development in material culture proceeds more rapidly than development in social programs. Thus machinery developed faster than the laws which were needed to protect man from his own machines. Not until serious maladjustments had arisen as a by-product of factories were laws passed to protect the workmen and compensate them for injuries. At the present time, the chemical and technical development of war materials far exceeds the growth of methods of settling international disputes. In our large cities the traffic congestion increases so rapidly that the regulation of traffic does not deal adequately with the difficulties to which this situation gives rise.

The prevalence of divorce, to cite another example of culture lag, indicates that the adjustment of family relations lags behind the social and economic changes which

have considerably affected the home and the position of women. The lag in the adjustment of relations within the home causes conflicts which result in divorce and in the breaking up of the home.

10. Diffusion of Culture Traits.—A trait which has been invented in one culture may spread, or be diffused, beyond the limits of the area of its origin into surrounding culture areas; in its new home it is a borrowed trait. Originally the steam engine was developed and adapted to industry in England; it is now found all over the world. Phonographs, radios, automobiles, safety razors, firearms, Christian rituals are now so widespread that their distribution gives slight indication of the place of their origin. Rapid and almost universal diffusion of traits of material culture is now the order of the day. Modern methods of communication and transportation make diffusion relatively easy.

In earlier periods of culture development diffusion was slow and uncertain. Traits were carried from group to group by traders and travelers, but contacts with them were infrequent, and the traits which might be borrowed were not always cordially received. Wars have sometimes been fruitful agents of culture diffusion. The effect of the Crusades in enriching the culture of Europe is a familiar example of culture diffusion stimulated by war and its accompaniments.

As has been said, not every trait which is introduced into a culture takes root and flourishes. Some are not suited to the culture. The natives on an island in the South Sea have little use for telephones, and the Eskimos in the frozen north would find wheeled vehicles poor substitutes for their sledges. Even when the trait might serve a useful purpose, the conservatism of human nature frequently causes the group to retain the old trait rather than adopt the new. Usually, when a trait is borrowed from another culture,

it is adapted to the pattern of the borrowing culture, and may become very different from what it was originally. When we borrowed from Japan her conventional dress for women, the kimono, it became with us a garment for informal wear in the bedroom, a negligee, or bathrobe. Into our own standard dress, with sleeve ordinarily made of a separate piece, we introduced the kimono sleeve, which is continuous with the body of the dress.

Another Oriental culture trait which has been adopted into our culture, but with a modified function, is the image of the Buddha. In its own culture it is a sacred image; in ours it is usually an incense burner, a radiator cap, an ash tray, or an ornament in the house.

If a trait is to be adopted, it must not be too unlike the traits of the culture into which it is introduced, nor require too much readjustment. Hence material traits diffuse more easily than do social attitudes or institutions. The advantage of matches over all other older ways of producing fire has been universally accepted, and there has been a correspondingly wide diffusion of this useful article. Firearms have had an equally wide diffusion because of their obvious superiority over older devices.

Social traits show the least tendency of any traits to diffuse. Each culture group prefers its own customs, manners, and modes of meeting social situations. The ways of our ancestors seem superior to the ways of foreigners, and it requires a considerable effort to introduce traits which would affect the habitual behavior patterns of individuals in the culture group. For example, people are usually shocked and disgusted by the table manners which are approved in an alien culture, and their own etiquette always seems to them the best.

There is diffusion of culture traits within a culture area, as well as from one culture area to another. Luxuries are

at first confined to the wealthy class within a culture, but soon many of them are diffused throughout the culture. Thus yesterday's luxuries become today's necessities.

Formerly, silk was worn only on important occasions, and then only by the upper classes; now it is worn daily by the middle classes. In many places, bathtubs, furnaces, automobiles, radios, and many other things once considered luxuries are now considered among the necessities of life and are enjoyed by the majority of the people.

11. Diffusion of Western European Culture.—Western European culture, of which America is a part, is spreading with unprecedented rapidity through the whole world. Communication and transportation make possible the extension of economic interests to all quarters of the globe. Wherever exploration and trade penetrate, Western culture takes root, and its products and ideas influence all cultures to an increasingly great degree.

The simpler and more primitive cultures cannot compete with the complexities of civilization and are overwhelmed by them. Few culture groups are sufficiently remote and isolated to escape the effects of the all-pervading culture of Western Europe. The material equipment created by modern scientific knowledge and technology is obviously greatly superior to that of any primitive group, and the implements, weapons, and other useful objects are eagerly accepted by less advanced peoples. The automobile is supplanting the rickshaw of the Orient and the camel of the desert. Firearms, matches, and cutlery are used by peoples whose knowledge and equipment are much too primitive to produce these things.

Our culture not only modifies radically the simpler cultures which it touches, but is itself somewhat influenced by them through the borrowing of traits. The use of tobacco, maize, maple sugar, the canoe, the snowshoe, and the

toboggan was adopted from the American Indians. Bungalows and pyjamas were introduced into our culture from India.

Material objects are borrowed with comparative ease and zeal and with relatively little modification. But in the realm of religious and social concepts the borrowing is more reluctant and discriminating. Thus one culture seldom accepts in their entirety the more abstract traits of another.

Certain traits of our non-material culture, however, are being adopted and adapted in areas far removed from our own. Theories of education which were developed in America are penetrating East and West alike. The concepts of morality, of social welfare and social responsibility, of the rights and privileges of women and children, which distinguish Western European culture, are beginning to prevail in many parts of the world: witness the new status of women in Turkey, China, and Japan.

A culture which spreads and penetrates other culture areas, as does Western European culture, might lose its vitality if world-wide diffusion were the whole story. Our culture is, however, constantly enriched and invigorated by the invention and development of new traits. The complexity of our material civilization defies analysis, and each day brings new additions to its equipment.

12. American Culture.—The American culture pattern is varied by local differences which give specific character and variety to what might otherwise be a standardized and monotonous culture. The southern states developed along different lines from those of New England, and they still retain many of the characteristics which formerly distinguished them from New England. The Middle West and the Pacific coast states have local color and cultural differences which give them individuality. These differ-

ences increase the value and the richness of American culture.

The settlers who came to this country during the first two hundred years of its existence were predominantly English. The culture which they transplanted to the New World had a varied and slow growth influenced by the abilities, temperament, and genius of this sturdy British stock. New World opportunities and pioneering life developed from this British base those qualities and attitudes which we now consider typically American.

During the last hundred years, immigrants have flooded in upon this comparatively homogeneous stock. Many of these immigrants have come from cultures which differ from our own, and have brought with them some traits which are out of harmony with our older culture. The problem in dealing with these strangers is twofold: first, that of harmonizing their traits with our culture, and second, that of preserving from the culture which they bring those traits which have value for our culture and can enrich its content. In our haste to Americanize we have often forgotten that many immigrants bring musical ability, artistic appreciation, and social and political capacities which, if assimilated, would enhance our culture.

With cultures, as with individuals, there are many different standards of value. A group poor in all the material elements of civilization may be rich in idealism and spiritual values. Such were the ancient Hebrews, who had few of the refinements of life which characterized many of their neighbors. Yet the idealism and spiritual fervor of the Hebrew prophets are still cherished by us, although the material traits of nations who were their contemporaries have long since been forgotten. Again, the ancient Greeks, during the height of their culture, achieved notable material, aesthetic, and intellectual gains, and attained a

brilliance in civilization which has been little dimmed by time.

America now leads the world in material development, and in many phases of idealism. But some who are aware of the materialistic tendencies of the age would have us be on the alert to foster the spiritual and intellectual life of the nation, and prevent the pressure of material things from destroying elements of greater value. "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

SUMMARY

Culture is the system of thought and activity which is prevalent in a group. It consists of ways of doing things and of material objects and concepts—the tools of thought and activity.

No people creates all of its culture. Most of its culture a people has inherited from predecessors or has borrowed from other peoples.

In primitive culture, traits could be borrowed, or adopted, only from adjacent tribes; but in civilized life it is possible to take traits from distant geographical regions. Thus China and Japan have taken many traits from Euro-American culture, and the latter has borrowed traits from these Oriental cultures—such as tea, kimonos, gunpowder, and printing.

Individuals become accommodated to their culture; that is, they find in it their greatest values and satisfactions. Their own culture seems natural, and their own way of life the normal mode of living. To us, other ways of life, other cultures, seem queer and strange; while to those accustomed to other ways of life, our culture seems queer and strange.

Questions

1. Make a list of twenty-five important culture traits in our civilization.
2. What culture traits are closely related to, or much influenced by, the steam engine?

3. Could the radio have been invented a century ago? Give reasons for your answer.

4. Would the telephone have as much value to savages in Australia as in our culture? Why?

5. Do you think it is true that "Necessity is the mother of invention"? Why, or why not?

6. How much of its culture does one generation invent?

7. Why does every people prefer its own culture to that of any other people?

8. Could the greatest genius invent all the traits of our culture?

9. Compare the traits of our civilization with those of the American Indians. How do you explain the fact that they differ?

Exercises

1. Make a list of some of the material and non-material traits of the American Indian.

2. Compare the railroad mileage of three large countries with (*a*) their area, (*b*) their population. What conclusions concerning their respective cultures can you draw from this analysis?

3. Make a list of the culture traits used in transportation.

4. Make a list of the ways in which the automobile has influenced our culture.

5. Make a list of the ways in which the radio has influenced our culture.

Vocabulary Test

aesthetic	facilitate	innovation
assimilate	heritage	lag
compensate	homogeneous	predecessor
cumulative	immigrant	status
diffusion		

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PART II

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF SOCIETY AND CULTURE

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT.
2. THE METHODS OF UTILIZING IT.
3. THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWLEDGE, SCIENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY IN COPING WITH THE ENVIRONMENT.
4. THE RELATION BETWEEN CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT.
5. THE EXTENT TO WHICH CULTURE MAY REINTERPRET AND REMAKE THE ENVIRONMENT.
6. THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWLEDGE AS AN AGENCY IN RESHAPING THE ENVIRONMENT.
7. THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF EXPLAINING CULTURE IN TERMS OF PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT.

1. Interest in Physical Environment.—From early days there has been much interest in the environmental setting of a culture. The description in *Genesis* of the Garden of Eden tells us as much about the character of the place as about the character of the people in it. Even the biblical descriptions of heaven and hell tell as much about the character of the place as about the character of the people who are there.

When the ancient Greek historian, Herodotus, returned from Egypt, he had much to narrate about the people and also much to tell about their land. From the Middle Ages to the present, the travels and adventures into unknown parts of the world have been actuated as much by a desire to know new places as to discover new races. The numerous expeditions into the polar regions have been stimulated in large part by an interest in new lands. There is a strong desire to know the world in which we live, lands afar as well as those near by.

The physiographical factors constitute the environment in which a society resides, the place in which the culture develops and becomes stabilized. The environment influences the culture, but the manner in which it influences the culture varies considerably with the type of culture. To understand this influence we must consider specific cultures in their specific environments.

2. Implications of Geographical Environment.—Geographical environment means all the natural or physical factors associated with place. The term includes, therefore, not merely the soil and its components, but also wind, water, and atmospheric conditions. It would perhaps be more accurate to use the term physiographical, to include all physical factors associated with place.

Many suppose that there is, and must be, a close relation between race and place, and that a people must reflect the traits of the physical environment. Indeed, many early writers attributed a very important influence to place. They asserted that a warm land would produce one kind of cultural qualities, a cold land another kind. In support of their position they pointed out that the characteristics of peoples in warm climates differed from those of peoples in cold climates, and that both of these differed from the characteristics of peoples in temperate climates. Some present-day writers think that climate is an important influence in social life and culture, and interpret history as the result of geographical influences.

This chapter will examine the validity of the arguments which allege that environment determines culture, for it is difficult to believe that geography is the key to history.

3. Localization of Group Life.—Group life is localized. It is associated, in a very definite fashion, with some specific place. There is, in fact, a geography of social groups.

The association between place and culture is the basis of an intimate relation between the two. The group must live in some particular locality, and it seems obvious that its activities will be determined by the physiographical character of that locality. It cannot develop seafaring if it lives inland; nor agriculture, if it is in the polar regions; nor a pastoral life, if there are no suitable animals to domesticate.

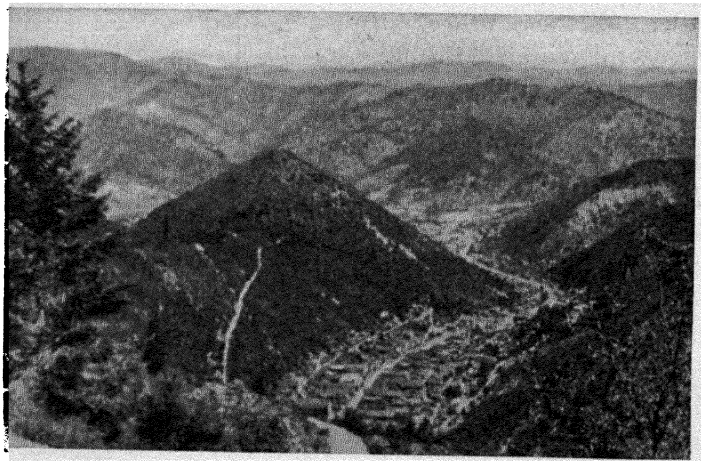
(Photo by E. H. Barbour, U. S. Geological Survey)

FIG. 4.—One type of geographic environment.
(Note its chief features.)

The locality supplies the materials out of which the group will build its culture. Locality gives certain opportunities and withholds others. Man cannot ignore the requirements of locality. He must acquaint himself with the resources of his region and use them to the best advantage. At first glance, therefore, the life of a people seems to be predetermined by the physiographical character of the locality in which the people live.

4. Importance of Physical Environment.—The importance of locality is obvious. Situation on a good harbor

makes trade possible and brings contacts with other groups. Location by waterfalls makes possible the utilization of water power to drive machinery or to generate electric current for various uses. Mineral resources are a source of wealth, and so a highly valued asset. The land may be so poor that no vigorous agriculture can flourish; or it may be rich in vegetable mold and nitrates, yielding abundant



(Courtesy of U. S. Geological Survey)

FIG. 5.—Another type of geographic environment.
(Contrast with Fig. 4.)

crops which amply repay the labor expended upon it. A mountainous country makes impossible the use of certain types of machinery which may be employed to great advantage on level plains. The presence of water enables men to convert the desert into productive, irrigated tracts where nature readily responds to their persuasions; but the absence of streams condemns a desert region to barrenness.

5. Utilizing the Environment.—The environment benefits man only when and to the extent that he utilizes it.

Even when nature furnishes food in abundance, man must at least select and collect it. And usually man must prepare his food to make it edible.

A land may have an abundance of game, but the hunter must secure it. Sometimes the taking of game is not an easy matter. Securing game may involve the use of traps, snares, or such weapons as bow and arrow, and spear. These contrivances are not the gifts of the environment, but are culture devices.

The land may possess fine agricultural possibilities, but man must have the necessary seed to sow, and he must till the soil. Tilling the soil, even in the crudest fashion, involves the use of tools—a digging stick, a hoe, or, in higher agriculture, a plow.

Thus a poor environment which is utilized may yield more than a rich environment which is not utilized. The value of an environment depends, to a large extent, upon the manner in which it is utilized, and this, in turn, depends upon the culture.

6. Understanding the Environment.—To utilize the environment properly man must first understand it. This is not always easy. In fact, primitive man never understood the environment in the fashion in which we understand it. To him, coal was merely a black rock, and petroleum had none of its modern significance.

Understanding the environment implies scientific knowledge. We can analyze the composition of the soil and learn in detail the elements which it contains, or lacks, for the production of certain kinds of crops. A few decades ago such soil analysis was not possible, and people did not know the soil in their environment as we know it today.

We are constantly finding out more about our physical environment. We learn more about wind and weather, soil and air. The scientific curiosity of modern man has

reached toward things far below, and also far above, the surface of the earth, for example, to deep subterranean strata and to air currents miles above our heads.

A new understanding of the physical environment gives men a new control over it, for this understanding enables them to utilize elements of which previously they had been unaware. The utilization of environment, therefore, presupposes an understanding of environment, and understanding depends upon the culture.

7. Environment and Skill.—The significance to social life and culture of a particular environment depends in large part upon the skill of the people who live in it. The polar regions would mean death to many culture groups if they were suddenly transplanted there. But the Eskimo has developed snow houses, fur clothing, harpoons, sealskin boats, and many other ingenious devices for coping with his frigid environment and living comfortably in it.

An ocean isolates a tribe which has only small watercraft and paddles for propulsion, but to a civilized people the ocean may be a highway to all parts of the world. Ore is useless to those who have not learned metallurgy, but to civilized man it is a valuable material, because he has the skill to smelt it and make useful things out of it.

The skill with which men cope with their environment is always important. It is at least as important as the environment. It is futile, therefore, to compare the relative importance of two essential factors like air and water, heredity and environment, nature and nurture. The important consideration is how a given social culture meets its particular physical environment. The relationship between the two is not a one-way causal relationship, for each affects the other.

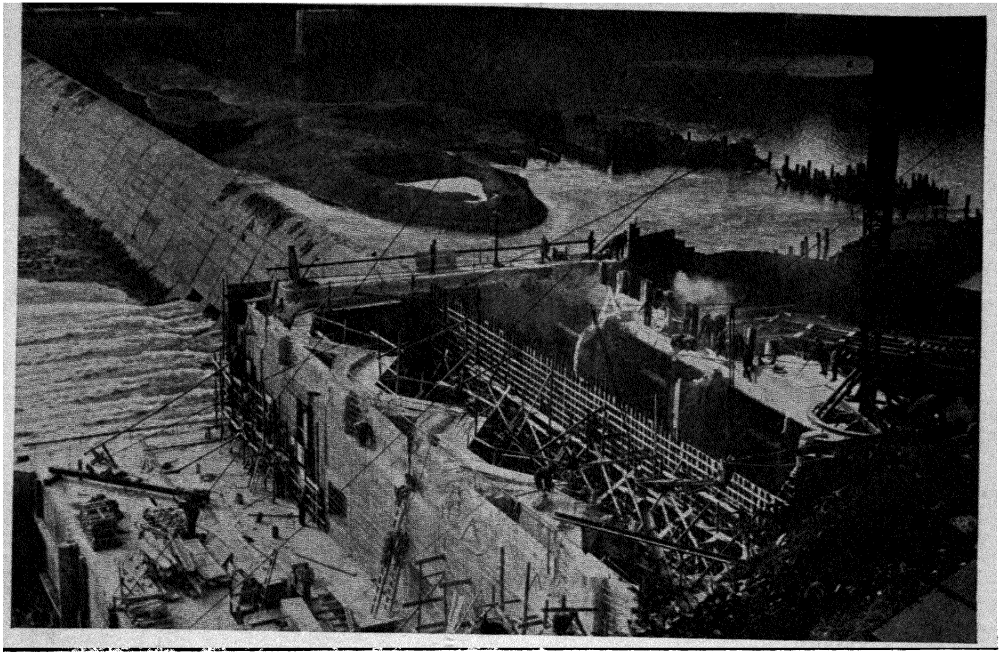
8. Physical Environment and Acquired Knowledge.—The ability to cope with the environment depends largely upon

knowledge. Every important advance in knowledge forges a new tool for dealing with the environment.

The Campagna, near Rome, was a malaria-stricken, forbidding region until science learned the cause of malaria and the means of combating it. The Panama Canal Zone was a death trap until science learned the cause of yellow fever and the means of preventing it. The environment of many regions in the southern states appeared to induce laziness and shiftlessness. But science discovered that the hookworm was one of the many causes of the prevalent malady, and after the elimination of hookworm the environment became more stimulating.

Coal was merely a soft black stone until men learned how to utilize it as a source of power and heat. When they learned how to smelt iron and forge steel, coal took on an added value, and then the environment which contained it possessed increased possibilities. Fuel resources meant little to ancient Rome, but they mean much to our modern industrial empires girded with steel rails and protected by the gasoline-driven airplane.

9. Remaking the Environment.—Knowledge, science, and skill remake the environment. The environment in which we live today in North America is very different from that of the Indians who lived on this continent before the advent of Europeans. We have diverted or controlled rivers, dug canals, built irrigation dams, developed power projects, sunk wells, and mined ores. These enterprises have added to the effective environment materials and forces of which the Indian was ignorant. Our microscopes reveal a world of the minutest organisms, of which men three centuries ago knew nothing. Our telescopes bring even the stars nearer to earth. Thus modern man becomes acquainted with universes which had never before been within human ken.



(Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal)

FIG. 6.—Remaking the geographic environment.

(Construction work on a partially completed dam on the upper Mississippi. The concrete, steel work and cranes used in this construction are the results of modern science and technology.)

New devices and a better understanding of physical nature reveal new elements, and, in that sense, they virtually remake the environment. We are influenced only by things which affect us, or which we affect. In many cases we cannot affect the physical factors which condition our existence, until we know that they exist.

Knowledge is power, and science gives control over much of our physical environment. Man is the maker of his world, even, to some extent, of the world of physical environment. Modern science and technology conquer time and space by new methods of transportation and communication; and man is now reinterpreting and remaking his planet.

SUMMARY

When culture is only crudely developed, man is largely a creature of the physical environment. He is almost as helpless in it as any other animal, perhaps more helpless than most animals.

When he acquires skill, knowledge, and devices, he becomes master of part of his environment, and with every increase in power his mastery grows.

Man can now command, where previously he was forced to obey. When man understands more about his environment, it becomes richer and yields him new products. With these he builds up a new environment. Dangers diminish when he learns more about them, for he can then cope with them more adequately; distances decrease when he improves transportation and communication.

As his culture grows, man lives in an ampler and richer environment. He may profit by an environment which is thousands of miles distant, for from it he can secure products and resources which enrich his life.

Thus the meaning of physical environment cannot be understood apart from the culture. To one culture a given environment may offer great advantages; to another it may not. The influence of environment upon culture is not greater than the influence of culture upon environment.

Questions

1. How has the discovery of iron and its uses affected our culture?
2. When is an environment (*a*) favorable? (*b*) unfavorable?
3. How may temperature affect social life or culture?
4. What is the relation between agriculture and physical environment?
5. May it be possible some day to raise wheat in the Arctic? Explain.
6. Is England's maritime power due to her peculiar geographical environment? Why, or why not?
7. How did environment affect the American colonists? Does it affect people in those regions in the same way today? Explain.

Exercises

1. Explain isothermal lines. Compare the isothermal zones of America with those of Europe. What inferences do you draw?
2. Show, on a map, the regions in the United States in which the following crops are raised: cotton, wheat, corn, lemons, raisins, oranges, prunes, apples, berries. Does the explanation of the location of these respective products lie in climatic conditions?
3. Give the locations of five large dams in the United States. Ascertain their uses. To what extent are the dams and their uses the product of (*a*) the environment? (*b*) the culture?
4. Give an account of some of the methods by which we have controlled and utilized water and wind.
5. Indicate changes in the culture which have resulted from the following: printing press, ocean cable, radio, postal system, steamship.

Vocabulary Test

actuate	isothermal	predetermine
edible	ken	propulsion
environment	metallurgy	stratum
heredity	nurture	technology
ingenious	physiographical	validity

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CHAPTER IV

BIOLOGICAL BASIS OF SOCIAL LIFE

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF PHYSICAL STRUCTURE.
2. THE TENDENCIES TO INHERIT CERTAIN PHYSICAL TRAITS.
3. THE NON-INHERITANCE OF SOME TRAITS.
4. THE ROLE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.
5. THE DESIRABILITY OF A STRONG PHYSICAL CONSTITUTION.

1. Importance of Biologic Factors.—The biological factor of physical heredity is as important as the geographical factor of physical environment discussed in the preceding chapter. Living creatures are biological structures, and their activities depend in part upon their structures. The various species of animals have distinctive ways of acting and reacting, and these distinctive patterns of behavior appear to be inherited; otherwise, a horse might behave as does a cow, and a sheep might attempt the role of a lion.

As a matter of fact, however, the type of behavior of an animal can be predicted, within limits, if we know the biological species to which it belongs. The behavior patterns distinctive of a species can, therefore, be regarded as hereditary. This is equivalent to saying that all forms of behavior have a biological basis.

2. Biological Structure and Behavior.—The behavior of living things is determined by their structure, or, at least, is limited by their structure and its adaptability. Fish cannot walk on land, elephants cannot live on the bottom of the sea.

Bees have a characteristic type of behavior, centering about the beehive, which is not shown by any other species of animals. Ants live in colonies and exhibit many external evidences of social life—they keep milk animals and slaves, and they go on war parties. Each species of animals, or at least each genus, has its distinctive way of life, a pattern of behavior not displayed by animals of other species, or certainly not by those of other genera.

Man is an animal, but he is so different from other animals in behavior pattern that frequently we refer to "man and the animals." His structure, in its anatomical and physiological details, is not duplicated by that of any other species. He is human in his biological, as well as in his social, structure.

It seems plausible, therefore, that man's social and cultural life depends upon his biological structure. If this were not the case, there would be no occasion for surprise if men lived like hippopotamuses, or if hippopotamuses lived like men; yet only in story books do we find these transfers of ways of living. In real life, men are men in social behavior as well as in biological structure, and hippopotamuses are hippopotamuses. Neither one of these species can adopt the other's manner of life.

3. Environment and Physique.—It is sometimes asserted that physique, or bodily structure and constitution, is closely related to physical environment. The color of the darker peoples has been attributed to their greater exposure to wind and weather, and, in the case of the Negroes, to prolonged exposure through many generations to the sun's rays. Food affects body size, both height and weight, and food is a product of the environment. In some regions the character of the environment calls people into the open; in others it confines them within doors during much of the year.

In spite of the dependence of man on environment, it has not been proved that environment affects hereditary human physique, although it certainly affects that of many animals, for example, those which have protective coloration. It is not known that the descendants of Negroes who have lived several generations in temperate climates are less heavily pigmented, that is, less colored, than are those who have lived only in the tropics. It is not known that the descendants of whites who have been for a few generations in tropical climates inherit more pigmentation than do the descendants of those who have lived in temperate climates. In fact, it is now well established that the characteristics acquired by one generation are not inherited by the next.

In some cases, however, physical structure is influenced by the environment. As was said above, the quantity and quality of food affect height and weight. The width of the nose and the size of the nasal aperture are related to temperature and humidity, especially to temperature. The texture of food affects the size of the teeth and of the jaw; it also affects the shape of the head through the use and pull of the chewing muscles. But probably these traits are acquired by each generation which exhibits them, and are not inherited.

The general conclusion, therefore, seems to be that environmental factors have little direct influence on physique. Biological heredity passes from generation to generation little affected by physical influences on the body tissue. This theory, which is known as Weismannism, after the biologist Weismann, or the continuity of the germ plasm, denies the inheritance of acquired traits.

4. Importance of Physical Fitness.—The best man does not always have the best physique, but a good physique is a desirable equipment for any man.

In the early stages of social life, physical prowess was an important asset, for each man was required to make his living by his own efforts, and making a living demanded strong muscles. In modern society, strong muscles are not demanded of all, for machinery has greatly lightened the load which once was carried on the backs of men; yet a healthy body is still essential to the highest achievement.

All in all, the day's work probably makes as great demands upon physique now as it did centuries ago, although it may now bear more heavily on the nerves and less heavily on the muscles. To be a good animal is desirable, even if this is not absolutely indispensable to being a good man. "The sound mind in the sound body" is a useful motto for civilized man.

5. Physique and Competition.—Much of life is competitive, and successful competition demands good physique. Among the higher animals there often is competition within the species for prey; consequently, the stronger and more agile have an advantage over the weaker and less agile. The search for prey is a form of indirect competition, even when the animals do not struggle directly with one another.

When men are engaged in a pursuit which does not afford sufficiently numerous or comprehensive advantages for all to share in them to the same degree, there is either direct or indirect competition. In all forms of competition, physique is a factor; other things being equal, the man of good physique has an advantage over his fellows who have poor physique. Poor physique is a handicap, though not necessarily the most serious handicap, unless it incapacitates. But as long as competition is a phase of social life, a strong and healthy body will be an asset.

6. Survival of the Fittest.—So far as the lower animals are concerned, it is often true that

In the battle of life, it is beat or be beaten,
At the banquet of life, it is eat or be eaten.

The outcome of competition, or "struggle for existence," which involves the elimination of some individuals and the success of others, has been called "survival of the fittest." Darwin used this principle of natural selection to explain the basic drive in evolution.

As a matter of fact, however, survival of the fittest means merely the survival of the survivors. We call the survivors the fittest because they survived. We explain their survival by saying that they were the fittest, and we say they were the fittest because they survived. This, of course, is no explanation.

Some of the lowest forms of life, such as shellfish and insects, have survived much longer than have some higher forms of life which once were contemporary with these lower forms. Every disease which is not merely organic is an example of a struggle between lower organisms (bacteria, or germs) with a higher organism (the patient). The germs which kill the man are, in that struggle, the fittest.

If "fittest" be taken to mean ethically, socially, or intellectually fittest, it is obviously incorrect to speak of survivors as necessarily the fittest. As Huxley said, modern medicine attempts to fit as many as possible to survive, and so to counterbalance by a scientific adjustment nature's measures of eliminating the unfit by ruthless natural selection.

It depends largely upon circumstance whether the socially fittest survive. Indeed many diseases, such as typhoid fever and pneumonia, do not eliminate primarily the physically unfit, but are as likely to eliminate the physically fit.

Bullets are even less discriminating than bacteria. In warfare the unscathed are as likely to be the least fit as are

the killed. Bravery is not always the surest path to survival. Those who avoid the contest are more likely to be counted among the survivors than are those who are forward in the fray. Perhaps the oyster has survived because it has been content not to struggle with stronger foes. A similar contentment may insure the survival of some human oysters, contentedly anchored in safety at home.

7. Hereditary and Acquired Characteristics.—Because physical fitness is important, much emphasis has been placed upon heredity. Many traits of body, and some would say traits of mind too, are inherited, and therefore heredity is an important factor in human affairs. The importance of heredity no one would deny, although its mechanism is only partly understood.

A sound physical heredity is likely to mean a sound body, and poor physique in ancestors may mean a weak body. But although this generalization applies to groups, there are many exceptions in individual cases. Indeed, it is definitely known that certain types of physical disability are not inherited. Bodily characteristics which are acquired traits are not inherited. A broken leg is no more likely to be inherited than is a wooden leg; an attack of pneumonia does not increase the probability that subsequent offspring of the patient will inherit the disease.

On the other hand, children resemble their parents in general type—in complexion, stature, body weight—though with considerable variations in individual cases. It has not been proved however that alcoholism, for example, is inherited, or that it affects the physique of offspring through the germ plasm. On the whole, we may, perhaps, be thankful that acquired characteristics are not inherited.

8. Eugenics.—Eugenics is the science of good birth, or good heredity. It assumes that good stock produces good offspring, and poor stock, poor offspring.

One must adopt eugenics as a social ideal; but as a social program the matter is not so clear. The difficulty lies in the fact that inheritance is carried solely in what is called the germ plasm, which is quite different from the body itself. A good germ plasm may be carried in a poor body, and a poor germ plasm in a good body.

Not all the traits which the germ plasm carries appear in any one or even in any two generations; the germ plasm may carry traits which do not appear for several generations. Hence, to know all the potentialities of the germ plasm one must know the physical qualities of all the ancestors for several generations.

Most of the undesirable qualities which are inherited appear in at least every second generation; so that if two generations are known, a fairly safe prediction of the physique of offspring can be made.

By discouraging or preventing marriage between individuals whose parents or grandparents exhibit undesirable qualities which are known to be hereditary, the human physical stock can be greatly improved. That phase of the eugenist's program which aims to eliminate undesirable hereditary traits is deserving of the heartiest support from all who value the physical qualities of human beings.

SUMMARY

Biological structure is the foundation of social life, but the specific things that are built out of it depend upon the culture and the reactions of men to their individual and cultural opportunities.

The best social life demands the best physical condition, but the latter cannot insure the former. Strong and healthy biological structure is necessary to the highest social and cultural life, but it will not, in itself, bring social and cultural development.

The social inheritance is as real and indestructible as the biological; it is well-nigh omnipotent; but it cannot ignore or defy biological facts. As often as it attempts to do so its efforts are fraught with failure and disaster. It is the function of social evolution to utilize and adapt biological forces; it cannot set them at nought.[1]

Questions

1. What is biology? How is it related to sociology?
2. What did Darwin mean by "struggle for existence"?
3. Explain the meaning of "survival of the fittest."
4. Does war (*a*) eliminate or (*b*) select the fittest or the strongest? Explain.
5. Does business competition result in the "survival of the fittest"? Explain.
6. Show how the non-inheritance of acquired characteristics protects the children of the slums from progressive physical degeneration.

Exercises

1. Make a list of some unfavorable human traits which are inherited. Do the same for acquired traits.
2. What is Weismann's theory?
3. Explain how society can at least partly compensate for physical handicaps.
4. Outline a conservative and sane program for eugenic reform.
5. Give an account of one or more of the following: (*a*) the Jukes; (*b*) the Kallikaks; (*c*) the Jonathan Edwards family.

Vocabulary Test

anatomy	genus	pigmentation
aperture	germ plasm	prowess
bacteria	inherit	react
contemporary	omnipotent	role
evolution	physiology	

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PART III

POPULATION, IMMIGRATION, AND RACIAL ADJUSTMENT

CHAPTER V

POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE NATURAL GROWTH OF POPULATION IN THIS COUNTRY.
2. THE RECENT DECLINE IN THE BIRTH RATE.
3. THE TENDENCY OF POPULATION TO PRESS UPON RESOURCES.
4. THE TIDES OF IMMIGRATION.

A. POPULATION

1. Colonization along the Atlantic Coast.—The population of the United States has been massed in the eastern part of the country. In colonial days the accident of geographical proximity to Europe gave to the Atlantic seaboard a superiority in numbers, and our cultural kinship with European nations still centers attention on our eastern coast.

The early colonists settled where communication with the homeland was easiest. As the colonies grew in strength and stability, the more adventurous spirits pushed back into the hinterland, lured by free territory, abundant game, and freedom from the restrictions and conventions of more stable communities.

2. Early Marriages and Large Families of Colonial Days.—In colonial days early marriages and large families were the rule. The natural increase of the population was swelled by the steady addition of immigrants, though in those days immigrants constituted only a small proportion of the total increase.

By 1790, the date of our first census, and approximately the beginning of our national life, the population of the

United States had grown to almost four millions (3,929,625). From this time until the Civil War the population

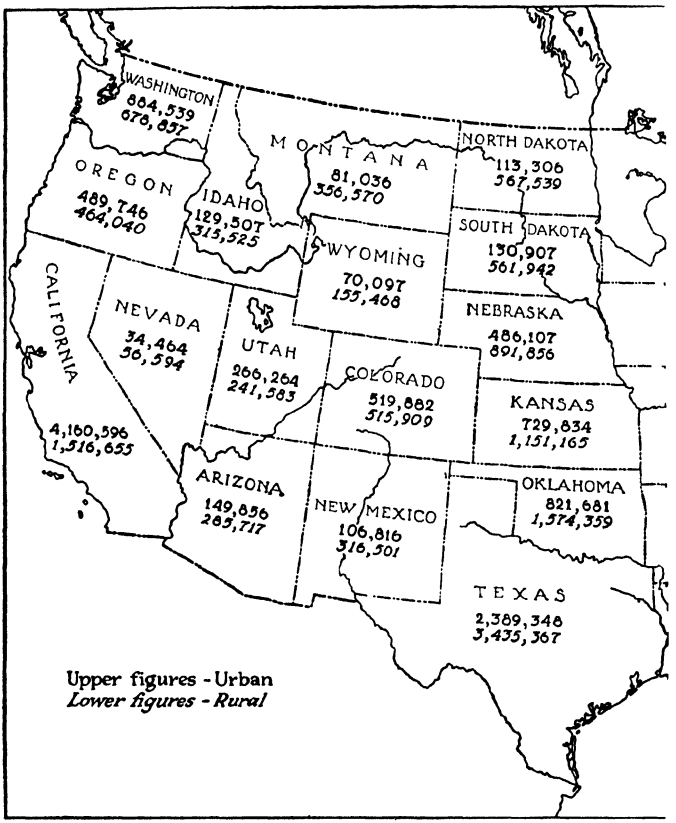
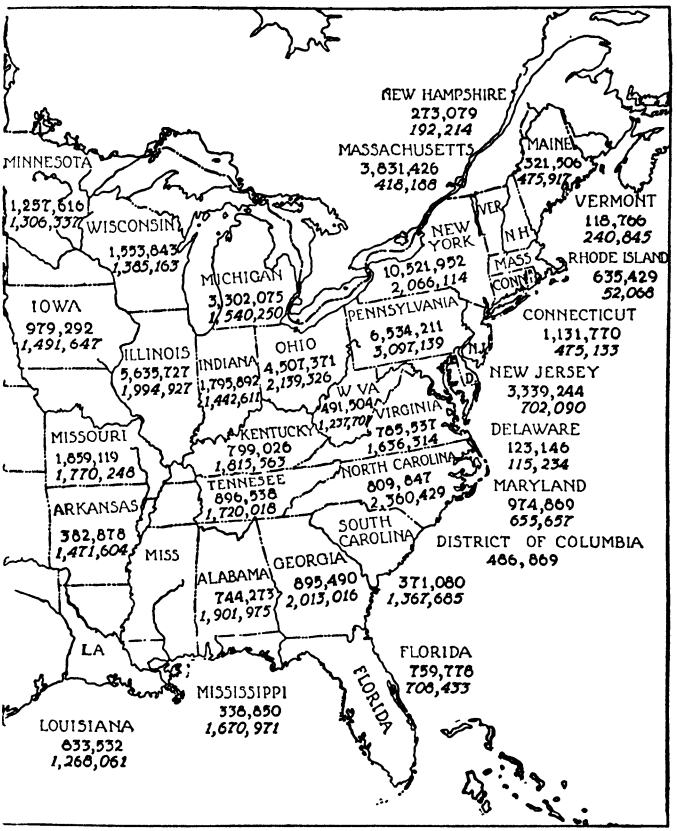


FIG. 7.—Geographic distribution of our population: urban

(Note how the ratios of urban to rural population, as well as absolute numbers, urban to rural population in most states in the Northeastern section of the

doubled approximately every twenty-five years. During this period no technological developments affected the growth of population, and economic conditions encouraged large families.

Here are inducements to every girl to get a husband, and to every young man to take a wife, which no old country can offer. Here is the



and rural, 1930. Upper figures, urban; lower figures, rural.

differ markedly in various sections of the country. Note the high ratios of country.)

proof, that a family of children is to the working-man his greatest blessing.[1]

[1] PLACE, FRANCIS, *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population*, p. 42, Allen and Unwin, 1930.

An Englishman who traveled in this country in the 1770's said:

> None in England, but those who have not the fear of want and poverty before their eyes, will marry till they have a sufficiency to maintain and provide for a family. But here [in the colonies] there are no fears of that sort and with the least spark of industry, they may support a family of small children. When they grow to manhood, they can provide for themselves. That great curiosity, an Old Maid, is seldom seen in this country. They generally marry before they are twenty-two, often before they are sixteen.[1]

Land was practically free, natural resources were abundant, children were only a slight economic burden, and, when grown, they also could obtain free land upon which to rear their own numerous offspring. The only check on the natural increase was the excessive death rate which usually accompanies a high birth rate.

3. Declining Rate of Increase in Population Following the Civil War.—The Civil War affected the rate of population growth, which was fairly constant until 1860. Many factors in addition to the increased death rate caused a decline in the rate of increase of population during this war; the demoralization of camp and army life, and the removal of large numbers of young men from the community decrease the birth rate during a war.

The decline in the rate of increase started during the Civil War and continued through the first two decades of the present century. The lowest rate of increase for any decade was recorded in the 1920 census (14.9 per cent). During the decade 1920–1930 the rate of increase was about 16 per cent.

This continuing decline in the rate of increase has been encouraged by the changes resulting from the development

[1] CRESSWELL, NICHOLAS, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell*, p. 271, Dial Press, 1928.

of industry in the period following the Civil War. The disappearance of free land and the development of factory industry sent much of the population from the rural districts to the cities. Here the struggle for existence was more severe, the cost of living rose, laws restricting child labor were enacted, and large families became an economic burden. The result was a decrease in the birth rate; but the increasing immigration has, in spite of the diminishing number of births, maintained a considerable actual increase in population.

4. Opening the West for Settlement.—During the course of the industrial development which followed the Civil War,

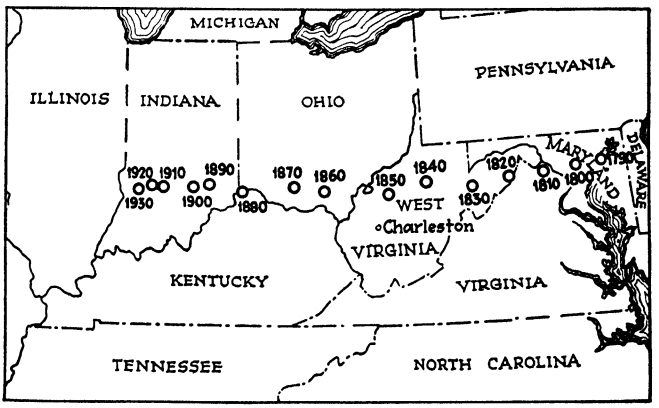


FIG. 8.—Westward march of the center of the population of the United States—1790 to 1930.

the center of population gradually shifted westward from the Atlantic seaboard. By 1920 the center of population was in Indiana; the total population of the nation was then approximately 105,000,000. In 1930 the center of population was slightly farther west in Indiana, and the population had grown to more than 122,000,000.

Meanwhile the Pacific coast was settled, and its population grew and pushed eastward to the hinterland. The

great plateau region of the country, between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevadas, is the most sparsely populated area. It most closely approximates the frontier region which was long a part of American life. But now irrigation is demonstrating the fertility of these enormous tracts of land. The population of a district will grow rapidly if people discover that they can farm there more profitably than elsewhere.

5. Present Pressure of Population on Resources.—The problem of an increasing population in a territory with definite limits confronts almost all civilized nations. The need of an outlet for a pressing population has been the basis of the struggles for new lands which have characterized much of European national development.

Although the United States has not yet been confronted with the problem of population in an acute form, the fact remains that an increasing population will eventually fill a land which has fixed boundaries. To determine the maximum population which this country can support without a lowering of our boasted high standard of living, and the time when the country will have that population, are favorite problems of statisticians.

6. Reduction in Death Rate as Well as in Birth Rate.—Modern medicine influences the death rate and makes prediction of growth in population hazardous. During the twentieth century the average length of life has been lengthened by some ten years, thus keeping as a part of the population many people who formerly would have been removed by disease.

As a result of the conquest of the diseases of childhood and youth there has been a decrease in infant mortality. Today medical science is saving many children who formerly would have died of diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, or tuberculosis. The presence of these young

people, many of whom are future parents, means, to that extent, an increase in the population. In this country the infant mortality rate (deaths under one year of age per one thousand live births) dropped from 100 in 1915 to 68 in 1929.

B. IMMIGRATION

1. Significance of Immigration.—The population of the United States has grown by additions from without as well as from within the nation. Growth of population in the countries of the Old World is due mainly to the increase of births over deaths. Population in America has grown not only because of this excess of births over deaths, but also because of the great stream of immigrants who have come to our shores from other countries.

Although, strictly speaking, everyone in America, except the Indian, is an immigrant or the descendant of immigrants, when we speak of immigrants and immigration we usually mean the people who have come to this country since the Revolution, rather than those who came during the colonial period. Most of the immigrants have come since 1880.

2. Problem of Assimilation.—In countries in which the natural increase provides the main growth, the population is made up of people who have the same cultural background. Children born into such a group are welcomed in accordance with the traditional folkways. They become an integral part of the group and are sympathetic toward prevailing customs and ideas. Between them and their fellows there are no deep-seated conflicts. Because they have the same culture pattern, they understand one another.

Far different is the reaction of an adult who has been taken from his culture group and placed in the strange

surroundings of a different culture. The immigrant finds new conditions in his adopted homeland and, in turn, introduces changes in many phases of life—economic, social, political, and religious. It is not surprising that a diversity of customs and ideas is found in America; for some thirty millions of people of various languages and diverse customs, traditions, and ideals came to this country within a century.

3. Attitudes toward Immigration.—The reception accorded the immigrant has varied from time to time, and in different parts of the country there have been different attitudes toward immigration. In the nineteenth century many factors combined to make the immigrant a welcome addition to our population. Foremost among these factors were the abundance of land waiting to be brought under cultivation, and the varied and rich natural resources awaiting development. Added to these was the need in the new country for unskilled labor. It was necessary to build roads and railroads, construct public works, erect buildings, and develop mines. Immigrants furnished the labor for these enterprises.

Before the Civil War, the South opposed immigration because it added to the population of the free states, where most of the incoming Europeans preferred to settle. Since that time, too, the South has been opposed to immigration, because the Negro has presented a difficult problem in the South, and Southerners have desired to escape the additional complications which arise from the immigration of other culture groups.

The West has always been hospitable to the European immigrant. Sparse population, abundance of free land, need of unskilled labor, and absence of the strict class separation which distinguishes the older societies combine to break down those distinctions between colonial stock

and the foreign-born which often prevail in the Eastern states.

On the Atlantic seaboard, a more definitely stratified society, the increasing pressure of population, and the

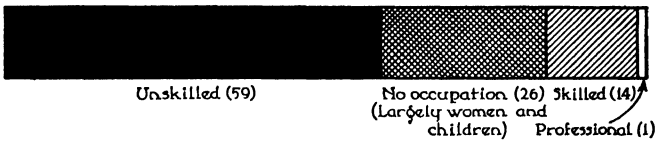


FIG. 9.—Occupational distribution of immigrants.

(Note the percentages of unskilled, skilled, professional and "no occupation" groups of the immigrants who entered this country, to reside here, in 1914. These groups range in size from professional (1 per cent), to skilled (14 per cent), and unskilled (59 per cent).

massing of the immigrants in the cities tended to create and maintain a wide cleavage between the native stock and the foreign-born.

4. Old and New Immigration.—During the period of rapid industrial development after the Civil War, both

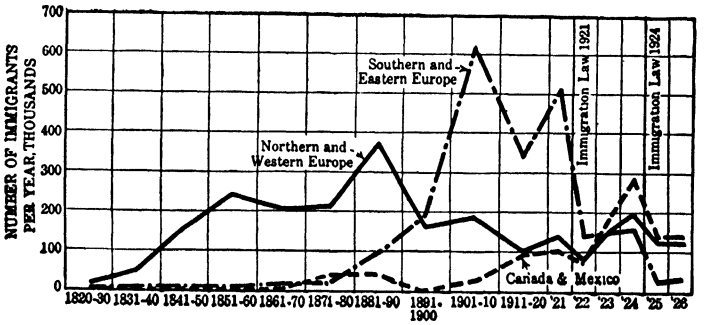


FIG. 10.—Changing character of our tides of immigration.

private and official attempts were made to encourage immigration, and, as a result, great numbers of foreign-born were added to the population. Until approximately

1880, these foreigners came mainly from Northern and Western Europe, and from the stock that had populated colonial America. They are now referred to as the older immigrants, to distinguish them from the newer immigrants who have come since 1880.

The newer immigrants have been predominantly from Eastern and Southern Europe and have different physical as well as cultural characteristics. They have introduced into our group new traditions and customs as well as different physical types.

The motives for coming to this country have been varied and mixed. A relatively large number of older immigrants came for political or religious reasons, whereas economic motives have brought most of the newer immigrants.

5. Change in National Policy toward Immigration.— During the last half century many factors have contributed to a change in attitude toward immigration. By about 1880 the free land had been preempted; by 1896 the cost of living had begun to rise. There was unemployment, and standards of living declined. Organized labor became more acutely aware of the menace of the increasing influx of unskilled labor.

At first there was no regulation of immigration. The first step in the regulation of immigration was the exclusion of those with criminal records, those afflicted with contagious diseases, and those who had no visible means of support. In addition, a head tax was imposed upon all who entered. Finally, there was restriction of immigration by imposing a literacy test and a mental test.

Agitation for restrictions resulted in the passage in 1882 of the first federal immigration law. This law barred from the country criminals and those who because of physical or mental disabilities were likely to become public charges.

From the time of the first restriction, in 1882, to the drastic reductions of the 1924 law, there was constant and increasing agitation against immigration, and various attempts were made to tighten the restrictions. The wave of nationalism which swept the country in the wake of the World War strengthened the cause of those who opposed immigration. "America for Americans" was the slogan which helped to secure the passage of the immigration bill of 1924.

6. Recent Restrictions on Immigration.—Recent laws regarding immigration impose the following restrictions:

The law of 1921 provided that the maximum immigration of any one nationality during a year should be limited to 3 per cent of the total number of that nationality group in this country as reported in the census of 1910.

The law of 1924 provided that the maximum immigration of any one nationality during a year should be limited to 2 per cent of the total number of that nationality group in this country as reported in the census of 1890; it excluded entirely all aliens not eligible to citizenship, such as the Chinese, Japanese, and the peoples of India.

The National Origins Plan, which was passed by Congress in 1927, and went into effect in 1929, limits the total immigration in any one year to 150,000. This 150,000 is now apportioned among the various nationalities according to the proportions of the respective nationalities in this country as given by the 1920 census. Thus, if 10 per cent of the people in the United States according to the 1920 census are from a certain country, the number of immigrants allotted that country each year is 10 per cent of 150,000, or 15,000. The minimum quota of any nationality, however, is 100.

A clause of the 1927 law authorizes the United States consul in a foreign country to refuse immigration papers

to an applicant who is likely to become a public charge if admitted into this country. Under power of this clause, the President, in 1931, closed all immigration for an indefinite period beginning June 1, 1931. During the latter half of 1931 the number of former immigrants who left the country exceeded the number admitted. This temporary exclusion of all immigrants was the result of the economic depression in this country in 1931.

Discussions of immigration measures before Congress during the last decade have made it evident that the majority of the American people believe restriction of immigration desirable. Many who are concerned about the welfare of the present population believe that America cannot maintain her standards of living if subjected to the increases in population occasioned by unrestricted immigration. But although the desirability of restriction is generally accepted in this country, there is much difference of opinion regarding the best basis for restriction.

7. Assimilation of Immigrants.—The nationalities which have contributed to the population of America have given to our culture many valuable elements. The habits and customs of these groups have played a part in the development of a new nation. Our political and educational systems, our literature, and our social customs are based on those of England; from our German stock we derive much of our scientific attitude; Italians, French, and Germans have helped to shape our musical taste. Many nations have contributed habits of mind, as well as units of population, to the making of America.

In many parts of the United States, groups of immigrants have settled in sufficient numbers to retain in the midst of the new environment much of their Old World culture patterns. Such nationality groups are the Scandinavians in the Northwest, the Germans in the agricultural areas of

Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, the Dutch in Michigan, and the Armenians in central California. These groups usually retain, through at least one generation, the language, customs, and religion brought from their native land, and their American-born children are brought up in a culture environment similar to that of the Old World culture from which their parents came.

Many nationality groups support their own schools; usually these are denominational, and some of them are conducted in their own language. Such groups, which had resisted the modifying influence of the American environment, were the basis of much of the antagonism developed toward the foreigner in our midst during the World War. The character of almost all such communities has been affected by the Americanization programs which were instituted during or after the war.

Immigrants who have not lived entirely in their own nationality group, but have been absorbed into the fabric of American life, have colored our national life with their customs and folkways.

Foods furnish an example of this immigration influence. Frequently the menus and grocery-store advertisements in a city indicate the respective nationality influences in the community. From the chili con carne and tamales of southern California to the scrapple of the Pennsylvania Germans, the foods of a community often tell a story of culture contacts, the borrowing of traits, and the persistence of older traits.

8. Nationality Groups.—In addition to the problems occasioned by the presence of the Negro, the Oriental, and the Indian, the United States, often called the melting pot of the world, has been confronted with many other problems arising from the presence in our midst of aliens from different culture groups, who bring with them traditions and folk-

ways strange to our culture. These groups have mistakenly been called races, and the problems which they occasion are inaccurately referred to as race problems. In reality they are not race groups but nationality groups, and the tendency to identify race with nationality is responsible for much of the confusion in the discussions of "race superiority" and "race inferiority." The nationality divisions of Europe are political, not racial, and the peoples of Europe, except perhaps, in part, the Lapps, constitute subdivisions of the Caucasian race.

The peoples of Northern Europe, the Nordics, belong to the same race as the peoples of Southern Europe, the Mediterraneans, and as the Alpines, who occupy a central geographical position. Among these subrace groups there has been much intermixture. The terms Nordic, Mediterranean, and Alpine refer to subdivisions of one and the same race, namely, the Caucasian.

The presence of European immigrants of various nationalities has given rise to maladjustments and has increased the number and the types of social problems. These peoples, however, are assimilable, and in the course of time they become an indistinguishable part of our composite population. The fact that they can be thus absorbed makes them a problem distinctly different from, and much more temporary than, that of the much less assimilable black and yellow peoples, who are not Caucasians.

Race and nationality problems are persistent and important. The antagonisms that have grown up in the United States toward immigrant groups have usually crystallized in communities in which foreigners have settled in large numbers. The difficulties and prejudices are local and tend to disappear in the course of one or two generations.

The real race problems of the United States, those involving the Negro, the Oriental, and the Indian, are more persistent, and are national in importance and in implications. The next chapter will describe these problems.

SUMMARY

The early colonization of the country was along the Atlantic Coast. Gradually this region filled up, and the population pushed farther west until, finally, it reached the Pacific Coast. At the present day the only unsettled regions of the country are the mountainous and arid sections in which, at present, productive enterprises are not possible.

In the eighties of the last century immigrants began coming to this country in large numbers. At first they were mainly from the countries of Northern and Western Europe. Later, however, large numbers of immigrants came from Eastern and Southern Europe, that is, from Latin and Slavic countries. These peoples were not as assimilable as the peoples from Northern and Western Europe, whose customs and standards of living are more like our own than are those of the later immigrants.

After the World War, restrictions were placed upon immigration, because the country then had a sufficiently large population. These restrictions limit the total immigration of any one year to 150,000, and apportion it among the various countries on the basis of the number of the respective nationals in this country as reported in the latest census.

There are various nationality groups in this country, some of them much segregated. Most of these groups, however, belong to the same race as ourselves, namely, the Caucasian.

Questions

1. Would excessive immigration lower the standard of living of (*a*) the native-born or (*b*) the Americanized worker? Why? Why this distinction?
2. How long has immigration been an important factor in our national life? Outline the fluctuations in immigration.
3. What has been the volume of immigration since 1900? What was the reason for it?
4. How did the World War affect immigration to this country?
5. What nationality groups have come from Southern Europe since 1914, and in what numbers and proportions respectively?
6. How did immigration before the Civil War differ from that after the Civil War?
7. How has immigration been artificially stimulated?
8. Do most of our immigrants know in advance the character of the country to which they are going and the conditions which they will find there?
9. What is the rate of illiteracy among immigrants?
10. What is meant by "the center of population"?
11. What is meant by the "hinterland"?
12. What is the meaning of the terms race and nationality?

Exercises

1. Make a list of some of the ways in which immigration is related to social progress.
2. Explain Malthusianism, and give an account of its history.
3. What is meant by "the tide of immigration"?
4. How many immigrants have come to this country since 1900 from (*a*) Europe, (*b*) the West Indies, (*c*) Africa? Give the reasons for their coming from these respective areas.
5. From what countries have Jewish immigrants come? Why did they emigrate?
6. What was the total immigration in 1914? From what countries did it come?
7. Why do we distinguish between immigrants from North Italy and those from South Italy?
8. Explain: "Immigrant labor undersells native labor." Is this true?
9. What is the proportion of the sexes among immigrants?
10. What is meant by "birds of passage"?
11. What are the principal subrace types in Europe?
12. Give the relative size and principal locations of the largest nationality groups in the United States.

Vocabulary Test

arid	integral	proximity
diverse	literacy	segregate
folkway	mortality	stability
hinterland	preempt	

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CHAPTER VI

RACIAL ADJUSTMENT

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE MAJOR RACE PROBLEMS OF THIS COUNTRY.
2. THE HISTORY OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS.
3. THE PRESENT TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS.
4. THE CHINESE IMMIGRANTS AND THE LEGISLATION WITH REGARD TO THEM.
5. THE JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS AND THE LEGISLATION WITH REGARD TO THEM.
6. THE NEGROES OF THIS COUNTRY, THEIR DISTRIBUTION, STATUS, EDUCATIONAL, AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS.

1. Importance of Race Problems in America.—Since the settlement of the New World by Western Europeans America has never been free from the problems which arise when peoples of different races contend for the same territory or attempt to occupy it together. When the white people came to this country, the land was held by the copper-colored natives whom they called Indians—for Columbus thought he had reached India. The colonists, finding that the natives resisted all attempts to enslave them, added to the racial problem by importing African Negroes as slaves.

Subsequently, with the development of the Pacific coast region, the Chinese came, and later the Japanese. These Orientals gave to that section of the country its own peculiar race problem. The presence of these various races has given rise to baffling and persistent national problems of race adjustment.

The 1930 census reported the total population of continental United States at 122,775,046, of whom 108,864,207 were whites. There were then 332,397 Indians and 1,422,533 Mexicans. Negroes numbered 11,891,143. Mongolians included 138,834 Japanese and 74,954 Chinese. The 1930 census also reported 45,208 Filipinos, 3,130 Hindus, 1,860 Koreans, and 780 other persons not included under white or Negro. The Indians, the Orientals, and the Negroes will be treated in this order in the present chapter.

A. THE INDIANS

1. Historical Background.—The Indians have not occasioned social problems similar to those which have grown up since the coming of the Negroes and the Orientals. In their original habitat the Indians lived in organized and self-sufficient tribal groups, with a culture of their own. They had their own myths, traditions, customs, and explanations of natural phenomena. They asked nothing of the colonists, least of all to mingle in their group life.

Though the Indians adopted firearms and other useful objects from the European settlers, they retained their ways of life and thought, and many tribal groups remained socially self-sufficient, though they gradually lapsed into increasing economic dependence upon the whites.

The pride and spirit of the Indians, qualities of character which made them unfit for slavery, have served to prevent their feeling inferior to the whites. This has tended to produce a more wholesome attitude on the part of both peoples in their contacts with one another.

The separation of the two distinct culture groups was accentuated by the policy of the United States government of dealing with the Indians as tribes rather than as individuals. The relations between the United States and the

Indian tribes have been peculiar, and often inconsistent. Treaties were made with them as independent nations, although the government considers them its wards. Recently the government adopted the policy of dealing with the Indians as individuals, dividing their tribal lands into individual farms and holding in trust the funds derived from the sale of surplus acres.

2. Culture Diffusion.—There has been considerable culture diffusion between Indians and whites. When two culture groups live in proximity, there is almost invariably a borrowing of traits and an exchange of ideas. Between the whites and the Indians, the interchange of traits has been largely in the realm of material culture.

At the time of European colonization, the Indians were ignorant of the use of metals; for hunting or fighting, they used rude weapons of wood or stone. They were eager to obtain firearms from the colonists, and equally eager to obtain fire water—whiskey. Although we think of the Indians of the plains as almost inseparable from the ponies they rode, they had no horses until these animals were introduced by the Spaniards.

Gradually, with the development of the machine age, the Indians, as well as the whites, have deserted their custom of making by hand articles of daily use, and have learned to depend upon factory-made articles. The perfection of technique in certain handicrafts which distinguished the work of the aboriginal Americans is now found only in remote or isolated regions.

The white colonists learned from the Indians the use of many native foods and plants, the most important of these being maize, or Indian corn, potatoes, and tobacco. Probably the Indian harvest festival suggested to the New England colonists the idea of a thanksgiving festival of their own. However this may be, the various articles of

the typical Thanksgiving Day feast are those native to America—turkey, chestnuts, cranberries, corn, and the inevitable pumpkin.

In recent years artists and musicians have turned to the American Indian for inspiration. The haunting strains of the Indian flute have been adapted to our musical scale and have been reproduced in our musical compositions. Many of the designs of modern art have been influenced by the art *motifs* of the Southwest Indians.

The Indian is tenacious of his own culture, especially of the concepts inherent in it. Beneath his silence and reserve lingers a faith in his tribal myths, traditions, and religion. The Indian may readily assume the externals of civilization, but he assimilates the white man's ideas and beliefs slowly and painfully, if at all.

Many of the changes in the life of the Indians are due to the enforced changes in his environment. The circumscribed life on government reservations, dependent upon government policy, is, for the plains Indians, a far cry from the freedom of the open plains and the existence dependent upon endurance and cunning in hunting the buffalo.

3. Regulation of Indian Affairs.—The early contacts of the whites with the Indians were largely hostile, and the fact that outbreaks might be expected at any time induced the government to place Indian affairs under the Department of War, after the creation of that department in 1789. An Indian Bureau was established in the War Department in 1824. The office of Indian Commissioner was created in 1832, and in 1834 a Department of Indian Affairs was organized. In 1849 Indian affairs were transferred to the Department of the Interior; but the controversy as to which department should have control went on for years in Congress, and as a result no well-defined policy of dealing with the Indians was developed.

At the present time, the majority of the Indians live on reservations which have been allotted to them by the government. Most of these reservations lie west of the Mississippi, although many of the tribes originally occupied lands far to the east. The plan of removing the eastern tribes to reservations west of the Mississippi was discussed during Jefferson's administration and was revived after the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory. In 1825 President Monroe sent to the Senate a formal report on this proposed plan, and by 1840 almost all the principal eastern tribes and tribal remnants had been moved to lands west of the Mississippi. Some were moved several times. Many of the Indians who originally occupied lands in states west of the Mississippi now live on reservations near their original homes.

From time to time Congress has passed laws modifying and defining the status of the Indian, designed to break up the old tribal relations, the communal holding of tribal land and tribal funds, and to lessen the gap between the Indian and the white man. Through these acts the Indians have been given individual ownership of lands and many of the privileges of private citizens. In 1924 the suffrage was extended to Indians, and, in theory at least, they assumed the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

The status of the relations between the Indians and the white men is a persistent problem of the Department of the Interior. The treatment which should be accorded the Indian is a matter upon which there is a great diversity of opinion. Many of the problems of Indian affairs are unique, but some are an inevitable result of the fact that a backward people holding desirable land has been displaced by a group more advanced in the arts of civilization. Under similar circumstances history has repeated itself throughout the world.

B. THE ORIENTALS

1. A Problem of the Pacific Coast States.—The Orientals have provided occasion for the most serious race problems of the Pacific coast states. The Chinese and Japanese immigrants to this country settled along the western coast, mainly, of course, because of its comparative proximity to their homeland, but also because of other favorable conditions. The climate is suitable for the raising of fruits and vegetables, and the soil responds readily to the intensive cultivation of the skillful and patient Chinese and Japanese agriculturists. Also, for many years there was a dearth of manual laborers in California, Washington, and Oregon.

2. The Chinese.—The Chinese first came to this country in appreciable numbers soon after the California gold rush of 1849. The white men who went west at that time were inspired by visions of wealth and fortune, and manual labor other than digging for gold was not to their liking. They worked only when in dire straits. The Chinese were attracted by the high wages paid for unskilled labor, rather than by the hope of sharing in the fortunes made in the gold mines. They were accustomed to hard work.

When population pressure and famine induced the Chinese to emigrate from their homeland, they came to this country in large numbers and concentrated in the Pacific coast states, where they worked on farms, in the mines, as domestic servants, in building the railroads, and in draining swamps. They furnished the manpower for developing and transforming the raw country into flourishing communities.

When the Chinese continued to come in large numbers, there developed an increasing antagonism on the part of the white settlers towards the growing population of an alien and non-assimilable race. The Chinese were sepa-

rated from the native population by race, color, and mode of life.

The antagonism toward the Chinese found expression in open riots and clashes, which led to the passage of the regulatory laws culminating in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibiting the admission of Chinese laborers. After Chinese immigration had been stopped, the antagonism toward the Chinese decreased, and prejudice subsided into tolerance.

The number of Chinese in the Pacific coast states is gradually decreasing, due partly to emigration from the country, and partly to migrations east to other states. In the country as a whole the Chinese population has decreased absolutely as well as relatively. The United States Census reported 89,863 resident Chinese in 1900; 61,639 in 1920; and 74,954 in 1930. It is frequently alleged that many Chinese and Japanese are smuggled into this country from Mexico. The Japanese in the country numbered 111,010 in 1920, and 138,834 in 1930.

3. The Japanese.—Soon after the exclusion of the Chinese, the ranks of labor on the Pacific coast began to fill with Japanese. In 1885 the Imperial Government of Japan removed the prohibition on emigration, and many Japanese farmers and unskilled laborers emigrated to America. Like the Chinese, they concentrated in the Pacific coast states, where they became the objects of the prejudices and antagonisms which previously had centered on the Chinese.

The Chinese and Japanese retain in America their respective cultural individualities. The two groups do not mingle, and they have little sympathy for one another. They are, however, regulated by the same laws in their residence in this country, and they occasion the same problem—the presence in our midst of a considerable group

of dark-skinned aliens, ineligible to citizenship, although their children born on American soil are American citizens.

The Japanese were the object of even greater animosity than the Chinese because, unlike the Chinese, they were not content to remain day laborers. Many of them obtained land by purchase or lease and became independent farmers or tenant farmers. As their numbers and their holdings increased, all the Pacific coast states passed laws designed to limit the opportunities of the Japanese immigrants.

The California Alien Land Law of 1913 prohibited ownership of land by aliens ineligible to citizenship, except as prescribed by existing treaty. The law of 1921 abolished the right of an alien ineligible to citizenship to act as guardian of a minor child if some of the property consisted of real estate. In 1923 the law was amended to prohibit a company or an association from acting as guardian if the majority of its members are aliens ineligible to citizenship. Washington and Oregon have similar laws regulating the ownership of property by aliens ineligible to citizenship.

Although the same federal laws cover the residence in this country of both Chinese and Japanese, different immigration laws have regulated their entrance. This legislation has been colored by the attitude toward the respective countries of origin. The Chinese government has been weak, and China has been little interested in her nationals outside her own territory. Japan, on the other hand, has, like the United States, shown much solicitude for the welfare of her people living abroad. Regulatory legislation in the Pacific coast states has, at times, threatened to precipitate serious international difficulties, for Japan is one of the Great Powers.

The famous gentlemen's agreement of 1907 between the United States and Japan was not a treaty but an executive

agreement which provided that Japan would restrict the emigration of the laboring class and allow only persons of higher economic status to leave their country for the United States. The Japanese-American Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, which covers most of the problems between the nations involving the treatment of nationals of either nation resident in the other, was signed in 1911. The treaty made no reference to the ownership of land for agricultural purposes. Upon this fact California based the legality of her Alien Land Laws of 1920 and 1923, which made it illegal for aliens ineligible to citizenship to own land.

A sweeping change in immigration policy was made in the United States by the Immigration Act of 1924. This act was even more drastic in its effects on immigration to the Pacific coast than on that to the Atlantic. It provided that "no alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States" except under well-defined provisions which cover such classes as students, tourists, officials and their families, and certain other groups of high economic status, all of whom must leave this country after specified periods of residence here. Aliens ineligible to citizenship include Chinese, Japanese, native Hawaiians, Burmans, Hindus, and Canadian Indians, but not Mexicans. Thus by the act of 1924, the influx of Japanese coolie labor was stopped, as that from China had been cut off many years before by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

Since the passing of the 1924 act, racial animosity on the west coast has decreased, and now amicable relations prevail between the Japanese and their Pacific coast neighbors; but at the present time there are signs that the whole process will be repeated with the Mexican and the Filipino immigrants. Within recent years there has been a great influx of unskilled Mexican labor, with low standards

of living, into the southwest states, and especially into California and Texas. Nearly 1,500,000 Mexicans were resident in this country in 1930. The Filipinos have emigrated mainly to California and Hawaii.

C. THE NEGROES

1. Importance of the Negro Problem.—The presence of the Negroes constitutes the most serious race problem of American civilization. Because of their numbers, and because of certain cultural traits which are a heritage from slavery, the Negroes are a unique group. They present social problems not involved in the contacts of Americans with the Indians or with alien yellow peoples.

The Negroes are American citizens, entitled to participate in every phase of the national culture. Since the Negroes are everywhere more or less closely associated with the white Americans, their problem involves the working out of a plan by which the two groups may live together amicably as neighbors. Such a social adjustment would ensure to both groups freedom, justice, and an equal opportunity for self-expression. In few communities, however, has this adjustment been realized.

2. African Background.—The Negroes, who were seized in Africa and brought to this country to be sold as slaves, came from various tribes which differed considerably in language, folkways, and culture development. The influences of the white culture into which the Negroes were introduced had to be met without the steadying influences of the background of a common aboriginal group life which enabled the Indian to retain his culture. Frequently the Negroes were as foreign to fellow slaves as to the whites. Moreover, their new environment contained no familiar elements.

Small wonder, then, that in the shock of transplantation to a new land and a new culture few elements of their own native African cultures survived, and that the Negroes speedily adopted at least the externals of American civilization. The material culture they adopted, of necessity, with little modification; but the more abstract elements, embodied in religion, ethical ideas, and conceptions of personal relations, were deeply tinged by the ideals of life in the groups from which they had been torn.

3. Concentration of Negro Population in the South.—The first slaves were brought into the colonies in 1619, and the numbers imported increased slowly until 1700. Subsequently there was a great increase in the slave trade, and many slaves were brought over until 1808, the date specified in the Constitution for the cessation of the importation of slaves.

The Negro population was concentrated in the South, though there were some slaves, most of them domestic servants, in the North. The Negroes were suited to the climate of the South, were able to withstand the menace of malarial lands, and were well adapted to the plantation system which grew up with the cultivation of cotton, sugar, and rice.

In spite of the recent large exodus of Negroes from southern to northern states, the bulk of the Negro population remains in the South. In 1920, 86.2 per cent of the Negroes were in the southern states. In two states, Mississippi and South Carolina, over 50 per cent of the population was Negro, and in some counties of certain southern states the proportion of Negroes to the total population was as high as 85 to 90 per cent. In 1930, 78.7 per cent of the Negroes were in the South, the Negro population in that section having increased 5 per cent during the decade 1920–1930, despite the large influx of Negroes into

northern states during that period. In 1930, in South Carolina, but not in Mississippi, the whites outnumbered the Negroes.[1]

4. Mobility of the Negroes.—The Negroes have been relatively stationary in residence; few have moved a great distance, and most of them live in the states of their birth. There have, however, been two distinct trends in Negro mobility, one from rural to urban communities, the other from the South to the North.

The recent northward migration of the southern Negroes was the result of the decrease in immigration occasioned by the World War and by the Immigration Act of 1924. A lessening of the supply of white immigrant labor opened to the Negroes many industries in the North from which they had previously been excluded. It is estimated that between 1915 and 1928 approximately 1,200,000 Negroes moved from the South to the North. However, many of them subsequently returned to the South, and this number does not represent a net increase in the colored population of the North due to migration from the South.

5. The Negro in Agriculture.—The bulk of the Negro population is still engaged in agriculture. This is especially true of the South. While many Negro farmers own their farms, most of them till the land on a system of rental in which, usually, a proportion of the crop belongs to the owner of the land. The system varies, and it lends itself to abuses which in some districts amount almost to peonage, a condition of enforced labor, due to chronic indebtedness rather than to a status fixed by birth. A much smaller percentage of Negroes than of white farmers own the land which they till.

6. The Negro in Industry.—The urban employment of Negroes has been mainly in unskilled pursuits. Only when

[1] For further data see the table on pages 92–93.

white labor is scarce have Negroes been employed at all, and then seldom in positions of authority. The skilled trades, such as painting, carpentry, and bricklaying, have furnished few openings for Negroes, owing largely to the opposition of the unions towards the Negro workers. The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly declared itself opposed to racial discrimination, but it cannot control the attitudes of the local unions. Throughout the southern, and in many northern, states, Negroes are refused admission to local labor organizations, although they are eligible to membership in the national unions.

7. Social Problems of the Negro.—The Negro faces the difficulties and maladjustments common to our whole society. In his case, however, each problem is further complicated by reason of his color. Racial discriminations prevail, to a greater or lesser degree, throughout the entire country. Problems of health, housing, poverty, and delinquency are linked up with restrictions which limit the districts in which the Negro may live and the economic pursuits which are open to him.

8. The Negro in the Professions and in Business.—Only recently has the Negro come into any importance in the professions or in business. Teachers form the largest professional group, and preachers the second in size. Unfortunately, the educational standards of these two groups are not very high. Almost invariably their work is among members of their own race.

9. Education of the Negro.—Educational opportunities for Negroes vary greatly in different sections of the country. In the North and West, both races attend the same public schools and receive the benefit of the high educational standards which prevail in those sections.

The prewar South, on the other hand, did not develop the institution of the public school. Until very recently

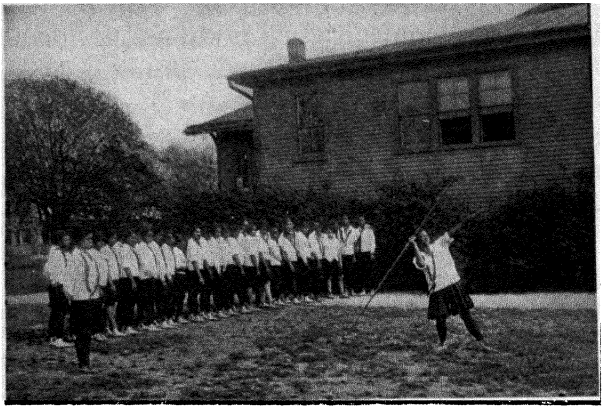
most of the schools maintained for white children were below the standards of other sections of the country. Again, the segregation of Negro children into separate schools has meant even less educational opportunity for members of that race than for their white neighbors.

Schools for Negroes are for the most part poorly housed, inadequately equipped, and staffed by incompetent teachers. They seldom receive a share of school funds in proportion to the number of Negroes in the population. For example, one southern state in which one-third of the population is Negro, apportions to Negro schools only about one-tenth of the state school funds. The Rosenwald Fund, which was established to aid southern Negro education and community life, has made possible for many Negro schools in the South better physical equipment, higher teaching standards, and richer participation in community life. In 1929 the fund had established 4,729 Negro schools in 818 counties of 14 southern states.

There is a high degree of illiteracy among the Negroes. This was estimated at 70 per cent in 1880, but decreased, rapidly for a time, and then more slowly, to 22.9 per cent in 1920 and to 16.3 per cent in 1930. Even with great improvement in the secondary schools, this percentage will not decrease rapidly. The schools reach few adults, and the greatest illiteracy is in the higher age groups. Illiteracy will gradually decline as death removes these illiterates from the population and their places are filled by those who have received at least a semblance of education.

There has been a widely prevalent opinion that the Negro needs a practical education to fit him to cope with the economic and industrial problems which confront him. Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was organized to furnish practical training along these lines to prepare teachers for Negro schools. It has proved useful and

valuable and has been liberally supported. Under the leadership of the able Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee



(*Courtesy of Hampton Institute*)

FIG. 11.—A girls' gymnastic class at Hampton Institute, Virginia.

FIG. 12.—Cooking class at Tuskegee, Alabama.

(These students are learning to prepare a well-balanced diet in sanitary and scientific fashion. They will carry this art and science into many Negro communities.)

Normal and Industrial Institute did much good work in furthering the cause of industrial and vocational education

for Negroes. This type of education has been opposed by the intellectual leaders of the race on the grounds that it tends to keep the Negroes down to an industrial level and hinders their development along professional lines.

The provisions for the higher education of Negroes are inadequate, and few of the institutions which call themselves colleges do work of college grade. The most hopeful phase of Negro education is the increasing number of individuals who graduate from the reputable colleges and universities of the North and West, where Negroes are admitted without discrimination.

10. Artistic Achievement.—In the realm of the fine arts, few achievements of the Negro stand out as noteworthy when judged by an impartial standard. The greatest gains have been made in recent years, and some of the work of the younger generation attains a high degree of artistry. As an aid and inspiration to creative expression among Negroes, the Harmon Foundation offers each year awards for outstanding work in literature, sculpture, painting, and music. Present achievements give promise of a richer future for Negroes in artistic development.

In recent years the attitude of the Negro intellectuals has undergone a profound change. They have outgrown the feeling of inferiority engendered by the period of slavery, and are developing an interest and pride in their race and its accomplishments. They are directing their efforts toward the elevation of their people, and toward instilling in them a fitting racial pride and dignity. Perhaps only in this way can the Negro problem approach solution, and only through their own sincere efforts can the rank and file of the Negroes remove the prejudice against them which exists in some localities, and enjoy a richer and fuller life.

11. Trends in Race Relations.—Much of the conflict which arises when races are in contact is due to prejudice

POPULATION BY COLOR OR RACE, BY

[A minus sign (−)

Division and state	Total population			White		
	1930	1920	Per cent of increase	1930	1920	Per cent of increase[1]
United States	122,775,046	105,710,620	16 1	108,864,207	94,820,915	14 8
Geographic Divisions:						
New England	8,166,341	7,400,909	10 3	8,065,113	7,316,079	10 2
Middle Atlantic	26,260,750	22,261,144	18 0	25,172,104	21,641,840	16.3
East North Central	25,297,185	21,475,543	17 8	24,277,663	20,938,862	15.9
West North Central	13,296,915	12,544,249	6 0	12,873,487	12,225,387	5 3
South Atlantic	15,793,589	13,990,272	12 9	11,349,284	9,648,940	17 6
East South Central	9,887,214	8,893,307	11 2	7,224,614	6,367,547	13 5
West South Central	12,176,830	10,242,224	18 9	9,099,981	8,115,727	12 1
Mountain	3,701,789	3,336,101	11 0	3,303,586	3,212,899	2.8
Pacific	8,194,433	5,566,871	47 2	7,498,375	5,353,634	40 1
New England:						
Maine	797,423	768,014	3 8	795,183	765,695	3 9
New Hampshire	465,293	443,083	5 0	464,350	442,331	5 0
Vermont	359,611	352,428	2 0	358,965	351,817	2 0
Massachusetts	4,249,614	3,852,356	10 3	4,192,926	3,803,524	10 2
Rhode Island	687,497	604,397	13 7	677,016	593,980	14 0
Connecticut	1,606,903	1,380,631	16 4	1,576,673	1,358,732	16 0
Middle Atlantic:						
New York	12,588,066	10,385,227	21 2	12,150,293	10,172,027	19.4
New Jersey	4,041,334	3,155,900	28 1	3,829,209	3,037,087	26.1
Pennsylvania	9,631,350	8,720,017	10 5	9,192,602	8,432,726	9.0
East North Central						
Ohio	6,646,697	5,759,394	15 4	6,331,136	5,571,893	13.6
Indiana	3,238,503	2,930,390	10 5	3,116,136	2,849,071	9.4
Illinois	7,630,654	6,485,280	17 7	7,266,361	6,299,333	15 4
Michigan	4,842,325	3,668,412	32 0	4,650,171	3,601,627	29 1
Wisconsin	2,939,006	2,632,067	11 7	2,913,859	2,616,938	11 3
West North Central:						
Minnesota	2,563,953	2,387,125	7 4	2,538,973	2,368,936	7 2
Iowa	2,470,939	2,404,021	2 8	2,448,382	2,384,181	2.7
Missouri	3,629,367	3,404,055	6 6	3,398,887	3,225,044	5 4
North Dakota	680,845	646,872	5.3	671,243	639,954	4.9
South Dakota	692,849	636,547	8 8	669,453	619,147	8.1
Nebraska	1,377,963	1,296,372	6.3	1,353,702	1,279,219	5 8
Kansas	1,880,999	1,769,257	6 3	1,792,847	1,708,906	4.9
South Atlantic:						
Delaware	238,380	223,003	6.9	205,694	192,615	6.8
Maryland	1,631,526	1,449,661	12.5	1,354,170	1,204,737	12 4
District of Columbia	486,869	437,571	11.3	353,914	326,860	8 3
Virginia	2,421,851	2,309,187	4 9	1,770,405	1,617,909	9 4

DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1930 AND 1920

denotes decrease]

Mexican, 1930	Negro			Indian		Chinese		Japanese		All other, 1930
	1930	1920	Per cent of increase	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	
1,422,533	11,891,143	10,463,131	13 6	332,397	244,437	74,954	61,639	138,834	111,010	50,978
107	94,086	79,051	19 0	2,466	1,715	3,794	3,602	352	347	423
6,757	1,052,799	600,183	75 4	7,709	5,940	14,005	8,812	3,662	3,266	3,614
58,317	930,450	514,554	80.8	19,817	15,695	6,340	5,043	1,022	927	3,576
39,805	331,784	278,521	19.1	48,245	37,263	1,738	1,678	1,003	1,215	853
691	4,421,388	4,325,120	2.2	19,060	13,673	1,869	1,824	393	360	904
1,403	2,658,238	2,523,532	5 3	2,106	1,623	743	542	46	35	64
695,996	2,281,951	2,063,579	10 6	95,670	60,618	1,582	1,534	687	578	963
249,314	30,225	30,801	− 1 9	102,083	76,899	3,242	4,339	11,418	10,792	1,911
370,143	90,122	47,790	88 6	35,241	31,011	41,631	34,265	120,251	93,490	38,670
2	1,096	1,310	−16 3	1,012	839	115	161	3	7	12
1	790	621	27 2	64	28	84	95	.	8	4
1	568	572	− 0 7	36	24	34	11	1	4	6
66	52,365	45,466	15 2	874	555	2,973	2,544	201	191	209
10	9,913	10,036	− 1 2	318	110	197	225	17	35	26
27	29,354	21,046	39 5	162	159	391	566	130	102	166
2,898	412,814	198,483	108 0	6,973	5,503	9,665	5,793	2,930	2,686	2,493
454	208,828	117,132	78 3	213	100	1,783	1,190	439	325	408
3,405	431,257	284,568	51 5	523	337	2,557	1,829	293	255	713
4,037	309,304	186,187	66 1	435	151	1,425	941	187	130	173
9,642	111,982	80,180	38 6	285	125	279	283	71	81	108
28,906	328,972	182,274	80 5	469	194	3,192	2,776	564	472	2,190
13,336	169,453	60,082	182 0	7,080	5,614	1,081	792	176	184	1,028
2,396	10,739	5,201	106 5	11,548	9,611	363	251	24	60	77
3,626	9,445	8,809	7.2	11,077	8,761	524	508	69	85	239
4,295	17,380	19,005	− 8 6	660	529	153	235	19	29	50
4,989	223,840	178,241	25 6	578	171	634	412	94	125	345
608	377	467	−19 3	8,387	6,254	103	124	91	72	36
816	646	832	−22 4	21,833	16,384	70	142	19	38	12
6,321	13,752	13,242	3.9	3,256	2,888	194	189	674	804	64
19,150	66,344	57,925	14.5	2,454	2,276	60	68	37	52	107
24	32,602	30,335	7.5	5	2	38	43	8	8	9
56	276,379	244,479	13.0	50	32	492	371	38	29	341
67	132,068	109,966	20.1	40	37	398	461	78	103	304
36	650,165	690,017	− 5 8	779	824	293	278	43	56	130

POPULATION BY COLOR OR RACE, DIVISIONS

Division and state	Total population			White		
	1930	1920	Per cent of increase	1930	1920	Per cent of increase[1]
West Virginia	1,729,205	1,463,701	18 1	1,613,934	1,377,235	17 2
North Carolina	3,170,276	2,559,123	23.9	2,234,948	1,783,779	25 3
South Carolina	1,738,765	1,683,724	3 3	944,040	818,538	15 3
Georgia	2,908,506	2,895,832	0 4	1,836,974	1,689,114	8 8
Florida	1,468,211	968,470	51 6	1,035,205	638,153	62 2
East South Central:						
Kentucky	2,614,589	2,416,630	8 2	2,388,364	2,180,560	9 5
Tennessee	2,616,556	2,337,885	11 9	2,138,619	1,885,993	13 4
Alabama	2,646,248	2,348,174	12 7	1,700,775	1,447,032	17 5
Mississippi	2,009,821	1,790,618	12 2	996,856	853,962	16 7
West South Central:						
Arkansas	1,854,482	1,752,204	5 8	1,374,906	1,279,757	7 4
Louisiana	2,101,593	1,798,509	16 9	1,318,160	1,096,611	20 2
Oklahoma	2,396,040	2,028,283	18 1	2,123,424	1,821,194	16 6
Texas	5,824,715	4,663,228	24 9	4,283,491	3,918,165	9 3
Mountain:						
Montana	537,606	548,889	−2 1	517,327	534,260	−3 2
Idaho	445,032	431,866	3 0	437,562	425,668	2 8
Wyoming	225,565	194,402	16 0	214,067	190,146	12 6
Colorado	1,035,791	939,629	10 2	961,117	924,103	4 0
New Mexico	423,317	360,350	17 5	331,755	334,673	−0 9
Arizona	435,573	334,162	30 3	264,378	291,449	−9 3
Utah	507,847	449,396	13 0	495,955	441,901	12 2
Nevada	91,058	77,407	17 6	81,425	70,699	15 2
Pacific:						
Washington	1,563,396	1,356,621	15 2	1,521,099	1,319,777	15 3
Oregon	953,786	783,389	21 8	937,029	769,146	21 8
California	5,677,251	3,426,861	65 7	5,040,247	3,264,711	54 4

[1] Percentages are affected in some areas by the fact that in 1920 Mexicans were included in the white clas-

based on mutual misunderstanding. The present tendency is toward establishing better relations through fuller understanding between races as well as between nations.

The scientific approach to race problems is gradually supplanting, or at least supplementing, the earlier emotional attitude, and attempts are being made to formulate a working plan by which the peoples of different races can

AND STATES: 1930 AND 1920.—(*Continued*)

Mexican, 1930	Negro			Indian		Chinese		Japanese		All other, 1930
	1930	1920	Per cent of increase	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	
257	114,893	86,345	33 1	18	7	86	98	9	10	8
10	918,647	763,407	20 3	16,579	11,824	68	88	17	24	7
9	793,681	864,719	− 8 2	959	304	41	93	15	15	20
47	1 017,125	1,206,365	−11 2	43	125	253	211	32	9	32
185	431,828	329,487	31 1	587	518	200	181	153	106	53
88	226,049	235,938	− 4 2	22	57	60	62	9	9	6
25	477,646	451,758	5 7	161	56	70	57	11	8	24
69	944,834	900,652	4 9	465	405	52	59	25	18	28
1,221	1,009,718	935,184	8.0	1,458	1,105	561	364	1	. . .	6
409	478,463	472,220	1 3	408	106	251	113	12	5	33
4,552	776,326	700,257	10 9	1,536	1,066	422	387	52	57	545
7,354	172,198	149,408	15 3	92,725	57,337	206	261	104	67	29
683,681	854,964	741,694	15 3	1,001	2,109	703	773	519	449	356
2,571	1,256	1,658	−24.2	14,798	10,956	486	872	753	1,074	415
1,278	668	920	−27.4	3,638	3,098	335	585	1,421	1,569	130
7,174	1,250	1,375	− 9 1	1,845	1,343	130	252	1,026	1,194	73
57,676	11,828	11,318	4 5	1,395	1,383	233	291	3,213	2,464	329
59,340	2,850	5,733	−50.3	28,941	19,512	133	171	249	251	49
114,173	10,749	8,005	34 3	43,726	32,989	1,110	1,137	879	550	558
4,012	1,108	1,446	−23 4	2,869	2,711	342	342	3,269	2,936	292
3,090	516	346	49.1	4,871	4,907	483	689	608	754	65
562	6,840	6,883	− 0 6	11,253	9,061	2,195	2,363	17,837	17,387	3,610
1,568	2,234	2,144	4 2	4,776	4,590	2,075	3,090	4,958	4,151	1,146
368,013	81,048	38,763	109 1	19,212	17,360	37,361	28,812	97,456	71,952	33,914

sification.

easily live together without injury or handicap to the members of any race group.

In the United States, attention has centered especially upon the problems occasioned by the presence of a large Negro population. The fact that many able and ardent students of social life are devoting their best efforts to these problems gives reason to hope for better race relations.

While, perhaps, little has actually been accomplished in comparison with the amount that remains to be done, there is a growing and more extensive knowledge of the conditions amidst which Negroes live and of the need for improving these conditions. There is also a growing realization that as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, so a people is no more civilized than its most backward group. In health, education, and general welfare, no sound system can impose different standards for the two races.

The growing interest of the Negro in his problems and his development of racial pride are new manifestations which may do much to make Negroes happier and more self-sufficient, and at the same time may eventually remove some of the causes of interracial friction.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Urban League, are devoted to securing better conditions of life among the Negroes. The conference on race which met in Washington in 1928 to discuss the Negro problem attempted to view all sides of the question and gave opportunity for the expression of the most divergent opinions. Such meetings foster a better understanding between the two races.

Howard and Fisk Universities, one with a Negro, the other with a white, president, and both (in 1933) with mixed faculties, are proof that much can be accomplished when emphasis is turned from racial differences to racial betterment.

The decrease of lynching in the United States is a hopeful sign of greater justice for the Negro. In 1930 twenty Negroes were lynched, and in 1931 thirteen.

The Interracial Council of the Y.M.C.A. and the International House at Columbia University provide facilities for the intermingling of racial and nationality groups and foster a better understanding between races and nations.

In many of the large universities of the country there are Cosmopolitan Clubs, in which the members of different nationality and race groups meet.

SUMMARY

The United States has been a meeting point of all the races of the world. The aboriginal inhabitants—the American Indians—are a branch of the Mongoloid race. The slaves were members of the Negroid race. The earlier immigrants came from all the subrace groups of the Caucasian division of mankind. Later came the Chinese and the Japanese, who are Mongoloids, as are, in large part, the Mexicans, mainly of Indian stock, who have entered this country.

When any of these people have concentrated in large numbers they have formed a culture nucleus apart from the native-born American stock, and Americanization among them has been slow and incomplete. The Negro suffers from the absence of a cultural background comparable with that of Europeans, and the Orientals are at first somewhat estranged from our civilization.

These race groups are frequently antagonistic toward one another. Antagonism is likely to arise when their interests conflict, as they do when two groups desire the same territory.

Frequently, however, the so-called race groups are merely nationality or culture groups, and antagonism between groups is usually based on the failure of the members of one group to understand and sympathize with the members of another. When the cultural differences disappear, the social antagonisms usually disappear, or are greatly modified.

No other country has such a mixture of races and peoples as has the United States. The assimilation of peoples is one of our major national problems.

Questions

1. When did race problems become important?
2. What races are represented in the United States? To what extent? Where are they localized?
3. To what race does the American Indian belong?
4. Has the Japanese problem in the Pacific coast states been a race problem? To what extent has it been economic?
5. Why have many Negroes migrated to northern states?
6. In what ways do the economic problems of the Negroes differ from those of the whites?
7. What is meant by peonage?

Exercises

1. Show on a map the locations of the principal human races.
2. Give the proportions of the respective races in the United States. Indicate on a map their locations.
3. What proportion of the peoples of the world belong to the Mongoloid race? To the Negroid race?
4. How many American Indians are there now in the United States? Trace over the census years absolute and relative changes in their numbers.
5. Make a list of the different race groups and nationality groups in your community. Indicate their relative size.

Vocabulary Test

animosity	habitat	peonage
cosmopolitan	inherent	precipitate
dearth	maize	tenacious
emigration	*motif*	

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PART IV

SOCIAL FORCES

CHAPTER VII

CUSTOM

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE NATURE OF CUSTOM.
2. ITS IMPORTANCE IN GROUP LIFE.
3. THE PREFERENCE FOR THE CUSTOMS OF ONE'S OWN GROUP.
4. THE TARDINESS WITH WHICH CUSTOMS CHANGE.
5. THE RELATION OF CUSTOM TO HABIT, LAW, AND THE MORES.

Little Indian, Sioux or Crow,
Little frosty Eskimo,
Little Turk or Japanee,
Oh, don't you wish that you were me?

You have curious things to eat,
I am fed on proper meat;
You must dwell beyond the foam,
But I am safe and live at home.
Little Indian, Sioux or Crow,
Little frosty Eskimo,
Little Turk or Japanee,
Oh, don't you wish that you were me?

But do they? Would the "little Indian, Sioux or Crow" prefer the ways of the little English boy? Would he like to brush his teeth and keep his finger nails clean? Would he like nursery customs and the supervision of a nurse? Does he think that he "has curious things to eat"? Does it seem to the "little Turk or Japanee" that he lives "beyond the foam," or is his land, with the customs which we call peculiar, very much "home" to him?

1. Nature of Customs.—Customs are the habits which characterize all or most of the members of the group.

Thus, the wearing of collars, trousers, dresses, or hats is an example of custom. Some customs, like that of turning to the right, are practically, or legally, enforced upon all members of the group; others, such as wearing collars, apply only to a portion of the group—in this case, to boys and men—and they are not enforced by law. Frequently a custom applies solely, or at least mainly, to a portion of the entire group.

There are customs among children which do not apply to adults; customs among adolescents which are less prevalent among children or among adults; and men and women have, respectively, many customs not characteristic of the other sex. Almost every nationality group has customs which are not found in any other group; and the customs in one locality of a country may differ from the customs in other localities.

2. Variety of Customs.—Every group values its own customs. Customs are a vital part of life. Without them individuals could not function in groups, and society could not exist. It is important, however, to recognize the fact that to each group its own customs seem best, and that the customs which to one culture seem queer and strange, to another may be valuable.

Each country has its own ways of doing things. The fact that in our land everyone does much the same thing in similar situations, and that generally we know how people will behave, gives us the comfortable, familiar "at home" feeling which we have when among our own people. Because we do not know what the people in another country will do, or what they expect us to do, we feel strange in a foreign land. We think other peoples queer; they think us queer. Anything which differs from the accepted behavior of the group seems queer.

Among "queer" customs are taking off the shoes before entering a church (mosque), as do the Mohammedans; using a wooden block for a pillow, as do the Japanese; eating raw, instead of cooked, meat, as do some primitive peoples. These customs are queer only because they differ from those of our culture group. Our own ways and customs are as queer as those of other peoples, but we are so used to them, or, as we say, so "accustomed," that we do not see how "funny" they are. "Chinese civilization and Chinese ways are to us full of jokes. A Mandarin is laughable, with his long yellow gown and three peacock feathers; it does not occur to us that a bishop in gaiters in point of fun has him beaten."

If we visited an English court of justice we would find that the judges and barristers look queer. They wear the black robes and the white wigs which denote the legal profession. They wear these clothes because in England it is the custom for such functionaries to do so. The English driver of an automobile sits on the right and drives on the left side of the road. On an English train the American visitor may think the conductor has forgotten him, but when, at the destination, and not before, his ticket is demanded, he realizes that such is the custom of that country. An American would wonder why there is a pause in the day's work in the afternoon. "We always have tea," he is told, "one must have afternoon tea." On the other hand, the Scandinavian people like coffee in the afternoon. An Englishman would say, "Isn't that strange? Tea is proper for afternoons. We always have tea. It is our custom."

Should you go to Egypt and visit a Mohammedan family, it would seem very strange when you found that your hostess did not greet the male guests, and that the men and women did not eat together. "This is the way we

have always done," they would say. "It is the right way. It is the custom of our country."

One may have anthropological interests and visit some native tribes in West Africa. There, in some places, the American or European visitor would be surprised at the inordinate fatness of the belles of the tribe. "To be beautiful, a girl must be fat," they would say. "We feed our young girls large quantities of milk, to make them very fat, and hence very beautiful. It is the custom of our land. Our fathers have always believed it proper." In Nigeria corpulence and beauty are nearly synonymous terms.

Among the Zulu, it is

> natural . . . for people of rank to grow fat. Crawling through the small entrance, we see a large lady—one of many queens—reclining on a mat, and supporting her head with her hand. A pot, containing porridge of white millet, stands near her; a vessel of bruised corn and curds keeps it company; while a third, no small one, holds a supply of native beer. Of these she partakes during the intervals of sleep, a female being in attendance to hand her now the one and now the other, as her majesty may feel inclined.[1]

Let us go to another primitive area and visit the Hopi and the Zuñi Indians in the southwestern part of the United States. Among the Hopi the women make the pottery, the men till the fields. This, they believe, is the proper division of labor. "Men do not make pottery. Our fathers did not do so. Men work in the fields and women make the pottery." Among the Zuñi, on the other hand, the men make the pottery, the women work in the fields. "Our fathers did not allow the women to make pottery. That is man's work. Such is our custom."

[1] SHOOTER, JOSEPH, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 5, E. Stanford, London, 1857.

And so in each culture group are customs which are strange to us, ways of doing things that are foreign to our set of mind and our sense of propriety.

3. Custom Social Rather than Rational.—In our own land, do we find that all of our own customs have an obviously rational basis? Are all of them necessary to our group, or do we sometimes do things because our elders have done them, and because we wish to follow the custom of our country? Does keeping to the right make our traffic problem simpler than that of England, where traffic keeps to the left?

Would it affect our whole culture pattern if it were customary to put our knives instead of our forks into our mouths? The obvious answer is that such customs are neither rational nor important in themselves.

Our lives are circumscribed by custom fully as much as are those of peoples in other lands. Fashions change, and clothing varies in width or tightness, length or brevity, but men wear trousers and women wear skirts. Collars may be high or low, soft or stiff, but men wear collars. They wear collars because they acquire the habit, and they acquire the habit because in their country it is the custom for men to wear collars.

Custom prescribes the suitable rituals and celebrations of weddings, funerals, political installations. For every occasion, a "proper" mode of procedure is prescribed by custom.

Strange customs occasion misunderstanding. Because each culture has distinctive traits, customs, ideas, ways of reacting to situations, it is difficult for people of one culture to understand those of another. Misunderstanding, rather than conflict of interests, is the basis of much international friction. The showing of American-made films in foreign lands, and of foreign-made films in our own land, sometimes

occasions such misunderstanding, and leads to antagonism toward the land in which the film was made. In 1930 an American-made film shown in Germany occasioned much opposition there because of the use, in a comedy, of steel helmets which were similar to the type worn in the German army. No insult had been intended, but it was difficult to convince the German audience of that fact.

4. Development of Custom.—Probably custom developed in much the same manner in all social groups. Men found a satisfying way of meeting certain situations, and others adopted that method and followed it until it became habitual, that is, customary. Thus habits grow into folkways or customs—the doing of something because others habitually do it, and because, therefore, it is the thing to do. That men follow the example of their ancestors is recognized in the Bantu (African) song:

> A well-worn trail is a very good thing,
> It must lead up to a very good king;
> And so with customs of days of yore,
> We do what millions have done before.

A similar respect for custom is expressed in the Pawnee song recitative:

> The Mother leads and we follow on,
> Her devious pathway before us lies.
> She leads us where our fathers led
> Down through the ages.
>
> The Mother leads and we follow on,
> Her pathway straight, where a stage each day
> We forward walk, as our fathers walked
> Down through the ages.

5. Changes in Customs.—New customs arise as the folkways change. The machine age demands new folkways,

and new customs arise to meet the demand. When automobiles became numerous, certain sections of the country developed the custom of signaling by hand to indicate turning or stopping. In some localities these customs have been affirmed by traffic laws. Before the age of motor vehicles, traffic was slow and there was no need for such signals. Thus machines remake customs. New ideas as well as new inventions alter the ancient folkways.

It has been the custom for men to remove their hats in elevators when women are present. As a result of women's demands for equality, this custom, like that of a man's giving up his seat to a woman on a street car, is fast disappearing. Equal rights and privileges imply an equal sharing of the disadvantages as well as the advantages of modern life.

6. Customs, *Mores*, and Laws.—Customs which have ethical value and receive group sanction are the *mores* of the group. The individual recognizes and conforms to these *mores*. Loyal members of the group consider their infringement immoral. In some groups it is a violation of the *mores* to do unnecessary work on Sunday, or to indulge in play or games on that day. In other groups such abstinence on the Sabbath is not demanded.

The *mores* may be a benefit, real or supposed, to the group, and thus may serve a group purpose. On the other hand, the *mores* may be merely a survival, a trait which at one time was of service, but has since outgrown its usefulness.

If a trait has had the whole-hearted sanction of the group, it is difficult to uproot it, even when it is no longer useful. The most vital and essential *mores* become laws, as written law succeeds unwritten custom. However, most modern laws are not a legislation of the *mores*. The penalty for violating the *mores* is merely the disapproval of

the group, whereas the violation of a law is a crime for which a penalty is provided.

7. Value of Custom.—Custom is not simply a restrictive and restraining force. Without a standardized way of going about one's daily affairs, there would be much confusion in group life. The foundation of group life is a certain like-mindedness in its members, a willingness to respond similarly to similar situations. Our group has a typical way of doing things, and because most of our behavior is regulated by custom, we are free to attend to our personal affairs unhampered.

We would be distraught if on each occasion we had to decide how to conduct our business, how to address our associates, and whether to eat our food with fork, knife, spoon, or fingers. If every act of our daily lives had to be met each day as a new situation, and if there were no fabric of habit and custom out of which to fashion many of our activities into almost automatic reactions, we would be not benefited, but handicapped, for we would have to be making decisions constantly on non-essential issues. There is, therefore, a definite value in customs.

Many customs, however, have no value in themselves, and might better be dispensed with. Customs and conventions change from time to time. Frequently there is a tendency to look upon the more recently discarded customs with amusement, and sometimes with scorn. Examples of this attitude may be found in much of the current literature which ridicules the customs of "The Fabulous Forties," "The Gay Nineties," and "The Mauve Decade."

8. Preservation of Customs.—As we have seen, customs may arise and be preserved because of their real or assumed social usefulness. They may be the best way of doing things in a particular culture. On the other hand, some customs may be so antiquated and outgrown that the

group might benefit by changing them. Many customs, however, are in themselves neither good nor bad. Yet it is often desirable that members of the group respond similarly to certain situations. Turning to the right on highways has no advantage over turning to the left; but it is desirable that all follow the rule prescribed by custom. Thus many customs are "right" merely because they prevail in the community. They are preserved because of social inertia or because of social usefulness, real or assumed.

An innovation in established custom is usually regarded with disfavor by the conservative element of a group, and moral values are attached to traits which in themselves are neither right nor wrong.

When an innovation becomes well established, it is accepted as a custom and is no longer frowned upon. When women commenced to wear short hair, many school boards and business firms refused to employ women who had cut their hair. Bobbing the hair was considered an indication of a weak or a perverse character. Bobbed hair has now become so conventional that it occasions no notice or comment. It is familiar and customary. Perhaps the wearing of long hair by women will some day be regarded as immoral and unsightly.

Opposed to the conservatives who fight innovations are the liberals who welcome change in customs. But mere novelty is useless to the group; the new custom, to justify itself, must have some utility. Customs should be evaluated, and neither accepted nor condemned because of their age:

> Be not the first by whom the new are tried
> Nor yet the last to lay the old aside!

SUMMARY

Habit is the tendency of the individual to do the same thing in the same way. For instance, most of us have an

habitual way of putting on our shoes, some of us left foot first, then the right—and so with our garments. Usually we are not conscious of our habits until something interferes with our habitual behavior. Custom is group habit, the doing of something because others habitually do it, and because, therefore, it is the thing to do. What habit is to the individual, custom is to the group.

Custom has a strong hold on the group, and it takes great strength of mind and character to flout the customs and the *mores* sanctioned by long usage. Even when the individual is convinced that a particular custom is valueless, or even vicious, it is easier to conform, to be one of the group, than to depart from the usual way of doing things. Shakespeare's famous line about conscience might be paraphrased to read: "Custom doth make cowards of us all."

There is some justification for Francis Bacon's statement, though, of course, there is much exaggeration in it, that "custom only doth alter and subdue nature," and that "nature nor the engagement of words are not so forcible as custom." By understanding custom we can take advantage of it and not be hampered by it. "To see what custom is, that I think nothing of it," observed Samuel Pepys. By this he meant, "Let me understand custom, so that I will not be disturbed by it." That is wise procedure.

Habit, custom, and tradition are closely associated phases of our social heritage. We frequently think of them together, and indeed it is difficult to treat them separately. We acquire habits in keeping with the culture pattern; custom and tradition are handed down to us from predecessors, both recent and remote.

It is well to remember, however, that

> The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfills himself in many ways
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

Questions

1. Do animal societies have customs? Illustrate and explain.
2. What is the difference between customary and instinctive behavior?
3. How would you distinguish between custom and etiquette?
4. Give a list of customs which have grown up in connection with automobile driving.
5. Are the poor or the wealthy governed more by custom? Why, and how?
6. Distinguish between customs, *mores*, and laws.

Exercises

1. Make a list of some Japanese customs.
2. Make a list of our customs with regard to dress.
3. What customs do we follow in driving automobiles and in traveling by train?
4. What customs characterize certain religious denominations?
5. Describe some customs of the Eskimo which differ from our own.
6. Make a list of some of the customs of certain American Indian tribes.

Vocabulary Test

anthropology	inordinate	rational
barrister	mandarin	sanction
ethical	millet	
inertia	*mores*	

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CHAPTER VIII

TRADITION AND HISTORY

THIS CHAPTER EXPLAINS

1. THE NATURE OF TRADITION.
2. ITS IMPORTANCE IN GROUP LIFE.
3. ITS DEVELOPMENT.
4. ITS GROWTH AND MODIFICATION.
5. THE IMPORTANCE OF HISTORY.
6. THE PROCESSES WHICH HELP TO MAKE HISTORY.
7. THE REMAKING OF HISTORY FROM TIME TO TIME.
8. THE INFLUENCE OF VARIOUS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS UPON HISTORY.

Well, sir, the old way's altered somewhat since,
And the world wears another aspect now.

A. TRADITION

1. Nature of Tradition.—Tradition is the selection of a portion of the past as a guide to the future. When the past is allowed to be past and is recalled only as a closed incident or an outworn idea, it is the "dead past." When the ideals of the past are remembered and used as a guide for present behavior, and shape the policies of the present and the future, they become the traditions of the group, a living past.

In ancient Sparta it was a tradition that a Spartan soldier never surrendered. The Spartan mother sent her son into battle with the admonition that he come back "with his shield or on it"; for it was a custom of the Spartans to carry dead comrades home on their shields. The Swiss Guards, too, followed a stern tradition. They fought to the death, and never surrendered; neither did they desert those to whom they had pledged allegiance. Similar loyalties prevailed among the plains Indians of North America.

It is a heroic, though costly, tradition of the sea that a captain does not leave his sinking vessel, but goes down with his ship. Among Anglo-Saxon peoples it is a tradition that in disasters at sea the rescuers take women and children first. This tradition has many times been enforced at the point of the captain's revolver, though usually it is implicitly obeyed.

2. Growth of Tradition.—The earliest traditions were embodied in the folklore and myths of the group. Stories were told of mythological heroes who behaved as the group thought desirable. These stories were used in teaching the young the preferred behavior pattern. Among the American Indians, folk stories regarding medicine men embodied the group's ideal of a medicine man and the respect due him. If a boy wished to become a medicine man, he must be guided by these stories and observe the traditional ways of behavior. Primitive peoples, as well as the more advanced, have traditions. As civilization developed, oral tradition was supplemented by written account. Thus myth and tradition crystallized into recorded "history."

The group selects its traditions. Folklore, as well as history, involves selection. No group wishes to perpetuate all of its past, and the making of tradition, like the making of history, involves selection from the past. Thus,

> What is hit is history,
> What is missed is mystery.

The group endeavors to perpetuate the typical, the ideals of behavior which most fully embody its folkways and *mores;* by selecting these ideals, it fosters its own type.

3. Remaking of Tradition.—Traditions change slowly in normal times, but in grave crises a group may remake or reevaluate its traditions. During the World War, for example, America modified her traditional view that the

War for Independence was caused by the oppression of England, and stressed the interpretation that the oppression was due to a German who then ruled as king in England. Emphasis was placed on the support given the cause of the colonies by many British statesmen, such as Burke and Pitt.

The remaking of traditions serves a useful purpose, for, from time to time, the opinions and aims of the group change. After the concepts of liberty and the equality of men have pervaded the masses, a people cannot be held to a rigid tradition of absolute government.

A governing class which resists change in tradition, as did the Bourbons in France, goes down in revolution. A country in which the ruling classes discard outgrown traditions and accept new ones is able to weather the storm and survive political changes, which may then come peacefully. England has continually modified her traditions. To be effective, the traditions of a country must be in keeping with the sympathies and ideals of its citizens.

4. Sharing the Traditions of the Group.—Individuals are born into a world in which traditions await them on every hand. If we belonged to a primitive group, we would react to the ideas of morals and religion prevalent in that group. Our traditions would be based on those ideas.

We were born into a Christian culture, and, regardless of the particular sect or creed to which we belong, we are surrounded by Christian traditions, for many of the *mores* and traditions of our culture are based on the Old and New Testaments. If we had been born into a Mohammedan group, the traditions of our culture would be based upon different morals and ideals, those set forth in the Koran, the Bible of the Mohammedans.

At the present time traditions are affected by the rapid and constant communication between distant lands. Con-

tact with peoples who have different traditions leads to a critical survey of one's own traditions and a new evaluation of many of them. Changes in communication and transportation have produced a world in which isolation is impossible. This fact challenges the tradition of isolation which has characterized the foreign relations of the United States.

5. Traditions Center around the Government.—In most groups, traditions tend to center around the form and mechanism of government. These are the traditions which are the most valued, and the flouting of them is resented. The Monroe Doctrine is one of the political traditions of the United States. It was formulated more than a hundred years ago, and many interpretations and additions have modified its original meaning. It is one of the most frequently discussed and most highly valued of our national traditions. Though it concerns the Latin American countries, it is not their tradition, and they regard it less favorably than do we.

Another important tradition of our country affirms that the president shall not have a third term in office. This tradition is founded upon the precedent set by Washington in refusing a third term. Though supported only by opinion, this tradition has been so strong that neither party could successfully defy it.

The Declaration of Independence, adopted by a people who then countenanced all degrees of social and economic inequalities and even permitted human slavery, held "these truths to be self evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." So strong was the tradition of "liberty, equality and fraternity" that the authors were conscious of no inconsistency between their declaration and

their practice. With the abolition of slavery and the extension of universal suffrage to all citizens, our tradition of liberty and equality has taken new life and acquired a more practical and literal meaning. The tradition of equality is one of the most persistent in a land in which "any boy has a chance to become president"—though most would do well to sell the chance for a few pennies.

6. Traditions Expressed in Epigrams.—Traditions current in the group are frequently crystallized into epigrammatic form by the speeches of statesmen, as when Daniel Webster said: "United we stand, divided we fall." Lincoln characterized our government as one "of the people, by the people, for the people." Nelson's famous words still inspire Englishmen: "England expects every man to do his duty."

Such epigrams are sometimes taken from their context and made to serve purposes quite different from those originally intended. Thus Washington's Farewell Address is usually referred to only because of his warning against "entangling alliances." His words are sometimes misused by being cited without recognizing the grounds which Washington assigned for his warning, and in an age when almost all of the conditions mentioned by him have passed away.

7. Value of Traditions.—The traditions of a group are valuable as a formulation of its ideals and as a code of behavior. Upon the choice of its traditions, the perpetuation of the highest and loftiest of its ideals, rests the hope for a people's future. The traditions of the past are the guides for the future. Only so can the program of the group have consistency and an assured continuity. If a group were not guided by tradition, there could be no assurance of its character in the future. Hence a new nation will almost immediately formulate its traditions; these become signposts to guide it in the future.

B. HISTORY

1. History Develops from Traditions.—The history of a group is largely colored by the traditions upon which it is founded. When oral traditions merged into written history, the subject matter was at first purely local. Narratives about the group heroes, coupled with accounts of conflicts with other groups, constituted the earliest history. The members of each culture group regarded themselves as a chosen people, and they wrote history in the light of their own culture ideals and traditions. The history consisted of accounts of isolated events, culture heroes, and legendary warfare.

The historian was at liberty to choose the facts which he would present, and, what was sometimes more important, those which he would suppress. Events and men were made to conform to the group's ideas or ideals of what they should have been.

2. History Influenced by Science.—The scientific method of investigation, which developed during the last century, has affected the social, as well as the natural and the biological, sciences. In the realm of history the new methods have been revolutionary. The modern historian does not limit his efforts to a description of events, but endeavors to identify the underlying causes. The story of man is viewed as a continuous whole, a broad stream reaching back into the twilight realms of prehistory. A description of origins, causes, and continuity in development has displaced the traditional account of heroes and isolated facts. A new history has supplanted the old mythology.

To be historically minded means no longer merely to have a mind filled with historical facts, to be recited in chronological order, but to have a scientific curiosity as to how such facts came about. Every situation is the result of a complex development whose factors must be

traced in the origin, the adoption and the modification of ideas and institutions.[1]

3. History Influenced by Economics and Psychology.—Developments in other branches of the social sciences have affected history. Interest in economic theories has produced a tendency to view the facts of history from the angle of economics, and to give to historical processes an economic interpretation. Developments in the science of psychology, a fuller understanding of the characters and motives of contemporary men, lead to a reinterpretation of the actions and motives of historical characters, and to a better understanding of the parts they played in their respective decades.

There is an increasing tendency to consider past events in the light of present-day scientific knowledge, and to conceive historical characters as human beings motivated, at least in part, by desires, ambitions, and ideals which are common to all mankind. It is recognized that they contended with the weaknesses which still beset human nature, but were able, in spite of them, to "carry on," and to pass on to others the ideals and traditions of their group.

4. Interpretation as Well as Recording Necessary.—The history written in the past was a record of the past. The history of today is a living thing, reinterpreting the past in the light of the present, and with a view to the future, and making that past a "living past." As a historian has said:

> The past does not die; so long as spiritual continuity is maintained, the present life of a community is its whole accumulated past, and only by understanding that past can it understand itself or determine its future. A people unconscious of its history is like a man smitten with loss of memory, who wanders about aimlessly till he comes to grief.[2]

[1] MUZZEY, DAVID SAVILLE, "Fathers of the Republic," *Forum*, March, 1928.

[2] WINGFIELD-STRATFORD, ESMÉ, *The History of British Civilisation*, Vol. I, pp. xiii–xiv, Routledge, London, 1928.

Every age must interpret the course of history in accordance with its own deepest reflections upon the meaning of the world. It is this alone which gives value to each fresh interpretation, and only when he pretends to be master of a positive and unalterable science does the historian become an impostor.[1]

Hence, there is a close relation between tradition and history, and, presumably, there always will be.

SUMMARY

No social life has been maintained without the steadying forces of tradition and history. These give the present firm roots in the past.

It is only by knowing the past that we can understand the present, for the present is merely one phase of a development which has been under way continuously since human history began. To be an intelligent citizen of his nation a man must know the history of the making of his nation.

To understand the group he must know also its traditions, for these, too, are historical. The traditions embody the group purposes selected in the past, and continued in the present, as guides for the future.

Questions

1. What is the basis of our tradition against a third term for the president?
2. How does present-day history differ from the history of a generation ago?
3. What are some of the principal values which can be derived from a study of history?
4. Mention some ways in which history has been nationalized.
5. Are histories of the World War the same, irrespective of the country in which they were written? In what respects do they differ, and in what respects are they similar?
6. When did recorded history begin? Where?
7. Is history something more than a record of events? Explain.
8. What is meant by saying that a reinterpretation of history remakes it?
9. In what respects have our ideas of the American Revolution changed during the past few decades?

[1] READE, W. H. V., in *Dante: De Monarchia*, Oxford Text edited by Dr. E. Moore, *Introduction*, p. xix, G. Routledge, 1916.

Exercises

1. How would the history read by a Japanese student differ from that read by a Chinese student, or that of a French student differ from that of a German student?
2. What are our traditions with regard to international relations?
3. Make a list of some traditions which prevail in England, and compare them with our traditions.
4. Give a brief account of the history of the tradition of the Monroe Doctrine.

Vocabulary Test

admonition	economics	implicit
chronological	epigram	psychology

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CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC OPINION AND PROPAGANDA

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. OUR RESPONSIVENESS TO THE OPINIONS OF OTHERS.
2. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION.
3. THE POWER OF PUBLIC OPINION IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE.
4. THE USES AND MISUSES OF PROPAGANDA.

1. Susceptibility to the Opinions of Others.—Custom and tradition, as has been indicated in previous chapters, have a strong hold on the members of any group, for their lives are shaped by their culture. But the members of a group are not all alike, even though they share the same culture. Each individual has distinctive mental and moral traits and a unique way of reacting to, and of interpreting, his social heritage. Every individual, however conventional he may be, recasts the ideas which he derives from others. He differs from his ancestors because he has individuality, and also because the times in which he lives differ from those in which their ideas were shaped. He makes his decisions for present-day life, and, from day to day, modifies his opinions. Even when the individual makes decisions, however, he is still susceptible to the influence of the group.

In spite of statements to the contrary, we care what others think of us. You have heard the exclamation, "I don't care what anyone thinks about what I do!" Perhaps you have made that assertion. As a matter of fact, however, most people do care what their friends think of them. Most people are responsive to the opinions of others, and

wish to conform to the approved code. They value the good opinion of their fellows.

Desire for the approbation of one's associates is a universal human trait. Man, whether civilized or primitive, desires the sanction of his group. Indeed, in some primitive tribes individuals are so eager to have the good opinion of the group that no external force is necessary to make them conform to the accepted group standards. As a member of the House of Representatives said in 1838: "Public opinion is practically the paramount law of the land; every other law, both human and divine, ceases to be observed, yea, withers and perishes, in contact with it."[1]

As a contemporary has said: "The common man has a great respect for other people's opinion of him: that respect is the basis of all human society."[2]

2. Ridicule as a Social Force.—Ridicule is a forceful, if unpleasant, way of expressing opinion, and has a constraining influence upon members of the group. In both primitive and civilized society it is a potent weapon. In primitive society, for example,

> Every mistake, every deviation from accepted opinion, every individual and purely personal interpretation, every peculiarity and eccentricity, may call forth ridicule. It is ridicule and not indignation and horror that assails a man who attempts to change a detail in a ceremony, to tell a story in some new and original manner, or who acts counter to some definitely accepted belief and custom, and it is the same fundamentally ill-natured laughter that greets him when he becomes unwittingly the victim of some untoward accident. To avoid ridicule a man will go to any length. He may even commit suicide in consequence of it. "If you travel in the road of good people," says the Winnebago, "it will be good and others will not consider your life a source of amusement." Even the deities are not exempt from this horror of ridicule . . .

[1] William Graves, quoted in Don C. Seitz, *Famous American Duels*, p. 277, Crowell, 1929.

[2] BURNS, C. DELISLE, *Modern Civilization on Trial*, p. 221, Macmillan, 1931.

The fear of ridicule is thus a great positive factor in the lives of primitive peoples. It is the preserver of the established order of things and more potent and tyrannous than the most restrictive and coercive of positive injunctions possibly could be. As a conservative force it takes its place by the side of primitive man's sense of a social world distinct from the individual, and his theory of the unchangeableness of group phenomena. But whereas the latter two are specifically group expressions, the fear of ridicule appertains exclusively to the individual as such. It is every individual's personal balancing wheel.[1]

Many a brave warrior who can stand a spear, cannot withstand a sneer; and civilized man does not enjoy being laughed at or sneered at. No matter what his culture may be, whether he is an Andaman Islander or a Long Islander, the individual cares what his fellows think of him, and is influenced by their opinions.

3. Many Opinions Are Prejudiced and Superficial.—The ultra-democratic theory holds that every citizen has definite opinions, on matters political and non-political, and the theory implies that these opinions are based on careful thought and reasoning. As applied to the average citizen, these suppositions are not justified. Most of his opinions are founded on preconceived ideas and prejudices.

Lord Bryce has said that the average citizen's opinions, "when examined, resolve themselves into two or three prejudices and aversions, two or three prepossessions for a particular leader or party, two or three phrases or catchwords suggesting or embodying arguments which the man who repeats them has not analyzed."

An expression of opinion seldom conveys the same meaning to each auditor. Suppose one remarks that there are indications of civil war in China. To one who has been in China, that country is as real as our own. He is aware of the tragedy of Chinese internal conflicts. Some of us, however, have no first-hand knowledge of China, and in our

[1] RADIN, PAUL, *Primitive Man as Philosopher*, pp. 50–51, Appleton, 1927.

minds is a vague picture, a left-over from Fifth Reader days when we read, apropos of Chinese willow ware, that

> The color of the country is a kind of dirty blue,

or,

> The Chinese temple, there it stands,
> And there's the tree of many lands.

And "dirty blue," "temple," and "tree" sum up our concept of China. If this is the case, our opinion concerning Chinese affairs is valueless.

4. Stereotypes.—All of us have fixed mental pictures, called stereotypes, of things about which we have heard or read, but have not seen. Frequently, though persistent, they are erroneous. When the word radical, for example, is used, many people think of a soap-box orator or a bomb-throwing fanatic, and are ignorant of the fact that the dictionary meaning of radical is "one who gets to the roots of things."

At the mention of a Frenchman, we think of a vivacious person; of a German, of a stolid person; of an Englishman, of one who is phlegmatic. Does "alien" mean to you a person from another country or what it means to many, "a person hostile to this country, a person against the government, a foreigner at war"?[1]

It is difficult to distinguish between the truth and preconceived ideas. Most minds are filled with stereotypes. Our reactions to most situations depend upon the stereotypes which the situations call up. For that reason, the study of sociology is particularly important, inasmuch as it compels the student to think for himself, rather than merely to accept passively a group stereotype. It seeks to apply the scientific attitude toward human affairs, rather than

[1] LIPPMANN, WALTER, "Public Opinion," *New Republic*, Dec. 29, 1920, p. 142.

merely to accept, without question, the current social attitudes and popular conventions.

5. Nature and Variety of Public Opinion.—The formation of opinions is a continuous process, and varies from day to day. A group in which issues are discussed may be considered a public, and the opinion which prevails in the group is public opinion.

(*Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal*)

FIG. 13.—An endeavor to influence opinion.

(A group marching past a city hall with demands inscribed on banners. The purpose of the banners is to influence public opinion.)

Public opinion is not a universal opinion, but implies differences as well as agreement. Matters on which there is practically unanimous agreement are not opinions, but facts, or, in some cases, *mores*.

Opinion is formed by discussion, agreement, and disagreement; and the prevailing opinion is public opinion. This may vary greatly at different times in the same group,

depending upon the manner in which the issue is presented and upon the leadership in the group.

Individuals share the opinions of several groups, for publics are composed of varied and interpenetrating groups. Individuals may belong to several publics at the same time, and may share in various public opinions. In political matters, a man holds the opinion prevalent in his party; in religion, the opinion prevalent in his sect; on scientific matters, the opinion which dominates in his profession. He is, at the same time, a member of a political, a religious, and a scientific public. He may not be troubled by the fact that the opinions of these publics are sometimes contradictory. He puts them into different classes in his mind, "water-tight compartments" they are often called, and then their inconsistencies do not trouble him.

6. Public Opinion Conforms to Group Pattern.—Public opinion, while capable of wide variations, must always conform to the group pattern. In a given primitive group, a natural phenomenon, such as a thunderstorm, or an eclipse of the sun or the moon, receives a characteristic explanation. The storm is caused by the anger of the Thunder; the eclipse by a monster which is trying to swallow the sun or the moon; and the northern lights are the ghosts of the dead. Native opinions regarding these phenomena fall in the realms of magic and superstitions, and are limited by the character of primitive man's scientific knowledge.

Explanation, belief, and opinion conform to the culture pattern, though they may vary greatly within it. To primitive man a pestilence is the result of the anger of the culture hero. Modern man, whose culture pattern includes a scientific knowledge of infections, has a different interpretation of the epidemic.

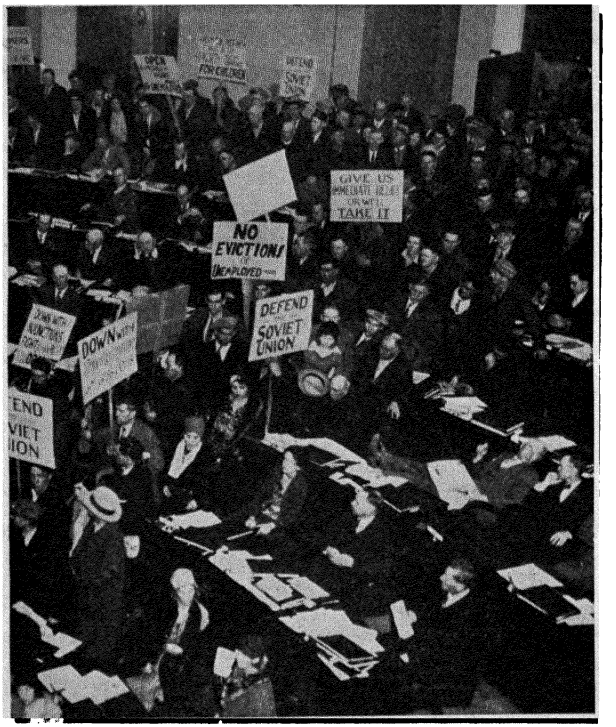
Public opinion, therefore, varies in different localities and in different groups. Public opinion varies from section to section of the same country, and is usually colored by the convictions prevalent in the locality. Political judgments in a manufacturing area are likely to be shaped by a generally accepted belief in the desirability of a high tariff on manufactured articles. In agricultural regions there is apt to be a strong public opinion in favor of governmental farm-relief measures.

Public opinion varies also with economic groups within the same geographical area. There is apt to be a conflict of opinion between groups composed of capitalists and those representative of labor. Each public forms its opinion from preconceived ideas and class prejudices. Frequently these preconceived ideas and prejudices leave little room for rational judgment.

7. Trend of Public Opinion.—In spite of sectional and class differences, in spite of cross currents and counter currents, public opinion usually has a definite trend and a large measure of continuity. During the last quarter century, for example, the trend of public opinion in the United States has been toward a broader and deeper social consciousness. Concern over social relations and social welfare has dominated the opinions of large groups over the entire country. This deeper social consciousness has made itself felt in legislation which has established higher standards for social betterment.

8. Agencies Which Influence Public Opinion.—Many forces influence public opinion. Present-day life offers many methods for influencing and crystallizing public opinion. Conversation, discussion, and the newspaper are the most potent of these influences. A news item, for example, reaches a man through conversation with his neighbor on the morning street car. At noon, a friend

mentions the topic, and they discuss it. As a result of the tenor of the discussion, and of the stereotypes called up in the man's mind by certain set phrases or words, an emo-



(*Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal*)

FIG. 14.—A communist demonstration in the legislative room of a state capitol building.

(Neither governor nor legislature attempted to prevent this demonstration. Discuss the wisdom of this policy. How might this demonstration influence opinion?)

tional tone is aroused, and his opinion gradually takes definite shape.

Newspaper editorials are apt to reenforce the opinion which one has vaguely formed, rather than to stimulate new concepts. Because the favorite newspaper has been

the most powerful influence in producing his previous opinions, it is, to some extent, responsible for the set of the reader's mind. If its editorial policy is consistent, it will arrive at the conclusion almost reached by its habitual reader.

When the reader sees in print his own half-formulated ideas on the news item, he is convinced that the printed view constitutes the correct opinion. His views, and those of his fellows who have followed the same course, constitute a large and influential public opinion.

In addition, pamphlets, books, and the radio influence the public and help to form public opinions.

9. Commercialization of Newspaper and Radio.—The newspaper and the radio are the two great agencies through which the public is informed of events. Control of these two agencies provides the power to crystallize public opinion.

American newspapers have undergone important changes during the last half century. In the early days of American journalism, the newspaper was usually edited by the owner, who assumed entire responsibility for the views expressed in his paper. If the paper succeeded, it was because its attitude was popular and its readers approved the opinions of the editor. At the present time, the editor is seldom the owner and, usually, is not free to express his own opinions.

Large-scale advertising, the necessity for the large circulation demanded by the advertisers, and the introduction of the many amusement features which have no connection with the news have altered the character of the daily papers and have made them less responsible news organs. At the present time, the newspapers may have the complete story of the event which they report, but frequently the method of presenting it to the public is influenced not only

by limitations of space but also by considerations of circulation, advertising, and party affiliation, and by the personal bias of the owner or owners. Limitations of space are almost always an important factor in determining the extent of the news item.

It has been said that in America newspaper publishing is fast changing from a profession to a business. The newspaper is as much the victim as the cause of this circumstance. The newspaper must make a profit, and the competition in circulation, advertising, and "features" frequently lowers the intellectual quality of the contents.

The radio is the most extensive avenue of publicity in the present-day world. Its use is continually increasing, and it now presents to the listening world everything from packing-house programs to political party platforms. The potentiality of the radio as a means of shaping and influencing public opinion makes it one of the most important developments of the century.

10. Opinion, Once Local, Now World-wide.—Public opinion was once necessarily local and narrowly limited. The cross-roads store and the village tavern formed the centers of local life, and opinions were formed and spread by the same means which called them forth, namely, gossip.

In modern times, interests are universal and all-embracing in scope. Today Europe is more a part of the mental environment of the average citizen than was his own state a hundred years ago. Men form opinions on matters concerning the highest and the lowest citizens in the most distant parts of the earth.

This change could not have taken place without the developments in communication which we now enjoy, although the democratic ideals of education and equality have been equally important. Education has created a

public that is literate and able to read the news, if not always able to understand it; and those who cannot read can at least listen.

11. Democracy and Public Opinion.—Equality in rights implies, so some think, equality in opinions. In a democracy, one man's opinion is, theoretically, as good as another's. In an autocratic government, the common man did not presume to voice an opinion concerning his ruler and the acts of the government. There was little discussion of public issues, and there was no public opinion. This state of affairs accorded with the *mores* of the time.

In a democracy, however, it is the theoretical duty, or at least the legal right, of every citizen to form opinions about, and to sit in judgment on, officials and their acts. In the formation of opinions the citizen is influenced by the public of which he is a part, and he in turn, by his conversation, discussions, and emotional reactions, influences his fellows.

It is difficult for a man to flout the opinions popular in his group, and he helps to heap the scorn of the public upon an individual who disapproves of these opinions. Public opinion is a powerful directive force in individual action, and to combat it requires much moral courage. Hence, even in a democracy, the hold of public opinion on the thought and action of the members of the group may be as powerful as the dictates of an absolute monarch.

The formation of public opinion concerning matters of public policy is one of the major problems of democracy. In the early days of the country, people formed opinions on local matters from first-hand information, but about things more remote, opinions were vague and not very effective. With the development of rapid communication, happenings in New York are known in San Francisco the same day.

Obviously the reactions of individuals in San Francisco toward the event in New York will depend upon the manner in which the news is reported in the California city. If part of the circumstances is withheld, if the information transmitted has a bias, the opinion formed is probably that desired by the agency which transmits the news.

This process of "making up the other fellow's mind" has developed into a technique which is used by practically every organization, governmental or otherwise, in the country—the technique of propaganda.

12. Propaganda.—The word propaganda does not necessarily have a sinister connotation, but is commonly used at the present time to imply an attempt to make people more or less unconsciously form an opinion different from that which they would probably form if they had before them all the facts, presented impartially. Propaganda is the deliberate spreading of a doctrine or principle, usually by an organization which foists the opinion. It differs from education, for education tries to convey a knowledge of the truth, while propaganda seeks to emphasize one aspect or principle without regard to other relevant ones. It differs also from advertising. The advertisement is openly trying to influence opinion in favor of an article, whereas propaganda seldom is precisely what it appears to be. Its influence is subtle, and its appeal is fairly well concealed. It would lose in effectiveness if its purpose were apparent.

The scale on which propaganda was developed during the World War has only recently been realized. Each nation supported organizations the purpose of which was to give to its people news and opinions which would strengthen their morale. When there were military reverses, the news was withheld until the people could face the facts. The War Offices not only endeavored to maintain the morale of

their own people, but they also attempted to undermine the courage of the enemy by disseminating among them doubt and uncertainty. It has been said that to a considerable extent the Germans were defeated by "paper bullets"—so effective was the propaganda of defeat of German arms spread behind the German lines by the Allies.

Peace-time propaganda has taken a lesson from the methods of war propaganda. Organizations which desire the good will of the people sometimes present to the public the facts which they wish known and withhold those which would injure their cause. Thus, when United States marines were sent into Nicaragua a few years ago to support a political faction in that country, their mission was referred to by the press in this country as "maintaining order," and their opponents were called "bandits." Almost every insurrection which a powerful nation has quelled in one of its dependencies or territories has been described by the home government in similar terms. When business concerns wish to secure possession of oil lands on Indian reservations, they refer to the enterprise as "developing our national resources." If a company wishes to strip land of its timber, the desire is described as the necessity of "utilizing our national resources."

13. Crowd Psychology.—The term crowd, or mob, means an unorganized group of individuals in physical proximity, acting together.

There are many different types of crowds; in fact, no two crowds are exactly alike. One of the most common kinds of crowd is the mirthful, or joyful crowd, which we all know. In the mirthful crowd, jokes which ordinarily would seem foolish may become overwhelmingly funny. Under such circumstances, people lose their dignity and self-consciousness and do things which later seem to them incredible.

The crowd which views an athletic contest is another familiar example. Few individuals would behave as they do in a football crowd if they were alone at the game.

The angry or hostile crowd occasions a serious problem to democracy, for its actions may at times influence public affairs. Mob action is an undesirable method of settling problems, for the mob is irrational, emotional, and easily amenable to suggestion.

In a crowd, the individual loses his initiative, and, to a considerable extent, his individuality. His will is paralyzed, and he becomes docile. Suggestions which normally would be rejected are accepted unquestioningly. He loses the power to think logically and the power to make up his mind. He assumes the uncritical, easily influenced mental attitude of the child and the feeble-minded.

Control of mob action is essential to democracy. In the United States especially, mob action presents serious problems, for we have more mob murders or lynchings than all the rest of the world, savage and civilized combined.

The occurrence of crowds is largely a matter of cultural environment. In some localities, crowds are frequent occurrences, while in others they are rare. With cultural changes, such as occurred in France during the Revolution, the frequency with which crowds form may also change, even though the innate character of the people remains unaltered. Lynching is a product of our "culture." Although no one knows precisely how it originated, it is assumed that it grew out of conditions in the South during the period of Reconstruction, or out of conditions on the western frontier before the establishment of official law-enforcement agencies.

The greatest hope for remedying the evil of the mob lies in the development of an understanding of its functioning and an opposition to it in all parts of society. Just as enlight-

ened public opinion is the highest form of social mind, so mob mind is the lowest. Sound public opinion is the salvation of a democracy, and mob mind is one of its greatest menaces.

SUMMARY

The opinions of others constitute one of the most important influences in the lives of individuals, for people are responsive to the opinions of other members of their group. Many of these opinions are embodied in literature, for literature is always a reflection of life and thought.

When individuals in a group have certain opinions in common, we may speak of these as public opinion. Public opinion becomes an influence in the group, for most men desire the approval of their fellows.

The exploitation of opinion, when the purpose is not manifest, may be called propaganda. By propaganda people attempt to accomplish indirectly what they cannot accomplish directly. The propagandist attempts to make up the other fellow's mind without letting the other fellow know that he is doing it, or, least of all, why he is doing it.

One of the dangers of democracy is mob spirit and mob mind. The mob is controlled more by emotion than by reason, and its activities are almost always destructive rather than constructive. It is easier to inspire a crowd with hatred and enmity than with benevolence and kindness.

Questions

1. How may public speaking affect public opinion? Do you know any instances in which it has done so?
2. How may leadership affect group activity?
3. What are the qualifications for political leadership?
4. Give some examples of methods of influencing opinion in time of war.
5. How does the reformer attempt to influence opinion? Give some examples.
6. Are honesty and efficiency sufficient qualifications for leadership?

7. Give an account of some of the activities of radicals, and the responses to their appeals.

8. Are some groups more susceptible to opinion than others? In what ways?

9. Is a lynching party an example of the influence of opinion? Where is lynching most prevalent? Why?

10. Give examples of phrases or sentences which influence opinion.

11. How may idealism influence opinion?

12. What devices do speakers use to influence an audience?

Exercises

1. What is the circulation of newspapers in your community? Give its significance.

2. What newspapers from elsewhere are read in your community? Why?

3. What magazines circulate in large numbers in your community? Why?

4. What purposes does the radio serve? How well?

5. How is the radio used by politicians? By advertisers? By commercial concerns?

6. What traits or characteristics enable individuals to become leaders of public opinion? Make a list of individuals who have possessed these to a considerable extent.

Vocabulary Test

amenable	foist	prejudice
approbation	innate	stereotype
disseminate	paramount	unique
fanatic	phenomenon	

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PART V

THREE FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

wished to marry could find a wife. There was fertile land to be cleared and cultivated; cooking, churning, spinning, weaving, and sewing had to be done in the home, for on the frontier few laborers were available. A large family of energetic sons and daughters was, therefore, a boon to pioneers.

Adam Smith wrote of the colonies, in 1776:

Labour is there so well rewarded, that a numerous family of children, instead of being a burden, is a source of opulence and prosperity to the parents. The labour of each child, before it can leave their house, is computed to be worth a hundred pounds clear gain to them. A young widow with four or five young children, who, among the middling or inferior ranks of people in Europe, would have so little chance for a second husband, is there frequently courted as a sort of fortune. The value of children is the greatest of all encouragements to marriage. We cannot, therefore, wonder that the people in North America should generally marry very young. Notwithstanding the great increase occasioned by such early marriages, there is a continual complaint of the scarcity of hands in North America. The demand for labourers, the funds destined for maintaining them, increase, it seems, still faster than they can find labourers to employ.[1]

Another writer, describing conditions in this country after the Revolution, remarked:

In America, it is said, men congratulate themselves upon the increase of their families, as upon a new accession of wealth. The labor of their children, even in an early stage, soon redeems, and even repays with interest, the expense and effort of rearing them. In such countries the wages of the laborer are high, for the number of laborers bears no proportion to the demand, and to the general spirit of enterprize. In many European countries, on the other hand, a large family has become a proverbial expression for an uncommon degree of poverty and wretchedness. The price of labor in any state, so long as the spirit of accumulation shall prevail, is an infallible barometer of the state of its population. It is impossible where the price of labor is greatly reduced, and an added population threatens a still further

[1] SMITH, ADAM, *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 78, Henry Frowde, 1904.

reduction, that men should not be considerably under the influence of fear, respecting an early marriage, and a numerous family.[1]

Most boys married at the age of eighteen to twenty, especially if they had saved about a hundred dollars, and girls married at the age of fourteen to sixteen. Neighbors assisted in launching the new household: seed, farming implements, and a horse were presents for the groom; the bride received such articles as a bed, some chairs, and kitchen utensils. In a few days neighbors built a rough house; and the domiciled couple were equipped to begin life.

The members of the pioneer family worked and played together. Fathers, mothers, and children attended the singing schools, debates, and entertainments held in the little log schoolhouses of the frontier. Babies bundled in blankets and laid in a row on one side of the room slept calmly through the merriment of the grownups, and, as the evening wore on, were joined by older children who could stay awake no longer.

Family recreation today is very different. Automobiles, movies, and various other amusement devices offer to the modern family such a variety of entertainment that parents and children seldom remain at home or take their diversions together. Home is becoming "the place where, when you want to go there, they have to take you in."

In pioneer life, the family was the center of interest and activity. Boys and girls married at an early age, settled near their parents, or went farther west to take up new land, where they repeated the family history.

The father was the supreme authority, and his wife was almost as fully under his control as were his children. She had few legal rights and was considered mentally inferior to

[1] GODWIN, WILLIAM, *Political Justice*, Vol. II, p. 517, London, Robinson, 1798.

her husband. Girls were given little education, and the professions were closed to them.

Teaching and marriage were practically the only careers open to women. Almost every family group included a widowed or maiden aunt, whose position in the household was usually not enviable.

4. Machine Industry Changes the Pioneer Family Life.—When machine industry developed in America, it changed the entire culture pattern. The home and the family quickly felt the effects of this change. Women put away their spinning wheels and looms, left their usual work, and went into the factories to tend the machines which spun and wove more material in a day than was made in the home in a year. Unfortunately for the children, it was soon discovered that they, too, could tend the machines. Soon entire families worked in the mills, usually under unsanitary conditions, through long hours which left neither time nor energy for the wholesome pursuits of the home.

Since the advent of machines, factories and industrial plants have competed with the home for the time and attention of women.

In the competition, the factories usually win, because the mother's earnings are needed for the support of the family. Industry has given unmarried women a useful occupation and an opportunity to earn their living. Their independence has altered their deferential attitude toward the fathers and brothers upon whom they formerly were dependent; it has modified the position of women within and without the family group.

In recent years women have entered the ranks of both professional and industrial workers. Their activities have brought them economic independence and a recognition which formerly they could not claim. They have established their right to an independent life and career and have secured recognition of their political rights.

The change in the status of women has, of necessity, affected the family. It is frequently responsible for the childless marriage, since children would interfere with the career of the mother. On the other hand, many professional women, who desire a family in addition to a career, leave home and children to the care of a servant, who seldom furnishes the mental and moral training which the superior mother could give her children.

The industrial worker cannot provide for her household as well as can the professional woman. The housework awaits her return when she is fatigued from a long day in the factory, and meanwhile the children have been left with a neighbor, an older child, or perhaps with no one at all. Such children frequently are untrained and undernourished.

The women who are employed in factories usually have little choice as to whether they will work outside the home. Because of the high cost of living, their earnings are a necessary part of the family income. According to the statistics of the Women's Bureau, most of the eight million women gainfully employed in industry in the United States are working because of a pressing need for the wages which they add to the family resources.

Inside as well as outside the home, the activities of women have changed. Our grandmothers baked, washed, made soap, canned, and preserved. The modern home has turned over to "the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker" much of the work which formerly was done by the housewife. This is an advantage rather than a detriment to family life. When the housewife is relieved of these demands upon her time and energy, she has more leisure for homemaking. This is especially true when there are small children in the home. The mother who does not have to do heavy physical work can find time for the important tasks of motherhood; she has leisure to

play and to work with her children, and to direct their energies and development. This increased leisure time may, of course, be wasted in idle frivolities rather than utilized for valuable social opportunities; and, unfortunately, the leisure is too often wasted.

FIG. 15.—A contrast in kitchens—a generation ago (above) and today (below). (List differences and show their influence on family life.)

It is sometimes said that modern labor-saving devices have so simplified household tasks that the housewife of today has much leisure time, and that housekeeping is only a part-time job. A survey conducted by the Women's Bureau indicates that most homemakers devote to their home work as many hours each day as do industrial or professional women to their respective tasks. For the majority of women, housekeeping, or homemaking, is still

a full-time job. Many women have long hours of home work and little or no leisure. This applies especially to rural districts, where the care of poultry and gardens usually falls to the lot of the women.

5. Proportion of the Population Married.—In 1920 married people constituted 59.9 per cent of the total population. There were then more married people in the United States in proportion to population than at any previous time of which there is record. The proportion of the married varied, by states, from 53.6 per cent to 64.4 per cent.

The percentage married varies with racial composition, age distribution, proportion of the sexes, and the proportion of urban and rural population of the state. The higher the proportion of foreign-born whites in a locality, the higher the percentage married; the greater the number of middle-aged people, the larger the percentage married. A larger percentage of country people are married than of city people. When the number of men does not greatly exceed the number of women, the greater the number of men in proportion to women, the higher the percentage married. The middle-aged form the largest proportion of the married; hence the presence in a community of large numbers of very old or of very young people decreases the percentage of the married.

6. Successful Family Life.—The modern approach to the problems of the home and the family is through a study of the successful family. A successful family has been defined as "one in which husband and wife have worked out a satisfactory all-round adjustment to each other, to the children, and to the community." Studies of such families afford more useful and valuable material for the solution of family problems than can be gained from the study of unhappy families and the records of the divorce

courts. In the past, much attention has been paid to family failures, and little to family successes.

It is now clear that success in family life requires intelligence and effort. The prevailing attitude towards the home and the family leaves much to be desired. The welfare of the home should be the concern of both husband and wife. Successful homemaking involves skill and ability, and is a calling of dignity and worth. Husband and wife must bring to this partnership the whole-hearted effort, tact, and forbearance which make for success in the outside world, and are needed quite as much in the home as elsewhere.

7. Problems of the Family.—Since the successful home now depends largely upon affection and the personal contacts of its members, it is not surprising that the complexity of modern life has brought grave disorders into family life. There is a growing interest in the problems of marriage and the home, and sincere efforts are being made to bring to their solution the scientific knowledge of the day. Much of the superstition and outgrown tradition that surrounded these institutions is being cleared away, and scientific study of the family is replacing sentimental "insight."

When family relationships have become strained, competent psychologists attempt to discover the causes of the difficulty and to work out plans for readjustment. This, however, is not enough. In the problems of the family, if anywhere, "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Each community needs a bureau of matrimonial counsel, where inexperienced homemakers may confer with workers of training and experience, and receive help in solving the problems of personal relations and child training which arise in the new home. Such bureaus have been established in several German cities and in some cities in this country.

The widespread interest in marriage and the family is evidenced by social service workers' annual conferences upon the problems of the family, by the existence of committees in various organizations appointed to consider these problems, by research projects now in progress, and by publications which deal with various phases of family life.

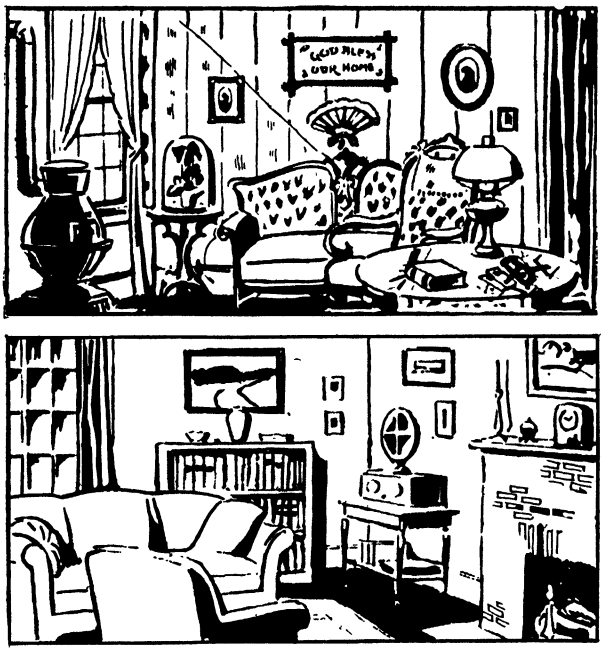

FIG. 16.—A contrast in living rooms—a generation ago (above) and today (below).

(List differences and show their influence on family life.)

As has been said, the family is a changing institution in a changing age. No solution of its problems will fit all cases and be applicable at all times. The family must continually adjust itself to the changes in the culture. The hopeful phase of this present age of social disorganization and reorganization is the tendency to include the family

among the major problems which enlist for their solution the best efforts of trained and sympathetic minds.

8. Need for Adequate Social Legislation.—The family has suffered more than most institutions from the lack of a proper social attitude on the part of the lawmakers and the owners of industries. Legislatures and city councils do not readily pass laws for the general social welfare, least of all laws which would diminish business profits. Consequently, the laws regarding sanitation and housing have not adequately protected the people in the poorer districts of cities, and the health of these people has suffered.

Industry has demanded of both men and women such long hours of exhausting labor that they have had neither time nor energy for family needs and obligations. Gradually public opinion is becoming more concerned with social welfare. There is a growing demand that human values receive at least as much attention as economic profits.

Laws regulating working conditions and hours for women and prohibiting child labor, and new housing codes to prevent crowding and insure proper sanitary provisions, are part of a general welfare program which has been adopted by many cities.

9. Care and Training of Children.—One of the major functions of the family is the care and training of children. Normal parents have always wished to bring up their children to be fine men and women, but, in spite of good intentions, many parents were ill-equipped for the task. Formerly it was assumed that simply because they had children, parents would know how to care for them and train them. Modern parents take a more scientific view of their responsibilities. They realize that they must learn from doctors and psychologists how to provide for the physical and mental welfare of their children.

Able men and women are devoting their energies to the study of the problems of the mental and physical development of children, and are publishing their findings. Books with useful information on child guidance are now available, and parents need no longer depend upon "instinct"—which usually is blind—to know how to manage an unruly child.

By taking thought and acquiring information, parents can train themselves to understand the problems of adjusting their children to the complexities of modern life. Many cities have child-guidance clinics, where competent psychologists and psychiatrists assist parents and children in making adjustments to the new social order and to the changing demands of social life.

10. Family Courts.—There is a growing tendency to deal with the legal problems of the family in one court, rather than in several, as has been the custom heretofore. These family courts, or courts of domestic relations, employ trained psychiatrists to discover, and to help remove, the difficulties of family life. Frequently husbands and wives who seemed destined for the divorce court are reconciled and sent home with a new understanding of the problems confronting them. Juvenile behavior problems are more easily explained and understood when the judge and his assistants know the environment of the child. A knowledge of the family history often makes it possible to discover the individual's difficulty.

11. Divorce.—The prevalence of divorce indicates that all is not well with the institution of marriage. Divorce becomes more prevalent each year, and since the broken home frequently affects children, divorce constitutes a major social problem.

At the present time each state has its own divorce laws and, among the states, the divorce laws vary greatly, from South Carolina, which grants no divorces, to certain western

states in which divorces are granted on comparatively slight grounds. Recently there has been considerable agitation for a federal divorce law.

Many reformers feel that a proper national law would help stem the tide of divorce, which in 1929 had reached the startling frequency of one to every 6.1 marriages in the United States. Others feel, however, that the regulation of divorce should be left to the several states. Whether there should be a federal divorce law, and, if so, whether it should be as strict as that of South Carolina, or as lax as that of Nevada, or take some middle ground, are debated points. The divorce rate has gradually risen from 5.5 per one hundred marriages, in 1887, to 16.3, in 1929, and 17 in 1930—a 300 per cent increase in rate in a period of forty-five years.

Divorce becomes an increasingly troublesome problem of modern life, and it is now considered a major social problem. In the study of divorce, attention is turning from statistics regarding its prevalence and spread, to a more scientific study of the personal relations within the family and the economic forces which influence the home and help or hinder family life. A study of homes in which there are happy relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, may produce results more useful in dealing with the problems involved than has the older method of studying unsuccessful marriages. The average person needs, perhaps above all else, a better understanding of the biology, psychology, and economics of everyday life.

A changing attitude towards alimony is indicated by the tone of those who discuss the topic in current periodicals. Most people recognize the justice of awarding alimony to the mother of small children, and to the divorced woman who, because of age or illness, would be unable to earn a living; but in many quarters there is a growing conviction

that alimony should not be given to vigorous, childless women and that such women owe it to their self-respect to waive alimony. Perhaps the present indiscriminate awarding of alimony is partly responsible for the high rate of divorce.

12. Marriage Laws.—Perhaps the marriage laws rather than the divorce laws should be changed. Marriage laws vary almost as much from state to state as do divorce laws. In 1930 twenty-four states recognized the legality of common-law marriage, which is merely the public recognition by a man and a woman that they are living together as husband and wife. Such marriages do not protect the parties themselves nor their children. In England they have been forbidden by law during the last one hundred and fifty years. The common-law marriage age is fourteen for males and twelve for females; though where the age is specified by statute, it is, as a rule, a few years higher, usually eighteen for males, and sixteen for females.

In many states efforts are being made to secure marriage laws which will prohibit common-law marriage, require the celebration of marriage before a responsible person, provide for a waiting period between the application for and the issuance of a marriage license, publication of such application, central registration of marriage, and other measures designed to safeguard the contracting parties and society. Many states now have a waiting period of five days between application for a marriage license and the granting of the license.

If marriages were entered into only after mature reflection, fewer would end in the divorce court. Hence, better marriage laws seem even more desirable than better divorce laws.

13. Passing of the Family Discipline of Thrift.—In matters which concern the relation of the individual to the

world in which he lives, during the last fifty years there have been a change in emphasis and a new evaluation of behavior. The thrift and frugality of a passing generation, which counted it the greatest virtue to own land and securities, have given way to a feeling that life should be lived in the present, and that a family holds its social position through what it spends and uses, rather than through its bank deposits. In many communities, owning the best car in the block establishes one's prestige, and real-estate agents boost their section as "a two-garage neighborhood." This attitude of spending for show and enjoying the pleasures of the moment contrasts with the principle of the old New England family aptly described by a contemporary novelist. Some of the members of this family clung to their long-established tradition that one should live on the income of one's income, and they endeavored to adhere to this ideal even though they had to go shabby and practice much self-denial.

It is difficult to ascertain to what extent this change in attitude toward saving is due to advertising and high-powered salesmanship, how much it is due to a shift in interest from treasures laid up for the hereafter to the goods of the here and now, and how far it is attributable to more subtle psychological changes consequent upon the destruction of old values during the World War.

In any event, the passing of the old frontier discipline of thrift has had an important influence on family life. The recklessness and extravagance of modern youths seeking to live in the present and to enjoy life while they can, will no longer endure the restraints formerly imposed by family discipline.

14. New Scientific Attitude toward Child Life and Child Problems.—The physical and mental development of children is a matter of increasing research and investigation.

Childhood is no longer considered only a period of preparation for adulthood, but is recognized as itself an important part of life.

The behavior of children, their physical and mental reactions to various kinds of treatment, the benefits of group associations for children below school age, and many more problems concerning children are being studied by trained observers in the institutes for the study of child life which have recently been established in many parts of the country. These institutes devise and pass on to parents better methods for understanding and dealing with children.

Kindergartens and nursery schools undertake the training of children long before they reach the usual school age of six years. Child-guidance clinics assist in unraveling the difficulties of the unruly or problem child.

The American Child Health Association and the National Child Welfare Association seek to promote the health and general welfare of children. The National Child Labor Committee strives to improve child-labor legislation, and has long worked for the passage and acceptance by the states of the proposed child-labor amendment to the national constitution.

Students of social relations agree that the institution of the family is in a precarious condition; it has been affected more than most institutions by the changes in other phases of social life. Social agencies provide for those who suffer from the breaking up of homes, particularly the children of unhappy marriages. Family welfare work, consisting of financial aid and sympathetic advice, constitutes a large part of the social service enterprises of most cities.

15. Care of the Aged Members of the Family.—The problems of old age, as well as those of childhood and adulthood, appear under new aspects in the light of modern science and economic conditions. Present-day industry

has no place for the old man, and the shortening of his earning period makes it more difficult for him to provide for old age.

The American Association for Old Age Security seeks "the establishment of adequate protection for the dependent aged either by means of state or Federal old age pensions or by contributory insurance plans." Twenty-four states (1933) have passed laws either permitting or requiring the counties to pay old-age pensions to aged indigent citizens. The age of eligibility for these pensions varies in different states from sixty to seventy-five years, and the amount of the pension is usually about a dollar a day. All laws require of beneficiaries a minimum length of residence within the state.

China, India, and the United States are the only populous countries which do not have a national program for the care of their aged. The amount of editorial and press comment on the present state of affairs, the increasing number of state legislatures in which old-age pension bills have recently been passed or introduced, and the activities of many prominent citizens, indicate an aroused public interest in these problems, and may eventually result in widespread, adequate provisions for old-age security.

16. Insurance for the Economic Security of Family Life.—The unprecedented increase in the amount of life insurance carried in the United States is an indication of the growing interest of the individual in the welfare of his dependents.

Middle-class people now consider it scarcely respectable to carry no insurance, whereas a few years ago insurance was the exception rather than the rule. The tendency to carry insurance may be at least partly accounted for by the development of new insurance plans and the increasing number of risks which are covered. Life insurance payable to the heirs of the insured after his death was once the

almost universal form. In addition to this, there are now sickness and disability insurance, endowments and annuities, by which the insured may provide for old age; plans which provide for the education of surviving minor children; and other plans which cover many other contingencies.

Life insurance has become one of the major businesses of the United States. During the year 1928–1929 the increase in life-insurance assets was $1,339,000,000, and on June 1, 1929, the admitted insurance assets totaled $16,947,000,000. In 1930 the people of this country were paying premiums on more than a hundred billion dollars' worth of life insurance, a sum which is about one-third of the total national wealth.

SUMMARY

The family, as has been said, is an ancient and widespread institution. It has developed out of the vital need for the intimate comradeship and affectionate contacts of husband, wife, and children. Marriage customs and family organization have differed greatly from time to time and from group to group. Wide diversity of ideas concerning marriage and family prevail among various peoples, and each group regards its own customs as the only correct ones. A knowledge of this diversity should help us to realize that, in our own group, marriage and the family have changed with changes in other phases of the culture, and will change further. The character of family life must change with a changing age.

In former years the family produced most of the things which it consumed, and performed an important economic function. In present-day industrialism, household articles are produced outside of the home, and the home has become a center of consumption rather than a center of production. The home formerly served also as the center of religious training, education, and social activities.

The church, the school, and the various community recreation centers have assumed these responsibilities, and they have removed from the home many of the functions formerly performed there.

There remains, then, slight basis for family stability except affection and the need for intimate human contacts. This need is as old as the race and as human nature. It provides a more permanent basis for a satisfying family life than was supplied by any previous function of the family.

The present age recognizes affection as the indispensable foundation for successful marriage and happy family life. In no other association can one find the sympathetic fellowship and the richness of experience which are the fruits of the intimate contacts of a normal home.

Questions

1. Is it inevitable that machine industry should affect the position of women in the home? Why, or why not?
2. What have been some effects of woman suffrage upon the position of women?
3. What are some of the circumstances which help to produce the unadjusted child?
4. How does education, at the present day, affect family life?
5. How do community activities or facilities affect family life?
6. How has the automobile affected the home?
7. Has the average age of marriage changed in the last hundred years? What are some of the reasons?
8. What is meant by the differential birth rate, and what is its relation to the professional or the economic status of parent or parents?
9. What is the relation between the broken home and juvenile delinquency?
10. What are the main causes of divorce? Are the reasons given by the parties necessarily the complete or the real reasons?
11. What is the relation between proper housing and proper family life?

Exercises

1. What kind of family life existed among the American Indians?
2. Give an account of the family in one of the following civilizations: China; Persia; Greece; Rome; Hebrews; early Germanic peoples.

3. Make a list of activities which are carried on in the home at the present day, and a list of activities carried on there in Colonial days.

4. How does the divorce rate differ in various sections of the United States, and what is the rate in your own state?

5. What changes in divorce rate have there been in your own state during the past three decades? How can you account for the change?

6. Give the divorce rates in the respective European countries, and compare these rates with the rate in the United States.

7. How much has divorce in the United States increased in the last decade? What are some of the reasons for the increase?

8. What is the average size of family in the United States? How does this compare with the size of the family a century ago?

9. In what industries are the largest number of women employed? What reasons can you suggest?

Vocabulary Test

deferential	patriarchate	polygamy
indigent	patriliny	polygyny
matriarchate	prestige	psychiatrist
matriliny	polyandry	research

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generation, than it is in the cultures which have no written records.

Gradually the task of giving the child a formal education has been intrusted to teachers, trained persons who function in a system organized especially for this purpose. The system of American free public schools has developed over a long period of time, and though there are many private schools in this country, most of the children are educated in the public schools.

4. Education an Early American Tradition.—Education has long been a tradition in America, though the early schools bore little resemblance to the well-organized ones of today. The early English colonists brought with them a respect for learning and a tradition of schools, though in the mother country learning was not available to the masses.

Of the English colonists who settled in America, the Puritans had the most sincere interest in education and contributed most towards its development in the United States. They believed that everyone should be able to read the Bible, and hence they wished to educate their children.

At first the teaching was done in the homes, but later the town governments of the little religious communities established schools. The town schools were supported in various ways: by tuition fees, by income from town lands or from fisheries set aside for the purpose, by contributions, or by some other convenient plan. The schools were not tax-supported in the sense that ours are, though they were established and supported by the town government.

In 1642 and 1647 the Massachusetts colonial legislature passed two famous educational laws. The law of 1642 ordered that "chosen men" of each town should see that the education and training of children were not neglected, and it imposed fines upon negligent parents and masters.

The law of 1647 required that every town, upon attaining the size of fifty families, should establish a school. When the town grew to one hundred families it must establish a grammar school. The schools might be supported in accordance with any plan the town desired.

These laws are the foundation of the school system of the United States. "The law of 1642 is remarkable in that, for the first time in the English-speaking world, a legislative body representing the State ordered that all children should be taught to read."[1]

Puritan ideas of education were fundamentally different from those prevalent in the Anglican colonies, that is, in the colonies in which the Church of England was the established church. The colonial Anglicans, like those in the mother country, felt that education was not a function of government, but should be provided by private institutions or church schools. The schools charged tuition and were not supported by the government. Free schools supported by charity were for paupers only. This situation created in the South a prejudice against public schools which survived for a long time, and retarded the development of the public-school system in that section of the country.

In addition to the town-school system of the Puritans, and the private-school tradition of the Anglican colonies, there were the parochial schools of the Dutch, Quakers, Baptists, Catholics, and other religious sects. This type of school was most prevalent in Pennsylvania and Maryland. It was based on the conviction that all educational affairs should be controlled by the Church and directed for its benefit.

Thus colonial education was based on three widely varying ideals. Gradually the New England Puritan

[1] CUBBERLEY, ELLWOOD P., *The History of Education*, p. 364, Houghton Mifflin, 1920.

concept dominated the country, and the early education laws of Massachusetts proved to be one of the greatest contributions of that state to the nation.

5. Early Schoolhouses and Methods of Instruction.—The earliest schools were housed in rude log cabins, with benches for seats, and with a rough board desk built around the walls. The children sat facing the wall, their backs to the center of the room. Greased paper was used for window glass, and the lighting was poor. There were no maps, charts, blackboards, slates, pencils, or steel pens. Quill pens were made by the teachers and the ink was homemade.

The textbooks had a religious tinge. The *Hornbook*, the *New England Primer*, the Psalter, and the Bible, were used as textbooks. Not until about the time of the Revolution were secular textbooks used.

The *New England Primer* "taught millions to read and not one to sin." It abounded with moral precepts and taught the alphabet by means of rhymed couplets:

In Adam's Fall
We sinned all.

Heaven to find
The Bible mind.

And so on to the end:

Zaccheus he
Did climb a Tree
Our Lord to see.

The discipline was severe; close to the master's chair were bundles of switches. In the yards of some schools were whipping posts.

Instruction was by individual recitation. There were no classes and each pupil recited separately. After some years the instruction lost much of its religious flavor, and

pupils were taught mainly the three R's—Readin', 'Ritin', and 'Rithmetic.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the religious interest which had dominated early America was on the wane. In New England there arose town schools with a

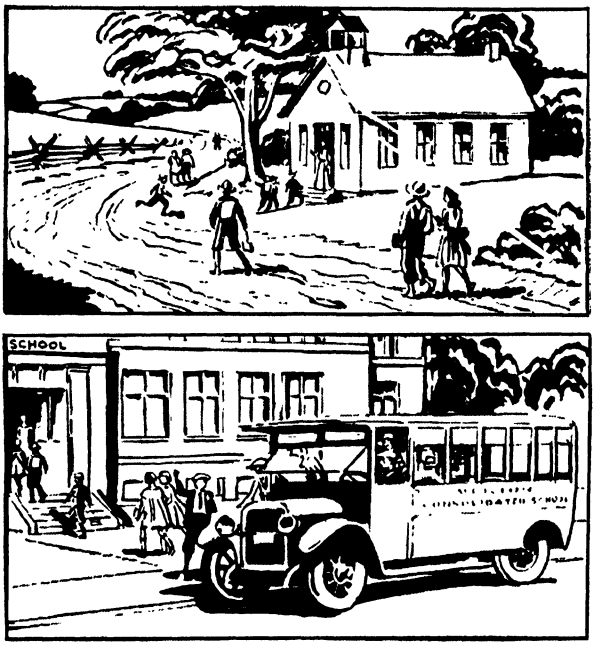


FIG. 18.—Rural education yesterday and today.

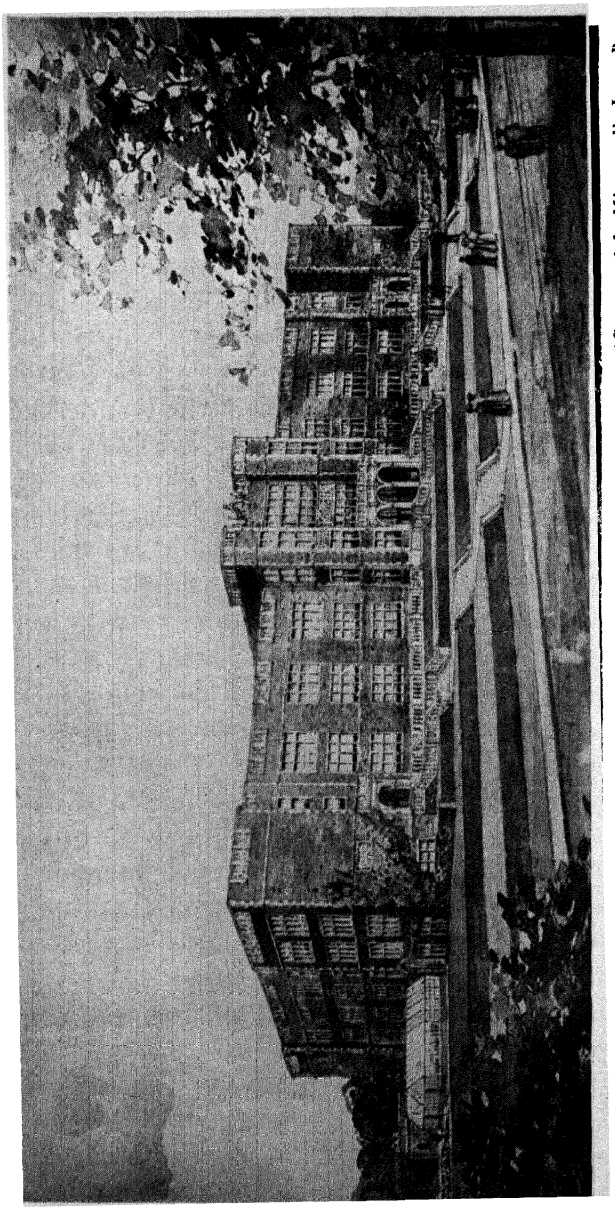
(Contrast the "little red school house" of a generation ago with the consolidated rural school of today made possible by the automobile and good roads.)

secular curriculum, in the Middle Atlantic States parochial schools declined, and in the South the feeble attempts to establish public charity schools were fruitless. Education was further disrupted by the War for Independence, and not until after the War of 1812 were there sufficient energy, money, and liberality to develop a free, democratic system of education.

6. Development of Public Schools.—During the first half of the nineteenth century there were many changes in education. The ideal of church-controlled schools gave way to that of an educational system controlled and supported by state or local government. The forces which fostered this change in ideals were, in the main, the rise of manufacturing, the growth of cities, the extension of suffrage, and the new class demands for schools. Thus the old school system supported by the church, charity, or private tuition, broke down under the strain of the increasing numbers of the urban population; universal male suffrage presupposed a more enlightened and educated electorate; and the labor unions which were being organized demanded equal opportunity for all classes. In 1830, a workingmen's meeting in Philadelphia passed unanimously a resolution which declared that "there can be no real liberty without a wide diffusion of real intelligence."

The Northwest Ordinance, adopted in 1787, provided that in the territories then under control of the colonies one section in every township should be reserved for the support of public education. This provision remained the policy of the national government with regard to all new territories. Before 1825, however, tax-supported, publicly controlled and directed schools seemed to educational reformers a distant hope; by 1850, they were, in most of the northern states, an accomplished fact. The acquisition of them was a hard battle, fought with a bitterness exceeded only in the disputes over slavery. The success of the plan was due largely to the efforts of Horace Mann, the first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, who gave most of his life to the cause of free general education.

At first the gap between the primary school and the college was bridged by the private academy, an institution



(*Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal*)

FIG. 19.—A modern high school.

(What are some of the attractive and efficient features of this building?)

which survives in greater numbers in the East than elsewhere in this country. The first public high school was established in Boston in 1821, but not until the latter part of the nineteenth century was the high school generally accepted as an integral part of the public-school system.

7. Higher Education.—The cause of higher education in the New World was advanced by the early establishment of Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale. At the time of the Revolution there were nine colleges in the colonies. They were small and bore little resemblance to the universities of today. During the first fifty years of Harvard's history its president did all the teaching. After 1800 the churches made heroic efforts to secure in higher education the control they were losing in the lower schools, and many denominational colleges were founded.

The growing national consciousness and the democratic spirit gave rise to a demand for institutions of higher learning which would be as free to all citizens as were the public schools. The answer to this demand was the state university. The Universities of Virginia and of North Carolina are among the oldest of the state universities. At the present time practically all of the newer states in the West and the South provide in their constitutions for the establishment of universities. These universities charge only a small tuition to citizens of the state. The relatively low cost of education in a state-supported school is partly responsible for the great increase in the numbers enrolled in institutions of higher learning.

8. Recent Reorganization of the Public-school System.—The elementary and grammar schools, the high schools, and, later, the state universities, were long the standard divisions of the public-school system. Recently there has been a tendency toward further subdivision. Even before the beginning of the present century, the old divisions were

regarded as unsatisfactory. The elementary and grammar school instruction extended over eight years; it included few subjects, and was inadequate even in these. The methods of teaching were those of the primary school. The break between these grammar schools and the high schools was abrupt, and the transition was difficult.

Dissatisfaction with these shortcomings resulted in a complete reorganization. The work that formerly required eight years was compressed into six, new subjects and methods were introduced, and the seventh and eighth grades were departmentalized. Many communities established junior high schools, which ordinarily included the work of the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. This reorganization has become widespread, and the junior high school movement gains ground steadily.

California has been a leader in the establishment of the junior college as well as the junior high school. After the junior college was established, about the beginning of the present century, its growth was rapid. Most public junior colleges are associated with the local high schools, and offer the first two years of college work. This work, like that given in high schools, must maintain certain standards in order to meet the requirements of the state university. The junior colleges, located at various population centers in the state, have developed in response to the demand that facilities for higher education be made more accessible to all citizens. They provide an opportunity for students to do, in their home communities, the work of the first two years of college, and they relieve the state universities from some of the pressure resulting from increasing enrollment.

The colleges and universities recognize the break between the first and last two years of college work by organizing junior and senior colleges, sometimes called lower and upper divisions. Several of the large universities are planning to

limit their work in the future to upper division and graduate work, and to require for admission completion of the work of the first two years of college.

9. Increasing Enrollment.—The major problems of all educational institutions during the last ten years have been occasioned by the demands of increased enrollment. Twenty years ago one-twelfth of the boys between fifteen and nineteen years of age entered high school; today one boy in five enters. Twenty years ago one person in three hundred went to college; today the proportion is about one in one hundred—almost three times the former proportion,

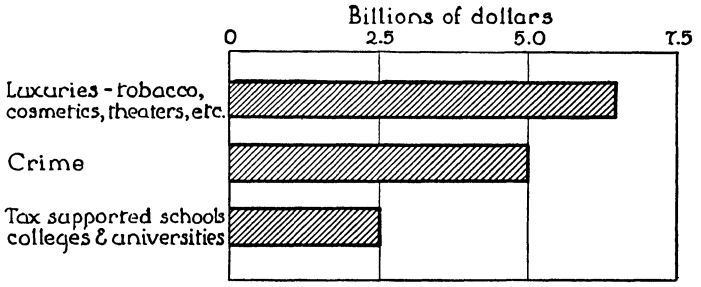


FIG. 20.—The relative costs of luxuries, crime, and tax-supported education. (Is modern education too expensive?)

and much more than three times the absolute number of twenty years ago, for the population of the country is now much larger.

Professional schools and private institutions have met the problem of overcrowding by limiting the number of students and by requiring a higher scholastic standard for admission; but these restrictions are usually considered impracticable in state universities supported by taxation.

10. Illiteracy.—We have long been proud of the American system of compulsory education, and have considered ourselves a nation of educated people. However, literacy

ILLITERACY IN THE POPULATION 10 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY

Division and state	All classes				Native white			
	Total number, 1930	Illiterate			Total number, 1930	Illiterate		
		Number, 1930	Per cent			Number, 1930	Per cent	
			1930	1920			1930	1920
United States	98,723,047	4,283,753	4 3	6 0	74,763,739	1,103,134	1 5	2 0
Geographic Divisions:								
New England	6,707,717	245,270	3 7	4 9	4,814,065	30,129	0 6	0 7
Middle Atlantic	21,575,741	757,228	3 5	4 9	15,471,303	82,743	0 5	0 6
East North Central	20,674,201	442,064	2 1	2 9	16,650,800	110,284	0 7	0 9
West North Central	10,764,533	156,068	1 4	2 0	9,366,493	68,838	0 7	0 9
South Atlantic	12,171,945	1,012,523	8 3	11 5	8,490,350	314,583	3 7	5 1
East South Central	7,560,382	727,861	9 6	12 7	5,446,908	270,130	5 0	6 4
West South Central	9,436,457	675,791	7 2	10 0	6,926,967	182,467	2 6	4 1
Mountain	2,909,644	120,866	4 2	5 2	2,339,778	29,046	1 2	2 0
Pacific	6,922,427	146,082	2 1	2 7	5,257,075	14,914	0 3	0 4
New England:								
Maine	642,659	17,172	2 7	3 3	542,580	8,617	1 6	1 6
New Hampshire	382,400	10,231	2 7	4 4	300,081	2,366	0 8	0 7
Vermont	291,614	6,299	2 2	3 0	249,411	3,261	1.3	1 5
Massachusetts	3,509,317	124,158	3 5	4 7	2,420,404	9,652	0.4	0 4
Rhode Island	560,253	27,536	4 9	6 5	382,967	2,732	0 7	0 7
Connecticut	1,321,474	59,874	4 5	6 2	918,622	3,501	0 4	0 4
Middle Atlantic:								
New York	10,513,933	388,883	3 7	5 1	6,994,486	34,654	0.5	0 5
New Jersey	3,330,748	128,022	3 8	5 1	2,324,952	11,572	0 5	0 6
Pennsylvania	7,731,060	240,323	3 1	4 6	6,151,865	36,517	0.6	0 8
East North Central:								
Ohio	5,434,261	123,804	2 3	2 8	4,539,298	32,387	0.7	0 9
Indiana	2,638,556	43,721	1 7	2 2	2,403,567	22,510	0 9	1 3
Illinois	6,333,046	153,507	2 4	3 4	4,821,548	28,284	0 6	0 8
Michigan	3,891,914	76,800	2 0	3 0	2,912,930	14,790	0 5	0.7
Wisconsin	2,376,424	44 232	1 9	2 4	1,973,457	12,313	0 6	0 7
West North Central:								
Minnesota	2,076,201	26,302	1.3	1 8	1,670,383	7,244	0 4	0 4
Iowa	2,007,699	15,879	0 8	1 1	1,824,775	8,177	0.4	0 5
Missouri	2,984,368	67,905	2 3	3 0	2,642,357	39,252	1.5	2 0
North Dakota	527,000	7,814	1 5	2.1	415,485	1,763	0.4	0.4
South Dakota	543,564	6,763	1 2	1.7	461,086	1,639	0.4	0.4
Nebraska	1,106,139	12,725	1 2	1.4	972,413	3,762	0.4	0.4
Kansas	1,519,562	18,680	1.2	1 6	1,379,994	7,001	0.5	0 6

COLOR AND NATIVITY, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1930 AND 1920

Foreign-born white				Negro				Other races, 1930	
	Illiterate				Illiterate				
Total number, 1930	Number, 1930	Per cent		Total number, 1930	Number, 1930	Per cent		Total number	Number illiterate
		1930	1920			1930	1920		
13,216,928	1,304,084	9 9	13 1	9,292,556	1,513,892	16 3	22 9	1,449,824	362,642
1,811,951	210,046	11 6	14 0	75,719	4,187	5 5	7 1	5,982	908
5,206,049	636,479	12 2	15 7	867,875	32,223	3 7	5 0	30,514	5,783
3,183,971	281,645	8 8	10 8	771,626	36,454	4 7	7 3	67,804	13,681
1,054,651	51,982	4 9	6 4	278,865	21,170	7 6	10 5	64,524	14,078
301,423	31,328	10 4	12 8	3,363,864	662,055	19 7	25 2	16,308	4,557
57,287	4,238	7 4	9 1	2,052,951	452,082	22 0	27 9	3,236	1,411
169,236	15,958	9 4	29 9	1,777,935	302,280	17 0	25 3	562,319	175,086
285,935	15,962	5 6	12 7	25,992	1,070	4 1	5 3	257,939	74,788
1,146,425	56,446	4 9	8 6	77,729	2,371	3 1	4 6	441,198	72,351
98,310	8,393	8 5	11 1	900	43	4 8	5 9	869	119
81,496	7,820	9 6	15 4	697	27	3 9	6 7	126	18
41,695	3,005	7 2	11 3	445	22	4 9	6 2	63	11
1,042,889	111,568	10 7	12 8	42,356	2,303	5 4	6 8	3,668	635
168,975	24,124	14 3	16 5	7,836	635	8 1	10 2	475	45
378,586	55,136	14 6	17 0	23,485	1,157	4 9	6 2	781	80
3,150,593	341,345	10 8	14 2	347,381	8,604	2 5	2 9	21,473	4,280
833,727	107,192	12 9	15 3	169,214	8,711	5 1	6 1	2,855	547
1,221,729	187,942	15 4	18 9	351,280	14,908	4 2	6 1	6,186	956
637,535	74,131	11 6	12 6	252,500	16,213	6 4	8 1	4,928	1,073
133,889	13,536	10 1	11 8	92,873	5,605	6 0	9 5	8,227	2,070
1,206,896	108,984	9 0	11 0	277,834	10,044	3 6	6 7	26,768	6,195
822,302	55,034	6 7	9 9	139,490	4,201	3 0	4 2	17,192	2,775
383,349	29,960	7 8	8 4	8,929	391	4 4	4 1	10,689	1,568
386,654	16,759	4 3	5 4	8,155	160	2 0	3 1	11,009	2,139
165,045	5,932	3 6	4 9	14,426	777	5 4	8 1	3,453	993
148,460	11,183	7 5	9 6	188,664	16,532	8 8	12 1	4,887	938
104,703	4,649	4 4	5 6	326	11	3 4	4 0	6,486	1,391
65,422	2,422	3 7	4 7	546	12	2 2	5 2	16,510	2,690
114,896	6,924	6 0	6 4	11,605	450	3 9	4 8	7,225	1,589
69,471	4,113	5 9	10 5	55,143	3,228	5 9	8 8	14,954	4,338

Illiteracy in the Population 10 Years Old and Over, by Color

Division and state	All classes				Native white			
	Total number, 1930	Illiterate			Total number, 1930	Illiterate		
		Number, 1930	Per cent			Number, 1930	Per cent	
			1930	1920			1930	1920
South Atlantic:								
Delaware	196,776	7,805	4 0	5 9	153,371	1,896	1 2	1 8
Maryland	1,324,241	49,910	3 8	5 6	1,009,197	13,202	1 3	1.8
District Columbia	418,941	6,611	1 6	2.8	277,294	533	0 2	0 3
Virginia	1,872,838	162,588	8 7	11 2	1,353,796	65,482	4 8	5 9
West Virginia	1,301,752	62,492	4 8	6 4	1,160,527	42,476	3 7	4 6
North Carolina	2,352,014	236,261	10 0	13 1	1,658,252	93,372	5 6	8 2
South Carolina	1,292,939	192,878	14 9	18 1	705,871	36,246	5 1	6 5
Georgia	2,238,192	210,736	9 4	15 3	1,402,949	46,898	3 3	5 4
Florida	1,174,252	83,242	7.1	9.6	769,093	14,478	1 9	2.9
East South Central:								
Kentucky	2,005,492	131,545	6 6	8 4	1,797,995	101,695	5.7	7 0
Tennessee	2,028,109	145,460	7 2	10 3	1,631,956	87,406	5 4	7 3
Alabama	2,000,653	251,095	12 6	16 1	1,265,278	60,959	4 8	6 3
Mississippi	1,526,128	199,761	13 1	17 2	751,679	20,070	2.7	3.6
West South Central:								
Arkansas	1,419,945	96,818	6 8	9 4	1,035,721	35,890	3.5	4 5
Louisiana	1,622,868	219,750	13 5	21 9	984,790	71,903	7 3	10 5
Oklahoma	1,845,657	51,102	2 8	3 8	1,613,041	27,796	1.7	2.3
Texas	4,547 987	308,121	6.8	8 3	3,293,415	46,878	1.4	3.0
Mountain:								
Montana	434,351	7,303	1.7	2 3	346,964	932	0 3	0 3
Idaho	349,148	3,743	1 1	1 5	313,212	1,151	0 4	0.3
Wyoming	178,973	2,895	1 6	2.1	150,947	381	0 3	0 3
Colorado	835,341	23,141	2 8	3 2	697,678	5,807	0 8	1 4
New Mexico	314,370	41,845	13 3	15 6	242,635	18,733	7 7	11 6
Arizona	335,029	33,969	10 1	15 3	197,857	960	0 5	2 1
Utah	386,347	4,640	1 2	1 9	334,279	952	0 3	0.3
Nevada	76,085	3,330	4 4	5 9	56,206	130	0 2	0 4
Pacific:								
Washington	1,312,529	13,458	1 0	1 7	1,039,129	3,031	0 3	0 3
Oregon	803,408	7,814	1 0	1 5	685,894	2,043	0 3	0 4
California	4,806,490	124,810	2.6	3.3	3,532,052	9,840	0 3	0.4

AND NATIVITY, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1930 AND 1920.—(*Continued*)

Foreign-born white				Negro				Other races, 1930	
	Illiterate				Illiterate				
Total number, 1930	Number, 1930	Per cent		Total number, 1930	Number, 1930	Per cent		Total number	Number illiterate
		1930	1920			1930	1920		
16,761	2,392	14 3	17 3	26,567	3,496	13 2	19 1	77	21
94,392	11,539	12.2	13 4	219,809	25,073	11 4	18 2	843	96
29,659	1,411	4 8	6 1	111,224	4,591	4 1	8 6	764	76
23,617	1,738	7 4	7 1	494,429	95,148	19 2	23 5	996	220
51,007	9,788	19.2	24 0	89,921	10,173	11 3	15 3	297	55
8,663	450	5 2	6 8	673,809	139,105	20 6	24 5	11,290	3,334
5,239	297	5 7	6 2	581,085	156,065	26 9	29 3	744	270
13,822	554	4 0	5 4	821,083	163,237	19 9	29 1	338	47
58,263	3,159	5 4	6 3	345,937	65,167	18 8	21 5	959	438
21,722	1,267	5 8	7 3	185,629	28,553	15 4	21 0	146	30
12,945	754	5 8	8 3	382,974	57,251	14 9	22.4	234	49
15,615	1,335	8 5	10 9	719,290	188,673	26 2	31 3	470	128
7,005	882	12 6	13 3	765,058	177,605	23 2	29 3	2,386	1,204
10,118	666	6 6	8 3	373,273	60,102	16 1	21 8	833	160
34,712	6,677	19 2	21 9	598,258	139,393	23 3	38 5	5,108	1,777
26,642	1,479	5 6	14 0	135,069	12,560	9 3	12 4	70,905	9,267
97,764	7,136	7 3	33.8	671,335	90,225	13 4	17.8	485,473	163,882
72,405	3,085	4 3	5 6	1,128	52	4 6	6 0	13,854	3,234
30,188	1,198	4 0	6 5	599	25	4 2	5 4	5,149	1,369
19,536	811	4 2	9 0	1,118	47	4 2	5 3	7,372	1,656
85,092	7,331	8 6	12 4	10 280	403	3 9	6 2	42 291	9,600
7,755	530	6 8	27 1	2,328	140	6 0	4 3	61,652	22,442
15,410	551	3 6	27 5	9,125	366	4 0	4 6	112,637	32,092
43,348	1,547	3 6	6 3	942	30	3 2	4 6	7,778	2,111
12,201	909	7 5	8.5	472	7	1 5	5 1	7,206	2,284
240,846	7,103	2 9	4 7	5,992	174	2.9	4 0	26,562	3,150
104,276	3 743	3 6	5 1	2,000	49	2.5	4.7	11,238	1,979
801,303	45,600	5.7	10.5	69,737	2,148	3.1	4.7	403,398	67,222

tests of the drafted men in the World War shattered this illusion, for they showed a high proportion of illiteracy.

Illiteracy is defined by the Census Bureau as the inability to write in any language, regardless of the ability to read. The percentage of illiteracy of those over ten years of age in the United States decreased from 10.7 in 1900 to 7.7 in 1910, to 6.0 in 1920, and to 4.3 in 1930. Since 1870, when 20 per cent of the population was illiterate, illiteracy has decreased at an average rate of about 2.8 per cent each decade.

Although the decrease is encouraging, there are still in this country more than four and a quarter million illiterates over ten years of age. The percentage of illiteracy in certain groups is much higher than that for the total population. In 1920, the highest rate, 22.9 per cent, was among the Negroes; among the foreign-born whites, who had the next highest percentage, the rate was 13.1 per cent. The percentage varies considerably, also, in different sections of the country. In 1930 the amount of illiteracy in the various states ranged from a minimum of 0.8 per cent, in Iowa, to 14.9 per cent, in South Carolina.

It is ordinarily assumed that all children of school age are attending school; yet in 1920 only 64.3 per cent of the children from five to twenty years of age were enrolled in schools, and in 1930, 69.9 per cent. This does not tell the whole story. The length of the school year varies in different localities; in some southern states it is only 132 days for white children, and still less for Negroes. Obviously, the educational opportunities in these sections are limited and inadequate. Under these conditions a high rate of illiteracy is inevitable.

11. Adult and Vocational Education.—When describing educational movements it is customary to speak only of the primary and secondary school systems and the institutions

for higher education. Other recent movements, however, imply that education is a lifelong process, and that adults, as well as children, need and deserve educational facilities. University extension courses, labor colleges, the educational work of clubs and associations, lectures in museums and libraries are some of the facilities at the command of the adult who realizes that to learn is to continue to live intellectually and to have finished learning is to be intellectually stagnant. The large number of adults who avail themselves of such educational privileges proves the value of these movements. The recent vogue of books which popularize various fields of human thought and knowledge, and in simple language present to the masses contemporary scientific achievements, reflects the extensive interest in these subjects. Moreover, such books stimulate further interest. Adult education is, indeed, an important part of the educational system.

Vocational education and civilian vocational rehabilitation have received a great impetus from the federal aid supplied to the states "for the promotion of vocational education in agricultural, industrial, commercial, and home economics pursuits, and for the training of vocational teachers in these fields."[1] Vocational training is open to young and old alike. Rehabilitation courses train for new fields of usefulness the victims of industrial accidents and of technological unemployment who are unable to pursue their former trades.

12. Signs of Present Dissatisfaction.—As has been seen, the tradition of education in America is as old as American history and has its roots in those societies across the sea from which the more adventurous spirits came to this land. It has been strengthened and developed until, today, the educational system covers the entire country and has ramifications in fields long considered beyond its

[1] *Federal Board for Vocational Education Year Book*, 1923, p. 3.

province. But the very size and extent of the system have served in many ways to crystallize the educational process into a meaningless form, and sometimes the adaptability of a moving, developing, inspiring force has been lost. There are evidences of dissatisfaction with the prevailing system; magazines contain articles on various phases of educational problems; student conferences discuss education and the value of method and content; and experimenters attempt to inject new life into the system.

The early colleges emphasized the classics and offered only prescribed courses. Then came the elective system. Under this system, in its extreme form, a student is able, by electing a number of unrelated courses, to pile up enough credits for graduation without acquiring a comprehensive knowledge of any one subject. Reaction against the system is inevitable, and is evidenced in various educational experiments which are attempting to work out a method of education that will give the student an understanding of the world about him, and will prepare him to meet the problems of life.

Among these experiments are the correlated curricula introduced in a few small colleges, and the new plan of comprehensive examinations introduced at the University of Chicago in 1931.

The theory of political equality, carried into the educational system, has been responsible for the fallacy that all persons are equally endowed mentally. The attempt to treat alike the brilliant and the dull student has had unfortunate results for both.

Modern education, from the kindergarten to the graduate school, recognizes the existence of individual differences in mental attainments, and tries to provide for both the highly endowed and the less fortunate. Training for leadership, and special attention to outstanding students,

characterize modern developments in educational practice.

In the educational world of today there are many evidences of unrest. Discontent was intensified by the standardization of educational processes, and by the stress of the overwhelming numbers of students who entered the colleges in the decade following the World War.

13. Current Trends in Education.—Much has been written in criticism of "mass production" in education, and many institutions of learning are experimenting with new methods of revised curricula. The University of Wisconsin introduced the Experimental College, and Antioch College developed the Antioch Plan of cooperative education, that is, alternate terms of education and employment. Many universities established orientation courses to acquaint the student with various phases of the world in which he lives, some colleges have adopted the tutorial system, and some have introduced honor courses for the abler students.

These movements indicate a new trend in American education, and a recognition of the fact that inequalities of mental endowment must be met by a differential treatment of the highly endowed students and those of low mental ability.

The establishment of labor colleges and summer schools for industrial workers, and the movements in adult education are phases of the tendency to emphasize the universal need for education. Indeed, education is now regarded as a lifelong process, not something to be acquired in a few school years and laid aside with the diploma. The modern attitude is that the truly educated person continually learns and develops intellectually; for the person whose education is completed is already mentally dead.

SUMMARY

Education is a lifelong process. It begins in the cradle and ends only at the grave. It consists of all those forces

and influences which shape one's career and give meaning to one's personality.

The higher civilizations organize instruction in an educational system, and most of them compel their young members to acquire at least the rudiments of education, so that they can live intelligently in the social world of which they are citizens. As knowledge and industry grow, it becomes necessary to reorganize the earlier system, and make it more adequate to meet the new needs. All types of educational institutions are now being reorganized.

The real test of education is not the number of courses which an individual has had, but the thoroughness with which he has worked out an intelligent plan of life, and the attainment of excellence in his chosen pursuit. One should live to learn, and also learn to live more abundantly and understandingly.

Questions

1. What is the preschool movement? What are its various phases?
2. What are some of the advantages of a compulsory education system? What are some of the disadvantages?
3. Does your state have compulsory education? If so, to what extent?
4. Are there night schools in your community? What subjects are taught in them, and what is the attendance?
5. What are some of the benefits of extension and correspondence courses?
6. What subjects are now taught in (*a*) grammar school, (*b*) high school, which were not taught there two decades ago?
7. Does learning to read and write make people more intelligent? Give reasons.
8. To what extent does the success of education depend upon the student?
9. What part does physical training play in education?

Exercises

1. What is the enrollment in the public schools in your community? How is it distributed over ages and courses?
2. What percentage of graduates from the grammar schools go to the high school? How many of them graduate from the high school? Explain.

3. What percentage of high-school graduates in your state go to college? How many of them graduate from college or from a professional school? Give reasons.

4. How much money is spent in your community and in your school district for education each year? How is the money raised?

Vocabulary Test

curriculum	illusion	ramification
differential	impetus	rehabilitation
endowment	inculcate	suffrage
	orientation	

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CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH

This Chapter Describes

1. The Social Function of the Church.
2. The Form of the Church in Colonial Times.
3. The Growth of Religious Toleration.
4. The Contribution of the Church to Social Welfare.
5. The Movement toward Organic Union of the Churches.

The church is an important social institution. Through the Sunday school, the child is brought into contact with the church at an earlier age than that at which he enters public school. The primary classes of the modern Sunday school resemble the public-school kindergartens; the child receives his first formal religious instruction through the medium of pictures, songs, and stories.

1. The Church in Colonial Times.—The church was more influential in the early days of this country than it has been in subsequent years. As we have seen, in some of the colonies, education was at first controlled by the church. Also, religious beliefs played a larger part in worldly affairs then than they do now. The idea of religious freedom had not developed, and tolerance towards differences of opinion upon religious matters was frowned upon rather than commended.

During the period of American colonization there was a rising tide of religious feeling throughout the Christian world. The Protestant Reformation and the Counter Reformation turned men's minds toward matters of religion, and many accepted the idea of a personal as opposed to a

collective salvation. Followers of Martin Luther felt that each individual must make his peace with God; that he should communicate with his Maker directly, through prayer, and not through a third person, the priest or minister; and that each person should be able to read and interpret the Bible. These ideas were opposed to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, which had long been the dominant religious organization throughout Europe; yet the belief prevailed that one faith, and one only, was a human necessity. Each group sought to enforce its beliefs, and religious persecutions were prevalent.

The Puritans were the most zealous of the sects which sought relief from persecution by settling in the New World. New England was outwardly dominated by austere Puritan ideals; many phases of daily life were sober and serious and reflected a neglect of the things of this world and a preoccupation with those of the next world.

The Puritans were frugal, serious, sedate; opposed to beauty and joy in this life; and absorbed in preparation for the life after death. Their blue laws for the observance of the Sabbath and the severity of their ideals of everyday behavior have become proverbial. True to the spirit of their age, they demanded conformity from those who lived in their midst, and it is a mere flight of poetic fancy, largely contrary to fact, to suppose that

> They left unstained what here they found—
> Freedom to worship God.

In the colonies south of New England, religion played a less important part. The Catholics in Maryland and the Anglicans in Virginia and Carolina set up church organizations modeled as closely as possible after those in the Old World, and the lives of the people were not permeated and colored by religious zeal to as great an extent as were those of their northern neighbors. Most of the colonies,

however, demanded a certain degree of conformity with the prevailing system of belief.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was universal concern over religious beliefs, and today it is hard to realize the extent to which men's ideas of the proper worship of God shaped education, politics, and social life.

2. Religious Toleration.—Only a short time ago, as historians measure time, governments dictated to citizens the form of religious belief which they should hold. No one had religious freedom; no one expected to have it. Today we have, politically, absolute religious freedom, and conformity to prescribed beliefs is no longer demanded by any government. How has this change come about? How has the freedom of today been gained? The religious toleration which is characteristic of the present age has been a matter of slow growth and is the result of many deep-lying influences. Important among these are the invention of printing, by means of which ideas could be given wider circulation, and the rise of machine industry.

Eighteenth century thought was characterized by a pervading interest in the rights of man and in personal freedom. In England and in France eloquent appeals were made for human rights, "life, liberty, and equality." These appeals were printed in pamphlets, which were circulated more widely than was possible before the use of the printing press. The ideas spread through Europe and America and paved the way for revolutions in the political realm and for reorganization of moral and intellectual values. Men could not consistently believe in the rights of the individual and at the same time dictate the form of the relationship between man and his Maker; accordingly, religious toleration grew as political liberty and individual freedom increased.

When men were free to believe as they wished, it was natural for those of the same mind to be drawn into the same group. The group followed a leader or championed an idea, formulated a creed, and became a religious sect. Thus the followers of Wesley grew into the denomination of the Methodists; the followers of Calvin, into the Presbyterians; those of Fox, into the Friends, or Quakers. Today religious sects in the United States are numerous, and their adherents are held together by common religious ideas or by the knowledge that their ancestors held similar beliefs.

3. The Church and Social Welfare.—An almost inevitable result of the interest in the rights of man was a concern for the welfare of man. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," came to mean happiness in this life as well as in the life to come. After accepting this ideal, men sought to make this present life on earth worth living, and gradually religious organizations became interested in social welfare. Today the church is concerned with the mental and physical, as well as with the moral, welfare of its people.

The machine age brought unprecedented prosperity to the world, and material success turned men's minds to worldly affairs. Even for the pious, life became worth living for its own sake rather than as a mere stepping-stone to the hereafter, and religion reflected this changed attitude. For most people today, institutionalized religion does not have the primary importance which it had for the early colonists.

At the present time, outstanding leaders of religious opinion feel that, if the church is to be a force in the world, it must concern itself with matters of everyday interest. This conviction is reflected in the timely topics which now form the basis of the sermons in many churches and in the fact that the Sunday evening and midweek services usually deal with problems of modern life. If the congregation is

Area, Population, and Religions of the World

	Europe	Asia	Africa	North America	South America	Oceania	Polar regions	Totals	Per cent
Square miles	3,750,000	17,000,000	11,500,000	8,000,000	6,800,000	3,450,000	5,000,000	55,500,000	100.0
Per cent of total area	6.8	30 6	20 7	14 4	12 3	6 2	9 0	100.0	100.0
Population	475,000,000	1,013,000,000	143,000,000	146,000,000	64,000,000	8,500,000	Too small to matter	1,849,500,000	100.0
Per cent of all people	25.7	54 8	7.7	7 9	3 5	0 4		100.0	100.0
Roman Catholics	220,000,000	7,000,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	61,000,000	1,500,000		331,500,000	17.9
Orthodox Catholics	120,000,000	20,000,000	3,000,000	1,000,000				144,000,000	7.8
Protestant Churches	115,000,000	7,000,000	3,000,000	75,000,000	900,000	6,000,000		206,900,000	11.2
Per cent of all Christians	66 6	5 0	1 2	17 0	9 1	1.1		100 0	
Per cent that Christians are of all people	95 8	3 4	5 6	79 5	96 7	88 2		36 9	
Jews	10,000,000	1,000,000	500,000	4,000,000	100,000	30,000		15,630,000	0.8
Mohammedans	5 000,000	160,000,000	44,000,000	20,000				209,020,000	11.3
Buddhists		150,000,000		180,000				150,180,000	8.1
Hindus		230,000,000		150,000				230,150,000	12.4
Confucians and Taoists		350,000,000		600,000				350,600,000	19.0
Shintoists		25,000,000						25,000,000	1.4
Animists		45,000,000	90,500,000	50,000		100,000		135,650,000	7.3
Other	5,000,000	18,000,000		25,000,000	2,000,000	870,000		50,870,000	2.8
Total non-Christians	20,000,000	979,000,000	135,000,000	30,000,000	2,100,000	1,000,000		1,167,100,000	63.1
Per cent of all non-Christians	1.7	83.9	11.6	2.5	0 2	0.1		100.0	
Per cent that non-Christians are of all people	4.2	96.6	94.4	20.5	3 3	11 8		63 1	

large and wealthy, it is customary for the pastor to have assistants who take charge of the Sunday school and the work with the young people. Recreational activities are organized, and the young are urged to look to the church for their amusements as well as for their religious instruction.

Social welfare is considered a part of modern religion; the principles of social Christianity are set forth in a report presented to the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

> Here we find a demand for justice regardless of social rank, protection of the family by a single standard of morals, uniform divorce laws and the like, full development for every child, abolition of child labor, protection of women in industry, protection against the liquor traffic, health protection in industry, protection against unemployment, provision for old age, right of organization for both employees and employers but with means of conciliation and arbitration, one day of rest in seven, reduction of hours of labor, and a living wage.[1]

This statement implies that the church is concerned with the social as well as with the spiritual welfare of its people.

4. Union of Churches.—As the churches become more interested in work for the general welfare of society, they lose sight of many of the differences which have divided them and find it profitable and efficient to work together for the accomplishment of the common tasks which confront them. Inspired by this need for cooperation, attempts have been made to unite the Protestant churches of the United States into one religious organization. These movements have not attained their goal, though similar attempts in Canada have been successful. There the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists have combined and now constitute the United Church of Canada. This church is thriving, and its existence demonstrates that union is possible if sufficiently desired. In 1929 the major

[1] KIRKPATRICK, CLIFFORD, *Religion in Human Affairs*, p. 420, Wiley, 1929.

denominations in Scotland united in one church organization, and in 1930 similar movements in Australia and in New Zealand appeared to promise early success.

5. Federation of Churches.—Though attempts to unite the churches in this country have not been successful, there has been a notable achievement in federation. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, formed in Philadelphia in 1908, includes representatives of thirty religious bodies, with a total membership of more than fifty-eight million persons. The Council seeks to promote Christian unity and service, to further the cause of world peace, and to aid in the development of harmonious racial and industrial relations.

The cause of national religious federation is furthered by the national organization of various religious and semi-religious groups, such as the Home Missions Council, the Foreign Mission Conference, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the American Sunday School Union, and others.

A measure of unity of action on the part of the churches has been secured locally by federations or central councils of the churches in a community. These councils attempt to organize and coordinate the work of the various religious groups, and to diminish or prevent overlapping and duplication of effort.

In many sections of the country denominationalism has led to much overlapping of effort. Many communities which could easily support one church have many churches, of different denominations, all of which are small and struggling, some with no pastor, and others paying inadequate salaries to the men who serve them. In contrast to these overchurched communities, are some, notably in the West, which have been neglected by all denominations. In one of the western states, a county with twenty-eight school districts has only one resident preacher and four

places for holding services. A union of churches in the overlapping regions would release money and men for the neglected districts.

6. The Community Church.—The name community church is given to several types of organization. In some localities a church which retains its denominational character and affiliations seeks to promote the welfare of the community and to form a center for community enterprises. It may thus earn the right to be considered a community church, though in reality it belongs to a denomination.

Another type of community church is the denominational church which receives recognition and support from other denominations in a community where more than one church would be unnecessary. Members of such a church may belong to several different denominations.

Neither of these types is a true community church, which is essentially non-denominational. The community church has no creed or doctrines and it requires no declaration of beliefs from those who join it. It grows up in a community in response to the demand for the organization of the spiritual life of the community. "It is the community functioning spiritually." A denominational church is organized by workers for a denomination, and owes allegiance primarily to its denomination rather than to its community. A community church, on the other hand, is organized by community leaders for the benefit of the entire community; it owes no allegiance to a denomination but concentrates its efforts on the welfare and service of the community.

The development of the community church indicates a weakening of denominational allegiance, and may presage a time when there will be in the United States a union of churches such as has been accomplished in a few other countries.

The community church, which now functions successfully in many localities, offers the best solution of the problem presented by the existence of too many churches, and is proof that the social aims and ideals of Christian citizens form a basis for cooperation and successful endeavor in the field of religious organization. In these churches, service to the community is the controlling ideal, and in the larger social aim the divisions of denominational doctrine disappear.

SUMMARY

The church is an important social group. It provides a congenial meeting place and tends to increase sociability.

Many churches conduct social and recreational activities, and many of them are educational agencies.

Denominationalism has not disappeared, and in many places it is very firmly intrenched. The drift, however, seems to be toward a decrease in denominationalism through a union of churches.

The church serves both the individual and the community. To the individual it provides an expression of the personality, a place in which he may find himself and may discover new values and new meanings in life. It is there that he expresses his religious emotion. The church may serve the community, too, by coming to grips with the realities of social life. It has been said that "if future civilization is to reach a fruitful maturity, it must have some religion . . . Religious feeling is an inevitable outcome of human nature in any state of society which we can imagine as possible."[1]

Questions

1. What do the national and the state constitutions say about religious freedom?

[1] HUXLEY, JULIAN, "Will Science Destroy Religion?" *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 152; pp. 531–539, 1926.

2. What has helped to make the community church a success?
3. What are the arguments in favor of church unity? Against it?
4. Is the church membership in this country increasing or decreasing?

Exercises

1. How many denominations are represented in your community?
2. Have any states in this country ever maintained an established tax-supported church?
3. What European countries have an established church?
4. Describe some of the social work done by churches.
5. How has the automobile affected the churches?
6. Are city people members of churches in a larger proportion than country people? What is the reason?
7. Make a map of your community indicating the location of the churches, and indicating, if possible, the size of their respective memberships.
8. Is there a ministerial union in your community? What is the purpose of the organization?

Vocabulary Test

adherent	inevitable	toleration
arbitration	permeate	zealous

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PART VI

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THEIR SOCIAL ASPECTS

CHAPTER XIII

THE COMMUNITY

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE CHARACTER OF A COMMUNITY.
2. THE CHARACTER OF CONTACTS WITHIN A COMMUNITY.
3. TYPES OF COMMUNITIES.
4. VARIATIONS IN THE CHARACTERISTICS OF MEMBERS OF COMMUNITIES.
5. THE DATA TO BE COLLECTED IN A COMMUNITY SURVEY.

1. Nature and Universality of Community Life.—A community is a group of people who have direct or indirect contacts and share the same institutions and traditions. The basic institutions of the community are family, school, church, government, and industry. Equally important in community life are the customs, traditions, and *mores* of the group. Usually "community" refers to a small group in a limited locality, but it may include the entire state or even the nation.

Some kind of community life is universal among men. They have lived in groups from the earliest historical times to the present.

Primitive peoples live in villages or bands, and cooperate in all the important activities of life. In their struggles with natural forces and with enemies, numbers are an advantage. Today all civilized people live in urban, rural, or village communities. They, too, need the associations and cooperations typical of group life.

2. Community Contacts.—The family group into which the child is born is the group of which he is first socially conscious. This is a sympathetic group, and learning to

live with the members of his family is comparatively simple. As he grows older the child becomes a part of the educational group in the school, and of the religious group in the church or Sunday school. When he associates with other people, he must conform to the demands of group life, and soon he finds that one of the most valuable acquisitions is the ability to associate amicably with other people, not merely the members of his family, his school, and his church, but also the keeper of the store to which he is sent on errands, the policeman who patrols his block, the station agent who sells him a ticket when he travels by train, the milkman and the delivery boy who bring the daily supplies of food. This larger social group includes the people who live in his neighborhood and constitute his community.

3. Early American Communities.—Many early American communities were small villages in which for a time the citizens had a face-to-face acquaintance with one another and a direct knowledge of civic affairs.

At that time the population of the United States was mainly rural, and the towns and villages served the surrounding country.

4. Community Enterprises.—The early New England towns were communities in a more literal sense than that in which we use the term today.

They shared property as well as ideas and customs. Fields for pasturage were held in common, and there were village cattle; near-by forests were reserved for fuel for members of the community, and there were town dogs to protect the people against wolves.

The tradition of community action for enterprises too large to be carried on by separate individuals has survived, even though these simpler projects have long since been abandoned. In modern life education is provided by the community for the benefit of all its members.

Parks, libraries, and museums embody similar public efforts directed toward the common good. Some communities own and operate public utilities, such as gas and electric plants, street railways, and water systems.

5. Types of Communities.—There are many kinds of communities, and they vary much in size and function. On the basis of size, communities are classified as rural, village or town, and urban. Communities may be classified also according to the purpose which they serve. There are industrial communities, such as the mill villages of the South and the mining towns of the coal regions; educational communities, which have grown up around colleges or universities; political communities, such as county seats, state capitals, and the national capital, Washington; commercial communities, the main enterprises of which are trade and commerce; agricultural communities, which are, of course, rural communities, and which depend directly upon the farm; and village or city communities, which are marketing and supply centers for near-by districts. The type of community depends largely upon the natural resources and the geographical character of the environs.

6. Study of a Community.—Although communities are much alike in many respects, it is not difficult to detect distinguishing characteristics.

To understand a given community we must know certain things about its location and its people.

About the location we ask, What are its natural advantages? Does it have a good harbor close to the ocean? If so, it is probably a commercial and trading center.

If it is inland, is it near iron and coal regions which would make it a smelting center for steel and iron products? Is it on a river which furnishes water power for mills and factories? What advantage has it taken of its natural

resources? Has it others which may sometime be developed?

We wish to know also how the community is connected with other communities. Has it railroads, steamship lines, and paved highways?

Any of these facilities will give an outlet for its products and enable the community to obtain goods from a distance. If all these are lacking, we expect to find a community backward in many respects. We wish to know whether the sections of the community are connected by good roads, electric railway, or bus lines; whether it has telephones, electric power for public and private use, and an adequate water supply. What kind of climate does it have? Is it surrounded by a fertile and prosperous country?

These factors are important to a community and they aid or hinder its growth and prosperity.

After obtaining this information about the locality which the community occupies, let us consider the people. Our first question concerns the character of the population. Are most of them native white? What proportion are immigrants? What proportion Negroes? Are the majority of the people industrial workers, as may be the case in mining or manufacturing cities, or are they clerks or professional men? How, specifically, do they make their living?

Having ascertained the general character of the population, we wish to know more intimate things about the men, women, and children who comprise the community. What kind of homes do they have? Do they live in houses, or in apartments? Is there a high standard of sanitation and domestic convenience in the homes? What proportion of the population is married? Do the people marry young? Do they have large families? Are there many divorces? Who are the wage earners? Do the children

and the mothers work, or only the fathers? Do the parents assist in the training of the children, or do they leave this to the school and the Sunday school? Are there adequate playground facilities, or do the children play in the streets?

Are there good schools? Do the majority of children continue their education through high school or only through the grades? Who go to college? Why do they go?

An important factor is the influence of the churches in the community. How many people attend church? Do they work in church organizations? Are there guilds and aid societies, and do these devote much time and attention to community affairs? Do the churches have community recreation rooms? Do the churches take an active part in community enterprises?

7. Other Community Activities.—In what other community activities do the people participate? Are there service clubs, fraternal organizations, and lodges? Do the citizens vote and take an active part in politics? Is there a community chest? What other provisions are there for the financially or physically disabled?

An important part of our investigation is concerned with the manner in which the people of the community spend their leisure time. Machines do an increasing amount of the work, and all classes have more leisure than was possible in the past. How do people spend their leisure time? Do they spend it in reading, studying, going to the movies, or driving automobiles? Are the citizens using this time in ways which broaden their minds, increase their knowledge, and equip them better for their jobs? Or do they consider leisure time merely play time to be spent, if possible, in recreation? The means of recreation, like the types of industry in the community, depend to

some extent upon the locality. If a community is situated on the water or in the mountains, the people have opportunities for outdoor sports and activities which are lacking in communities less advantageously situated.

We wish to know what the people of the community think as well as what they do, though this information is

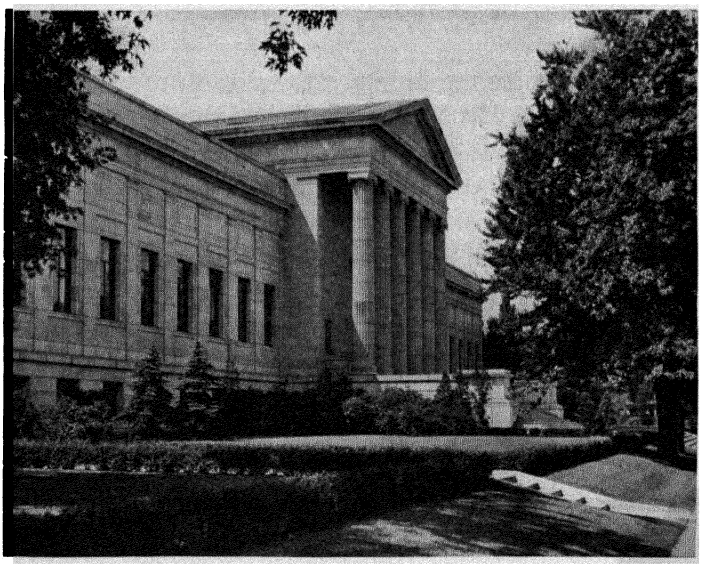

FIG. 21.—An art institute (Minneapolis, Minn.).
(Built and maintained by public-spirited citizens and administered in the interests of the entire municipality.)

difficult to obtain. An aid in inferring what the people in a community think is acquaintance with the agencies which help to form their opinions, especially the newspapers and periodicals which the citizens read. We may ascertain whether the liberal or the conservative newspaper has the larger circulation; whether the people depend upon the community newspapers and their opinions or read other

newspapers, and whether they read periodicals in politics, science, and literature, or only magazines of fiction.

Usually it is comparatively easy to learn the character of the material side of life. The attitude of the people of the community toward moral questions, what they consider right and what they consider wrong, are more difficult to ascertain; and frequently what people say is not consistent with what they do when occasion demands decision and action.

In the study of a community these inquiries concerning place, people, and customs are important. We usually feel that we know our own community better than we know any other and better than another person can know it. We are, however, frequently blind to many things in a familiar environment, and do not notice customs which are peculiar to our group.

Many of the accepted customs of modern life would have been rejected by our colonial ancestors. Short hair for women, for example, would not have been tolerated in an age which declared that "a woman's crowning glory is her hair."

SUMMARY

Our community, then, is the group in which we live. We may apply the term to a small group, such as our neighborhood, or we may include under it the state or the nation. A group constitutes a community if it occupies a continuous geographical area and the people have similar customs, institutions, and laws. Customs and laws vary greatly from one community to another, but all communities have the basic institutions of family, school, church, government, and industry. The external aspects of communities change, and also their customs and conventions. Every community has received a liberal bequest from the past, and that inheritance is its social heritage;

but also each generation develops new traits and passes these on as well as the older traits which it has inherited.

Modern communities look forward to future growth in accordance with careful planning and zoning. They endeavor to insure the physical, mental, and moral welfare of their citizens.

Questions

1. How old is your community? When and under what conditions did it grow up?
2. To what extent has your community been influenced by railroads?
3. How is your local community influenced by the state community?
4. What communities are most dependent upon your own, and upon what other communities is your own most dependent?
5. Is your community influenced by other countries? Specify.
6. How does a modern community differ from one of colonial days?

Exercises

1. How large is your community? Make a map of it, indicating the principal physical features. Indicate industrial, commercial, and residential areas, and transportation lines.
2. Make a map of your community showing the location of schools, churches, public buildings, and other social and civic features.
3. Outline the principal industries of your community, giving relative size and importance.
4. Make a list of the most important community enterprises.
5. Give a history of the establishment of the major industries in your community.
6. Give a history of the establishment of churches in your community, and their respective memberships.
7. Do you have a chamber of commerce? If so, what does it do?
8. Do you have a Rotary Club or a Kiwanis Club? If so, what does it do?
9. Do you have a community chest? If so, what functions does it perform?

Vocabulary Test

custom	periodicals	utility
environs	tradition	

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CHAPTER XIV

THE CITY

This Chapter Describes

1. The Growth of Cities.
2. The Growth of Suburbs.
3. The Reasons for the Growth of Cities.
4. The Prospect of Decentralization in the Large Cities.
5. City Planning.
6. Provisions for Health, Recreation, and Proper Housing in the Cities.

1. Growth of Cities.—The growth of American cities has been phenomenal. In 1790, when the first United States census was taken, one person in twenty lived in a city of 8,000 inhabitants or more. At the present time, more than one-half of the population lives in cities of 2,500 population or more. If, following the census, we consider as urban places which have a population of 2,500 or more, in 1930, 68,955,521 people were urban dwellers, and 53,819,525 were in the rural districts. During recent years, there has been an increasingly greater movement of population from the farms to the cities. In 1926, for illustration, 2,155,000 people moved from farms to cities.

There has, on the other hand, been a considerable movement of population from the cities to the farms. The two movements of population from 1927 to 1929 inclusive are shown in the table on page 211.

The movement from the farms has been most marked in the Middle West and in the mountain states sections. The estimated farm population of the country on January 1, 1929, was 27,491,000, and the estimated farm population on January 1, 1930, was 27,222,000, a decrease of 269,000.

On January 1, 1931, the estimated farm population was 27,430,000. During the year 1930, almost as many went back to the farms as left for the cities. The net increase of births over deaths in the farm population, however, made a net increase of nearly 200,000 on the farms in that year.

Year	Moved from farms to cities	Moved from cities to farms	Net shift
1927	1,978,000	1,374,000	604,000
1928	1,923,000	1,347,000	576,000
1929	1,876,000	1,257,000	619,000

2. Development of Suburbs and Interurban Communities.—Cities have grown not only in population, but

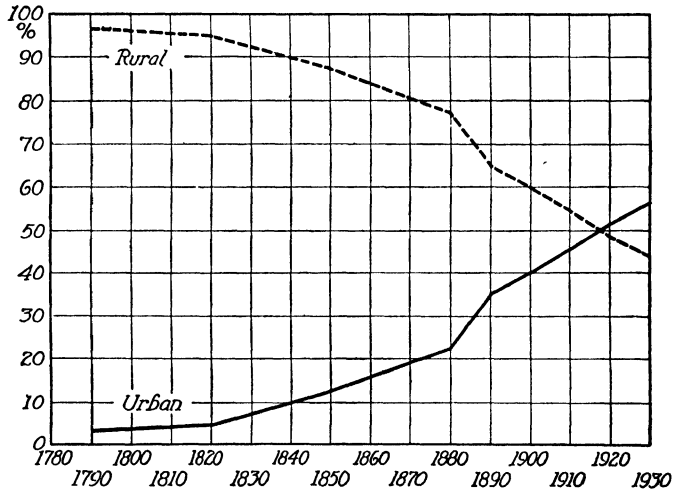


FIG. 22.—Contrasting trends of rural and urban population of the United States.

(Note rapidity of change from 1880 to 1930. What economic reasons can you give? What social problems are created?)

also in area. Increase in the urban area has been made possible by the development of rapid transit facilities, and

especially by the increased use of the automobile. Today a business man may live several miles from his office, though home and office are within the same city limits. In many cases, without changing residence a suburbanite becomes a

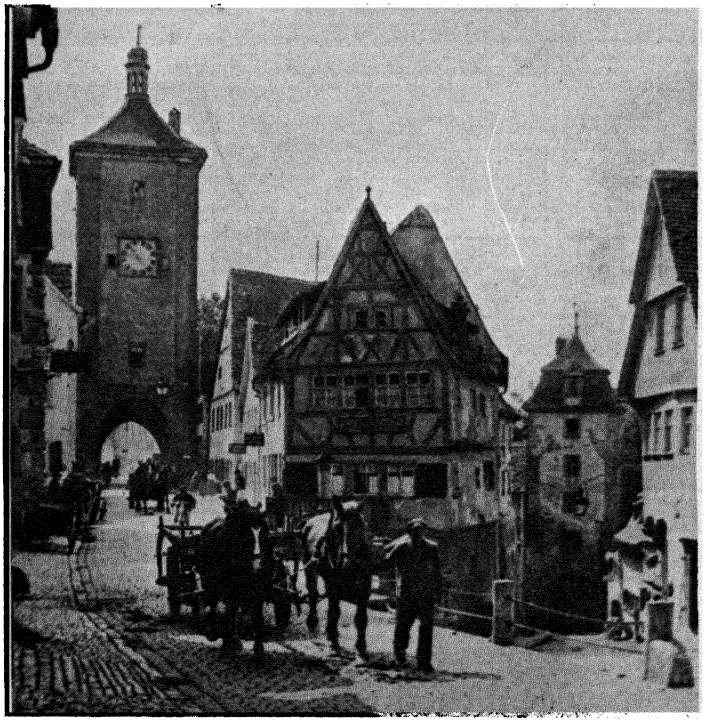


FIG. 23.—An ancient town of the old world (Rothenburg). (List its medieval characteristics.)

city dweller. The suburban village has been absorbed by the city, which has grown around and beyond it.

In many ways such an annexation is an advantage to the village. The village is brought under the school, public-health, and police systems of the city; it is provided with water, light, sewerage, and garbage disposal; it has a voice in the government of the city, and can eliminate certain

undesirable conditions which often prevail at the edge of a city.

At the present time many cities are so large that they are subdivided into communities within the larger metropolitan area. These smaller divisions, or neighborhoods, carry on many enterprises which affect themselves only, and, at the

FIG. 24.—Modern American city life.
(What modern inventions are represented in this picture?)

same time, participate in the activities of the entire city. A neighborhood in Minneapolis, for instance, may support a community church or organize a society to improve and beautify its own locality, while at the same time it helps to support, and it profits from, the park system and zoning provisions of the entire city.

3. Reasons for Development of Cities.—In the spread of population over the country there have been concentrations at strategic points. Water power, navigable streams, railroad centers, proximity to rich mining and agricultural regions, and other factors have influenced the location of large cities.

Two factors, especially, stimulated the rapid growth of towns and villages into cities. The first was the need for workers in the factories. This demand brought many laborers from adjacent regions, and immigrants from overseas.

The development of transportation also fostered the growth of cities. Before the coming of the railroad it would have been difficult to provide an adequate food supply for a city of any considerable size. When food had to be moved by horse-drawn vehicles from the country districts in which it was raised to the towns in which it was consumed, only a limited number of people could be fed in one locality. Railroads made it possible to bring food supplies from great distances to the cities, and to take from the industrial centers the manufactured goods which they produced.

4. Prospect of Future Decentralization.—Whether the growth of cities will continue is impossible to predict. Apparently many of the largest cities have already exceeded the size at which urban life offers the greatest advantages. Certain present tendencies seem to indicate a future decentralization of population. An increasing interest in outdoor life and pursuits and the development of machinery for homes as well as for farms may keep a larger part of the population on the land. The development and transmission of electric power may make possible the decentralization of industry and the establishment of plants far removed from the cities where factories are concentrated at

the present time. Some forward-looking industries have already seen the advantage of operating in a more open region and have moved their plants away from the big cities.

The massing of population in the cities presents problems for the entire nation, and their solution demands the cooperative efforts of the best minds.

Urbanization goes on apace, though it is estimated that the increase of the urban population over the rural was less during 1928 than in any recent year. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture estimates that the rural population decreased approximately four and one-half millions during the twenty-year period ending January 1, 1929. In the decade 1920–1930 it decreased more than a million.

5. City Planning.—After the Civil War the growth of cities was so rapid that little thought was given to the way in which they grew, and no provisions were made to preserve natural beauties or to segregate industrial, commercial, and residential sections. The older cities grew up along streets which were originally winding paths in the country. When the villages became cities, the paths became streets. The cities increased in size by similar haphazard methods and without planning. In all of the larger cities slums developed.

Today citizens consider the growth of the city, housing, and sanitation matters of concern to the community. Most cities have planning commissions to guide and regulate their growth and to insure more beautiful cities in the future. They also have housing laws and sanitary regulations to prevent the existence of crowded and unsanitary dwellings.

The development and transmission of electric power have freed industry from dependence upon local water power and

coal, a dependence which had led to much congestion in some regions. A city now grows up in an amazingly short time around the plant of a large industry. Occasionally the company itself builds the city, as in the case of Longview, Washington, which was built by a lumber company on a site reclaimed from swamp and bog.

Such cities have the advantage of developing from the beginning in accordance with well-defined plans, whereas city-planning commissions in towns that have grown in more haphazard fashion are hampered by the inherited mistakes of previous years.

City zoning, the activities of city-planning commissions, and the development of parks and playgrounds typify the general trend toward beautifying the city. The constitutionality of the zoning laws, upheld in several court decisions, has given new impetus to the movement. Even smaller towns are now obtaining permission to establish zones for regulating their growth.

In planning parks many cities could profitably follow the example of Minneapolis, which has preserved for its citizens many of the natural beauties of its location. Within the city limits, except in the industrial district, the banks and bluffs of the Mississippi are owned by the city, through the Park Board. Consequently, the environment has been kept as nearly as possible in its natural state of wild beauty.

The environs of the several lakes within the city limits of Minneapolis have been developed into well-parked areas which give the city charm and distinction. Few of the natural beauties of the city have been spoiled by industry or removed by private ownership from the general use and enjoyment of all citizens. Denver also is noted for its numerous and well-located parks.

Cities are now taking more definite action than they formerly did toward harmonious development within their limits, and their planning activities are reaching out into the

surrounding country. A metropolitan area develops from this cooperation of city and country, and a harmonious growth is thus made possible. As the city extends its

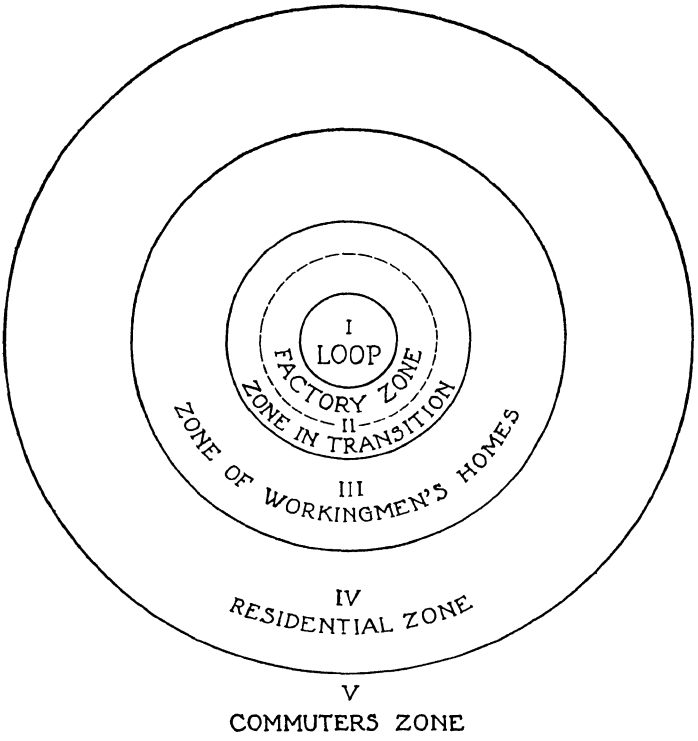


FIG. 25.—City zones.

(Concentric zones characterize most large cities. The loop is the center of the business district. With modifications this scheme applies to most large American cities. As a rule it has not been the result of deliberate planning. Criticize this general scheme. What alternative plans are there and what changes would you suggest?)

limits, it absorbs suburbs which, by virtue of the unified planning for the entire metropolitan area, have grown up subject to the benefits and restrictions in force within the original city. When cities are in close proximity, coopera-

tive planning for the entire area is the only method which can insure them an opportunity for harmonious and satisfactory development. Thus, city planning expands into regional planning.

6. Trends in Housing Conditions.—The rapid growth of cities has brought congestion and ugliness. In many cities large areas are crowded with bleak apartment houses or box-like small dwellings. In recent years there has been a revolt against the type of ugly, unattractive buildings which characterized the cities of earlier days. There is now an endeavor to create a more beautiful urban environment, or at least a less ugly one. Some of the largest cities, in which housing conditions have been the worst, are making valiant efforts to abolish slums and their attendant evils.

"The automobile made the suburb," and architects who have designed artistic small homes have made the suburb beautiful. Homes which show beauty of line and design are no longer limited to the wealthy; the artistic small house in harmonious setting helps to beautify the humbler sections of many cities. Garden cities and suburbs planned from their beginning to be beautiful and restful become an increasingly larger part of American urban life.

The apartment house, which plays an increasingly important part in urban life, has had an interesting development in recent years. Certain successful trade-unions have tried the experiment of building and owning apartment houses to be let to their members at the lowest rental consistent with sound financial policy. They are more spacious, more scientifically constructed, lighted, and ventilated, and at the same time cheaper, than any dwelling which would otherwise be available to these workers.

There is now rapidly developing the apartment house cooperatively owned and operated by wealthy families who prefer this type of dwelling to the individual house.

The families buy the apartment which they occupy and pay their share of the expense of upkeep and taxes. Owners are usually restricted by mutual agreement from selling their interests to persons whom the other owners consider undesirable.

7. Urban Health and Recreation.—Health is a concern of every community, for disease in one section of a city is a menace to the entire metropolis. The modern city sees to it that the water supply is pure; that refuse and sewage are properly disposed of; that infectious diseases are quarantined; and that medical care is provided for those who otherwise could not secure it.

Much that formerly was left to private initiative and individual effort is now considered the business of the community. This change in attitude is exemplified by community provision for play and recreation. We now recognize the fact that for adults as well as for children,

All work and no play—
Makes Jack a dull boy.

During the closing years of the last century it was the proud boast of many prosperous business men that they had not missed a day from business for twenty, twenty-five, or even thirty years. Now everyone admits the value of a vacation, and practically all who can do so take a vacation each year.

The city provides opportunities for the recreation of its citizens by means of parks, playgrounds, municipal swimming pools, and golf courses. The activities of children on the public playgrounds are organized and supervised by directors paid by the community. Many cities have municipal band concerts and community singing contests which add to the pleasure of the summer season. The citizens of a normal, wholesome community play together as heartily as they work together.

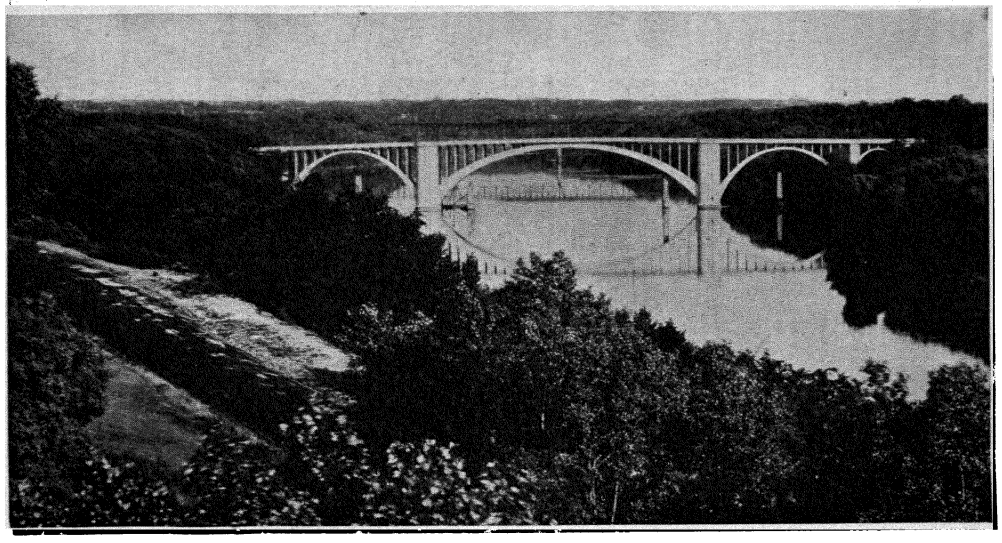
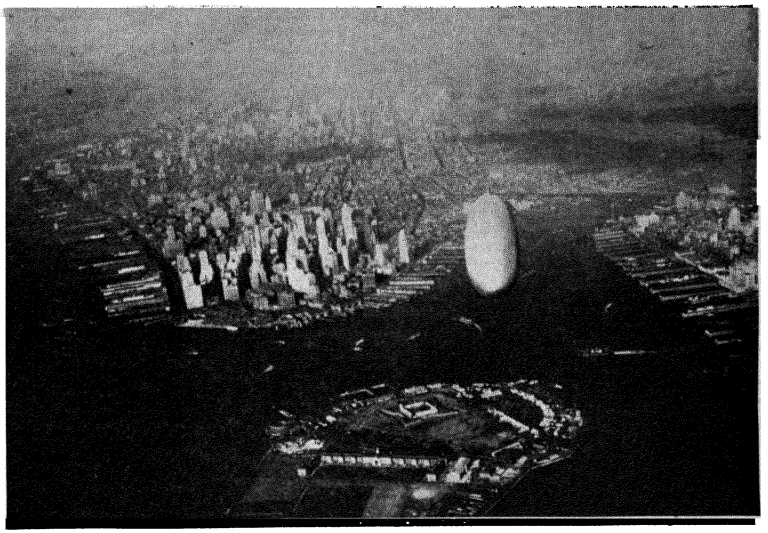


FIG. 26.—The city beautiful preserves natural scenery.

(A view of the banks of the Mississippi River in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Except for a short distance in the business district, both cities have maintained parkways along the banks of the river for the recreation of their citizens. Contrast this scene with river fronts of other cities that have allowed their river banks to become unsightly.)

8. Dominance of the City.—The city dominates the surrounding country to an increasing extent. The rural dwellers receive their newspapers from the cities and their opinions are colored by urban news. Rural political life is organized and directed by party committees which have headquarters in the cities, and which favor the cities in



(Courtesy of the U. S. Navy Department)

FIG. 27.—An air view of a modern city, New York.

(The United States dirigible *Akron* is in the foreground. The *Los Angeles* can be faintly seen in the distance. What facts about a modern large city can be learned from this picture?)

their decisions. The lives of our rural population are spent producing goods which will be consumed in the cities, and from the cities they receive the manufactured products which go to make life more enjoyable. For medical care in serious illnesses, farmers must depend upon the hospital facilities of the city.

The desires of the city direct the life of the shepherds on the mountainside, the fishermen in Alaska, the pearl-divers of India, the plantations

of the tropics, the wheat fields of America and Russia, and the sheep and cattle ranges of Australia and Argentina. They direct the wine growers of France as well as the mill operatives of Pittsburgh. To its needs the ears of monarchs, statesmen, financiers, and captains of industry are attuned. To its wants the hands of hundreds of millions of workers respond. The twentieth century city is the brain of a cosmic machine; it is the heart and sensory system of the world as well.[1]

Cities are also the centers of artistic achievement. The city reflects the culture of which it is the focus. In its museums and art galleries are exhibited the artistic achievements of its people; in its historical libraries are perpetuated the traditions and achievements of the past; its schools and universities constitute the highest intellectual advance of its culture and set a standard for the group; social welfare and community betterment develop in urban regions and penetrate the surrounding territory. Development of the aesthetic elements of a culture demands a surplus of wealth and leisure. The urban concentration of wealth and its attendant leisure make the cities the centers of music, art, and the drama.

9. Social Effects of Urban Life.—The rush and tension of modern city life have their effects upon the mind and character of city dwellers. The city dweller, accustomed to speed and change, and little disturbed by the unusual, thinks more quickly, though perhaps not more clearly, than his rural neighbor. He is, however, more impatient and more restless. Because of his readier access to newspapers, books, and magazines, he knows more about world affairs than does the rural dweller. His knowledge of other peoples and other cultures tends to break down ancient prejudices, but it also weakens the hold of traditions and ideals which have a steadying influence on character.

City life affords more opportunities for wrongdoing, and crime is more prevalent in the cities than in rural regions.

[1] HOWE, FREDERIC C., *The Modern City and Its Problems*, Scribners, 1915.

The pressure of population, the concentration of property, the absence of many restraints which are present in small communities, tend to increase the crime rate in the large cities. The city, with its almost limitless potentialities for

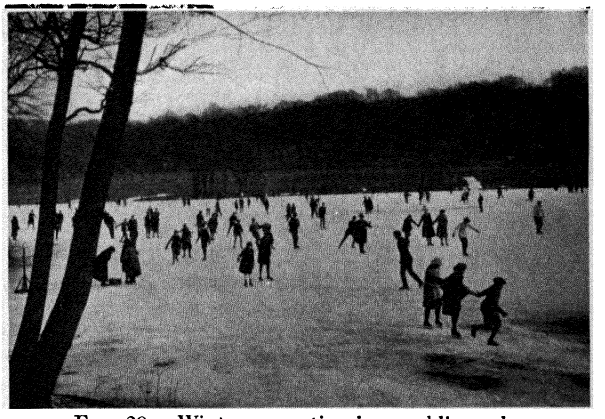


FIG. 28.—Winter recreation in a public park.

(Many such opportunities for skating are provided for children who live in a city. In many cases depressions in parks or playgrounds are flooded for this purpose. Why is it especially desirable to provide opportunities for out-of-door activities in the winter?)

the welfare and happiness of its inhabitants, contains also possibilities of evil greater than ever before known.

SUMMARY

It is sometimes said that civilization began with the rise of cities. That may be only partly true, but it is a fact that the higher civilizations have flourished mainly in the cities. They represent concentrations of population and resources which make cultural advance possible. The number and the size of cities constitute a good index of the height of a nation's civilization.

It does not follow, however, that cities will increase indefinitely in population and size. After a certain size has been attained by a city, further increase may be a

detriment rather than an advantage. There are indications that our largest cities have already attained, and even exceeded, the optimum size, and there are movements of urban decentralization.

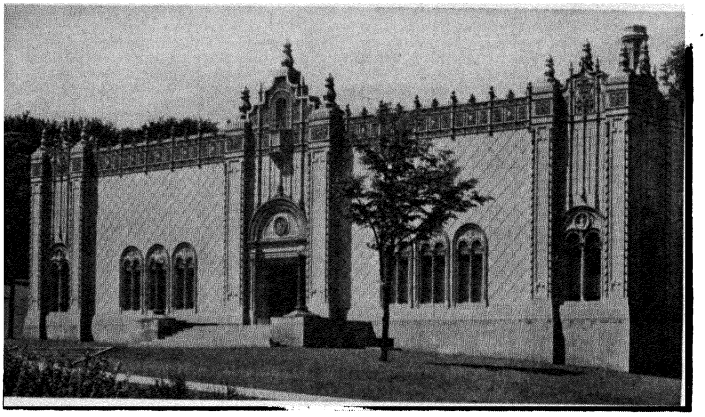


FIG. 29.—An art gallery (Minneapolis, Minn.).
(Owned and maintained by private enterprise, but administered for the benefit of the citizens of the city in which it is located.)

At the present time, the city is one of the most important phases of community life, and embodies the highest development of our culture.

Questions

1. How does human behavior in an urban environment differ from that in a rural environment?
2. Why is social unrest more prevalent in the city than in the country?
3. Why are financial crises more critical in the city than in the country?
4. How does urban transportation differ from rural?
5. Show the growth of city populations in the United States.
6. Give the causes of the growth of cities.

Exercises

1. Give examples of types of advertising which are found in the city but not in the country, or only in much modified form in the country.

2. What occupations are represented in your city, or in the nearest city?

3. How has immigration affected (*a*) city populations, and (*b*) industrial, (*c*) political, (*d*) social, (*e*) cultural aspects of city life?

4. Give an account of the character of the contents of city newspapers and ascertain their circulation. Ascertain their circulation beyond city limits.

5. Give the locations of the largest ten cities in the United States. Give reasons for their size.

Vocabulary Test

cosmic	haphazard	potential
decentralization	metropolitan	sensory
detriment	phenomenal	

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CHAPTER XV

THE NATION AND THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF EARLY COMMUNITIES.
2. THE UNION OF SECTIONAL COMMUNITIES.
3. THE CONSOLIDATION OF COLONIAL COMMUNITIES INTO A NATION.
4. THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM.
5. THE MEANING OF NATION AND OF NATIONALITY.
6. THE GROWTH OF THE INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN NATIONS.
7. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONALISM.
8. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES.
9. THE MEASURES TO DELIMIT OR ELIMINATE WAR.
10. THE AGENCIES WHICH MAKE FOR PEACE.
11. THE RECOGNITION OF THE DESIRABILITY OF PEACE.

1. Self-sufficiency of Early Communities.—Before the day of the newspaper and of the railroad, which now connect all parts of the country, there was little "consciousness of kind," or feeling of unity, among the communities which grew up along the Atlantic coast of America. The early local groups were independent and self-sufficient. They were separated from one another by large tracts of uninhabited territory, and were without convenient means of travel and communication. Each community was compelled by circumstances to work out its own welfare without assistance from others.

Some of the original colonies were separated from others not only by distance but also by culture differences. Colonies which were settled by different nationalities differed in language, customs, and traditions. In the early days, New York had more contacts with Holland, and Virginia had

more contacts with England, than New York and Virginia had with one another.

2. Union of Colonial Communities.—As roads were built and communication became easier, these early communities increased in area and in population; they became conscious of common problems; and as they grew to know each other better, they liked each other better.

A better understanding between communities stimulated the growth of interest and sympathy which has developed into the national spirit of today. The United States is a good example of a nation which has developed national feeling and unity after a union of many separate communities into a functioning, all-inclusive national community.

Consciousness of national unity developed slowly. Even after fighting on the same side in the War for Independence, the colonists were suspicious and jealous of one another and had little desire for political union. They sent delegates to the Constitutional Convention but were with difficulty persuaded to accept the Constitution which would make them a nation. The individual states, rather than the nation, received the highest devotion of citizens; and more than once, after the Union was established, there were threats of secession.

3. Growth of National Feeling.—For many years, interest in the Northwest Territory was one of the main forces which held the states together. The claims of the states to this region overlapped and conflicted. Consequently, the national government annexed this territory, from which subsequently a number of new states were created.

The purchase of the Louisiana Territory and Florida made it evident that the national government would control a large part of the continent as one nation. Consequently, our diverse population at last became conscious of the supremacy and importance of the nation. Much of the

patriotism which had been limited to the state was now transferred to the nation. The national spirit was fostered also by the wars in which the United States engaged.

The Civil War established the fact that we are and will remain one nation, and that no state may withdraw from the Union. The Spanish American War healed the sectional wounds occasioned by the internal conflict of the Civil War, and established in the people a united purpose, which is the basis of true nationalism. Nationalism was further intensified after the United States entered the World War.

4. Nationalism, Nationality, and Nation.—The United States is not the only country which has a strong nationalistic spirit. All countries have nationalistic tendencies. Let us, therefore, consider nationalism from a world point of view, and discover the meaning of the term when applied to various peoples.

A nationality is a group which functions as a cultural unit. Usually the people who constitute a nationality speak the same language, or related dialects, have the same traditions, and a common cultural background.

Examples of such nationality groups are the Welsh in Great Britain, and the French Canadians in Canada. Each of these groups, though surrounded by a different culture, and though it does not have political independence, has preserved much of its cultural integrity.

A nationality may be politically independent, in which case it is said to be a nation or a national state. A nationality may, however, exist without political independence or political unification, and may be a "subject" or "oppressed" nationality, such as the Armenians under Turkish rule.

A national state, that is, a nation, is founded on nationality, but is essentially political, whereas the basis of nationality is psychological, a matter of emotion and senti-

ment, and does not derive its strength from political autonomy. It sometimes flourishes most vigorously where there is real or fancied political oppression, as, for example, in south Ireland before the establishment of Home Rule.

Nationality is not determined by race. The nationalities in Europe are interracial mixtures. The boundaries of nationality disregard racial lines; yet the belief that a people have a common blood relationship fosters nationality.

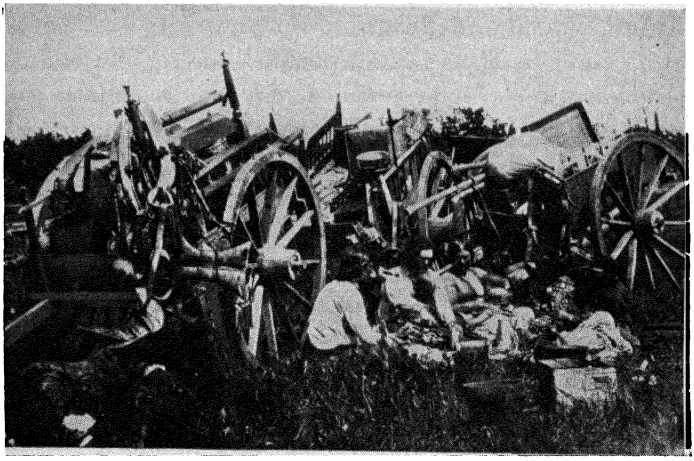
Nationalism, the idealization of the spirit of nationality, is an emotional exaltation of the ideals of one's group above those of all other groups; a belief in the superiority of one's nationality and in the excellence of its culture; a state of mind which regards the elements which compose one's own nationality as the best, highest, and most worthy of respect, loyalty, and sacrifice.

5. Development of Nationalism.—Nationalism, which is essentially a modern phenomenon, first developed in Europe. Its roots go back to the awakening national consciousness among various European peoples about the end of the Middle Ages. Nationalism differs vitally from the ancient political concept of universal empire and the medieval concept of feudalism.

This awakening of interest in the national state was fostered by the growth of national languages, which replaced the Latin of the diplomatic world; by the establishment and strengthening of sovereign states, with the monarch as the symbol of national devotion; by the discoveries and the explorations of new lands, and the consequent economic gains to the respective nations; and by the establishment of a state church in opposition to the Roman papal claims.

The French Revolution gave powerful impetus to nationalism. It declared patriotism the supreme loyalty and exalted it even above loyalty to church; it glorified the

native land and made those who died in her service national martyrs. The First Republic adopted a national flag and a national anthem, and instituted national holidays. It established public education, which was controlled and supported by the government, and was used to spread the doctrine of the supremacy of the national state. The French Republic demanded universal military training for



(Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal)

FIG. 30.—Western pioneers' encampment.

(These crude Red River carts, as well as the covered wagon, played a vital part in the conquest of the wilderness and the making of the American nation.)

male citizens, and insisted upon the right of the nation to conscript them for the army or the navy. During the Revolution the French made extensive use of pamphlets and cheap newspapers to spread propaganda and to intensify national feeling among the masses.

The forces typified by the French Revolution were strengthened by the developing mechanizations initiated by the Industrial Revolution. The improved methods of transportation and communication within the national

boundary made it possible to develop a like-mindedness, a veritable national mind. The literature which spreads the doctrines of nationalism among the masses is printed by presses and machinery, which are a product of the industrial age. The factories of modern industry demand raw materials and world markets. These lead to national rivalries and heighten national consciousness.

Labor leaders have stressed the international aspects of labor, but no class has been more loyal to its own nation in times of crisis than has the laboring class. The Industrial Revolution has been responsible for the concentration of population in industrial cities, and in these large centers the forces dependent on mass influence and mass education can function to the exaltation, or exploitation, of the nation.

6. Romanticism.—Nationalism was given great impetus by the literary and philosophical writings of the eighteenth and nineteenth century period known as the Age of Romanticism. This movement in emotional and romantic literature idealized the past, centered interest on the common man and on everyday things, stimulated interest in folkways, legends, and folk music, and led to a revival of these respective culture traits.

> Being a literary movement, romanticism exalted folk-language and folk-literature and folk culture; being philosophic, it attributed to every folk a soul and inherent mental qualities and distinguishing manners and customs; being emotional, it tended to consecrate the peculiarities of national life and to inspire a popular worship of nationality.[1]

These romantic writings employed the language of the people rather than Latin and Greek, which had previously been used.

Romantic songs were based on the exploits of legendary national heroes, and folk history and customs emphasized national characteristics.

[1] HAYES, CARLTON J. H., *Essays on Nationalism*, p. 53, Macmillan, 1926.

7. Trends toward Internationalism.—Although the nineteenth century was a period of nationalistic tendencies, the latter half of the century witnessed the beginnings of international movements and organizations. These movements have increased and broadened during the present century

FIG. 31.—Minnesota State Capitol Building (St. Paul, Minn.).

(This type of structure, suggesting the national capitol at Washington, is found in most states. Only a few state capitol buildings have not utilized the impressive dome, symbolizing grandeur and power. These ornate structures are rarely efficient buildings for the conduct of the routine business of government.)

into what seems to be a development toward a wholesome internationalism and more consistent efforts toward world peace.

As we have seen, the developments in communication and transportation following the Industrial Revolution made it possible to unite into one nation the widely separated sections of the country. These same forces, developed to a greater degree, now unite all parts of the world. Today,

railroads, steamships, airplanes, telegraphs, telephones, and radios unite the world and establish contacts between its remotest parts. News from the most distant regions can be read in the morning newspapers; the ice and the bitter cold of the south polar regions did not shut off from a listening world the day-by-day story of the life of the Byrd expedition in the Antarctic.

Today the world is smaller, more compact, and more intimately united than ever before. On the eve of the opening of the Limitation of Armaments Conference in London, in 1930, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, said: "The United States is far away, but the United States is near at hand. Far away geographically, but nevertheless at our elbow every hour of the day."

8. International Organizations and Agencies.—There is now more international cooperation than is generally recognized. In addition to the League of Nations, numerous non-political international unions of various sorts now function at Geneva. Thus, the joint action of nations formed the Universal Telegraph Union and the Universal Postal Union long before the League was organized.

A smaller group of nations agreed to use the metric system of weights and measures. Treaties provide for the standardization of patent laws and for the uniformity of copyright laws.

In 1864 the International Red Cross Society was organized, and in 1882 America joined. Today the Red Cross gives aid in many major disasters, however remote the scene. The existence of the Hague Tribunal and the Pan-American Conferences testify to the fact that today no nation lives to itself alone, but each must share the responsibility for world affairs and international politics.

9. The League of Nations.—The idea of universal peace is not new. There were schemes for its promotion as

early as the middle of the seventeenth century, and in 1713 Saint-Pierre, in his *Project of a Plan for Securing Perpetual Peace*, worked out a plan of international cooperation which has a strikingly modern tone.

The most elaborate mechanism for world peace is the League of Nations, established in 1920, soon after the close of the World War. The United States is not a member of the League of Nations, but this country had, through Woodrow Wilson and Elihu Root, an important part in its formation. Although the League does not attempt to function as a giant superstate, its activities for world peace are important. Moreover, aside from its political, parliamentary, and judicial aspects there are numerous important international bureaus which clear through this organization. The permanent Secretariat of the League fosters numerous international trends. The League now functions in a permanent capital at Geneva, where the Council and the Assembly meet, and where the permanent Secretariat is located.

Institutions grow slowly, and the League is young, but already it has smoothed out many of the difficulties which beset postwar Europe.

The Kellogg Multilateral Treaties, in which the signatory nations pledge themselves not to resort to war to settle their disputes, is a long step forward in the effort to outlaw war and to establish world peace.

10. International Agencies for World Peace.—The League of Nations and the World Court strengthen world peace and are ready to assist any nation which asks their aid in settling international disagreements. The fact that these peace-making bodies exist and are ready to lend aid is itself a psychological impetus towards invoking their help. Nations are gradually forming the habit of appealing to them, as individuals have formed the habit of taking their

difficulties to the courts rather than settling them by combat.

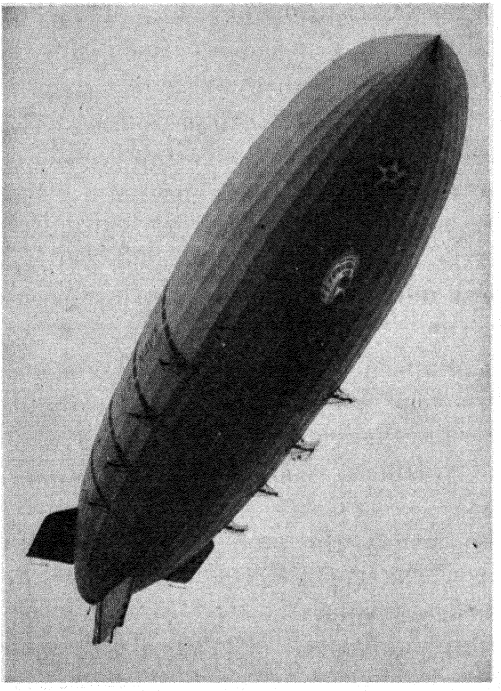
The League and the Court may have many imperfections, and may sometimes fail in their efforts, but there are many important settlements to their credit. They justify hope of better conditions in a world grown weary of perennial baptisms of blood and finally aware that victor as well as vanquished pays the cost of international conflicts.

The multilateral treaties, which renounce war as an instrument of national policy, testify to the fact that governments as well as peoples have learned that war is a menace to civilization; for when two great nations go to war, the conflict is likely to involve all other countries. In a world made small by the radio and the airplane, isolation is a myth.

11. The British Federation of Nations and the Possibility of Such a World Federation of Nations.—The British Federation of Nations, or the British Commonwealth of Nations, as it is now called, is a good illustration of the possibilities of internationalism. In this federation, or commonwealth, are united several independent powers, which formerly were parts of one Empire—Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State. Each one of these is a sovereign power and an independent state, yet they work in union and cooperation. In this federation nationalism is reconciled with internationalism.

That there should eventually be a community of the nations of the world is suggested by the history of the development of society. Such a community seems the logical and inevitable outcome of movements which have had a long growth. For mutual benefit and protection, family groups, finding that by cooperation they had more to gain than to lose, united into a community. Local

communities joined with other communities of similar culture pattern and formed a national community. "In union there is strength"—the strength of a united people



(*Courtesy of the U. S. Navy Department*)

FIG. 32.—A modern device in war, the United States dirigible *Akron*.

(Mention some ways in which this comparatively new device may be important in the warfare of the future.)

working together in harmony for the improvement of social life.

Eventually the nations will recognize the interdependence of all parts of the world in science, art, literature, and in material and economic development, and from this recognition will come a world community.

12. International Character of Modern Life.—Some people still believe that the United States can be cut off from the rest of the world, and that we can and should live in "splendid isolation." But the man who entertains this view, and expatiates upon it at his breakfast table, glances over his morning paper, printed on Canadian wood-pulp paper, seasons his egg with Central American pepper, and stirs Cuban sugar into his Brazilian coffee. As he drives to his office his "isolated" mind may take pride in his American-made automobile, but the manufacturer has drawn his supplies from many foreign lands.

In the everyday life of its people each nation utilizes the resources of all nations, and each contributes to the welfare of all.

Today, through the international organization of commerce and finance, the world is economically a unit. The men who manage the trade of the world have developed an international financial system fairly satisfactory to all nations.

Perhaps some day the men who manage the political organizations of the world will devise a satisfactory scheme of political cooperation.

13. International Aspects of Modern Economic Life.—In addition to the trend toward consolidation and the formation of larger units of production and finance, industries and banking are increasing their activities in foreign lands. American industries are acquiring control of firms in other countries. For example, an American motor company purchased the German automobile factory which had controlled the small-car market in that country. Although the American firm has introduced a low-priced American car, it continues to manufacture the German car under its original name. A large percentage of the electrical power used in English municipalities is produced by

firms owned and financed in the United States. The unprecedented prosperity in certain lines of industry has yielded large profits which have sought foreign fields for reinvestment.

Among all of the great nations there is economic interpenetration, and the welfare of each nation depends to an increasing degree upon the peace and welfare of all the others. Even the industries which profit most from war are beginning to realize that in the long run a world at peace offers more industrial opportunities than one thrown into chaos by war. Through long bitter years, economic rivalries and jealousies have been a primary cause of strife. The present financial interpenetration, the vital monetary stake of almost every nation in the stability and peace of every other nation, may develop into the most powerful influence for peace. The pocketbook may become the strongest ally of what was previously called idealism.

14. World Peace as a Social Ideal.—In all nations people are discussing the desirability of peace and planning for it in a more practical way than ever before in the history of the world. In spite of the fact that large armies are supported and new navies are built by the nations, public opinion is opposed to war as a national policy. The extensive discussion of the abolition of war, and the emphasis on means of settling international difficulties, must, it appears, eventually convince the people that the civilized world should abolish resort to brute force as a means of settling difficulties and substitute a code of honor comparable with the codes of individuals. We no longer expect men to fight duels to uphold their honor; we do not allow it, under any circumstances. Why should nations follow this ancient custom, which has nothing better than poor precedent to commend it?

Samuel Johnson once remarked that

> were Socrates and Charles the Twelfth of Sweden both present in any company, and Socrates to say, "Follow me, and hear a lecture on philosophy," and Charles, laying his hand on his sword, to say, "Follow me, and dethrone the Czar," a man would be ashamed to follow Socrates. . . . The profession of soldiers and sailors has the dignity of danger. Mankind reverence those who have got over fear, which is so great a weakness.[1]

If ridding one's country of enemies was the real basis of prestige, we would honor the hangman as highly as the military hero.

15. International Understanding the Basis of World Power.—The basis for better international relations is better international understanding. It is not a new idea that "to know all is to forgive all." When people of different nations know one another better, there will be greater international understanding and more sympathy between citizens of different nations.

A desire to foster this better understanding has induced men of wealth to establish international scholarships and to make plans for the interchange of teachers and students between universities in different countries. Cecil Rhodes, who established the Rhodes Scholarships, which enable many American young men to study at Oxford or other foreign universities, described his aim as a desire to draw into closer understanding the two great English-speaking nations of the world. His example has been followed by other foundations which enable scholars to continue their educational work abroad. Exchange professors and students are able to interpret their own people to the people of the land in which they are guests, and to return to the

[1] BOSWELL, JAMES, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, Vol. II, p. 201, Oxford University Press, 1927.

home land with a fuller and more sympathetic understanding of their hosts.

The League of Nations Division for Intellectual Cooperation recognizes the international character of science and knowledge and looks to the intellectuals for aid in creating better world relations.

It is easiest to settle difficulties after all phases of the problems are thoroughly discussed. The fact that representatives of nations often at variance do discuss matters of international import at the League of Nations has a psychological tendency towards keeping the peace.

The growing tendency to hold international conferences at frequent intervals, especially for the discussion of questions involving areas in which international trouble is likely to arise, makes for the peaceful settlement of international difficulties. These conferences implant in the popular mind the idea that it is possible to outlaw war.

The economic and financial interdependence of nations is a powerful influence in international affairs. This interdependence, and the above-mentioned international activities, suggest that the trend of international relations is away from war as an instrument of national policy, and toward a more fruitful international cooperation.

SUMMARY

Society began in small communities, which were almost entirely self-contained and self-sufficient. In trade they were slightly dependent upon other groups, but for most purposes their activities were not dependent upon any other people. These small communities eventually were united into a larger group, which became a nation, that is, a large political entity. As civilization became more complex, and trade developed, the nations became interdependent in many respects.

Individuals moved from one nation to another, and ideas as well as articles were continually crossing national frontiers. Eventually the nations of Europe came to live in what was virtually one large civilized community, with essentially the same kind of life, the same system of thought and ideas, and virtually the same kind of political life, differing only in details.

So great has their interdependence become that no important happening in one country is without its effect in others. An example of this interdependence is the assassination of an Archduke in the Balkan Peninsula in 1914 which eventually affected all the civilized countries of the world. Even an internal movement, like the Bolshevist revolution in Russia, crosses national boundaries and affects the peoples of all countries, whether in Asia, Europe, the Americas, or the South Sea.

It seems inevitable, therefore, that the nations of the world must seek a common salvation in some form of international control and organization which will guarantee freedom and self-government to each of the nations of the world, and protection to all.

Questions

1. When, and under what conditions, did modern nationalism begin?
2. Distinguish between nation, nationality, and nationalism.
3. How did the movement which culminated in the French Revolution influence our nationalism?
4. What are some of the advantages and some of the disadvantages of nationalism?
5. What is meant by Edith Cavell's declaration that "patriotism is not enough"?
6. In what respects is our nation dependent upon others?
7. Make a list of some of the respects in which other nations are dependent upon this country.
8. Did these interdependences exist to the same extent a hundred years ago? Why, or why not?
9. Why has this country refused to enter the League of Nations?
10. What are some of the costs of war in addition to money and supplies?

11. Does the fact that wars have always been fought imply that the world will never be free of war?

12. Can the problems of peace be solved by armies and navies?

13. What are the principal forces which make for peace?

Exercises

1. Give a brief account of the Hague Court of International Arbitration.

2. Give a brief account of the World Court. What Americans have served on the World Court?

3. Give a brief account of Disarmament Conferences.

4. Give a brief account of the League of Nations.

5. Outline the chief international conferences since the Treaty of Versailles.

Vocabulary Test

entity	imperialism	perennial
expatiate	integrity	sovereignty

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CHAPTER XVI

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE GROWTH OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN THIS COUNTRY.
2. THE EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE.
3. THE RISE, GROWTH, AND FUNCTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES.
4. THE IMPORTANCE OF THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS.
5. METHODS OF REPRESENTATION.
6. METHODS OF POPULAR CONTROL, THROUGH THE INITIATIVE, THE REFERENDUM, AND THE RECALL.
7. THE PART PLAYED BY PRESSURE GROUPS.

1. Pure and Representative Democracy.—Theoretically we live in a democracy. Pure democracy, by definition, implies that each member of the group is a direct participant in political decisions. The New England town meeting, which survives in some small communities, is an example of a pure democracy.

When the community became too large for all the people to participate directly in the meetings, representative government was substituted for the more direct form of pure democracy. Our present system of government consists of representatives elected by the people to express, or at least to sponsor, the will of the electorate.

2. Democracy of the Nation's Founders.—In spite of the fact that our government was being launched on a democratic career, the men who wrote the Constitution had little confidence in the judgment of the people. Suffrage was not universal, and the higher offices were removed as far as possible from the electorate. The Electoral College, still in use for the election of the president, was designed to choose the president and the vice-president. But early in

our national history its voting became a mere matter of form, the electors voting along strict party lines and not exercising individual or collective judgment.

The choice of United States senators, the highest legislative officials of the government, was originally left to the state legislatures. But the state legislatures became strongholds of partisan politics, and numerous scandals, including the buying of charters and franchises by private corporations, brought many of the legislators under suspicion. This corruption seemed ample grounds for taking away from the state legislatures the privilege of choosing the United States senators. The question was agitated with great persistence for many years, and in 1912 the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted by Congress, and the following year was ratified by the required number of states. This amendment provides for the election of senators by popular vote.

3. Political Parties.—Almost everyone in America has at least a nominal political affiliation, but party activities are carried on by a small group of influential men who formulate the party policies. The rank and file of the parties are made up of people who hold their political beliefs because their fathers adhered to a similar faith, because they are the prevalent beliefs in the locality in which they live, or for some traditional reason which is no longer pertinent to live issues. Few Democrats or Republicans could give a definite and clear-cut reason for their political adherence, or could describe the differences between the two parties, and fewer still give the matter much thought, except when an election is imminent.

America has always been essentially a two-party country. New parties which have been formed from time to time have either superseded existing or dying parties or, after a brief period, have disappeared. The two major parties of

today derive their sanctions from the policies of the leading statesmen of the early days of the nation.

The Democrats are supposed to profess a belief in Jeffersonian democracy, and the Republicans are supposed to adhere to the idea of a strong centralized government as advocated by Hamilton and his fellow Federalists. Such characterizations, however, are more useful in campaign propaganda and party platforms than in everyday life. In the twentieth century both parties trim their sails to the winds of expediency and, with little regard to the early sanctions, endorse popular movements. The Democrats are supposed to advocate tariff for revenue only, state rights, and governmental protection of the small business man and the small factory owner against the combinations of big business; while the Republicans are supposed to favor a protective tariff, a centralization of governmental functions, and the fostering of big business. Opinions within the parties vary widely. The liberals in one party are closer to the liberals in the other than to the conservatives in their own party; and if custom and tradition had a less powerful hold, a realignment of parties would seem to be indicated by recent tendencies.

Third parties have served a useful purpose in the political life of the nation. Usually they have been motivated by the desire for some specific reform, and have championed the cause of better government. They have furnished the medium for a protest vote when thoughtful citizens felt that neither major party deserved their support.

Third parties have been, also, a valuable educational force in national politics. In their campaigns they have brought before the voters many programs for political reform and reorganization. The major parties have adopted some of these proposals after they had been made popular by a small party which had nothing to lose by

sponsoring new causes. Indeed most of the progressive legislation passed in this country in recent years has been initiated by third parties.

> Of the twenty-eight major demands concerning matters of domestic policy which were made by the minor parties in the half century preceding 1916, only four . . . have failed to be enacted into law or championed by one of the major parties in a presidential campaign.
>
> Furthermore, those twenty-four demands constitute more than two-thirds of all the constructive domestic legislation advocated in the platforms of the two great parties during that era.[1]

In spite of the fact that most people profess party affiliation, an increasing number of citizens are becoming alienated from the existing parties. The lack of clear-cut issues, the tendency to evade the issues which do arise, and the lack of vigorous leadership are some of the factors responsible for the disaffection.

Yet political parties are the only channels through which a citizen can be effective in government. No other means have been devised by which the individual can influence the political program of the group. Generally, if one does not work through a party, one's political efforts are futile.

4. Majority Rule and Minority Representation.—In the American system there is a selection of representatives by majority vote. Majority rule, however, may leave a large part of the population unrepresented. Consider, for instance, the case of a city governed by a council composed of one alderman from each of ten wards. If the same party has only a narrow majority in each ward, the council thus chosen represents only one party, though elected by slightly more than half of the people, and thus nearly half of the population has no direct representation.

The problem of the proper representation of minorities has led to many proposed solutions. One of the best known

[1] WALLACE, SCHUYLER C., *Our Governmental Machine*, Knopf, 1924.

is the system of proportional representation used in many foreign countries and recently adopted in some American cities for the election of the city council. In a system of proportional representation, or preferential voting, the voter numbers the candidates in the order of his preference, his second, third, or later choice receiving the vote when the preferred candidates have received enough votes to elect them. This method insures an equitable representation of the minority groups in the population.

Another proposal for representation is the division of the population into occupational or professional groups. Under this system, the groups would choose representatives from their own numbers and in proportion to their numerical size. For instance, the business men, if they composed one-third of the population, would elect a third of the council; the professional men would have their proportion; the working men would have theirs. This system has not been tried in America, although such a theory of occupational representation is basic in the Soviet government of Russia. The Bolshevist party, however, has excluded certain economic groups from representation.

5. Electoral Reforms.—Much is said at the present time about unfair election procedure, the buying of elections, and the stuffing of ballot boxes. However true these accusations may be, the fact remains that during the last hundred years there have been important advances in popular participation in government. Legislative bodies controlled by party machines were loath to grant electoral reforms, but many such measures have been wrung from them by an aroused electorate. When scandals have become too acute, the electorate, usually led by a vociferous third party, has demanded reforms.

One of the most important election reforms concerned the ballot. After open, or *viva voce*, voting was abandoned, it

was the custom for each party to print its own ballots. The printing of ballots was expensive, and also it enabled the political boss at the polls to know how his presumed followers voted.

In 1888, Massachusetts adopted the Australian ballot, and in a short time all the other states followed suit. The

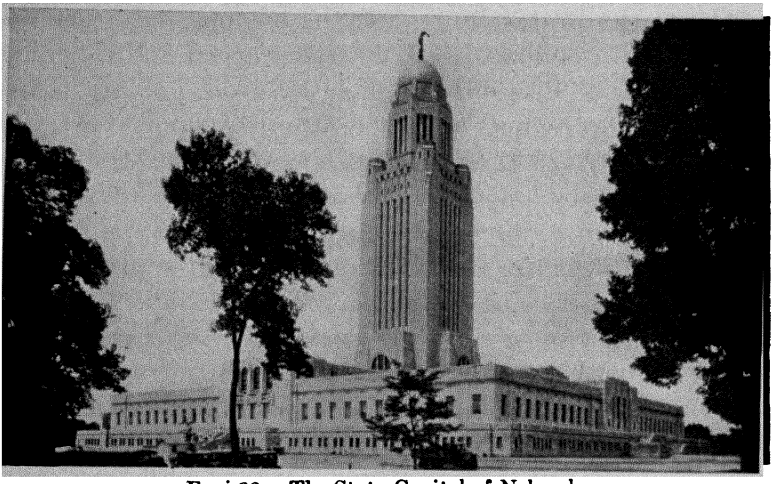

FIG. 33.—The State Capitol of Nebraska.

(In what respects does this structure illustrate the newer architecture? Compare this type of architecture with that shown in Fig. 31.)

Australian election method requires that all ballots be furnished by public officials and paid for from public funds, and that voting be secret.

There has also been much agitation, successful in some places, for the short ballot. In some cases the ballot contains so many names, measures, and proposed amendments, that few voters are competent to decide on every item. The short ballot makes it easier to decide with some wisdom on the issues presented to the voter. A few important officers are elected, each of whom has considerable appointive power and can be held responsible for the character and actions of his appointed subordinates.

6. Civil-service Reform.—Among the most flagrant of political evils was the spoils system, based on the practice introduced by Andrew Jackson. His wholesale removal of opponents and his indiscriminating appointment of friends to office established a precedent. His successors eagerly adopted the maxim, "To the victor belong the spoils."

Those who protested against the custom and urged the adoption of a civil-service law were scorned and ridiculed. The murder of President Garfield by a disappointed office seeker, however, focused public attention upon the trying situation in which the president was placed by the importunities of party followers. The assassination crystallized public opinion in favor of reform, and in 1883 Congress passed a civil-service law which authorized the president to appoint a supervising commission of three, and to extend the merit system to specified classes of federal employees. These employees were to receive appointment upon the basis of suitable examinations, and to hold office during good behavior. Various states and municipalities have followed the example of the federal government, and now most government employees are appointed on a merit system.

7. Convention System and Direct Primaries.—The disregard for the wishes of the people in the choice of candidates and the unscrupulous manipulations of professional politicians in the party conventions brought a revolt against the convention system which had long concentrated political power in the hands of the few.

In 1903 Wisconsin passed the first state-wide primary law. This was followed by similar laws in other states, until, at present, a large part of the country directly nominates at primary elections some or all of its officials.

After the passage of laws which placed the choice of candidates in the hands of the people, came laws safeguarding and supervising the elections more thoroughly, and

aiming to prevent much of the election corruption which was prevalent at the time of their passage. These are known as the Corrupt Practices Laws.

8. Initiative, Referendum, and Recall.—Having won the right to choose their candidates, it was but a logical step for the voters to demand the right to propose legislation and to reject laws passed by the legislatures. In this movement, as in other political reforms, the states west of the Mississippi led the way, and in 1898 South Dakota adopted the first constitutional provision establishing the initiative and referendum.

The initiative is a legal provision by which a group of citizens is allowed to propose a new law. The proposed law is voted upon by the entire electorate. If the proposal receives a majority vote, it becomes a law precisely as if it had originated in, and been passed by, the legislature.

For instance, Mr. A, who lives in a state which has the initiative, advocates a better law for the sanitary protection of food. He discusses the matter with friends and acquaintances, and persuades them to sign a petition to have this proposed law placed on the ballot at the next election. If he has the legally required number of signers to his petition, the proposal must be presented to the voters. If they approve it, it becomes a law.

In states which have the referendum, if Mr. A dislikes a law which the legislature has passed, he and a specified number of other citizens may petition to have the law placed before the electorate. If the majority vote against it, the law is rescinded.

Several states have adopted the initiative and referendum, and a few have added a provision for the recall of officials before the expiration of their terms. The recall has been used to remove from elective positions officials who, it is believed, have not been faithful in the perform-

ance of their duty. These last measures, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, have not been so widely adopted as some other political reforms.

9. Extension of the Franchise.—The tendency throughout our history has been toward a larger participation of

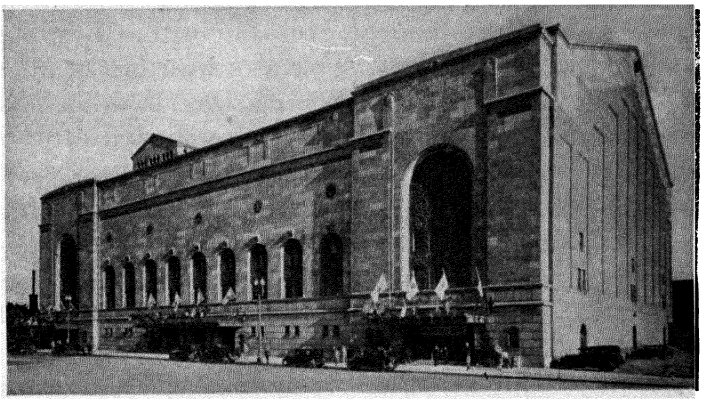

FIG. 34.—A municipal auditorium (Minneapolis, Minn.).
(The inscription on its facade states: "Builded for a community knit together by common needs and with a common devotion directing its common life.")

the individual citizen in the government of the nation. Very slowly our government has come to be in fact a government "by the people."

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, some of the states required a property qualification for voters. This was gradually done away with, and all freemen were given the vote.

The constitutional amendments adopted at the close of the Civil War made citizens of, and granted suffrage to, those who previously had been debarred by color, race, or condition of servitude. In other words, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments granted citizenship and the franchise to the Negroes. Approximately one-half of the adult citizens were then enfranchised.

In 1920 the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution enfranchised women, and then the government was actually in the hands of all the people. "The fruits of a hundred years of agitation and social development had finally been garnered."

10. Efficiency in Government.—Efficiency, as well as democracy, is an important political ideal. But unfortunately these two ideals have been regarded as conflicting and mutually exclusive, rather than as supplementary, ideals of good government. Some absolute governments have been very efficient, and many democracies have been woefully inefficient. Can the ideals of democracy and of efficiency in government be reconciled?

The discussion and agitation engendered by recent political reforms concentrated the attention of thoughtful students of politics upon the fabric of our political organization. Gradually a country which demanded the utmost efficiency from private concerns in industry began to ask for a more businesslike system of managing governmental affairs.

There is now a tendency to demand clear-cut, straightforward efficiency in government. Budgets—national, state, and municipal—have replaced the slipshod financial arrangements once in vogue. City managers have attempted to administer the affairs of a municipality on the business principles that govern great corporations. In 1932, 436 communities of this country, with a total population of 7,500,000 were operating under the city-manager plan. In many of our commonwealths state reorganization has abolished superfluous departments and bureaus and increased the business efficiency of those retained.

11. Citizen Pressure Groups.—Much of the political progress of the last few decades has been initiated and promoted not only by third parties, as has been noted,

but by certain "pressure groups" interested in good government and organized to promote general welfare in government. Prominent among them have been the women's clubs and the men's service organizations which flourish in most modern communities. Bureaus of municipal research are primarily fact-finding organizations, but they furnish civic ammunition to these pressure groups of interested citizens. By their vigilance in local politics and their concentration upon issues for the general welfare, citizen pressure groups become a power for good in their communities, and are able to make effective a program of political progress.

SUMMARY

Political organization is the authoritative framework of society. It embodies the laws and the law-making body, the executive and the judicial power. No one can escape its demands. Everyone, whether he will or not, is subject to its authority.

The people of the United States have adopted a representative form of government. They do not rule directly, but choose individuals to make, administer, or interpret the laws, and all the people are bound to obey those who have been placed in authority. The specific acts of these chosen individuals do not, therefore, necessarily represent the wishes of the majority of the people. In many cases, perhaps, it is not desirable that they should do so, for most individuals are not competent in governmental matters.

Through the initiative, the recall, and the referendum, which have been adopted in some states, however, the people have some control over legislation and over executive matters. The initiative, the recall, and the referendum allow them to enact law, to recall executive or judicial officials, and to reject laws which have received the approval of the legislature.

The United States has approximated, but never reached, a thoroughly democratic form of government. Indeed, many students of political matters are not convinced that a thoroughgoing democracy is a superior form of government. It assumes that one man is as capable as another in matters of government; and that assumption certainly is not justified. Recent reforms have been concerned largely with efficiency in government, and with the elimination of graft and undue influence.

Questions

1. How were the colonies governed? Outline various types of colonial government.
2. Why is city government separated from county government? How is this separation accomplished?
3. How does the presence of the foreign-born in large groups affect problems of government?
4. Do public utility groups have special political interests? Why?
5. In what way has the suffrage been affected by (*a*) age, (*b*) sex, (*c*) race?
6. What are some of the ideals of a self-governing democracy?
7. Explain our party systems. Give advantages and disadvantages.
8. How are candidates for office nominated, in the case of (*a*) governor, (*b*) president?
9. What is meant by preferential voting?
10. Explain the recall, and the manner in which it works.
11. What is meant by the city-manager plan? What cities have it?
12. Explain the direct primary.
13. What is the convention system?

Exercises

1. Explain the form of government in your city, or in the nearest city.
2. How did the government in the colonies differ from the later government in the states?
3. Give examples of state legislation which applies only to cities. Is this discriminative? Why, or why not?
4. What are the federal courts, and what functions do they perform?
5. Explain the difference between the form of city government and that of county government.
6. Investigate the movement for home rule in cities. Prepare a brief report on it.

7. Prepare a brief statement of the recent progress and success of the city-manager plan.

8. Explain one or two systems of preferential voting. Demonstrate each as applied to a class election in your school.

Vocabulary Test

amendment	franchise	representation
electorate	politics	rescind
democracy		

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PART VII

ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS IN THEIR SOCIAL ASPECTS

CHAPTER XVII

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN INDUSTRIALISM

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE INFLUENCE OF SCIENCE UPON TECHNOLOGY.
2. THE CHANGES IN MANNER OF LIVING MADE BY MACHINES.
3. THE IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRIAL CHEMISTRY.
4. THE INFLUENCE OF SCIENCE AND MACHINERY ON RURAL LIFE.
5. THEIR INFLUENCE UPON CITY LIFE.

1. Science and the Machine.—Modern Western civilization is the product of the development of science and of power-driven machinery, and to this development we owe the complexity of modern life. Through it our culture has grown from dependence upon agriculture and the handicrafts into a way of life so thoroughly dominated by machines and the products of machines that our era is known as the machine age. Every phase of our civilization is influenced by this scientific and technological development.

Until the Industrial Revolution man had been dependent upon himself, a few domesticated animals, and meager and insufficient tools. The returns from his handicraft and agricultural labor were as scant as his equipment. His hands were occupied with the task of feeding and clothing himself and his family, and his mind was harassed by the specter of hunger and want. Seldom were there sufficient simple material things for everyone: famine, privation, and epidemics were the common lot of mankind.

Crude tools developed into more complicated hand implements, and in the growing towns artisans perfected such

(*Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal*)

FIG. 35.—An early locomotive, passenger, and freight car.

(This was the first train to cross the upper Missouri River, January 1879. Contrast its size with that of a modern locomotive. Note also that steam locomotives now are giving way to electric ones. The steam locomotive may follow the covered wagon into the museum of history.)

handicrafts as the making of textiles and the working of metals.

Though our forefathers who lived in the early years of the republic thought their world complex and surprising, actually they were living in a civilization which had changed little with the passing of generations, from the time of Moses to the nineteenth century. "Nothing faster than a horse was known to Nebuchadnezzar or to Thomas Jefferson."

2. Machines Have Changed the World.—The machine age has changed the world with accelerated rapidity Machines have freed man from much heavy toil; science has banished famine from civilized lands and has controlled diseases which formerly decimated populations.

Never again will human muscles be required to furnish motive power such as built the pyramids; never need the world see numberless hordes die of starvation; never will London be visited with another black death such as the one which in the seventeenth century threatened to destroy the population of that city. Relieved in mind and body, man gains, through modern efficiency, leisure in which to enjoy the products of his age. In man's own hands, in the way he chooses to spend his leisure, lies his opportunity for a richer and fuller life.

The principle of the steam engine was known more than two thousand years ago, but its practical importance dates only from the application of the power of the stationary engine to machinery. In 1769 James Watt obtained a patent on such an appliance and laid the foundation of the new age. This steam engine, placed on wheels and made to turn them, has produced the marvels of transportation by rail.

The development of an internal-combustion portable engine, using a new fuel, gasoline, has made possible the

automobile and the airplane. The turbine engine, driven by water power, generates electricity, which promises to become the motive power of the future. Some of the untoward accompaniments of steam-driven machinery, notably, smoke, dirt, congestion, and noise, may disappear under the touch of electricity, the potentialities of which have only recently been recognized.

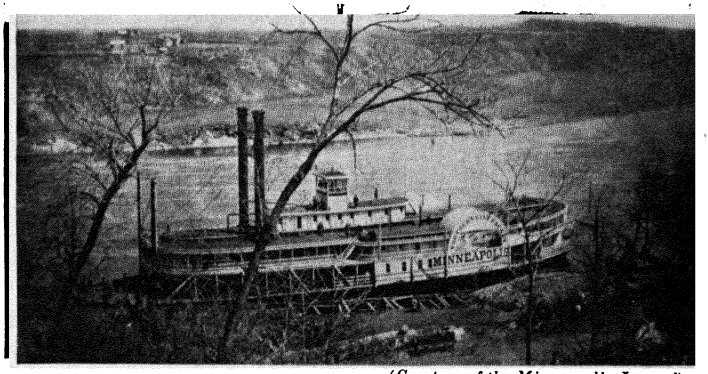
Our material world has been changed, and our thinking and our attitude towards our world have been modified by the new scientific knowledge. In the last fifty years there have been unprecedented developments in machine industry and in scientific research.

The age of science and the age of the machine are the interdependent products of a common development. Back of the machine is the invention, back of the invention the idea, back of the idea the accumulated fund of scientific knowledge. The science of the centuries is at the point of the surgeon's knife.

Cheap books and magazines, made possible by efficient machines, spread the knowledge of the results of scientific research and inspire other men to scientific efforts. Even the Sunday newspaper supplements describe the marvels of science and the latest inventions. Belief in the power of science has so strong a hold upon the popular mind that today people expect the scientist to meet every material demand of our civilization. The man in the street does not "view with alarm" the fact that our oil and coal supplies are not limitless; he does not worry when told that the possible food supplies may some day be exhausted. He replies that science will find a new fuel and new food supplies. Perhaps he is overconfident, but experience seems to justify his equanimity. When, for example, the supply of German dyestuffs was cut off by the World War, scientists bestirred themselves in their laboratories and produced dyes both fast

and beautiful; though, meanwhile, it is true, we used colors which were "here today and gone tomorrow." Eventually, however, the results of experimentation were satisfactory.

Scientists met poison gas with gas masks and with new poison gases. Fighting and scouting planes required lighter engines, and the engineers produced them. Little is now



(*Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal*)

FIG. 36.—Early steamboat on the Mississippi River.

(This type of river packet boat was common in the eighties of the last century from Minneapolis to New Orleans. This photograph was taken in 1885 at Minneapolis. Notice the side wheels. Contrast with modern screw propeller and oil burner. List other recent improvements.)

left to chance, for scientists are constantly working, planning, and experimenting, producing goods unknown today which will be incorporated into our material culture tomorrow—witness the radio, perhaps the most rapidly diffused trait in our culture.

3. Importance of Steel.—The steel used at the present day is an example of the wide and important influence of an article of modern development. Every phase of life in the scientific era is indebted to the development of methods of producing high-grade steel. The use of heavy cars and the speed of modern express trains would be impossible on rails made of iron or of the inferior steel used on the early rail-

roads. The use of cars made of steel, instead of wood, as formerly, increases the safety and the comfort of the traveler. The present-day surgeon depends upon the high quality of modern steel for the superior instrument with which he operates, as well as for the keen-edged safety-razor blade with which he shaves, and the stainless steel carving knife with which he slices the family roast. With the introduction of high-grade steel, equipment for farm and factory, machinery and tools of every kind, became more efficient and more dependable.

4. Chemical Research and Utilization of Industrial By-products.—Today chemical laboratories are supported by, and are important parts of, many large industries. In these laboratories, research is conducted to discover uses for the by-products and waste materials of the industries. A by-product of the raisin grape industry is the tartaric acid obtained from grape seeds and used in the making of baking powders. Oil is extracted from cottonseed and the remaining meal is fed to cattle.

The large meat-packing plants so thoroughly utilize every part of the animals which they slaughter that it has been said they sell all of a pig except his squeal; and doubtless they would pack the squeal, too, if there were a market for it. The utilization by one generation of the materials discarded by a preceding one almost justifies the statement that each generation lives on the waste piles of its predecessor.

Perhaps the story of coal tar best illustrates the effect on everyday life of the utilization of by-products. Coal tar is a by-product of the manufacture of gas and coke. It was long regarded as a useless waste material very difficult to dispose of. It clogged the gas works, it was offensive if allowed to accumulate on land, and if run off in the streams it killed the fish.

Chemists took from this disagreeable substance innumerable things which now beautify or benefit mankind. From it are produced the aniline dyes which make present-day life a colorful pageant. Clothing was relatively dull and drab before chemical processes added to the few colors already in daily use the thousand hues available to the modern dyer. Coal-tar products color our clothing and our draperies, tint and flavor our foods, and provide the ingredients of many commercial perfumes.

The physician has an able ally in coal tar; from it is produced a series of drugs which aid in combating disease and in alleviating pain. Aspirin, novocaine, which is used as a local anaesthetic, and luminal, which is used to treat epilepsy, are examples. Coal-tar dyes are used to stain bacteria so that they can be detected through the microscope and can be photographed. This has been of inestimable value in diagnosing disease and also in the development of vaccines to cure or prevent disease.

Coal tar is the base of the most powerful and effective explosives used in modern warfare. The prodigal use of these munitions distinguished the Great War from all preceding wars, and only when the Allies received adequate supplies of munitions derived from coal tar were they able to counter the drives of the Germans who had large supplies of these chemical products.

Coal tar is the ultimate base of much of the insulating material used for electric lights and power currents, for the telephone and the radio. Phonograph records also are made from coal-tar derivatives.

5. Machines and Rural Life.—In the second quarter of the twentieth century, life on the farm is essentially different from rural life in the early nineteenth century or in any previous age. In many areas, electric power lines carry cheap power to the farms. Where such lines have not yet

penetrated there are occasional private plants for generating electricity; and in many places the gasoline engine is used for pumping water, running machines, or sawing wood. Labor-saving devices have revolutionized farming. A tractor operated by one man takes the place of many horses and many men.

The motor car and truck save much time formerly consumed in traveling to town to transact business or to market crops. They make it possible for the farmer to market perishable crops, and thus they aid diversified farming. Trucks, refrigerator cars, and airplanes may eventually modify profoundly the agricultural pursuits of extensive areas, and make it profitable to produce in each area the goods suited to climate and soil. At the present time, for example, many of the florists of Paris find it more satisfactory and more economical to have fresh flowers shipped in daily from Southern Europe by specially constructed airplanes than to maintain greenhouses in Paris.

6. Science Remaking Rural Life.—Machines inside and outside the dwelling have greatly modified farm life, and equally great changes have been effected through research in scientific agriculture. Farmers have been convinced by demonstration and experiment of the superiority of diversified farming over a one-crop system. The majority of them no longer put "all their eggs in one basket"; they do not stand or fall with the fluctuations of prices in one commodity. They have learned that, in the long run, high-bred stock is the cheapest and most profitable; and they have learned the proper cultivation and fertilization of the soil.

Nearly every state maintains an agricultural college and an experiment station where scientific investigations are carried on in every line of science which can aid the farmer. The United States Department of Agriculture supports similar projects on a large scale. If the farmer's hogs die,

or if his potato crop is a failure, he can enlist the services of scientific investigators who will suggest methods of preventing a recurrence of the disaster.

As a result of experiments and of a knowledge of chemistry, much that formerly was waste material has been salvaged and has become a source of profit to the farmer. The by-products, such as cottonseed, which formerly were discarded as useless waste, are now utilized.

If the present attempt to make paper from cornstalks succeeds in producing a satisfactory cheap paper, it will mean an important new source of revenue for the states in the corn belt.

7. The Passing of Rural Isolation.—In the past, one of the main drawbacks to farm life was its isolation. Families were deprived of the good music and lectures which might be heard in the cities; the schools were poorly taught and inadequately equipped; and women living on farms were deprived of the everyday social contacts available to the women in towns and cities.

In the machine age these conditions have been changed. The telephone linked home with home, and was both an instrument of business and a source of social contacts. Then came the radio, and now each isolated farmhouse is in the flood of sound which pours over the earth almost every hour of day and night.

Meanwhile, music and entertainment were introduced into farm homes by the phonograph; better educational facilities were provided by union schools, made accessible by school buses; good roads and automobiles made distant farms neighbors; and the satisfactions of life were enhanced to a degree hitherto undreamed of. Magazine advertisements and mail-order catalogues carry information of fashions in clothes and furniture, and each year rural families utilize more machine products.

The most serious drawbacks to rural life have been removed by science and technical knowledge. The result may be a larger proportion of population on the farms, or at least in villages and small towns.

8. The Machine and City Life.—The city, no less than the country, has felt the transforming influence of the machine. In fact, the large populations of the cities would have been impossible before the machine age. Machines and science have enabled the earth's surface to produce sufficient food to sustain the great increase in population which has taken place in the last century. Previously any appreciable increase in numbers would have been prevented by recurring famine.

The efficient transportation systems which daily bring in food supplies from farms and orchards, often many miles distant, enable this increased population to collect in great cities. The urban dweller is entirely dependent upon transportation facilities for his daily bread, as well as for the butter which goes on it, and for everything which is served with it.

The modern city spreads over an ever enlarging area. Railways, subways, elevated trains, surface cars, buses, and private automobiles enable large groups of people to live long distances from their daily work without using an undue amount of time in commuting. Distance is no longer properly estimated by miles but, for practical purposes, by the time required to travel between two places. It has been well said that "God made the country, man made the city, but the automobile made the suburb." "Forty-five minutes from Broadway" has become a serious reality as well as a popular song.

Sanitation, pure drinking water, clean streets, and the proper disposal of waste materials have made cities safe places in which to live. These achievements are peculiar

to an age which removes the menace of unsanitary conditions by utilizing scientific research and modern technology.

9. The Machine and the Home.—Probably no phase of life has been more fundamentally changed by machines than has the home. Formerly the home was a potent and creative factor in economic life; the wife was an economic asset to her husband and produced within the home as many of the necessities of life as he did in field or shop.

Gradually most of these functions were absorbed by industries outside the home. No longer does the housewife spin and weave the cloth or even sew it into garments. The laundry, the bakery, the cannery, the delicatessen store, the clothing factory have taken from women the major enterprises which once filled their days. In the work still carried on in the home, the machine age annually furnishes greater assistance. Electric vacuum cleaners, dishwashers, washing machines, irons, automatic ranges, and refrigerators do the work quickly and well, and thus shorten the working hours of the housewife.

Houses are heated by oil or gas furnaces controlled by thermostats and operated without labor. The old-fashioned, coal-dust-laden, ash-strewn basement has been converted into a clean, pleasant recreation room with the furnace an ornament, if we can believe the optimistic advertisements. These changes have profoundly modified the culture pattern of the home.

These mechanical aids have made houses more comfortable and more pleasant places in which to live, but by taking from women their traditional occupations they have brought the dissatisfactions which usually arise when time is unoccupied. Women have gone out of their homes into club work or into industrial or professional fields. Hence, there is less home life than formerly.

Frequently the higher standard of living made possible by machinery induces the wife to find work outside the home. In order to afford luxuries, she must add her earnings to those of her husband. Thus the work taken from the home by machines and the use of more machines in the home have modified the character of family life.

The modern factory system now employs millions of women, whose wages are necessary in order to maintain their families. They must take the outside job offered by machine industry. The result of the absence of the mother from the home, and the ultimate effects upon the family from overwork and fatigue of both mother and children, are problems that have confronted society ever since the Industrial Revolution made it possible for women and children to find gainful employment outside the home.

10. Machine Process and Standardization.—Quantity production of machine-made goods influences numerous phases of our culture. Dress, for example, is standardized. Our food is similarly standardized, and, thanks to refrigeration, transportation, preservation, and advertisement, we eat the same things, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Canada to the Gulf. In Boston and in San Diego household furniture consists of the same davenports, overstuffed chairs, and bridge lamps. An innovation travels and becomes standardized with the speed of the mails which carry the advertisements.

Modern large-scale industry depends upon quantity production. Only by making many duplicates can the price of an article be kept at a minimum. Quantity production necessitates the selling of products in large quantities; hence the demand for them is stimulated by skillful advertising, and we are taught to want the same kind of beds, the same kind of kitchen sinks and linoleums, the same kind of everything that everyone else has in his house.

11. Advertising as a Social Force.—The advertising which thus standardizes our daily lives is itself dependent upon machines to produce the millions of pictures and posters which it utilizes, and upon scientific developments in the use of color and artistic technic to make them attractive. The appeal of advertisements is largely psychological, and the advertiser, therefore, needs the assistance of psychologists as well as of artists.

Scientific advertising attains the proportion of a major industry and influences many of the actions and reactions of almost every citizen. The ultimate value of such an economic tool must not be confused with its social effects, which are important but cannot be precisely determined. To be different from others is an oft expressed wish, but actually we do not wish to be very different.

12. The Machine and the Drive for Efficiency.—The speeding up of industry in order to produce large quantities at low prices has led to the discarding of old methods of production and the introduction of new ones. Everywhere the gospel of efficiency is preached, and efficiency experts have become overnight an important part of the industrial economy.

Efficiency experts offer to reorganize our offices and even our homes. People desire to be efficient at whatever cost.

The endeavor to secure greater efficiency in the management of industry has led to detailed studies of fatigue in the worker, variations in accuracy, time-saving movements, durability of materials, and all phases of the problems of cost, quantity, and quality. Thus, for example, many useless movements are eliminated, with a saving of time and energy to the worker, and an increase in his efficiency.

The drive for efficiency has resulted in the weeding out of many outgrown methods and ideas, but, like some other beneficial tendencies, it has potentialities for evil as well

as for good; for some of the higher values of life are sacrificed to mere efficiency.

13. Some Untoward Effects of the Machine.—Not all machines are conducive to the health and welfare of mankind. In addition to the machines which produce the implements of warfare, and the research which develops more efficient means for exterminating our fellows, there are machines and processes, apparently innocent, which produce much distress among the workers. In some industries the dust seriously affects the lungs of the workers exposed to it. Some chemicals used in factories are a menace to the health of the workers. An example is the famous case of the women who absorbed radium into their systems by pointing with their lips the brushes with which they painted the luminous numbers on the faces of watches. To such occupational diseases must be added the hazards of working near dangerous machinery. Industry in the machine age is often far from kind to the workers who are in close contact with the machines.

In addition to the more obvious ill effects of the machine on the worker, certain social maladjustments have been created or stimulated by scientific developments. The mechanical developments of the industrial age have contributed to the two extremes of wealth and poverty. Poverty, with its attendant woes of undernourishment, overcrowding, and disease, increased in this country during the time that mass production created enormous wealth and brought great benefits to the few or the many.

The possibilities of crime also are increased by modern machines. High-powered motor cars, machine guns, tools, and explosives for "cracking" safes aid in the commission of crime and in the escape of the criminal.

There have, on the other hand, been important developments in the detection of crime and the apprehension of

criminals. Among these developments are the methods of identification of finger prints, the filing of accurate physical measurements and descriptions of known criminals, the use of telegraph, radio, and television to send descriptions and photographs of fugitives from justice, motion pictures of criminals, and the phonographic reproduction of confessions.

SUMMARY

For ages human labor involved a heavy drain upon muscular activity. Man was aided by a few crude tools—ax, hammer, knife, hoe—but his muscles furnished the motive power. When he acquired machines, these became servants to his needs.

For ages, too, man was ignorant of the essential character of his physical world. Science has revealed materials and forces of which he had been ignorant, for it has penetrated some of the secrets of chemistry and physics.

Knowledge is the key to power. Technology, or applied science, has enabled man to refashion his world and make it more to his liking. On the other hand, power machinery and the new technology have great possibilities for evil as well as great potentialities for social progress.

Questions

1. How did the invention of the cotton gin affect economic conditions in the South? Did it have any political effects? If so, what?
2. Describe some of the effects of Fulton's invention of the steamboat.
3. How have transatlantic travel and transportation affected international relations?
4. How does the radio affect our culture?
5. How have railroads helped in the development of this country?
6. Describe some of the effects of the introduction and use of the automobile.
7. How has the improvement of machinery affected the workers?
8. Does improvement in technical devices always bring benefits to all who are influenced by it? Explain.
9. How has road building affected community life?

10. What technological improvements or inventions have been made during your own lifetime?

Exercises

1. Give an account of the development of railways.
2. What countries have the greatest railroad mileage? What does this mean in cultural development?
3. What uses are made of (*a*) the X-ray, (*b*) radium?
4. When was the steam engine invented? Where? By whom? How?
5. What is the rotary press, and when was it invented? What is its significance?
6. What types of farm machinery have been invented and adopted since colonial days?
7. What is the Diesel engine, and what has been its importance in the modern industrial world?
8. How has the airplane influenced our civilization?
9. What uses have been made of ultra-violet light?
10. What is meant by synthetic chemistry? What are its implications?
11. Make a list of twenty important inventions or improvements of the last hundred years.

Vocabulary Test

capitalism	research	ultimate
equanimity	science	unprecedented
industrialism	technology	

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CHAPTER XVIII

INFLUENCE OF MODERN INDUSTRIALISM ON CULTURE AND SOCIAL LIFE

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE GENERAL INFLUENCE OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT UPON THE ENTIRE CULTURE.
2. THE TENDENCY FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT TO PROCEED FASTER THAN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.
3. THE INFLUENCE OF MACHINERY UPON CIVILIZATION.
4. THE SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY.
5. THE PLAY OF AESTHETIC IMPULSES UPON TECHNOLOGY.

1. Industrial Development Changes the Entire Culture. The industrialism of America has changed the fabric of its social life. From an agricultural people versed in the ancient handicrafts, we have become an urban people with an industrial scheme so specialized that, with few exceptions, no individual produces more than a small part of any article in general use. In 1860 not more than one-sixth of the people lived in towns of over eight thousand inhabitants. By 1900 less than two-fifths of the people of the nation were tilling the land. By 1925 this group has dropped to 25.2 per cent of the total population.

The concentration of population in cities contains possibilities for both good and evil. In urban communities people have better educational facilities, and the use of libraries, reading rooms, and civic centers. Museums, concert halls, and playgrounds are accessible. Children can participate in pageants, music festivals, and organized athletics. They can avail themselves of the public-health services of the city and of the provisions for public welfare and public safety.

In addition to these civic advantages, the city worker, because of the short hours during which he is employed, has more leisure, which means more opportunity for self-development, than was formerly the case. On the other hand, social conditions in the cities often facilitate vice, crime, poverty, sickness, and dependency.

The growth in industry has far outstripped the development of social consciousness and the ability of society to deal with the social problems occasioned by the change. The long hours which still prevail in some industries in spite of the movement to shorten them, the prevalence of child labor, the crowding and the low standards of living due to poverty, the low physical vitality caused by undernourishment and disease, are some of the weak spots in the social fabric. These ills are augmented when human beings are herded together in masses and made to serve the machine.

2. Influence of the Machine on Culture.—The effects of machine industry spread beyond the confines of the factories, and eventually every part of our culture was influenced by the new industry. Machines and scientific research now modify all phases of our everyday life.

It is difficult for those who live in the twentieth century to realize how bare life was for the common man before machines made ordinary goods abundant and cheap. Hand-made cotton and linen cloth were too scarce and too precious for everyday use as undergarments, and consequently the poor did not have them. Outer garments also were expensive, and a laboring man could not own changes of clothing. Consequently, apparel was worn constantly until it had to be replaced because it was too ragged for further use.

The absence of personal cleanliness and hygiene was conspicuous. Among the higher classes hygienic conditions

were little better. The lords and ladies of Queen Elizabeth's court wore gorgeous velvets and brocades, but, judged by modern standards, neither the people nor the apparel were clean, and heavy perfumes were used to smother less agreeable odors. The nobility had few of the conveniences which we of the twentieth century consider essential. Today the workingman accepts as a matter of course comforts and luxuries which only two or three centuries ago were beyond the dreams of powerful princes.

It is difficult to imagine a world stripped of machine-made goods. We should be without sanitation plumbing, and heating systems; low-priced fabrics of silk, wool, and cotton; canned goods; books, newspapers, and magazines; and rapid transportation. In short, we should be back in the stage-coach age, and the stage-coach itself would have to be sawed and planed, welded and hammered by hand from raw materials, with the aid of crude, clumsy tools.

3. Social Importance of Science and Industry.—Benjamin Franklin showed an almost uncanny gift of prophecy when he wrote from France concerning the importance to America of science and the concept of progress.

> It is [he said] impossible to imagine the height to which may be carried in a thousand years the power of man over matter. We may perhaps learn to deprive large masses of their gravity and give them absolute levity, for the sake of easy transport. Agriculture may diminish its labor and double its produce, all diseases may by sure means be prevented or cured, not excepting that of old age, and our lives lengthened at pleasure even beyond the antediluvian standard. O that moral science were in a fair way of improvement, that men would cease to be wolves to one another, and that human beings would at length learn what they now improperly call humanity.

Franklin appreciated the potentialities of scientific development and also the fact of social lag, that is, the failure of social science to keep abreast of the changes in the material conditions of life.

When industry was organized on a handicraft scale and a worker made the entire article, he generally used the material available in his own locality or in near-by localities. He depended little upon the rest of the world for the necessities of his trade or of his daily life.

Large-scale production, which gathers together many men for specialized work, changes this condition. Food for the worker and food for the machine must be brought from afar. The factories of Ohio draw their supplies of rubber from distant lands. The woolen mills of England may use as their raw material wool from Australia, and for their machines metals from America. The manufacturing of shoes seems a simple process, yet it depends not only on tanners who prepare the leather, but also upon farmers and herders who raise the cattle which furnish the hides; upon industries which supply iron and lumber for the barns and slaughter-houses; and upon the workmen who build them.

The interdependence of the various industries is a growing phase of large-scale production. There is also a financial interdependence, fostered by the prevailing credit system, which links together into one economic and financial system not only the industries of one nation, but also the industries of all the nations of the world.

4. Prestige of Machine-made Goods.—It is the fashion to deplore the supplanting of the handicraft article by the product of the machine. The change from handicraft to manufacturing was not due entirely to the superiority of the machine-made article nor, in the beginning, wholly to the cheapness of the latter. It involved a certain state of mind in the people. At first, the common attitude was one of naive amazement and wonder that inanimate machines could produce things which formerly had been made by hand.

Everywhere machine-made goods were desired and sought. They were used for display, if for no better

purpose. Houses contained machine-made embroideries, draperies, and furniture, and were so filled with the wonderful machine products that the occupants were cramped for space. On the outside, the plain and simple dignity of colonial architecture, developed in a period when there was not time for superfluous decoration, gave way to ornamentation of line and to endless intricacies of decoration, the product of the jigsaw. The ground which surrounded these mansions boasted molded iron stags and hounds, the product of the iron foundry.

In the era when machine goods were worshipped, the highest praise that handwork could receive was "almost as good as machine work." It was the reaction of a world amazed and overwhelmed by the ability of machinery to produce goods almost without the aid of human hands. It is not surprising that for a time this attitude dominated and made the artificial physical surroundings ugly and cheap.

The same spirit of wonder and satisfaction in human achievements led the early users of gas and electricity to illuminate their houses with an almost intolerable glare. A similar attitude today exists among radio "fans," who are more interested in getting a faint whisper from a distant station than in listening to something distinct and interesting from a station close by.

At first little attention was paid to the appearance of the machine-made article. Utility was stressed, and beauty, if considered at all, was thought unnecessary. This was especially true of vehicles. The early railway cars were merely "stagecoaches on tracks," and the first automobile copied the form of the buggy; the early automobile was truly a "horseless carriage."

When the automobile had been sufficiently developed mechanically to assure it a place in our culture, there was a demand that it be beautiful as well as efficient, and the

modern motor car was evolved. The mechanical perfection of the automobile is now so great that beauty and luxury are among the "points" most stressed by rival firms.

The high-swung body that was necessary on uneven roads was abandoned for a lower and more graceful one when smooth roads made the latter practical. The modern highway grew out of the demands of motorists, and was built in part with money raised by special taxes on gasoline and cars. Thus these two culture traits acted upon and modified each other. The car was built to suit the ideal road, and the road was built to suit the ideal car.

5. Revived Interest in Beauty.—After use and familiarity dimmed enthusiasm for machine-made articles, there was a revulsion of feeling against a world filled with ugly things which were there primarily because they could be made mechanically in large quantities. It is now recognized that machine-made articles need not be ugly, and there has followed a revival of interest in beauty, and an attempt to regain in the machine-made product the grace of line and form which distinguished the earlier handicraft articles. Textiles imitate the old hand-woven fabrics, makers of furniture copy designs from lovely museum pieces, and their products have aesthetic dignity. Interest in early hand-made type is revived by typographical notes at the ends of books; and beautifully printed books satisfy eye as well as mind.

Such attempts to perfect the products of the machine will bring back much of the beauty lost in the early machine age; and it will bring it back on such a large scale that all of the people can benefit from it. The products of the ancient handicrafts were sometimes lovely, but they were scarce and benefited only the wealthy few.

For the achievement of beauty, however, the modern age is not dependent upon the past. The psychology of the

machine age expresses itself in the lines and designs of modern art, in furniture, and in decoration. Movement and speed influence the design of the artist. He responds also to the spirit which actuates the scientist, and cultivates a realism which discovers and reveals beauty in the mechanized world. He prefers to paint a group of mills with their smokestacks rather than to depict angels. Researches into the physics of light and color enable him to produce new effects in new ways. He is both artist and realist, and finds beauty and interest in the apparently commonplace.

In music the machine age has expressed itself in jazz, and has invented for that purpose a new instrument, the saxophone. The machine reproduction of music makes it possible for all of the people to enjoy artists who formerly were heard only in the great cities. The phonograph preserves for future generations the voices of today; Caruso, though dead, lives for posterity in the records which he made during his lifetime, as authors live in their books.

One cannot yet predict what effect mechanically reproduced music will have on the musical abilities of the people. Probably amateur performances will be discouraged and there will be fewer amateur musicians. Will a nation of listeners be able to produce new music? Or will they be forced to choose between the jazz of today and the classics of yesterday? The great composers took many of their themes from the songs, folk dances, and ballads of people who sang as they worked or played. Without this inspiration, the soil of our culture may become too impoverished for musical creations, and "the spread of music by mechanics may presage extinction of music as a direct spiritual experience."

6. Other Cultural Influences of Modern Industrialism.—During recent decades there has been a revival of interest in biography. Whereas earlier biography dealt largely with

statesmen and men of letters, the machine age develops interest in the men who have made it. Captains of industry and founders of great fortunes are among the subjects of present-day biography; and the lives of famous

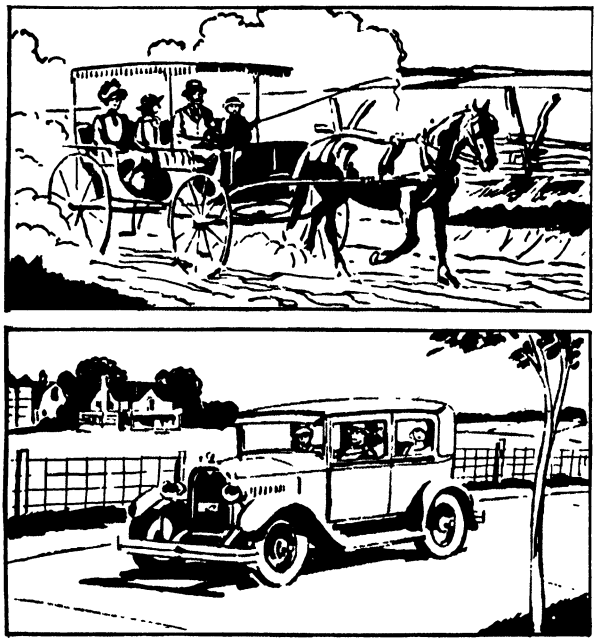


FIG. 37.—Taking the family out for a drive in the country—then and now.

(What social significance does this improvement in transportation possess? What are the advantages and disadvantages of the automobile? What is involved in the statement, "This is a fast age"?)

characters of history are being reinterpreted and rewritten in the light of the new psychology.

Scientific research and the habit of inquiring into real causes and effects have taken sentimentality out of literature, and much contemporary fiction exhibits a curious realism which seems to imply that to be realistic a novel must picture the ugly and the sordid. This, however, is merely

one extreme of the movement, and the tendency now seems toward acknowledgement that good and lovely things also are real. Modern psychology influences both the style of authors and the content of their books. Mental processes, the stream of consciousness, the development of personality, have to a large extent taken the place of the plot and incident method of an earlier era.

Language itself is modified by machines and by scientific developments and inventions. New words and phrases are added to express new ideas, and words which are no longer needed become obsolete. Almost the entire vocabulary used by the aviator is the product of the last twenty years. It requires twenty-five pages in the Revised Edition of the New Oxford Dictionary to include the words beginning with the letter *a* which have been introduced into our language during the last two decades.

In psychology and education the methods have changed from introspection and contemplation to experiment. Taking their cue from the mechanical sciences, the social sciences seek to discover by experiment and observation how minds react and develop and what educational devices produce the desired effects. The instruments of the new technique are the psychological test, the adding machine, and the graph.

7. The Machine and the Worker.—Perhaps the most serious accusations made against machines and the huge organizations of the machine age are concerned with the problems of the industrial workers, who come into daily contact with the machines and are subjected to the stress, strain, tension, monotony, noise, and fatigue attendant upon the mechanics of high-speed production.

Generalities in this field are as false as most other platitudes. Machines and the personal contacts with them are as varied as life itself. Instead of stultifying the worker,

many machines demand from him considerable intelligence and a higher mentality than is required in handwork—for example, linotype, as compared with hand composition, in printing. The strain is greater, but not the monotony. The psychological effect of working with machines varies with the kind of machine and the temperament of the worker.

Psychological tests indicate that the workers on machines can be classified under three general types. One group prefers routine tasks which demand little attention and require no sustained mental effort. Such individuals usually complain if transferred to a type of machine which demands greater mental effort. The second group includes those of greater initiative and more active mentality, whose varied lives provide compensations for the monotony of the job. A man of this sort may be interested in sport or in gymnasium recreation in the evening, or he may have an automobile which provides recreation, or a hobby which lends interest to life. He is not critical of the nature of his job and does not object to routine repetition. There is also a type of individual temperamentally unsuited to a monotonous task, whose life offers no compensations for the shortcomings of his job. He will do good work if given a job which stimulates his interest and challenges his intelligence, but he will fail completely and with disastrous effect to himself if assigned the wrong job.

The managers of industry are beginning to realize the existence and the importance of these individual differences, for it is worth while, from the point of view of output and efficiency, to take account of them. Psychologists are employed to fit the job to the worker, as well as the worker to the job, and experiments and investigations are conducted to eliminate fatigue and undue strain. Thus science remakes the job for the worker.

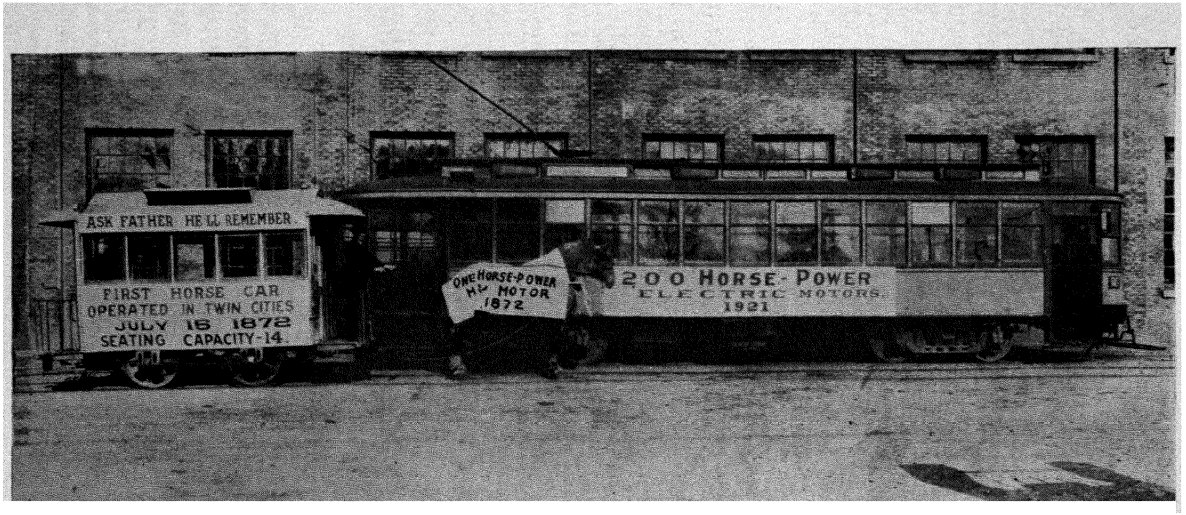
When condemning the monotony of machine work it is popular to compare it with the "good old days" of handicraft production when each article produced was supposed to have been a work of art and a delight to its creator. This, however, does not present a true and complete picture of those days. Outside the circle of master craftsmen and apprentices, hard monotonous tasks were required of most workers. They accomplished by the expenditure of physical energy many things that now are done by machines. The manual workers of the world have always had hardship and monotony.

The distinctive thing in the machine age is the increasing consciousness that hardship and monotony are unjust and unnecessary. There is a growing conviction that mechanical processes can be developed and perfected to the point where every individual worker can enjoy the satisfactions of life, with a due amount of leisure and without undue amount of fatigue.

Only the industrialized cultures, however, have experienced this change of attitude. India and China do not yet recognize the importance of the common man. Only where mechanical power and inventions have permeated the culture do men envisage a civilization in which human beings may shift to the machine the burden of the world's work.

8. Social Effects of the Use of Machines.—The first effects of the introduction of machines were socially devastating. Every element of non-material culture lagged behind mechanical development. There was immediate unemployment, since one man and a power-driven loom could do the work which formerly required ten men.

There was congestion and there was no regulation of housing or sanitation in the towns, which grew up rapidly as centers of the machine industry. Women and children



(*Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal*)

FIG. 38.—Urban transportation—then and now.

(The early horse car gave place to the electric car with an increase from one horse power to two hundred horse power. The increase in speed and seating capacity is almost proportionate to increase in power.)

were employed for long hours at low wages, and were required to work under very unsanitary conditions. There were no laws and no public conscience regarding long hours of work, low wages, and the physical risks of the workers. The countryside was given over to the raising of sheep to supply wool for the looms, and famine followed the cutting off of food supplies formerly raised on these lands. These are the well known and much talked of immediate results of the Industrial Revolution, which was attended at first by considerable evil, though destined to be ultimately of great social advantage.

Most of the outstanding maladjustments have been dealt with by regulative or preventive laws, and the conflicts between society and the machine are now of a different kind. These earlier evils were the results of rapid and fundamental changes in economic life, and much time and thought were required to effect the needed social adjustments. Indeed, the value of the machine and its products is still a matter of contention.

9. Critical Appraisals of Machine Culture.—Bertrand Russell emphasizes the following external differences between the present decade and the decades preceding the nineteenth century:

> First: greater mobility, of both men and goods. From the time when the horse was first domesticated down to the invention of the locomotive, the greatest possible speed of land travel remained approximately constant. The Imperial Post in the Roman Empire traveled at about the same rate as Dickens' stage coaches. Second: speed in sending messages. Here the three stages, so far, are the telegraph, the telephone, and wireless. Third: the substitution of machinery for handicrafts in industry, with the subsequent enormous increase of material well-being in all classes. Fourth: the improvement in public health. Fifth: the application of science to methods of warfare.[1]

[1] In BEARD, CHARLES A. (editor), *Whither Mankind?* p. 75, Longmans, 1928.

Regarding the cultural aspects of the machine age, Charles A. Beard believes that, "Under the machine and science, the love of beauty, the sense of mystery, and the motive of compassion—sources of esthetics, religion and humanism—are not destroyed. They remain essential parts of our nature. But the conditions under which they must operate, the channels they must take, the potentialities of their action, are all changed. These ancient forces will become powerful in the modern age just in the proportion that men and women accept the inevitability of science and the machine, understand the nature of the civilization in which they must work, and turn their faces resolutely to the future."[1]

SUMMARY

Machines have been blamed for bringing untold woe upon the worker, and they have been praised for providing the potentialities for the highest human achievement.

Probably the truth lies between these extremes: machines have been neither an unmitigated curse nor an unadulterated blessing. In a machine age which certainly is here to stay, debate as to whether man has profited or has lost by virtue of the Industrial Revolution is futile.

At first machines affected mainly two classes—the workers who came into direct contact with them, and the owners who grew rich from their products. Workers in the handicrafts had formerly carried on their enterprises mainly in their own homes, where they had been independent in time, quantity, and kind of work. It was a highly individualistic system. But under the factory organization, workers were collected in large numbers, subject to the hours and regulations imposed by the owners. As specialization developed, one man seldom made the complete article, but only some small part of it. Day after day the

[1] *Ibid.* Preface.

specialized worker repeated the same monotonous task. It was a leveling system under which the erstwhile independence of the craftsman disappeared.

The increasing efficiency of the machine constantly enlarges the output and shortens the hours of the working day and week. The leisure time thus provided brings to the worker opportunities which have never before been his. There is a new opportunity, whether ulitized or not, to add to his life the satisfactions provided by reading, study, and recreation. How the masses spend their leisure time will determine what type of people they will be in future years. Machines provide greater opportunity for leisure, but man must utilize this leisure to his greater good, for machinery cannot automatically make him happier. He must consciously strive to learn more about the environment surrounding him and more about himself and human nature.

Questions

1. Has machinery influenced the speed with which we do things that do not involve the use of machinery?
2. What is meant by efficiency? Has it been influenced by machines?
3. How has machinery influenced art and aesthetics?
4. Could our skyscrapers have been built before the Industrial Revolution? Explain.
5. How have manufacturing and machinery influenced the growth and size of cities?
6. What civilizations are now adopting machine industry? How is this adoption influencing them?
7. How is literature related to machine industry? Illustrate.
8. What changes may electricity make in our individual lives and in our culture?

Exercises

1. When, and by whom, was the cotton gin invented? Of what value was it?
2. What products are shipped to or from your community in refrigerator cars?
3. How much money is spent annually in this country in advertising?
4. What contributions to science did Benjamin Franklin make?
5. From what countries do we secure our supplies of rubber?

6. Make a list of mechanical devices which are used in the home.

7. What is the attitude of Gandhi, the Hindu, toward the machine? Why does he take that attitude?

Vocabulary Test

appraisal	introspection	prestige
augment	mitigate	stultify
interdependence	obsolete	

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CHAPTER XIX

SOCIAL CONTROL OF MODERN INDUSTRIALISM

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF INDIVIDUALS IN COLONIAL TIMES.
2. THE LOSS OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIALISM.
3. LEGAL MEASURES TO PROTECT THE WORKER.
4. THE OCCURRENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

1. Simplicity of Pioneer Life.—Pioneer life was simple in every respect. There were no whirrings of machinery and no creakings of the wheels of industry. Each household was a self-sufficient economic unit dependent on no outside agency. Each man was his own employer; and if he worked hard and overtime, there was only himself and the rigor of pioneer life to blame. He had few of the comforts of life, but his wants also were few.

The pioneer depended little, or not at all, upon a market. He sold few goods, and purchased few. His food was raised on the farm, or secured from the adjacent streams and forests. His clothing was made at home, and there his simple amusements were furnished. Medicines were home-made, or gathered from the neighboring woods and fields. He had no acquaintance with doctor, undertaker, launderer, or real estate agent. To him the complexities of modern life were wholly unknown.

2. Interdependence of Modern Industrial Life.—In contrast with the simplicity of pioneer days, is the interdependence of modern industrial life.[1] The interdependence of

[1] This interdependence is illustrated by the complaint of a farmer in Western Maryland, who thought it a hardship that he should "get up in the morning

industry is international as well as national. The farmer in the Middle West is influenced by the wheat raised in Russia and sold in European markets. The adoption of a silver standard of coinage in China affects the price of our tableware. A strike in a South African mine may mean that we pay more for our engagement rings, and a rise in the price of diamonds affects the price of other precious stones which compete with diamonds.

A general industrial depression in other countries affects our own, for it means that our markets abroad are in a slump. We cannot sell to peoples who are not sufficiently prosperous to buy. World depression inevitably means depression at home.

3. Passing of *Laissez Faire.*—The last quarter of the century witnessed not only the development of industry on a large scale, but also the combination into powerful corporations of most of the enterprises which had grown up separately. The English philosophy of *laissez faire*, which means "let people do what they choose," was part of the heritage of the pioneers of America, and was the accepted theory during the conquest of the continent. Financiers and promoters might exploit, develop, and combine as they wished, for the government's policy was "hands off."

As the small industry was absorbed into the large combination, or was forced out of business if it refused to be

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at the alarm of a Connecticut clock, button a pair of Chicago trousers to Ohio suspenders, put on a pair of shoes made in Massachusetts, wash in a Pittsburgh tin basin, using Cincinnati soap and a cotton towel made in New Hampshire, sit down to a Grand Rapids table, eat pancakes made from Minneapolis flour, spread with Vermont maple syrup and Kansas City bacon fried on a St. Louis stove, buy fruit put up in California, seasoned with Colorado sugar, put on a hat made in Philadelphia, hitch a Detroit tractor filled with Texas gasoline to an Ohio plow, and work all day long on a Maryland farm covered with Pennsylvania mortgages, send his money to Chicago for auto tires, and at night crawl under a New Jersey blanket to be kept awake by a dog, the only home product on the place."

absorbed, and as the people witnessed the disproportionate benefits derived only by the few from natural resources which had belonged to all, there was dissatisfaction and a demand for reforms. The spectacular fortunes made by a comparatively small number of men during the closing decades of the century strengthened the opposition of the masses to the unrestrained activities of big business.

4. Recent Development of Government Regulation of Industry.—At first, the railroads received the heaviest share of public disfavor, and by 1887 the organized opposition to them was able to carry through Congress the Interstate Commerce Act, a measure designed to prevent rebates, secret rates, and other discriminatory practices of the railroads. This act provided also for the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate the railroads. This body now has extensive powers, even to the fixing of railroad rates.

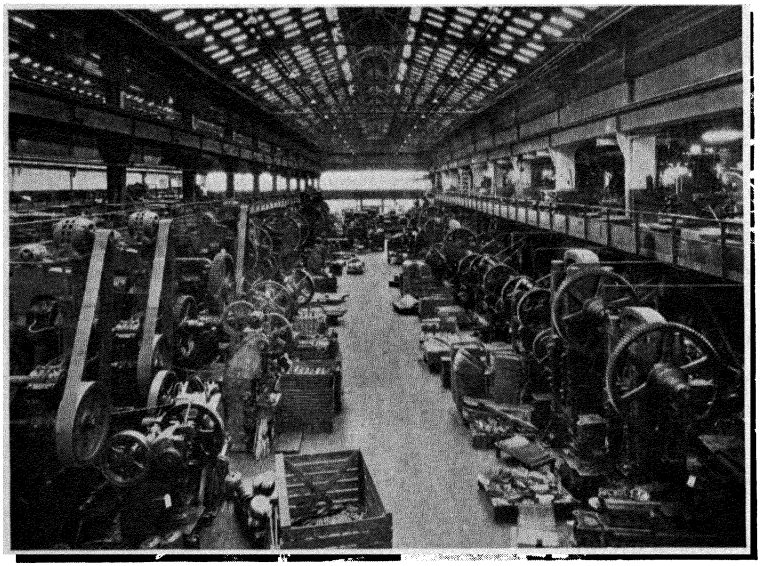
The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 was followed, in 1890, by the Sherman Antitrust Act, which forbade combinations in restraint of trade. This act, "vague in language and not enforced in practice," had little effect upon combinations. It was followed by the Clayton Act of 1914.

Congress was not content merely to pass restraining or regulatory legislation. It also created administrative bodies of experts to supervise the activities of great industrial corporations. In 1898 the Industrial Commission was established to investigate various aspects of business. The Bureau of Corporations was established in 1903, and in 1914 there was established the Federal Trade Commission, which investigates charges of unfair competition in business and industry.

In 1913 the Federal Reserve System was organized to stabilize banking and prevent undue strain on local banks.

It helps many banks to bridge over temporary emergencies. It also maintains an elastic currency by the process of rediscounting commercial paper.

The government has done a great deal to aid and develop agriculture, and to increase the efficiency of farming. During the Hoover administration the Federal Farm Board



(Courtesy of Chrysler Sales Corporation)

FIG. 39.—The interior of an automobile manufacturing plant, where machines make the machine.

(Contrast with the type of workshop used before the Industrial Revolution.)

was created, and the federal government sought to foster agricultural cooperation.

The Department of Commerce gives aid to trade, local, interstate, and foreign. In 1932, after two years of depression, the federal government created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to aid railroads, banks, and other business institutions.

There is also a Bureau of Public Roads, which supervises and builds national highways, or grants aid to states for the construction of trunk lines.

Air transportation has been greatly stimulated by governmental aid. Indeed the federal government has been the center of most of the aviation activity in this country during the last twenty-five years, that is, since the inception of aviation. The air-mail service is an example of government activity in this field. During the first half of the year 1929, some 3,500,000 pounds of air mail were carried in this country, and during the first half of 1930, the amount was 4,337,678 pounds.

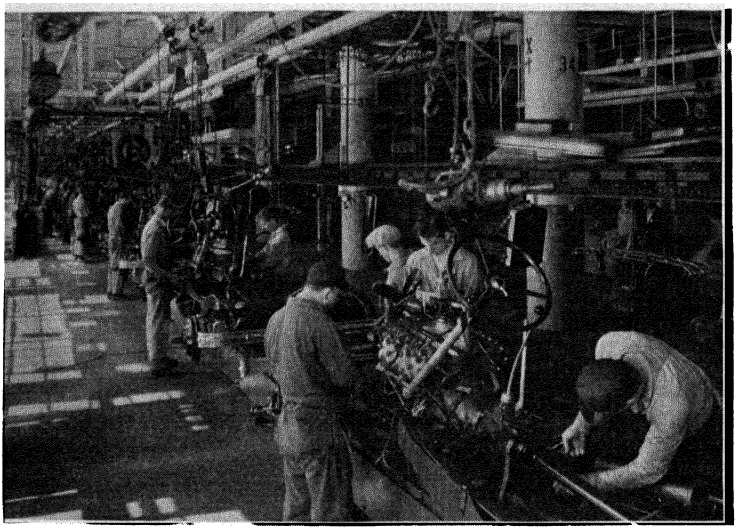
The government charts navigable streams and provides lighthouses and life-saving crews at appropriate locations on the coast. In 1927 the Coast and Geodetic Survey, which is a part of the Department of Commerce, supplied more than 350,000 maps for the use of travelers on land or water. The Mississippi River Commission provides for the needed strengthening and heightening of levees.

One of the most recent of governmental activities has been the regulation of the use of the radio. It assigns wave lengths to stations, and has a commission which allots licenses to stations which apply for them. It has, in short, assumed a certain control over the air channels.

Through food inspection the government maintains a high standard of foodstuffs which cross state lines and therefore are under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. During one year more than 68,000,000 animals were inspected in 913 different establishments in 259 cities and towns throughout the country, and, in addition, several billion pounds of prepared meat products were inspected. The federal Food and Drug Act, the "Pure Food Law," was enacted in 1906. It has rendered invaluable service in protecting people against wrongly labeled or

improperly prepared goods and drugs. It has stimulated better methods in the preparation and handling of foods, and these have raised the quality of many food products.

Through the Bureau of Standards, the government assures the people of proper weights and measures. This bureau is also a sort of clearing house of information for



(Courtesy of Ford Motor Company)

FIG. 40.—An example of efficiency in man power and machine power.

(The chassis assembly line in a modern automobile factory. An example of high specialization in human skill, where each man has his own unique task. It is necessary that each man perform his task within the allotted time.)

similar departments in the respective states. The bureau establishes accurate standards, and also prevents deception and fraud in weights and measures.

5. Labor Legislation.—In matters relating to the social effects of industry, there has been considerable legislation, both federal and state. In many states, the law limits the hours of employment for women and minors, and prohibits their employment in night work, or in specified dangerous

occupations. Similar laws fix the minimum wages which may be paid women and minors. Many states enforce standards of sanitation and comfort for workers, and several compel insurance against accident incurred during employment.

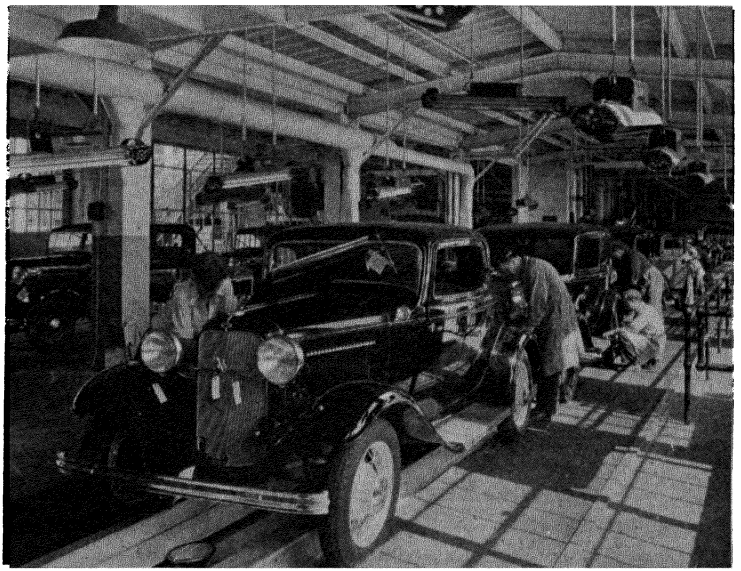
Forty-four manufacturing states have laws which award the employees compensation for injuries received in the course of their work. The employer is made liable for such damages and for the incurred expense of doctors and hospitals. Most industrial firms employ doctors on a salary to look after their employees, and they also carry insurance to provide persons in their employ compensation for loss of life or limb. Since the amount of premium paid the insurance companies depends upon the number of accidents in the plant, it is economical for the employer to safeguard his workers. If the number of accidents in his plant decreases, his insurance premium decreases proportionately. These laws have brought better protection of the worker, removal of the more obvious risks of injury, and a decrease in the number of industrial accidents.

Many states have laws which prohibit or regulate the employment of children. Some set a high standard, but the conditions in states without such laws, or with low standards, constitute such a menace to the health of the nation that federal regulation seems desirable. In 1924 Congress passed the child-labor amendment which would give Congress the power to pass laws regulating the employment of children throughout the nation; but this amendment has not yet been ratified by a sufficient number of states to make it a part of the Constitution.

In 1920 Congress passed the Industrial Rehabilitation Act, which offered to the states federal aid in the rehabilitation of men injured in industrial accidents. By means of these state and national funds, men who, through accident,

have lost the ability to pursue their former trade, are trained for other occupations, and are sometimes fitted to be again independent and efficient citizens.

6. Unemployment.—There have been attempts to make the employer responsible for unemployment as well as for industrial accidents. In European countries comprehensive systems of social insurance include not merely sickness



(Courtesy of Ford Motor Company)

FIG. 41.—The final inspection.

(Each car, before it leaves the factory, is given a careful final inspection. No machine has yet been devised which can perform this task.)

and accident insurance, but also old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. But until the recent passage of old-age pension laws, the only common form of social insurance in the United States has been that of workmen's compensation.

No state in this country has provided insurance against unemployment, but a number of industries have taken

measures to stabilize their business by stimulating trade in dull seasons, by spreading over the entire year the production of goods for which there is only a seasonal demand, and by employing a high type of workman who will be able to hold a job continuously.

The census taken in this country in April, 1930, showed that at that time more than two million people who desired work were unemployed. All students of the problem, however, agree that the total volume of unemployment during this year of depression was from four to six million, and that the percentage of unemployment was much greater than that given by the Census Bureau. In the cities, according to this census, the average unemployment was about 3 per cent of the population; in the counties outside of the cities it was about half that rate. At about that time, the League of Nations estimated the number of the unemployed in civilized countries at fifteen to sixteen millions. In the spring of 1931 the number of unemployed in the United States was unofficially estimated at about seven millions. In 1932, the unemployed in this country were probably about ten millions.

7. Early Growth of Labor Organizations.—The industrial development of the United States has resulted not only in an increase in the governmental regulation of business, but also in the growth of labor organizations. Early in the nineteenth century, attempts were made to unite the workers in various trades for mutual protection and benefit. These were usually local groups, which sometimes expanded into sectional or even national associations. There were many reverses as well as gains, and hard battles over hours and wages. In 1866, several of these craft organizations, trade assemblies, and other types of labor organization were united into the National Labor Union, which had a brief and stormy existence. The leaders could not cope with the

industrial problems, and the Union dwindled and died.

The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, originally a secret society, was formed among the garment workers of Philadelphia. The Order later branched out into all lines of industry, abandoned secrecy, and endeavored to unite all labor, skilled and unskilled, white and colored, male and female, into one powerful union. Though effective and

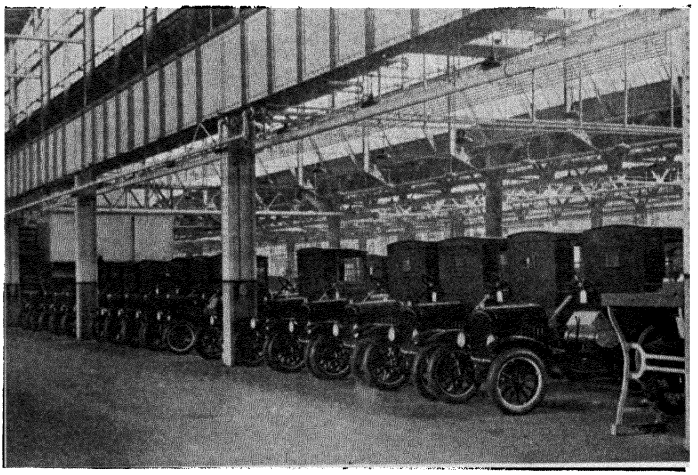


FIG. 42.—Interior of an automobile assembling plant.

(Modern steel construction makes possible an unlimited amount of ground space with a minimum amount of obstruction from supporting columns, while modern glass makes the lighting almost as good as out of doors. Outline other desirable features of the plant such as orderliness, cleanliness, safety, etc. Contrast this picture with the interiors of some plants with which you are familiar.)

powerful for a time, the Order was weakened by opposition from within and from without. Capitalists resented what they called its threat to the existing order; and skilled workers refused to march in the ranks with unskilled and casual laborers. The success of management and organization in industry suggested to workers that they might improve their condition by similar measures. Moreover,

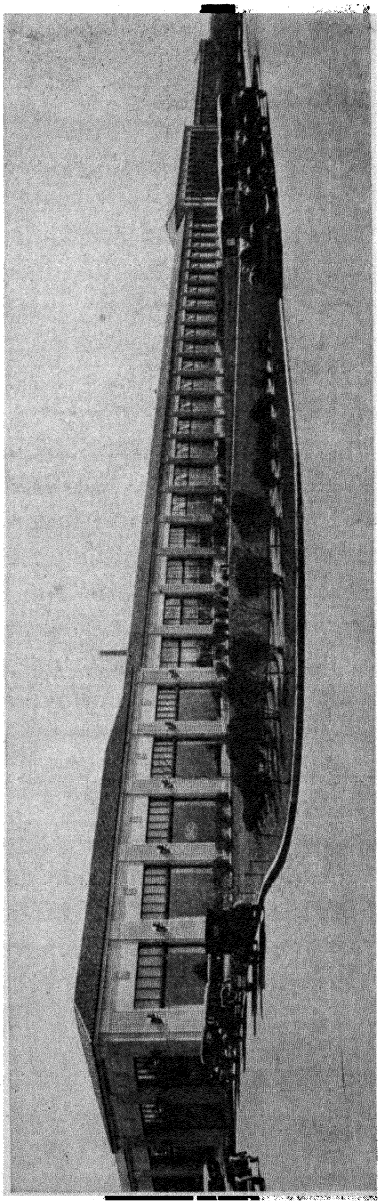


FIG. 43.—Exterior of a modern automobile plant.

(Attention to architecture and to landscaping has made an attractive plant out of what would have been in earlier decades an unsightly structure. Outline its desirable features and contrast with exteriors of other plants with which you are familiar.)

a class consciousness was developing among them, a feeling that they possessed common interests and common problems.

8. American Federation of Labor.—Finally, from practical experience gained in the organization of cigar makers, Adolph Strasser and Samuel Gompers devised a plan for a wide and effective union of trades on a national scale. In 1886, after several years of effort and discouragement, the American Federation of Labor was organized. Samuel Gompers was the first president and, except for one year, held that office until his death in 1924.

The American Federation of Labor has endeavored to secure for the working man higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of work. It has used the direct method of the strike and has endeavored to secure favorable legislation. Many of its bitterest battles have been fought over the question of labor's right to organize and to bargain collectively.

In some countries, notably England, this right is not questioned, and both employees and employers are organized. These organizations have representatives on the conciliation council of the industry, which formulates working plans for the plant.

9. United States Department of Labor.—Congress recognized the growing importance of the labor movement in America, and in 1884 created a federal bureau of labor. In 1913, this bureau was made a cabinet department. Its function is the collection, analysis, and publication of information regarding labor conditions throughout the country.

SUMMARY

The older theory of *laissez faire* has given way to a constructive approach to the problems of labor and industry. In every country there is regulation of industrial enter-

MEN AND WOMEN ENGAGED IN PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES IN THIS COUNTRY IN 1930

Industry group	Number		Per cent	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
All industries	38,053,795	10,778,794	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	9,568,347	913,976	25.1	8.5
Forestry and fishing	266,876	3,249	0.7	
Extraction of minerals	1,147,770	10,294	3.0	0.1
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	11,901,247	2,416,288	31.3	22.4
Transportation	3,990,875	447,730	10.5	4.2
Trade	5,820,642	1,716,384	15.3	15.9
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	934,581	123,323	2.5	1.1
Professional service	1,663,049	1,762,795	4.4	16.4
Domestic and personal service	1,662,707	3,149,391	4.4	29.2
Industry not specified	1,097,701	235,364	2.9	2.2

prises, and in all civilized countries there is legal protection of the worker.

The workers, however, have not been passive. They have organized to secure favorable legislation and to enforce demands. Trade unionism is found in every civilized country.

In many countries the conviction is growing that society must arbitrate the disputes between capital and labor. Compulsory arbitration has been much discussed and, in some places, put into effect. However divergent the interests of capitalist and laborer may appear to be, they are members of the same industrial society, and they participate in a common civilization.

Questions

1. Give an account of the activities of the American Federation of Labor.
2. What is meant by industrial arbitration?

3. Explain: strike, lockout, injunction, boycott, sabotage, picketing. Are any of these prohibited by law? Why?

4. What are the main causes of unemployment?

5. Does unemployment in other countries affect employment in this country? Explain.

6. Does unemployment in one industry affect employment in other industries? Explain.

7. What is meant by a fair wage? How can it be determined?

Exercises

1. Write an account of the labor college movement.

2. What is the membership of the American Federation of Labor? Trace its growth and fluctuations in membership. Interpret these.

3. Give an account of the Brotherhood of American Locomotive Engineers.

4. Make a list of the main industrial activities in your community and indicate as far as possible their relative importance.

5. To what markets do the products of your community industries go?

6. From what localities does your community secure its respective supplies, raw or manufactured?

7. Are there labor organizations in your community? Give an account of their activities.

Vocabulary Test

arbitration	inception	rehabilitation
compensation	*laissez faire*	social control
geodetic	rediscount	

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PART VIII

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL WELFARE

Exercises

1. What is the relation between crime and feeble-mindedness?
2. Is there a criminal type? Explain Lombroso's theories.
3. Is there a relation between crime and the consumption of alcohol?
4. Compare the murder rates of states having capital punishment with those of states having comparable populations but not having capital punishment.
5. Is there any relation between the murder rate and the percentage of murders for which convictions are obtained?

Vocabulary Test

condone parole probation
heterogeneous

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CHAPTER XXII

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

1. THE CHARACTER AND THE GRADES OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS.
2. THE CHARACTER AND PREVALENCE OF INSANITY.
3. THE PHYSICALLY DISABLED.
4. PREVENTION OF PHYSICAL AND MENTAL DEFECTS.
5. REHABILITATION.

Individuals are not equally well fitted to meet the situations of life. Because of inadequate mental equipment, or of physical or mental maladjustment, many individuals function below the efficiency necessary for social or economic success.

A. MENTAL DEFICIENCY

1. Types of Mental Deficiency.—Individuals who have an innately inadequate mental equipment are classified as feeble-minded, but this term covers a wide gradation and is frequently used with little discrimination. Psychiatrists divide the mentally deficient into three groups: idiots, imbeciles, and morons.

Idiots are those whose mentality does not exceed that of a three-year-old child. Frequently they are also physically unfit, sometimes being unable even to walk or to sit up.

Imbeciles are those above the grade of idiots whose mentality does not exceed that of a normal child eight years of age. Individuals of this group, given proper care and instruction, can be taught simple tasks, can learn to amuse themselves and to lead fairly happy, if dull, lives,

but they cannot take an active, responsible part in affairs, or live normal, independent lives.

Morons are those who have the mental development of normal children of from eight to twelve years of age. Morons learn to do ordinary work and in everyday life often appear normal; but they lack decision and will power and cannot meet situations judiciously. In England the word feeble-minded is applied to this class of mentally deficient, a feeble-minded person being defined as "one who is capable of earning a living under favorable circumstances, but is incapable from mental defect existing from birth or from an early age (*a*) of competing on equal terms with his normal fellows or (*b*) of managing himself and his affairs with ordinary prudence."[1]

2. Feeble-mindedness.—Unable to meet complicated situations or to do satisfactory work in the business world, the feeble-minded cannot maintain a satisfactory standard of living and fall an easy prey to poverty, disease, and crime. "Studies of families receiving aid from charitable societies, churches, outdoor relief, etc., not only show them to be mainly unskilled and inefficient workers but also to be unskilled and inefficient because mentally defective."[2]

Among the mentally defective, morons present the gravest social problem. Idiots and imbeciles are easily recognized and, although they occasion great expense to the family or to the community, they do not complicate community problems because they do not enter into its activities sufficiently. Morons, however, mingle with normal individuals. In circumstances which involve no acute situations, this group of feeble-minded is usually indistinguishable from

[1] Royal College of Physicians of London, quoted in Robert C. Dexter, *Social Adjustment*, Crofts, 1927.

[2] DEXTER, *op. cit.*

the normal. But since morons have only the mentality of children, they are easily influenced and led into certain types of crime.

3. Social Importance of Feeble-mindedness.—Since there seems to be some justification for the belief that certain mental defects are hereditary, it is obvious that the offspring of feeble-minded parents present an increasingly serious social problem. If, as some authorities claim, environment counts as much as heredity or more, the families of feeble-minded parents are at a disadvantage in this respect as well, since mentally defective parents cannot provide a favorable environment in which to rear children.

Mental deficiency cannot be cured. Proper care and direction help many defectives to adjust to the simpler situations of life, but no considerable improvement in their mental abilities can be expected.

4. Intelligence Tests and Special Classes for the Feeble-minded.—The intelligence tests which are now in general use in schools and in vocational placement bureaus are useful in determining the degree of individual mental development and the character of the work for which an individual is fitted. A child of low mentality if compelled to compete on equal terms with normal and superior children may become too discouraged to do the best work of which he is capable. When placed in a class with mental equals, he may be able to do satisfactory work, though of a lower standard.

An adult of subnormal intelligence, capable of doing certain routine work, comes to grief if he attempts tasks beyond his powers. The discouragement and humiliation entailed are sometimes sufficient to undermine his morale and unfit him for what he might otherwise be able to do. The person of subnormal intelligence usually lacks the tenacity of purpose and strength of will, as well as the

mental ability, necessary to attain success under adverse circumstances.

In many places, therefore, there are special classes for the feeble-minded, and in some cities they are placed in special schools equipped with teachers who are trained to deal with such individuals. This removes them from classes of normal children, who would be handicapped by reason of their presence, and provides a training adapted to their mentality.

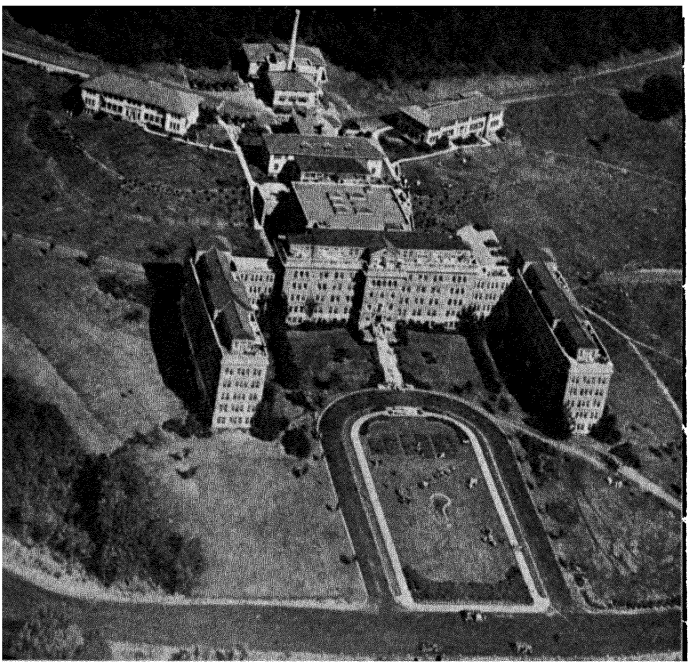
5. Care of the Insane.—Another type of mental maladjustment is insanity, which is a mental disease rather than a mental deficiency. Insanity is the derangement, temporary or permanent, of a normal mind. It is, therefore, not necessarily inherited.

The treatment of the insane in earlier times was harsh and cruel. Insane individuals were feared because they were supposed to be "possessed of devils." They were confined in dungeons and loaded with chains. No thought was given to their cure, which was considered possible only by a miracle.

Modern methods of caring for the insane, which include both bodily care and mental treatment, began about a hundred years ago. The first step was to separate the insane from criminals, with whom they had been confined. The mentally deranged were removed from jails, where they had usually been abused, and were placed in special institutions provided for their care, where they had at least decent physical surroundings.

At first, no attempt was made to treat their mental maladies, but since many of the inmates were physically diseased, physicians were usually placed in charge of the asylums. In treating the bodily ailments of the inmates, the physicians sometimes found the cause of the mental disorders as well.

The asylums were an improvement upon the earlier treatment of the insane, but they bore little resemblance to the modern scientifically equipped and well-staffed hospitals for the mentally diseased. The new terminology indicates the change in attitude: the earlier *asylums* afforded protec-



(*Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal*)

FIG. 49.—A modern tuberculosis sanitarium.

(This plant, located at Glen Lake, Minnesota, is maintained by the county in which it is situated.)

tion from the world; the present day *hospitals* seek to diagnose and cure the patient's mental disease and restore him to society.

Insanity is an extreme degree of maladjustment to life, and it can sometimes be cured by ascertaining and removing the causes of the maladjustment. Psychiatrists, through

patient and persistent investigations, are making great strides in understanding mental disease and in developing successful methods of dealing with it. Insanity can sometimes be prevented by the early diagnosis and treatment of certain physical diseases which, if not checked, eventually affect the mind.

6. Is Insanity Increasing?—In 1880 there were 46,942 insane in institutions in this country, a rate of 81.6 per 100,000 of population. The census of 1910 showed a rate of insanity per 100,000 of population of 41.4 in rural districts and 102.8 in cities with a population of over 500,000. Both absolute and relative numbers in institutions increased by decades until, in 1920, there was a total of 232,680 insane in institutions, a rate of 220 per 100,000. In 1928 there were 264,226 persons in state hospitals for mental diseases, a rate of 222.3. In 1929 the rate had risen to 225.9 per 100,000.

With such facts as the above in mind, some statisticians claim that insanity is rapidly increasing, and that it is much more prevalent in cities than in rural districts. But such statistics are sometimes misleading. The earlier census reports are not entirely dependable, for not all the insane were reported. Again, there was a popular prejudice against committing a member of one's family to an insane asylum, except under dire necessity. There was a tendency to deny that insanity existed in the family.

The apparent prevalence of insanity in cities may to some extent be the result of better facilities for its detection and for the care of the insane. Moreover it is more difficult, in the city, to provide care in the home for one who is mentally diseased. Again, there seems to be a tendency among all socially inadequate groups to flock to the city.

The stress and strain of modern life make the adjustment of an individual to his culture increasingly difficult. Since

city life presents these stresses and strains in more acute form than does rural life, insanity is probably more prevalent in the city than in rural districts.

B. PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY

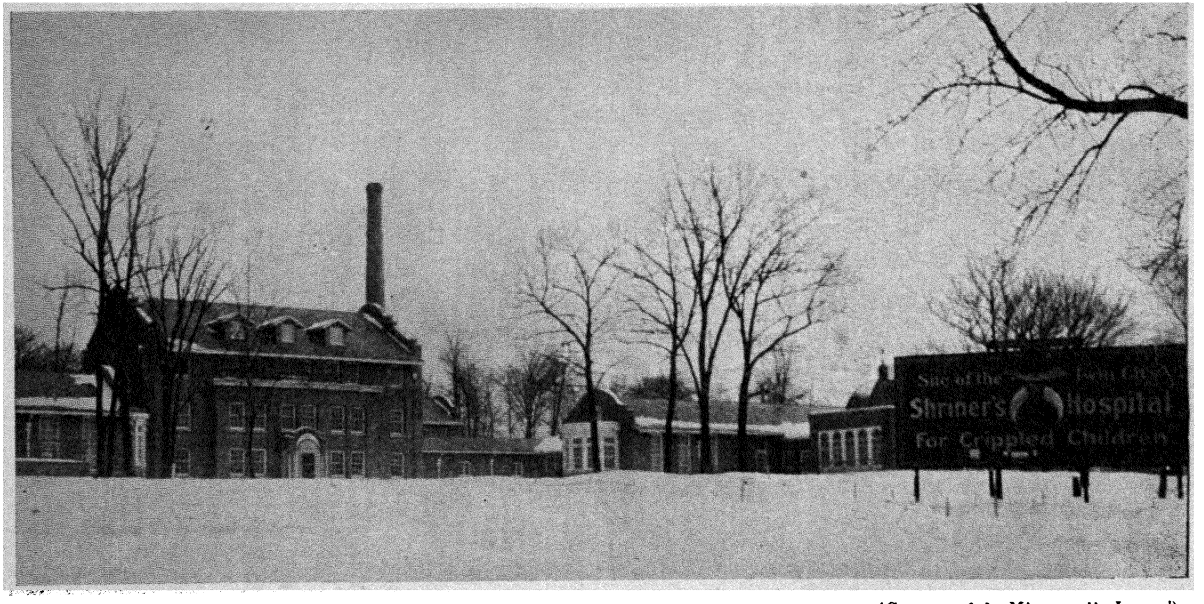
1. Social and Economic Costs of Physical Disability.—While there is a large proportion of mental deficiency in the population, physical deficiency is even more prevalent and more costly.

The blind and the deaf, for example, are cut off from the life of ordinary individuals, for they are deprived of two of the major avenues of contact with their fellows. The blind are the more helpless and dependent, and have the greater need for special training. There are numerous industrial schools for the blind, where many of the inmates acquire high dexterity and skill in the manufacture of certain articles.

2. The Blind.—The first school for the blind in this country was established in Boston in 1830. In 1929 there were in the United States thirty-nine state schools for the blind. Each state makes provision for blind children by furnishing a school for them, or by paying for their education at a private school for the blind. In several states blind children are taught to participate in the play and study activities of the other pupils.

Nine states make provision for the blind who desire a college education. Nine universities provide special courses in training teachers for work with the blind.

At the present time in almost every avenue of life the blind are taking an active part in our social life and are making successful careers for themselves. They are found in the fields of literature, art, the church, law, politics, commerce, trade, agriculture, and sport. In 1930 there were 63,489 blind persons in this country.



(*Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal*)

FIG. 50.—Modern care of the unfortunate.

(A Shriner's hospital for crippled children. An excellent illustration of hospital facilities provided by non-public agencies. Contrast with old-fashioned orphan asylum.)

3. The Deaf.—The composite term "deaf and dumb" has now almost disappeared, for it has been found that the deaf are not necessarily dumb if they are given the proper opportunities for the development of their speech potentialities. At one time, however, they were regarded as idiots, and, indeed, were sometimes killed.

In 1920 the census listed 44,885 people in the United States as deaf mutes. In 1931 the number was 57,084. But the number of the totally and the partially deaf is estimated at more than a million. A survey made in 1924–1925 of children reported as deaf showed that only 3 per cent were totally deaf. The average "deaf" child had 25 per cent hearing acuity.

In 1927 the 68 state schools for the deaf had an enrollment of 13,033 pupils. There are special schools for the deaf in almost every state; and a college for the deaf, Gallaudet, in Washington, D. C., was established by Congress in 1864. Many of the graduates of Gallaudet have done splendid work in the major educational institutions of the country.

4. Epileptics.—Epileptics are individuals who are liable to recurring seizures, or fits, which are marked by convulsions, emotional explosions, periods of irritation, dizziness, fainting, and mental dullness. At present epileptics cannot be cured, but they are susceptible to favorable or unfavorable environmental influences. It is, therefore, generally desirable to keep them in institutions where proper care is provided. All except five states have such institutions.

There are about a half million epileptics in the country, most of whom are unable to function in society. In 1928 only 60,419 of these epileptics were in state institutions.

5. The Crippled.—The crippled constitute a large group. Their disability is frequently the result of a children's

disease, and much has been accomplished by expert physicians and surgeons in preventing and curing these cases.

Disability incurred by adults is most frequently the result of an accident, and usually is more difficult to cure than the disabilities of early years. Modern industry has taken large toll of human life and abilities; many cripples are the victims of industrial accidents.

The liability and compensation laws which have been enacted by many states have resulted in throwing the responsibility and expense of industrial accidents upon employers, and have stimulated an interest in safety appliances for machinery; as a result, there has been a decrease in the number of industrial accidents.

The great need of the industrially disabled is reeducation along vocational lines. This need has been partially met by the Federal Board of Vocational Education, which, through its rehabilitation department, has helped to maintain schools for retraining and for returning to useful activities many of the victims of industrial accidents. Extensive and successful rehabilitation work has been carried on among the disabled veterans of the World War.

SUMMARY

Civilization is a complex scheme of life and activity, demanding mental alertness and intellectual capacity. Many individuals are not equipped with minds adequate to the tasks imposed upon those who live in our present-day complex world. Some can contribute nothing toward their sustenance, some can do compensating work only when kept under surveillance, and some are efficient only when much help is given them.

Most of the half million epileptics in the country are unable to function in our society. In addition, an even

larger number of people are classed as insane. Many others suffer physical disability which makes them a burden to themselves and to others.

Provision for the mentally and the physically disabled constitutes one of the major social problems. Much is being done toward an understanding of the problems which mental or physical disability occasions, but we are still without any hopeful solution of the more serious problems connected with their treatment. The burden of disability and deficiency seems to be part of the price men pay for civilization, for no comparable burden exists among any primitive people.

Questions

1. What is a moron? Why is the problem occasioned by his presence of particular importance?
2. What is meant by feeble-mindedness?
3. What are intelligence tests? What uses are made of them?
4. What types of training are given the blind?
5. What compensations are made by society for physical disability?
6. Why is it usually desirable to put the insane in institutions?
7. Distinguish between insanity and feeble-mindedness.

Exercises

1. Is there an insane asylum in your community? How many inmates has it, and what proportion do they constitute of the population of the community?
2. Compare the rate of insanity in the city with that in the country. What may be partly responsible for the differences in recorded rates?
3. Outline various types of feeble-mindedness.
4. Outline various types of insanity.
5. Describe former attitudes toward insanity and early methods of treatment.

Vocabulary Test

idiot moron surveillance
imbecile

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CHAPTER XXIII

MODERN SCIENCE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES

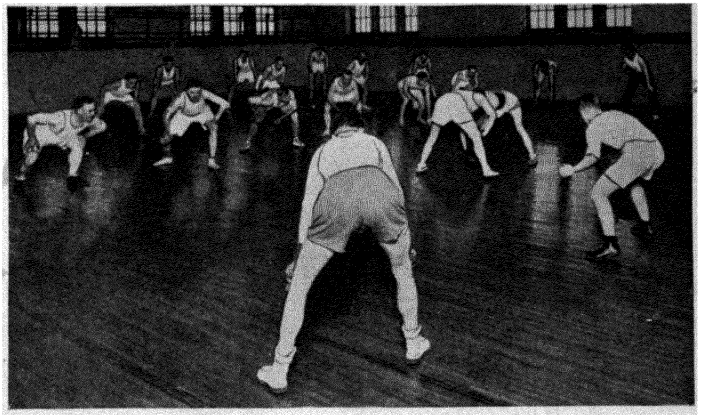
1. THE GROWTH OF INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY INTEREST IN HEALTH.
2. THE CONTROL OF DISEASE BY MODERN SCIENCE AND BY PREVENTIVE MEASURES, SUCH AS QUARANTINE.
3. THE PROGRESS MADE BY PERSISTENT MEDICAL RESEARCH.
4. THE ORGANIZED FIGHT AGAINST PREVENTABLE DISEASES.

1. Good Health the Modern Ideal.—During the present century, much research has been concentrated on the problems of preventing as well as curing diseases. A far-reaching program of health education has developed, and good health has become an ideal in the minds of young and old alike.

Along with the demand for material goods has gone an increasing interest on the part of the individual in his physical welfare. This has been stimulated by the advance in medical knowledge and by the campaigns launched by organizations to acquaint the public with the advantages of periodical physical examinations and with the value of early diagnosis in the treatment of disease. More people than ever before are giving heed to the kind of food they eat, to their habits of life, and to adjusting their daily living to the exigencies of the job from which they derive a livelihood.

Recreation plays a larger part in modern life than formerly. "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," has been found to apply to grown-ups as well as to children. A

study of a certain middle-western community records the fact that in 1890 some of the wealthiest and most prosperous men of the town were proud of the fact that they had not missed a day from business in many years. But within the past decade or two the hostile or indifferent attitude toward recreation has changed considerably. Mechanization of industry has greatly increased leisure time. The cheap automobile and the tourist camp have made possible at



(*Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal*)

FIG. 51.—Play activity on a Y. M. C. A. floor.

(A health-building program of a private agency that serves the public. The men are playing scrimmage ball.)

least short outings for all. The most hard-pressed of the laboring classes now consider vacations essential to their physical welfare, and men of wealth or leisure have their afternoons of golf.

Interest in recreations and vacations is stimulated by the many national parks which have been set aside and developed by the government for the benefit and pleasure of all the people. The throngs which visit them each year testify to a growing appreciation of them. The Playground and Recreation Association in America emphasizes the fact that wholesome play and recreation are necessary to

child and adult alike, and that it is as much the responsibility of a community to provide recreation facilities for its citizens as to care for their health, education, and protection.

2. Cost of Illness.—The annual financial loss from illness is immense. In addition, there are the suffering and inconvenience to the victim, and the deterioration in the quality of his work when he is not physically fit. In more serious illnesses, the absence of the worker from his job, the loss of wages, and the cost of medical service and hospital care constitute a serious economic problem.

It has been estimated that each day at least two million persons in the United States are, because of illness, unable to work; that the capacity of hospitals in this country is 800,000 beds; and that the economic cost of illness approximates five billion dollars each year.

A survey made in 1930 estimated the total value of hospitals, plants, and equipment in this country at $3,125,123,000, and the annual cost of the maintenance of the 7,310 hospitals in the country at $900,000,000. The last-mentioned sum is nearly one-fourth of the total yearly expenditures of the federal government. Hospitalization, therefore, constitutes one of the major industries of the country and is a matter of concern to every community.

3. The Public School as a Health Center.—The school has been the logical center for the development of the health ideal in children. There they are taught the elements of personal hygiene and the value of fresh air, of cleanliness of person and surroundings, and of sufficient sleep. In the large cities, school nurses and physicians are a part of the school staff. They attempt to secure the cooperation of parents in overcoming the handicaps of children who are underweight or overweight and in remedying defects in teeth, sight, or hearing. They encourage proper eating and healthy living.

The health program in the schools includes the organization of wholesome amusements, and physical directors give much time to games and contests which make physical exercise a pleasure. They aim to secure normal posture in children by giving them beneficial exercises.

The health work done in the schools reaches not only the children but also large numbers of adults in the homes to

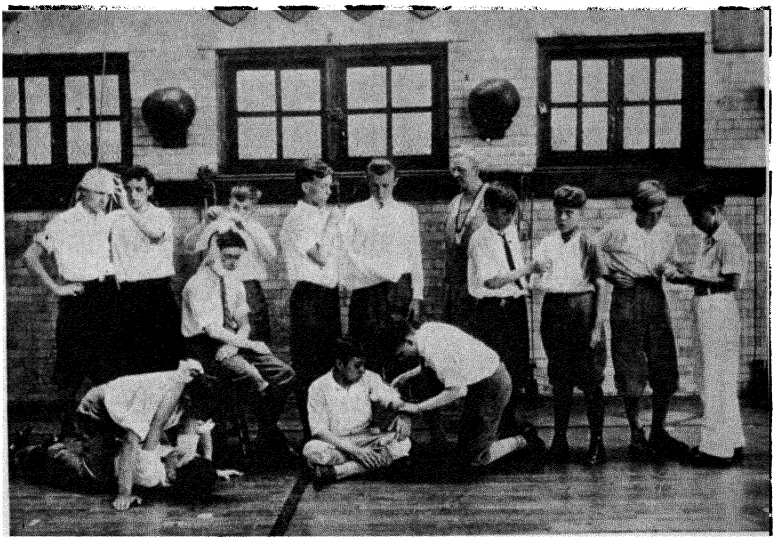


FIG. 52.—Boys learn to administer first aid.
(Y. M. C. A. class in first aid.)

which the children take the teaching, and in which they try to practice what they are taught.

By providing playgrounds supervised by trained directors, the community also makes provisions for athletic games and other wholesome recreations.

4. Community Health Measures.—The modern city insists that back yards as well as front yards be kept clean and sanitary, that the streets be cleaned, that the milk and water be inspected and maintained at a high standard

of purity, that foods be free from injurious substances, and that public eating places be sanitary. Mosquitoes are eliminated, not only because they are a pest, but because certain species transmit disease germs, notably malaria and yellow fever.

Progressive cities support free clinics and hospitals for those who are unable to pay for private care. Promotion of public health and welfare is a recognized function of municipal organization. Public-health provisions are formulated and carried out by health officers, physicians, and nurses; these officials impose quarantines and enforce the quarantine laws. A high rating in health and a low death rate are assets to a community which wishes to attract industries and new residents.

Elimination of fatigue is considered an important element in the health of industrial workers. For this reason, there have been attempts to regulate hours of work in factories; usually such regulation has been done by state law. Most communities, however, protect the health of workers by enforcing sanitary regulations in factories, and by demanding a reasonable standard of comfort for the workers.

Many large industries go beyond the legal demands and provide for the health and welfare of their employees. They employ a doctor and a nurse and provide recreational facilities at their plants, and they are repaid in the improved health and morale of their workers.

5. Modern Control of Disease through the Knowledge of Germs.—Notwithstanding the enormity of the estimated present expense of illness, advances during the last hundred years in the understanding and control of disease have been as important and as revolutionary as the progress made in the treatment of mental deficiency. Disease, like insanity, was long regarded as a visitation from the gods, and was accepted as the common lot of mankind. We now live in a

world of science which knows the causes of almost all diseases.

Recent improvement of the microscope made possible the discovery of the vast world of tiny organisms which menace community health. Today even the child has some understanding of germs and a knowledge of simple precautions against infections. Before the acceptance of the germ theory of disease and an understanding of the manner in

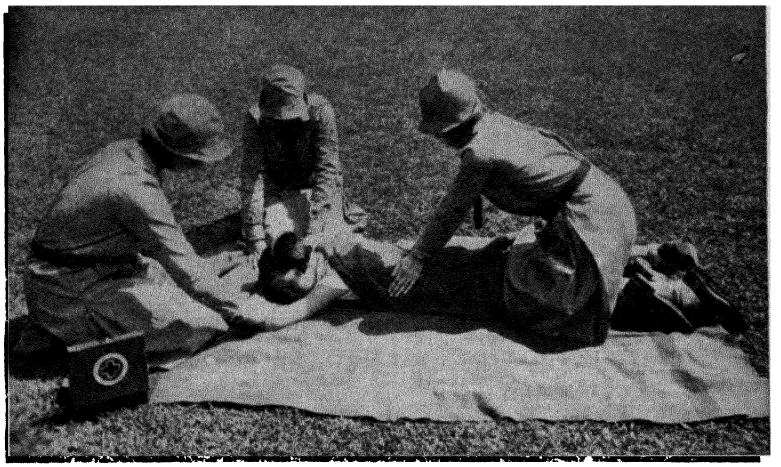


FIG. 53.—Training in giving first aid.

(These Girl Scouts have been trained to give artificial respiration to restore breathing to those who have been drowned or suffocated. Why is such training desirable?)

which infections spread, physicians struggled in vain against the spread of disease, and epidemics seemed, indeed, the curse of God upon a people.

6. Medical Research and the Control of Diseases.— Extensive researches in the field of medicine have been concentrated upon the isolation of specific disease germs and upon the development of vaccines and serums with which to fight them. These researches have been preeminently successful in the field of children's diseases.

Diphtheria was once the most dreaded and most deadly of children's diseases. With the development of antitoxins there was a marked drop in the diphtheria death rate. The use of the Schick test to ascertain suceptibility or immunity to the diphtheria germ and of toxin-antitoxin to produce immunity in those who show susceptibility has brought diphtheria under control and made it a comparatively rare disease.

Scarlet fever, whooping cough, and measles are being conquered, or at least subdued, by the use of vaccines which prevent the development of the disease or mitigate its severity.

Diseases of early infancy have been controlled by widespread campaigns to familiarize mothers with modern methods of feeding and caring for infants. The work in the hygiene of infancy and maternity has been subsidized by federal grants of aid, and the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood have been greatly reduced. Today babies are more apt to survive, and they have a better chance to develop into strong healthy adults, than was the case a few decades ago.

Diseases of maturity have received their share of attention, and many of them have been reduced or eliminated. For illustration, smallpox, once the terror of mankind, has been controlled by vaccination, which now, throughout the country, is compulsory for school children.

Typhoid fever has been controlled by sanitation, adequate sewage systems, and pure water and milk. A typhoid epidemic is now a disgrace to a city. It indicates careless and unsanitary civic housekeeping. The fight against typhoid fever has been aided by the development of a vaccine which produces immunity for a limited time.

Yellow fever, typhus, and bubonic plague are controlled or wiped out by eradicating the insects—mosquitoes, lice,

and fleas—which transmit the germs from one victim to another.

The persistent researches in the diseases of later life have in many instances led to important results. For illustra-

FIG. 54.—Ascertaining the physical development of the child.

(Girl Scouts assist in the weighing and measuring of children in some of the county clinics. What useful purpose may be served by such examinations of young children?)

tion, use of the recently discovered insulin aids in the fight against diabetes.

Diseases of the heart and circulatory system require not only careful medical care but also early diagnosis. The

successful treatment of cancer depends upon its diagnosis at an early stage. The public is becoming aware that for the person past forty years of age a thorough annual medical examination is desirable.

Medical science has so successfully coped with the diseases of infancy, middle life, and old age that the average expectation of life has been lengthened by about ten years. However, this great gain has come chiefly from the reduced mortality rates in the early years of life, rather than from a conquest of the degenerative or organic diseases of later life.

7. The Fight against Tuberculosis.—The control or elimination of tuberculosis, the dread disease of youth and early adulthood, has been the object of the most intensive and effective health campaign which has been waged in this country.

To a greater extent than in the case of any other disease the community has accepted responsibility for tuberculosis. The public schools teach measures of prevention and protection; cities have ordinances against spitting, which spreads the disease; sanitoriums are supported by public funds; and corps of special workers are employed to deal with the problems of care of the infected and prevention of the disease.

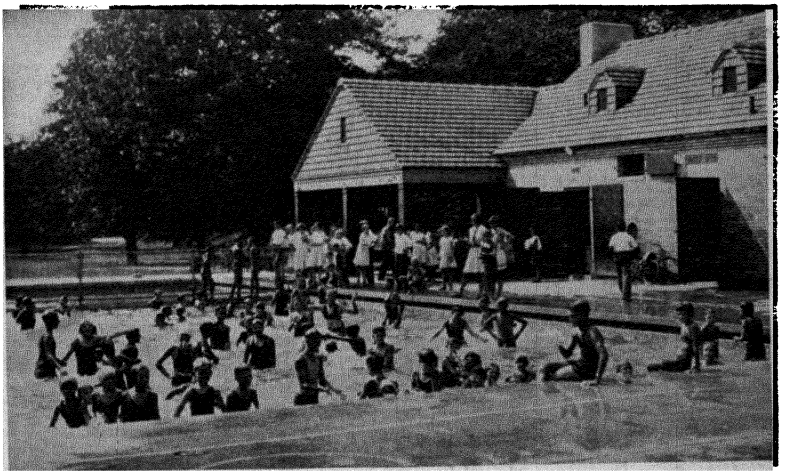
The death rate in tuberculosis has been reduced by one-half since the beginning of the present century. It is still much too high for a disease which can be controlled.

Overcrowding, insufficient sunlight, contaminated air, poor food, and overwork are some of the contributory causes of tuberculosis. Rest, good food, freedom from care, all of which are difficult to obtain in a poverty-striken household, are the main factors in effecting a cure.

For reasons mentioned above, tuberculosis has been called the poor man's disease. Cures are most numerous among

people of higher economic status who can provide proper care, food, and rest for the patient.

A persistent fight against tuberculosis has been waged in the United States by the National Tuberculosis Association, which has branches in all parts of the country. This organization has led most of the campaign for sanitariums, special nurses, open-air schools for children, and proper specific educational measures for the care of the tuberculous and the control and prevention of the disease.



(Courtesy of National Recreation Association)

FIG. 55.—A neighborhood playground.

(What are some of the advantages of such a playground?)

8. Sterilization and the Prevention of Infection.—To most people who have been patients in a hospital, that institution represents the acme of functioning efficiency. They seldom realize that the fundamental principles upon which hospitals rest are the comparatively recent products of scientific research and investigation.

Yet less than a hundred years ago surgical operations were performed without the aid of anaesthetics, and the

patients who survived the shock of the operation had to face the dangers of infection which usually followed. This was before Pasteur had discovered the cause of the silkworm disease, and, while working with wines, worms, and sheep, had developed the germ theory of disease. In those days, hospitals were veritable centers of infection, and doctors and nurses innocently and ignorantly carried the germs of contagion from patient to patient.

Various and fantastic reasons were assigned for the spread of infections. Because unsterilized wounds gave off offensive odors, many physicians believed that open windows and fresh air would stay the infection.

The first physician to introduce into hospitals the antiseptic treatment of wounds was Lord Lister, in Scotland. Though Pasteur, a Frenchman, was the originator of this idea, during the Franco-Prussian War his countrymen died by the thousands from infected wounds because the French medical men of the day refused to accept the findings of this humble chemist and would not test his conclusions.

The theory of germ infection and the development of antiseptics and sterilization have revolutionized hospitals. Few serious infections after ordinary operations occur in a modern hospital. Hospitalization, immunization, preventive medicine, and dentistry are developments of the last few decades. All of them are indebted primarily to the invention and improvement of the microscope, to various technological inventions, and to arduous laboratory research.

9. Medical Progress Parallels Advances in Surgery.—In medicine, as in other lines of research, scientists no longer await the happy accident of chance discovery, but corps of trained workers are employed upon all the major problems which still confront the profession. The nature of diseases which are still obscure, such as cancer, and methods of

treatment for those already in some measure understood, such as tuberculosis, present problems which challenge the best minds in medical research.

Side by side with the doctors who work on diseases are the chemists who seek to discover new and efficacious drugs. Almost all of the drugs in present-day use are the products of the last fifty years of chemical research. Many of these are coal-tar derivatives and have the same chemical composition as drugs previously used. For all practical

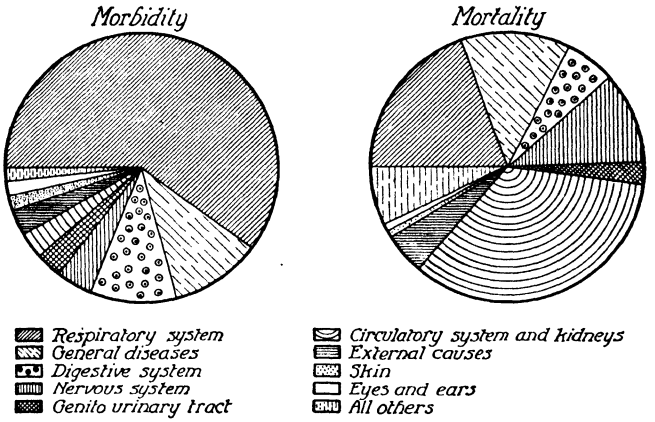


FIG. 56.—Relative importance of various causes of sickness and death.
(Based on data collected in city of Hagerstown, Maryland, for the period from December, 1921, to March 31, 1924.)

purposes, the synthetic article is the same as the natural product.

The ability of chemists to produce synthetic drugs is implied in the recent remark of a doctor in a case in which the medicine prescribed was very expensive. Apologetically, he said: "It is too bad that this costs so much, but it must still be made from the medicinal plant, which is scarce. However, the big laboratories are analyzing its chemical composition, and undoubtedly they will produce

it synthetically. When they have done that, it can be put on the market at a lower price."

A contemporary scientist has said: "If the time ever comes when the country is ready to say to the scientists, 'Find cures for all diseases,' they will find them. We can do anything that we want to—if we want to."[1] Yes, we expect the scientist to supply our needs.

SUMMARY

Disease is a community affair, because it decreases the efficiency of those who are victims, and, if communicable, is a threat to other members of the community. The measures taken by science to understand and treat disease are, therefore, of social importance, and the control of disease is properly a community affair, a matter of community self-protection. Through enforcing quarantine, and by innoculation and vaccination the spread of some of the most fatal communicable diseases has been checked.

Some of the most devastating of diseases, such as smallpox and typhoid, have been almost eliminated from civilized communities, through measures which practically assure their non-occurrence.

Tuberculosis, though still one of the most devastating of diseases, is nevertheless on the decrease, and some students of health believe it can be practically eliminated.

Meanwhile, diseases of the heart are said to be responsible for more physical disability than tuberculosis; the incidence of cancer has not decreased; and pneumonia still claims its many victims in the ranks of those over middle age.

The common cold is no trifling matter and is said to cost the nation more than a billion dollars annually, through loss of hours of work by the afflicted. Several investigators are concentrating on a study of it and of means of combating it, but up to the present no relief is in sight.

[1] FARRELL, HUGH, *What Price Progress?* p. 72, Putnam, 1926.

Questions

1. What is meant by public-health measures?
2. In what ways does impairment of health impair social efficiency?
3. Is there a tendency at present toward socialized medicine? What do you understand by this term? Why do many people object to socialized medicine? What would be some of its advantages?
4. How is quarantine established, and for what purpose?
5. What work in public sanitation has been done by the United States government?

Exercises

1. Compare the death rates of Russia, Italy, England, and the United States. What do these figures mean?
2. Compare the death rate of the United States in 1910 with the rate in 1930. What do these figures mean?
3. What states have the best hospital facilities, in terms of population? Can you explain this situation?
4. What information on longevity can you obtain from life-insurance companies? Write your own interpretation of the data.
5. What health services are insurance companies rendering, and why?
6. Are there public hospitals in your community? Is there a school nurse? A dental clinic?

Vocabulary Test

deterioration	mitigate	sterilization
germs	quarantine	subsidize
immunity		

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PART IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XXIV

SOCIAL PROGRESS

This Chapter

1. Summarizes the Main Points of the Respective Parts of the Book.
2. Outlines the Problem of Social Progress.
3. Suggests the Main Purposes of Sociology.

My grandpa notes the world's worn cogs,
And says we're going to the dogs.
His grand-dad, in his house of logs,
Swore things were going to the dogs;
His dad, among the Flemish bogs,
Vowed things were going to the dogs;
The caveman in his bearskin togs
Said things were going to the dogs;
But this is what I wish to state—
Those dogs have had one awful wait!

1. A Bird's-eye View of Previous Chapters.—We have traversed a long road, and are now at the end of the journey. Already, no doubt, many parts of the journey have been well-nigh forgotten; perhaps, too, we have seen it only bit by bit, and not as a whole.

Let us, then, briefly survey, in an airplane journey, as it were, the path we have slowly followed day by day. We should see social life steadily and see it whole; for social life has unity and should be understood as a unified whole.

2. Society and Culture.—Society is the form of group life in which we live. It is composed of ourselves and our fellows, and is constituted of the relations which obtain between its members.

Group life is a universal human phenomenon, and Aristotle was justified in calling man a social animal.

Group life, however, consists of more than personal attitudes and personal relations. It has a culture. The culture consists of the language, traditions, institutions, and ways of doing things which characterize the group, and of its material equipment, as well as its science, arts, and industries. The culture gives meaning to social life, for it is the thought and behavior pattern of the group. In every group, social life and culture are so intimately interwoven that they are inseparable.

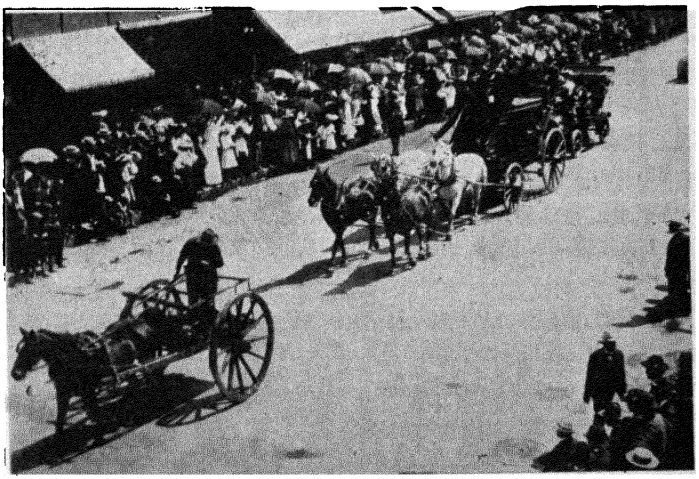
3. Physical Basis of Society and Culture.—Geographical conditions are important factors in social life, for they give the setting of group activities. But their influence depends largely upon the character of the social life and the culture, and the culture can, to some extent, remake its environment.

A similar observation applies to biological factors. A good physique is important, but one would hesitate to say that it is the most important phase of life. Man should be a good animal, that is, have a healthy, sturdy body; but a good body does not, in itself, insure a good life. Men cannot secure a good society merely by selecting the physical type, but they can eliminate or decrease the frequency of certain undesirable physical types.

4. Social Forces.—The principal social forces, which are fundamental in all groups, are custom, tradition, and opinion. These are the flywheels of group life. They impart consistency to group life and maintain its momentum.

Without custom, group life would be haphazard and filled with conflicts, and without tradition there would be no efficient guides for the future. Susceptibility to the opinions of others makes agreement possible and imparts solidarity to the group. The exploitation of opinion by

agencies which make indirect appeals falls within the field of propaganda. By means of propaganda certain groups may thwart society in some of its most cherished aims. By studying the past, history gives depth to opinion, custom, and tradition, and makes us better acquainted with ourselves.



(*Courtesy of the Minneapolis Journal*)

FIG. 57.—March of progress in transportation.

(Note cart, stage coach, and early automobile of the wheezy, chain-driven type of 1905.)

5. Social Institutions.—The most important social institutions are family, school, church, community, city, state, nation, and the larger international world to which all civilized peoples now belong. We grow up in these respective institutions and political units. They influence considerably the behavior of individuals.

The church is a sphere of religious and social influence, the school is social as well as educational, and the family is a group of individuals who have intimate everyday contacts with one another. The city, the state, and the nation

make the laws by which we are governed, and they give us protection and privileges which are otherwise not possible.

A healthy internationalism is equally essential if these privileges are to be enjoyed, for, in the modern world, no nation can live to itself alone.

Economic institutions have always played an important part in social life. The development of modern industrialism has made all phases of modern economic life highly interdependent. The advent of machine technique has, moreover, tremendously modified our culture and our group life.

6. Social Problems.—Social life has its disadvantages and drawbacks as well as its advantages and opportunities. Many people are handicapped by physical or mental disability. Many are not able to make a living, and some meet with misfortune through accident to, or illness of, self, dependents, or supporters. The number of the mentally or physically unfortunate is large, and the group must provide special opportunities for those who are heavily handicapped because of mental or physical deficiency.

7. Social Progress.—There is social change at all times and in all groups. If the change is improvement, it is called progress.

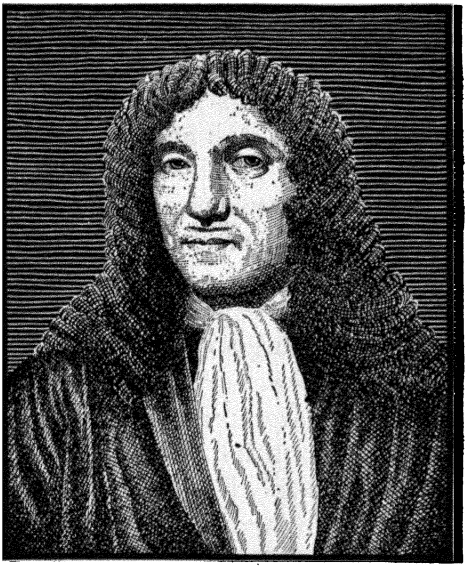
In order to improve its condition and make life easier and more satisfying, modern society is constantly introducing changes. At present, however, we have no comprehensive program of social improvement; we merely patch things up here and there as best we may, largely in a makeshift manner.

Some day, perhaps, we shall adopt a more fundamental program, in which we shall take account of the needs of all the various phases of social life through a long period of time.

The problem of social progress is an old but ever recurring one. Repeatedly the questions are asked: Are we better

off than our grandfathers, who had few wants and scant means for satisfying them? Is civilization going ahead? If so, do the gains of civilization offset the losses?

8. Effects of the World War.—In 1914 only a pessimistic philosopher would have been inclined to pause long over



Antoni Van Leeuwenhoek

1632 ~ 1723 ~

FIG. 58.—A pioneer of progress in the control of disease.

(Leeuwenhoek was the first to see, through the microscope, the tiny forms of life not visible to the unaided eye. His work laid the foundation of modern bacteriology.)

an affirmative answer to these questions. But the World War of the next four years shook the moral and social world to its foundations. Ancient values and traditions were shattered, and society was compelled to reorient itself in a world in which all ideals and ideas were questioned and

evaluated anew. Perhaps this questioning attitude towards life, which grew out of the disillusionment that followed the World War, will, in the long run be a substantial gain; for self-satisfaction is not a stimulus to progress.

9. Scientific Attitude.—The effects of science and the scientific attitude toward every phase of modern life must be considered when we evaluate our culture. There are, however, some fairly well-defined trends in certain phases of social life which may, or may not, ultimately lead to the greater welfare of society. In certain technological developments, in industrial and political organization, in social, interracial, and international relations, recent events may indicate the general trend of these movements during the next few decades.

But prophecy is often wrong, whether made by optimist or by pessimist. Certainly some of the trends perceptible in society indicate that we are not "going to the dogs," even though everything may not be "for the best."

10. A Last Word.—Social life cannot be understood merely by reading books. It is necessary to supplement "book knowledge" with observations at first hand. Nor is a knowledge of our social world merely something to be acquired because it is a school subject. All of us are members of social groups, and all of us, whether we know it or not, are sociologists. We must learn to live with our fellows. If we wish to live intelligently and well, we must acquaint ourselves with the character of our social world. Our social world gives us our language, our laws, our literature, our food, our work, and our play. It will either make us or break us.

Each one of us determines to what extent he shall profit from membership in this social world. We can generally do what we wish, if we wish to do what we should. The man who understands the character of the social world in

which he lives has a considerable advantage over him who does not understand it. Here, as elsewhere, knowledge is power and opportunity, and it is largely our own fault if we remain ignorant. Few sins are more despicable than the sin of willful ignorance.

Questions

1. Why is it important to see society as a unity?
2. Explain the relation between culture and society.
3. Why is good physique important? In what respects is it insufficient, though necessary, for the individual's success in social life?
4. What is meant by the statement that custom, tradition, and opinion are the flywheels of group life?
5. How can history make us better acquainted with ourselves?
6. What are the most important social institutions? Indicate briefly their respective importance.
7. Why should society provide special opportunities for the mentally or physically handicapped?
8. Why was the World War a challenge to the optimism of the defenders of our civilization?
9. In what way can knowledge of social life, and an understanding of our social world, be of practical use?

Exercises

1. Outline the main social institutions in your community, and indicate briefly their respective functions.
2. Give some examples of custom, opinion, and tradition in your community, and their respective influence on social life.
3. In what way can history be utilized in your community life? Give some examples of its influence at present on our social life.
4. What is meant by social progress? Show, by examples, that there may be progress in some things while others remain unchanged, or may even become worse.
5. Make a list of the more important ideas which you have acquired from a study of this text.
6. If you were going to continue the study of our social world, what things, in particular, would you want to know more about? Why?

Vocabulary Test

evolution	phenomenon	science
ideal	progress	sociology
institution	retrospect	

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