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Society and its problems
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SOCIETY AND ITS PROBLEMS

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY

BY

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GEORGE G. HARRAP & CO., LTD.

LONDON CALCUTTA SYDNEY

Printed in the United States of America

PREFACE

The plan of the present book is to give the student who takes but one course in sociology a general idea of the whole science, and to give to the student who continues the subject a foundation for advanced work. Emphasis is placed upon those subjects that will be of greatest practical value to the student, such as immigration, the race question, the family, poverty, and crime, although other phases of the science, such as the evolution of institutions and the general principles of social theory, are not neglected.

After taking up the definition of sociology, the author discusses one by one certain of the fundamental problems. First comes a study of population, birth and death rates, and movements of population. This leads to those perplexing elements, immigration, the overcrowding of cities, and race antagonisms. The next two parts deal with society and its problems from within—the evolution of the family and the home, religion, ethics, and education, social control and organization. Then come its maladjustments, poverty, crime, immorality, and the treatment of defectives.

It will thus be seen that the author's purpose has been to present a broad view of the fundamentals as the first step to the study of sociology itself. At the end of each chapter a list of references is given, which will broaden the reader's equipment on any special line in which he may be interested.

While this book is primarily intended for students of sociology, it is by no means limited in its appeal to them. It presupposes no previous training in the subject, and for this reason we hope will prove equally valuable to students and general readers who are interested in the problems confronting modern society. The author endeavors to show that our handling of all these problems is constantly on a higher and more enlightened plane. He

takes an optimistic view of present-day society because of this fact; and while recognizing that many serious problems yet remain unsolved, the method of public approach to such matters is constantly more rational and efficient.

Since the first edition of this work appeared [1920], the author has found opportunity to make a thorough revision of the entire text; especially in the light of statistics made available by the 1920 census which were not then at hand. Other parts have been revised or enlarged to suit certain classroom needs, as the book has been tested out at many colleges. For example, an entirely new chapter on Heredity has been added. As a result of this revision both at the author's hands and that of collaborators, the entire text has been reset.

The author wishes to make his general acknowledgment for all this valuable aid; also for many facts and opinions on the subject as found in the volumes listed in the Bibliography at the end of the book. He wishes to express his appreciation especially to Professor L. J. Mills for valued aid in revising the manuscript; to Professor O. C. Bradbury, Professor of Biology in Baylor University, for his assistance in the preparation of the chapter on Heredity; to the many teachers of sociology who have expressed interest in the book; to Mrs. Dow for her timely suggestions and aid throughout the entire work; and to Mr. J. Walker McSpadden for expert editorial revision.

G. S. Dow.

April 5, 1922

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SOCIETY AND ITS PROBLEMS

PART ONE

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF SOCIOLOGY

What Is Sociology?—While it is not unusual nowadays to begin a text-book without supplying a definition, the author considers it entirely unsafe to start the tyro in the science of sociology without furnishing him with some idea of its nature. Nearly every student entering an introductory course in sociology has a more or less hazy conception of the subject; he thinks that it will probably take up some such topics as poverty, crime, vice and intemperance, and that it will include an investigation of slums and a consideration of other causes of the miseries of humanity. Yet if this same student were asked to point out the difference between sociology and socialism, he would probably be at a loss.

There are as many definitions of sociology as there are text-books, and although the majority of these definitions are more or less incomplete, the author hesitates to add another to the collection. Sociology has been defined as "the science of society," "the scientific study of society," "the science of social phenomena," "the study of human association," "the science of the social process," "the science of the social relation," and as "the science which treats of the phenomena of society arising from the association of mankind." Probably the clearest and best definition given to date is that furnished by Professor Ellwood[1] who calls it "the science which deals with hu-

[1] *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 13.

man association, its origin, development, forms and functions."

Different Conceptions of Sociology.—The reason for the differences in the definitions of sociology lies largely in the various conceptions held by sociologists of the scope of the science. Some look upon sociology as an inclusive science, embracing all the fields of human endeavor; others ascribe to it but a limited field, restricting it to a technical analysis of the forms of association or to a classification of the different groups found among men. Therefore, before attempting another definition of sociology and outlining what we shall expect to study, we should take a glance at these existing conceptions, or, perhaps we ought to say, groups of conceptions held by the leading sociologists.

1. *Sociology as a Study of Social Problems.*—As we suggested in our first paragraph, the idea that sociology is a study of social problems is the notion held by the majority of those who have not studied sociology, and unfortunately by a few who have, or at least think that they have, studied the science. While sociology undoubtedly does treat of the evils found in society and of their remedies, it is not confined to them. Sociology treats of the normal as well as the abnormal; it analyzes the healthy phases of society as well as the unhealthy; in fact, it regards the abnormal, unhealthy phases of society as examples of maladjustment, as examples of what ought not to be; it considers the evils of society as exceptions to the normal evolution of society. Such phases it relegates to one side, or one corner of the field of the science. Different branches of sociology, such as philanthropy or criminology, are devoted exclusively to these unwholesome, abnormal elements of society. While these, without doubt, are among the most popular parts of the science, they are by no means all of it. The attraction which these phases have for many people accounts for the widespread misconception.

2. *Sociology as a Theoretical Analysis of Human Association.*—A view held, not by those ignorant of the science,

but by professed sociologists, is that sociology is an analysis of human association. The nature of this analysis depends upon the sociologist. Professor Simmel regards sociology as the science of the order or organization of society. Professor Small limits it almost exclusively to the study of groups and group action. Professor Giddings has worked out a very elaborate system, based chiefly upon the sociability trait of mankind. Others treat it as a study of human interests and of the forces that control human action. Still others limit it to a study of the present organization of society. The criticism of these conceptions is much the same as that made of the popular idea—they take up only one side of the science. Each type of treatment is unquestionably sociology; but each is too narrow to stand for the whole science. Each deals with only one phase of the science. The trouble lies in the fact that sociology is a new science; when a sociologist develops a new theory, he tends to subordinate everything social to it; so he tries to build a whole science upon what ought to be only the foundation of one wing of the structure, instead of the whole building.

3. *Sociology as the Study of Civilization.*—Professor Ward, one of America's foremost sociologists, while admitting the importance of other phases of the science, confined his attention to the development of human institutions, such as the state, the family, religion, language, and education, in other words sociology as a study of civilization. While these subjects are among the most important phases of the science, it should be understood that they include political science, economics, and history, as well as sociology. Moreover with such limitations as above, it is not possible to give sufficient attention to present conditions—a subject in which the ordinary student of the science is much more interested than he is in the state of society twenty-five thousand years ago, for he looks naturally to it for aid in living the life set before him. The study of civilization gives us, however, our ideas in regard to the evolution of society; and herein lies its chief value.

4. *Sociology as a Social Philosophy.*—Another conception quite often held is that sociology treats society in much the same way as psychology treats the individual—that it is a study of the social mind, an interpretation of what man does, why he does it, and how he does it. This again is a part of sociology, but not all. This, while an important phase of the science, is perhaps the most difficult one and for that reason has been less fully investigated than any other.

As has already been indicated, sociology is not one but all of these things. Sociology deals with human association, with the origin, the development, forms, and functions of society. It includes as subjects of study the origin and development of human institutions; the forms through which society has passed; the organization of society to-day, and present day conditions; interests which prompt human action; the forces which exist in and control society; and the social mind.

Sociology may be divided into theoretical and practical, or as they are often called, pure and applied. The former deals with the origin and development of institutions, the analysis of human interests, social forces, and social psychology; the latter takes up the conditions found in society to-day and generally gives special attention to the problem side. This volume will attempt to cover both theoretical and practical sociology, but will give special emphasis to the practical side.

What Is Society?—As we have stated, sociology is the study of human association—society; and before we go any further, we must have a common understanding of the meaning of this term. Here again we find a difference of opinion. Some sociologists have looked upon *society* as merely another term for *humanity,* or *mankind.* Others have treated it as synonymous with the term *nation;* this, however, is not the commonly accepted view; in fact, it is one generally discarded. Others look upon *society* as standing for a certain select or special aggregation or *cultural group.* Sometimes the word is used as referring to *social intercourse.* It is, however, becoming the accepted practice

in sociology to consider *society* as meaning the *group*, that is, an indefinite number of persons bound together by more or less permanent relations, as a family, a club, a fraternity, a class, a party thrown together at random in travel, or in general, any body of persons united by some tie, even though that tie be weak and transitory. Ellwood defines *society* as "any group of psychically interested individuals."[2] Yet at times *society* does undoubtedly refer to the nation, to a race, or even to humanity, but even then it regards the nation, the race and humanity as expanded groups. It is more concerned with the phenomena of the association of the members of the group than with the individuals composing the group.

Professor Giddings has very carefully analyzed the modes of association into eight different kinds, which he calls the sympathetic, congenial, approbational, despotic, authoritative, conspirital, contractional, and idealistic.[3] While this scheme is elaborate and shows much ingenuity, it is not specially helpful, as it tends to confuse rather than to clarify.

Complexity of the Social Process.—The social order cannot be explained by any one principle or set of principles, or shown to be the result of any one force, as Professor Tarde, for instance, tried to demonstrate by using as the key to all social phenomena the one principle, imitation. Neither will any such key as "consciousness of kind" or "occupational group" unlock the door. Human association is too complicated and intricate to be so explained. Different forces are constantly at work in society, some in co-operation, and some in opposition to each other. Too many interests prompt human action to be explained by any particular set of motives. But though the organization of society can be reduced to some sort of order and system, it is by no means an easy thing to do. While it might be more logical, therefore, to take up the analysis of society at this point than to postpone

[2] Ellwood, *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*, p. 13.
[3] *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. X, pp. 161-176.

it until later, we shall make a study of the people that make up society and the development of the institutions in society, before we analyze the interests that prompt men to act and the forces that control human action.

However, we may notice here for the purpose of illustrating the complexity of society, the principle of cooperation, which is always at work, whether consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly. In order to get a conception of this principle, one has only to stop to consider the number of persons who take part in producing any one commodity, bread, for illustration, which sold for five cents a loaf for years. Not only the grocer who sold the bread and the baker who made the loaf, but also the railway employees who handled the flour; the miller who ground the wheat; the men who made the machinery used in the mill, the cars on the railroad, or even the mill itself, and those who laid the track for the railroads; the other railway employees who carried the wheat to the mill; the farmer who grew the grain; the men who made the farm machinery used in raising and harvesting the grain; the miners who brought the ore out of the ground, and the lumbermen who cut the lumber used in the machinery, as well as the men employed in the more immediate process of handling the grain or flour—all helped to produce the five-cent loaf of bread. In fact, we should be obliged to go back several years to find all of the persons who had a part in the production of that one item.

The same is true of every other commodity produced. It is a complicated world in which we live, a vast machinery which man has constructed. Human association is too intricate to lend itself easily to explanation. Man cannot be isolated; he cannot live without his fellow beings. He must come into contact with them.

The Relation of Sociology to the Other Sciences.—When sociologists, like Comte and Ward, attempt to classify all the sciences, they generally rank sociology either as the leading science, as well as the most important and advanced, or else assert that sociology includes the bulk

of the other sciences, especially those most closely related to it—economics, political science, religion, ethics, history, and anthropology. The principal result of these extravagant claims has been to antagonize the other sciences, and to cause sociology to be discredited because of its laying claims to fields of thought which it not only cannot adequately cover, but to which it has no valid claim. For a new science suddenly to appear and appropriate to itself, on the basis of a new classification, subjects which have been cultivated and worked over for long periods of time, is too much to be conceded, and the attempt at appropriation has hindered rather than advanced sociology.

In the present study we shall make no such assumption for sociology; we shall not try to prove that it is the *scientia scientiarum*, or that it includes within its domain any of the older sciences. Sociology has its own boundaries, which include a territory large enough to afford sociologists ample room for work and investigation. Sociology does, however, border on other sciences and invade their fields at times, but no more than they, in turn, encroach upon its domain.

There is what might be called a fund of human knowledge from which all sciences draw, a sort of common forest to which each goes for its raw material. Sociology takes from this common source of supply facts of which other sciences also avail themselves, and uses them as timber in the building of its own structures. It may take the same information and dispose of it in a manner entirely different from that of some other sciences. For example, we know that the Normans conquered England; history makes use of that fact for its purposes; so does sociology in illustrating its theory of social assimilation or the mingling of races. Art, religion, ethics, economics and political science may make use of this same fact, but each will use it in its own way, from its own point of view. Sociology makes use of investigations of other sciences, such as chemistry, geology and economics; but it, on the other hand, makes investigations into such ques-

tions as standards of living, human interests, causes and conditions of poverty, and the like, the results of which are, in turn, used by other sciences. Social research, the accumulation of new data, or interpretation of existing data, is now regarded as the principal method of sociology. Because sociology considers problems and conditions which other sciences, especially economics and history, do not know how to handle, it has often been called "the science of left-overs"; however, this accusation is no more true of sociology than it is of other sciences, except in so far as sociologists have at times been puzzled to know how to limit their field and to classify their material. Sociology has also been accused of being the biggest thief among the sciences, in that it steals all it likes, and rejects everything it does not want, or know how to use. This arraignment has been made more in the spirit of jealousy than from any other motive, because of the attractions sociology presents and the number of disciples it has acquired.

In order to observe more closely the position of sociology in regard to the other sciences, let us consider it in relation to some of its nearest neighbors.

1. *Sociology and Economics.*—Possibly the nearest neighbor to sociology is economics, the science of wealth, which deals with the phenomena resulting from the wealth-getting and wealth-using activities of man—a province much more definitely marked out and limited than that of sociology. Economics takes up the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, and works out laws or principles in regard to such activities. When sociology has to deal with problems or conditions involving the distribution of wealth, such as poverty, for illustration, it must necessarily go to economics for the principles underlying and the laws governing the distribution of wealth. Again, when sociology deals with phenomena involving the production of wealth, sociology must go to economics for the purpose of learning the factors involved. On the other hand, when economics deals with exchange of wealth, it must go to sociology for an understanding of

the human interests which cause people to desire articles they do not possess and to be willing to exchange other things for them. Economics must go to sociology and also to psychology for a knowledge of the forces which control human action. Economics cannot explain the desire of man for sociability, his craving for companionship, although it must recognize this as a factor in the distribution of wealth. Custom, habit, imitation, and similar factors are constantly making themselves felt in the economic world, and economics must learn of sociology the laws or principles governing these, in the same manner that sociology is obliged to go to economics for much of its data. Sociology must depend upon economics in matters involving the production, distribution and consumption of wealth; economics must depend upon sociology in matters connected with human association or the social activities of man. Each is indispensable to the other; but neither can be said to be a part of the other, although overenthusiastic students of both sciences sometimes make such assertions. There is a borderground, claimed more or less by each, involving such problems as poverty, labor, and the movements and increase of population, where it is hard to draw the line between the two.

2. *Sociology and Political Science.*—Political science, or as it is often called, the science of government, deals with such problems as the origin, nature, forms, and functions of the state; the location of sovereignty, and the questions of administration. It has a relation to sociology very similar to that of economics to sociology. The state is one of the leading institutions of society and as such comes in for treatment under sociology; therefore the origin and development of the state are phenomena treated by both sciences. Here, however, political science is more dependent upon sociology than the reverse, for political science has to come to sociology for a knowledge of the principles of social control and for an understanding of those who are governed, as well as other basic principles which must be considered in the administration

of government. Sociology uses the facts of political science chiefly for the purpose of illustrating some of its general principles. The line between the two is much clearer than between sociology and economics, and because of this there is less friction between them.

3. *Sociology and History.*—History is a more or less concrete science, and therefore is much more definite than sociology. It treats of the past actions of man—what man has done, and how he did it. Sociology must go to history constantly for material, for information, for illustrations, and for the proof of its principles, as well as for explanation of its problems. On the other hand, history has to depend upon sociology for an explanation of the motives prompting man to act. There is little conflict between sociology and objective history, although a few historians would include all sociology in history; but when it comes to some of the subdivisions or branches of history, like historiography and the philosophy of history, the lines of distinction fade. Many historians assert, for example, that sociology is little better than a philosophy of history, although the latter has never dealt with more than a very few of its problems. On the whole, the distinction here is much better drawn than it is between sociology and economics. Each is dependent upon the other, although history could probably get along much better without sociology than vice versa. History, at any rate, did exist for hundreds of years before sociology arose, but the newer study has vitalized the old by adding warmth and human interest to what was mainly a collection of facts. In short, sociology has socialized history and has broadened it. History no longer concerns itself only with battles, the doings of rulers, and the acts of the nobility; it gives attention now to the life of the common people, their standards of living, ideals, habits and customs, as well as to the acts of their rulers. If this were the only contribution sociology had made to science, its mission would be amply justified.

4. *Sociology and Anthropology.*—Anthropology, or the

study of man considered zoölogically or ethnographically, generally regarded as a study of primitive man, stands in much the same relation to sociology as does history. Sociology uses anthropology as a source-book of facts concerning primitive man: his early history and the origin and development of his institutions, such as the family, the state, and religion. Anthropology, like history, has been broadened by sociology, being changed from a mere catalogue of collections to an attempt to trace the evolution of society from its beginning to the present. The border ground between these two sciences extends along so much of the field of anthropology that it is difficult to tell where anthropology ends and sociology begins, but sociology deals more with the present or, at least, historical period.

5. *Sociology and Ethics.*—The relationship existing between sociology and ethics is not so easily traced. Ethics, the science of morality, deals with what ought to be; it is idealistic, although it has to take cognizance of social facts; while sociology deals with what has been and with what is. For such information ethics relies upon sociology, although ethics does not attempt to manipulate these facts except insofar as they relate to what ought to be. Ethics deals with standards, ideals, and norms. Sociology, while it leads up to ideals, does not discuss them; it merely considers things as they are. In other words, sociology leads towards ethics, but stops before reaching it. Ethics, being a science of value and ideals, invades all realms of activity and attempts to set up standards of action. It is dependent, not only upon sociology, but likewise upon nearly all the sciences, although supported more directly by sociology than by any other.

6. *Sociology and the Natural Sciences.*—For the sociologist the most important of the physical sciences is biology. It furnishes sociology with the facts of physical life, particularly with regard to nerve structure, the relation of the organism to its environment, and so forth. Sociology must derive from biology a knowledge of the

processes of heredity and organic development. Indeed it must obtain from biology all the facts it needs respecting animal life. In the same way, sociology must go to chemistry, physics, geology, geography, and the other natural sciences for specific information. None of these has, however, much need for such a vague general science as sociology; in fact, these are the foundation sciences, or better perhaps, the mechanical sciences.

7. *Sociology and Psychology.*—Psychology, like economics, is a near neighbor to sociology. Each constantly invades the other's territory, for the boundaries are hard to distinguish. Psychology, the science of consciousness and of behavior, deals essentially with the individual; while sociology deals with the group; this is the chief distinction between them. To be a sociologist one must be a psychologist, to understand society one must know the principles of psychology. For since psychology is a study of the individual mind, and since society is merely a collection of individuals, to understand the social mind one must necessarily understand the individual mind. Although the individual will often act and think differently when in a group than when alone, his mental processes are the same. And many of the forces that control human action, and the interests that prompt man to act, can be explained only by psychology. Many people look upon sociology as social psychology, consisting merely of a psychical analysis of society. While social psychology is a very important part of sociology, especially of pure or theoretical sociology, and, in reality, affects all phases of the science, it is by no means the whole of it. Social psychology is merely that side of sociology which faces psychology. It is the border-land between the two sciences and is of course claimed by both. Sociology is as dependent upon psychology as psychology is upon biology; it needs psychology as much as it needs economics, though probably no more. A number of sociologists, especially Tarde and Giddings, have taken certain psychological principles and have built whole systems of sociology upon them.

This is, of course, carrying the relationship to the extreme; but fully to interpret society, the sociologist must recognize the psychical forces at work and, as far as possible, explain them.

Other sciences might be mentioned as having some bearing upon sociology, but the above are the most closely related; and of these the most important are economics, psychology, history and biology.

Several of the sciences touched upon in the preceding paragraphs form what is generally called the social science group, because of the close relation each science has to society and to the others in the group. But as to just what sciences should be included there is no consensus of opinion. Everyone recognizes the justification for including sociology, economics, political science, and anthropology; and nearly everyone includes history. Some add ethics and religion, and a few, psychology. Such a classification is usually made from a pedagogical point of view, because it helps to straighten the perplexity liable to arise in the mind of the student. Blackmar and Gillin[1] give perhaps the best classification of the social sciences, with the principal subheads under each class, as follows:

I. Ethics.
   - Principles of Ethics.
   - History of Ethics.
   - Social Ethics.

II. Economics.
   - Economic Theory and Institutions.
   - Economic Politics.
   - Industrial History.
   - Labor Legislation.
   - Banking and Monetary Theory.
   - Taxation and Finance.

III. Politics.
   - Political Theory.
   - Diplomacy and International Law.
   - National Administration.

[1] *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 26-27.

Municipal Administration.
Constitutional Law.
Colonial Administration.

IV. History.
Political History.
History of Institutions.
Social History.
Historical Geography.

V. Sociology.
Descriptive Sociology.
Social Origins.
Social Evolution.
Social Pathology.
Socialization and Social Control.
Social Psychology.
History of Sociology.

VI. Anthropology.
General Anthropology.
Ethnology.
Ethnography.
Somatology.
Archeology.

VII. Comparative Religion.

Additions might be made to this list; it is by no means offered as the only method of arrangement, but as perhaps the best one suggested so far. At any rate it serves our purpose by helping to show the relationship existing between the sciences commonly called social.

Sociology a General Science.—Sociology has often been criticized for being too general, too loosely put together; it has been attacked because it does not draw hard and fast lines, because it cannot say that such and such will happen. In chemistry whenever two or more elements are put together in the given proportions, the result will always be the same if the conditions are uniform. Likewise in physics—the laws of the lever, of gravity, etc., always act uniformly when conditions are the same. In mathematics exact results are obtained; in fact, mathematical results are the best illustration of scientific ac-

curacy. Chemistry, physics and mathematics are exact sciences, where definite laws can be formulated. Sociology does not exhibit such undeviating precision. For two persons with exactly the same environment may turn out opposite in character; the one may become an altruistic social worker, and the other a dangerous criminal; or the one may become a spendthrift, the other a millionaire. The factors are too many and varied to permit the formulation of definite laws. No two persons are alike; hence they will never act similarly under the same stimulus—if such can be obtained.

Because sociology cannot lay down exact and comprehensive laws, many persons go so far as to deny to it the honor of being called a science. Such criticisms are becoming fewer as people become more familiar with it. It is being recognized that each science has its own method and peculiarities. It would be as fair and valid to criticize biology because it rearranges its theories every now and then; or to condemn mathematics because it is not an end in itself, but merely a means by which other sciences reach their objectives; or to berate economics because the economists cannot agree among themselves as to what interest, rent, and labor really are; as it is to criticize sociology because it cannot lay down any definite, hard-and-fast laws. Sociology has its laws, but they are not iron-clad; they are rather statements of tendencies or generalizations. In short, they are broad summaries of general conditions, which will be likely to hold good in the majority of cases.

The same is true in tracing periods in social history; seldom can definite dates be given, at least for humanity in general. Different races or peoples may adopt the same invention, but at vastly different dates. They may pass through like stages of culture, but at widely varying periods of time. One race or nation may progress rapidly, while another not far distant may progress much more slowly. The contributing factors are too many and varied to be all taken into consideration. In fact, only a few of the most evident factors are ever known. If we could

perceive all the forces at work and recognize all the determining conditions, then we might be able to predict as accurately what would happen, as does the chemist when he combines various elements.

Therefore, in our study of sociology we shall not meet concisely phrased universal laws, like those with which we are familiar in mathematics and physics; nevertheless we must not ignore social laws, for they are equal in importance to the laws derived in the exact sciences.

Sociology deals with phenomena, the principles and facts of human association. In discussing these, we must notice the origin and development of society, the interests prompting human action and the forces controlling man, and the present organization of society, as well as the problems confronting society. In following this general plan we shall first study population—the effect of nature upon population, human migration and the mixture of races; this will lead us to our present-day problems of immigration and racial differences. Second, we shall trace the evolution of society, giving special attention to the family, the state and religion. Third, we shall analyze the organization of present-day society, first in its normal or healthy aspect, then in its abnormal or pathological aspect. And finally we may take a glimpse into the future in an attempt to forecast future social progress.

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Part Two

CHAPTER II

MAN AND NATURE; THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

The influence of geographic environment upon society is one which many writers ignore entirely, and one which a few, especially Buckle and Miss Semple, emphasize far more than there is any warrant for. In this chapter that influence will be considered as one of the molders of civilization, but not as the chief factor.

Influence Upon Population.—Man, like all other species of the animal kingdom, is dependent on his environment for his existence. This dependence was much more immediate with primitive than it is with civilized man, for primitive man lived by the direct appropriation of the gifts of nature. He subsisted upon berries, fruits, nuts, shellfish, and, in fact, anything edible on which he could lay his hands. Since his very existence was thus dependent upon his environment, he had to live in those localities where food could be obtained. Later when he added fish to his bill of fare he was drawn toward the streams and the seashore, in order to get this more staple form of food; when he began to hunt he moved to the regions where game could be found. Still later when he began to domesticate animals he sought the grassy regions where his cattle could feed. And when agriculture was also added as a means of providing food the bond between him and the environment was still closer, because the cultivation of the crops could be successfully pursued only where the soil was of sufficient richness, where there was a sufficient amount of rainfall, and where

the climate provided the right temperature.[1] The adoption of each new method of getting food did not make man less dependent upon nature; it simply made him less dependent upon one particular condition of nature. If one means of subsistence failed he had the others to fall back upon.

Climate determines to a great extent the amount and kind of food that man needs. The objects of food are to give warmth to the body and repair tissues worn out by bodily activity. If man lives in a cold region he not only must have more food but it must be of a different kind; it must supply greater heat, and hence must be made up more of fats. Also in a cold climate greater exertion is necessary to provide a living; hence the amount of actual energy expended by the body is greater and more food is required. In a warm region less exertion is necessary—in fact, little is desired; so there is less energy expended and less need of fats; fruits are preferred for food. Moreover in the warm climates food is abundant; because slight exertion is necessary little ingenuity is required; hence, as we shall see later, the warm regions never produce the sturdy, ingenious races of people that the colder regions develop.

This is one reason why practically all conquering races come from the north, and why a great continent like Africa and an immense territory like India are easily conquered by small European nations. Indeed all through the past it has been from the north that the conquering races have come. The very fact that these peoples had to work indefatigably to make a living made them energetic and resourceful; their constant, keen battle with nature and their struggles to withstand hardships made them brave and fearless. On the other hand, those peoples living in a warm region where food was abundant did not have to worry about the future; they were able to support themselves with little work; they became therefore indolent, unresourceful and timid.

[1] It is not implied that this is the logical or the typical order of industrial development; but it will serve the purpose of illustration.

Before trade and commerce were developed enough to bring food from other places, the amount of food produced by any region determined the number of people who could live there. This explains why we find civilization first developing in the rich river valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile. These regions were able to support a large population, many people came into contact with each other, exchanged ideas, and so progressed more rapidly than in other regions where only a few could live. Land used for grazing will not support a large population but it will support more than if it were used for hunting, for domestic animals can be raised on a smaller space than that required by wild animals sufficiently numerous to supply food. Fishing will support a larger population than hunting or grazing, if the fish are abundant, as in a large lake, river, or sea. Agriculture will provide for still more; but even here the kinds of plants cultivated have to be considered. Potatoes, for example, require much less space than corn or wheat; bananas require even less than potatoes. Where population increases, more intensive methods of cultivation are used, the plants being grown which require little space. Thus the population which a region can support depends upon its soil, its rainfall, and its temperature, unless a deficiency is made up in some other way. In modern times trade, commerce and manufacturing have been developed as substitutes for the basic occupations, enabling the people to produce other commodities to exchange for food. If Great Britain and the New England states were not able to manufacture goods to exchange for other necessities they would not be able to support their present dense populations.

Effect on the Life of the People.—Geographical conditions not only affect the food supply but also influence almost every phase of the life of the people. The climate determines whether much or little clothing is required. In the case of animals nature regulates this herself, supplying a coat of fur or hair to offset a falling in the temperature. Man is not thus looked after, but is required

to provide for himself. However, in cold regions furs and feathers can be obtained, while in the warm regions reeds, grasses, fibers and barks can be used, man nearly always finding at hand the materials necessary to provide suitable clothing. This matter is not so important as one would perhaps think, for, as we shall see later, the wearing of clothing has been developed for the sake of ornament rather than for protection to the body. The case of shelter is much the same; in warm countries little is needed; in colder regions more must be provided. Probably the most important effect is, that the struggle for food, clothing, and shelter in the colder regions develops energy and resourcefulness—characteristics which are not so well developed in the warmer zones.

Effect Upon Economic Development.—The country in which people live also determines their occupation. If there is an abundance of game, man will hunt; if the streams are well stocked with fish, he will fish. If the country is suitable for grazing, he will domesticate animals and become pastoral. If the soil is productive, he will become an agriculturalist. If he lives on the coast, where he can get materials for ships, and is not too strongly tempted by the productiveness of the land, he will become a sailor. If a group of people is located between peoples who are engaged in different occupations, as agricultural tribes on one side and pastoral on the other, it is likely to become a commercial race, exchanging the commodities of its neighbors. The development of various industries among nations of the world has been largely owing to the geographical conditions which surround those countries. England has become an industrial nation because of her poor soil, abundance of fuel, and dense population. Because of exactly opposite conditions Denmark has become a highly developed agricultural nation. China became largely agricultural because of her rich river valleys. The Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Venetians, the Dutch, and later the English and the Germans took up commerce because of situations favorable to it, coupled with other inducements, such as

excess populations, and insufficient natural resources. The American Indians remained primarily hunters because of an abundance of game and the scarcity of the population.

In fact, the economic life of every nation has been molded, to a great extent, by geographic conditions. For not only has the occupation chosen by man—or perhaps we ought to say, the occupation forced upon him—been largely the result of environment, but also the success with which he has followed it is ascribable to natural conditions. If man were not able to produce more than he consumes, there would be nothing left over to serve as capital; hence there would be no industry, little leisure time, no education, and slight progress in civilization. Tibet, the Arctic regions, and the Caucasus are good examples of this state of affairs; furthermore they are so situated that they could not develop commerce or industry. If we examine the different sections of the United States, we can find many illustrations of the influence of natural conditions. The great fertile regions of the Central States and the rich sections scattered over the country, such as the Mississippi valley and those found in California, Oregon, and Washington, are given over to agriculture; the hilly districts of New England are devoted to manufacturing and small gardening; that portion lying just west of the farming section, being too poor for the best farming, is taken up with cattle and sheep ranches. Each locality tries to do that for which it is best adapted. In recent years this has come to be adopted more and more as the policy of nations, that each country should try to produce those things for which it is best fitted, and not everything that it consumes.

Effect Upon Human Institutions.—In the case of government we notice that the type developed is largely the result of geographic environment. The development of democracy in the city-states of Greece was made possible by the mountain ranges which cut the country up into small sections. When the region is vast and yet remains isolated from other countries, conditions are much more

favorable to the establishment of empires and unlimited monarchies, like those developed in Assyria, Persia, Russia and China. In countries where the people come into contact with those of other nations and have more opportunity to observe and think, we find the common people having a voice in the government, and the development of constitutional monarchies, free cities, and republics.

In regions made difficult to control because of their isolation we find lawlessness, brigandage, and absence of regular government; such have been the Caucasus, Afghanistan and Tibet, and such was, at the time of the arrival of the English, Northern India. Swamps, islands and mountains furnish refuges for pirates, brigands and other outlaws. The number of such places in the United States made law enforcement a great problem in the early days of the West. The Highlanders of Scotland were known as a lawless people even after Scotland as a whole became a very highly developed country. The Kurds and Tartars have always been thorns in the flesh of their neighbors; punishment of their outrages has been hindered by the geography of their countries. It has often been used in this country, as an argument against prohibition, that in such sections as the mountain districts of Kentucky the law could not be enforced. So, while other factors must be taken into consideration, the geographical features of the country do undoubtedly have a great influence on the development of government and the enforcement of law.

Policies of nations, such as colonial policy, for instance, are often dictated or at least influenced by geographic environment; that is, they are suggested or forced upon the country because of its location and expanding population. Policies of free trade or protection are determined by location and occupation. England favors free trade because she cannot produce raw materials and must import them along with her food supply; if she can get other countries to admit her manufactured products she gains thus much. The United States formerly was in the opposite situation and therefore held to the policy

of protection; our increasing population is gradually changing our interests, and consequently our tariff policy.

When we study religion, we observe a psychical effect of environment upon man, not only the effect of the atmosphere, the appearance of the sky, and the breadth of landscape, but also his occupation, which, as we have already noticed, is itself largely determined by geographic factors. We find that the great religions of the world have been given us by shepherd peoples, who have had opportunity to ponder over the mysteries of life; their beliefs were affected by direct contact with nature on the plains, where they could not help being impressed by the clear sky, the breadth of the view, and, as they led their flocks into the mountains in summer, by the grandeur of the scenery. On the contrary, we find, as a result of the complexity of life and the dangers from beasts and reptiles, the religions of peoples living in the tropics permeated with magic and superstition. These tropical inhabitants could not explain nature, hence they believed that its workings were caused by spirits, which could be appeased only by magic.

Many social institutions, like slavery, have been fostered or prevented by the nature of the country. Slavery is generally confined to warm regions, where labor is irksome and food abundant, where the work of one man can support two, and where the slave can be fed and clothed at little expense. In the United States slavery died out in the North because it was unprofitable; it flourished in the South because the slave could be worked to advantage on the large plantations. In the hilly regions of the South, particularly eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, western Virginia, the western part of the Carolinas, and northern Georgia, slavery never did prosper and much of this territory favored the North in the Civil War. Likewise in Africa and Asia, slavery has flourished in those regions where the climate makes labor objectionable and where slave labor can be profitably employed. It is a fact that literature and education develop more in the northern or temperate climates; there are also more

democracy and equality in these regions, especially in those countries which are so situated as to allow the inhabitants to come into contact with others.

Influence Upon the Family.—The position of woman in the family is governed largely by her importance as a provider. If her work is more important than that of her husband she either rules the family or has a great deal to say about the management of the home. When her work is a minor element she is relegated to the background. This is noticed in pastoral peoples, where she cannot tend the herds and as a result sinks into the position of a chattel. The same is true of hunting races, only here she is compelled to do the "dirty work" about the camp and become a drudge. Where life is cheap or living is hard we find infanticide practiced. In most of Africa woman occupies a place little better than that of a slave, while in the temperate zones she occupies a position more nearly equal to that of man.

Influence Upon the Character of the People.—The character of the people is influenced largely by geographic environment. As we have noticed, the colder climates produce the warrior class, since people from the colder countries have greater energy, courage, and ingenuity, while those in the warmer countries are more inclined to be indolent and improvident. The inhabitants of the warmer regions, as a rule, are more artistic, imaginative, and idealistic, their imagination being stimulated by their environment. They are also more hot-headed and impulsive, and have a lower estimate of the value of human life; life is easier with them, of less consequence; hence they are more apt to take life. Because of the greater exertion required, the northern peoples are as a rule hardier and more muscular, unless the climate is so severe as to stunt through failure to provide sufficient nourishment. On the whole, the tropics have a deadening effect, while the colder regions have a stimulating effect.

Influence Upon Human Migration.—We find that the movements of man have been governed by the geography of his country. If hemmed in by mountains, he was

prevented from migration; if he lived on a plain, he could not keep from wandering. In his movements man has followed the tracks of least resistance, following river valleys instead of climbing mountains, going around seas instead of crossing them. In short he has gone where nature has allowed him to go. Deserts, swamps, mountains, oceans, seas, and even rivers have held him back, while the plain, the river valley, and the coast line have tempted him to roam into new fields. America was not settled until very late in the history of man, because he could not get here. Europe, on the contrary, being easily entered was settled early. Products of countries have lured man on. The fur trade in Siberia, Alaska, and northern Canada was a great element in the settling of these countries. Ivory and rubber have drawn the European into Africa and South America, while gold and silver have lured him to the uttermost parts of the world, as the Klondike, northern Siberia, South Africa, Australia and Peru.

Effect on Recreation.—Even games and sports have been determined by the geographical location. In the colder regions strenuous sports are indulged in, from the necessity to keep warm. The favorite games of the temperate zone are football, baseball, tennis, running, jumping, and similar games demanding muscular energy. Still farther north we find skiing, snow-shoeing and skating—sports utterly impossible in warm regions. In the tropics, exercise is not only not demanded but is irksome; hence recreation takes the form of inactivity, resting and avoidance of effort. We find Hindus and Chinese looking down upon Europeans because they indulge in violent sports, asking if it were not possible to hire coolies to play tennis or football and thus avoid the strenuous exercise; for them recreation is to sit still and do nothing. It is interesting to note, however, that the Chinese and Japanese as a result of contact with Europeans and Americans are rapidly adopting Occidental sports, especially tennis, baseball and track athletics.

Influence on Social Progress.—Whether a race or nation has advanced in the scale of civilization, or has remained

a backward people is largely a question of location. The peoples who have had favorable locations—in the temperate zone, on land which is productive and hence in demand, or on the coast where they can come into contact with others through trade or commerce—advance much more rapidly than those who are prevented by an unfavorable location from coming into contact with others. Also the fact that people in the temperate zone have a distinct advantage over those in the tropics where nature is too generous and where vitality is sapped, has its bearing on social progress. The size and strength of a nation may be limited by its boundaries; the mountains, seas, deserts, and swamps may keep it from expanding, and from advancing in civilization. Our backward peoples live in the inaccessible regions of the world, *e.g.*, Tibet, Afghanistan, the jungles of Africa, or the out-of-the-way spots of the earth, like Australia, Madagascar and Tierra del Fuego. Whether a country is located in the interior or on the coast has much to do with its development, the interior location allowing expansion; it also offers opportunity for conquest, although it does not allow as great intercourse with other peoples as a coast location. On the whole we find that the country which combines a large interior with a favorable coast region has a distinct advantage over the country that has only one of those features. The United States is very fortunate in having both. The nation that has but one strives for the other; Russia has striven for centuries for favorable outlets to the sea. The United States, in the early days of its history, had the coast, but was not content till it added an extensive interior. The preponderating influence of many small countries, like Phœnicia, Greece, England, and Holland, has largely been made possible by their position.

Location between two important countries allows the acquisition of the culture and civilization of both, but it offers the danger of being overrun by either. Yet, on the other hand, we find that the struggle for existence becomes a struggle for space, and that the superior races take possession of the best land, crowd the inferior races

into the undesirable locations, invade the domain of weaker peoples, and take it away from them; so we see that location is not everything. Yet in general, a favorable location is a great factor towards progress, while an unfavorable one is a handicap and check. This is one of the chief reasons why certain races have advanced and others have not done so. In order to study this still better let us consider in more detail the influences of the different geographical factors, such as water, mountains, plains, and climate, upon man's development.

Influence of Water Upon Man.—Man has always been essentially a land animal and has gone on the water only in quest of food and economic gain. While he has often settled near the sea or a river it has been because of the nearness to a supply of food and because of protection, the sea insuring him against surprise in that quarter, and the river at least causing the enemy delay before crossing, thus giving him time to defend himself. Man has even gone out into the water to build his home upon islands, or even on piles, so as to obtain a greater sense of security. Such houses have been found among the Malays and in the Swiss lakes; and history tells us that they were once resorted to near Thebes, affording the Greeks a refuge against the invading Persians. The sea has furnished man with an important addition to his food, thus permitting him to live in places otherwise uninhabitable, and has enabled him to go farther north than he could have done without its help. Barren regions are thereby made to support a denser population than they otherwise could, as in the case of Newfoundland, Norway, Alaska, and Japan. In fact, fisheries have been a great factor in maritime expansion, helping to people such regions as Alaska and the northeastern part of the United States. They have acted also as nurseries of seamen, leading to the commercial activities of New England in former days, of the Dutch, and of the Scandinavians.

The control over water has been a great factor in civilization, and has been a cause of wars between nations throughout history. Such was the contest between the Greeks and the Phœnicians over the control of the Aegean

and England, and was one of the chief factors in the rise of Greece and Rome. Coastal peoples are generally characterized by fearlessness and daring, not only because of the risks of their occupations, but also because colonists are ordinarily the boldest and most venturesome of people. Therefore the coasts receive the daring and enterprising men and women of other nations; and similarly the reckless and irresponsible. Coastal people, because of the great variety of food offered them, generally are well fed and strong physically.

With the development of world commerce the ocean has had a unifying influence, has brought together all nations, and thus has carried the improvements and inventions of each locality to every other locality. By furnishing a cheap and quick means of transportation the water has made man a cosmopolitan being. With the discovery of America European civilization was brought to America, and the contributions that America had to make, such as the potato, maize, and the wealth of her mines, fisheries, and later her farms, were added to what Europe already had. So important to man has been the navigation of the sea, that the neutrality of the seas has been accepted as a fixed principle of international law.

Islands show a much greater variety of influences than coasts. Islanders generally resemble the people of the countries from which they come, sometimes improving upon them, as formerly in Crete, and sometimes falling backward. Islands were settled in many cases as places of refuge. With the development of transportation by water islands have lost their security and have been placed at a decided disadvantage. Because of their limited area their ability to defend themselves is generally small and they fall easy victims to conquest. Athens had little trouble in holding in subjection the members of the Delian League; and Crete, almost since the beginning of history, has been subject to some other nation. Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily have been similarly held. All the islands of the East Indies are controlled by European

powers, except the Philippines, and they were until recently. Nearly all the islands of the West Indies have been similarly held; all would have been but for the United States. The islands of the Pacific are owned by the different powers of the world; in fact, Japan is the only really independent island nation. Islands, especially those that are barren and inhospitable, are often used as prisons for convicts and political offenders: Sakhalin, New Caledonia, St. Helena, Elba, and Devil's Island being among the most noted.

Islands have often been places of survival of primitive peoples, customs and habits. In fact, after an island has been left outside of the track of progress it generally remains stationary while the rest of the world advances. Islands have been the homes of some of the most primitive races that still persist. Illustrations are Ceylon, Borneo, Madagascar, and New Zealand.

Islands are often barren and unproductive; quite frequently it is a problem for the inhabitants to live. Often artificial checks to population have been resorted to, such as infanticide, limitation of children through mutilation, late marriages, and even cannibalism. On the other hand, the supply of fish often allows a large population; sometimes when the living is hard, greater ingenuity is developed thereby. Since as a rule island climates are favorable, islands often become pleasure or health resorts. The pleasant climate frequently makes people care-free in disposition, and because they meet many strangers in the way of commerce and trade, if the islands are in the trade routes, they become hospitable.

Influence of Mountain Environment.—The effect of mountains as barriers we have already suggested, both as to how they shut people up within their own ranges and keep others out—results of equal importance. Mountains prevent not only expansion and invasion but also progress, shutting out new ideas, improvements and inventions. They hinder the inhabitants from coming into contact with others, and tend to create a spirit of suspicion in regard to strangers. At the same time, however,

a spirit of hardihood and independence is developed. Mountain people usually become fierce fighters and are seldom conquered, and if so, at great cost of life. Mountain states are rather numerous, such as Switzerland, Montenegro, Abyssinia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. Although small and in some cases barbarian, these otherwise insignificant states have nevertheless maintained their independence. Life is hard and primitive conditions frequently prevail, like those found in Tibet, Abyssinia, and Montenegro. As suggested before, they become places of refuge for the oppressed; in fact, the Caucasus is said to be the grave of races, nations, religions, customs, habits and ideals. The Roumanians have saved themselves a number of times by retiring into the Carpathians and letting the invaders pass on.

Mountains have also been places of refuge for criminals and the lawless classes; frequently we find mountaineers with marauding tendencies, being addicted to cattle stealing, brigandage, and plundering in general; the Afghans, Kurds, and the Scottish Highlanders have been noted for this. They also furnish mercenary soldiers; the Swiss were so employed for a long period of time. Because of a lack of occupations the mountain laborers often descend into the valleys; the Wallachs, Tyrolians, and other mountain inhabitants of the Carpathians and Alps send thousands into the valleys each year to help in the planting and harvesting of the crops. Mountain peoples are thus characterized by their independence, individualism, frugality, courage, and strong will, and they furnish the world sturdy races. They are imaginative and religious, the grandeur of the hills impressing them profoundly.

Influence of Plains, Steppes and Deserts.—The influence of plains is of two kinds, resulting from the fact that plains are of two classes—the plains which are productive, and those which are unproductive and barren. The former foster pastoral and agricultural occupations, and allow political expansion and the building up of vast empires. The influences that encourage uniformity of government and occupation also are effective in all forms

of activity. The plains swallow up nationalities, languages and customs; they tend always to produce uniformity. There is no chance for separation, no opportunity for individualism. Russia, for example, has more uniformity than almost any other great nation.

The inhabitants of the deserts and barren wastes, such as are found in the Sahara, in Arabia, and in Mongolia, are generally pastoral or commercial by occupation, but they lack uniformity. They go in bands, and are often addicted to marauding and to sweeping down upon their more prosperous neighbors to carry off their wealth. Their mobility is great; it is often compulsory, because of scarcity of provisions. Many are compelled to migrate with the seasons, going to the hills during the hot season to find pasturage and back to the plains during the brief wet season. This compulsory roaming makes them nomadic, and they easily form bands for plundering. Their life being hard they are fearless, ingenious, and watchful, and they make excellent fighters; no better cavalry can be found anywhere than the Russian Cossacks.

Plainsmen seldom unite in large armies; the Mohammedan conquest was an exceptional occurrence, made possible because of religious fanaticism. As a rule when they do conquer any region, they seldom interfere with the life of the common people, supplanting only the ruling class, as the Manchus did in China and as the Shepherd Kings did in Egypt. On the other hand, these people are hard to conquer because of the ease of retreat and the difficulty of pursuit. Hence the inhabitants of these regions of the world have generally maintained their independence in spite of powerful neighbors. The Arabs have enjoyed practical independence; the same is true of the Mongols and the inhabitants of northern Africa. Because of scant diet such plainsmen are compelled to be frugal and are active, sinewy, and energetic. They are proud, even to the point of obstinacy, because of their independent, roaming life.

These people act as middlemen for the more productive

regions near them; the goods formerly were brought from the East to Europe by caravans of these wanderers of the desert, and this method is used in northern Africa to-day. In connection with this trade they have developed desert markets or trading centers; Timbuctoo in Africa and Bagdad and Damascus in Asia Minor formerly were famed as commercial centers. They have trafficked in slaves, thus helping to keep alive this institution. But probably the greatest contribution of these peoples to civilization has been the religious concepts they have formed and promulgated. In history they have played an erratic but important rôle.

Influence of Climate.—The influence of climate has been both physiological and psychological. It has fixed limits to human habitation, determined the productivity of the soil, and affected man's whole life. It has affected him both directly and indirectly; directly by determining temperature conditions under which he shall live; indirectly by determining his food supply. The amount of rainfall determines the productiveness of the soil; for it is only in the last few years that man has been able to farm on a large scale without rain, although irrigation as a means of supplying water is very ancient. Climate has compelled man to migrate, a bad climate forcing him to leave, and a good climate tempting him to enter. It has affected human institutions, influencing the family by causing early marriages, many children, and little regard for life in warm climates; and late marriages and few children in colder ones. It has affected government, despotism existing more often in warm, unhealthful climates, and democracy in temperate zones. Slavery, as we have noticed, has been fostered in climates where work is irksome.

In warm climates we find greater extremes of wealth and poverty, wages being poor because of the low cost of labor, and at times because of competition with slave labor. Moreover, a warm climate, especially if continuous, has a detrimental effect; in fact, the individual or the race going to the tropics or to a warm, moist

climate rapidly deteriorates. People in these regions become easy going, hot-headed, yet imaginative and artistic, while those in colder climates are calmer, more thoughtful, and provident. Temperate zones offer a greater variety of climate, it being cold in winter and warm in summer, thus making possible a larger variety of occupations and furnishing more varied stimulus to mental activity. For this reason we find the nations located in the temperate zones more energetic, ambitious, and successful; as a result the north temperate zone is known as the cradle of civilization. Extreme cold produces much the same result as extreme warmth in that it becomes monotonous and has a deadening effect.

Not only the history but also the location and the size of the present nations have been affected by geographic conditions. Nature sets their boundaries, determines to a great extent their economic activity, influences their institutions and daily life, helps mold their character, and determines their chances of success in the advance of civilization. Yet we must not go to the extreme by saying that geography is everything; it is only one of the factors to be considered in studying the life of man. It may be very important but it is not all by any means; other contributing forces must be considered, such as heredity and human instincts; in fact, the economic, biological, and psychological factors are fully as important as the geographic.

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CHAPTER III

VARIATION, HEREDITY AND EUGENICS

In a previous chapter we have considered the effects of geography upon the growth of society and the development of human institutions. In other places we consider economic effects and the control of society through its institutions. The purpose of this chapter is to show another approach to the study of sociology; to indicate the effects of heredity upon man and the development of society. Of the two great sets of forces operating upon humanity—heredity and environment—it is our turn now to take up heredity. In this undertaking, let us discuss the great biological theories and laws of variation and heredity, avoiding as much of the scientific terminology as possible, so that one who is not a biologist can grasp them. No attempt will be made to cover all phases of the various theories or laws, but only to touch those which will be useful to us in our attempt to arrive at a better understanding of the workings of society.

Theories and Laws of Variation and Heredity.—*Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics.*—Lamarck, the French zoölogist, gave this theory to the world in 1809. In his study of animals he had noted the adaptation of organs to environment and use; that muscles and various organs tended to develop with use and the demand for them. He also noted that various animals were peculiarly adapted to their particular environment, noticing the adaptation of the long neck of the giraffe to its feeding on the foliage of trees; also the long neck of the goose to its method of living; and the thick fur of Arctic animals. From these observations he worked out the following general laws: (1) Life by its internal forces tends continually to increase the volume of body and size of parts of the body up to a limit which it (life)

brings about. (2) The production of a new organ or part results from a new need or want (produced by a change in environment) and this need or want continues to be felt by the living material. (3) The development of organs and their power of action is in direct relation to the employment of the organ. If organs are not used they degenerate through disuse. (4) Characters which are acquired through use by an individual are inherited by the progeny, and are thus not only continued but increased; each new generation has the advantage of the development of the preceding one. This theory was never very carefully worked out by Lamarck and remained largely theoretical. Upon it, however, were based the evolutionary theories of many biologists. It has been largely disproved by the investigations of Weismann and others, and is to-day greatly discredited. Its greatest contribution was possibly the directing of attention towards a definite field of work, and thus furnishing a stimulus for more study and investigation.

Natural Selection.—This might be divided into "survival of the fittest" and "natural selection," but since they are really only different phases or expressions of the same general principle, both will be treated under one head. While more or less the gradual product of a period of time, we are indebted to Spencer, Darwin, and Wallace for the definite statement of this theory.

The idea of "the survival of the fittest" is easy to grasp, for it simply means that in the struggle for existence the strongest and most fit live and thus propagate and so survive; while the weakest and least fit die through starvation, disease, or at the hands of the stronger and more fit. By "fittest" we of course do not always mean strongest, for at times cunning, shrewdness, and the ability to overcome or avoid difficulties and dangers are of greater consequence than the mere matter of physical strength. At times "fittest" might even mean the possession of the greatest speed in order to run away from danger, or the ability to climb trees, or to hide or even avoid notice on the part of the enemy. The principle is

the same, however, whether it is a question of physical strength, mental keenness, cunning, speed, or the ability to overcome difficulties and survive in the face of danger. It is the most fit which survive and the least fit which are eliminated. Nor does this always mean the survival of the best, *i.e.* from the ethical or moral standpoint, for the "fittest" might mean the ability to live on the poorest food and to endure the greatest discomforts, and so represent the ability to survive in the face of difficulties. This principle is true not only in the struggle for food and other means of subsistence, but is equally valid in the struggle for mates. When two animals desire the same mate, and it becomes a question of fighting for her, it will be the best fighter which will win her and thus become the father of the next generation. Even when it is not left to the decision of combat, it is the one which is the most attractive, either by size, strength, beauty, or the ability to attract, which is selected and thus transmits these characteristics to succeeding generations.

The Natural Selection Theory has the following phases: (1) There are small variations in organisms in nature. (2) These variations will be of benefit or injury to the organism. (3) Certain variations will be selected in nature on account of the struggle for existence. (4) The struggle for existence is due to competition for food and other means of subsistence. (5) Out of this struggle will come the development of organisms with characters which fit them to survive. The organisms that have variations which do not fit them to survive will tend to be eliminated, and thus the variations will perish with them. The characters that are beneficial are passed on and increased, since the organisms possessing them are continually varying in that direction in succeeding generations. Thus according to *natural selection* nature selects the most fit by permitting them to live and by the elimination of the unfit. What is the most "fit" in one place might not be in another; thus it means that nature selects those qualities which are most adapted to the particular environment in question. Those individuals or races which

are adapted or able to adapt themselves to the environmental condition live and increase in numbers, while those not adapted or incapable of adaptation perish; thus whether a group will live, increase, or die out, will be a question of adaptation. In a desert country only those animals which are able to live on a small amount of water or are capable of going long periods of time without water will survive. Hence animals which are able to store up water, like the camel, or have skins or coverings which prevent or retard evaporation of moisture, tend to survive in desert countries. In contrast with this, in wet, rainy regions, only those animals which are capable of living under conditions of extreme moisture are able to survive. In Arctic regions only those animals which develop thick coats of fur or other means of protection, such as layers of fat, survive; also races which are energetic and provident are more apt to live in cold, bleak regions than those which are improvident and lazy. In tropical regions the opposite qualities are required, and those which can stand the heat or are able to adapt themselves to it survive.

With man, those races of people which are less energetic, more contented, and have high birth-rates tend to live, while those which are of driving nervous temperament, and have low birth-rates, are less able to survive and more apt to perish. We notice the working of this law in studying the characteristics of the Nordic and Negro races. In the bleak, cold regions of the Baltic and North Seas, where the Anglo-Saxon developed, there was an elimination of the weak, the improvident, the lazy, and the cowardly and the survival of the daring, the energetic, and the fighting types. In Africa, as we shall see in our study of our race problem, we have had the survival of extremely different characteristics. Again in China we find the survival of the complacent, thoughtful, frugal types and those capable of long periods of sustained exertion upon a limited supply of food. The variations which are advantageous not only persist but increase, while the variations which are not advantageous

do not persist. In this way we have a selection of the most fit.

We have already considered how in the struggle for mates the most fit, both in fighting ability and in the powers of attraction, are selected. In this way the desired qualities will tend to be inherited, while the qualities which are not desired will be eliminated. This is generally called *sexual selection.* Among animals and birds especially, it applies to brilliancy of plumage, distinctive coloring in the way of stripes, and other markings. With man it means personal attraction and agreeableness of temperament, or the selection of the desired qualities and the passing on to the succeeding generations of these qualities or characteristics. This is merely another phase of the general law of natural selection.

Stock breeders make use of the principle of selection by the artificial selection of animals which possess the beginnings of desired modifications, such as exceptional speed in race-horses, extraordinary beef or milk producing qualities in cattle, and quality of fur in fur-producing animals. They breed these animals with others having similar qualities, and eliminate all animals which do not have the desired qualities. Then the offspring which show the desired modifications are again selected and mated, and those which do not exhibit the characters which are wanted are again eliminated. In this way stocks are improved and new breeds produced.

Germinal Selection.—The next great theory of inheritance was the "germinal selection" theory of Weismann. This is directly opposed to the theory of inheritance of acquired characteristics, and was so ably demonstrated by Weismann and his followers, that the former theory is now discredited in the minds of the majority of biologists. According to Weismann, the selection of characters is within the germ plasm. Combinations, both new and old, of characters are carried by the chromosomes within the germ cell. The possible loss of characters comes about by means of these combinations. Characters are transmitted from parent to offspring through the

germ cell, and new types arise only from changed types of germ cells. Weismann does admit a struggle of characters, but contends that this struggle of "determiners" is within the germ cell, and it is a struggle for the available food and favorable position in the germ cell, and that those which receive the food and obtain the favorable positions become the stronger. Then, in turn, these characters are passed on to the next generation, where they tend not only to persist but to increase in importance. In the same way the weaker characters, or "determiners," grow still weaker and in the course of time tend to be eliminated.

This theory does not exclude natural selection, but rather adds to and increases its importance, and helps to explain many details which natural selection was not able to do. It does, however, oppose and upset many of the theories of evolution based upon Lamarck's "inheritance of acquired characteristics" theory. While there have been many modifications of germinal selection, the theory still holds and is widely accepted. This theory is of vital importance to sociologists, especially those interested in constructive programs of reform for dealing with such problems as the feeble-minded, the insane, the epileptic, the criminal, and the vicious.

Mutation Theory.—Another theory, which is much less understood than the last two, is De Vries's "mutation theory." Briefly stated, it means a sudden or "overnight" change, or the sudden emergence of a new type. It is in part similar to the germ plasm theory, and in part based upon other laws of heredity, especially the Mendelian law. It is based upon the combinations of chromosome characters. The theory is now becoming generally accepted that these new types are really due to some new and peculiar combination of characters which already existed, with the possible elimination of some characters; so it is one of the variations or peculiar phases of that theory and explains the big changes which suddenly take place, instead of the small variations which usually occur. While not wholly understood, this theory

is now being put into practice by breeders and some of our new breeds or types, such as hornless cattle, are results of its application.

The Mendelian Law.—Last and most important of all, sociologically, is the biological law discovered by the Austrian monk, Mendel. The central feature of this discovery is the explanation of the "dominant" and "recessive" characteristics. The dominant character tends to be inherited in a much greater ratio than the recessive characters. While estimates as to the exactness of this ratio differ, it is in the general proportion of three to one. While we are still experimenting with animals and observing and tabulating results, we are slowly finding out with human beings what some of these dominant and recessive characters are. For instance, we have noticed and generally accepted that dark hair is dominant over light; brown eyes over blue; average intellect over the very brilliant or the dull; normal minds over feeblemindedness, and many forms of insanity and irregularities of the nervous system. All normal characteristics are not dominant, however, over defects.

Another feature of Mendelism is the phenomenon of segregation of the determiners. While characters may unite in a common germ plasm for a single generation, they separate pure and unmodified in the next and subsequent generations. In other words, a germ cell is composed of a number of separately inherited characters, which are capable of a vast amount of groupings and regroupings. Only in these groupings the characters which are dominant will tend to appear about three times as often as those which are recessive. Mendelism instead of opposing the mutation theory really is in harmony with it, and offers a solution for this apparently inexplainable phenomenon of a mutation or sudden appearance of a new type. It also helps to explain many hitherto difficult features of inheritance, which we had long observed in society.

In a work of this nature, complete explanation of heredity is out of the question. Neither have we time

even to mention all the theories or laws. Instead, our aim is merely to give such laws and theories as will be of the greatest help to the student in obtaining a general introductory idea of the workings of society and its problems. In short, we cannot write a text on biology, or even part of one. Our object is merely to indicate a few of the biological approaches. We will now take up some of the conditions encountered in our application of these principles to human society, and some special social problems.

Difficulties in the Study of Human Heredity.—The first obstacle in the study of human inheritance is the fact that we cannot experiment, as in the case of rabbits, mice or rats. We can merely observe and tabulate our observations. Then there are no pure lines to deal with, for all races are intermixtures and our leading races are greatly mixed. Man is also a very slow breeding animal. In fact, we have had only about sixty generations since the time of Christ, a number reached by many animals in a few years, and by some insects in a few months or even weeks. In addition, man has very few offspring, generally too few to be valuable for any scientific study. Out of the hundreds of thousands of possibilities a human pair will have a limited number of children, too few for any statistical purposes in the study of inheritance. To obtain any sort of reliable statistics one must study several generations, and this is very difficult and in most families impossible. No tabulator can wait for many future generations.

The period of infancy is much longer with man than with most animals. While most animals are able to shift for themselves in a few months, man is dependent for many years. The colt or calf can walk in a few minutes or hours, run in a few days, and obtain its own living in a few weeks. The human infant is absolutely dependent at birth, and seldom walks or talks before a year, and is unable to make its own living for many years. This dependence is increasing in length as civilization increases in complexity, and standards of living rise because of

the greater preparation needed. Because of this long period of dependence and the requirements in the way of education demanded to meet the conditions of modern society, man's dependence upon environment in the way of home training and education is much greater than with animals; only man has the ability to control his environment instead of being entirely dependent upon it. Yet in spite of all these difficulties, the influence of heredity upon him must be considered. Some claim that sociology rests absolutely upon biology. While we cannot go to that extreme, we must recognize biology as one of the basic sciences, and some knowledge of biology—especially the parts which deal with heredity—is absolutely essential to the equipment of the sociologist.

Peculiarities Noted in Human Heredity.—One fact we notice in our study of heredity is, that no matter how great the achievements of the parents the children must learn all from the beginning. Every child has to learn to talk, to walk, and to perform all the accomplishments of everyday life. It may inherit talent or a quickness of perception or natural ability along certain lines, yet the actual accomplishment has to be acquired anew.

Characters are determined at the time of fertilization. Formerly it was believed that the nature of the offspring could be influenced by what the mother did, saw, or heard during pregnancy; that the nature of the child could be determined by seeing some strange object, or because of fright. Even bodily defects were explained by this now long-exploded idea; such as a mark on the body like a snake being caused by the mother seeing a snake during pregnancy. Of course a severe blow might injure the unborn child, and severe fright might even injure by affecting the flow of nourishment to the fœtus, but these are rare in occurrence and the effects are not nearly as great as one would think. But mental traits are irrevocably determined at the time of the fertilization of the ovum by the spermatozoa. Also except for allowances as suggested above, physical characters are likewise determined.

Another peculiarity noted is the liability of inheritance from the different ancestors. Often brothers or sisters are much unlike, and all are almost certain to vary in some particulars. Often children apparently do not resemble either parent, inheriting peculiar combinations of characteristics from both, or showing resemblances to ancestors farther back in the line. Students of heredity have studied this question, and while this seems to follow the laws of Mendelian inheritance, it is very difficult to explain, largely because of the few offspring of the human species and the wide variety of possibilities. Professor Karl Pearson has worked out a geometrical series to explain this, in which he ascribes to the two parents .6244 or a little over three-fifths of the hereditary peculiarities of each individual; to the four grandparents .1988 or almost one-fifth; to the eight great-grandparents .063 or a little over six per cent; and to the sixteen great-great-grandparents .0202. While such a curve is interesting, it must be remembered that it is a mathematical series rather than a biological one, and must not be taken too seriously. While the chance of inheritance grows smaller with each preceding generation, the chance is always there. This does not mean that one individual will inherit any such percentage from each and all of his ancestors. He might inherit a great deal from one particular ancestor and little if any from others. He might inherit little from his father and a great deal from his maternal grandfather, or *vice versa*. It is simply meant that his chance of inheritance is much greater from the immediate ancestors, and becomes less with each degree of remoteness.

Inbreeding is another feature which is difficult to explain, and is therefore often misunderstood. There is an almost universal horror of incest, and the idea is general that mating with those closely related is very injurious to the offspring. With the ignorant this is an explanation often given for all sorts of maladjustments, such as feeble-mindedness, deafness, and insanity. Investigations do not always prove this supposition; in fact,

they often oppose it. It is now becoming generally accepted among students of this problem that it is largely a question of the original stock. If the stock is good to begin with, inbreeding is not necessarily injurious; in fact, it is often beneficial. If the original stock is bad, then it is injurious, for the bad strain is inherited from both sides and is thus increased. The principal argument against inbreeding is that it does not permit the introduction of new elements, and thus would tend merely towards a continuation of the type, or a static condition. In the breeding of animals, inbreeding is often resorted to, in order to perfect specializations or the development of some particular type, and often is responsible for improvements in stock.

A fact or condition which must be noted or remembered is the almost total violation of all rules of breeding on the part of man. In breeding animals we eliminate inferior stock and try to breed only the better or more perfect animals, but with human beings we permit all to marry and produce descendants, segregating only a very few classes, such as the insane or criminals. Not only is this true, but the inferior stocks are the very ones which have the most numerous progeny; while our most fit mentally have the smallest number of children. It seems as if at times the more inferior the stock the larger the family, and the abler the individuals the smaller the number of children. We merely note this condition here, and postpone discussion to the time when we take up the study of eugenics and race suicide.

Application of Heredity to Social Problems.—*Immigration.*—Heredity is now being considered more and more seriously in regard to this great problem of population. Not only must we consider the economic status, religious life, moral and ethical planes and political ideals of our immigrants, but we must look up their racial stock. Are these immigrants descended from strong successful races, or are they the descendants of defeated races, who because of weaknesses were conquered by the more fit? Do our immigrants come from races which have conquered diffi-

culties, and thus won places for themselves in the development of civilization, or are they the descendants of serfs and slaves, who became serfs or slaves because they were inferior or belonged to inferior races? The Northern European, as a rule, is the descendant of successful races; while many, if not the majority, of those who seek admission from Southern Europe are descendants of former slave populations, having back of them centuries of unsuccessful ancestors. When we study immigration we must take into consideration questions of color, height, weight, inherited tendencies, as well as physical stamina and mental vigor and alertness. If the people who migrate to America are smaller, less hardy, and weaker physically than the natives, it will be only a question of time till the vitality of the race will be lowered. The same is true in regard to such mental characteristics as perseverance, courage, initiative, alertness, and ability to think. If immigrants are inferior in such qualities, it will mean a lowering of our standards and a decline in our success as a nation. Madison Grant, in his *Passing of the Great Race,* takes the position that by out-breeding the Southern Europeans are as relentlessly strangling the Anglo-Saxon and other Nordic races, as if they were killing them in physical combat. While this may be an exaggeration, we do notice that our immigrants, especially the least desirable ones, have far more children than do the native Americans, especially the natives of the Anglo-Saxon races. Our legislators are now awake to such dangers and are doing their best to deal with this problem in the passing of legislation in regard to immigration.

The Race Problem.—In connection with the study of the coming together of any two vitally different races, the inheritance of characteristics must be seriously considered. This is especially true in regard to our negro problem. Davenport has made extensive investigations in regard to the application of the Mendelian laws of inheritance in the crossing of the negro and the white.[1] Although the

[1] Davenport, C. B., *Heredity of Skin Color in Negro-White Crosses,* Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D. C., 1913.

study is too technical for a work of this nature, attention is hereby called to it. While the methods of investigation have been much criticized and therefore the results are in doubt, this is probably our most extensive study of this nature, and while subject to corrections it offers many suggestions. In applying Mendelism to this amalgamation we find that many negro characteristics are dominant over those of the white, such as the dark pigment under the skin over its absence; curly or kinky hair over straight hair; and thick lips over thin. Thus instead of the white absorbing the negro because it outnumbers the black population in the ratio of about ten to one, we would find that the negro characteristics would tend to increase till we became a mixed or mulatto race. Thus Mendelism proves that the white could not absorb the negro. Also there would appear the same ratio of pure blacks who would breed pure black, and while there would be a definite ratio of pure whites who would breed pure white, they would be outnumbered by the blacks in the ratio of three to one. Then since we have not only the question of the black pigment, but the yellow pigment, thick lips, flat nose, curly and kinky hair, and other negro characteristics to deal with, many of which are also dominant, we find that the chances of obtaining a pure white in all particulars from the mating of mulattoes is about one in a thousand. Yet there is nothing definite by which we can prove the oft-repeated statement that "one descended from a negro is always liable to produce pure negro."

The application of Mendelism to the inheritance of color and similar characteristics is not the whole story in dealing with the negro problem. We must consider natural selection and the survival of the fittest, but these are treated in our chapter on the race problem. The biological fact of the crossing of races is in itself not bad; in fact the result is often beneficial, depending upon the races. The crossing of the black and the white offers peculiar problems, because of the gulf between the races and the difficulties of inheritance to be encountered. Other features enter into the question, such as the ostracism of

the descendants of the union of both races. This is especially noticeable in the union of the yellow and the white, and of the white and the brown.

Defectives.—In the study of defectives, such as the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, and deaf, heredity must be considered. Investigations show that most of these defects are inherited as recessive characters, but there is still doubt in regard to some, especially feeble-mindedness, and some minor defects are known to be dominant. When one defective person mates with a normal person, the effect is not so bad; but when two defectives mate, the inheritance is cumulative and the effect upon society is demoralizing. We have recognized the seriousness of the problem in our segregation of the insane, but have not yet recognized it in regard to the much more serious problem of feeble-mindedness.

Poverty and Crime.—Neither poverty nor crime as a condition is hereditary, but they are both affected by inheritance. Both of these great problems are due more to environment than to heredity, but some of the defective tendencies which contribute to the making of these problems are inherited, such as defective physical, mental, and moral qualities. The strong seldom fall below the poverty line, and when they do they are generally able to rise again. The weak are not so, and often remain submerged. It is the same in regard to crime—the strong are able to resist temptation but the weak fall. The importance of inheritance appears through the inheritance of weaknesses.

War.—War is another social problem where heredity must be considered. In ancient times when the stronger races conquered and exterminated the weaker, it was apparently a survival of the unfit. When we have universal conscription and the slaughter is limited to those under arms, we have a selection of the fit for the slaughter. Only those who are able to pass the army medical examinations are taken, and the crippled, the diseased, and the defective are left at home to become the fathers of the next generation. In small wars this of course is not

serious, for the armies are generally filled by the restless, and deaths are few. In the World War it was apparent to all, and many nations, particularly France, got alarmed. We did not feel it much in America, because of our brief participation and small loss, but practically all the European nations did feel it. Then those who are not fighting are often injured in the struggle by poor food and hard work, and so are devitalized. Even the keeping of standing armies affects the problem, for it keeps a large number of physically sound men from taking their places in society and becoming the fathers of the next generation.

Eugenics.—Eugenics is the study of race improvement, or the science of being well born. As a systematic study it dates from Sir Francis Galton. Galton was, however, not the first to call attention to the need of race improvement, or even the first who wrote upon it. Plato advocated it and Sparta practiced it long before the time of Plato, and many other writers touched it at various other times. The study itself is based upon biology as a foundation, and borrows from sociology the material to erect its structure; and is thus a combination of both of these sciences. Because biologists have made the most of its investigations, it has attracted more biologists to its study than sociologists, but it is of use to both sciences and dependent upon both. We have not the time here to go into any sort of detailed study of eugenics, and if we did it would not be opportune, for the same problems occur in other places in this work, and require to a great extent the same methods of treatment.

For the sake of convenience, eugenics is often divided into two parts: positive and negative eugenics. The former has for its aim the building up of a superior race by means of the mating of the most fit, or of increasing the number of offspring of those most likely to produce the best descendants. Negative eugenics has as its object the limitation of the progeny of the unfit, either by the segregation or sterilization of those classes or individuals who are unfit, and are thus liable to produce descendants who will be injurious to society.

Positive eugenics is, of course, more or less visionary and Utopian. It does not sufficiently take into consideration—or possibly cannot—the phenomenon of sexual selection, and the fact that in civilizations advanced sufficiently to appreciate its need, mating is recognized as a personal matter. Positive eugenics is upheld by the more or less generally accepted principle of the attraction of opposites, such as the attraction of the tall for the short, the fat for the lean, the large for the small, the quick for the slow, the nervous for the phlegmatic, and the steady for the excitable. This helps to protect us against degeneracy, but still works against the selection of a superior type. If we did match the highly superior, we would still have the inferior grades to deal with unless we prevented their propagating by segregation, sterilization, or asphyxiation. Any attempt to build society upon any principle which does not take into consideration such vital questions as personal or sex attraction is bound to prove visionary. Positive eugenics does offer much by the mere stressing of the seriousness of mating, by developing a public sentiment or opinion which will demand more care in the selecting of a partner for life, and the rejecting of the undesirable characters. Thus its chief value is educative rather than compulsory.

Negative eugenics aims at the elimination of those individuals and classes which are undesirable, by preventing their mating. It advocates such measures as the segregation of the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, and those afflicted with incurable diseases which are either hereditary or liable seriously to affect the next generation. It advocates such measures as the requirement of medical certificates showing proper physical condition. It advocates the segregation or sterilization of defectives and criminals, when they are definitely known to be such. It thus means the compulsory elimination of the unfit.

As soon as the public can be educated to the need of such measures, probably all of the suggested measures and many others will be found sound and practical. In this way, negative eugenics offers a definite program

which has much of value for society. It must be stressed here that before any such program can be inaugurated, the public must be educated to its need and value, for enforcement is impossible unless people really want the thing done.

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CHAPTER IV

INCREASE OF POPULATION

As nearly as we are able to determine, prehistoric man began in or near what is now Asia Minor; but we shall probably never be able to locate the exact spot. All we know is that the earliest records and most careful investigations indicate man's first appearance in that region. We are much in doubt, also, as to the time of his first appearance. History carries us back only about six thousand years, but that is very short in comparison with the life of man before he reached the state of civilization which produced tangible records. Many estimates have been made in regard to the probable age of man; some insist that it has been only a few thousand years, while others claim that it has been millions of years since he made his appearance. Geology tells us that man was one of the latest arrivals and did not appear till late in the history of the earth. Some scientists have contended that man had several origins, but now it has become the accepted theory that man had only one beginning—the monogenesis theory prevailing over the polygenesis.

From this one place of origin man has scattered over the whole face of the globe. Students of the subject have attempted to work out definite stages of evolution from lower species, but in all of these schemes there have been necessarily great gaps, and the authors have had to weave in so much theory and supposition that they have failed to establish these stages. Such a far-reaching study, interesting though it is, falls outside the realm of sociology, and pertains instead to her sister science, anthropology. Sociology finds man upon the earth, and begins with the study of his social life. Man began with a small

group, and from this has increased numerically to the present enormous population. Necessarily small at first and slow of growth, like a snowball it has grown more and more rapidly as the group has become larger and stronger. The present indications are that mankind has by no means stopped or even seriously checked his rate of increase, except in a few countries. In fact, man has increased in number much more rapidly since he has become civilized than before. Living has become easier and life more secure. The dangers have decreased while the means of subsistence have increased. Improvements and inventions have allowed more people to live in a given space than formerly. Man's increase at first was slow and many tribes and even races perished entirely; for long periods of time he was able to do little more than hold his own. The races given by nature an advantage over other races have increased. The pressure of population is keenly felt in some countries, especially China, India, Japan and Italy. This is not a new phenomenon; on the contrary it is older than civilization itself. Pressure of population was the cause of man's scattering out over the earth; but now that all the earth has been explored and all the best land taken, we often wonder if a time will come when the population will be too great for the earth to support. This is not now causing people to worry so much as it did one hundred years ago, for in some countries the pressure is not so great as it was then, because of relief given by increase in production and improvement in commerce.

The Malthusian Theory of Population.—Over one hundred years ago Malthus published his famous work *Essay on Population,* which went through several editions and has been handed down since that time as a classic. In this book Malthus declared that population tends to increase faster than the means of subsistence. At first he tried to prove this by showing that the means of subsistence increased in arithmetical proportion, while population increased in geometrical proportion; but he later abandoned such attempts. Malthus stated that there

were two methods of checking or holding population down to the food supply: (1) positive, as war, famine, disease, vice, and poverty, and (2) negative or artificial checks, such as late marriages, celibacy, and control of the birth rate. He attempted to prove that if we did not exercise the latter, the former would operate. Malthus believed that poverty was the direct result of this increase of population, as it created a surplus of workers, who kept wages down; he went so far as to cite this as the chief cause of all misery and wretchedness.

With this conclusion we cannot, of course, agree; indeed his general theory is not proved by modern conditions. The principle may have worked among primitive peoples and may be true when applied to a stationary, unprogressive population, but it does not apply to modern society. Malthus was unable to foresee the inventions and discoveries of modern times which have increased the food supply, with reapers, binders, plows, corn planters, and potato diggers, modern methods of preserving and canning vegetables and fruits, and intensive methods of agriculture. Progress in these things has more than kept pace with the increase in population, for in reality a constantly decreasing percentage of our population has been able to produce the world's food supply. Then, too, Malthus did not take into consideration the ability of man to co-operate to greater advantage as population became denser. As population has increased, man has been able to make more economical divisions of labor, using more efficient methods of applying labor, and through new inventions and discoveries to bring about greater production. Thus man is constantly able to produce more in shorter periods of time, and the working day for the laboring man is steadily being shortened throughout the entire world, especially in the more advanced and thickly populated countries.

Other theories of population have been postulated, among which is that of Dumont, the French economist and sociologist, who suggests that society is like a sponge in that it will allow as large a population as industry

can care for; that if a country has opportunities, like those of Argentine, Canada, or Alaska, the population will increase, but if there are no opportunities the population will not increase. Although history does not prove this theory, it is very interesting and somewhat plausible. A new country with opportunities will attract immigration, but the birth rate in that country may not increase; it often does not. Therefore it is very difficult to formulate any hard and fast theory of population. One thing we do know is that population is steadily increasing, and for the past hundred years, at least, means of subsistence have more than kept pace with this increase. While we can expect the population of the earth steadily to become denser there is as yet under ordinary circumstances no immediate danger of starvation, and while conditions in China, Russia and India seem to disprove this statement, science will eventually solve the problems of food supply in all countries.

Increase in Population of Some of the Leading Modern Nations.—The following table will show how some of the modern nations have increased in population:[1]

Country—	*% Increase 1800-1900*	*Country*—	*% Increase 1800-1900*
United States	1,331.6	Sweden	118.6
Belgium	204.3	Italy	88.4
Denmark	163.4	Portugal	85.1
United Kingdom	155.9	Switzerland	84.1
Norway	154.6	Austria	81.6
Germany	143.2	Spain	75.6
Holland	143.1	France	42.5

From these figures it will be seen at a glance that the nations showing the greatest increase are the ones which are prosperous or well situated geographically; yet we can derive no universal law from these data, for France has been a very prosperous nation, she enjoys a splendid form of government, and the common people are happy. Yet France, even before the war, was hardly holding her own in population.

[1] *A Century of Population in the United States*, 1790-1900, by Census Bureau, p. 85.

A population can increase by a surplus of births over deaths and by immigration, but a high birth rate does not necessarily mean an increase in population; on the contrary, some of the countries which are at the top of the list above have a birth rate low in comparison with that of many near the foot, as we may see by the following table:

BIRTH AND DEATH RATES PER 1000 TOTAL POPULATION, 1900[2]

Country	*Birth Rate*	*Death Rate*	*Excess Births over Deaths*
Norway	30.7	15.8	14.3
Germany	35.6	22.1	13.5
Denmark	29.8	16.9	12.9
Hungary	39.3	26.9	12.4
Scotland	29.6	18.5	11.1
England and Wales	28.7	18.2	10.5
Sweden	26.9	16.8	10.1
United Kingdom	28.2	18.4	9.8
Belgium	28.9	19.3	9.6
Italy	32.9	23.7	9.2
Spain	34.4	29.4	5.0
Ireland	22.7	19.6	3.1
France	21.4	21.9	.5
Switzerland	....	19.3	—.5

So when it comes to the question of natural increase, it is the final product or excess of births over deaths that must be considered. Then, too, for each individual country other factors enter in, particularly whether there is emigration or immigration.

In the United States few states have kept vital records for any length of time, so we cannot compare the United States with the countries listed above.[3] Even if there were available figures, comparison between our country and Europe would not be fair, for we have received hundreds

[2] Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions*, pp. 97 and 214.

[3] We are now rapidly learning the value of vital records and are gathering them. In 1919 twenty-two states kept birth statistics and in these the birth rate was 22.3; in the same year thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia kept death statistics and in these states the death rate was 12.8.

of thousands of European immigrants, the majority of whom have been in the prime of life. On the other hand, many of these immigrants have returned later to Europe to die in their native lands.

If we compare the birth rates with those of several decades ago, we notice an almost universal decline, especially with the more advanced nations. The death rate shows a still greater decline. Therefore, the increase in population is the result, not of an increasing birth rate, but of this decline in the death rate, which is brought about by better sanitation, increased medical knowledge, especially among the masses, prevention of industrial accidents, prevention of disease through quarantine, vaccination and anti-toxins, and the discovery of cures of diseases. The establishment of bureaus of medical research; social insurance systems; visiting nurses; proper building codes; the dissemination of health information; shorter hours; more healthful working conditions; the cleaning up of streets and alleys; food inspection—these and a thousand other factors have helped to lower the death rate; and we can look for still greater progress in this line. As sanitation and hygiene increase the death rate goes down.

We note also that the industrial nations of the world are increasing in population because they furnish work for their people and hence check emigration as well as tempt immigration. The industrial development of the United States is largely, if not almost wholly, responsible for the modern immigration to this country. After Germany developed industrially she kept her people at home; the same is true of Norway and Sweden.

The recent World War has so greatly changed industrial and living conditions in every country, that the sociologist of to-morrow will have to prepare an entirely new mass of statistics.

The Increase of Population in the United States.—In order to discuss this subject properly we must take a glance at the population statistics for the United States (continental):

Year	*Population*	*% Inc.*	*Year*	*Population*	*% Inc.*
1790	3,929,214	....	1860	31,443,321	35.6
1800	5,308,483	35.1	1870	38,558,371	26.6
1810	7,239,881	36.4	1880	50,155,783	26.0
1820	9,638,453	33.1	1890	62,947,714	24.9
1830	12,866,020	33.5	1900	75,994,575	20.7
1840	17,069,453	32.7	1910	91,972,266	21.0
1850	23,191,876	35.9	1920	105,708,771	14.9

These figures show that there has been a steady decrease in the percentage of increase since 1850, and that while the increase is still considerable it is by no means so rapid as formerly. This is not owing to immigration, because since 1880 we have received the majority of our immigrants; whereas in our early history when the increase was the most rapid we were receiving very few immigrants. During the decades when we were receiving the most immigrants we increased in population the least. Some authorities indeed go so far as to declare that immigration has checked instead of increased our population. On the face of it, it seems plausible, but if we examined all the facts we probably should not find this statement true. Since accurate records of births and deaths are kept in only a few of the American states we are not able to obtain very reliable statistics.

In Massachusetts the birth rate among foreign born has been about three times that of the native born. But these statistics are misleading, for the foreign born do not come here as a rule till they reach the prime of life or at least the child-bearing age; then, too, many return to Europe after they have passed that period; as a consequence the foreign born have a much higher birth rate. And for the same reason the death rate of native born is higher than that of foreign born, although this difference is slight. But Massachusetts is not an average state; conditions are peculiar in that the most vigorous part of the native population have moved westward, especially the men, thus leaving the less energetic at home, and in addition causing an unequal distribution of the sexes. Then too the immigrant class is cooped up to a great extent in the factory towns like Fall River, New Bedford and

Lawrence under very bad conditions, inviting thereby low standards of living and high birth rates. On the other hand prices are high and wages low in New England; so the native with his high ideals is compelled to postpone marriage and keep down the number of children if he wishes to maintain his standard of living.

The average size of the family has decreased in the United States, being 5.6 in 1850, 5.3 in 1860, 5.1 in 1870, 5 in 1880, 4.9 in 1890, 4.7 in 1900, 4.5 in 1910 and 4.3 in 1920. Among the native whites the decline has been still greater, and in some sections of New England no gain is shown. For separate states Nevada is lowest with 3.5 followed by California with 3.8 and Oregon with 3.9. Southern states lead in size, North Carolina standing at the top with 5. This decrease has occasioned some people much alarm. The causes for the decrease in birth rate are many, some of the most prominent being the following:

1. *The Constantly Advancing Standard of Living.*—People are demanding more. Things which they formerly looked upon as luxuries they now consider necessities, such as bath rooms, telephones, and electric lights. Finer clothing, a greater variety of food, better houses, and more comforts are demanded. Rather than sacrifice these things, people limit the number of children. Then, too, greater stress is now put upon the careful rearing of children and giving them proper advantages, than upon bringing them into the world. Instead of being alarming, this factor is conducive to a higher civilization.

2. *The Constantly Increasing Cost of Living.*—The increase in prices, especially of foodstuffs, rent, and clothing, resulting from the comparative decrease of land for producing these commodities and the increasing demand for them, is another cause of small families. Wages have also risen, but it is an economic fact that wages are slower to advance than prices. As we shall see when we consider immigration, wages have been kept down by the competition of the immigrant with the native laborer. This cause, while regrettable, is hard to prevent. The World War has recently complicated this situation still

more by effecting an abnormal increase in prices, as a result of the tremendous demand. In some industries this increase has been more than offset by corresponding increases in wages.

3. *Selfishness, or the Refusal to Have Children.*—This may result from an unwillingness to sacrifice for them, unwillingness to undergo the discomfort and pain of bringing them into the world, or the unwillingness to substitute for pleasures already secured the unknown satisfactions of parenthood. This is especially true of the rich, who are loath to give up participation in social activities, or to spare the time which parenthood requires. The following table by Bertillon, giving the number of births per thousand among the various economic classes of the four largest European cities,[4] illustrates the well known fact that the poor have more children than the rich.

BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN 15–50 YEARS OF AGE

	Paris	*Berlin*	*Vienna*	*London*
Very poor	108	157	200	147
Poor	95	129	104	140
Comfortable	72	114	155	107
Very Comfortable	65	96	153	107
Rich	53	63	107	87
Very Rich	34	47	71	63
Total	80	102	153	109

It will be seen that the very poor have about three times as many children as the very rich. As the economic prosperity of a country increases we find a decline in the birth rate. This is a condition much to be deplored, for it seems unfortunate that those who can afford to have many children will not have them, while those who are not able to support them have the large families.[5]

4. *Education, That Is, Higher Education.*—With in-

[4] Quoted by Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions*, p. 110.

[5] "In a fashionable district near Fifth Avenue, New York City, in 1921 the birth rate was seven per 1000 population as compared with twenty-five per 1000 for the rest of Manhattan."—New York *Times*, Jan. 22, 1922.

crease in culture and the rise in civilization, more time is spent in preparation for one's life work. If one is fitting himself for a professional calling, he must spend four years in high school, and for many professions, four years in college, and three or four years in professional school. If he enters high school at the age of fourteen and goes continuously (which does not always happen), he is at least twenty-five upon the completion of this preparation; then he must often work several years before he is able to earn enough or to attain sufficient professional success to warrant marriage. So he is close to thirty before he can marry at all. If he marries an educated woman she is nearly as old. This is especially true if during his school days he falls in love with a school mate and she waits till he has completed his preparation. It is only natural then that their family should be smaller than the family of the uneducated man who marries at twenty-one or two a girl of eighteen or nineteen. Education of women has had a greater effect upon the birth rate than education of men, for it has made woman less dependent upon marriage; she has become able to make her own way, and her education has caused her to be more discriminating in her choice of a husband. While this has tended to elevate man and has compelled him to live a cleaner and more wholesome life, it has restricted marriage. In the past woman was either a drudge or an ornament, a kind of social barometer, reflecting man's economic position. If he were rich she did not have to work, but if he were poor she had to do so. However, society is not yet adjusted to this situation. Because of these conditions woman hesitates more about marriage, and, once married, hesitates to settle back into woman's former position in the home; hence she is more loath to begin raising a family, or to have a large one.

5. *Vice.*—Unfortunately many who desire children cannot have them, and it is claimed that at least one-half of these cases are owing to immorality. Sexual diseases, as we shall see later when we take up the subject of

immorality, make child-birth either dangerous or impossible. This is one of the leading reasons why the birth rate in France is no higher than it is, and also why so many of the rich in all countries do not have children. While comparatively few women have disease upon marriage, it is only a question of time until they are affected, if the men they marry are diseased. Many one-child families result from vice, disease preventing further conception. We can expect this cause to operate less in the future, for as a problem the social evil is becoming rapidly less important; it is only a question of time until it will be either stamped out or reduced to a minimum. In old days when the bearing of children was impossible, the women were called "barren" and could be divorced. Now that we know one of the chief causes, we hear less of "barrenness." While some women are physically unable to have children, far more could have them if their husbands had lived clean lives.

6. *Greater Knowledge of Birth Control.*—Fomerly birth control was frowned upon as unsocial and irreligious, and made illegal by statute. Public opinion is supporting these ideas and laws less and less. Heretofore churches thundered against birth control, but now they oppose it less. A knowledge of conditions among the poor has brought about this changed attitude. As people become educated they acquire a more accurate knowledge of the laws of reproduction, and as a result fewer children are born. Whether for the best interests of our country or not, we can expect this tendency to increase as our country continues to grow in prosperity and enlightenment.

On the whole we can look for a constantly declining birth rate; but whether this ever reaches the point of race suicide is extremely doubtful.

Decrease in Death Rate.—Along with a decrease in birth rate we have noticed a steady decline in the death rate among civilized nations; the greater the advance in civilization, the greater the decrease. In the United States the death rate was reduced more than one-fourth between

1900 and 1920. The steady increase in population is the result of the decrease in death rate. This decline is owing to many causes, the chief of which are probably the following:

1. *Increased Medical Knowledge.*—Medical science is constantly finding cures for diseases which formerly were considered incurable, *e.g.*, yellow fever, spotted fever and cholera; and it is making other diseases which were ranked as dangerous hardly serious at all—such as smallpox, which, formerly considered a scourge, now is no more to be dreaded than a bad cold. Tuberculosis is slowly yielding to preventive measures. Preventive means, in the shape of anti-toxins, are now used against such diseases as typhoid fever and diphtheria. The heretofore unknown causes of many diseases which have existed for a long time, like the hook-worm disease, have been discovered. Better methods of treating the so-called "child diseases," such as measles, whooping cough, croup, etc., have been found and their fatality has been reduced. Medical science has not only greatly reduced the death rate but may also be expected to effect still greater improvement in this respect. Joined with these discoveries is the greater accessibility of these cures and treatments to the mass of our population through better hospital facilities. With the erection of city hospitals and privately endowed institutions, practically no one in the cities at least need go without medical treatment when it is needed, even though funds are lacking. Increased knowledge on the part of the public of the curability of disease, and stricter requirements for entrance into the medical profession have contributed to the decrease in the death rate from disease. People do not fear hospitals as they once did, and they trust doctors more than formerly; so with the greater means at hand they make use in daily life of medical knowledge and skill.

2. *Improved Sanitation and Hygiene.*—Practical knowledge of hygiene has been spread through the country by instruction in our schools, special educational campaigns, popular magazines, public libraries, and other means of

disseminating information. Visiting nurses are going from house to house teaching the poor, especially the immigrant poor, how to live healthier, happier lives, prepare better food, and prevent germ infection. Our cities are enacting and, still more important, are enforcing laws in regard to sewage and garbage disposal, street cleaning, food and milk inspection, pure water, handling of contagious diseases and other matters vital to public health. Because prevention is more important than cure, this type of effort is even more important than curative measures. It is becoming more and more effective and thus can be depended upon for increasingly greater results in the future.

3. *Prevention of Industrial Accidents.*—Most of the European countries have adopted systems of accident insurance, compelling the employers to compensate for accidents in their factories. This has influenced the employers in their turn to use the most modern devices for accident prevention. Many of the American states are taking the same measures, while many employers are putting in such improvements voluntarily. In the United States it has been found that about 35,000 workers are killed and 500,000 maimed each year by industrial accidents, many of which are preventable. Shorter working hours are becoming customary and as a result there are fewer accidents. We as a nation are waking up to the fact that the loss of life because of industrial accidents is to a great extent unnecessary, and are taking steps to prevent it.

4. *Decrease in Infant Mortality.*—During the first year the mortality rate among infants is greatest, especially among the poor and ignorant classes and in those countries where the masses are uneducated and poverty-stricken. In Russia under normal times 27 per cent of all the babies died before the end of the first year, and even in the registration area in the United States 16.2 per cent die during this period. We are now beginning to realize the seriousness of this unnecessary loss of life and are attempting to prevent it through better milk

inspection, parental care, instruction of mothers, and the spread of knowledge of hygiene generally.

5. *Prevention of War.*—Before the World War we had steadily reduced the loss of life from war till we were in high hopes of eliminating entirely mortality from this cause. The war upset all this. If the present League of Nations succeeds in doing all that its advocates expect of it, we can still look for the time when this great menace will be reduced to a minimum. The world is sick of war and we can only hope that this league will succeed in doing all that its most ardent advocates predict of it.

On the whole, then, we may expect population to keep on increasing but at a less rapid rate than formerly; we may expect a constantly decreasing birth rate but a corresponding, but slightly less, decrease in the death rate. Many estimates have been made as to the population of the United States at stated dates in the future, say in the year 2000. Estimates for that year range from 200,000,000 to 400,000,000. Such predictions are inaccurate and worthless, since conditions are constantly changing and the rate of increase is ever decreasing. If we continue to hold out fewer inducements to immigrants, we can expect immigration to cease after a time. If our prosperity should fail we might even experience much emigration and a possible decrease in population. Besides as we exploit our natural resources and populate the country, and at the same time improve education and raise our standard of living, we may look for the rate of increase to fall off rapidly. Therefore the future is too uncertain to make a safe prediction possible. The most that we can say is, that if present conditions continue population will steadily increase. Likewise when the world recovers from the temporary setback caused by the War, it will continue to house and feed an ever expanding population.

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CHAPTER V

HUMAN MIGRATION

If the theory holds good that man began with a single family or small group, he has gradually migrated until he has occupied all the habitable portions of the earth. The purpose of this chapter is to show why he migrated, how he did it, and what was the effect upon his development.

Man was forced to migrate because of lack of food supply. The increase in numbers made living more difficult and, as a result, some of the group had to leave their original home to seek new supplies of food. This caused the formation of bands which would start out upon their wanderings in search of new abodes. In all probability these bands consisted of those belonging to one family, or those closely connected by ties of kinship or friendship. Whether they were the weaker groups which were driven out, or were bands composed of energetic individuals who were discontented with their hard lot and desirous of bettering it, we do not know; in all probability both classes of people were represented. At any rate, man formed into bands, so as to afford greater protection and to satisfy his innate craving for companionship, and started out upon journeys of conquest and exploration.

These bands naturally followed the paths of least resistance, going up or down river valleys, along the coast, around mountain ranges, or through passes. When they came to places where the food supply was abundant they would either settle down permanently, or remain till they were evicted by another band, or were tempted to seek still more inviting sources of food supply. If stronger bands forced them out they simply continued their wanderings, unless they preferred to fight rather

than to run. Often, in that event, the weaker band was exterminated or forced into slavery by the stronger.

We have noticed that the richer river valleys like the Nile valley and the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates were among the first to be settled and consequently among the first abodes of people of advanced civilization. Man has also moved along the paths of the best sources of food supply, whether living was gained by direct appropriation of the gifts of nature, by fishing, by hunting, or later by the domestication of flocks and herds, with the aid of agriculture. In this way he spread out from Asia Minor in all directions, going eastward into what is now India, and then either around the Himalayas, or through the passes into the fertile territory of China, where he was stopped by the Pacific Ocean. Australia and the East Indies were possibly connected with Asia by strips of land or were separated only by narrow bodies of water, and thus man was able to people the East Indies, Australia, New Zealand and most of the island archipelagoes of the Southern Pacific. Further north, he was forced or lured to cross the Bering Sea, either on the ice or by means of rafts, perhaps going from one to another of the Aleutian islands; thus he came to America. From Alaska it was an easy matter to spread over the two Americas. Going westward, man migrated to Africa by way of the isthmus of Suez into the Nile valley, and thence to the various parts of Africa, meeting with few land barriers, with the exception of the Sahara Desert. Going northward he passed into Europe, either following the shores of the Mediterranean or going down the valley of the Danube, which has served as a highway for migrations into Europe. From southern Europe, man wandered as far north as the climate would permit. Here he was driven backward at least once and possibly several times by changes in the climate which caused the glaciers to move southward, only to return again with successive resumptions of former climatic conditions. Europe was peopled also by migrations from Asia, which moved in a more northerly track, coming by way of Siberia.

Russia and the Balkans were thus settled by the Slavic race. From Europe migration crossed the Atlantic. The Norse came by way of Iceland, and the Spanish by way of the Azores.

Motives for Migration.—The motive for early migration was necessity—the shortage of provisions or the fear of a stronger force. Afterwards other causes operated, particularly religious persecution, political oppression, the desire to evade the penalties of law, and economic conditions. Religious persecution was one of the leading causes of the settlement of America, but it was an effectual incentive to migrations long before that. It seems to be human nature for those holding one belief to try to compel others to accept the same belief and to drive out or exterminate those who hold other beliefs. Many people have migrated, therefore, for the sake of religious freedom. Government, at first, was by means of the strong arm; those who dared to oppose were killed or driven out; thus there have always been those who were compelled to migrate for political reasons. Banishment, either outside of the political boundaries, or to some definite place such as a penal colony, has often been used as a means of punishment. Then wanderlust, the desire to keep moving, has always been a strong motive. Religious pilgrimages and the sending out of missionaries have added to migration. Slavery has dispersed peoples, the weaker being captured, sold as slaves, and scattered throughout the world. Negro slavery furnishes perhaps the best example. Greece and Rome followed this as a regular custom, Rome selling her prisoners of war. Whenever a race was defeated and put to flight, it frequently scattered, sought safety as individuals, and hence was unable to unite later.

Probably the greatest motive for migration to-day is the economic one, the seeking for opportunities to obtain a greater return for one's labor. This is the motive prompting the bulk of our recent immigrants to come to America; it is behind the majority of human wanderings to-day. The lure of gold and the prospect of riches

cause man to go to the most inaccessible regions; to endure the tortures of extreme cold or heat; to risk the dangers of disease and of wild beasts; to endure thirst, frost-bite, drenching rains, and all manner of personal discomforts; to leave friends and relatives and put up with loneliness and privation. Commerce has been fostered by practically all nations; colonies were sent out by Phœnicia, Greece and Carthage for this purpose, and later by France, England, Holland, and Germany. In fact, the trader has nearly always preceded the soldier and settler, these being prompted to follow by the reports brought back by the traveler who wandered in search of trade.

Fugitive peoples have been driven into the inaccessible regions of the world, those places which offered a chance to escape pursuit or detection. Ripley calls the Caucasus the "grave of peoples, languages, customs, and physical types." In such remote spots people degenerate because of the lack of contact with others. Then too they were originally inefficient, else they would not have become fugitive. Isolation only added to this inefficiency.

With primitive man migration was comparatively easy; he did not have to worry about selling his land or even moving his household furniture, because he did not possess any. All that he had to do was to pick up and move to another place. So it was easy and natural to acquire the habit of wandering. He was not able to move as rapidly as modern man, for he had no express trains, steamships, roads, or bridges, and at first no draft animals. Yet, in spite of the improvement in the means of travel, civilized man has greater trouble to move because of his numerous possessions; moreover he has less incentive for migration.

Primitive movements were not rapid; they were slow, leisurely driftings in which whole tribes or nations took part. At first these bands were held together by family ties, but as they grew vast hordes were collected. Such were the Slavic invasions of Europe. The westward migration of the Vandals is also a good illustration; they

first came into contact with Rome when they struck one of the Roman provinces on the Danube. Here they settled for some time, then they moved on westward, then southward into Spain, and finally across the Straits of Gibraltar into northern Africa, taking about two hundred years for this whole movement. Later migrations have generally taken the form of colonization fostered by a parent country. Migration of the present day is an individual matter, although many individuals go together, and frequently with the encouragement of their governments.

Westward Movement of Civilization.—While civilization for a while moved eastward, passing from Asia Minor to India and China, we find that, on the whole, it has had a westward expansion, passing from Babylon, Assyria, and Persia to Greece; from Greece to Rome and from Rome to France, Spain and England; thence to America, Japan and China. Not only civilization but also world power seems to follow this path. Civilization in moving westward has done so along the north temperate zone; because of this the north temperate zone is known as "the track of civilization." In our next chapter, on immigration as an American problem, we shall see that it has been and is simply a part of this westward movement of races seeking opportunities for improvement, particularly religious and political freedom, and economic betterment.

During the past few years Japan has made wonderful strides in Western culture and civilization. By developing a strong army and navy and by assuming a strong aggressive attitude she now occupies a place of power in the family of nations. Her power as a fighting nation was not recognized until she so quickly and skillfully defeated the great Russian Empire in the Russo-Japanese War. Since that time she has commanded the respect of other nations, alliances with her being eagerly sought.

Japan has been crowded for territory to accommodate her ever-increasing population, and during the past few years has looked with envious eyes upon the sleeping

giant at her west, but before the recent war she was not able to make much use of her neighbor. While the war was taking the time and attention of other nations, Japan was able to push her interests. Judging from present indications it will only be a question of time till she builds up a vast power in the East, either in co-operation with or at the expense of China.

China, however, is waking up; she is throwing off the shackles of inertia and the dead weight of her past, and is adopting modern methods of education, industry, and government. She has now become a republic and is welcoming occidental ideas, inventions, and civilization. Whether she will be able to build up a powerful military and naval power, like that of her neighbor Japan, is a question. But there is no doubt that the East is soon to play an important, if not a dominating, role in the history of the world. Japan by means of a "Monroe Doctrine" of her own is attempting to reap all the benefit from the awakening of the East, both commercially and politically; she may as a result assume the leadership in Eastern politics. But, whatever the outcome of this controversy, the Yellow race must be reckoned with in the future in the shaping of world policies.

Many keen students of Eastern affairs tell us that China is the future leader in the East: that eventually she will absorb or dominate Japan because of her great size, wealth of natural resources, and the natural vigor and vitality of her population. In regard to this time can only tell.

Russia, with her unlimited resources and endless opportunities, and especially Siberia, is a land with a future which defies prediction. She has thrown off the handicap of a reactionary government—apparently for a still more handicapping reign of Bolshevism—but when she is able to establish a strong democratic government out of the present chaos, she is bound to prosper and to progress. The common people, instead of being held down in ignorance, will be encouraged and a higher civilization will result. It will take many years to achieve a position

of intellectual leadership, but political leadership is possible long before that.

While the recent World War, horrible and disastrous as it was, did not sound the death-knell of European civilization, it has set Europe back decades in human progress. But the present indication is that out of the ruins there will emerge a structure grander than the one destroyed.

We in America cannot bear to think that our nation, sharing the fate of Greece and Rome, may in time fall into oblivion. Some predict that we are even now fast rushing towards destruction. Instead, we are still ascending the highway of development and progress. But we may fall by reason of too great prosperity, especially with the wealth and world power which the World War has brought to us. We may even in the course of time pass on the leadership to Asia—not as a permanent possession, but perhaps a possession to be kept for a time, and then to be returned by Asia to Europe. In this way civilization may pass around the world and a second time come to America. This is not given as a prophecy, but merely as a suggestion of a possible continuation of the westward movement of civilization, which has persisted throughout the past. To the student of world politics this seems not only a possibility but a probability. But the future has too much in store and is too uncertain to allow any sort of definite prediction.

However, as different nations and countries rise and progress in civilization, new opportunities are opened; thither man migrates. These opportunities may be religious, political, economic, physical, or esthetic, but they draw people from countries which offer less chance of development. Thus man is constantly migrating and society is ceaselessly in motion. In our next chapter we shall see how this migration has affected our own country.

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CHAPTER VI

IMMIGRATION

American Immigration a Part of the Movement of Races.—The immigration problem as presented to the people of the United States is merely a specific illustration of the movement of races previously discussed. It is perhaps brought more forcibly to our attention than other illustrations because of the rapidity of its development. We are all immigrants or their descendants. It is merely a question of time—a matter of the date of arrival. Whether our ancestors came before 1700, helped in the development of the colonies, fought the Indians, and joined in the struggle for independence; whether they came in the rush from Ireland in the 40's, bringing their entire possessions wrapped up in a bandanna handkerchief; or whether we ourselves landed at Ellis Island—it is only a matter of a few generations.

The immigration problem in America has had, however, one aspect which differs considerably from the general run. The movement of population of ancient times usually consisted in the migration of a whole tribe or of a considerable portion of it to one particular region or in one certain direction. America, in a singular manner, seems to have been a magnet which has drawn human beings from all directions, from all lands; from the rugged hills of Norway, the sunny slopes of Italy, the steppes of Russia, the banks of the Danube, and the settled districts of England and Germany. It has attracted the Oriental as well as the Occidental; but in the main this migration to America has been in harmony with other migrations in being a westward movement. America has been the melting pot; into it the different cultures and civilizations of the earth have been indiscriminately thrown; they have been intermingled by the different

interests at work in our country, and it is only a question of time till the mass cools off and we can see what the final product is. Perhaps it is also only a question of time until we in turn pour out our surplus population to less densely inhabited regions. If so, then the problem will be even more serious, for it is only the hardiest, the sturdiest, and the most daring that migrate. We may then object to emigration much more strenuously than we do now to immigration.

Causes of Immigration.—The motives of migration to the United States have been much the same as the causes already discussed, of migration to other parts of the world. The leading motives have been religious, political, and economic. Coupled with these have been minor motives, such as the desire for adventure, for escape from military service, or to avoid punishment of crime. The early settlers of New England came largely to escape religious persecution and to be free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. The same was true of the settlers of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Virginia, New York, and Delaware were colonized by England, Holland, and Sweden, respectively, in an attempt by each to build up political supremacy.

Many immigrants have come to this country to escape political as well as religious persecution. This was especially true of the early German immigrant. The Carolinas and Georgia were settled mainly by convicts sent out from England for a double purpose—to get rid of the criminal class at home and to form a buffer state between Virginia and Spanish Florida. European countries made a practice for a long time, even after the Revolution, of sending their criminals here. To stop this was one of the problems confronting our nation in the early years of its history.

But the chief causes of immigration in recent years have been economic—the desire for greater wealth, the ability to earn a larger wage, and the opportunity to enjoy more returns from one's labor. This movement has been stimulated by advertising on the part of steamship

companies, which have profited from immigration. Our recent immigrants have come from countries that are less prosperous than our own, countries where they are accustomed to low wages, high taxes, and a hard life in general. They hear of the high wages to be obtained in America and are naturally attracted by them. This is particularly true of the Italian, Greek, and Slavic races.

The founders of the United States as a nation were primarily English, Scotch, and Welsh, with here and there a sprinkling of other nationalities, mostly the remnants of descendants of the colonies founded by other nations which tried to settle North America. The first immigrants were mostly of the same blood as the people who had helped to establish the nation, and were naturally welcomed to our shores in order to swell our scanty population, and thus make our country the more secure against foreign invasion, and to aid in winning from the red man and the wild beasts the great unknown region west of the Alleghanies. But the number of these newcomers was small even as late as 1840; in fact, it did not pass the 100,000 mark till 1842. In that year immigration took a jump, owing to the potato famine in Ireland and an unsuccessful insurrection in Germany. Since that time immigration to our shores has taken place in waves. Different waves have been largely made up of separate nationalities, one nation at a time furnishing the bulk of the immigrants.

Irish.—The Irish were the first to incur the dislike of those who had preceded them. This feeling was the result of the following conditions: They were driven out of Ireland because of the failure of the potato crops, upon which Ireland had depended for a long time. Therefore they brought little wealth; in fact, the majority of them brought their entire belongings wrapped up in bandanna handkerchiefs. The clothes that they wore were exceedingly rough; their manners were uncouth. They spoke a dialect which made conversation with them almost impossible. Ireland had been under a system of burdensome taxation, by which the farmer was taxed for every visible

form of wealth. If he had stock he was taxed for it; hence came the temptation to keep the pig in the parlor, where the assessor would not be likely to find it. If he improved his property or wore decent clothes, he was assumed to be prosperous and was taxed accordingly. Hence he got into the habit of concealing his wealth and looking as downtrodden and woebegone as possible. This habit, of course, was brought over by the Irish immigrant.

About this time the one hundred year leases given to the Scotch, when they settled the northern part of Ireland, began to run out. Although these settlers had looked upon their leases as perpetual they were evicted from their homes; America was their only refuge. It offered them a new home, where they could be sure of the future. It was a place where land was either free or very cheap and where labor was in demand; so they migrated in large numbers from Ireland to America, where they have been known as Scotch-Irish.

The rough-looking, uncouth Irish came mostly to Massachusetts. This made the contrast all the more marked, for Boston and Cambridge prided themselves upon their culture and education. At first the Irishman, being short of funds, was glad to get any kind of work and was not in a position to haggle over the wage; he took anything he could get; but it was not long before he began to supplant the native New Englander in the mills and factories. The manufacturers were quick to see that this uncouth newcomer had an unusually quick mind and readily adapted himself to new conditions, and so could easily take the place of the more expensive native. He was eager to work and quick to learn; so it was only a matter of a few years till he was very much in the majority in the factories. But when he became acquainted with our conditions he demanded as high wages as the native and quickly began to adopt our customs. As a result the Irish immigrants have been assimilated with remarkable rapidity.

Nor were they content merely to be quickly assimilated; they went on till they began to control. They obtained

positions as bosses and foremen, and for these positions they showed remarkable ability. Then they drifted into politics, and to-day they are our political leaders. The Irish element has controlled Boston for years; it would be impossible now to elect a mayor who does not take this vote into consideration. In the same way the Irish have controlled Tammany in New York; in fact, in all our large cities where there are a number of Irish, they have become a strong political factor. At times they have formed a dangerous element, yet they have also exerted a good influence in politics.

Since 1820 Ireland has poured one-half of her population into the United States, 4,000,000 coming as against 3,300,000 coming from Great Britain. The reason for this exodus has been largely economic; and they came to stay as few have returned. They looked upon America, when they came, as their future home. If the men came alone they quickly sent for their families or sweethearts to join them. In recent years the Irish have ceased to come, for the motives have vanished. Ireland is becoming prosperous with a change in the English policy of control. The future of Ireland is much more promising than that of England, for England will depend to a great extent upon Ireland for her food supply. So we cannot expect to receive many more Irish; in fact, Irish immigration on a wide scale is a thing of the past. While the Irishman brought with him some undesirable traits, he also brought a genial disposition, the ability to mingle, quickness of observation, and an organizing ability; he has been a sturdy element in our population and has contributed a large share to the prosperity of this country.

German.—The motives that prompted the German to leave his home and to seek a new one were different from those which spurred on the Irish. The German sought liberty, a haven from religious and political persecution. Germany had been torn by many destructive wars, especially the Thirty Years' War. It not only had been invaded by France under Napoleon, but had been laid waste by internal struggles. Germany was then made

up of a number of independent or semi-independent principalities. These were jealous of each other and were constantly quarreling. Each levied its own set of duties, which brought about confusion and led to endless disputes. In addition, there was a struggle between Catholics and Protestants. Every war was followed by relentless persecution and oppressive taxation. All these things, coupled with the oppression of the petty tyrants, made life almost unbearable. So it is no wonder that when good reports came of the freedom and prosperity in America, thousands sought to escape the oppression at home by emigrating. Germany had been terribly overrun by invading armies, and many regions, especially the Palatine, were almost turned into deserts. Even if there had been no oppression and cruelty at home, it would have been hard enough from an economic standpoint to get started again.

The emigration became so great that the government grew alarmed and took measures to stop it. Laws were passed, making emigration more difficult, but such measures were in vain. The Germans left for America, even if they were compelled to leave empty-handed. Some even sold their services for periods of from three to seven years to pay for their passage. This rush led to many abuses. Baggage would often be left behind on the wharves in Bremen or Hamburg; ships were overcrowded, causing much suffering as well as sickness and disease. In fact, many died on their way to America.

The Germans fared no worse than others who came about this time, but they happened to be caught in the rush. Their difficulties did not end upon arrival, for they were immediately set upon by sharpers and swindlers; being ignorant of our customs and language they were at the mercy of any who wished to impose upon them. Very often the railroads would leave their baggage in New York or at other points of arrival. The abuses became so bad that the United States government took steps to eliminate the greatest evils. Sale of services to pay passage was abolished in 1820; other abuses were

later dealt with, such as overcrowding and poor accommodations.

This immigration even under such conditions was not wholly bad, for it aided in the settling up of our frontier in a much more rapid manner than otherwise would have been possible. This was especially true of the German settlement of western Pennsylvania, which formed that element of our population known as "Pennsylvania Dutch." German immigration kept up in a steady stream, with the exception of the period of the Civil War, until the panic of 1873. After that it was largely diverted to other countries, especially South America, through the strenuous efforts of the German government, in order to build up commerce and trade with the mother country, and also because Germany feared that she would lose control of her emigrants if they came to the United States. So in recent years we have received few Germans.

While the Irish drifted into our cities, most of the Germans went to the country. They did not stop to overpopulate the farms of the eastern states but pushed to the frontier, going at first to western Pennsylvania and later to Wisconsin, Minnesota, and other western states, and especially to Wisconsin, which was being opened up after the Black Hawk War of 1833. Of the 2,069,042 persons in Wisconsin in 1900, 709,969 were of German blood.[1] Wisconsin was especially attractive because it offered cheap land ($1.25 an acre) which was especially adapted to farming. The climate was good; taxes were low, for there was no heavy debt. Only one year of residence was required for voting. Then, too, Wisconsin wanted settlers and encouraged immigration, especially of Germans; to get them it advertised for immigrants and maintained an agency for a time in New York to help direct them to Wisconsin. Minnesota offered equal or nearly equal opportunities, and received a large share of the German immigration.

The Germans were not so easily assimilated as the Irish, being more stubborn in giving up their former habits

[1] Census of 1920 showed in Wisconsin 151,000 *born* in Germany.

and customs, especially their language. This was particularly true if they settled in communities—a method characteristic of the Germans. They liked their old customs and were loath to give them up. However, they made substantial citizens when once assimilated, for when they did adopt our customs they selected our best ones. They brought additional problems to our civilization, however, the most important of which was perhaps beer drinking. They built up breweries and were largely responsible for the great increase in the consumption of beer in the United States. Economically the Germans were very thrifty and prosperous. They were industrious and from an economic standpoint probably the most successful of all our immigrants. The low percentage of illiteracy among them upon arrival and their strong physique also helped make them a substantial element in our population. In the Civil War they enlisted in large numbers in the Union Army, although they had been here but a short period of time. While the Germans formerly constituted a sturdy element in our population, the part that German immigration will play hereafter is a matter of doubt.

As soon as the United States began to play an important role in the World War by furnishing the Entente Allies with ammunition and supplies, this country became a scene of operations for the German spy system. The large German element in our population furnished a splendid field not only for concealing spies sent over by Germany, but also for recruiting more spies and sympathizers. Although many of German descent supported this movement, the majority of the Teutonic element in our population was loyal to this country. The stigma from the disloyal element, however, still persists and for a number of years to come we shall probably consider the German element in our population undesirable—an attitude exactly opposite to the one held prior to the war.

French.—We have received comparatively few immigrants from France, especially in recent years. Early in our history some came because of religious persecution;

but since the time when the United States became a refuge for the oppressed, France has improved religiously and politically. The era of Napoleon and the French Revolution gave France liberty, and the Frenchman has had no special reasons for leaving his country. France has been economically prosperous for many years. Those French that we have received have come to us by way of Canada, and will be discussed later. Those that have come directly from France have been generally highly skilled workers such as experienced cooks and waiters, and members of the professional class, especially instructors and singers. Whether now that the World War is over we shall receive a larger French immigration will depend upon how successfully France recovers from the effects of the war, whether she will be able to rebuild her ruined industries and regain her foreign trade, and whether the burden of taxation can be borne successfully. In all probability, however, we shall receive few immigrants from France in the future, for she has no excess of population, her birth-rate has been on the decrease, and she bids fair to offer work for all her population at home for a long time to come.

Scandinavian.—Under this head are included those immigrants from Sweden and Norway, and also Denmark, for the Danes belong to the same racial stock. This migration began about 1820, and from 1821 till 1903 the total immigration from these countries amounted to 1,609,922. In 1882 it amounted to 105,326, or 13.3 per cent, but in 1907 it had dropped to 40,965, or 3.9 per cent, and since then has continued to diminish. In 1903 the number was exceeded by only three countries, Germany, Ireland and England, but since then it has been passed by Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia. Formerly the Scandinavian immigration formed an important addition to our population, but now it has become a minor element in the immigration stream. Among the Scandinavians were many sailors, carpenters, painters, and shoemakers, but the majority were servants and day laborers. They went to Minnesota, New York, Wisconsin, North and South

Dakota, Illinois, and Michigan, where they helped to settle up new parts of the country, especially Minnesota and the Dakotas. About half of the recent arrivals have been females, who have come to join relatives or friends or to enter domestic service. Scandinavians have brought with them on an average twenty-five dollars in money; the percentage of illiteracy is very small, being only 0.7 per cent, or practically nothing. Although sullen and morose in disposition, they are steady and hard working. Because of their mentality and education they learn the English language easily and are quickly assimilated. They have taken an active interest in politics, generally on the side of good government. North Dakota was one of the first prohibition states, and Wisconsin has very advanced industrial legislation. Not only have they sent their children to school, but they have fostered higher education. The growth of the University of Minnesota is an evidence of this. With the exception of petty misdemeanors the Scandinavians are free from crime and pauperism.

On the whole the Swedes are ranked as superior to the Norwegians. Very few Danes come to this country now, owing to the increase in the past few years of the economic prosperity of Denmark through the introduction of co-operative methods of agriculture and especially of marketing produce. Sweden is now passing from an agricultural to an industrial nation, hence there is a scarcity of labor and wages are high. Her merchant marine has increased wonderfully because of her strategic natural location. These factors have tended to keep the Swedes at home the last few years. Then, too, their government discourages emigration and endeavors to restrict it. Norway is following Sweden somewhat in this direction. Moreover we do not offer such inducements to the Scandinavian as we formerly did; our cheap land is all gone, and there is competition with the Italian and the Slav, who have lower standards of living and are willing to work for lower wages.

The Scandinavian has been a great help to this country.

Coming from a country where life was one continuous struggle with nature, he was inured to hard work and had developed a strength of character that was bound to bring him to the front. We can never expect, at least for some time to come, to receive many more of this class for, after the war, all three of these countries became more prosperous. To-day they are not burdened with war debt and they have not had their industries crippled—except for the merchant marine tonnage which was sunk during the war—or their population killed off, but are in a position to profit by the war through the trade and commerce which is coming to them, to say nothing of the profit realized during hostilities by selling supplies to the warring nations. As a consequence there seems to be no motive for migration.

Change in Immigration from Northern and Western to Southern and Eastern Europe.—The greatest change—and one which is to be regretted—has been in the nationality of our immigrants. We now receive very few from Ireland, England, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. Instead our immigrants come from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Greece, Turkey, and the Balkan states. The Italian and the Slav predominate. The danger arises from differences in the customs, habits, education and standards of living. Because of its effect upon our social life, this change has caused our recent alarm over immigration, and has made the immigration problem a serious one. The inhabitant of northern Europe was accustomed to a civilization and standard of living which was not materially different from our own. He was educated—at least the percentage of illiteracy was very low—while the inhabitant of Italy and Austria-Hungary, as a result of generations of oppression and economic distress, is uneducated, and accustomed to different ideas of life. This change in the source of immigration to the United States is shown by the examination of the statistics for the years 1882 and 1907, both years of maximum immigration.[2]

[2] Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, 1913 ed., pp. 203-4.

Country—	*1882 Immigrants.*	*Percentage of Immigrants*	
Great Britain and Ireland	179,423	23.8%	
Germany	250,630	31.7	
Scandinavia	105,326	13.3	
Netherlands, France and Switzerland	27,795	3.5	
Total northern and western Europe.			71.3%
Italy	32,159	4.1	
Austria-Hungary	29,150	3.7	
Russia, Balkans, etc.	22,010	2.7	
Total, southern and eastern Europe.			10.5
All other countries	142,499		18.2
Total	788,992		100. %

Country—	*1907 Immigrants.*	*Percentage of Immigrants.*	
Great Britain and Ireland	113,567	8.8%	
Scandinavia	49,965	3.9	
Germany	37,807	2.9	
Netherlands, France and Switzerland	26,512	2.1	
Total, northern and western Europe.			17.7%
Austria-Hungary	338,452	26.3	
Italy	285,731	22.2	
Russia	258,943	20.1	
Greece, Serbia, Roumania, etc.	88,482	6.9	
Total, southern and eastern Europe.			75.5
All other countries	85,890		6.8
Total	1,285,349		100. %

If we examine the immigration statistics for the year ending June 30, 1914—just before the World War began—we find that the figures correspond to those of 1907.

IMMIGRATION 1914

Country—	*Number Immigrants*	*Per Ct. of Total*	
Great Britain and Ireland	73,417	6. %	
Scandinavia	29,391	2.4	
Germany	35,734	2.9	
Netherlands, France, Switzerland, etc.	25,591	2.	
Total, northern and western Europe.			13.3%
Austria-Hungary	278,152	22.8	
Italy	283,738	23.3	
Russia	255,660	20.9	
Greece, Serbia, Roumania, etc.	57,252	4.7	
Total, southern and western Europe.			71.7%
Asia	34,273		2.8
All other countries	145,272		11.9
Total	1,218,480		100. %

We have already considered the countries from which we formerly received the bulk of our immigrants and have seen that we must not expect a return of that class because we no longer hold out inducements sufficient to tempt them to come. Now let us discover why we attract the peoples of Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia and similar countries. In order to do this we must study the economic and social conditions of those countries. Such a study will also show why their emigrants have not made the most desirable additions to our country, or at least why they have not been wanted.

Italian.—In studying the Italian problem we must distinguish between the northern and the southern. Northern Italy is mostly agricultural, although the soil is not rich, except in the river valleys. The people have a hard struggle to make a living, but this very struggle has given them a hardiness and strength of character that make them desirable citizens when they come to the United States. It is much the same with them as with the Norwegians and Swedes, although the racial stock is different. Southern Italy, on the contrary, is not suited for agriculture. Because the forests have been nearly all cut off there is little rainfall. The hills are steep and the streams short and rapid; the soil has been washed away by floods and land-slides. The country is also very unhealthful, malaria being especially prevalent, and because of this the people live on the hill-tops and have to go long distances to their work. All these things put together make farming unprofitable, and the emigrants from this district less valuable as prospective citizens.

The land system of Italy is a great handicap to the economic prosperity of the country. Most of the land is held by large estates; a considerable amount by the church. The government has attempted to effect a more equal distribution by selling some land in small tracts, but being pressed for money it has sold on hard terms, giving especially large discounts for cash. As the poor have no cash they cannot benefit by the discount, and

it does them little good. The laws of inheritance are such as to compel the breaking up of an estate into small parts. These are often too small to be worked profitably; consequently, they are absorbed by other large estates. This has brought about a steady decrease in the number of land owners. The possessors of the large estates turn them over to agents, who rent them out in small lots at the highest possible rent. This compels the renter to work the land for all that he can get out of it, the soil deteriorates and the farms are ruined. Being ignorant of the best methods of fertilization and tillage and of other modern processes, the farmer uses the same old wooden plows and clumsy hoes that have been in use for centuries; he still threshes out his grain by hand. It is impossible to produce much per capita, and because the productivity of labor is low, wages are correspondingly low. Before the war a farm hand obtained about thirty cents a day, or from fifty to eighty dollars a year. He is compelled to live in straw huts along with his cattle; his children go to work at an early age, having little or no chance for an education.

In southern Italy and Sicily, boys are put to work in the sulphur mines; they are often sold outright until maturity for from ten to twenty dollars each. The parent hopes to redeem them but seldom is able to do so, and they are compelled to work like slaves until they come of age. In these mines they bring the sulphur up to the surface upon their backs and generally go stark naked. Children ordinarily are expected to earn their own way as soon as they reach the age of thirteen or fourteen, and sometimes even before that. The laborer is in such a poor position for bargaining that he gets leases only on ruinous terms. It is much the same as with the American Negro, only much worse. Also when he goes to work for wages he is frequently compelled to leave home and travel to find work. This breaks up the home life and is one cause of the terrible moral conditions that exist in Italy to-day. Because so many men leave the

country there is a preponderance of females; woman becomes cheap, family ties are lax, and immorality flourishes.

As a result of ignorance, bad environment, and the necessity of going to work so early in life, marriages are contracted at a very early age. For the same reason the birth rate is high and families are large. The death rate is likewise high. The population is denser than that of Germany, France, India, or China, and is only exceeded by that of Great Britain, Belgium, Japan, and, in America, Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

Before the war the Italian peasant spent 85 per cent of his income for food, as against 62 per cent spent by the German worker, and 41 per cent by the American workman. Then in addition the army and navy expenditures of the Italian government took five per cent of the income of the people, which was higher than that of Germany or France. These expenditures for the United States amounted to only two per cent. Five years of service in the army or navy were required of every able-bodied peasant.

It is no wonder, then, that when the Italian heard of better wages in America he wanted to come. The motives prompting him were purely economic. He did not, as a rule, look upon America as a permanent home, but merely as a place where he could earn some money. He has come not only to America, but he has gone to other countries as well—in fact, wherever there has been a demand for labor. Recently South America has attracted him. The Italian has laid railroads in the United States, South America, Australia, and even in Siberia. He has dug canals, subways, and ditches; laid sewers; built streets. In fact, he has done all kinds of unskilled labor. But once having his pocket filled, he is quite ready to return to his native Italy and spend it all there.

While undoubtedly emigration has been a relief to Italy in that it has taken away her surplus population and sent back millions of dollars each year, it has not been the best method of solving her problem. While emigrants

have sent back from $30,000,000 to $80,000,000 each year, Italy has not been repaid for her loss in citizenship. Over 12,000,000 people have left Italy, one-third coming to the United States, one-third going to South America, and the rest to other countries. But these 12,000,000 have been Italy's sturdiest and best citizens. Many have returned physical wrecks, being worn out by the strenuous labor and unhealthful conditions, such as the rigor of our climate; many returned only to die. This situation has alarmed the Italian government, and it has recently taken steps to retard emigration. To solve the situation, Italy must educate her people so that they can be more productive and thus assist in solving their social problems.

In the United States the Italian usually goes first to the construction camps. When he becomes more prosperous he becomes an organ grinder or junk dealer or sets up a fruit stand. Economically he is prosperous; but he generally sends a large share of this prosperity back to Italy and later takes the remainder with him, for he usually returns. Socially, as we shall see later, the Italian is a problem, since he brings a lower standard of living with him. Yet without him it would have been very difficult to build our railroads, dig our subways, lay our sewers, and pave our streets. Economically he has been a boon to our capitalist, but a competitor to our native laborer. Undoubtedly he has lowered wages, or at least has kept them from advancing. Socially and morally he has been more of a detriment than a help. He has brought us such problems as the Black Hand. He lives in crowded sections of our cities when not in a construction camp, enduring conditions and living on wages that an American would not tolerate. He has a very high rate of illiteracy and does not readily become assimilated—at least not so readily as some other immigrants. This is largely owing to the lack of close contact with Americans, rather than to the quality of his mind, for the Italian is unusually quick of mind and keen of perception. He is also of a friendly and genial disposition, although revengeful. While personally by no means

a bad fellow, as a class the Italian immigrant has been a dangerous element in our population because of his competition with native labor, lack of education, and low standards of living and of morality.

Whether we receive many Italian immigrants in the future depends entirely upon the economic prosperity of Italy after the return of normal times. In some ways the war has helped Italy, in that it has given her the long-desired opportunity of developing industrially. In the past this has not been possible because of competition, especially from Germany. The war prevented the admission of German manufactured products, and with Allied encouragement many factories were built. If these continue to prosper and the movement grows, work can be furnished the returned soldiers. One great handicap will be the lack of coal, but this will be offset by an abundant labor supply. If industry is not thus built up, emigration will be renewed at an even greater rate than before the war, and if the United States could offer them economic inducements, such as high wages, we would be threatened with a return of the tide of Italian immigration, unless other countries should offer greater inducements. America, however, through its literacy tests and new laws regulating the proportion that each country shall send, is already providing a check to this menace.

The Slav.—The Slav is divided into eight different groups, as follows: (1) Polish, (2) Slovak, (3) Croatian and Slovenian, (4) Ruthenian or Rusniak, (5) Bohemian and Moravian, (6) Bulgarian and Montenegrin, (7) Russian, and (8) Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.[1] Each of these is distinct from the others but ordinarily undistinguished, because the average American is not familiar enough with European geography to know the exact location of all the countries and provinces from which these people come. Even our census bureau classifies them according to the nation from which they departed rather than according to the divisions of the

[1] Balch, Emily, *Our Slavic Fellow-citizens.*

Slavic race. Each group has its own customs and characteristics, and some groups are much more desirable than others. The Bohemians, for example, are much higher in culture and education than others, because of having lived in proximity to Germany; they also furnish a higher percentage of skilled laborers.

The languages spoken by the Slavs are almost as numerous as their political groups, there being at least six different tongues, to say nothing of dialects. They are as follows: (1) Russian, divided further into Great, Little, and White Russian; (2) Bulgarian; (3) Servo-Croatian; (4) Slovenian; (5) Polish; (6) Bohemian and Slovak. While having a general resemblance, they are distinct languages, rich in grammatical forms and combinations of consonants peculiar each to itself. This has added to the difficulties of our immigration officials.

In regard to physique the Slav is short, thick-set, stocky, and heavy in motion; he has a broad face, wide-set eyes, usually blue in color, a broad snub nose, and a lowering forehead. His disposition ranges from sullen to severe. He is characterized by a lack of aggressiveness and cohesion, although he makes a brave and fearless fighter when properly led. The Pole under Napoleon was a dreaded fighter, but when he meets the German warrior he is usually defeated because of the lack of organization.

The Slav, coming formerly from Asia, to-day comprises about one-fourth of the 400,000,000 population of Europe. Since settling in Europe he has lost much territory, for at one time he held half of Germany, and what was formerly Austria-Hungary.

The economic condition of Austria-Hungary before the war was very similar to that of Italy in respect to the use of antique methods. The land was held in strips, for when serfdom was abolished in 1848 it was so divided among the serfs that each could get a strip of meadow, a strip of upland, and a right to pasture land.

The political conditions in Austria-Hungary before the war were chaotic. Each division hated the other. They

had few things in common, having separate money, separate legislatures, and separate postal systems. They had a ruler in common—or rather, the Hungarians were under the Austrian emperor. At the beginning of the war many Slavic regiments went over in a body to the Russians, and the Austrian government had great difficulty in stopping desertions and compelling enlistments. In many cases, especially in Galatia, it resorted to stern methods, killing the inhabitants of entire villages or shooting entire regiments who would not obey orders. It is claimed that the twenty-fourth Bohemian regiment, consisting of 3000 men, was massacred in this manner, its officers turning the machine guns upon the soldiers when they refused to fight against the Serbians, and that only twenty-nine survived.

Yet the Slavs seldom hang together and are easily set into hostile camps, as was evidenced in the Second Balkan War, when Serbia, Greece, and Roumania turned upon Bulgaria, because Bulgaria took the lion's share of the spoils of the First Balkan War. This was probably the chief cause of Bulgaria's casting her lot with Germany—so as to fight Serbia again. This jealousy has thus far kept the Balkan states from uniting and forming a strong federation.

Social reforms are difficult with such people, for they are too ignorant to appreciate them. They look upon disease as being sent by God, and hold any attempt to check it cowardly because we are not willing to take what God sends. The social standing of the peasant is below that of the merchant but higher than that of the laborer. Every peasant has a fear of becoming a mere laborer—a possibility that has stared him in the face constantly because of the economic conditions. This fear has been one of the strongest incentives for emigration. Men have even borrowed money in order to come to America. The position of woman is very low; she is beaten by her husband; she is considered little better than a beast of burden, even at times helping to drag the plow. This attitude towards women is one thing to

which the American objects. Here the Slav finds himself in opposition to our methods of life.

Special causes of emigration have been heavy taxation, army service, political unrest, and oppression on the part of the government. Emigration has also been stimulated by the advertising of the agents of the steamship companies.

The immigrants from Russia have been mostly Jews, Poles, Finns, Lithuanians, and Germans, or in other words, the classes that have been persecuted or held down by the Russian government. Russia has for generations discriminated against the Jews because of their greater intelligence and prosperity. Since the conquest of Poland by Russia, Austria, and Germany, Poland has been oppressed, especially Russian Poland; therefore the Poles have migrated to obtain political liberty. The Finns are much superior to the Russians and rank one of the highest in literacy of all the nations of the world, far exceeding the United States. They are highly educated and industrious, but Russia gradually took away all liberties from Finland, including the right to their own language and educational system. It tried to Russianize them and subjected them to oppressive taxation. The Russians themselves have formed the smallest part of the Slavic group of our immigrants, for they, encouraged by their government, went to Siberia.

There are about 4,000,000 Slavs in the United States; they are largely in colonies where common labor is in demand, for example, in steel centers, such as Gary and Pittsburgh. The Polish populations of some of our cities are as follows: Chicago, 250,000; Buffalo, 70,000; Milwaukee, 65,000; Detroit, 50,000; Pittsburgh, 50,000; Cleveland, 30,000; Toledo, 14,000. There are 423,000 Slavs in Pennsylvania, 389,000 in Illinois, and 356,000 in New York.

The economic position of the Slav is generally that of a laborer, and if he is unskilled and cannot speak English his wages are low, ranging before the war from $1.35 to $1.65 a day. If skilled, he gets more, especially in the

steel mills. He tries to get the prevailing wage, but before he acquires our language and a knowledge of our customs he is unable to do it. The increase of immigration, especially of Slavs and Italians, has forced wages down, especially in the mines. A characteristic of the Slav is that he will accept dangerous and unhealthful work. In the mines he will work drifts that no one else will undertake on account of the danger; in the steel mills he endures long hours and hard labor.

The social and moral conditions found amongst the Slavs are bad. Few men brought their women at first, sending for them later. When a man sent for his wife, he generally rented or built a little shack of one or two rooms. Then he took in boarders and roomers, these often sleeping on the floor as thick as space would permit. Conditions for bringing up children were thereby made terrible. The Slav is a hard drinker, especially of spirits, and when drinking is very dangerous, being prone to fight and to commit murder. Because the Slavs huddle together in colonies they do not come into contact with our habits and customs, but maintain their old ones, sometimes even lowering their own standards of living in order to save as much money as possible. The housing conditions among the Slavs in the packing house districts of Chicago are among the worst in the city. There is little regard paid to sanitation and hygiene; their moral condition is also bad.

The greatest increase in Slavic immigration before the war was from the Hungarians, the number of whom was, in 1890, thirteen times the number in 1880; next came the Poles, the number of whom increased eight times; then the Lithuanians and Serbians. Bohemian immigration fell off. In recent years the immigration from the Balkan states has increased rapidly.

Whether we receive a large Slavic immigration in the future, or not, will depend upon the future prosperity of the Slavic states, especially the new ones formed by the Treaty of Versailles. If the new governments established in Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia,

Finland, and Russia succeed in obtaining for their peoples greater economic prosperity as well as better political privileges and social conditions, we can expect no great immigration from those countries. The same will be true with regard to Roumania and Bulgaria. If these governments fail, we may expect to see a return of the Slav in immigration, but present indications seem to point towards a decline, rather than an increase. In many districts, such as Poland, the population was so thinned out by the war that there will be no surplus population for years to come. Most of these Slavic states will begin their careers without the burden of heavy debts, because the new governments will not be obliged to assume the obligations of the older states; this will be a decided advantage. The enforcement of the literacy test will act still further to restrict Slavic immigration because a large percentage of Slavs are illiterate. If Slavic immigration does not return, the United States will be the gainer, for we have considered this class of immigration undesirable because of their low standards of living.

Other Nationalities—Greeks.—The Greeks have come to this country in considerable numbers in the past few years, although they have created no great social problem because of the smallness of the Greek population. They go mostly into such occupations as boot-blacking and restaurant keeping. Economically they are prosperous, the Greek bootblack having put the native American and colored bootblacks out of competition. In fact, that is characteristic of the Greek; he generally takes up some such minor occupation, systematizes it, and makes a good thing out of what some one else treated only as a by-product. One problem comes in with the bootblack business, however—that is child labor and the consequent failure to obey the school laws. A system almost like peonage is resorted to at times, boys being brought from Greece to work in the Greek shoe-shining parlors.

The war has undoubtedly given Greece greater opportunities; better economic openings will be offered the

Greek nearer home; hence there will be fewer inducements for him to come to America.

Armenians, Assyrians, and Syrians.—These three nationalities are grouped together because of their similarity, not only as regards racial stock and appearance, but also in regard to effect upon the United States. The Armenians have come to this country largely because of religious persecutions by the Turkish government; the first ones came at the suggestion of the Christian missionaries among them. Many had trades, such as baking, tailoring and shoemaking. The amount of money brought was small, being only twenty-three dollars per capita. The percentage of illiteracy was quite high, being 21.9 per cent for those over fourteen years of age. Some are highly educated merchants and are very desirable, but others are much less so. In Turkey the Armenians have been the traders, and because of their cleverness and ability to get the better of the slower-witted Turks they have been much hated. When they come to this country they generally settle in colonies in manufacturing centers.

The Assyrians and Syrians are much alike. They have come to this country to escape the persecution of the Turkish government, a persecution which has been little better than legalized robbery. They have furnished in recent years the majority of our pack peddlers. Many of these later settle down as small merchants.

The Armenian race barely escaped extermination during the war, and there are few of them left. Turkey is now being broken up and greater liberties and opportunities will be given Syria and Assyria, so we can expect to receive fewer of them in the future. On the whole this will not be regretted, for as a class these people have not been liked by the American people—largely because of their swarthy appearance—although they have not presented the problem that the Slav and Italian have given us.

Portuguese.—The Portuguese have settled largely in and around New Bedford, Massachusetts, and in the Hawaiian Islands, with a small settlement in California.

A Portuguese vessel was once wrecked near New Bedford; the sailors liked the place and established themselves there; from that the Portuguese immigration started. They work in the cotton mills of this and surrounding towns. They also go into market gardening, in which they are very successful, supplanting the native Americans, largely because of their ability to undersell them. They are very industrious but compel the whole family to work. To do this they take the children out of school as soon as the law permits, looking upon compulsory school attendance in much the same way as they would required military service. Their standards are lower than those of the native Americans but they quickly accumulate property, and it will be only a matter of a few generations till they form a sturdy part of our population. They are small in number, however, coming only to the regions indicated. Their landing in Hawaii was much the same as at New Bedford. Here they work on the plantations and, as in this country, become economically successful.

French Canadians.—The French Canadians come to us principally from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec. They go mainly to New England, where they work in the factories, and in doing so underbid all races. While the English, Scotch, and Welsh become our most desirable citizens, the French Canadians are among our least desirable, largely because they are degenerates. They became alienated from France and never have been assimilated by the English element in Canada. They have lived in the least productive parts of Canada and have become isolated and dropped backward in the scale of civilization. Because their birth rate is exceedingly high, they increase faster than almost any other element of our population.

They do not expect to remain permanently, and generally take for a dwelling any old shack that they can find. They have a strong tendency to send their children to work in the factories at as early an age as possible, evading the school laws whenever they can. Besides working

in the factories, the French Canadians go into the lumber camps, where they are skilled workmen, but are disliked here as strongly as elsewhere. They have a great fondness for alcohol, and drunkenness is common among them. When under the influence of liquor they are quarrelsome and dangerous, and they often treat their families brutally, beating their wives and children and sometimes turning them out of doors. While small in numbers they form a very undesirable element, but there is apparently no way to check their coming except through the literacy test, or percentage barrier.

Japanese.—Japanese immigration was insignificant until very recently; until 1891 it amounted to less than 1000 a year; but between 1891 and 1905, 95,000 had come in. The majority of these first settlers stopped in Hawaii. Census figures are inaccurate because so many Japanese have entered by way of Mexico and Canada. Their motive for coming is purely economic. Because of the overpopulation in Japan, wages there are very low. Nevertheless, because of their frugality they bring with them an average of forty-five dollars per capita. Their wages in this country are much lower than wages paid to white men, amounting before the war to from eighty-five to ninety cents a day in the beet fields. Because they do so much work for this small wage, they have aroused the hatred of the American worker, and have caused a general dislike of the Japanese.

Japanese immigrants become laborers, farm hands and servants. In California they have taken up market gardening and have been very successful. This was the reason for the alien land bill passed in California a few years ago. In that state they are disliked very much more than the Chinese because of their fearlessness and stubbornness. Unlike the Chinese they are not timid and will fight. While the percentage of illiteracy is fairly high, being 21.6 per cent, the Japanese have many admirable traits. They are law abiding, thrifty, clean, neat, quick, intelligent, and have a high respect for government.

The relationship between the United States and Japan has always been friendly. It was the United States that opened up Japan to the world—or rather it was the United States that first came along after Japan was ready to be opened up. The Japanese government has regretted the emigration to the United States and has tried to divert it to Korea, being fairly successful in the attempt. The government issues few passports to the United States, most of Japanese immigration coming to us by way of Hawaii. The effect of the war upon Japan has been to give that nation tremendous power in the East and to extend her influence over China. It is consequently to the interest of the Japanese government to keep her citizens in Asia, where she realizes her future sphere is to be.

In view of the delicate international situation, the United States has not attempted an exclusion act against the Japanese, but has made a "gentleman's agreement" with Japan looking to the same end.

Chinese.—The immigration of the Chinese loomed up as a serious problem before the exclusion acts in the 80's. These were carried out by means of treaty agreements with China, by which Chinese were debarred from entering this country, except for special purposes, such as studying in our schools. Because the Chinese do not intermarry with the Americans, and because not enough Chinese women are imported to keep up the population, the numbers are dying out or at least are kept down. The Chinese originally brought with them very low standards; they lived in hovels, ate poor food, used opium to a great extent, and were immoral in their habits; therefore they formed a very undesirable element. Others coming in more recently have been of higher type, and have become successful in all of our cities as laundrymen, restaurant keepers, and small merchants. While possibly unjust theoretically, the exclusion acts were probably justified on the grounds of social expediency. The Chinese were a serious menace to American labor, on account of their willingness to underbid the native worker,

and their ability to live on less due to their lower standard of living. It is not meant that the Chinese are the most inferior of races, or that as a race the Chinese are inferior to the Japanese, for the Chinese in many ways are able and vigorous. It was rather the class of the Chinese which we were receiving that caused the problem. We were receiving the coolie or laboring class and their vast numbers, combined with the ability of the Chinese coolie to live on less than the American laboring man, caused the worry and produced the opposition to Chinese immigration and the resulting treaties.

Mexican.—Another type of immigration which affects our Southwest is the Mexican. This problem is complicated because we have a Spanish-American citizen element in the Southwest, descending from earlier Spanish settlers. Many of these, although native-born American citizens, cannot speak the English language. This is particularly true of the women, for the majority of the men have been compelled by association to learn our language. Because of the lack of compulsory education, till very recent years many have never learned English. In addition to this native element in Southern California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, we have the constant migration to and from Mexico, many coming to the United States to work in our cotton fields, on our railroads, and in our construction camps. Until 1918 the number of recorded arrivals ranged between 10,000 and 20,000 a year, of whom about two-thirds were males. Since then the number of arrivals has begun to increase rapidly, reaching 52,361 in 1920. Offsetting this immigration there has been a constant emigration, which, however, fell off in 1920, amounting to only 6606 in that year. In 1920 the census gives 269,885 as the number of Mexicans in the United States.

The Mexicans are generally laborers and live by themselves in their sections of the towns. They are generally peaceful and law-abiding and are respected by many. They are innately polite, far exceeding the Americans in this respect. They are lacking in physical strength,

energy, initiative, and mental and moral vigor. They live on a lower plane—partly due to lower wages—than American laborers, and have different religious, educational, and moral standards. While many Americans respect them, others do not. Such sentiments, in fact depend largely upon locality and accompanying conditions. The problem is not serious, because most of Mexico is not thickly settled and laborers are in demand. If Mexico ever achieves a strong democratic form of government, this immigration may diminish.

Hindu.—The Hindu is an entirely new class which as yet is a very unimportant element in our immigrant stream. But if it increases in numbers it will be very serious, for the Hindu brings with him a low standard, lower in fact than that of the Chinese. He is also haughty, and considers his philosophy of life superior to ours. As yet few Hindus have come, but if they do increase, steps will have to be taken to stop them, possibly by means of a treaty with Great Britain—a treaty which undoubtedly could be easily negotiated. The Hindus have thus far gone more to Canada than to the United States, but in Canada they are as little desired as here; many having been refused admission.

Tides of Immigration.—As before noted, immigration has come to this country in waves, the waves following our periods of prosperity. The first big wave came in 1842, when the 100,000 mark was reached. Then because of the financial uncertainty of the next year and because of the political unrest owing to the Mexican War, immigration fell off. The next wave did not reach our shores till 1854, when 427,000 foreigners arrived. After the Civil War the wave did not return till 1882—when the country had recovered from the panic of 1873; but this time it reached 788,000. Thereafter the number decreased and did not reach the former level until the country had repaired the losses caused by the panic of 1893. It increased in the later 90's and reached its crest in 1907, just before the panic of that year, when 1,285,349 were received. The number of arrivals immediately fell off

but soon began again to increase until, in 1913 and 1914, the number had almost reached the high-water mark of 1907. With the beginning of the World War immigration immediately decreased, the tide turned in the opposite direction, for many aliens returned to fight in the European armies. The next year immigration had fallen to 326,700 or 26.8 per cent of that of the preceding year.

A Further Check on Immigration.—During the last years of the War immigration was negligible, but with the dawn of peace it set in again so strongly, in 1920 and 1921,[4] that our government was compelled to adopt new restrictive measures. These took the form of a law enacted in May, 1921, stating that "the number of aliens of any nationality who may be admitted under the immigration laws of the United States in any fiscal year shall be limited to three per centum of the number of foreign-born persons of such nationality resident in the United States as determined by the United States census of 1910." Under this law the quota for the fiscal year 1921–1922 (twelve months) was 355,825; and this was further divided into months of entry.

A Look Ahead.—No one can confidently predict what the future has in store for us in respect to immigration. If, as we have already stated, the Slavic countries of Middle Europe are able to establish sound economic, social and political conditions, we can expect this large source of past immigration to yield us few immigrants in the future. If France and England regain something of their former prosperity, we cannot look for an increase from that quarter. The neutral countries, especially the Scandinavian, will not be burdened with debt and will be able to find a ready market for their products; so we cannot look for a return of Scandinavian immigration. In Germany and Austria there may be a strong desire to escape the inevitable taxation and the economic depression; but on the other hand our country will be in no temper to receive such a migration, even though in the past we

[4] 1916, 298,826; 1917, 295,403; 1918, 110,618; 1919, 141,132; 1920, 430,001; 1921, 805,228.

considered the Teuton desirable. In all likelihood if such immigration begins, our government will take steps to end it, either by treaty or by direct legislative action. The situation in Turkey is very uncertain, but the oppressed races in that country will receive political and religious freedom and better social and economic conditions through the intervention of the European nations, hence we can expect fewer immigrants from that quarter. Russia and Italy are the uncertain elements; the results will depend upon their future prosperity. If Italy is unable to gain economic prosperity by the development of industry, her people will seek to escape poverty and the increased burden of taxation by migration. With Russia the situation will largely depend upon the success of that country's efforts to establish a stable democratic government. She has thrown off her old despotic government which in the past stood in the way of progress, but it is too early to predict what form of government will take its place.

The latest statistics available—from July 1, 1921, to March 1, 1922, show a decided change in immigration. During this period we received 226,841 immigrants and 152,649 emigrated. The chief reasons for the change are prohibition and unemployment; also Italian immigration has been restricted by the three per cent regulation, which has affected the Italians more than any other group. The following table indicates the arrivals and departures of the leading groups.

Group	Immigrant	Emigrant	Group	Immigrant	Emigrant
Italians	39,523	40,666	English	19,301	6,349
Polish	5,963	25,166	Irish	10,363	6,349
Other Slavs	24,396	27,718	Scandinavians...	9,789	2,888
Hebrews	41,689	516	Scotch	9,267	1,106
Germans	21,409	3,798	Mexicans	8,471	4,852

READING REFERENCES

Found at End of Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VII

IMMIGRATION (*Continued*)

Effect of Immigration Upon the Population of the United States.—Between the years 1909 and 1920 the net increase of foreign born was 4,485,000, or nearly 375,000 per annum. In 1920 there were 13,712,754 foreign-born persons in the United States—13 per cent of the total population of 105,710,620. But if we include those born here of foreign and mixed parentage, we find the number considerably greater, amounting in that year to 36,398,958, or 34.4 per cent. And we must consider those of foreign parentage, for very often, especially in our large cities, the children of the foreign-born create greater problems than do the immigrants themselves. Of course those of foreign birth or parentage are not evenly distributed over the country. The following percentages indicate principal area of distribution statistics for 1920:

States	*Percentage Foreign Born*	*Percentage Foreign and Mixed Parentage*
Rhode Island	28.7	69.5
Massachusetts	28.0	66.8
Connecticut	27.3	65.8
New York	26.8	62.6
New Jersey	25.4	62.4
Minnesota	20.4	64.8
North Dakota	20.3	66.7
California	19.9	46.3
Michigan	19.8	52.6
Illinois	18.6	49.8
Wisconsin	17.5	59.4
Montana	17.1	47.2

While nearly all the states that lead in the percentage of foreign-born are near the top in respect to foreign parentage, we notice a few leading in foreign parentage

that have an insignificant number of foreign-born, such as Michigan, Montana, and Utah, showing that immigrants are no longer drawn to those states. Practically all the recent immigration went to ten states. And if we examine the figures for 1920 for the ten leading cities of the United States, arranged in order of size, we shall see that they have received the majority of this immigration, almost in the order of their size. Here we shall find the ratio much the same in both columns.

City	*Percentage Foreign Born*	*Percentage Foreign and Mixed Parentage*
New York	35.4	76.4
Chicago	29.8	72.0
Philadelphia	19.8	54.2
Detroit	29.2	64.2
Cleveland	31.0	70.0
St. Louis	12.4	44.4
Boston	31.9	73.3
Baltimore	11.4	33.6
Pittsburgh	19.1	56.7
Los Angeles	19.4	43.8

A few of the smaller cities show even higher ratios than some of the above, such as:

Providence	32.6	72.5
Newark	28.2	68.4

New York is said to have the largest German population of any city in the world after Berlin; the largest Italian population after Naples; the largest Irish population with no exception; and by far the largest Jewish population.

Not only have our immigrants gone to certain localities, but each nationality has had its own particular place or places in which to settle. The Germans have had two favorite regions—New York and Pennsylvania in the East, and Wisconsin and Illinois in the West. Many have gone to other localities, but even there they generally have settled in colonies. The Scandinavians have gone to Minnesota and the Dakotas. The Italians have remained in the East, in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. In 1910 three-fourths, or

997,000 of the 1,343,000 immigrants born in Italy, were living in those states and in Illinois. While the Jews come from all countries and from all kinds of communities, they nearly always have gone to the cities, especially to New York; 93,000 out of 149,000 who came in 1907 settled in that state. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Illinois have received the Slavs in the order given. This flocking to our cities which were already overcrowded has been one of the serious aspects of immigration. If the newcomers had gone to the rural regions we could easily have absorbed them. In the large cities they live in the most thickly settled districts where they meet only those of their own nationality, or at best immigrants of other nationalities, and seldom come into close contact with the native American; so it is very difficult for us to assimilate them. This is especially true when there is little necessity or incentive for learning the English language—to say nothing of acquiring our customs and habits. Here also they easily have fallen below the poverty line and the more easily have sunk into vice and crime, especially in the second generation. The European immigrant has not gone to the South because of the competition of the Negro.

Effect of Immigration Upon Industry.—The bulk of our immigrants are unskilled laborers. Even if they had some degree of skill in their native country, that skill very often is of no avail to them here because of the different methods of production. Of the 857,721 immigrants coming in 1921, only 14,592 belonged to the professional classes, and only 131,774—or about 15 per cent—were skilled workmen. The percentage differs greatly, moreover, with the nationalities, many of the Jews and Bohemians being as well trained as those coming from the nations of northern Europe. But of the 242,000 coming from southern Italy in 1907, only 701 were skilled; of the 138,000 Poles only 273 had trades. This invasion furnished the capitalist with a large supply of cheap labor and consequently boomed industry, especially industries which need unskilled labor, such as the steel, woolen and

cotton mills. It made big corporations and trusts possible in such lines of industry. The railroads would have been handicapped without this mass of labor to draw upon. Many additions and improvements would not have been made, for native labor would have been too expensive. In short, immigration has been a boon to the capitalist and made it possible for him to pile up his millions. While the immigrant forms only one-seventh of our total population, he makes up one-half of the number of people engaged in manufacturing; one-fourth of those in transportation; one-fourth of those in mining, and one-fourth of those in domestic service.

Where the immigrant has entered an industry he has supplanted the native workers, but this has not been altogether bad, for it has forced the natives up in the scale. Then again the older races, as soon as they acquire American standards, are in turn forced out by later arrivals. Some illustrations of this are of interest. The manufacture of collars and cuffs was carried on formerly by the Irish; they were supplanted by the Poles, who in turn gave way to the Armenians. In the manufacture of woolens, worsteds, and underwear, the Irish and English were displaced by the Poles and Italians. In the production of cotton goods the English-speaking races were pushed aside by the Italians and Poles. In the manufacture of men's and women's clothing the Germans were supplanted by the Russians and Italians. In the paper industry the Germans, English, and Irish were eliminated by Russians and Poles. In the production of gas and electric fixtures the Italians and Russians supplanted the Germans. In the rope industry the Irish were pushed aside by the Swedes, who in turn gave way to the Italians. An especially good illustration of this process can be observed in the cotton textile industry of New England. This industry was begun by the sons and daughters of American families, direct descendants of the founders of this nation. Their places were taken by the Irish, but the Irish were forced to give way to the French Canadians. Now the French Canadians are

being forced out by the Portuguese, Greeks, Syrians, Poles and Italians. The tailors in New York formerly were English and Scotch, then Irish and Germans, next Russian Jews; but now the Jews are being driven out by the Italians. It is the same in Boston, only there the Portuguese take a hand. In Chicago the problem is very similar, except that the addition of Poles and Bohemians lends variety to the mixture. "As soon as a race rises in the scale of living, and through organization begins to demand higher wages and resist the pressure of long hours and overexertion, the employers substitute another race and the process is repeated."[1]

While immigration has helped to build up the United States industrially, it has brought about other conditions which are not so satisfactory. The large profits derived from these industries have not gone to pay higher wages, provide better dwellings for the workers, or even to provide better streets and other improvements for the manufacturing towns; instead they have gone into the pockets of the stockholders. They have gone to pay dividends on stock, much of which consists of water, and to pay large salaries to managers. President Wood of the American Woolen Company was said to be receiving a salary of $50,000 at the time of the Lawrence strike in the winter of 1911–12, at which time the average wage in his mills was under six dollars a week; some workers receiving as low as three dollars a week.

Effect of Immigration Upon Labor.—While immigration has been a distinct aid to the capitalist, it has been an equally distinct detriment to the laborer. The influx of such a great mass of labor, especially unskilled, in such a short time and in such limited districts, has upset the balance of supply and demand. Wages are fixed, not by the productivity of labor in actual life, but by the supply of labor coupled with its bargaining power. Productivity of labor only sets its upper limit, one above which wages cannot go; the actual wage paid is often far below it. Hence immigration has kept the wages of

[1] Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, p. 152, 1920.

American workmen from advancing as rapidly as they otherwise would have done, for, while the immigrant has come to this country to make a fortune, and wants the highest wage possible, he is not in a position to demand it. Wages are not paid according to the desire or need of the worker but rather to the contrary; if one needs a high wage, that need will count against one if he attempts to get it. One's necessity decreases one's power of resistance and lowers the bargaining position. The employer pays as small a wage as possible, and since the immigrant has little money and must take any work he can get, he cannot haggle over higher wages.

Immigrant labor is unorganized and is not able to present a solid front against capital; the immigrant bargains only as an individual. The employer does not care whether a certain man or some one else has the job; so there is no opportunity for argument—the immigrant has to take what is offered. Thus being ignorant not only of our customs, habits and language, but also of our prices, he thinks the wage offered to him the best obtainable. Because of his ignorance the more recent immigrant is hard to organize into the unions. Besides, as soon as one class or race reaches the state where they are able to organize, the employers see to it that their place is taken by newer arrivals. This has been satisfactory to the employer but not favorable to the worker, for it has kept wages down.

The same lack of funds that prevented advantageous bargaining in the city kept the immigrant from going to the rural districts, for he had no money with which to buy land or stock a farm. Then too the farmer, suspicious of him because of his difference in spech, habits, and customs, and disliking his unpresentable appearance, has not wanted him as a laborer. Hence he has been forced into the industries in the already overcrowded centers, where he is desired by the employer because of his willingness to be driven at a hard pace and his submission to longer hours than the American will tolerate. He will also do more dangerous work, especially in the

mines, entering dangerous drifts and working under conditions which his predecessor would not endure. This is especially true of the Slav. It is partially owing to his ignorance of the actual danger and of the fact that he is working longer hours than other people. In this way advantage is always taken of him by the employer.

It is sometimes given as an argument against immigration that the immigrants send vast quantities of money back to Europe. In 1907 they sent back $275,000,000. But we must recognize the fact that Europe produced these immigrants and that it would have cost us at least $1000 each to bring them to manhood. As we received that same year (1907) over a million and a quarter of immigrants, worth to America as economic machines at least $1,000,000,000, there was left to our credit a balance of $725,000,000—a very profitable account.

Social Effects of Immigration.—*Standard of Living.*—In our study of the different nationalities which make up our immigrant population we noticed that each nationality brought with it the standard of living of the country from which it came. This was particularly emphasized in regard to their ideas of wages and the necessities of life—in other words, their standards of income and expenditure. We found that the immigrant has been detrimental to the native American workman because he was able and willing to live on a lower economic plane. He has been contented with earning less and desirous of spending less. This standard of living applies not only to the quality of food, raiment, and shelter, but also to ethical and moral standards.

While the economic standard affects the whole of life to a greater or less degree, there are perhaps other standards fully as important. The immigrant brings with him different ideas in regard to woman's position. She is looked upon as an inferior, and among many races is treated merely as a drudge. This is particularly true of the Poles; their women expect to be beaten by their husbands; in fact, they sometimes consider it strange if their husbands do not beat them. After the newcomers

live in the United States some time they change their ideas, of course; but the Poles are constantly getting into trouble with the police for beating their wives. The Germans have a low estimate of woman, considering that it is her place to wait upon the man. The Italian treats his wife very well although he will allow her to work in the fields with him or to go into industry till the household finances improve; but as soon as this improvement takes place she leaves the field and factory.

The immigrant has different ideas likewise in regard to education. He looks upon compulsory education as a nuisance, and sends his children to school only when compelled to do so. He thinks of children not as liabilities but as assets, and generally regards education as a necessary evil because it reduces the immediate possible earnings of the family As soon as the child reaches the age limit for compulsory attendance, he is taken from school, seldom being left to finish the term. This desire to increase the earnings leads to child labor and fraudulent methods of obtaining working permits, and to other methods of dodging the school or child labor laws. The second generation, however, feels the need of an education. They generally see to it that their children attend school.

The immigrant, especially the French, German, and Russian, brings with him ideas of sexual morality that differ from the American point of view. Moral codes are not so strict in Europe as in the United States; there is, in many countries, state regulation of vice, and prostitution is looked upon as a profession which is strictly within the pale of the law. This has had a damaging effect upon our own standards. Our brothels have been filled to a great extent by immigrant women, of whom many have been imported for the purpose and others enticed or forced into them after arrival here. The immigrant woman is ignorant of our customs and is an easy victim. In Europe prostitutes are examined and to some extent remain free from disease, but in this country there has been no examination and because of this fact the immi-

grants scatter the venereal diseases more than they did in their native country. The immigrant has been compelled by economic conditions to live in close proximity to the redlight districts in our large cities, and has thus been exposed to greater temptation and has run a greater danger of contracting disease. The effect has been especially damaging upon the second generation.

Many of the immigrants have brought with them habits of drinking. The Irish have a fondness for whiskey, as have also the Poles. The growth of the brewing industry and the tremendous increase in beer drinking have been chiefly caused by German immigration. Among these peoples the saloon-keeper, in ante-prohibition days, held a position of social prestige, much the same as that held among the early Puritans by the tavern-keeper.

The matter of Sabbath observance offers another instance of difference in standards. The immigrant has come from a country where little observance of the Sabbath is practiced, and this fact has undoubtedly had a great deal to do with the decline in the observance of the Sabbath among us. Now what has been the result of thus bringing together peoples with two entirely different standards? While it has raised the standard of the immigrant and lifted the average, it has unquestionably lowered our own standard. Moreover, the immigrant has been thrown among the lowest classes of Americans, and thereby has not come into contact with our highest and best standards; so often our effect upon him has not been salutary.

Crime.—It is often stated that immigration has increased crime and has helped to fill our prisons and penitentiaries; but statistics do not prove this, at least not to a degree at all alarming. The Special Prison Census of 1904 shows that at that time 23.7 per cent of the male white prisoners in the United States were foreign-born and that 23 per cent of the general male white population over fifteen years of age were foreign-born. In 1910 the percentage of the male white prisoners was 22.3 while the percentage of our population had slightly increased. The percentage

of commitments was larger, amounting in 1910 to 26.1 of the male white prison population. The reason for this was the larger number of minor offenses, like drunkenness, or disorderly conduct, committed by the immigrant. When we consider that crime is committed by men in the prime of life, and that the immigrant is away from home, possibly completely separated from all home ties, and necessarily passing through a crisis in his life career, and that, in addition, he is thrown into our worst environment, we must admit that the showing is far from alarming. Statistics for those of foreign parentage are not so favorable, thus reflecting upon our influence upon the immigrant. Since the children of the immigrants are often reared in our worst slums under inadequate control of their parents, this condition can be easily explained. The parents are away working all day—the mother frequently as well as the father—and the children are left to shift for themselves. Even when the parents are at home, the children frequently look down upon them because of their ignorance and uncouth appearance. The children can speak English; the parents often never learn it; because of this difference the child is more advanced in many ways than the parent, and so instead of respecting the father and mother the child often despises them. Having as a consequence no guide in life, the child easily drifts into the habits of those around him.

Some races are much more addicted to crime than others. The Irish lead all nationalities. In 1910 they made up 10.1 per cent of the foreign-born population, yet they furnished 26.9 per cent of their crimes. These crimes were mostly of a petty nature, particularly drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The Italians, on the contrary, commit the serious offenses, leading all nationalities in assaults. In 1904, 14.4 per cent of the major offenders in the United States were Italians, while the Italians made up but 4.7 per cent of our population. In New York City 26.9 per cent of those convicted of crimes of personal violence in 1907-8 were Italians, yet the Italians made up only seven per cent of the population of the city.

The Black Hand is another serious problem with the Italians. Slavs, especially the Poles, are inclined to crimes of personal violence, particularly when under the influence of liquor. But after all, considering the facts that the immigrant is in a new country; that he is ignorant of the laws, which are different from the ones to which he has been accustomed; that he is cut loose from all home ties; and that he has an unequal chance in court, being before an unsympathetic judge and having little chance for defense, and so being more liable to conviction, it cannot be proved that the immigrant is criminal in tendency.

Illiteracy.—Immigration has contributed largely to the illiteracy situation in the United States, especially in the Northern states. Of the 4,931,905 illiterates in the United States in 1920, 1,242,572 were native whites, 1,763,740 were foreign-born, and 1,842,161 negroes. In the Southern states illiteracy is increased largely because of the negro, but in the North it is almost wholly caused by immigration, as shown in table on p. 117. According to the 1920 census, 11 per cent of the foreign-born white population in the United States, ten years of age or older, cannot speak English, as compared with 22.8 per cent in 1910. The more important reasons for the decrease are probably the result of our effort since the war to prepare immigrants for citizenship, and the effects of the literacy test in rejecting those least liable to learn our language. The largest percentage is found in Arizona, 51.9; Texas, 51.7; and New Mexico, 49.4, due to the proximity of Mexico.

The children of immigrants learn our language; the grandchildren of these immigrants are on a par with children of native ancestry. We find that where the percentage of illiteracy among immigrants is high, the amount of money brought in is low; in fact, if we inverted the above column we should have almost the proportionate standing in regard to economic conditions. We find illiteracy much greater among females than among males, owing to the position of woman in Europe. Women

ILLITERATES IN THE NATIVE WHITE, FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, AND NEGRO POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920

Division and State	Native White			Foreign-born White			Negro		
	Total	Illiterate		Total	Illiterate		Total	Illiterate	
		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent
Cont. U. S...	60,861,863	1,242,572	2.0	13,497,886	1,763,740	13.1	8,053,225	1,842,161	22.9
Geog. Div:									
New Eng..	4,032,543	26,944	0.7	1,843,028	257,207	14.0	65,271	4,607	7.1
Mid. Atl...	12,288,171	76,972	0.6	4,853,256	760,010	15.7	508,031	25,587	5.0
E. N. C...	13,489,259	117,183	0.9	3,183,790	342,832	10.8	440,129	32,052	7.3
W. N. C...	8,264,235	74,632	0.9	1,358,323	86,760	6.4	237,277	24,887	10.5
So. Atl....	6,968,881	356,785	5.1	311,385	339,757	12.8	3,221,694	812,842	25.2
E. S. C....	4,679,596	301,651	6.4	71,211	6,457	9.1	1,924,714	536,583	27.9
W. S. C...	5,678,412	234,429	4.1	430,053	128,725	29.9	1,587,020	402,233	25.3
Mountain.	2,031,346	40,860	2.0	436,304	55,422	12.7	27,741	1,457	5.3
Pacific....	3,429,420	13,116	0.4	1,010,536	86,570	8.6	41,348	1,913	4.6

acquire our language much more slowly than men, owing to the fact that men mingle more with Americans and are thus compelled to learn the language. This is noticed in the Southwest where most of the Mexican men can speak English—at least enough to be understood—and few women can either speak or understand any English. Illiteracy is really quite a serious problem, for it makes assimilation difficult. If an immigrant can read and write his own language it is much easier to learn our language; if he cannot, learning our language is a laborious, if not impossible, task. If an immigrant never learns to read or write English, the newspapers, magazines, and books never appeal to him; thus the channels of approach are nearly all closed and it is very difficult to teach such an immigrant our customs and habits, to say nothing of our ideals and standards of living. These are the reasons why a literacy test was so strongly urged and a law requiring it finally passed, in spite of the vetoes of our chief executives.

Poverty.—Since the immigrant comes to America in the prime of life, when he is at his greatest earning capacity, and since he is usually single, other things being equal we should expect few paupers among them. On the other hand, the immigrant is handicapped by ignorance, especially of our language, and so is often in need of temporary assistance. Because he is at the bottom of the ladder economically, if he fails to get work or loses his position after he gets one, he is in a bad condition and has to fall back upon public or private charity. If he has a family, he is badly handicapped, and even if he is working he finds it exceedingly difficult to support his family because of our high prices and because of the low wages which he, as a result of his ignorance and lack of skill, is forced to accept.

In 1907-8, according to the report of the Commissioner of Immigration, out of 288,395 inmates of our charitable institutions in the United States, 60,025 were foreign-born —about 21 per cent. Yet the foreign-born make up but 15 per cent of our population. In New York the per-

centage was not so high, being only 10.4 per cent for inmates of charitable institutions. These figures are not at all bad but they do not reveal the real problem by any means. Many of our immigrants, who never apply for public aid, are in desperate financial condition. Often their children are sent to school without any food, or at best with insufficient food to permit the carrying on of successful school work. It has been estimated at various times that from 25 per cent to 30 per cent of the school children in such cities as New York and Chicago have insufficient food to keep up vitality to a point that will enable them to do their school work in a satisfactory manner, and an undue percentage of these are children of the foreign-born. Often both parents are away working, and the child gets either no lunch or an insufficient one. This condition is more serious than adult poverty, for it means a stunted and degenerate second generation. It is like the problem of crime in one respect: it is the second generation that slumps. Being thrown upon the streets, the children lose their independence and do not have the energy and thrift of their parents; they feel less responsibility for making both ends meet. They also become stunted and degenerate physically because of their surroundings, the lack of nutritious food, the absence of fresh air, and the want of healthful conditions in general.

These conditions have been caused by the ignorance and poverty of their parents, who live in the worst tenements in the cities, shut their windows at night, and crowd together in an awful fashion. Since the second generation is physically unfit and lacking in moral stamina, it is quite ready to fall back upon charity. This is a problem that can be dealt with; it can be largely eliminated by proper building codes, which forbid the erection and use of tenements that do not allow fresh air, by proper inspection in regard to overcrowding, and by greater attention to the physical welfare of the children. Proper child-labor legislation and its enforcement will eliminate much of this trouble. A minimum wage

will enable the parents to earn more and thus provide better food, clothing and shelter. The condition that now exists is largely the fault of our civilization rather than that of the immigrant.

However, with the change in immigration from northern to southern Europe, we do find a difference in the attitude towards the receipt of help. We find that the Italians, especially those from southern Italy, and particularly those from Naples, expect help to a certain extent. They hear of our methods of dispensing charity and come here with an expectancy of receiving aid. Upon arrival they quickly learn of the institutions and associations that aid in poor relief. Whereas in former days the immigrants expected to carve out their destinies by their own efforts, the newer ones are not so strongly imbued with this sentiment. On the whole, the pauperism of the immigrant has been greatly exaggerated; but the poverty situation, bringing with it a degenerating effect upon the second generation, probably has been minimized.

Miscellaneous Social Effects.—The decay of religious sentiment with its resulting disregard for the Sabbath has already been mentioned. Another thing to be noticed is the change in the religious faith with the change of the source of immigration—from the Protestant to the Catholic. Our recent immigrants come almost entirely from Catholic countries. This in itself is no problem although we find the Catholic Church on the whole more conservative than the Protestant and opposing many of our reforms, particularly woman suffrage and prohibition. Its adherents have a much lower regard for woman than Protestants have. The Catholic Church as a rule encourages large families in order to increase the number of adherents; but generally these large families come in the classes that are least able to care for them and so tend to increase poverty. On the other hand the Catholic Church has a splendid organization for poor relief.

The problem of educating the immigrant has already been touched upon, especially the reluctance of immigrants to send their children to school, and their prac-

tice of taking their children from school as soon as the law will allow. Another phase of this problem is the difficulty of appealing to the child while he is in school. He is not familiar with our conditions, traditions and history; so the teacher finds great difficulty in linking the teachings of the school to the home life of the child. The teachers are usually women, and because the immigrant has a low regard for woman, the child of the immigrant has little respect for the teacher. On the whole, the immigrant child is a serious problem. The problem is further complicated by the fact that poor nutrition, insufficient clothing, and inadequate sanitation make the immigrant child unfit physically to respond to the efforts of the teacher.

Immigration has upset the proportion of the sexes. For a considerable number of years about two-thirds of the immigrants were males; in 1907 the proportion was 929,976 males to 355,373 females. More men than women return to Europe, and in 1920 there were 7,528,322 foreign-born white males as against 6,184,432 females. This has been the principal cause for the existing plurality of males in the United States, there being 106 males to 100 females in 1910 and 104 males to 100 females in 1920. We ordinarily look upon immigration as one of the principal causes for the increase of our population, but we should remember that the immigrant began to come in large numbers in the 40's, since which time the birth-rate of the native population has steadily declined. Some writers argue from this fact that if we had had no immigration our population would have increased just as rapidly, that the birth-rate of the native fell off in proportion to the immigration, and that as the native was forced to compete with the immigrant, the birth-rate fell off on that account.

On the other hand, the birth-rate might have diminished anyway and immigration may have been the means of keeping up the increase in our population. Some students go so far as to present statistics proving that the South has increased as rapidly without immigration as the North has with it; but because of errors in the statistics and

because other causes have been at work such comparisons are omitted here. Since immigration has forced the native up in the economic scale and since the upper classes usually have fewer children, immigration may have been a cause in the decline in the native birth-rate; but even if this is true the writer fails to see what loss the country has suffered. However this is all a matter of theory, and we have nothing definite to show that immigration has affected our birth-rate, although in all probability it has done so.

It is only natural that we should find immigration causing a social disturbance, for the introduction of any new element brings about maladjustments in any society; it is to be expected that difficulties of assimilation should be encountered. If immigration is well distributed, assimilation is accelerated; but if the immigrants settle in communities where they are more or less isolated and where they are not compelled to come into contact with the natives, assimilation is much more difficult and of course is greatly retarded.

Political Effects of Immigration.—The immigrant of yesterday has to a great extent become the citizen of to-day; the immigrant of to-day will to a great extent become the citizen of to-morrow. In 1920 of the 6,928,452 foreign-born white males twenty-one years of age and older 47.8 per cent were naturalized and 16.1 per cent had taken out their first papers. Of the 5,570,268 foreign-born white females of the same age 52 per cent were naturalized and 1.4 per cent had taken out first papers.[2] In the total white population twenty-one years of age or over 22.7 per cent were immigrants and 11.3 per cent naturalized immigrants in 1920. Thus in the white population of voting age there were 148 naturalized immi-

[2] The reason for the differences here is due to the ruling that the wife of a naturalized voter is also classed as naturalized, while the wife of one who has only taken out first papers is still classed as an alien. For an unmarried female the process of naturalization is the same as for a man. A widow or divorced wife retains the status of her former condition but if still an alien can become naturalized in the same manner as a man.

grants to every 1000 natives. The proportion of those becoming naturalized varies greatly according to the nationality, ranging from 74.4 per cent among the Welsh to 5.5 per cent among the Mexicans. For the five countries furnishing the largest number of immigrants, the percentages naturalized were as follows: Germany 73.6; Ireland 66.1; Russia 42.1; Italy 29.6; and Poland 28.9. In general all Northern European countries rank high, Slavic nations medium, and those from Southern Europe low. The danger lies in the fact that when the immigrant becomes a citizen, not having behind him the traditions of the native, he does not realize the value of the ballot. This, coupled with his ignorance of American political methods, makes him an easy mark for the ward politician and the party boss. He was in the past to a great extent under the control of the saloon-keeper.

The ballot too often is simply the means of adding to his income, as is expressed in a letter of the Italian writing to his friend in Palermo, referred to by Professor Ross:[3] "Come over here quick, Luigi, this is a wonderful country. You can do anything you want to, and besides they give you a vote you can get two dollars for." This is one reason why such political machines as Tammany in New York and Thompson's organization in Chicago are able to control the vote of the naturalized citizens and to swing this vote in any way they wish. While cities with a low percentage of immigrants have in many cases as corrupt governments as some which have a much higher percentage, the immigrant vote is not so intelligent as the native vote and therefore can be exploited more readily.

Some nationalities have a fondness for politics; this is especially true of the Irish, who are our leading politicians, and who swing the vote of their nationality almost as a body. For the past twenty-five or thirty years it has been almost impossible in Boston to elect a mayor or in fact almost any other official who was not Irish, or of Irish sympathies. The Poles in Chicago resemble the

[3] *Century Magazine*, January, 1914.

Irish in Boston in their political methods, though they are not so powerful. The immigrant does not concern himself much over our issues or principles, but votes rather for his friends; such machines as Tammany control him because they see to it that he is befriended when in need. While by no means alarming, the immigrant forms a somewhat dangerous element in politics.

Legislative Restrictions Upon Immigration.—Congress recognized no problem in immigration till 1875, although long before that time the public began to feel that there was a problem; legislation is always slower than public opinion. In 1875 Congress passed an act excluding women imported for immoral purposes, convicts, and contract laborers.

In 1882 the first general Act controlling immigration was passed. This Act ordered the exclusion of persons liable to become public charges, such as lunatics, idiots, and those without means of taking care of themselves. It imposed a fine upon any steamship company and captain importing such, and obligated the steamship company to give them free transportation back to the country of embarkation.

The Act of 1891 added to these classes those afflicted with loathsome or contagious diseases, polygamists, and anyone whose passage was paid by another, unless affirmatively shown that he was not otherwise objectionable. It prohibited the extensive advertising of the steamship companies, limiting the advertising to the publishing of the fares and the dates of sailing. This provision, however, has become a dead letter because of lack of any jurisdiction in foreign countries. This Act provided for the exclusion within one year of those immigrants who had entered unlawfully, and of those who had become public charges from causes operative prior to their landing. A head tax of fifty cents to pay for the expenses of inspection and relief of the immigrant upon landing was levied.

The Act of 1893, after providing for some administrative changes, increased the head tax to two dollars, and

added to the excluded lists procurers, anarchists, and those assisted by others than friends; and it extended the examination to cabin passengers. In 1897 this head tax was raised to four dollars.

The Act of 1903 was much broader. After reducing the head tax to two dollars, it reclassified the excluded classes as follows: (1) idiots, (2) insane, (3) epileptics, (4) persons who have been insane within five years prior to arrival, (5) persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any previous time, (6) paupers, (7) persons likely to become public charges, (8) professional beggars, (9) persons afflicted with a dangerous or loathsome disease, (10) persons convicted of some felony or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude (not including those convicted of purely political offenses), (11) polygamists, (12) anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence either of the government of the United States, or of all governments, or of all forms of law; or who favor the assassination of public officials; (13) prostitutes, (14) persons who procure or attempt to bring in prostitutes or women for purposes of prostitution, (15) those whose passage has been paid by others, unless it is affirmatively proved that they do not belong to any other of the excluded groups—or that they have been sent for by relatives or friends in this country. No mention was made of contract laborers because the Acts of 1885 and 1888 on this subject still held good.

In addition to this legislation the treaty arrangements with China during the 80's excluded Chinese immigration.

The Act of 1907 kept most of the features of the Act of 1903; it defined a little better the excluded classes, again raised the head tax to four dollars, and included the contract labor clause. It provided for the return of an alien within three years who was found in a house of prostitution or who engaged in prostitution as a business. It also provided a fine of $5,000, or five years' imprisonment, for bringing in women for prostitution; $1,000 fine for bringing in contract laborers; $1,000 fine

for attempting to procure admission for anyone who was subject to exclusion; $100 fine on the steamship company for every immigrant denied admission, and $300 fine on the steamship company for each excluded immigrant denied transportation back. It also contained elaborate specifications as to the system of inspection, examination and detention of those waiting special examinations, and adequate provisions for the deportation of those excluded later.

By the Act of February, 1917, the famous literacy test over which there has been so much contention was added to the qualifications for entrance into this country. This provision had been previously passed by Congress a number of times, but had met with presidential vetoes at the hands of Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson. After it had been vetoed twice by President Wilson, the necessary two-thirds vote was obtained in Congress and it became a law. This Act excludes from the United States all aliens over sixteen years of age who cannot read the English language or some other language or dialect. Provision is made, however, for the admission of an illiterate wife, father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, or unmarried or widowed daughter of an admissible alien. The father or grandfather must be at least fifty-five years of age, and otherwise admissible. While a literacy test will not exclude criminals or vicious persons, it is hoped that it will stop a large part of the undesirable immigration. It will be unjust at times and may keep from our shore many who would make desirable citizens, but on the whole it will keep away a far greater number who would make undesirable additions. Some minor provisions were also included in this Act.

The Act of May, 1921, restricting immigration in any given month or year to 3 per cent of the number of foreign-born residents of each nationality, as recorded by the census of 1910, is described on pages 127 and 130. This has proved the most effective method, thus far, of limiting actual numbers, though it is open to criticism as to the peoples themselves, who shall be admitted.

In addition to these restrictions, many laws have been passed, beginning as early as 1819, looking to protection of the immigrant, to prevention of overcrowding of vessels, to provision of sufficient air space and proper food, to protection against swindlers, etc. Some acts were even passed to encourage immigration. Not until 1882 did the Federal government assume control of immigration, it having been previously left to the state of entry. Until that time no state had passed laws against immigration because it was not previously considered really detrimental; many states had passed laws encouraging it.

The Sterling Bill.—This bill, introduced April 27, 1921, deserves special study, as it offers the most carefully thought out, concrete proposals for regulating immigration that have thus far been prepared. In Sec. 2 is the following declaration: "It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to admit annually only so many law-abiding immigrants of any national or racial group as may be capable of being so employed as not to endanger the normal American standards of living, labor and wages, and as may be also capable of becoming assimilated by communities of English-speaking type, and wholesomely incorporated into the body politic within a reasonable length of time, such capacity of employment and assimilation to be determined by the Immigration Board in the light of experience with other immigrants of the same or related national and racial groups."[1]

As a result of heavy fines assessed on steamship companies, the latter now hold examinations upon embarkation and as a result few applicants have recently been refused admission on this side. Some of the laws work injustice at times, especially the contract labor laws, which exclude the best as well as the poorest, for those holding good positions in Europe will not give them up until they are assured better positions here. This is especially true of opera singers, teachers and other professional peoples, and exceptions have to be made for them. But it still keeps out much skilled labor.

[1] See footnote under "excluded classes," page 130.

Proposed Legislation.—*Increase of the Head Tax.*—An increase in the amount of the head tax is generally condemned, for it would only be a means of making the new arrival poorer; it moreover would be a tax upon those least able to pay—a policy which is contrary to the present theory of taxation.

A Definite Amount of Money.—If each immigrant were required to possess a minimum amount of money upon arrival, it would tend to insure the newcomer against falling into immediate distress. It would make coming to this country more difficult, and so would be a check on the undesirable class. Yet wealth is never a test of desirability. Such a requirement could easily be evaded, for a friend would often lend the required amount. Yet if one had such credit it would denote character, since credit would not be extended to dishonest persons. Besides, all immigrants do not require the same amount, for those living with relatives and friends can more easily subsist and get work. On the whole, however, such a requirement would prevent much misery and distress.

Physical Test.—If a physical test is imposed it should be uniform in its requirements. But it would be difficult to set a standard that would suit the different races. It would require a great amount of work. It might, however, be much better than a financial test. At any rate it would help maintain the physical efficiency of our race.

Consular Inspection.—Several years ago a demand for consular inspection was very popular. Under this system there would be inspection on the other side carried on by the American consuls. There are several objections to such a plan. It would require a great increase in our consular service. It would result in a great rush just before the sailing of a vessel. It would necessitate the employing of many clerks, some of whom would likely be incompetent. There would be endless chance for graft. Moreover, consuls would not always be experts, such as we have at Ellis Island. In addition, there would have to be a second inspection at this end to see if the immigrants had consular certificates and to see if the consular

certificates were true or false. This would be a double expense. On the other hand, such a plan reveals distinct advantages. We have no way on this side of the ocean of looking up an immigrant's character, antecedents, or even criminal record. Such facts would be readily accessible to the consul. The scheme would add no new restrictions, and in many cases would save the prospective immigrant much trouble, time, and expense. At present, however, the steamship companies examine them so as not to bring any who would be liable to be rejected.

Mental Test.—Different sorts of mental tests have been recommended, but questions arise as to what tests would be used and how they could be put into practice. It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to get a fair test.

Require Certificates of Good Character.—A requirement of certificates of good character would only lead to fraud. Who has ever seen any person, no matter how disreputable or dishonest, who was not able to get a pocket full of such certificates? Frequently the more dishonest he is, the better the certificates are.

Discriminate Against Certain Nations.—It has been suggested that we exclude certain nations, such as the Italians, Russians and other Slavic nationalities, just as we did the Chinese. This plan would lead to international troubles. Unless such exclusion could be done by means of treaties with the countries that did not want their citizens to emigrate, it would be a bad international policy.

Add to the Excluded Classes.—We do not admit anarchists who believe in no government. Why not exclude socialists who believe in the government doing everything? One is at one extreme, the other at the opposite. This would never do, for the socialistic program is generally recognized as an advance on our own. We argue against socialism because of the inability to practice it, owing to the imperfections of man; but forbidding the socialist would be reactionary and a backward step.

Shall we exclude the unskilled laborer? But we often need him—in fact have needed him badly since the war—and he is often very desirable as a citizen. "Exclude the

'birds of passage.' '' But how are we going to determine how long a man intends to remain here, or how soon he is liable to change his mind? "Exclude those without families." But those without families are least liable to fall upon charity. They are thus better able to take care of themselves. "Exclude the aged." But there are very few of them and they generally have relatives to care for them. Then too the aged do not have small children dependent upon them, to suffer by their poverty if they fall into distress.[1]

Exclude All.—Total exclusion would be far too drastic. It would be entirely contrary to the spirit of the Constitution and the ideals of the nation, for we have always stood as the home of the free and the haven of the oppressed.

Compel Steamship Companies to Furnish Better Accommodations.—Ideally such a regulation seems good, but it would only increase the expenses of transportation and so would add to the burden of those coming.

Arguments for restriction rest upon the following considerations:

1. *Industrial.*—Whether or not we consider immigration a benefit here depends largely upon whether we are capitalists or laborers. From the standpoint of the employer of labor, immigration is a great benefit, for it furnishes an abundance of cheap labor, and labor which is easily controlled. This enables the development of great indus-

[1] The Immigration Restriction Law of May 19, 1921, operative until June 30, 1924, defines "alien" as any person not native born or naturalized, exclusive of Indians not taxed, and citizens of the islands under United States jurisdiction. It limits the number of aliens admissible to 3 per cent of the number of the particular nationality in each case resident in the United States as shown by the 1910 census. Exceptions are government employees, their families and servants, visitors for pleasure or business, others merely going through the country as a convenient route, one-year residents of Canada, Newfoundland, Cuba, Mexico, or Central or South American countries, and children (under eighteen) of United States citizens. Not more than 20 per cent of each nationality to be admitted in any one month. Preference to be given to relatives and fiancées of the United States citizens, of applicants for citizenship, and of persons eligible to citizenship by service in United States military or naval forces between April 6, 1917 and November 11, 1918, inclusive.

trial concerns and big business in general. It makes possible the development of new industries—industries which might not otherwise be built up. From the standpoint of labor, immigration is decidedly injurious, because it upsets the balance of supply and demand by increasing the supply of labor without a corresponding increase in the demand for it, and consequently keeps wages from increasing as rapidly as they otherwise would. It causes unemployment, resulting in poverty and suffering. When immigration was checked in 1915 by the World War, the unemployment problem in the United States ceased to exist, for as soon as business adjusted itself to new conditions there was practically no unemployment. All workers who were efficient and able were employed. While immigration usually has forced the native worker up in the industrial struggle, it has sometimes kept him down, that is, if he was unprepared to rise.

2. *Political.*—Whether the addition to our voting population will bring new blood into our political life, or whether it will form an element which will undermine our institutions, is the question from the political standpoint. The naturalized voter does not have back of him that which the native voter has and does not look upon the ballot in the same way; hence he is more easily controlled by corrupt party machines. This condition is the most serious in the larger cities, although probably not nearly so dangerous as it is sometimes pictured. Often coming from a country where he has had no experience in popular government, the immigrant is much less capable of using the ballot than the native, even if his ideals and motives be as high.

3. *Social.*—Socially the problem is whether immigration is detrimental to our social life—whether it adulterates our ideas of morality, increases crime, adds to the numbers of our dependent classes, and lowers our standard of living. The introduction of any new element necessarily causes confusion, and if the newer element is a decidedly lower one and insists on remaining compact, then the problem is complicated. Earlier immigration

was assimilated without much difficulty; but recent immigration has been entirely different. Then, too, our facilities for assimilation have changed; our cheap land is gone, and we are becoming an industrial rather than an agricultural country. To assimilate the new immigration requires hard work; the problem will not solve itself. The present problems are as much our making as that of the immigrant. When we realize this fact and set ourselves systematically to the task of making citizens out of the immigrants, then we can hope for better results. It will require the coöperation of our schools, churches, the Y. M. C. A., settlements, and in fact all our social organizations to achieve.

4. *Biological.*—Whether the infusion of new blood will be for the advantage or disadvantage of our race biologically is an unsettled question. A mongrel race is ordinarily considered superior to a thoroughbred race, provided, of course, that the mongrel race is made up of the best blood of the several races. If it is made up of the left-overs, of the degenerates of several races, then the result will be poorer than any of the races taken singly. Have we received the best blood or the poorest? If we get the best blood of Italy, Austria, and the Slavic countries, that best may be inferior to the blood of the American, which comes from the finest blood of northern Europe. So the intermingling of the races from southern Europe may be bad, even if we receive their strongest elements. The success of the American nation in the past has been due largely to the fact that we were made up of the strongest elements of the hardiest nations of Europe; and we are loath to lose this advantage by admitting to citizenship races that are inferior by reason of the fact that they have been crushed and down-trodden for centuries.

Future Policy.—The war caused many Americans to change their attitude towards immigration, at least there have developed a general awakening to the gravity of the problem and a desire for a policy of greater restriction of immigration. There has always been opposition to

immigration by individuals and classes, like the labor unions. Some have urged restriction from sound motives, such as the filling up of America and the taking up of our desirable land, but most of the opposition has been because of personal or class reasons, rather than because of the realization of any great national or social danger.

The war showed that our "melting pot" had not always produced the type of American citizens that we had imagined it was doing. When our draft law became operative we found thousands of men in our training camps who could neither read nor understand English and who knew nothing of American ideals. Not only did they not know the causes and objects of the war but many did not even know that there was a war. While our settlement workers and students of sociology knew that such conditions existed the general public was not aware of it. This caused many to think and to come to the conclusion that immigration must be further restricted. The physical examination of the drafted men revealed to us some startling physical defects and showed that immigration was having a bad effect upon the general physique of the nation.

In addition the war upset our economic and industrial organization and we found out that immigration only increased the problem. This was especially true in regard to unemployment. Since the war there have been from three to five million workers unemployed at times, and if we permit more laborers to come into the country they will merely add to the number of those out of work.

Not only are we interested in the quantity of immigration, but the quality is being more seriously considered. We have for some time recognized the general undesirability of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, but this is being more seriously considered since nearly all of the present immigrants are coming from those sections. After the war was over, immigration began again with a rush. Our Congress now realizes the seriousness of the problem, and we can expect to see more or less drastic restriction of immigration in the future.

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CHAPTER VIII

URBAN MIGRATION

A social phenomenon almost as old as the history of civilization itself is the movement of peoples from the country to the city. The first recorded ones were in the two great centers of civilization, the valleys of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates, in both of which sprang up cities of importance. Similar centers of population developed in the rich river valleys of India and China. These places were thickly settled because of their ability to support large populations. As a result of these populations trade and commerce and trade centers developed; these in turn drew still larger populations. But the city of ancient times was primarily a military stronghold or a place of worship, and therefore an elevated position or a place for some other reason difficult of access was chosen for the purpose of protection. Jerusalem, Athens, Tyre, and Rome are examples. If there were no such inaccessible place at hand, great walls were constructed for protection, as in the case of Babylon and Nineveh.

During the Middle Ages, under feudalism, when each baron held his land by force of arms, castles were built upon rocky heights. Armed bands defended these castles and over-awed the surrounding territory. Around them people settled for the sake of protection—other people than the knights, retainers, and vassals of the baron; as a result cities sprang up. Europe is full of such castles and cities. Also during the Middle Ages cities arose along trade routes, as on the Danube, for the purpose of commerce, which became trade and commercial centers. Such cities as Budapest, Vienna, Munich, Frankfort, Cologne, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Ghent, Hamburg, Bremen, and the Italian cities of Florence, Genoa, Pisa,

and Venice are of this type. The city of the modern type is chiefly an industrial or commercial center, which did not flourish to any appreciable extent until the industrial revolution. Thus the present-day city is a product of industrial development. The great cities of Europe have had their most rapid growth since the industrial revolution, although their history goes back many centuries before that time. The amount of such increase during the nineteenth century is shown by the following table:

City	*Population 1800*	*Population 1901*
London	864,000	4,536,000[1]
Paris	547,000	2,714,000
Berlin	172,000	1,888,000
Vienna	232,000	1,674,000

The great increase in urban population as compared with rural growth did not manifest itself so early in the United States as in Europe, because the United States remained longer an agricultural country. Towards the close of the nineteenth century we awoke to a realization of this tendency, and many students of the question have become alarmed over it; in fact, some even call it our most serious social problem to-day. This alarm over urban migration is by no means a new thing in history; it is merely new with us because we are a young nation. Xenophon in his time bewailed a similar movement and predicted calamity; Varro did the same; and at different times European statesmen, especially those of France, have been aroused by the same phenomenon. Yet the fact that similar movements and consequent fears have existed heretofore does not minimize the fact that this migration is a very serious matter for the United States.

In 1800 there were in the United States only six cities with a population of over 8000, and they contained only 4 per cent of the population of the country. In 1900 there were 547 such cities, and they contained 32.9 per cent of the country's population; and in 1920 the figures had increased to 924 and 43.8 per cent respectively.

[1] Greater London 6,581,000.

While the rural population increased only 5.8 per cent from 1900 to 1910, the urban population had increased 34.8 per cent.[2] According to the 1920 census, our cities are increasing in population seven and a half times as fast as the rural districts. The urban population increased at a rate of 25.2 per cent, while that of the rural districts was 3.4 per cent. More than one-half of our entire population (51.4 per cent of the 105,710,620 persons enumerated) live in towns and cities having a population of over 2500. One thing which adds to the seriousness of the problem is the fact that this increase is not distributed over the entire country, but is confined largely to a few sections of the country, especially the New England and Middle Atlantic states, which are already overcrowded, and the North Central states, which in the past have been chiefly agricultural—in fact, our leading agricultural states—but are now becoming urban.

The 1920 census revealed the following ratios of urban population: Rhode Island 97.5; Massachusetts 94.8; New York 82.7; and New Jersey 78.4. In comparison with these the most urban of European countries before the World War revealed the following: England and Wales 78.0; Scotland 77.0; Germany 57.4; France 41.0; and Holland 40.5.

We do not usually look upon the United States as thickly populated, and as a nation it is not; yet there are a few sections, such as Rhode Island, which are more thickly populated than almost any other political division in the world. In 1920 Rhode Island had 566.4 persons per square mile, Massachusetts followed with 479.2 and New Jersey with 420, while the District of Columbia had 7292.9. To get some idea of the growth of cities one has only to travel by train from Boston to Washington, D. C., by way of Providence, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, where for 500 miles there is a never-ending chain of cities; in fact, it is difficult at times to tell where one city ends and the next one begins.

[2] Places of 2500 or over are classed here by the United States Census Bureau as urban.

Between 1910 and 1920, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Mississippi, Missouri, Kansas, and Nevada actually decreased in rural population.

Causes of Urban Migration.—The following are perhaps the leading causes for urban migration:

1. *Rapid Industrial Growth of the Country.*—The modern city is largely the product of industry. The establishment of industries has created an increased demand for labor, and as a result laborers have flocked to the city. Not only are they offered higher money wages than are obtainable on the farm, but they are also promised work throughout the year, a thing which is almost impossible on the farm, because of the dependence of farm labor upon the seasons. Not only has this attraction enticed the farm hand from the farm, but to an even greater extent it has drawn the immigrant to the city. In the early history of our country the farm offered greater inducements to the immigrant, but with present high prices for land and intricate modern methods of farming, the immigrant can seldom go to the farm even if he so desires. While the farm may offer higher real wages and greater economic returns ultimately, it is difficult for the farm laborer or renter to realize this fact.

2. *Commercial Growth of the Country.*—Similar to the industrial development has been the commercial growth. Present methods of industry demand wholesale offices in our cities for selling the goods manufactured; they require also middlemen and retail establishments. The result is a demand for increased facilities for transportation; hence railway centers arise. There must be more salesmen, buyers, shipping clerks, railway employees—all the immense army of men and women employed in modern business. This demand has attracted the young and enterprising from the rural districts, not altogether because of higher money wages, but because of the hope of advancement and future success in business. Although the average person would probably do better in the small place, the few with marked ability have an opportunity

to rise to greater heights than would have been possible in any rural community. While there are more blanks in the lottery, the prizes are greater; while more people fail than in the country, they are forgotten or are obscured by the success of a few.

3. *Change in Agricultural Methods.*—As the demand for labor in the city has increased, the relative demand in the country has decreased. The invention of new machinery, especially modern gang plows, reapers, and binders, has enabled one person to do work which formerly took five or ten men. The demand for agricultural products has constantly increased, it is true, but not in proportion to the decrease in the demand for rural labor. This has caused the farm hand to migrate. No longer is there any cheap land, such as there was in early days of the country. Land has increased tremendously in value. Farm land in such states as Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri now costs from $100 to $200 an acre, and often more. This, coupled with the increased cost of machinery, horses, and cattle, requires a capital of several thousands of dollars in order to start farming successfully. Even if credit be obtainable, interest rates bring in an overhead charge of several hundred dollars a year. This situation not only prevents immigrants and other laborers from going to the farm; it even drives the farmer's sons away from the farm. If the son is enterprising and independent, and desires to marry and settle down, he does not care to wait until his father dies and the old farm comes to him, or (if there are several sons) is divided up. Also he may not only dislike to remain at home but may even be crowded out because of a large family.

On account of these conditions and the lessening demand for labor upon the farm, many workers migrate who would be willing to remain upon the farm, if opportunities were equal. The fact that a decreasing proportion of our population is needed upon the farm is not so serious in itself, unless the decrease be too rapid. The seriousness comes from the fact that the most enterpris-

ing and independent are the ones who migrate, thus leaving the less energetic upon the farm.

4. *The City Is More Alluring.*—Not only from economic but from social reasons the city is more attractive; in fact, if the question should be carefully analyzed, it might be shown that social reasons are more important than economic ones. Among these may be mentioned:

(1) Excitement.—The spirit of adventure draws the youth to the city in much the same manner that the frontier attracted the venturesome and daring in our pioneer days. Then people left the settlements to seek fortunes across the Appalachians, regardless of the dangers from wild beasts and Indians and of the hardships to be endured. In a like way the city attracts the same element to-day. The noise and bustle are alluring; there are more things to be seen and heard. Life is not so dull and monotonous as in the country. The loneliness and isolation are supplanted by stir and excitement. While life is harder in the city, and a living more difficult to wrest from society than in the country, opportunities for advancement are more frequent if one is alert, and enthusiasm and hope drive one on to greater efforts.

(2) Recreation.—In former days rural communities had recreational opportunities, such as husking, paring, and quilting bees, log-rollings, house-raisings, spelling contests, picnics, and parties; but unfortunately as these entertainments became things of the past little was introduced to take their places. On the other hand, the city has furnished a never-ending series of amusements in the way of baseball games, theaters, parks, museums, prize-fights, wrestling matches, bowling, pool halls, electric parks, and more recently moving picture shows. In this way life in the city is more alluring than in the country. The modern generation demands recreation, and it is only natural that the city should attract by these recreations.

(3) Intellectual Advantages.—The city offers better schools, more of them, and a greater variety of training. It offers greater advantages in the way of libraries,

although exceptions should possibly be made of the New England states, where every little town has a public library of some kind, generally containing the world's best literature. Art galleries and natural history museums are found only in large places. While magazines and newspapers are obtainable in most rural places, they are not so available in the country as in the city. The city pulpits are better supplied than country churches because they can command the best talent. This does not seem to exert a corresponding influence, however, because city churches draw a smaller proportion of the population than do country churches.

(4) Superior Comforts.—Many comforts are available to a much greater extent in the city, such as steam heat, electricity, gas, and facilities for shopping. These are especially attractive to farmers who have made a fortune sufficient to enable them to retire, and they appeal to the younger generation, especially to those who have traveled about somewhat or have been to college. The city also offers more attractive conditions of labor to both men and women. The housewife has less work to do, and the man's working day is several hours shorter than in the country, thus giving more time for recreation and amusement.

(5) Class Consciousness.—There has always been a line of discrimination drawn between the city dwellers and those who live in the country. The farmer is more or less looked down upon as uncouth and ignorant (at least it has been so in the past). The city person sneers at the small town inhabitant; this is shown in our urban newspapers and our magazines. Our educational training fits especially for city life, rather than for country life—so much so, that it educates away from the farm. We are now trying to remedy this defect, but in the past as soon as a person received an education he generally migrated to the city, because he considered that he had outgrown his former class.

(6) All Activities Center About the City.—Not only do industry, commerce, and education center about the large

city, but all our activities are becoming more and more centralized. Our colleges are being established in large centers, magazines are published there, and even agricultural societies generally have their central offices located in some large city. The city is like a whirlpool or maelstrom around which our whole life whirls, and because of this force of attraction the city draws, or has drawn, the most efficient, active, and energetic from the country. The whole process is simply the evidence of a tendency of modern times.

Forces Operating Against This Migration.—Against these forces counterbalancing forces are beginning to operate. The automobile is doing wonders toward making farm life more attractive and putting it into closer touch with the rest of the world. The rural free delivery of mail, parcels post, and rural telephones have all done their share in this direction, but the automobile possibly surpasses them all. Good roads are being built in all sections of the country, largely as a result of the coming of the automobile. As we shall see later, better school buildings are being constructed, and more useful methods of instruction introduced. The recently established system of government rural credits promises much in the way of enabling young men to get started in farming.

Probably the greatest force of all is the increased prosperity of the farmer during the past few years. Prices obtained for farm products are higher than formerly, and give every indication of maintaining a higher level than in the past. With the increased crowding of cities such a fact would seem inevitable. All this means more money for the farmer, and consequently promises greater comforts, more labor-saving machinery, more books, magazines, automobiles, phonographs, pianos, better education for his children, and more of the luxuries of life. During the past few years many farmers have prospered enormously; in fact, to-day the farmer is among the best situated individuals in society, and the future bids fair to do even better by him than the past.

Our agricultural colleges and experiment stations have

done much in instructing farmers how to get the largest returns from their farms. Co-operation is the greatest hope of the future in winning a larger share of return to the producer. Co-operative methods have been successful in parts of Europe in the marketing of farm products, especially butter, bacon, cheese, and eggs. In Denmark co-operation has turned a poor country into one of the most prosperous lands in the world. The idea is being introduced into the United States and wherever tried among farmers for the marketing of products has almost invariably met with splendid success. This is particularly true in regard to the managing of grain elevators, the selling of milk and creamery products, and the marketing of fruits (as illustrated by the California Fruit Growers' Association). As a result, co-operation is now being rapidly adopted in the marketing of all manner of farm products. This, coupled with scientific farming, will make the farmer financially prosperous and as a result many of the causes of urban migration will disappear.

Farming is no longer looked upon as a haphazard business, in which any person, no matter whether he has the ability to do anything else or not, can succeed. Instead, it is being considered as a business which requires modern business methods and scientific management, and these methods are being applied. The farm is regarded no longer as a place for the ne'er-do-wells but for the most energetic and enterprising, and it is attracting the latter class because of the chance it offers of increased prosperity. The ideal condition has not been reached by any means, and there are still many unsolved problems. Some of them we shall now consider.

Problems of the Country.—Rural problems are not so sensational and appealing as are the problems which we find in cities, such as child labor and immorality. Conditions are not so bad as in our city slums. We find in the country no tenement houses, sweatshops, or bad sanitary conditions. Poverty, while often present, never has the pitiful features of poverty in cities for the simple

reason that the farmer produces his own food and hence generally has sufficient to prevent hunger. Fuel is usually obtainable, and few suffer from cold. The spirit of neighborliness has not disappeared in rural sections and the needy are cared for. In the city unemployment means destitution because the income stops. In the country one is ordinarily his own employer; even if one is dependent upon daily labor, suffering is never as keen. Crime is infrequent in the country because of lack of temptation or opportunity to commit it. If a person does commit a crime he generally goes to the city to avoid detection. While the small town produces its full share of the vicious and criminal, these people often do not remain there, although some small towns can be found which are veritable hot-beds of vice and crime.

On the whole the country is more healthful, but it is by no means as healthful as it should be. The country should—and could—be the most attractive place in which to live, not only the most healthful and most profitable, but also the pleasantest and most comfortable; unfortunately it often falls far short of this. The sins of the country are ones of omission, rather than of commission. The farmer is essentially a middle-class person, if we can safely assign any social group to such a class. We should not expect him to be as polished in manners, as neat in dress, as careful about his language, or as highly educated, as the lawyer or banker, for illustration; but he often falls below middle-class standards. The rural problem is by no means a matter of charity, but of education, of thought stimulation. A few phases of it, however, demand our attention.

1. *The Country School.*—In general, country schools are not the equal of town schools. Not only is the equipment poorer but the teachers are frequently inexperienced or poorly trained for their work. They receive poor pay, often very insignificant salaries, which of course do not attract those who are capable; hence country schools are usually taught by those lacking experience or by those unable to obtain positions in town schools. While the

school buildings are adequate in many cases they are far too often dilapidated or poorly planned in regard to ventilation, lighting, and sanitation. On the average, school terms are shorter than terms in cities. One of the most serious defects is the overloading of the country teacher with classes. He or she may be given all the grades, and so is unable to give proper attention to any of them.

There are frequently too few students in the school to give the proper stimulation and rivalry, especially in the upper classes, which sometimes contain only one or two students. There are many rural schools with too few pupils to provide any sort of give-and-take among them or to permit organized play of any kind. Consolidation of these smaller schools offers a solution for many of these evils, by making possible larger classes, and more and better teachers. It does not solve all the difficulties, but if properly handled goes a long way towards the solution of some. The old-time country school, however, is a thing of the past, because the conditions of the past will not return; the country school of the future must meet the conditions of to-morrow.

In the past the schoolhouse served as a social center, but it has not been so used of recent years. The old entertainments have been outgrown and few new ones have taken their place. The school plant should be used as a social center, where entertainments, such as moving picture shows, fairs, and track meets can be held, and where clubs can meet; in this way country life may be made more interesting and helpful.

The curriculum of the school does not always give the rural student the proper training needed for life, as it is too often designed to fit for the high school, which in turn fits for college; thus the child is educated away from the farm instead of for the farm. The study of scientific agriculture has been introduced into rural schools, but because of inexperienced teachers this subject is generally poorly taught. Agricultural high schools are now being introduced, but are few in number. Their

aim is to prepare students who intend to follow farming for their lifework, and to give them such other training as will be of use to them in after life. The education furnished by our agricultural colleges is steadily improving and is being taken advantage of more and more. It is doing the farmer a great service.

In fine, the country school is slowly being improved, but before it can be made what it should be, there is need of an entire change of sentiment in most communities in regard to the importance of education for the farmer. A strong desire to improve all such facilities must be created.

2. *The Country Church.*—The country church does not play the part in the life of the rural community that it formerly did. Like the rural school, it has not adapted itself to new conditions. It has been hard hit by the migration to the city of the most enterprising, as it has thus lost its leaders. Salaries are low and ministers are poor, being either theological students or old, broken-down ministers; of course, neither kind is able to stimulate the community and inject new life into it. Generally rural communities are over-supplied as to buildings and church organizations, but the churches are starved as to attendance and contributions. Many argue that there is as great a need of consolidation of churches as of schools, but attempts at reform of this kind have not met with the success that has attended such moves toward school consolidation, largely because of denominational loyalty. There have been some successes in this line, however, and greater progress can be expected.

The country church is not the social center that it ought to be. In order to take the place which it should hold in the community, it must attain to more importance in the social life of the community. This is being done in a few neighborhoods but needs extension in order to permit it to function as it should. In many ways the church is much better fitted for this work than the school, although in other respects it is handicapped. The country church needs better pastors, and in order to attract

them it must be willing to pay salaries sufficient to guarantee a living wage for a competent pastor located in the community, and not depend upon students to supply one or two Sundays in the month. What the country church needs is new life. With the most energetic people going to the city it is difficult to give it this life. But with the return of prosperity to the farm, this may become easier.

3. *Recreation.*—The lack of recreation is a serious matter for the country and an important cause of urban migration. When the sports and entertainments of colonial and pioneer days were outgrown, new ones did not come to take their place, at least not in sufficient measure to fill the need. Consequently, country life has too frequently become dull and uninteresting; it has degenerated into either dull drudgery or a sordid race for wealth. This condition has had a depressing effect upon the younger generation and as a result the best have too frequently left the farm. The country Y. M. C. A. and the Camp Fire organizations are doing much to meet this need. The automobile enables people to get away from home but too often makes them prefer to remain in the city for social life and entertainment. As suggested before, the parcels post, telephone, and rural free delivery of mail are making country life less isolated and lonesome. Rural social centers probably offer the best remedy for this situation, and with increased financial prosperity the country will provide these and other recreational facilities.

4. *Wasteful Methods.*—One of the greatest detriments to farming to-day is the lack of application of business methods. There is a tremendous waste and leakage. The farm is not made to contribute by any means what it is capable of doing. Yields per acre for all sections of the country are far below what they should be, largely because of the failure on the part of farmers to make use of modern methods of agriculture. Farmers are, however, losing their distrust of "new-fangled" methods and "book farming," and are learning that agricultural

colleges and experiment stations are able to give them much help. Lecturers and exhibition trains sent out by the government are now taken advantage of by the farmers, whereas at first they were scoffed at. As has been suggested, the farmer in the past failed to realize from his farm products as he should have realized, because middlemen took too large a share. Now by means of organization he is rapidly learning to get his share and to reduce the middlemen's profits to their proper amount. But wasteful methods are still found upon the farm. One has only to travel through almost any farming section to see valuable farm machinery rusting in the fields, expensive binders, mowing machines, and plows being left where they were last used. This is pure waste, and somebody has to pay for this added cost of farming.

American farmers are criticized for allowing land to go to waste by never cultivating corners and by using unproductively large amounts of land. This is largely owing to the fact that the average farmer, especially in the western states, has more land than he can effectively farm. We cannot blame him for buying up all the land that he can, because of the probability of its increasing in value and the profit resulting on his investment, but from a national standpoint the practice is wasteful. From time to time we hear a great deal about tenant farmers, absentee owners who rent their farms, and the fact that renters, having no permanent interest in the farm, allow it to run down, and follow the so-called "skinning" method, thus ruining the soil and robbing it of its natural richness. Much of our soil, especially in the East, has been worn out in the past by just such methods, but farmers are now generally becoming acquainted with methods of replenishing the needed elements in the soil by proper rotation of crops and the use of fertilizers. Renters, however, will not use these methods unless compelled to do so; neither will shiftless and shortsighted farmers. This phase of the problem is possibly receiving more attention than many others and, because it seriously affects the pocketbook of the owner, has caused him to

pay attention to it. Our farming in the past has been too extensive; it will be only a question of time until more intensive methods must be used, in order that this country may support the population which it is destined to have within a few decades. The problem of waste is one which only education can solve.

Other phases of the rural problem might be mentioned, but these just discussed are probably the most serious. The whole problem is one of isolation, as contrasted with the problem of congestion, which is peculiarly that of the city. While city problems have been before us for decades, in fact some of them for centuries, the rural problem is one that has attracted our attention only recently, and therefore has not had the remedial measures applied to it that have been administered to the problem of the city. Despite its gravity, because of lack of attention, it will in all probability more easily lend itself to solution. But at present it cannot be ignored.

Problems of the City.—Migration to the city has caused a problem in the country by reason of the loss of the most energetic, and at the same time has created in the city a problem of congestion. This migration from rural districts to the city has been supplemented, as we have seen, by the tide of immigration, in addition to the natural growth in population of the city itself. Gillette estimates the growth in population of American cities according to cause as follows: to immigration, 41 per cent; to rural migration, 29.8 per cent; to natural increase, 21.6 per cent; to the incorporation of new territory, 7.6 per cent.[3] This congestion of population has brought in many problems, many of which are just the opposite of those found in rural districts. Some of them are the following:

1. *Transportation.*—Even the use of city streets has become a problem. Traffic regulations are necessary, not only at street corners in the directing of traffic, but also in the use of certain streets for surface cars, and prohibition of the use of certain vehicles on certain streets, and in

[3] Gillette, John M., *Constructive Rural Sociology*, p. 86.

some of our older cities, such as Boston, the designation of some streets as "one way" streets. The transportation of people to and from work, as well as the handling of shopping crowds, is a tremendous problem, entirely too large in most of our great cities for the street railway systems to handle, and requires the addition of elevated or subway lines, to say nothing of the use of suburban trains on the steam lines, which in many places, especially Boston, handle a large share of the business. Other phases of the transportation problem are the need of both passenger and freight terminals, costing vast sums because of the value of city real estate. The Grand Central and Pennsylvania passenger stations in New York City with their approaches cost the New York Central and Pennsylvania systems over $250,000,000. While these are our most expensive stations, the establishment of proper terminals in all cities is a problem involving tremendous expense and much engineering skill. Because of their monopoly of the business, street railways bring in problems in regard to the granting of franchises, and their regulation and control, for the sake of proper public service. This problem of transportation leads to many other problems, such as high rent and bad housing conditions.

2. *Municipal Government.*—The government of cities is a difficult problem. In the past, many of our American cities have been conspicuous for their failings—to such an extent indeed that American municipal government is often referred to as one of the worst forms of government to be found in civilized nations. City government in this country has been notorious for its graft; in fact, it has been so bad in most cities that many voters have given up in disgust and look upon any change in administration as simply the pushing out of one band of grafters by another fully as bad. Many cities are remedying this situation by the adoption of the commission form of government, thereby centralizing responsibility, the lack of which is a great weakness in most city governments. City managers are also being introduced, espe-

cially in the smaller cities, in order to install business methods in city affairs. Both of these plans have improved the situation, but there is still room for improvement. The greater use of civil service rules often helps, although recently a city administration in Chicago ignored those holding office under the civil service laws and deposed them, in order to make room for friends and followers. The government of cities at best is a difficult problem, even when the administration attempts really to serve the people, but when politicians make use of their offices for their own benefit, the difficulty is greatly intensified; hence our failure in the past.

3. *Health.*—Formerly the death rate of cities was extremely high, and while this condition has been improved, on the average it is still above that of rural communities. The congestion of population naturally increases the liability to contagious diseases, especially in the public schools. The danger from accident is greater because of the rush and bustle of city life. The care of the sick and injured is a large task and requires more attention than in the country. Private hospitals are unable to deal with the problem because of the poverty of many people; private medical care has to be supplemented by municipal hospitals and dispensaries, by the institution of visiting nurses and medical inspection in school, and by the establishment of free clinics.

Purity of food supplies is a greater health problem than in the country, especially in regard to milk and vegetables, because nearly all the food consumed in cities must be imported from the country and requires careful inspection both as to packing and transportation, and its sale. This matter has been given widespread attention and in many places is very effectively handled. The water supply is also a matter for serious consideration, the water often being brought hundreds of miles at the cost of millions of dollars. Unless a pure source is tapped, the drinking water has to be filtered by the city—a process which is both difficult and expensive.

The disposal of wastes, especially garbage, street sweepings and sewage, is a problem, at times baffling experts because of the location of the city. The cleaning of the streets is also a job which requires much expense and constant work. The whole question of sanitation for a city is a mammoth one, but fortunately one which is being given a great deal of attention. Nothing is overlooked. Pests such as flies, mosquitoes, and rats attract the attention of boards of health.

Because of the scarcity of land there has been a premium upon housing space; hence there has crept into our cities extremely unsanitary and unhealthful tenements, particularly those of the old "dumb-bell" type. Modern building codes, when properly enforced, protect the city against this evil. The city is troubled with many unhealthful occupations and unwholesome working conditions, which are constant menaces to the health of the dwellers in all our cities. The whole health situation in a city is a grave one, but during the past few years a great deal of attention has been paid to it and it will have still more in the future. Even now in some respects the city is more healthful than the country because of this careful oversight.

4. *Protection.*—As we shall see in our study of social maladjustment, crime and vice, like poverty, are more prevalent in cities, because of greater opportunity and temptation. Therefore more careful protection both of lives and of property on the part of police is demanded. Our city police forces are generally so huge, and brought into such close contact with crime and politics, that they themselves very frequently become corrupt and inefficient. But the very organization of police forces is a big task. Protection must be given the public on every street corner by traffic policemen; criminals must be run down; and the public in general must be protected and aided. The danger from fire is great and all of our cities have expensive and more or less efficient fire departments. The labor problem is more difficult in the city than in the country and often property and lives have to be pro-

tected from violence in times of labor disturbance involving public service corporations, such as street railways. Vice in a regrettable amount exists in every city. Intemperance used to be greater in cities, and the regulation of the liquor business was always difficult and a source of much crime, poverty, and corruption. Even the administration of justice is hindered because of the number of cases requiring special courts, such as juvenile and domestic relations courts. City jails are also necessary to house those convicted of minor crimes. It is by no means a small undertaking to protect the lives, property, health, and morals of the inhabitants of a large city.

5. *Education.*—The city as well as the country has its educational problem, only it is complicated by having too many children to care for, rather than too few. The number is often so great that the capacity of school buildings is inadequate; it increases faster than the city is able to provide facilities for accommodating the children. Sometimes half-day sessions are necessary. The Gary system of rotation of classes, thus making use of all the school facilities all the time, is the best method devised thus far for handling the situation. An attendant evil has been the development of too much machinery and too arbitrary a system of education, putting thereby all sorts of children through the same process. A remedy is found in a variety of special classes, such as classes for the dull, the precocious, the truant, and the physically defective. The school system has seldom fitted the student for his future work, but now special schools, particularly trade schools, are established in order to add to their usefulness. It is an arduous undertaking to run the schools of any large city, to hire efficient teachers, maintain discipline, provide proper equipment, supervise sanitation, and to do all this upon the amount of money appropriated by the city. Such difficulties are by no means insurmountable; in fact, they are usually handled with some degree of efficiency; they are, however, problems which will never be completely solved, because new

conditions will constantly arise. Hence the educational phase of any growing city will always require attention.

6. *Recreation.*—The city also has its recreation problem; it is not so much the lack of means of recreation, as in the country, but the placing within the reach of all opportunities for healthful recreation and wholesome pleasure. It means the control and regulation of the commercialized forms of amusement, such as theaters, dance halls, pool rooms, and bowling alleys; the construction of suitable playgrounds for the children of the crowded districts; and the providing of public parks, art galleries, bathing beaches, public baths, and social centers. The problem is two-fold—to eliminate questionable and degrading sorts of recreation, and to stimulate and provide opportunities for healthful and uplifting forms. It is a question of quality rather than of quantity.

7. *Municipal Ownership and Control.*—Public service industries, with the growth of cities, have become institutions of much importance, especially those responsible for systems of lighting, gas works, street railways, and the handling of food, ice, and coal. There seem to be two better methods of managing these enterprises than unrestricted private ownership, which often does not work for the best interests of the public, and these are control by the city and ownership by the city. Control is generally the first step but it often leads to ownership. Various arguments can be advanced in favor of each of these methods; choice between them depends largely upon the place and conditions, but the tendency seems to be towards the ownership on the part of the city of those industries which are vital to the public and which are of such a nature as are apt to lead to monopolies. Street railways, subways, and heating and lighting plants have been acquired in much the same way that the ownership of waterworks and sewerage systems has been taken over by cities. This policy can be extended but slowly, because of the inexperience of the American people in the governmental management of industries, and because of the attitude towards public ownership ordinarily shown

in this country; but there seems to be some movement in this direction.

8. *City Planning.*—At first cities "simply grew" without much idea of a plan; but because they did not always grow in a manner beneficial to succeeding generations and because there arose populations several times the size of the wildest dreams of the founders, it is now being realized that a city should be planned for the future, not only with reference to streets, railroads, and public buildings, but also in regard to practically all the industries of the city. The new plan is being applied in most cities as they look towards future growth, and attempts are also being made to rectify the mistakes of the past. It is, however, extremely difficult to make any kind of accurate estimate in regard to the future development and growth of any given city. Some have a steady growth, others grow by fits and starts, still others do not grow at all, and a few decline in population and importance.

The whole problem of urban migration, while needing the attention of society, is by no means hopeless. Society needs only to remedy the bad features, such as those indicated above. It is a natural development, a phase of the evolution of society; it is merely a part of the world movement of populations.

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CHAPTER IX

THE AMERICAN RACE PROBLEM

The negro problem in the United States furnishes us an example of race problems generally, but it will be treated as more than an illustration, because of its seriousness as an American problem. Race hatred seems to be almost innate. We consider the yellow race inferior to the white; and the yellow race has the same attitude towards the white. The English look down upon the Hindoos; the Hindoos despise the English. Every race thinks itself superior; each nation looks upon its country and people as the best; every state does likewise, and the average citizen in every state considers his town the best place in which to live. Though there are exceptions, this principle is almost universal.

When two races or peoples come into contact there is friction and generally war. The result is that one is forced to give in to the other. It has been said that every race which has opposed the white race has been defeated; that the white race has broken them all. When the white man has come into contact with the red man, the red man has been annihilated. When the white man has come into contact with the yellow man, the yellow man, with some exceptions, such as are found in the recent history of Japan, has either retreated or given up his land. When the black race has come into contact with the white, the black has succumbed; instead of being completely broken, however, he has bent, becoming the servant or slave of the white man. This is true, not only in America, but in almost all parts of the world, including most of the sections of Africa into which white men have gone in any considerable numbers. Even when outnumbered by the blacks twenty or even one hundred to one, the whites

have come out victorious because of their superiority, their greater advance in civilization, and their greater will power, courage, ambition, and ingenuity.

Increase of Negro Population.—Let us indicate the extent of our problem by figures on the relative size of negro population, the rate of increase, the percentage of mulattoes, and the distribution in the states in which they are to be found. The first negroes were brought to this country by the Dutch in 1619, when a cargo of twenty was landed at Jamestown, Virginia, and sold as slaves to the planters. From that time until January 1, 1809, when the importation of slaves was prohibited by Congress, slaves were imported into the United States in varying numbers, thus adding to the natural increase among those already here. No reliable records are available till 1790, when our first census was taken, but from that time the negro population has increased as follows:

Census Year	*Negro Population*	*Per Cent of Total Population*
1790	757,208	19.3
1800	1,002,037	18.9
1810	1,377,808	19.0
1820	1,771,656	18.4
1830	2,328,642	18.1
1840	2,873,648	16.8
1850	3,630,808	15.7
1860	4,441,830	14.1
1870[1]	5,392,172	13.5
1880	6,580,793	13.1
1890	7,488,676	11.9
1900	8,833,994	11.6
1910	9,827,763	10.7
1920	10,463,013	9.9

[1] For 1870 corrected figures are used instead of those enumerated.

These statistics show that while the negro population has increased rapidly, it has not increased so rapidly as the white; hence it has steadily become a smaller element in our total population. How much this decrease is owing to immigration and how much to the higher mortality of the negro we do not know. In all probability both are responsible. When we study the location of the negro

we find that for the most part he still remains in the Southern states where slavery formerly flourished and that even there he is not holding his own with the white. So while the negro has a much higher birth-rate than the white, his higher death-rate more than makes up for it; this is evident, for the Southern states have received practically no foreign immigration and few settlers from the Northern states.

Nearly 90 per cent of the negro population is found in the Southern states which formerly allowed slavery, and over 80 per cent in the eleven states which contain that strip of country stretching from Virginia to Texas, known as the "Black Belt." The percentages of negroes to the total populations of the fifteen former slave-holding states for the years 1860, 1900, and 1920 are as follows:

	Per Cent of Total Population		
States—	*1860*	*1900*	*1920*
Alabama	45.4	43.2	38.3
Arkansas	25.6	28.0	26.9
Delaware	19.3	16.6	13.6
Florida	44.6	43.6	34.0
Georgia	44.0	46.7	41.6
Kentucky	20.4	13.3	9.8
Louisiana	49.5	47.1	38.4
Maryland	24.9	19.8	16.9
Mississippi	55.3	55.5	52.2
Missouri	10.0	5.0	5.2
North Carolina	36.4	33.0	29.8
South Carolina	58.6	58.4	51.4
Tennessee	25.5	23.8	19.3
Texas	30.3	20.4	15.9
Virginia	42.0	35.7	29.9

There are some counties along the Mississippi River in which the negro far outnumbers the white; for example, Issequena County, Mississippi, has a population consisting of 6915 negroes and 702 whites—90.8 per cent negro; Tensas County, Louisiana, has 10,314 negroes and 1769 whites—85.3 per cent negro; and Tunica County, Mississippi, has 18,201 negroes and 2151 white—89.3 per cent negro. In 1860 the negroes equaled or exceeded the whites in 244 counties; in 1910 there were 263 such coun-

ties, 187 of which were in the first list. While there has been some change, the region having the densest black population has remained almost the same; i.e., a strip up the Mississippi as far north as Memphis, Tennessee; another strip across Central Alabama, Georgia; nearly all of South Carolina; and a small area in southern Virginia.

Urban vs. Rural Population.—The following table will show, for the year 1910, the relative numbers and percentages of negroes dwelling in urban and rural districts in the different geographical divisions of the United States:[2]

Geographical Division	*Negro Population*		*Per Cent Negro Population*	
	Rural	*Urban*	*Rural*	*Urban*
United States[1]	7,138,534	2,689,229	72.6	27.4
New England	5,439	60,877	8.2	91.8
Middle Atlantic	78,624	339,246	18.8	81.2
East North Central	70,294	230,542	23.4	76.6
West North Central	78,361	164,301	32.3	67.7
South Atlantic	3,202,968	909,520	77.9	22.1
East South Central	2,143,416	509,097	80.8	19.2
West South Central	1,548,588	435,838	78.0	22.0
Mountain	6,021	15,446	28.0	72.0
Pacific	4,833	24,362	16.6	83.4

[1] The 1920 census gives 3,559,473 or 34 per cent of negro population as urban and 6,903,658 or 66 per cent as rural for the United States. Figures for the different geographical divisions are not at this writing (March, 1922) available.

In 1910 there were only four cities of over 25,000 population with at least one-half of the population negro. These were Charleston, South Carolina, 52.8 per cent; Savannah, Georgia, 51.1 per cent; Jacksonville, Florida, 50.8 per cent, and Montgomery, Alabama, 50.6 per cent. By 1920 the percentage of negroes in these had fallen to the following: Charleston, 47.6; Savannah, 47.1; Jacksonville, 45.3; and Montgomery, 45.6. Other cities throughout the South showed similar decreases. Among the more populous cities the following show the greatest ratio of negroes: Memphis, 40 per cent; Birmingham, 39.3 per cent; Richmond, 36.5 per cent; Nashville, 33.1 per cent;

[2] *Negro Year Book* for 1916-1917, p. 373.

Atlanta, 31.3 per cent; New Orleans, 26.1 per cent and Washington, D. C., 25.1 per cent. In the North the negro has gone to the cities, where he has been compelled to occupy the poorest sections, since he is generally able to obtain employment at only menial tasks. Partly because of this demoralizing environment he has created his own problem in the Northern city. In the South the negro has not rushed to the cities but has remained in an almost unvarying proportion on the farms. Although many have moved to small towns there has been no great amount of urban migration. Through a long period of years there has been for the nation a slight decrease; but in recent years there is noticed an opposite tendency, the proportion increasing from 2.8 per cent for the decade 1890 to 1900 to 4.7 per cent for the decade 1900 to 1910, and 6.6 for the decade 1910 to 1920.

Increase and Distribution of Blacks and Mulattoes.—Under "black" the census enumerators have been instructed to include all who were evidently full-blood negroes, and under "mulatto" those apparently having white blood. In the census for 1890 an attempt was made to classify as "black" those having three-fourths or more negro blood, and to classify others as "mulattoes," "quadroons," or "octoroons." This made, however, little actual difference in enumeration. The distribution of blacks and mulattoes is shown by the following table:[8]

PERCENTAGE OF BLACKS AND MULATTOES BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

	1910		*1890*		*1870*	
Geographic Division	*Black*	*Mulatto*	*Black*	*Mulatto*	*Black*	*Mulatto*
United States	79.1	20.9	84.8	15.2	88.0	12.0
New England	66.6	33.4	67.3	32.7	71.4	28.6
Middle Atlantic	80.4	19.6	78.6	21.4	85.1	14.9
East North Central...	66.8	33.2	62.8	37.2	70.8	29.2
West North Central..	71.3	28.7	74.7	25.3	84.0	16.0
South Atlantic	79.2	20.8	86.6	13.4	89.4	10.6
West North Central..	71.3	28.7	74.7	25.3	84.0	16.0
West South Central..	79.9	20.1	85.5	15.5	86.9	13.1
Mountain	71.4	28.6	64.3	35.7	69.6	30.4
Pacific	65.3	34.7	57.7	42.3	62.7	37.3

[8] *Negro Year Book*, 1916-1917, p. 366.

This table shows us two things: that the percentage of mulattoes is increasing, and that where there are the fewest negroes the percentage of mulattoes is the highest. The increase of mulattoes is probably not the result of any increase in immorality but rather to the gradual seeping of the white blood through the whole black population. The fact that there are more mulattoes in the Northern and Western states in proportion to the number of negroes shows in all probability that it is the mulatto who is restless and who often goes away from home. Because he has white blood in his veins he resents his position of social inferiority the more and tries to get away from it. It is the mulatto who generally goes to Northern colleges and gets positions in the North; this is because he has more enterprise and dares to venture away from home. The serious feature of this situation is the increase in the ratio of mulatto to black.

There is at present no probability that the negro will catch up in population with the white. If there is any danger at all it is in regard to the increase in number of the mulatto and his recent rush to the city.

Influence of Past History Upon the Negro.—In studying the negro we must take into consideration his past history, not only in America during the period of slavery, but also in Africa for thousands of years before he came here. Whether or not the negro differed from other races before he migrated to Africa is not known, but in all probability he had traits in common with other inhabitants of Asia Minor. The theory is often favored, and as frequently denied, that the negro owes his dark skin and woolly hair to the effect of the heat of the sun, the heat producing the pigment under the skin, which causes the color to develop and the hair to curl. Another explanation—and a more plausible one—is that those who had the pigment withstood the heat of the sun better than the persons who were not so protected, and thus they survived and increased, while the less protected ones died out; consequently the pigment was through natural selection universally developed among negroes.

A similar explanation is advanced as to the other characteristics of the negro; that for example those who had a high birth-rate survived while those who did not perished; the reason being that a high birth-rate was necessary to withstand the high death-rate caused by the climate and the ravages of wild beasts. Those who had large families were those who married early; those groups who treated the women and children well were apt to survive. This tended to develop the strong family affection that exists in the negro, and to bring about early marriages and large families.

The docility of the negro, his easy-going attitude towards life, and his laziness and indifference to the future are likewise owing to natural selection, for those who were inclined to be nervous and excitable, who took life too seriously, were unable to survive the hot climate; those who took things easier did survive. The negro had no cause for worry as to his food supply; nature, while hard on him in regard to disease and wild beasts, was an abundant provider. Food was plentiful on every hand; so there was no incentive to provide for the future or even to work hard. There was no need of much clothing, merely enough for ornament and for satisfying the claims of modesty—which did not demand much. The same was true of shelter; no great provision had to be made, only protection from rain and beasts being necessary.

In short his life tended to develop in the negro an easy-going, care-free disposition. Because food was abundant the negro developed a large physique. But stimuli to mental development there were none. Mind is the product of necessity; man thinks only when forced to do so. The negro was not compelled to use much ingenuity or to tax his intellect to any great extent to provide a living; so his mental capacities did not develop. Nature did not select the shrewd or cunning as in the colder climates; thus we find the negro possessing a strong physique but an inferior intellect. By this we do not mean that potentially the black mind is inferior; but since civilization is

the cumulation of achievement, and since the negro did not achieve like the white man because he was not compelled to do so, he has not made any accumulation to compare with that of the white man; hence have resulted his mental inferiority, his ranking below the white in the scale of progress, and his falling a victim to the superior cunning, courage, and fighting ability of the white. For this reason the black has become a subject race while the white has become a ruling race. So in our study of the negro in America we must remember his past history. While he has been removed from the environment that brought about this condition, the effects of it are still with him. In Africa he came into contact with a condition of nature which he could not explain; it was awe-inspiring and at the same time too complicated for him to master; hence his belief in magic, superstition, and witchcraft. The negro brought these beliefs to America with him, and many of them are still accepted by the majority of the negroes, simply because they have been handed down from generation to generation. The negro's contact with civilization has been very recent and under an artificial condition. It will take him many years, possibly hundreds, to catch up completely with the white —if he ever does. His past hangs upon him like a dead weight.

As a slave the negro learned to work but he did so under compulsion, under conditions which made him hate manual labor. He was made to work whether he wanted to or not. Under slavery, in spite of his dislike for work, he became proficient industrially; many negroes became skilled mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, and masons; others became expert as cooks, butlers, coachmen, maids, and laundresses; those working on the cotton plantations became expert in the raising of cotton. In fact, each class became economically productive, and when granted his freedom the negro as an economic machine was well equipped. In one way slavery was a good thing for the negro—it taught him to work. Yet it taught him at the same time to hate work.

Slavery, however, affected the negro in other than industrial ways. Family life under slavery was not developed even under the best conditions, for home life was uncertain. Marriages were seldom performed; marriage ties were seldom held sacred; the master could sell a man's wife or a woman's husband or a parent's child; he could break up the family of his slave at will. Then, too, family ties were not even considered necessary. The masters themselves not only did not protect virtue in their female slaves, but too frequently did not respect it themselves. Hence it is no wonder that the negro not only learned little family morality but also acquired little skill in the training of children. Furthermore because his work was planned for him and his task assigned, he did not acquire self-control and the ability to plan things for himself and to make provision for the future. He did not have these traits developed when he came to America and slavery did not develop them for him. Slavery taught the American negro respect for and deference to the whites; it perhaps developed him physically, as in the first place it subjected him to a difficult test of survival of the fittest, before he reached this country, the weakest falling by the wayside on the trip to the coast or perishing on board ship. The high-strung and independent negroes were also cut down by the slave drivers when they resisted or tried to escape. In this way only the strong and submissive survived.

Possibly the most demoralizing period in the history of the negro was the brief but horrible time of Reconstruction, when the carpet-baggers from the North tried to organize the negroes and teach them that they were the equals of the whites, and, by use of their votes, attempted to fill their own pockets at the expense of the Southern whites. These carpet-baggers cared nothing for the negroes; they merely saw in them a means of making money for themselves. The period of Reconstruction aroused the hatred of the South against the North far more than did the war itself; it caused the Southerners to misapprehend the real purpose of the North and to

look upon all Northerners as scoundrels. At the same time race friction was increased. During slavery the relations between the average master and slave were on the whole friendly. When the carpet-baggers began to organize the negroes and to arouse in them a hatred of their former masters, race friction rapidly developed. The reaction of the Southern whites found expression in the Ku Klux Klan and later in the practical disfranchisement of the negroes in most of the Southern states. But from the standpoint of the negro probably the most serious aspect of the new condition was that it took him from his work, causing him to leave the cotton field and his other occupations, to loaf in town, and to look down upon manual labor.

Upon emancipation the negro did not educate or train his children to become economically efficient. He did not wish his children to be obliged to work as he had worked. He wanted them to become educated, since in his view education was the key to social position. Instead of teaching them trades he tried to educate them along general lines, especially in Northern schools, and consequently the second generation did not attain the economic efficiency of their parents. The slaves had been trained by the whites, but the younger generation received little if any training; they simply grew up creating a more serious problem than the preceding generation. Because they were not efficient they could not command good wages; they were not able to earn a good living and so slumped economically. Thirty years after the war the negro was worse off than he was at the time he was given his freedom, for then he was efficient and the South needed and wanted him. But later he was less efficient and the whites had grown disgusted with him.

Many authorities contend that the psychological and physiological traits distinguishing the negro from the white are innate, rather than acquired; that the colored race has certain innate mental as well as physical qualities; that he is characterized by a greater power of memory, stronger sexual passions, submissiveness rather

than pugnacity, a larger sense of sociability, and a greater ability to read character and interpret one's thoughts; that he is essentially emotional in religion; that he has a smaller capacity for group organization and for government; that he is more influenced by imitation, emotion, and emulation, than by rational thinking and purposeful direction. The writer admits all these characteristics and the possibility that some of them may be innate; however, he believes that the influences of natural selection and environment are much stronger.

Economic Progress of the Negro.—The economic progress of the negro is not so difficult to estimate if we are able to get reliable statistics on the negro to-day, for he began upon emancipation with practically nothing. A few had gained their freedom before emancipation and had accumulated some property, and the masters of some had started them out with small farms, but the bulk of the negroes began life upon receiving their freedom at the economic zero point. The Negro Year Book is responsible for the following statistics in regard to the economic progress of the race:

	1866	1883	1893	1903	1916
Homes owned.....	12,000	128,000	210,000	390,000	600,000
Farms operated....	20,000	380,000	550,000	790,000	981,000
Businesses conducted	2,100	10,000	17,000	25,000	45,000
Wealth accumulated	$20,000,000	$75,000,000	$150,000,000	$300,000,000	$1,000,000,000

These figures show that the negro has steadily increased in economic prosperity until, in 1916, he had an average per capita wealth of about $100. However, to ascertain the true significance of this increase we must compare it with the increase for the whole country. In 1860 the average per capita wealth was $308 and in 1916 about $2000. So, while the negro has prospered economically and, because he started with practically nothing, has perhaps progressed more in proportion than the white, his actual accumulation of wealth has not kept pace with that of the country. But the really encouraging feature is the rapid increase shown during the past few years, it having more than trebled between 1903 and 1916. Since 1916 it has increased still more because of the economic

prosperity of the South, in which he has shared. If the negro continues at this rate of progress it will be only a matter of a few decades until his economic condition will compare much more favorably with that of the white man.

In all probability one of the chief reasons for the recent economic progress of the negro has been the spread of industrial education among the black population. From the industrial schools for the negro come possibly our greatest promise that instead of the average negro having practically nothing he will become fairly prosperous. When the negro owns property and pays taxes, he not only commands greater respect but is in a position to obtain better schools and to solve his other problems. Also when the negro is industrious he is less apt to get into trouble.

Immigration has not seriously affected the negro in the South, but it may in the future. In the North the immigrant has driven the negro out of many occupations in much the same manner as he has the white. He has not done this by underbidding the negro but by greater efficiency. He has crowded the negro out of such occupations as that of barber, waiter, janitor, and bell-boy. The negro is pushed into unskilled labor which requires mere muscle, work which the white man does not want. It is not so much race prejudice as the ability of the white man to do his work better and more rapidly, that has produced this result. The white man is more reliable and more efficient, and because of his capacity to form labor unions he is more powerful economically. Few unions will admit negroes, thus preventing them from entering the ranks of skilled labor, even if they are individually capable of doing so. Immigrants are not so barred.

Immigration has not as yet affected the South, because the immigrant does not care to compete with the negro, partly because of the low wages in the South and partly because of the fear that he will be placed upon the same social level as the negro. Several Southern states have been attempting to divert a part of the immigrant stream

into the South, but thus far they have not been very successful. It is clear, however, that the few immigrants who have gone to the South have more than held their own industrially with the negro. Stone[4] tells of an experiment on an Arkansas cotton plantation, in which Italians and negroes were employed side by side on the same plantation. The result was that the Italians produced on the average 2584 pounds of lint per head, against 1174 for the negroes; that the Italians produced on the average 403 pounds of lint per acre, against 233 pounds for the negroes; that the Italians' average cash product per head was $277.32, as against $128.47 for the negro; and that the Italians' cash product per acre was $44.70, as against $26.30 for the negroes. In this experiment the Italians were at a disadvantage because they were unaccustomed to cotton growing; they even had to be shown which plants were cotton and which were weeds; but in spite of this each Italian worked on an average 6.2 acres against 5.1 for the negro, and produced 170 pounds more lint per acre. The chief difference, however, lay in the expense account, the Italian getting only the things that he absolutely had to have and the negro obtaining all that he could get. The Italian kept his expenses below his income and saved in order to pay for the land, but the negro did not even try to save for next year's supplies, looking upon a cash balance at the end of the year as money to spend or rather to throw away, letting next year's crop take care of itself. The Italian bought for cash where he could do so at a discount, even offering to pay his rent in advance if given a discount. Of course he bought things cheaper than did the negro, who as a rule pays the highest prices for everything that he buys.

If similar experiments are tried throughout the South with the same result, it will be only a question of time until the immigrant becomes a serious competitor of the negro in the South, with possibly even more disastrous results than in the North, because it is the more enter-

[4] Stone, A. H., *Studies in the American Race Problem*, pp. 180-195.

prising negro who goes to the North. On this account the Southern negro will be even less able to compete than his Northern brother, although climate will be in favor of the negro, as well as the habit and preference of the Southern white to employ the negro. If immigration is thus turned towards the South it will greatly complicate the negro problem, for it will add industrial discrimination to social ostracism. The unreliability of the negro is his greatest handicap. His shiftlessness and improvidence will cause him to lose to the immigrant wherever they come into contact. This is the cause of his being obliged to pay higher prices and to work under harder terms of contract than he otherwise would be able to command.

The migratory habits of the negro hinder him economically. The plantation owner never knows how many of this year's tenants he will have next year. The employer of negro labor never knows how many of to-day's laborers will appear for work to-morrow. The Southern railroads have made use of this habit of the negroes by arranging frequent excursions; thus they help to pay dividends. Circuses and amusement companies also take advantage of his love of amusement and change.

In opposition to this threatened competition of the immigrant is the movement to train the negro industrially; to teach the men trades and scientific farming, and to teach the women how to keep house and cook—to be, in short, efficient economically. If this movement grows with sufficient rapidity to discourage immigration, it will help to solve the economic situation. The Southern white would much prefer negro labor to that of white if the negro were as efficient. The negro, too, is better adapted to the climate, especially in the cotton belt, and has this advantage over the white. But at present the negro has not the monopoly upon the labor, especially the skilled labor, in the South which he had at the close of the Civil War.

Under the present conditions the negro generally rents his land instead of owning it; he usually rents it on shares, the white owner furnishing the land, tools, and seed; and the negro, the labor; then the two share the

crop, ordinarily half and half. In addition the white generally advances supplies, which are to be paid for at harvest time from the negro's share. If the negro rents land not under plantation management, he gets his supplies advanced to him by a merchant or cotton factor, in the manner and to the amount that his credit entitles him. Because of the ignorance and poor bargaining position of the negro he is often the victim of fraudulent bookkeeping, but with most of them the general credit system is necessary. The exceptional negro who has good credit can get cash advances or can lease ground at a definite cash rental, and if he is honest and industrious, he can soon, because of the richness of the soil, become independent. In fact, much of the land is so rich, especially along the Mississippi River, that it will make a crop in spite of the negligence of the negro, and it is for this reason that the negro is able to have advances made to him. But as yet few have become independent. They prefer to spend their money on excursions, picnics, gambling, whiskey, women, and cheap jewelry. Such is the condition in the cotton belt. It is just such conditions as this that the followers of Booker T. Washington are trying to overcome by making the negro industrially efficient.

Negro Education.—The educational progress has been more rapid and the results more satisfactory than the economic progress of the negro; yet there is endless opportunity for improvement. The Negro Year Book is again drawn upon for the following statistics in regard to educational progress:[5]

	1863	*1883*	*1903*	*1916*
Per Cent Literate[1]	5	30	56	75
Number Colleges and Normal Schools	4	120	425	500
Students in Public Schools	10,000	817,000	1,577,000	1,736,000
Teachers in all Schools	150	16,000	28,600	36,900
School Property for Higher Education	$50,000	$7,000,000	$15,000,000	$21,500,000
Expend. for Education	200,000	5,500,000	10,000,000	14,600,000
Raised by Negroes for Educ.	10,000	500,000	900,000	1,600,000

[1] The 1920 census gives negro illiteracy at 22.9 per cent.
[5] *Year Book* 1913-1914, pp. 2-4; 1916-1917, p. 1.

The most noticeable improvement has been in the increase of the percentage of literacy. The amount of money spent in negro education and the amount of money invested in school property have kept pace with the increase in the number of pupils. Yet the amount of money raised by the negroes themselves in proportion to that raised by the whites is still very small, although the ratio is steadily becoming greater. In a few sections of the South the negroes are supplementing by subscription the funds appropriated for negro schools. If, however, we compare the amount of money spent on each negro in the public schools, we shall find it small in comparison with the amount spent on the white child. In one way we cannot blame the white voters for not appropriating more for negro schools, because the whites pay about 97 per cent of the taxes. Yet, as Page says,[6] an uneducated negro is a greater problem than an educated one. He is more affected by crime, vice, and poverty.

Two great difficulties confront negro education—lack of efficient teachers and lack of equipment. It is impossible to get whites to teach in negro schools in appreciable numbers because of the attendant social ostracism. It is hardly advisable to employ white teachers for negro children because of the possible tendency towards social equality. Until very recently there have been few capable negro teachers, for upon emancipation only a small percentage of the negroes were even literate, and in the past many of the negro teachers have been barely able to read and write. With time this problem will be eliminated. As a rule any sort of shack is considered good enough for the negro school, and benches of any style or stage of dilapidation sufficient for equipment. The pay of the teachers has been so poor that it has not attracted the best prepared negroes. Until this condition is remedied we cannot expect good teachers. Another hindrance is the short session which often lasts only from three to five months in a year—sometimes only a few weeks.

[6] Page, Thomas Nelson, *The Negro, the Southerner's Problem*, p. 297.

During slavery, education of the negro was not fostered; in fact, it was forbidden by law in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina, and discouraged in all other Southern states, for fear that education would foster dissatisfaction among the negroes in regard to their position. The household servants are frequently taught the rudiments of an education, enough at least to enable them to discharge their duties efficiently. The field hands were not so fortunate, however, and were seldom educated.

During the period of Reconstruction educators went to the South from the North, influenced by missionary zeal to help educate the negro. While fired by the same spirit which has sent missionaries to the foreign field they probably caused more harm than good. They too frequently tried to teach the negro social equality, even practicing it by mingling and associating with the negroes themselves. They tried to teach the negro too many of the "frills" of education, like Latin and Greek, instead of giving him the education which he could use in his every-day life. This caused negro education to become discredited in the eyes of the Southern whites, who paid the taxes, and as a result money was not voted for negro schools. It has only been since the education of the negro has been conducted along practical lines that the whites of the South have taken an interest in it. At first the funds were raised in the North, largely as missionary money. During the last few years practical courses have been offered in negro schools, especially the high schools, including the industrial subjects and domestic science. Under the latter are included not only cooking and sewing, but the canning and preserving of fruits and vegetables.

The whole modern trend of negro education is away from higher education fitting for the professions, entry to which is difficult for the negro, if not impossible. The aim is, instead, to fit for actual industrial life and efficient home-keeping by teaching trades. These include carpentering, bricklaying, masonry, paper-hanging, black-

smithing, dairying, and agriculture, thus fitting the negro for a place in life where he can become economically prosperous. The demand for negro doctors, lawyers, dentists, and other professional classes is, however, slowly increasing, although as yet the negroes themselves prefer the white professional man because of their greater confidence in his professional ability. As this demand increases greater opportunities will be opened up for the negro along professional lines. In the past many negroes have obtained college and professional training in Northern colleges and universities and have been unable to make use of such training because of the lack of a demand for their services.

In the Northern states, because of the small number of negroes and the less acute racial feeling, there have been no separate schools, except in one or two states like Missouri, and a few towns, such as Kansas City, Kansas. The negroes have enjoyed the same educational opportunities, but have not had the same opportunities for making use of that education. In the South, however, the education of the negro is an aspect of the race question which is quite serious. Recently there seems to be not only greater response to educational opportunities on the part of the negro, but also greater appreciation of their value on the part of the white, and as a result much greater progress is being made. If the negro can increase his economic prosperity, negro education can be easily improved.

The Political Condition.—Under slavery the negro of course had no political rights other than protection against abuse, and even here his rights were very limited. It was a crime willfully to kill a slave but not to flog him, and in most states to kill him accidentally or to maltreat him was not a punishable offense. The law protected him much the same as to-day it protects animals from cruelty. As to voting privileges, he had none in the South[1] and but few in the North; in fact, out of the

[1] There were a few exceptions to this; free negroes could vote in North Carolina up until 1835.

thirty-four states which constituted the Union in 1861, thirty excluded negroes from the right of franchise by constitutional provision. In the other four—New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts—the negroes were not only few in number but of a high standard of education and industry.

By the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States the American people committed probably the worst political blunder in the history of this country. This amendment was adopted in order to give the negro the right to defend himself by means of the ballot. But the negro was unable to appreciate the value and significance of the ballot; as a result he was merely the tool of corrupt politicians. This fact explains the prevalence of so much corruption during the period of Reconstruction. The majority of the whites were disfranchised because of taking part in the Civil War against the Federal government, and the right of the ballot was held by the ignorant negro who had no idea how to use it. This increased race friction and probably injured the negro as much as it did the white; in fact, it is an open question which of the two has been injured the more by the Fifteenth Amendment. So acute was the problem and so great the abuse of the ballot by the negro, that the Southern whites were compelled to take steps to deprive him of it. This deprivation took two forms—force or intimidation, and political disfranchisement. At first violence and fraud were used openly, because it was deemed that the situation warranted such action. This condition lasted until 1890, when Mississippi took the first step towards the disfranchisement of the negro by adopting a literacy test for voters. While this applied to both colored and white voters, it affected the colored chiefly because of their greater illiteracy.

Other states went still farther, following the lead of Louisiana, and adopted the so-called "grandfather" clauses, making the privilege of voting dependent upon the ability to read and write, unless one were a lineal descendant of a man who voted prior to 1867. Other

states require the payment of taxes. Georgia by a cumulative poll-tax law which requires back poll-taxes to be paid has probably the most effective disfranchisement clauses, although there is no discrimination between black and white. In Tennessee the prepayment of a poll-tax is necessary for voting, and as a result the bulk of the negroes do not vote, considering it not worth the payment of the tax. Texas also has a poll-tax qualification for voting, requiring the presentation of a poll-tax receipt at the polls. In addition to this Texas has a white man's primary.

Some of these provisions have been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, because technically they do not violate the Fifteenth Amendment, but the "grandfather" clauses of the constitution of Oklahoma and Maryland have been declared unconstitutional, and some provisions in other state laws and other state qualifications have expired because of time limitations. While these laws very effectively debar most negroes from voting, the negro can qualify under all of them; in fact, it would probably be impossible to frame a test acceptable to the Supreme Court which some of the negroes could not ultimately meet.

On the whole, the effect of these disfranchisement clauses has been good, for they have disfranchised the ignorant, shiftless, and irresponsible negro, whose ballot was a corrupting element in politics. Although they have undoubtedly debarred in one way or another many who are able to vote intelligently, they have had, in the main, a beneficial effect. However, any law, such as the Louisiana law, which does not apply equally to both races is not fair and just. If the negro is disfranchised it ought to be by a method which would apply to both races, such as a literacy test, a property qualification, or a tax-paying requirement. Such provisions are as effective as the others and eliminate the vote of the ignorant and shiftless white as well as that of the ignorant and shiftless negro. If the country comes to the conclusion that the Fifteenth Amendment was a mistake, that amendment should be

repealed as a whole rather than nullified by state legislation. If the negro can qualify the same as the white man for voting, he proves that he is worthy of the ballot.

One bad feature of the application of the literacy test to the negro alone is that it supplies a reason to the white politician for not giving the negro as good educational facilities as are given the white; in other words, it tends to discourage negro education, for the chief political aim is to eliminate not merely the ignorant negro vote but the entire negro vote. On the whole, the granting of suffrage to the negro has been a complete failure. The ballot should not have been given to the negroes as a race, but if given at all, it should have been held as an inducement for progress by being granted gradually, that is, as soon as they qualified for it by being able to read and write, by holding a certain amount of property, or by the payment of taxes. Then as soon as they qualified, they would have known how to use the voting power and would not have formed a dangerous element in politics; they would have gained suffrage gradually, not in sufficient numbers to control politics.

Negro Problems.—1. *Poverty and Pauperism.*—Under economic progress we have considered the poor economic condition of the negro, with the causes which produced it and some of the effects upon other phases of the race problem. We saw that negroes as a class possess little property, and that the majority are not far removed from absolute dependence. We have no reliable statistics as to the exact or even approximate amount of pauperism among the colored people. In the South most of the paupers are negroes. In some sections nearly all the paupers are colored. In Charleston it is asserted that 96 per cent of the pauper funerals are of negroes, although the negroes make up only 53 per cent of the population. This situation is only the natural result of the indolence, shiftlessness, ignorance, and untrained condition of the negro. The low standard of living of the negro is the most serious aspect of the situation, for pauperism is only an outgrowth. The negro is contented

to live on a much lower plane than the white, because he has not realized the need of living on a higher one. There is less incentive to reach this higher state on account of the few opportunities he has for advancement. The economic standard of living must be raised before the present poverty-stricken condition of the negro can be remedied. To raise this standard the negro must become industrially more productive and efficient.

2. *Crime.*—In order to draw a comparison between the criminal tendencies of the white and colored races, let us glance at the following table, based upon figures of the U. S. Census Bureau:

	Whites	*Negroes*
Prisoners in 3,198 prisons in 1910.....	172,797	38,701
Commitments to these prisons in 1910.....	368,468	110,319
Prisoners to 100,000 population, 1910.....	89	378
Commitments to 100,000 population, 1910..	425	1,079

The ratio of crime for the negro is much greater in the Northern states than in the Southern, there being in 1910 722 prisoners per 100,000 in the former against 323 for the latter. This is owing in part to the greater temptation in the Northern states caused by the living in cities, industrial ostracism of the negroes, and the larger ratio of mulattoes who are much more addicted to crime than the pure negro. Added to this is the lack of sympathy on the part of the Northern judge who does not understand negro nature and is less inclined to let him off with a reprimand or upon his promise to go to work. The Southern white is much more ready to go bail for his negro employees than is the Northerner. In short, the Southerner knows the weaknesses of the negro and makes allowance for them. The higher rate of negro criminality is not so alarming as it seems, because a large percentage of it is made up of minor crimes, such as petty larceny, disorderly conduct, crap shooting, and the like. The tendency towards theft is a natural outcome of the past history of the negro. Under slavery if he obtained any extras, such as food delicacies, he had to steal them, and it is only natural that the negro should continue to

steal. Also in Africa stealing never was considered a serious offense. In certain sections of the South, especially the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta region, serious crimes play a more important part; in fact, Stone estimates that crimes against the person, such as murder, manslaughter, and attempt to kill, make up 80 per cent of the offenses of the Delta negroes.[8]

This unfavorable condition in respect to crime is caused largely by poor training, especially in the family, resulting, as we have previously noted, from the past history of the negro. A part of it, moreover, can be traced to the less satisfactory surroundings of the negro, especially in our cities, for the negro nearly always occupies the poorest part of the town, not only in regard to sanitation and desirability of location but also in regard to improvements. Poor education, especially industrial, is likewise responsible for a large share. Thus the environmental factors are much more conducive to crime by the negro than by the white man. The forces holding him back are weaker and the temptations confronting him are much greater; therefore it is only reasonable to expect the colored man to have a higher rate of criminality than his white brother.

Lynching is a phase of punishment for negro criminality more damaging to the reputation of the white man than to that of the negro. It began with the whipping of negroes for minor offenses, such as stealing, and running away, before the time of emancipation. Since then more cruel methods have come into use, until hanging and burning at the stake have come to be the favorite methods of execution. The statement is often made that lynching is for the one crime rape, but such is not the case, and indeed far from the truth; for less than one-fourth of the lynching of negroes is for assaults upon women. Lynchings are not limited to the colored race, nor are they confined to the Southern states. Of the sixty-seven persons lynched in 1915 (thirteen of whom were white and fifty-four colored), eleven (ten colored and one

[8] Stone, *Studies in the American Race Problem*, p. 106.

white) were charged with rape; sixteen (four white and twelve colored) with murder; nine (three white and six colored) killing officers of the law; three wounding officers of the law; a family of four—father, son, and two daughters—with clubbing an officer of the law; three poisoning mules; two stealing hogs; two (white) disregarding warnings of night riders; three insulting women; two entering women's rooms; two wounding a man; one stealing meat; two burglary; one robbery; one stealing cotton; one charged with stealing a cow; two furnishing ammunition to man resisting arrest; one (white) beating wife and child; one charged with being accessory to the burning of a barn.[9] All these crimes deserved punishment, but hardly lynching.

With the crime of rape, especially under the revolting circumstances which sometimes attend it, one can understand but not condone the taking of law into one's own hands; the temptation is terribly strong, and people lose control of themselves under such conditions. But this sudden and extreme punishment of the lesser crimes seems to have no justification whatever. To be sure the action of the law is often slow and sometimes justice miscarries, but law enforcement should be improved, not nullified by ultra-legal measures. Instances have happened where prisoners convicted by law and waiting the execution of the death penalty have been taken from the hands of the law and lynched. The most unfortunate thing about lynching is that it does not stop the crime which it intends to punish; it often increases crime by advertising it and—what is still worse—brutalizes the community. Officers of the law are too cowardly or too biased to defend their prisoners; so they surrender them without protest or defense.

Lynching has caused negroes as a rule to hide the guilty person and to sympathize with him, rather than to give him up. They look upon lynching as an attack upon the race, rather than as a punishment of the individual. Among many suggested remedies for this evil are segre-

[9] *Negro Year Book*, 1916-17, p. 338.

gation of the colored race and speedier trials. Both would help, but the problem is a difficult one and in order that lynching may be completely stopped, sentiment against it must be created; it is a disgrace to our country. While there has been a temporary increase since the World War, the problem is not nearly so bad as formerly; less than half as many are lynched as was the case twenty-five years ago, the numbers fluctuating now between fifty and seventy-five, while in the 90's the annual average was 166.6. The chief decrease has been in the lynching of white men, although the number of colored persons lynched has decreased about 50 per cent.[10] So in time we may outlive this horrible result of race friction.

3. *Immorality and Vice.*—No reliable statistics can be given concerning immorality and vice, although some statisticians have attempted to show that between one-fourth and one-fifth of the births among negroes are illegitimate. Immorality flourishes among the colored population far more than among the white, not only because of the conditions existing among the negroes during the times of slavery, but also because of their past history in Africa, where the climate tended to the preservation of those with a high birth-rate and thus caused the negro to inherit stronger passions than the white man. These, joined with his weaker will power and greater temptation under present conditions, naturally produce higher rates of irregularity and vice.

4. *The Mulatto.*—The position of the mulatto is both serious and pathetic. It is the mulatto who causes most trouble, for the full-blooded negro generally accepts his position of inferiority without much objection. The mulatto is less submissive, for he usually combines the nervous energy of his white father with the physique of his colored mother. All too frequently the degenerate blood of some of the best families in America flows in

[10] Unofficial returns give the number lynched during 1921 at sixty-three, six of whom were white, and two women, as against sixty-five in 1920. Murder was assigned as the cause of eighteen lynchings and assaults on women as the cause of nineteen, the balance being for miscellaneous reasons.

his veins. The leading colored men have nearly always a certain amount of white blood. Biologically the crossing of the strains as a rule has a beneficial effect, and the mixing of the colored and the white races is no exception. But the trouble comes in regard to the mulatto's social standing, for he cannot achieve the social plane of the white. He must accept the social conditions of the negro ancestor, and frequently he is too high-spirited to do this; so friction results. Besides it is the reckless and immoral element of the white population that mingles with the negro, for the mulatto is in nearly all cases illegitimate, very seldom being born in wedlock. Strange as it may seem, many white slave-owners cohabited with their female slaves and, still stranger, some white youths of all classes of society in the Southern states, even to this day, have thought nothing of such a relationship. Of course these relations are more frequently with the colored women who have some white blood. It is said that a good-looking mulatto girl is not safe from white molestation. As a natural result the heredity of the mulatto is not conducive to good morals, and the environment simply encourages the tendency. The mulatto cannot be accepted by the whites, even if he is almost white, because intermarriage is impossible without our becoming a mulatto race. So he must be classed as a negro. Here also his color is a problem, causing class distinctions and jealousies, and at times even causing social ostracism within the race, thus being a problem to both races. One very sad phase of this situation is the fact that the percentage of those of mixed blood is steadily increasing. This possibly may be due to the fact that the white blood is gradually becoming disseminated throughout the entire colored population. But on the whole the intermixture of the two races is one of the most serious aspects of the whole negro problem. At present we have found no way in which to cope with it.

Proposed Solutions of the Negro Problem.—So far as any solution or any definite constructive plan of action is concerned, the negro race problem is the most difficult

one facing the student of American sociology. We are obliged to admit that, as far as can be seen now, the problem is insoluble. At best it can only be alleviated, the race friction made less keen, the dangers less threatening, and the rough spots smoothed to some extent. But even here there is no uniformity of opinion; the differences depend largely upon the section of country which the student calls his home.

Impossible Solutions.—Before we take up any plan of action worthy of serious consideration we must mention certain plans which would probably not be conducive to our social welfare, among which are the following:

1. *Absorption.*—It is argued that since the negroes compose only one-tenth of our population we could in time absorb them by intermarriage; it is also added that the crossing of the races would be advantageous. We may admit that the crossing might not be disadvantageous physiologically—although the writer personally doubts it—but we simply cannot bear the thought of becoming a mulatto race, and that is what we should come to if we followed this plan. Many of the negro characteristics, such as woolly hair, thick lips and flat nose, are dominant characteristics and would tend to predominate. We should simply become a hopelessly mixed race.

2. *Equality.*—The question is brought up: Why not give the negro social and political equality? The answer is: The races are not equal; the white race has back of it thousands of years of achievement and civilization, and no legislation can make the two races equal. Then, too, social equality would lead to intermarriage, else it would not be equality. This would be disastrous, for we cannot absorb the negro; so we must reject any plan which leads towards attempted absorption. This plan is not offered by anyone who is at all familiar with the negro problem.

3. *Colonization.*—A plan of colonization was advocated by Thomas Jefferson and has often been proposed by various men since that time. It has been opposed in the past on grounds of expense. Now it is impossible because we should be unable to find any place to send the negroes.

All the available sections of the world have been taken over by different nations, and we have no possessions of our own which are suitable for the purpose. At one time this plan would perhaps have been the best method of dealing with the problem, but that time has long since passed; in fact, it probably had passed before colonization was even seriously considered.

Possible Solutions.—1. *Industrial Education.*—The most plausible, and certainly the most workable, solution —if we can call any program a solution—is that of industrial education. This was the plan originated at Hampton Institute, in Virginia, but popularized by the late Booker T. Washington, who built up Tuskegee Institute, in Alabama, so successfully upon this idea. Washington argues that under present conditions the attempt to give higher education to the negroes is misdirected energy, because the negro can make no practical use of this form of education. The only sensible way to educate the negro, he said, is to educate his hands, so that he can become industrially efficient and economically independent. With economic independence the negro would gain the respect of the white man; consequently race friction would diminish. If the negro could produce he would receive good wages and therefore would be able to make better provision for his family. Thus the standard of living of the negro would rise. Other schools have been founded upon this plan and it is now receiving wide support. Most of the Southern states have established mechanical and industrial colleges and normal schools for the colored people. In addition there are a large number of smaller private institutions; Alabama, for example, had twenty-eight in 1916. Under industrial education the negroes would be able to become efficient farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers, wheelwrights, plasterers, machinists, plumbers, tailors, printers, cooks, etc., and thus they would be able to build a foundation for future progress.

2. *Segregation.*—Another proposed solution is segregation, that is, the separation of negroes from whites, in

order that each race may live unmolested by the other. There is, however, considerable difference of opinion in regard to the best form of segregation; whether segregation shall be by states, by counties, by towns, or only by different sections of the same town. Each of these plans offers peculiar advantages and difficulties. With state segregation the first problem would be as to what state or states would be chosen; then what steps would be taken to keep the negroes in, and the whites out. This plan is objected to on the ground that the negroes when separated from the whites lose the inspiration of their presence and quickly sink into barbarism. The present condition in Liberia, Haiti, and Santo Domingo is given as proof of this. The same arguments are valid to a less degree in regard to county and township segregation; at the same time the advantages which would be derived amount to less. If the negroes are herded into certain sections of counties or towns, these sections will be the least desirable and will not receive the same improvements as the white sections; the result would be the formation of slum districts. Moreover this is the condition which practically prevails to-day, for the colored people as a rule live in definite sections in our cities and towns; these sections are unkept, unsanitary, and unsafe; they are responsible to a large degree for the abnormal amount of poverty, crime, and immorality found among the negroes. In fact, it is argued that this is the very condition from which we wish to escape. Against the proposal of segregation the argument is advanced that the South needs the negro and the negro needs the South. That the white man needs the negro to work for him, and the negro needs the white man for moral support. The supporters of this plan answer that segregation need not be rapid or even arbitrary, but that voluntarily and gradually the negroes should be encouraged to move into districts by themselves, and the whites should be encouraged to move out. The difficulty with such a solution is the grave doubt as to whether it ever would be carried out unless it was made compulsory; and if made thus

drastic it would cause much hardship and bitterness. While segregation may ultimately be the solution, it is at present chiefly a matter of theory.

3. *Caste.*—A caste system is the viewpoint of the average Southerner and the practice at present in the South. It is based upon the belief in the inferiority of the negro as a race; that he is only halfway between the animals and the white man; that in consequence he is fitted by nature only to be a servant and to do the rougher, heavier work of the world; that he never will be able to catch up with the white man, and because of this, social equality —or any policy which would tend towards absorption—is impossible; and that, therefore, the only way to handle the negro is to treat him as an inferior, allowing him to mingle with the white man but not as an equal; and that the white man needs him for this purpose in order to devote his own time to higher endeavors. At present this is probably the only attitude that we can take towards the negro where he exists in any great numbers, but it is by no means a solution; it is the very condition which we are attempting to solve. We constantly hear the remark, "keep the negro in his place," and according to the caste idea that place is beneath the white man. Absorption or amalgamation of any kind is impossible, and the negro must be kept in his place; but that place need not necessarily be beneath the feet of the white man. The black may be allowed, so far as his abilities permit, to carve out his own place, provided that place is distinct and separate from that of the white man. Under present conditions of colored inferiority, mental, moral, and industrial, the caste viewpoint is almost the only attitude we can take towards the negro—that is, a sane and sensible caste attitude—but as a permanent solution it is impossible, for it does not remove the present difficulties.

4. *Local Option.*—A local option plan is offered by Thomas Nelson Page, who suggests that since there are as many problems as there are communities, let each community work out its own salvation. On the whole this is

a sane way of looking at the matter, yet the question arises, will every community solve its race problem? Is the average community able to do so wisely? Certainly this plan is not radical and will cause no commotion—but the question is whether it will do anything.

5. *Compound Solution.*—To the present writer no one method seems practicable. Any plan of action which is at all effective must embody the best elements of all of those previously discussed. The first step under our present conditions is undoubtedly industrial education, in order to make the negro more efficient and economically productive. To accomplish this we should increase both in number and effectiveness such schools as Tuskegee and Hampton, establish them all over the South, and compel the colored children to attend them in the same manner that we compel white children to go to our schools. This will make the negro efficient, so that he will have no cause to fear an immigrant invasion of the South. Also it will enable him to increase his wealth and raise his standard of living, and in this way solve many of his problems.

As a second step, gradual segregation should be encouraged, not only in towns and counties but possibly even in states. Gradually encourage the negro to move into those regions best adapted to him, such as the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta region. As soon as the negro is efficient and worthy of it and outnumbers the whites in any district, he might have a share in the government, at least in those phases of government which come into contact with the negro population. This would hasten the moving out of the whites and the moving in of the negroes. As efficiency and race pride develop, the negro will desire to be by himself and will speed this movement.

Just as soon as the negro can make use of it, encourage higher education that he may provide his own doctors, lawyers, ministers, and teachers. At present there is a growing demand among the colored people for their own dentists, doctors, lawyers, and teachers. They have always had their own ministers of a sort, but the demand

now is for trained ministers. As segregation increases, this demand will increase. Thus the negro will be industrially self-sufficient, professionally independent, and will be able to work out his own salvation. As he becomes educated and self-reliant and has a definite field of action, race friction will tend to diminish, for the white will not fear him but will respect him the more, and the negro will not feel his own inferiority but will attempt to work out his own problems. Along with this there will develop race pride, admiration for the negro characteristics, and a final separation of the races. This plan is not offered as the only solution, but merely suggested as a partial program. The whole problem is too complicated and involved to admit of definite solution at this time.

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Part Three

CHAPTER X

EVOLUTION OF THE FAMILY

The Family a Social Unit.—The primary function of the family—in fact, the leading reason for its existence—has always been to bring children into the world and to rear them. The protecting of the offspring by the parents is, however, a function not confined to man, but is one found among practically all the higher animals. Many animals so train their young as to make them able to cope with life and to care for themselves. This training, to be sure, is generally given by only one parent—the mother—but this is also true of man in the earlier stages of his existence. But from this primary function of reproduction and protection other functions have sprung until the family has become a social center and, as many sociologists assert, the unit of society. This aspect of family life has become so prominent that many people look with alarm upon the present-day tendency for the family to lose some of its importance. The family has been likewise the center of intellectual and moral instruction. Formerly these activities were much more important than they are to-day, for the family has given over much of this responsibility to other agencies.

Almost all of the interests, customs, and problems of society originate with the family. Division of labor originated in the family with the specialization of duties between man and woman. Even nowadays the occupation one chooses depends largely upon the occupation of one's parent and upon home training. It is the same with religion; one is likely to follow the religious views of one's parents. Moreover we find that this has always

been the custom, and that it was even more effectively so in the past than in modern times. Formerly the father was the family priest; ancestor worship followed consequently; then belief in spirits. Property to-day descends through the family, and has nearly always done so, although at first it descended through the female line rather than the male. The care of the dependent, the old, the sick, and the afflicted, as well as of the young, has fallen upon the family, and it has been only in recent years that the family has to any great extent tried to shift this burden to the state.

The causes of most of the problems of society are easily traced back to the family—to the early training (or perhaps lack of training), as well as to the conditions for which heredity itself is responsible. The strongest environment is the environment of early life, that of the home. It is the training received in the home that has the most to do with the shaping of the after life. This is true not only of criminals, immoral persons and degenerates, but also of the poor as a class. Because of these facts a study of sociology, no matter how brief, would be incomplete without some consideration of the family. To find out why our present-day family takes the form that it does we must consider the different stages through which it has passed. We must find the causes behind the changes and the forces that have been brought to bear upon the family, and have helped in its molding. This study must necessarily cover periods prior to those recorded in written history, for before there was history even to record there was a form of the family. It is extremely difficult to draw any really accurate descriptions of the early family because of its antiquity, but the following more or less definite stages can be noted:

The Horde.—Some writers claim that there was a period when man roamed over the earth in bands, living an animal-like existence. Some authorities, including McLennan and Morgan, declare that this was the condition during the lowest stages of savagery, when there

was no real family, as we know it to-day, but instead only the horde; that there was no such institution as marriage, and no restraint upon the sexual passions, but that promiscuity was universal and physical force the prevailing law. They think that during this period the child was brought up entirely by the mother, the father feeling no responsibility in its behalf, and the child not even knowing its own father. In fact, some writers go so far as to maintain that the father was entirely unconscious of paternity, and that children were not sought, but were the results of human passions. Consequently the burden of bringing up the child fell inevitably upon the mother. This situation was not so severe upon the mother as it would be under present conditions of society, for that was the period of the direct appropriation of the gifts of nature.

That man wandered around during this prehistoric period, living a more or less animal-like existence, there is no doubt; but many authorities, the foremost of whom is Westermarck, affirm that monogamy was the general rule and promiscuity the exception, even if man did live in bands. They admit, of course, that such a condition of monogamy would differ much from our own idea of monogamy, but they declare that man went in pairs for a more or less definite period of time, at least until the child was born and was old enough for the mother to care for alone. Against a state of general promiscuity they range three arguments, which Westermarck summarizes as follows (a fourth argument is supplied by the writer):

1. *Zoological.*—Among the higher animals a more or less definite system of pairing is found, and monogamy is the rule rather than the exception. This argument is illustrated by such animals as the anthropoid apes, some members of the cat family, squirrels, seals, whales, gazelles, reindeer, hippopotamuses, and especially birds.

2. *Physiological.*—Promiscuity tends to produce infertility. Although not every group which intermarries becomes degenerate, owing to the strength of some

original group, yet degeneracy is a probable result of intermarriage. Recognition of this fact results in laws forbidding incest and intermarriage.

3. *Psychological.*—The universal prevalence of sexual jealousy tends to uphold monogamy. This, according to Westermarck, is the strongest argument against promiscuity. Pairing would be the result of mutual attraction even under prehistoric conditions, each person selecting as a mate one whom he or she preferred to any other, and it would only be natural that they would rather remain together even in the absence of authority designed to compel them to do so. At any rate they would remain together till they grew tired of each other, or until one of them met some one else that appealed to him or her more. Since man has always been gregarious and naturally prefers a companion of the opposite sex, it would only be logical for the pairs thus mated to remain more or less permanently joined.

4. *Biological Necessity.*—Nature has always safeguarded each of her creations. If the danger is great, the animal is especially protected. Fishes and lower forms of life are protected by a heavy birth-rate, thousands of eggs being laid at a time. As the species rises in the scale of life the number of offspring decreases but the care of the parents for the young increases. If the animal is helpless at birth, as is the case with birds, the parents look after the young. Man has a very low birth-rate as compared with most animals and the period of infancy is greatly prolonged; so care by the parents is absolutely necessary. In addition, the mother is especially helpless at the period of childbirth and needs the protection of the male. This argument, which we may call biological necessity for the lack of a better name, is strongly against the existence of any general state of promiscuity.

Whether there ever was such a period as the horde, in which either promiscuity or a modified form of monogamy prevailed, is not and probably never will be definitely known. Whatever the conditions were, the family ties could not have been very strong at that time; but as man

progressed they became stronger. The father also grew to feel a responsibility, at least in part, for the rearing of the children, and so came to contribute more and more towards their support. As the races began to settle down, this trend developed a period generally known as matriarchy or woman rule, in regard to which there is likewise a considerable difference of opinion, both as to its length and importance.

Matriarchy.—1. *Different Views on This Subject.*—Bachofen, who is generally given the credit for the authorship of this theory, considered that there was once a period, indefinite in length, during which woman ruled. Some writers, including the late Professor Ward, go so far as to say that woman ruled because she was the stronger of the two physically, and that she ruled until she lost this superiority of physique. Others on the contrary deny that there ever was such a period. However, practically all the leading authorities to-day recognize some form of matriarchy, although no two definitely agree, and no one is altogether clear in his account of this period. Some think that the period was a long one, lasting possibly thousands of years; others that it was comparatively short; and still others that it was only a transitional stage, and in many races skipped entirely.

At any rate there was a period in which mother right prevailed and during which kinship was traced through the female. This was largely ascribable to the fact that the mother had more to do with the rearing of the offspring than the father. Besides, the father was not always known; and even when he was known, his connection with childbirth was not clearly understood, because of ignorance of the laws of reproduction, pregnancy being among some peoples attributed to magic or to a superhuman power. Also at this time the father was a hunter and roamer, while the mother had a more or less definite place of abode. Naturally she ruled the children and had influence over the grown daughters till they married, and to some extent over the grown sons; from this fact there followed a measure of deference to

the female. But at this period in the world's history no such thing as political government had developed; so woman could not have ruled in the sense Bachofen meant.

2. *Polyandry.*—Polyandry, the possession by one woman of more than one husband, developed as a system under matriarchy, just as polygyny, the marriage of one man to more than one woman, developed under the later period of patriarchy. Sometimes a woman would have more than one suitor, especially in countries where there was a scarcity of women, a situation brought about by infanticide, or where conditions of living made it impossible for one man to support a wife alone—and she would practice polyandry. This system did not, however, become universal because of the almost equal number of individuals in the two sexes; in fact it has been rather the exception. Yet it has survived even to the present among a few peoples, as in Ceylon, Tibet, and Assam.

Howard divides polyandry into two types: (1) The Nair type, in which the wife lives with her mother or brothers and is free to choose her husbands or lovers, who need not be related to each other. Kinship is traced through the female line, and property descends in the same fashion. "No Nair knows his father and every man looks upon his sister's children as his heirs."[1] In a transitional stage the wife has a home of her own, cohabiting with her husbands according to fixed rules. Generally each lives with her a certain set period, at the end of which he gives way to the next man. This is easily managed when all the husbands live in the same village, but if they come from separate localities they sometimes become confused in regard to dates, in which case trouble is liable to ensue. (2) The Tibetan type, which is considered a higher form. The wife lives in the home of her husbands, who are usually brothers. The eldest brother generally chooses the wife and claims as his all the children.

Among the Todas of India monogamy and polyandry

[1] Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, quoting from Buchanan.

exist side by side. A man may choose his own wife and pay the dower to her parents; or, with the consent of all parties his brothers may participate in the marriage, each one contributing his share of the dower. In either case property and kinship are traced through the male line. McLennan believed that the Tibetan type was quite common, but it is not so considered to-day.

3. *Inheritance in Matriarchy.*—As a rule inheritance, like kinship, was traced through the female. This, however, has not been universal, differing with the various tribes and varying conditions. As civilization progresses we find a tendency toward descent through the male.

4. *Economic Argument in Regard to Matriarchy.*—Another condition that we find accompanying matriarchy is that it appears strongest as a system in the countries where the work of the women is economically more important than the work of men—countries which are adapted to agriculture rather than hunting or fishing or pastoral life. Because as a mere laborer woman produces more, she is naturally more important than man and so has the more to say in regard to the life of the family. But as soon as animals are domesticated for use in agriculture and slave labor is utilized, the tables are turned, for man is better adapted to train animals and to manage slaves and servants. In countries adapted to hunting and fishing or pastoral life man always has been the leader, for under such circumstances his work has been the more productive. For this reason we find that in some countries the period of matriarchy was long and important, while in others it was short and unimportant, and in some cases passed over entirely.

Along the same line we find that polygyny is more apt to prevail in countries where food is abundant, and polyandry where living is desperately hard. In countries where neither extreme prevails and property and opportunity are more equally divided, monogamy is apt to be the general rule.

5. *Exogamy and Endogamy.*—These two customs have no special connection with matriarchy, but as they

developed during the same period they may be considered here. Endogamy, or the compelling of one to marry within one's group, is of comparatively slight importance. It principally took the form of group marriages, a certain group of men marrying with a certain group of women. These groups were usually composed of brothers or sisters or those closely related. In such groups each man had a preferential right to one woman, and a secondary right to every other woman.

The general practice, however, has always been exogamy, or the compelling of a man to go outside of his or her group for a partner. This system is maintained to-day among all civilized races by forbidding the marriage of near relatives. It results from the necessity of preventing degeneracy and, according to Westermarck, from the universal horror of incest. It is almost as universal among savage tribes as it is in civilized groups. Among some tribes in Central Australia the tribe is divided into two classes; the man is then compelled to choose his wife from the opposite class. The Kamilaroi, aborigines of Australia, are divided into six gentes, each of which is named after an animal. Formerly members of the first three could marry only into the last three, but later custom grew more lax and inter-marriage is allowed into any gens except one's own. Descent is traced through the female line, giving the children to the gens of the mother.

This condition has been found among nearly all the American Indians but especially among the Iroquois, who furnish us the best example of such a system. The Iroquois or Six Nations, as they were frequently called, were divided into eight gentes, which took the names of animals. Not all of these gentes, however, were represented in each tribe. Each individual had to go outside of his own gens to marry, and as among the Australians, descent was at first traced through the female. The male went to live in the gens of his wife, where he, except in rare cases, was looked upon as an outsider; he very often had little influence in the management of affairs

The head was the eldest unmarried brother of the woman, and the honor of headship descended to the oldest unmarried male in the family. This system later changed; descent became transmitted through the male line, thus ending matriarchy.

Exogamy was brought about to a great extent by wife capture, woman stealing being a mark of successful warfare, indicating prowess. Furthermore, a female thus acquired had an economic value, since she served her husband not only as wife or concubine but also as drudge or slave. From this practice exogamy developed till it became the custom. Because of the fact that those tribes that practiced exogamy survived, while those that practiced endogamy did not, exogamy came to have the sanction of law and religion. However, there are many classical examples of sister marriages, as among the Ptolemies of Egypt and the kings of ancient Persia, where the desire was to maintain the purity of the caste or of the royal blood. Sister marriages are even to-day found in Ceylon and the Sandwich Islands. But exogamy has always been the general rule whether from necessity or choice, or both.

Patriarchy.—From matriarchy, or the rule of woman, the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme, that of patriarchy or the rule of man, where the father was the head of the house and ruled not only his wife and children but also his children's families. He ruled supremely as long as he lived, his wife frequently being his slave, and was succeeded upon his death by his eldest son. Sir Henry Maine, in his "Ancient Law," published in 1867, advanced the theory that this was the primitive form of the family and that the further back we go in history the more wretched we find the condition of woman to have been. The trouble with his theory was that he did not go back far enough into history but based his deductions altogether upon the early Roman family, which his book pictures. It is true that in early Rome the father had the right of life and death over his wife

and children. Although woman was respected on account of her virtue, her life was hard and the treatment accorded her often cruel.

In ancient Greece, woman was kept at home; but while she occupied a much lower place than the Roman woman, she was more humanely treated. She was uneducated and forbidden to mingle in society. Her whole duty was to rear children for her husband. The Greek husband did not abuse his wife; in fact he had little to do with her, for he spent his time away from home talking politics and philosophy, practicing or watching athletics, or listening to orations. When he craved female companionship he sought it from the Hetairii or public women, who, being generally foreigners, were educated and nearly equal to him intellectually. While this was not the condition among all the Greeks, it was among many of them especially the Athenians and Ionians, among whom the men were highly educated; their wives were densely ignorant, being thought unworthy of an education.

In Sparta there was much greater equality. Among Aryan peoples, however, woman was never reduced to slavery, and in general she has exercised joint control over the children, who were released from parental authority when they married and established homes of their own.

According to the Hindu conception the wife was regarded as incapable of holding property and so neither the wife nor the daughters could inherit property. Still the bride possessed her own personal belongings—her couch, clothing, and ornaments—and from this germ there probably arose the present rights of property and inheritance. In other countries we find similar development. Gradually the position of woman has risen from that of a mere chattel or piece of merchandise in her husband's household to her present condition, which in most countries is even yet inferior to that of man, but which is constantly rising. In a few countries her status has reached a plane almost equal to that of man.

Polygyny.[2]—Under patriarchy we find polygyny, or the marriage of one man to more than one woman. Usually there was one preferred wife; often the others were concubines or slaves. Many examples are given in the Bible, as in the cases of Jacob, David, and particularly Solomon, who is said to have had 700 wives and 300 concubines. In fact, as Westermarck says, it was so much the matter of course that the law did not even criticize it. A man was allowed as many wives as he was able to support. This practice was made possible for at least the wealthy and the rulers, by the killing of so many men in war and by the custom of slavery, which appeared in the pastoral and agricultural stages of civilization, especially in the Eastern countries. Polygyny is found to-day in Turkey, Arabia, India, China, and even Japan. It is also practiced among many African tribes, and until very recently was openly practiced among the Mormons of the United States, who regarded it as a divine institution devised in order more rapidly to populate the earth.

While polygyny has been permitted among savage and barbarous peoples, it has not been, and in fact could not be, the universal custom, because of the almost equal number of individuals of the sexes. But as in some countries an excess of males caused by female infanticide and harsh treatment of women resulted in polyandry, so in other countries an excess of females caused by the greater mortality of males in war, the greater hardships incurred by primitive man in hunting, the weaker vitality of the male in childhood, and a larger birth-rate of girls, produced polygyny. On account of expense harems were necessarily possessed only by the rich and powerful who were able to support them. On the other hand many of the lower classes were denied wives because of the intro duction of slavery and the inability of the poor to support them; so, on the average, when one man had more than

[2] The attention of the student is called to the distinction between polygyny, or the plurality of wives, and polygamy, which means the plurality of mates and is a general term which includes both polygyny and polyandry.

one wife, some other man was compelled to live without one.

The causes of polygyny were: (1) self-indulgence of males; (2) need of laborers, causing wives to be economic assets; (3) superior fighting power of men with the largest number of children and relatives, owing to the fact that they could muster greater bands of warriors; (4) honor brought to the men for prowess and craft as evidenced by the number of captured women; and (5) augmented dignity of the chiefs and leading men resulting from the addition of wives to their retinues, harems being kept up for the purpose of gaining social prestige. To add to its influence, this system gained the sanction of religion.

Monogamy.—As civilization advanced, patriarchy gave way to monogamy, for with the progress of civilization slavery decreased and political, social, and industrial equality constantly increased. One natural result of the growth of liberty and freedom was the recognition of the right of every man to become married and to have a home of his own. Because of the almost equal number of males and females monogamy became the only type of family life which could endure. Since freedom applied to woman as well as man, woman demanded the right to have a voice in the making of her home, and her condition gradually became better. This has helped to make monogamy the only form of the family that modern civilization sanctions, although other forms still prevail in some parts of the world.

Indeed, investigation not only shows that the other forms of the family led to monogamy, but also points more and more to the fact that monogamy has always been the rule, that the marriage of single pairs with exclusive cohabitation has been the general custom, and that all other forms have been deviations from the rule. After all, the greatest change as civilization has advanced has been in the strictness of enforcement. While monogamy seems to have been the original custom, there was no power of control; on the contrary, those in power

who had the ability to enforce it were the very ones who violated the rule and hence did not wish to make it compulsory.

Morgan's Classification.—Morgan in his "Ancient Society" has developed an extremely interesting and ingenious theory of the evolution of the family. Assuming a previous condition of promiscuity, he has worked out five different forms of the family as follows:

1. *Consanguine Family,* or the inter-marriage of brothers and sisters belonging to a single group; now extinct but thought to have been once universal. He based his theory upon the Malayan system found among the Maoris, Hawaiians, and other Polynesians, which is the basis of the Chinese relationships. Only five relationships are recognized—parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, brother and sister. Uncles, aunts, and cousins are impossible to determine.

2. *Punaluan,* or the marriage of each of several sisters in a group with the others' husbands, or of each of several brothers in a group with the others' wives, the marriage between brothers and sisters being forbidden. This system has existed in Europe, Asia, and America within historic times and in Polynesia within the present century, especially among the Hawaiians. Each man came to have a principal wife and each woman a principal husband.

3. *Syndiasmian,* or the marriage (often temporary and unexclusive as to cohabitation) of a single pair. This form has been found among many American tribes, especially the Senecas, and among some of the peoples of India.

4. *Patriarchal,* a mode allowing to one man several wives; generally accompanied with the seclusion of the wives. It is a very common form in the Orient even to-day.

5. *Monogamy,* the marriage of single pairs with exclusive cohabitation.

The latter two forms have already been discussed. While suggestive this classification has not generally been accepted among sociologists.

Forms of Marriage.—No history of the family would be complete without treating the evolution of marriage,

tracing the forms through which it has passed, and stating the causes for them. Because this development has not always coincided with the history of the forms of the family, it has been omitted till now. The forms generally recognized have been the following:

1. *Natural, or Sexual Selection.*—This was when man and woman naturally selected each other and lived together through admiration of each other's charms. Because there was no power to compel them to live together, the two remained united only so long as the company of each was pleasing and desirable to the other. This condition existed throughout the period of the horde, if there was such a period, and throughout matriarchy. But when the male began to assume the right to appropriate his bride and to take her to his dwelling, this form of marriage broke down, and marriage by capture took its place; then mother right (matriarchy) gave way to father right (patriarchy).

2. *Marriage by Capture.*—McLennan thought that marriage by capture arose from the rule of exogamy, according to which a man was compelled to go outside of his group to obtain a wife, for as his tribe was generally at war or on bad terms with the neighboring tribes, he was compelled to capture his bride when and how he could. Others hold that marriage by capture grew out of the capture of women in war. Still others think that the men grew tired of the women of their own camp, seeing them all the time, and for this reason were attracted by the women of other tribes. The writer believes that all these theories are true to some extent, and also that the superior strength of the male has had much to do with the prevalence of the custom. But, whatever its origin, it has played a great part in the history of marriage and is even to-day practiced by some savage tribes. Its former prevalence is shown, or at least strongly indicated, by the ceremony of pretended capture in marriage which is prominent in the marriage ceremonies of many countries. In these countries the bridegroom, generally aided by his friends, sweeps down upon the dwelling of the

bride, as a rule according to some set custom, and carries her off despite the pretended resistance of her friends. In these contests she also pretends to put up a struggle, no matter how willing she is to be carried off. Some people believe that certain marriage practices, such as the wedding tour, are merely survivals of this custom. Although there is no direct evidence that it has existed among all races, marriage by capture is generally supposed to have been widespread.

3. *Marriage by Purchase.*—Marriage by capture gave way to marriage by purchase, for the simple reason that man found it easier to buy a wife than to fight for one. Added to this was the desire of the father to receive some compensation for the bringing up of his daughters, who left the household almost as soon as they became economic assets. At first marriage by purchase would have been impossible, for there was no private property, but as progress was achieved and private property came into existence, this obstacle was removed. Cattle were the most common medium of exchange because of their being in general demand.

This change from the capturing of a wife to the buying of one lowered the position of woman, for man thought more of his wife when he fought for her than when he purchased her for merely so many cattle. This produced the desire on his part to realize on the investment; as a result woman became a slave in her husband's household. Even if she was not lowered to the position of a slave, she became a mere chattel. Sometimes she was better treated if she cost a large sum, just as a valuable animal would be well cared for, but this treatment did not carry with it any higher position. In many countries man had the right to sell his wife again, and in some he had the power of life and death over her. This was true in early Rome where the lot of woman was terribly hard.

This custom of purchase was in vogue in nearly all ancient nations and was especially practiced among the Greeks, Hindus, Finns, Scandinavians, and Slavs. In

modern times it has been common among numerous peoples including tribes of the American Indians, nearly all the tribes of Africa, Tartary, and some of the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Remnants are found among many nations which do not practice it now, in such customs as the giving of presents by the bridegroom to the parents of the bride, found among the Japanese. Often when a man did not have sufficient wealth to buy a wife he would, in lieu of payment, work an agreed time for her parents; the classic example is that of Jacob who worked seven years each for Leah and Rachel.

In some localities where wealth accumulated, as in Rome, instead of the father being paid for his daughter he gave a dowry with her. But as the dowry usually belonged to the daughter it gave her greater freedom and made her somewhat independent of her husband. This custom frequently prevailed in countries where a preponderance of females made it difficult to marry them off. Sometimes this custom was so strong that unless this dowry was given the marriage was not considered legal, the children would not be regarded legitimate, and the woman would be treated little better than a prostitute. This became the condition in Greece and Germany to a great extent and to a certain degree in England.

4. *Marriage by Consent.*—Marriage by purchase was succeeded by marriage by consent. At first consent of only the parents was necessary; sometimes the consent of the bridegroom himself was not obtained. Such is the condition in China even to-day; the match is made by the parents through the services of professional matchmakers; and the parties to be married submit without any protest. But in most countries the wishes of the man are considered, and it is he who generally gets the consent of the bride's parents. Sometimes the match is arranged by the parents, though often at the request of the man. At first the wishes of the woman were not deemed worthy of consideration, though she probably used her charms to attract the attention and win the love of the man she preferred. The consent of the parents is

it probably hastened its solution by increasing the respect for woman and by offering her greater opportunities.

Divorce.—When we come to the divorce question we meet a problem which is much more serious than those just considered, although possibly less alarming than many people believe it to be. The conditions are not all bad, for often a divorce is a good thing in that it may be a relief from a worse condition. If a couple simply cannot live together happily and if life to both of them is torment, it is best for them to separate. If there are children the seriousness of the situation is increased, for their future has to be considered, even more than that of the parents. And if the couple continue to live together the problem may be still further complicated by the birth of more children. The fact that we have such a thing as divorce is not the alarming feature; it is rather in the great increase of divorce in the United States. There are more divorces granted in this country than in all the rest of the nations of the civilized world put together. This became the case as early as 1885, as is shown by the following figures for that year, for the number of divorces granted:

United States	23,472	Great Britain and Ireland	508
France	6,245	Roumania	541
Germany	6,161	Holland	339
Russia	1,789	Belgium	290
Austria	1,718	Sweden	229
Switzerland	920	Australia	100
Denmark	635	Norway	68
Italy	556	Canada	12

This makes a total of only 20,131 divorces for all the other nations as against 23,472 for the United States. The figures for twenty years later, 1905, are still more impressive, as shown as follows:

United States	67,976	Italy (1904)	859
Germany	11,147	Great Britain and Ireland	821
France	10,860	Denmark	549
Austria-Hungary	5,785	Sweden	448
Roumania	1,718	Norway	408
Switzerland	1,206	Australia	339
Belgium	901	New Zealand	126
Holland	900	Canada	33

The United States has more than held its own, for against less than 40,000 divorces for the rest of the civilized world the United States had in 1905 nearly 68,000. The highest divorce rate outside the United States was in Switzerland, where there was one divorce to twenty-two marriages. In France the ratio was one to thirty; in Germany one to forty-four; and in England one to four hundred. In the United States it was one to twelve. In 1916 this ratio had increased to one to nine. A few of our states, mostly in the West, showed a much higher rate, it being in Nevada one to one and one-half; in Oregon one to two and one-half; in Wyoming one to three; in Washington one to four; in Idaho, Oklahoma, Montana and California one to five or slightly over; in Indiana, Missouri, Arizona, Texas and New Hampshire one to six or slightly over. Some of our cities show even higher rates. The divorce rate for the Western states in 1905 was more than four times that of the North Atlantic states and almost four times that of the South Atlantic states. This difference is owing largely to the greater independence of woman in the Western states.

Rapid Increase in the United States.—Yet it is not so much the fact that the United States leads the world in the number of divorces granted, as that the increase has been so rapid in this country, which is the alarming feature. In 1867, the first year for which divorce statistics are available, there were only 9937 divorces granted in the United States, while in 1906 the number reached 72,062 and in 1916, 112,036. In the twenty years from 1867 to 1886 inclusive there were 328,716 divorces granted, but in the next twenty years, or 1887 to 1906 inclusive, the number reached 945,625. In the first period (from 1867 to 1886) the number of divorces increased 157 per cent, while the population increased but 60 per cent; in the second period (from 1886 to 1906) the number of divorces increased 160 per cent; while the population increased but a trifle over 50 per cent. In other words divorce has increased three times as fast as our population. Professor Wilcox estimates that at our present rate of in-

crease, by 1950, one-fourth of all our marriages will end in divorce and, by 1990, one-half of all marriages will end in divorce. Such a condition would be dangerous to our civilization for it would inevitably cause neglect of children, the breaking up of the home, immorality, and an entire disregard for family ties. While such an increase as Professor Willcox suggests is logical, it is not at all probable. We are now in a period of transition and we should naturally expect a high divorce rate. In all probability it will be only a matter of a few years till we reach the end of this increase, although we have not reached it yet. After we have settled down to the new state of affairs and reach the time when woman has as much to say about the choosing of a mate and the management of the home as the man, then we can perhaps look for a decrease, for we can naturally expect that unions will be made with greater care and greater marital happiness will result. If people were truly happy, they would not even need any marriage bonds to hold them; in fact they would continue to live together if there were none.

Who Are Divorced?—1. As we naturally should suppose in view of the greater strain upon family life, divorces are granted much more frequently in cities than in rural sections. This is not true, however, in some cities where there are large numbers of immigrants, who have not as yet adopted our customs and who are generally adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. The liability of family friction is increased by cramped dwellings, nerve strain, financial worry, opportunities to spend money, the inclination to seek pleasure outside of the family circle, late hours, separation during the most of the day, renting instead of owning homes, especially furnished apartments, and the buying of food in restaurants and delicatessens instead of home cooking. These and other urban conditions make it only natural that divorce should be more common in cities than in the country.

2. Statistics show that divorce is almost twice as frequent in homes that have no children as among families

that have. Children give the parents something in common, something to love, somebody else to work for; thus they keep the minds of the parents off themselves and encourage altruism. In fact, the possession of children develops the finest qualities of the human soul; parents endure things—even unhappiness—for the sake of their children, being unwilling to spoil their future. Then again, although it is a fact seldom mentioned, childlessness may be a sign of previous unfaithfulness and immorality; the couple may not be able to have children. This in itself would bring about unhappiness. If a wife finds out that she cannot have children because her husband sowed his wild oats years before, she naturally will lose her love for him. Formerly she was blamed for barrenness, but nowadays she is able to find out the real reason. Married couples who are too selfish to have children are the very ones who are too selfish to live happily together. So the whole tendency is only a natural, logical result of present-day living conditions.

3. Religion plays an important part. Because the Roman Catholic Church forbids divorce, we naturally find the fewest cases among its adherents. Protestants say the least about it and have practically no church laws forbidding it, so we find them at the head of the list. The Jews follow the Protestants. In sections where religious control is great we naturally look for a lower divorce rate. Religion is, however, playing a less important role in this respect than formerly.

4. Divorce is greater among native whites than foreign-born whites because of the larger percentage of Roman Catholics among the immigrants, and because of the fact that the newcomers have not yet adopted our ideas and customs. Women among the immigrants endure things the native American woman would not think of enduring.

5. For the past forty years two-thirds of the divorces have been granted to the wife. In former times it was the husband who sought divorce. This does not mean that the fault is two-thirds of the time with the husband. If the divorce is agreed upon between them, it is the wife

who usually seeks it because of the greater chance she has of obtaining it. Moreover modern laws in the United States favor her more than the husband, allowing divorce for cruelty, drunkenness, adultery, desertion, non-support, etc.; so it is harder for a man to get a divorce. It is also a greater disgrace to the wife if the husband sues for the divorce. Courts are much more lenient with women than with men. Because man is stronger he can be cruel if he desires; it would be more difficult for the wife to be cruel. It is also easier for a man to desert his family. The temptation to adultery and drunkenness is greater; so it is only natural that he should be the guilty party in the majority of cases. If the home is unhappy, it affects the wife more, for she has to live in it; the husband can be away much of the time.

6. There are three great divorce centers, the Western states, Rocky Mountain and North Central states, and New England; this is due to the greater development of individualism and woman's rights in those sections, and also to the greater economic independence of woman in those localities. In the last few years there has been a great increase of divorce in the Southern states, and we can expect a greater.

7. As to occupation we find that the rate among farmers is below normal. On the other hand, actors, commercial travelers, professional showmen, bartenders, musicians, physicians, and telephone and telegraph operators furnish far above the average number. Where the occupation brings with it greater strain upon the family ties we find greater divorce rates. Also those occupations which attract temperamental persons, such as actors and musicians, naturally furnish a high divorce rate.

Grounds for Divorce.—It must be clearly understood that there is a difference between grounds for divorce and causes of divorce. By grounds we mean the legal bases upon which divorce may be obtained. These need not be necessarily the reasons; the real reasons may never be disclosed in the court room, and frequently are not. In all there are thirty-six different grounds for divorce

recognized by the laws of the various states, ranging in number from one (adultery), in New York, to fourteen, in New Hampshire. While some states grant divorce on trivial grounds, such as incompatibility of temper, ninety-five per cent of the divorces are granted for such grave reasons as desertion, adultery, cruelty, imprisonment for crime, habitual drunkenness and non-support. The following statistics will give a better idea of the importance of the various legal grounds. Figures are for the year 1916.

Grounds for Divorce	*Per Cent*	*% to Men*	*% to Women*
Desertion	36.8	50.	30.8
Cruelty	28.3	17.4	33.2
Unfaithfulness	11.5	20.3	7.5
Drunkenness	3.4	0.8	4.5
Non-support	4.7	....	6.9
Combinations of preceding grounds	8.6	4.3	10.5
All other grounds	6.8	7.2	6.5

From these data it will easily be seen that the fault is not so much with the laxity of our laws as with the decay of our family life. While drunkenness is given in a few cases, it formerly figured as a contributing cause in one-third of the divorces granted to the wife for cruelty, and in one-fifth of the non-support cases, and as an indirect cause in 18.3 per cent of the divorces granted to the wife. The reason why unfaithfulness is given by the man more frequently than by the wife is that our double standard of morals makes it more difficult to secure evidence against the man than against the woman. On the other hand, the number of divorces granted for cruelty and non-support has doubled.

The fact that divorce has increased does not necessarily mean that family life is less happy or less successful than it ever has been. It means rather that more is demanded, especially by the wife. Conduct which was formerly overlooked is now considered sufficient grounds for divorce. The wife demands not only chastity and freedom from excessive abuse on the part of the husband, but also a partnership in the family for herself. The husband also demands self-sacrifice and loyalty. While formerly man

and wife expected to live together, now they demand that they be able to live together happily. The general increase of education makes this demand all the more important. We are living on a higher moral plane than in the past and the increase in divorce is merely an evidence of it.

Causes for the Increase in Divorce.—The question arises, Why has the United States such a high divorce rate? What is there about our civilization which works havoc with the stability of our family ties? Some of the reasons are undoubtedly the following:

1. *High Standard of Living Required in the United States.*—The demand for not only the necessities of life but for comforts as well, although thoroughly desirable, brings about friction. It tends to limit the size of families, hence produces a greater risk of unhappiness. Women to-day are not contented unless they receive the comforts and often the luxuries of life. When these are impossible, disappointment ensues; too often this leads to the divorce court. The higher standard of morality and family life in general also leads to dissatisfaction.

2. *Increased Cost of Living.*—An increase in financial strain is closely related to the high standard of living now demanded. Worry over finances brings about friction. Wages are slower to increase than prices, so often while the expenses are increasing the income is stationary. This problem is accentuated when the husband does not take his wife into partnership with him in regard to the finances; when as a result she does not understand this financial strain, she does not appreciate the worry of the husband. Too often the wife, ignorant of true values, is consequently extravagant and not worthy to be taken into partnership, even if her husband so desires. Girls are too little trained to recognize the real value of money; not having to earn it, they do not know how to spend it. Formerly the wife left financial matters to the husband, now she is demanding an equal voice in the financial management, but very often she is not capable of handling finances wisely. This causes friction and is one reason

for the increase in the number of divorces granted for non-support and desertion.

3. *Growth of Modern Industrialism.*—The new industrial system has made it possible for women to obtain employment and thus become independent. This condition has tended to break up the home. When the wife enters industry, the home is disrupted and little attention is paid to household matters. The wife does not have the time to prepare the meals or to keep the house tidy. Consequently the home is less attractive. Then, too, when girls enter industry, they neglect to learn domestic arts; so when they marry they do not know how to cook, sew, take care of children, or keep house. The home thus becomes uninviting and married life unsuccessful.

4. *Growth of Woman's Individualism.*—The growth of woman's independence, already considered as a problem of the family, has tended to increase family jealousy, especially if the wife is also a breadwinner and is economically independent of the husband. Other contributing factors are the feminist and woman suffrage movements, which are evidences of a change to which we have not as yet adjusted ourselves.

5. *The Rapid Growth of Cities.*—As has been shown, the movement of population to the city has undoubtedly been one of the causes of the increase in divorce, for it has increased the overcrowding and otherwise disturbing influences and has so tended to break up home life.

6. *Late Marriages.*—Postponement of marriage lessens the possibility of happiness. Not only do women become self-supporting and thus economically independent, but those who marry late in life find it more difficult to adjust themselves to the new relationship. After people pass the age of thirty their habits become crystallized; it is very difficult for them to change their views and manners of living. They become accustomed to having things just so, and think that their happiness depends upon having them so. If they married before these habits had become fixed, the man and woman might easily adjust themselves to each other.

This condition seems to be growing worse: the time required for preparation for a professional career is constantly lengthening. After four years in high school the student requires four more for college, then three or four for the professional school. Even with the combination of these latter two periods in the modern university, six years are required to prepare for law and seven or eight for medicine; and that is not all, for it takes from one to three years for one to become established. For medicine, one or two years in a hospital are generally considered to be necessary; then one or two more to acquire a practice. As it works out, the ordinary professional man has reached the age of thirty, or is approaching it, before he can think of getting married. This situation lessens the chances of happiness. At present we can see no remedy for this condition. Possibly the future will present a workable plan by which couples may marry and still continue their period of preparation.

7. *Decay of Religious Control.*—While, in the belief of the present writer, religion is not decaying, but is growing purer and loftier, the control of the church is decreasing. Religion is becoming more a personal matter. Marriage is being considered less a religious ceremony. The various churches are preaching less urgently against divorce. It is not now considered so much a violation of divine command as it was formerly.

8. *Increased Knowledge of the Law.*—Formerly people did not know that they could be freed from marriage bonds; now they know that they can. Hence many who, a few generations ago, would not have thought about divorce now seek separation. There is less fear or awe of the courts now than formerly; the press and popular magazines have familiarized the common people with legal processes. Hence divorces are more freely sought.

9. *The Granting of Divorce on Trivial Grounds.*—The letting down of legal barriers to divorce, and the change in public opinion regarding the gravity of marriage and divorce, are considered by many as prominent causes of divorce increase. Canada and England are cited as

examples of countries where divorce laws are strict and where as a result there are few divorces. This phase of the question has probably been over-emphasized. The increase of divorce is due more to the breaking down of home life than to the laxity of our laws. Some point to the lax laws of a few states, especially Nevada, and assert that people rush to such states for divorce; but this rush is exaggerated, for few go outside of their own state to be divorced; in fact, only about one-fifth of the divorces are granted outside of the state in which the couple was married. If courts are lax it is because public opinion to a large extent demands or at least allows that laxity. Often our courts are overburdened with work and cannot give a divorce case the attention that should be given it, as is evidenced by the fact that the average time allowed for a divorce case is something like fifteen minutes. At any rate, divorces are exceedingly easy to obtain.

On the whole, the United States, with its varied life, hustle and bustle, high nervous tensions, changing climate, and rapid growth of cities and industry, may be a country in which we should naturally expect to find a high divorce rate. Our condition, indeed, may not be nearly so abnormal as one would think at first glance. Being in the transition stage, we need not be unduly alarmed about a high divorce rate. There will be more cause for alarm, however, if divorce keeps on increasing, especially if it reaches the percentage mentioned by Professor Willcox. If it brings with it an increase in immorality such as it did in Rome, and if family relations become lax, then there will be cause for alarm. As yet that condition has not appeared in this country. Immorality is not so serious as it was fifty years ago, when we had few divorces. The moral condition in this country is constantly growing better.

Results of Divorce.—Some of the results of divorce are noticeable, such as the increase in juvenile delinquency. A child needs the care and attention of both parents, and when the home is broken up it does not get them. Some-

times it is better for the child if the parents separate than if they live in a state of constant quarreling and fighting; but when we come to examine conditions in the families from which come the inmates of our reform schools and the children who appear before the juvenile courts, we find that the majority of these unfortunates come from homes that have been broken up. Professor Ellwood, in an investigation made in 1909, found that of the 7,575 children in thirty-four state reform schools 29.6 per cent came from families in which there had been a divorce or desertion; 33 per cent in which one of the parents was dead; and 38 per cent from homes demoralized by drink, vice, or crime. Only a few came from homes that were perfectly normal. Of 4,278 children investigated in four juvenile courts, 23.7 came from homes in which there had been divorce or desertion, while 27.8 per cent came from homes in which only one parent was living or both parents were dead. The same was true of inmates of homes for dependent children, for in the thirty-two institutions investigated it was found that 24.7 per cent of the children were from homes in which there had been divorce or desertion; 47.5 per cent had lost one or both parents. In short, it requires the care of more than one parent to bring up a child and produce a normal, well-rounded adult. When broken into, the family fails in its function, and some other institution, such as the juvenile court, has to step in to perform its duties.

If the evil caused by the breaking up of a family is not corrected by the juvenile court or some other institution, the child drifts into still more lawless ways, and instead of appearing before the juvenile court he arrives in the adult court and goes to the penitentiary. History shows that immorality follows lax family conditions, and while immorality is on the decline in the United States at present, it would decrease still faster if we held ourselves to a plane of high family morality.

Remedies Suggested.—Since the trouble arises from the decay of family life, it is difficult to suggest remedies. There is no one cause that can be held responsible. The

causes are too numerous and the trouble too deep-rooted to be weeded out by any legal action or by any one program of action. Some people even go to the opposite extreme and say that the fault is not with divorce but with the family as an institution; that instead of limiting divorce we should make divorce absolutely free and allow any couple to separate, if they care to do so, and that it is a greater crime to compel a couple to live together unhappily than to allow them to separate. While there is truth in this viewpoint it is a dangerous policy to advocate, for the practice would merely cover up immorality and put the cloak of decency and law upon all forms of vice and sexual laxity. It would rob the marriage bond of its sacredness. As stated previously, the source of the trouble is not altogether with our laws or lack of them; however, certain legal measures might be advantageous, even if they did not solve the problem. Among legal measures often suggested are the following:

1. *A Universal Marriage and Divorce Law.*—Instead of each state having a different code there should be one Federal code for marriage and divorce to cover the whole country. Under our present condition if a couple cannot obtain a divorce in one state, they can move into another; if they cannot marry in their own state, all they have to do is to cross a border. This is especially true of marriages under the legal age and of marriages after divorce. Some states forbid marriage for one or two years after divorce. Under such conditions the couple go to a state which does not put such obstacles in Cupid's way. This practice lowers the prestige of the law besides degrading the sanctity of marriage. It is argued that marriage and divorce are national questions rather than state ones. Yet there are objections to such a code. Conditions are different in the various states and what might be fair and just in West Virginia might not be in Massachusetts, and what might be needed in New York might be just the opposite in New Mexico. Then, too, if such a code should be drafted, at best it would only be an average code. Some states have high codes and others

do not, and a code which would be accepted by the majority would be only an average one, and would lower the standard upheld in some states. On the whole, a uniform marriage and divorce code, provided a really high code could be adopted, would probably be a step in the right direction, but it would be very difficult to get such a code adopted. It is more a question of expediency than of theory.

2. *Court of Domestic Relations.*—Another reform measure which is meeting with popular favor and which is being adopted in our large cities, is that of a court of domestic relations. Such a court has a special judge who gives all his or her (such a judge is frequently a woman) time to domestic cases. All divorce cases and suits involving family troubles come before this court. Its machinery is directed especially to the handling of this type of work. Time is taken to look into the cases, and instead of trying to dispose of them by granting the divorce in the shortest possible manner, the court tries to remedy the trouble, and if possible reconcile the husband and wife and induce them to live together. Very often the cause is trivial and can be easily remedied; in fact a large percentage of the cases coming before the Domestic Relations Court of Chicago are settled out of court, the cases being dropped from the docket.

One objection to such a remedy is that it often comes too late to do any good, the case not being brought into court until the breach has been widened beyond repair. In connection with this court has developed the practice of hiring a divorce proctor, whose duty it is to inquire carefully into the family life of the applicants for divorce, in order to see if there is any fraud, to ascertain whether the grounds given in the application are really the true causes, and to find out if there is any collusion between the husband and wife, such, for example, as the husband leaving home for a time sufficient to constitute legal grounds for divorce for desertion. In Kansas City, such a proctor cut down the number of divorces granted 30 per cent. Such work does an enormous amount of good

in checking the granting of divorces for trivial reasons and in preventing the unnecessary breaking up of homes. It does not, however, get at the root of the problem, or stop marital unhappiness, which is the real problem. Measures for the alleviation of the trouble do not prevent the causes that produce the problem. Their use should be extended, but they should not be relied upon to solve the difficulty.

3. *Restricting the Grounds for Divorce.*—Those who advocate restricting the grounds for divorce would make divorce harder to obtain by limiting them to the five or six most serious, *i.e.*, adultery, crime, cruelty, drunkenness, desertion, and non-support. While this restriction might reduce the number of divorces, it would not solve the problem; it would merely cover it up. It would be like easing the pain of a broken leg without trying to set the bone.

4. *The Requirement of a Stated Time Before Remarriage.*—The requirement of an intervening period of one or two years before remarriage would put a damper on trying to obtain a divorce in order to marry somebody else. If in addition the divorce were not made completely operative till a year or two after being granted, and became null and void if the couple decided to live together again, it would give the couple a chance to reconsider and would make reunion less troublesome and less spectacular. Such requirements are all very well, but they do not solve—they merely alleviate. They would undoubtedly remedy a few cases, but not many.

5. *The Placing of Restrictions Upon Marriage.*—The forbidding of marriage to those afflicted with venereal disease, to defectives, to those exhibiting too great differences in age or race, to immature persons, and to persons with insufficient means—such restrictions deal with the real sources of the trouble, the marriage of those unfitted for each other. The solution lies in the prevention of unwise mating of people, rather than in the separation of those already mated. A few states have such laws to-day, particularly those laws requiring a medical ex-

amination before marriage, and those forbidding the marriage of insane and feeble-minded. Also, most states forbid the marriage of the very young without parental consent. It is to the extension of such laws that we must look for our greatest reform. But in this regard public opinion is stronger than law. If we have the laws without public opinion back of them, they will become dead letters. On the other hand, if public opinion demands these regulations strongly enough, there will be little need of such laws. It is this public opinion which needs our attention and fostering. We do not put enough stress upon the importance and real meaning of marriage. We too often rush into it without any thought of the future, merely being captivated by a pretty face, a fat pocketbook, or a dashing manner. If people moved towards marriage less hastily, made more careful plans for the future, and really understood the partners they had chosen for life, there would be fewer people rushing to the divorce courts.

6. *Moral Education.*—It is to moral education that we must look for the principal remedy of the divorce evil. Habits, customs, and ideals are the results of public opinion; public opinion can be molded by education, not by laws. Law is merely the reflection of public opinion, not the creator of it. It takes time and advertising to build up public sentiment. The press, magazines, lectures, books, churches, and schools have to be brought into use. And it is through such mediums that we must look for the solution of this problem, just as for the solution of any other problem. There are causes back of problems, and these have to be considered and dealt with. The present divorce evil is merely the symptom of a disorganized home. This disorganized home is largely the result of a readjustment to new conditions, the change from the remnant of the old patriarchal family to the family of partnership, love, and co-operation.

As soon as the public becomes educated to this change, gets accustomed to it, and prefers it to any other condition, then the divorce problem will disappear. If marriage

is based upon mutual love and appreciation, and the home is held together by sympathy and co-operation, there will be less desire for separation. Under our present conditions divorce is not necessarily bad. If the home is unhappy and the real functions of the family cannot be performed, it is often a blessing to break up that home. While children complicate the situation it is impossible to forbid divorce to those having children; it would be absurd to have one standard for the families with children and another for those who are childless, for the establishment of such a distinction would merely put a premium upon childlessness. Efforts should be made to limit divorce to those cases where family ties are irretrievably broken. Divorce should be discouraged rather than encouraged. The teaching of domestic science and education for parenthood should be encouraged in our public schools. The church, instead of preaching against the sins of divorce, should try to remedy the conditions which cause it. The spread of the knowledge of venereal diseases, the stamping out of vice, the abolishing of the liquor traffic, extension of the work of visiting nurses, remedying the causes of poverty and crime—in fact the extension of all agencies which are working for a purer and nobler life and a loftier and more efficient civilization—such should be the program of those craving better family relationships. The schools, the churches, and all altruistic organizations should struggle to carry out such a program, rather than to bring about legislative reforms. Let them create a spirit of altruism in the public mind; then the problem will solve itself.

Family Income.—In our study of the divorce problem we found that difficulties centering in the family income were one of the leading causes of divorce. We shall find the same factors operative in other problems, such as poverty, crime, immorality, drunkenness, and sickness. The family income fixes the standard of living, affects the health of the entire family, and determines the size, convenience, healthfulness and location of the house in which the family lives. Because it determines the amount

and quality of food, it affects the physical stamina. It likewise governs the clothing worn, not only as to the style and cut but also as to quantity and comfort. It determines the amount of education the children shall obtain, whether they can go on to high school, college, or training school, even whether they can go to school at all, or whether they will be forced into industry in order to add to the income. It decides whether the mother may remain at home, or must go into industry to supply the deficiency in the husband's income. It provides—or fails to provide—the health, wealth, pleasures, prosperity, and efficiency, not only of the present generation, but that of the future generations as well. It determines whether or not the next generation will be stunted physically, mentally and morally. If the father cannot earn enough for the family, and if the wife and young children are forced into industry, the very purpose of the home is defeated.

Various estimates have been made as to the income necessary for maintaining the standard of decency required of the average family in different parts of the United States. It was estimated in 1913 that an income of $800 a year was required to enable a family to live in the stock-yards district of Chicago. The street cleaning department of New York a little later estimated that at least $840 a year was needed for a member of that force to support the average family of five. It was also calculated that for a family to live before the war in the average small town of about 5,000 population an income of $600 a year was necessary. All of these estimates were probably fairly accurate. Yet how many unskilled men were able to earn even the $600 necessary to live in the average small town? The wage for day labor ranged from $1.25 to $2.50 a day and on the average was about $1.75 or $2.00 per day, depending upon the demand. If the laborer earned $2.00 a day and worked on an average 250 days a year—an extremely high average—he failed to make the $600 required. This meant that the extra $100 had to be earned by the wife or children, or the family did

without, unless the husband was able to earn part of it by means of a garden or some other home industry. The average wage in the stock-yards district of Chicago was not far from $7.50 a week, and if the worker was employed forty weeks in a year—a high average again—he could earn only about $300 of the requisite $800.

These illustrations are merely taken at random. The same condition existed everywhere. The white worker in the South could not earn a living wage. The railroads of this country before the war did not pay living wages to their section hands; the mills of our manufacturing cities did not pay their common help enough to support families. The department stores did not give their clerks sufficient even to support themselves. The wife of the average laboring man was compelled to supplement her husband's income by going into a factory, working for her neighbors, taking in washing, or some such means. This meant that she could not attend to home duties as she should, and that the children were neglected. It meant also that the children did not have any opportunity to better their condition. There was certainly something vitally wrong with our whole industrial system if we did not allow the laboring man to earn enough to support a family in decency; yet such was the condition under normal times.

This matter of income affects not only the laboring man but nearly all classes. It is often just as hard for a professional man to make both ends meet according to the standard demanded of him, as it is for the laboring man. The minister who received only $600 a year, and the university instructor who received but $1,000, had as big a problem as the laboring man with $2.00 a day. Yet such salaries have been quite common. Many ministers have received less than $600, and many of our universities have been shortsighted enough to offer instructors but $900 or $1,000 a year, with the result that their best trained men leave them to go to smaller institutions or into other work. The ethics of offering a minister a salary of $500 or $600 a year, or a university instructor one

of $900 or $1,000, seems about on a par with that of the department store superintendent who offers the salesgirl a salary of $5 or $6 a week, and when she complains that she can not live on it, asks her if she hasn't a gentleman friend to help support her; or with that of the superintendent who boasts that his store employs only girls who live at home. For such salaries absolutely forbid the professional man to support a family on the standard required of him. It means that he is forbidden to marry, or if he marries that he is denied the luxury of children. Our churches and universities are supposed to teach morals and ethics, while at the same time they have contributed to some of the problems that society has been trying to solve.

All the estimates just given were made under normal times before the Great War. During the war, prices of practically all commodities rose, some of course going higher than others, but the cost of living practically doubled, in fact in some places went considerably higher. So if the estimates given above for a minimum standard of living in different sections of the country and in different industries were doubled, the result would not be far from the condition of affairs in the latter part of 1919 and the early part of 1920. At that time $1200 would probably have been a minimum for a working man's family in the average town in the United States. In some places where food was abundant and rent had not advanced very much, a man might possibly support a family on less, but in many places more would be necessary. For a professional man or any representative of the so-called "middle class," $1800 would have been possibly a conservative estimate of the necessary minimum.

The following are a few budgets that were compiled with these changes in prices taken into consideration: a Minimum Budget Estimate for Pacific Coast Workers, 1917, of $1476.40; the Budget awarded in the Seattle and Tacoma Street Railway Arbitration, 1917, of $1505.60; the Budget submitted to National War Labor Board by W. F. Ogburn, 1918, of $1760.50; Budget for the Govern-

ment Employee's Family in Washington, D. C., 1919, of $2262.47 at market prices and of $2015.56 with allowances for possible saving through extreme thrift, high intelligence, great industry and good fortune in purchasing at the lowest prices and a maximum of home work being done by the wife; Wage Earners in Fall River, Massachusetts at an extreme minimum of $1267.76 and with a more liberal standard of $1573.90; and for Lawrence, Massachusetts on the same plan of $1385.79 and $1658.04, these being taken in October and November, 1919, respectively. The latest and probably the best was the carefully estimated budget of articles necessary for the maintenance of a family of five in health and decency which has been worked out by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1920, with the estimated cost of from $1500 to $2100, depending upon location.

To meet the increase in prices, wages in many industries went up in proportion. In some lines, especially the manufacture of munitions and other industries engaged in war work, wages more than met the advance in prices. In many others wages were much slower to rise and for a long time in many lines did not advance at all. Business men took advantage of the shortage of commodities and the increased demand to increase their earnings, in many cases at an enormous rate. On the other hand, professional men, especially those engaged on salaries, were perhaps the hardest hit of all, for their salaries did not increase in proportion to the increase in prices. In some lines they did not advance at all because of the decrease in demand; this was especially true of teachers until the war was over. In other professions salaries increased but slightly until towards the end of the war, or after it. In general, the wages of working men in factories and in industry barely kept up with increased prices; salaries did not do so.

After we settle down to normal times again, an equilibrium will be reached, but it will be a new equilibrium. Many prices will be higher, some will pos-

sibly be lower. Income, on the other hand, will be different, depending upon the new valuation placed by society upon various kinds of work. During the war emphasis was placed upon mechanical work, and professional services were not valued so highly. After normal times return, a new set of valuations will be worked out. Prices and incomes in general will settle, but probably will never reach the old level. Beginning with the latter part of 1920, prices began to drop and continued to do so with brief relapses during 1921 till, at the opening of 1922, they were not quite seventy-five per cent higher than before the war. In general, they are still dropping but more slowly, and just where the new equilibrium will be reached nobody can tell. The decline may continue or, on the other hand, a reaction may set in and prices begin to rise again.

While wages followed prices they were always slightly in the rear, ranging from 2 to 20 per cent. After the war when prices began to drop, wages did not go down as rapidly and for a time were proportionally higher than were prices; but in general the laborer was no better off, for work was scarce and unemployment began to appear. Now the problem is to get work, rather than in regard to the amount of the wages. In time a new wage level will be reached, which of course will correspond with the price level. However, neither will be like the old levels, for society will place new values on certain commodities and different occupations. While during the war the skilled trades were possibly the best off, a new tendency apparently is setting in, placing a greater emphasis upon professions like teaching, the ministry, and public service; but whether such professions will ever receive a reward in proportion to the training necessary and the service rendered, is an open question.

Spending of Incomes.—In many ways the spending of an income is more important than the earning of it. Many families receive enough, but do not know how to spend wisely what they earn, wasting too much on useless pur-

chases, such as liquor, tobacco, bargain sales when the articles bought are not needed, and extravagant commodities. Some people always manage to get one hundred cents out of every dollar; others are able to get but fifty or sixty. Some people always pay more than others for the same thing. If our schools took up the teaching of real values and fair prices of ordinary articles, it might be of great help. Our settlements are taking up this work, and the visiting nurses are endeavoring to teach families how to spend their money. We see this difference in spending ability in all walks of life. Perhaps the college community furnishes as good an example as any other. Some students manage to get through college on one-half or one-third the amount of money others require, and seem to have as much to show for it in the end, often even more. Few college students know how to spend money wisely, especially if they can get an ample supply from home and do not have to worry about earning it.

Family Budgets.—Several different methods of investigating family expenditures have been adopted with varying degrees of success. Some of these are:

1. *The Le Play Method,* originated by a French sociologist who would go to the community to be studied and live with a family which he had selected as a representative family. While living there, by means of questioning the family and the neighbors, he would find out what the family spent as nearly as he was able; learn what each article of furniture, each purchase of food, clothing, or fuel cost; what was spent for amusements, tobacco, intoxicants, and sundries. Usually it would take him a month to learn all these matters. While intensive and thorough, such a method might not be reliable, for the family might not be a representative one and the answers given might not be correct. It also requires a great deal of time.

2. *The Bücher Method.*—Bücher, a German sociologist, adopted the method of asking a few carefully chosen families to keep an account of their expenditures for a period of time. Then these would be taken and averaged and analyzed in detail in some way. One objection to such

a system is that such families selected, or in fact all families able to keep accurate accounts, might not be typical.

3. *The University of Chicago Plan.*—What is known as the University of Chicago plan has been used in the stock-yards district of Chicago. This is an intensive system, going into details. It tries to find out exactly what is spent for each article of food and clothing and, in fact, every purchase of the family, classifying under different headings the cost of the clothes for each member of the family, the amount and cost of meat eaten, the amount spent on car-fare, amusements, cooking utensils, etc. It, of course, requires the services of a trained investigator. Through the co-operation of the University of Chicago Settlement, this plan has been very successfully used in Chicago. One hundred typical families were selected at one time for study; they were asked to keep their accounts in a certain way for a certain length of time, and because of their respect for the settlement, and for Miss McDowell, the head of that settlement, they were generally willing to do this. Under favorable conditions where the co-operation of the families can be obtained and trained investigators are used, this plan is very successful. The United States Government employs a method very similar to this, only more extensive and less intensive. Such budgets are necessary if we are to ascertain anything definite in regard to a standard of living.

The following is a table of necessities which must be provided for in the budget of every family maintaining a proper standard:

I. *Physical Needs.*

1. Food sufficient in quality and quantity to keep up efficiency.
2. Clothes sufficient to provide warmth, decency, and the degree of style required to enable one to hold one's place in the group.
3. Rent funds to provide for a house of adequate space to allow separation of the sexes, pure

air, ventilation, and a location satisfactory as to drainage, sanitation, and healthful environment.

4. Fuel to supply proper warmth.
5. Light for reading purposes.
6. Medical attention, including that of dentist and oculist if necessary—not only for treatment of sickness but for prevention. As health improves the amount needed for this purpose decreases.
7. Recreation, variable in amount and kind, but sufficient to provide proper relaxation.
8. Insurance funds, not as a luxury but as a necessity. Provision must here be made for sickness, accident, and unemployment. There are two methods of providing this—by savings banks and insurance policies.

II. *Culture Needs, Sufficient to Fit for Life.*

1. Education, at least for every child during school age.
2. Technical education, to teach necessary trade or profession.
3. Adult culture, to permit keeping a proper position in one's social and intellectual life.

Few people before marriage consider the importance of budgets; possibly it is for the best, for if the problem of living were investigated many would not marry. But if it were considered more, there would be less poverty and misery to deal with, also less divorce. Of course the people who should consider it the most never do, and the ones who would get along satisfactorily anyway are the ones who give it the most careful consideration. But that condition is true of every phase of life; those who need warnings never heed them.

In 1914, the *Ladies' Home Journal* gave the following interesting set of family budgets for a family consisting of husband, wife, and two children under ten years of age:

Six Hundred Dollars a Year

Rent at $9.00 a month	$108.00
Heat	50.00
Food, kerosene and laundry supplies	286.00
Clothes	94.50
Savings and insurance	20.00
Developmental	20.00
Incidentals	21.50
	$600.00

Nine Hundred Dollars a Year

Rent at $15.00 a month	$180.00
Heat	65.00
Light at $1.00 a month	12.00
Food and laundry supplies at $6.50 a week	338.00
Clothes	150.00
Savings and insurance	75.00
Developmental	50.00
Incidentals	30.00
	$900.00

Twelve Hundred Dollars a Year

Rent at $20.00 a month	$240.00
Heat	75.00
Light at $1.50 a month	18.00
Food and laundry supplies at $7.00 a week	364.00
Clothes	225.00
Savings and insurance	125.00
Developmental	100.00
Incidentals	53.00
	$1200.00

Fifteen Hundred Dollars a Year

Rent at $22 a month	$264.00
Heat	80.00
Light at $1.75 a month	21.00
Food and laundry supplies at $8.00 a week	416.00
Clothes	250.00
Savings and insurance	200.00
Developmental	150.00
Incidentals	119.00
	$1500.00

EIGHTEEN HUNDRED DOLLARS A YEAR

Rent at $25 a month	$300.00
Heat	85.00
Light at $1.75 a month	21.00
Food and laundry supplies at $9.00 a week	468.00
Clothes	300.00
Savings and insurance	250.00
Developmental	200.00
Incidentals	176.00
	$1800.00

TWENTY-FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS A YEAR

Rent at $30 a month	$360.00
Heat	85.00
Light at $2.00 a month	24.00
Food and laundry supplies at $9.00 a week	468.00
Clothes	400.00
Savings and insurance	400.00
Developmental	300.00
Incidentals	363.00
	$2400.00

One fault with such a budget is that the man with the $600 or $900 income generally has more than two children. Also before the war too many families did not have an income of $600. These budgets show, besides, more what expenditures ought to be than what they are. Few families have the ability to adjust their expenses in such a scientific manner. The preceding table has been given, not for its scientific value, but for its suggestiveness and possible usefulness to the student. The increase in prices owing to the war has upset, at least temporarily, the validity of these budgets, because prices of all commodities did not go up in the same proportion. While the Bureau of Labor statistics show that the average price of all commodities rose 138 per cent from 1913 to December, 1919, the different items varied, food rising 134 per cent, clothing (wholesale) 235 per cent, lumber and building materials 153 per cent, house furnishings 203 per cent, and farm products 144 per cent. Even with food there was a great variance, meat rising from 50 per cent to

80 per cent, butter 104 per cent, eggs 161 per cent, lard 121 per cent, flour 133 per cent, bread 179 per cent, rice 103 per cent, potatoes 153 per cent, coffee, tea, and sugar 64 per cent, 27 per cent, and 164 per cent respectively. While prices have dropped they have not all declined in the same ratio, and the proportions in a budget for to-day would vary considerably from the budget of 1913. In all probability prices which went up the highest will resume something like their normal level, and although prices will undoubtedly be higher after we settle down to normal conditions again than they were before the war, their relative proportions will remain about the same. So our chief criticism is that the $600 income is out of date. Budgets will need to be worked out for a larger income than $2400, as $3000, for illustration, may be a fairly common income in the future.

Engel's Laws.—In this connection Engel's laws in regard to family expenses are of interest. These have stood the test of time and are without question true in the long run. They are as follows:

1. The poorer the family, the larger is the proportion of the income spent for food.

2. The expenditure for clothing remains about the same in proportion, whatever the income is. The American tendency is to increase the proportion spent for clothing as the income grows.

3. The percentage of expenditure for rent, fuel, and light also remains about the same, regardless of income. (Schwabe maintains that the percentage of rent decreases with the increase in income.) The American tendency is to decrease the proportion spent for rent.

4. As the income increases, the percentage spent for sundries increases.

On the whole, an increase in the rent paid denotes an increase in income, for one of the first things demanded is a larger and more desirable house. Yet the poor, as we shall see in our study of poverty, pay more rent in proportion to the space they occupy. Shelter is absolutely essential, and when the amount of house room is increased

beyond the minimum required for shelter, the marginal utility begins to diminish.

Infant Mortality.—Another family problem which is much less serious in the United States than in most countries is that of a high infant mortality. In past times this was very serious, only a small proportion of the children born surviving infancy. Even in early colonial times in this country this was the condition. It is also the state of affairs in many nations to-day, even in such countries as Italy, Austria, Spain, and Russia in normal times. During and since the war infant mortality reached horrible proportions, children dying in the devastated areas by the millions. Countries having low standards of living generally have high infant death-rates. This high death-rate among children is compensated for by a high birth-rate. But such a condition is deplorable as it holds the population upon a lower plane of civilization. Having a few children and rearing them to manhood and womanhood is preferable to giving birth to a large family and saving but a few of them. Investigations in American cities show that infant death rates are in inverse ratio to incomes; those with good incomes lose few children, while those with smaller incomes lose more, and those with incomes below the minimum standard of existence have an extremely high infant death-rate. Some of the causes of infant deaths are the following:

1. Heat—This is a condition hard to regulate, but its effects can be moderated.
2. Artificial Feeding—Chances of death are five or six times as great with artificially fed babies as with breast-fed babies.
3. Flies, which carry disease germs to the child, especially through its food. Modern campaigns of "swatting the fly," and, still more important, the removal of the breeding places of the fly, such as garbage cans, dump heaps, and waste and rubbish in general, are helping to rid the country of this pest.

4. Ignorance and uncleanliness in the preparation of artificial foods.
5. Prenatal conditions, such as those arising from syphilis, gonorrhea, lead poisoning, alcoholism, and overwork.
6. The entrance of women into industry, producing a shorter time for rest before and after childbirth, and neglect of the child after birth.
7. Ignorance and carelessness of midwives and attendants, thus allowing infection and blood-poisoning.
8. Patent medicines.

Infant mortality can be and is being reduced by the elimination of the conditions which cause it, by work done by visiting nurses, and by the increase of general education in regard to the care of the children. Medical science is constantly discovering more causes of children's diseases and finding cures for the diseases. On the whole this is a problem with which we in the United States are grappling with increasing success. The 1920 census shows the greatest decline among all age groups, that of infants under one year of age declining from 13 per cent in 1910 to 9.66 per cent in 1920.

While this progress certainly is splendid, we are still excelled by Switzerland, under 8 per cent; Sweden, a trifle over 7.5 per cent; Denmark, under 7.5 per cent; Norway, 6 per cent; Australia, under 6 per cent, and New Zealand, which is apparently the world's safest place in which to be born, 4.5 per cent.

It is needless to say that there are other problems of the family, but we have tried to discuss the most significant.

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CHAPTER XII

SOCIAL ACHIEVEMENT

Social achievement is a phase of sociology which, as a rule, is either completely ignored or over-emphasized. Professor Ward treated sociology as the study of human achievement and limited the scope of the science to that field, taking up the various institutions and showing their development. Other sociologists, on the other hand, ignore the development of society almost entirely and devote their efforts to analyzing present-day society. In this work we shall treat the evolution of society, including the origin and development of social institutions as an important division of sociology. For, in order to understand present society, we must study the stages through which social institutions have passed. In our study of the family we found it profitable to review the history of the family before we took up the problems facing the family to-day. We treated the family as an institution first, because it was prior to all others and because its evolution has influenced all other phases of social development.

Stages of Social Evolution.—There have been many attempts to divide the progress of the world into stages and to classify the different peoples of the earth according to such a system. The most popular of these systems has been that which divides the past into the stone age, bronze age, and iron age, according to the materials used in the making of utensils and weapons. This classification is, of course, far too indefinite; it is also too rigid, and employs insufficient methods of comparison. Another classification often used, and one which is quite suggestive, is the following:

1. *Hunting and fishing stage,* when man lived by the

direct appropriation of wild animal food. (Yet there must have been a time before man had even learned to hunt or fish.)

2. *Pastoral stage,* when man lived from his flocks and herds, which he had learned to domesticate.

3. *Agricultural stage,* after man had acquired the ability to till the soil, and was thus able to add the fruits of cultivation to natural resources.

4. *Commercial stage,* after exchange and commerce had been developed.

5. *Industrial stage,* coming with the invention of machinery.

6. *Intellectual stage,* less carefully defined.

Such a classification is by no means bad; yet it allows no time limits and cannot be followed with any degree of accuracy. Often there have existed groups in which the women became agriculturalists while the men of the tribe still hunted and fished, as was the case with most of the American Indians. Then again the women may have continued to be agriculturalists while the men engaged in trading. Moreover, quite often some of these stages have been skipped entirely, such as pastoral life because of the lack of animals suitable for domestication, and agricultural life because of the lack of fertile soil, as found in Arabia and the region of the Sahara. So it is impossible to suppose that each race has passed through all these evolutionary stages.

Probably the best single classification so far attempted is that suggested by Lewis H. Morgan, which is as follows:[1]

I. *Status of Savagery.*

1. Lower period, beginning with the infancy of the human race. During this period articulate speech began and man lived on fruits and nuts. No races have been found in the process of passing through this period.
2. Middle period, which began with subsistence

[1] *Ancient Society,* pp. 9-13.

on fish and the use of fire, during which time man spread over the entire world. The Australians and Polynesians when discovered represented this period.

3. Upper period, beginning with the use of the bow and arrow and ending with the employment of the art of pottery; this art Morgan believes to be the dividing line between savagery and barbarism. A few of the Indian tribes of North and South America represent this period, especially those of the Hudson Bay and Columbia River regions.

II. *Status of Barbarism.*

1. Lower period, which began with the use of the art of pottery, and included most of the Indian tribes east of the Missouri River.
2. Middle period, beginning with the domestication of animals in the Old World and agriculture in the New, and included the village Indians of New Mexico, Central America, and Peru.
3. Upper period, beginning with the smelting of iron ore and ending with the use of the phonetic alphabet, the invention of which marked the dividing line between barbarism and civilization. This included, according to Morgan, the Grecian tribes of the Homeric Age, the Italian tribes before the founding of Rome, and the Germanic tribes of the time of Cæsar.

III. *Status of Civilization,* dating from the invention of a phonetic alphabet, and extending to the present and on into the future.

If we make no attempt to assign any dates to these different periods we may find this classification very useful. It is by no means arbitrary and many exceptions may be allowed. It is impossible to determine whether a tribe is savage or barbarian simply upon the test of using

pottery, for a tribe may have no clay with which to make the pottery, while other tribes far less advanced may have an abundance of clay. The bow and arrow is just as faulty as a criterion, for the necessity or incentive may be entirely absent; the given tribe may live on the seashore and use fish for food, and therefore have no reason or opportunity to hunt, while another tribe may be compelled to invent some method of obtaining game. Strict classification according to this standard would put many backward tribes above others that are really far more advanced in culture. In fact we must consider the influences of environment, such as the effect that grazing land would have in prolonging the pastoral life; the effect of fertility of soil in hastening or prolonging agriculture; and the effect of presence or absence of metals in metal working, before we make any attempt to classify according to any such criteria. The domestication of animals will allow a denser population than hunting and will lead to agriculture in many cases, thus permitting still denser population, and hastening commerce and trade. On the other hand it may discourage agriculture. In short it is very difficult to attempt to fix any hard-and-fast classification of the stages of social evolution. At best any such classification must be used only as an aid in our study; it must never be taken as an arbitrary rule.

Morgan[2] gives also a very interesting classification of the means of subsistence, showing successive changes in man's control over his food supply and thus indicating to a large extent his progress; for each advance in this direction gave him more time for intellectual development as well as a more stable and varied diet, thus not only affording protection against hunger and starvation but also allowing a chance for progress. Morgan's classification is as follows:

1. *Direct appropriation of the gifts of nature,* when man lived upon what he was able to gather in the way of fruits, nuts, and roots.

[2] *Ancient Society,* Chap. II, pp. 19-28.

2. *Fish subsistence,* which preceded hunting because the weapons of man were crude and ineffective against wild animals, and fish were easier to catch. This diet was later supplemented by meat obtained from hunting. This period sometimes was skipped because of geographic conditions.
3. *Farinaceous diet,* first composed of grains, gathered wild and later cultivated, then supplemented by vegetables.
4. *Meat and milk dict* obtained from domestic animals, particularly the cow, llama, camel, horse, goat, sheep, and reindeer.
5. *Unlimited subsistence* through field culture and the constant addition of new vegetables, grains, and fruits, such as the potato and maize.

There is no abrupt change from one stage to another; there are merely additions to the supply previously known, thus adding gradually to achievement and human happiness.

The Mind of Primitive Man.—The question constantly presenting itself to the student of social evolution is, what kind of a being was primitive man? As to his body we have very little exact knowledge, for the fossil skeletons left by him are fragmentary, seldom amounting to more than one or two bones. But from these, by the use of our imagination, supported by history and tradition, we may regard him essentially as he is to-day, differing physically according to climatic and environmental conditions which greatly influenced his manner of life along lines suggested in Chapters II and III. But what interests us still more in sociology is the kind of mind this primitive man had. Was his mind half human or was it equal or nearly equal, as far as mental capacity is concerned, to that of man to-day? Fortunately we have more evidence upon which to compare the mind of primitive man with the mind of modern man than we have with which to compare the body, for we have the institutions started by him and some of his inventions,

for he left remains of his implements, his weapons, and his decorations. It is the generally accepted opinion among anthropologists, formed on the basis of this evidence, that primitive man had approximately the same mental equipment as present-day man; that he utilized approximately the same mental capacity in meeting his difficulties and solving his problems as present-day man.

In connection with this problem arises the question, why is it that some races to-day are more advanced than others? Also, why have some races progressed and others have not? The answer is that some races have achieved more than others, not because they were more gifted mentally, but because they were more favorably situated geographically, came into contact with more stimuli, and so advanced more rapidly. With this in mind we cannot claim mental superiority for the white race on the ground of greater achievement. Geography and history are the causes of the superiority or domination of the European races, rather than innate mental capacity.

Primitive races are criticized for their lack of self-control, but if we examine the matter carefully we find that primitive man exercises control upon occasions when he deems control necessary, such as physical control under pain and torture, and endurance of hunger, thirst, and other discomfort. It is also asserted that primitive man is lacking in the ability to concentrate his attention, but this statement is controverted when we find that what civilized man considers as worthy of attention primitive man does not; and that the latter shows equal ability to concentrate upon those things which he considers of importance, such as the perfecting of some weapon with which to hunt, or the watching of habits of the animals which he hunts. Primitive man has also been criticized because of his lack of abstract ideas, but since he has no special need for them he fails to develop them, while civilized man has such a need.

"It is not impossible that the degree of development of these functions may differ somewhat among different

types of man; but I do not believe that we are able at the present time to form a just valuation of the hereditary mental powers of the different races. A comparison of their languages, customs, and activities suggests that their faculties may be unequally developed, but the differences are not sufficient to justify us to ascribe materially lower stages to some peoples and higher stages to others. The conclusions reached from these considerations are therefore, on the whole, negative. We are not inclined to consider the mental organization of different races of man as differing in fundamental points. Although, therefore, the distribution of faculty among the races of man is far from being known, we can say this much: the average faculty of the white race is found in the same degree in a large portion of the individuals of all the other races, and, although, it is probable that some of these races may not produce as large a proportion of great men as our own race, there is no reason to suppose that they are unable to reach the level of civilization represented by the bulk of our own people."[3]

"Uniform development of culture among all the different races of man and among all the tribal units is true in a limited sense only. . . . The assumption that the same forms must necessarily develop in every independent social unit can hardly be maintained. . . . Whether the representatives of different races can be proved to have developed each independently, in such a way that the representatives of some races stand on low levels of culture, while others stand on high levels, may be answered in the negative. If one should make an attempt to arrange the different types of man in accordance with their industrial development we should find representatives of most diverse races—such as the Bushmen of South Africa, the Veddah of Ceylon, the Australian, and the Indian of Tierra del Fuego—on the same lowest level. We should also find representatives

[3] Boas, *Mind of Primitive Man*, pp. 122-123.

of different races on more advanced levels, like the negroes of Central Africa, the Indians of the Southwestern Pueblos, and the Polynesians; and in our present period we may find representatives of the most diverse races taking part in the highest types of civilization. Thus it will be seen that there is no close relation between race and culture."[4]

On the whole we must accept the conclusion that the training of the mind, like the development of inventions, is largely a product of necessity, and that the savage is as intellectual as his environment compels him to be. The following quotation sums up very nicely our general conclusion in regard to comparative mental development:

"The directions of mental attention and the simplicity or complexity of mental processes depend on the character of the external situation which the mind has to manipulate. If the activities are simple, the mind is simple, and if the activities are nil, the mind would be nil. The mind is nothing but a means of manipulating the outside world. Number, time and space conceptions and systems become more complex and accurate, not as the human mind grows in capacity but as activities become more varied and call for more extended and accurate systems of notation and measurement."[5]

Progress has been the result of environment and experience; the accumulation of knowledge and the piling up of achievement. Some peoples have come into contact with more varied conditions than others and hence have progressed faster. Improvements in the way of preserving and passing on knowledge and achievement, such as the inventions of alphabet, printing, and means of communication, have enabled man to progress more and more rapidly. This conclusion in regard to mental capacity is applicable to races and not to individuals in those races.

[4] Boas, *Mind of Primitive Man*, pp. 195-196.
[5] Thomas, *Mind of the Savage*, in *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 163.

The Development of Language.—Language is an acquired characteristic, one which has to be learned by each individual. It was among the earliest of human institutions. By language we mean the power of rational communication in all its forms, whether oral, written, sign, or gesture; it is much broader than oral speech. The use of language is a distinctly human achievement, requiring rational capacity not possessed by animals. Language is the result of the struggle of men to understand each other. It is a product of the mind, yet it aids in the development of the mind; it is the result of thought; it is the attempt to express that thought; moreover language stimulates thought and thus leads to greater achievement. Language and social consciousness go together.

The language (so-called) of animals is chiefly one of interjections; that of early man was much the same, consisting of ejaculatory cries expressing the emotions, such as joy, hate, surprise, fear, love, or satisfaction. This is not language, however, as we consider the term to-day, for it did not express thought but merely indicated emotion. After the interjection the noun was the next part of speech invented; it came as a result of the effort of man to name objects. Generally these names were suggested by some characteristic of the object, but not necessarily so. Often different persons in widely separated times or places would be impressed by different features of the same object, and there would result a difference in names. Sometimes there was no obvious connection between the object and the name, the name being merely a result of an effort to distinguish the object. After nouns verbs came in, expressing action; then later came words corresponding to the other parts of speech as we now know them. Spoken language developed gradually, but proceeded in all probability with greater rapidity as soon as a start was made. As man began to adopt a more or less settled place of abode and thus came to associate more constantly with his fellow-men, greater need of better means of communication became evident;

and as a result of this need, language assumed by degrees a more definite form, and man's vocabulary gradually grew larger.

Communication with those present was not sufficient, and was not always possible even with spoken language, for languages differed; therefore, other means had to be adopted—the sign language, which became universal and possibly preceded spoken language. Besides man found a need to communicate with those at a distance both in space and in time, and so extensions of language had to be invented. As a result sign language by means of smoke signals or drum beats, such as are used by natives of Africa and formerly by the American Indians, came into use to overcome space distances. Written language was invented to enable those distant in both time and space to gain information. The first written language took the form of reminders, such as notches cut in sticks, which the messengers among the Australians carry, in order not to forget their message. The next step is picture or symbol language, pictures of objects being drawn, or symbols used to designate them. The early writing of Egypt took this form. A later step was the invention of a phonetic alphabet, where symbols or letters represent sounds, like those in use to-day by civilized man. Another great step was the invention of printing—possibly as great an aid to civilization as the art of writing, for while writing allowed a record to be made of the past, printing put that record within the reach of all the people. Before writing came into use, all history, discoveries, and knowledge had to be handed down by word of mouth, which involved the risk of its being distorted and lost. Before printing was invented, records had to be copied laboriously by hand and thus were expensive and brought within the reach of only a few. Printing made knowledge democratic. Improvements in printing, which in the modern press, linotype and monotype machines have reached a highly complex stage, have enormously facilitated the popularization of knowledge.

Language is by no means perfected; we are constantly

increasing our vocabulary and changing our forms, both in spelling and in grammar. We are steadily discarding variations in our declensions and conjugations and are expressing meaning more through the use of modifiers. New words are constantly appearing, some being formed by combinations of old words, in order to furnish names for new objects or to suggest a new meaning; some are borrowed from other languages for these purposes—a method exemplified in the English language, which has drawn so heavily from the Latin, Greek and Romance languages. Then again new words are constantly being coined outright; many of these are at first rejected, especially "slang" words, but after a time some of them find their way into our dictionaries and are recognized as legitimate. New situations and experiences also bring in new records, as illustrated by the recent war.

Thus language, while a product of socialization, has made further socialization possible. Without it modern civilization would be impossible. It is the product of mind, and at the same time acts as the mind's greatest stimulant. It is possibly man's greatest social achievement.

Inventions.—A product of the mind of man, one which gives an excellent guide to the social evolution of man, is invention. Here we have definite means of comparing primitive with civilized man. Inventions, however, are influenced by the geographic environment, for they are the results of the efforts of man to supply his needs; they are the products of necessity. Nature serves as a stimulus in this way; if there are wild animals there is the incentive for the invention of weapons, like the bow and arrow, or traps, such as the deadfall; and if the people gain their food from the water, they turn the same mental capacity towards the inventing of nets, hooks, pounds, and boats; if agriculture is the means of livelihood, the inventive ability will be turned to the shaping of hoes, plows, and methods of irrigation; if food is scarce in winter, methods of preserving will be invented—freezing, smoking, drying and curing of meat and fish—the

drying of fruits, the storing of grain, and later in civilization the canning of all kinds of food; if man lives near water he will invent boats, fashioning them out of whatever material is available, particularly tree trunks, bark or skins.

The same is true of all inventions; environment and necessity have been the mainsprings of mental activity, the former to suggest and the latter to compel. It has been suggested that man obtained the idea of many of his weapons from the animals about him, getting the pattern of the spear from those animals with horns or tusks; of the bow from the bending limb or sapling in the forest; of knives, daggers, and notched weapons from the teeth of animals; of the use of poisons from poisonous insects and reptiles; of defensive weapons, particularly shields and armor, from the tough hides of such animals as the rhinoceros and buffalo; of armor in the form of plates or scales from the alligator. These were all undoubtedly suggestive, and the fact that man was physically weaker than many of the animals around him compelled him to seek artificial aid. The club was possibly the first invention and was largely the result of the need felt by man to hit harder and at a greater distance than his fist would allow. Spears and slings were improvements on the club; the bow and arrow was another step in advance, and it in turn had to give way to the gun fired by gunpowder. Combat not only with the animals but with other men compelled man to improve his weapons. The tribe or band which had the better weapons won, and that having inferior equipment was defeated. Thus man was compelled to adopt the best weapons that he could find; individuals or groups who did not were exterminated. This was strikingly illustrated in the recent war.

Primitive inventions indicated as great mental capacity and genius as modern; indeed we often think that they were really greater achievements. The development of the use of fire was as great an achievement as the discovery of electricity and had a far greater effect upon

society. The invention of the modern 42-centimeter gun, the high-power rifle, and the machine gun are no greater achievements than was the construction of the first bow and arrow, of which they are merely improvements; the theory is the same, that of throwing a missile. The contrivance of the alphabet was in one respect a greater achievement than that of the modern printing press, for the press could never have been possible without the alphabet. Glassware and china are merely the continuation of the idea which produced pottery. In short, modern inventions are in most cases merely improvements upon primitive inventions. Nearly every new device or machine produced to-day is nothing more than an improvement of some previous device or machine.

It is astonishing to discover how many of our modern tools and mechanical devices were known by primitive man, not of course in their present finished state but in a cruder and less effective form. Primitive man had the idea and the method; we have merely improved upon the product. Of instruments of cutting, primitive man had knives, shears, planes, axes, chisels, smoothers, scrapers, polishers, and saws. They were, to be sure, made of stone, bones, shells, teeth, and pieces of stick, but great ingenuity was used in fitting of handles by means of grooves, boring of holes, riveting, gluing, and lashing. Instruments of piercing were made, such as awls, gimlets, and needles. Tongs, nippers, vises, and presses were also used, and all kinds of ingenious methods of tying knots and fastening articles together.

Perhaps much greater in the way of achievement was the employment of many of the principles of mechanics and the laws of physics, particularly those underlying the use of the lever, wedge, wheel and axle, pulley, screw, inclined plane, and roller, all of which primitive man made use of in his every-day life, using the wedge to split trees, the pulley to haul great weights, the lever to lift heavy bodies, and the inclined plane to get a heavy object upon a higher place. Scales and balances were also in common use with primitive man. The savage

may never have understood the laws governing these tools, and in all probability never realized that there might have been such a thing as a law. But the use of these devices indicates that he had as good a mind as civilized man, even though not so well trained. Civilization is the result of the accumulation of knowledge; progress is simply the piling up of achievement.

In his battle with nature man has proved superior and has subjected nature to his will. Animals have been transformed by their environment but man has proved himself master of it. While he has been influenced by nature he has never become her slave; he has compelled her to serve him. While progress at first may have been accidental, it eventually became telic, or purposeful. Man has never been willing to leave well enough alone, and has persistently refused to be dominated or frustrated by nature; he has steadily thrown off her bonds and become her master. Matter and motion cannot be destroyed but they can be transformed into channels useful to man; this transformation is the result of new ideas. Inventions have been by no means sudden discoveries; they are slow growths or accumulations of ideas. At first invention was extremely slow, but as man progressed it became more rapid; through the betterment of means of communication the invention of one thing caused others to spring up. Also invention and discovery have been reciprocal, invention leading to discovery and discovery ushering in invention. We had to discover the powers of steam and electricity before we could invent the steam engine or the telegraph; these inventions led to further discoveries, which in turn made possible other inventions. Inventions have enabled man to make better use of the gifts of nature. They have also acted as milestones of progress, ushering in periods of greater accomplishment. They are human achievements, made possible by man's superior mental ability.

Evolution of Property.—At first man had no property, unless we can call unconsumed food property. Since property depends upon invention, probably the first

definite form of property was the club; to this was added other weapons as they were constructed. Then articles of personal use came in, such as cooking utensils, traps, hooks, nets, and in fact all of those articles which a savage would use to aid him in the battle with nature. Clothes and articles of ornament were added later, for originally man wore no clothes. Clothes appeared first as ornaments and were not adopted for the sake of modesty or for warmth; both of these functions developed, for after man grew accustomed to wearing clothes a sense of modesty developed and he became ashamed to go without them.

The use of clothing for warmth is likewise the result of habit. Clothes were made of skins, bark, leaves, and grasses woven together. All manner of ornaments came into use, from the most primitive efforts at decoration down to the costly jewels and apparel created during later periods of luxury. With the appearance of pastoral life property in flocks and herds developed. Also with this period, but more especially with the development of agriculture, land began to be held as property, that is, land which was suitable for grazing and agricultural purposes, land which was well watered and fertile or which was near some water hole. Before this, land in the shape of some favorite cave or spot desired for residential purposes was held as property, provided the person was strong enough to hold possession of it.

Early life was more or less communistic; only the strongest and quickest had a choice; and a person held his own property by reason of the strong arm, or lost it to someone else by lack of it. But as inventions created property, government (as we shall see in the next chapter) slowly developed and laid down rules for its ownership, thus acknowledging the right of private property. In fact the holding of private property was one of the great incentives towards government, demanding definite rules, executives to enforce them, and judges to decide disputes. With the development of the idea of property came in mediums of exchange. At first articles were

exchanged by means of barter, where one person having some article which he wished to exchange for others was obliged to find someone having the desired article who was willing to exchange with him. This was too clumsy a method and there slowly arose the idea of exchanging for some article of universal demand which could easily be given for the ultimately desired article. For mediums of exchange were used common articles of food, such as rice, wheat, maize, fish, beans, nuts, figs, dates, salt, cocoanuts, tea, coffee; or some article of clothing, as furs, cotton, silk; or domestic animals, especially cattle; articles of ornament, as beads, wampum, feathers, or paint; slaves; even women; and finally the precious metals. Articles had to be selected which all or many wanted, which had some standard of value, and which were easily transported. Market places came into use and often were very highly developed even among primitive savages, certain places being set aside in the forest and rules laid down to protect those going to and coming from them. Barter was at first the only method of trading at these market places, but advantage was later taken of the prevailing mediums of exchange. The development of property has steadily increased as civilization has progressed. Laws have been made to protect property, at times to such an extent that property is better protected than human life itself. Just now, however, the tendency is away from this.

Evolution of Industry.—Property led to industrial development. To develop industry division of labor was necessary. The first division of labor was that between man and woman, man doing the hunting, fishing, trapping, herding, and fighting, while woman cared for the children and did the cooking and the work about the camp, generally including agriculture. Then gradually different men found out that they could do some one thing better than another and so did that one thing, exchanging their products for the products of others. Some learned that they were especially skilled in making bows and arrows or wampum, or knew how to make

superior canoes; this was particularly true of the American Indians. Among African tribes smithing is a trade followed by some, others bringing their iron work to them. Barter and exchange made this specialization possible and with the development of exchange and trade it increased. During the feudal times handicrafts appeared, certain towns developing certain industries, the secrets of which were handed down from father to son. In countries where slavery was highly developed slave labor was organized along such lines, slaves being taught different trades; many estates were highly organized, having hundreds and thousands of slaves following scores of occupations. Later, guilds sprang up, especially in the towns of Germany. These were really closed trade unions, which kept the secrets of the different trades and limited the number of apprentices. With the rise of a special merchant class and the decline of the craft guilds, home manufacture—the so-called domestic system—appeared. Then with the invention of the steam engine, power loom, and numerous other machines, home industry was driven to the wall by the greater efficiency of machine industry, and the factory age was ushered in. This change produced endless suffering, terrible poverty, and increased the burdens of labor; but it of course increased production and in the end was a blessing. This system is still further changing into what is often called "big business," or the concentration of capital in large industries, a process which in turn has caused much confusion by crowding small industries to the wall.

With the increase in size of industry there has come a greater division of labor. Under the handicraft system a man generally constructed an entire article, such as a pair of shoes, a chair, or a carriage. With the division of labor in the present-day factory he does only a part, passing on the uncompleted article to some one else, who adds another touch and passes it on to still another. This method has been so highly developed by the invention of modern machinery that an ordinary article, like a shoe or a hat, passes through hundreds of hands in the

factory itself, to say nothing of those who handle the raw material before it reaches the factory, and those who transport and sell the finished article. This division has enabled man to become highly skilled and to produce in large quantities, and so has enabled society to have more commodities than otherwise would have been possible, but it has also brought in its own problems, as we shall see later.

Social Effects of Industrial Development.—The first great benefit of industrial development to society is of course increased production, since it furnishes a greater mass of commodities with which to satisfy human desires and allows man continually to advance. But this very accumulation of wealth has accentuated the problem of distribution, for never in the history of the world has there been anything like an equal distribution of wealth, the strong always having a monopoly. To-day the deciding factor is not physical strength but mental shrewdness. This unequal distribution, while necessary and often just, has led to endless disputes, class conflicts, and antagonism. In the handicraft stage the worker was also the proprietor and had what he produced, but under the present industrial system the laborer works for wages, which are set by the supply and demand for labor and are not governed, except as to the upper limit, by the productivity of the labor. In this way labor has often been exploited, notoriously so at the beginning of the industrial revolution in England in the early years of the nineteenth century, when the employer paid as small wages as possible. This caused organizations of labor to resist exploitation, bringing on conflicts between capital and labor in the way of strikes and lockouts, which often resulted in extreme violence on both sides. The present tendency is towards the arbitration of labor disputes, such a method having been already adopted in some countries, particularly New Zealand. Both capital and labor oppose this movement, however, both preferring to settle such disputes without outside interference.

The development of industry has not only allowed each

worker to produce more, but has enabled him to do so in a shorter time. Modern factory hours are far shorter than hours of labor under the handicraft stage, and the modern workman has far less anxiety in regard to obtaining food, clothing, and shelter for himself and family than had primitive man, who was obliged to rely wholly upon his own efforts. But the building up of factory towns has brought with it neglect of the comforts of the workers, often producing poor dwellings, lack of sanitation, bad surroundings, and unpleasant home life. Factory conditions have not always been sanitary and hygienic; as a rule they have been just the opposite. This situation has compelled society to take a hand in the matter and, either through public opinion or legislative enactment, force factory owners to look after the welfare of their workers. Industrial development has built up a complicated system of co-operation, yet in this machine too often the laborer has become a mere cog, his individuality being repressed and his very welfare ignored. The present machine process, where each worker merely adds one touch to an article, passes it on, takes up another, and performs the same operation, is deadening to his nerves, and dulls his physical and mental process. He becomes a mere piece of the whole mechanism.

The invention of machines has made man's labor less violent physically, but has at the same time ushered in child and woman labor, because a child or woman can often tend a machine as easily as a man. This competition has kept down the wages of man. Industrial development has given the opportunity of providing man greater time for leisure, rest, recreation, and education, but the laborer has not always been allowed to receive the benefit of this, the chance too frequently being monopolized by the employer and used in building up a fortune, only to be wasted by his family in luxurious living. This condition is steadily growing less serious, for the worker is demanding shorter hours and larger pay and is steadily gaining these demands—so much so that some are becoming alarmed because of it. But at the begin-

ning of the industrial revolution and along through the first few decades of the past century wages were too often starvation wages. Twelve to sixteen hours constituted the working day. Conditions were terrible, in fact hardly believable, children being treated worse than slaves, especially in the English factories; at the same time the factory owners were amassing immense fortunes and reveling in luxury.

Such conditions could not be permanent if civilization was to advance, and fortunately are now a thing of the past in most countries. Industrial development has made man's existence more certain by insuring him the means of livelihood; yet industrial development has made the laborer dependent upon the factory and has put the possibility of work in the hands of others. When a board of directors decides that a factory is not paying dividends it closes down the plant until the conditions of the market change; meanwhile the workers are deprived of a chance to earn a living. In other words, dividends are of greater importance than the subsistence of the workers. This same development has made man's life less dangerous than formerly, yet it has put his safety into the hands of others. We are commencing to solve these problems by providing sickness, accident, and unemployment insurance. Thus while industrial evolution has increased happiness and prosperity it has brought in its special problems. As we solve these problems other new ones arise in turn to be dealt with.

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truth of the matter is that both are right; the effect of religious activity depends upon the time, place, and character of the religion under discussion.

Religion cannot be overlooked as one of the most important forces in the development of civilization. Sociology makes no attempt to discuss theism or theological doctrines; it considers the religious tendency of man as one of the innate human characteristics affecting his life; it studies the development of religion as an institution, and observes its effect upon human progress. The chief interest of sociology in religion is as a social institution and as an element of social control. The former we shall now consider.

Evolution of Religion.—There is a great deal of difference of opinion even as to what should be included under the name of religion, and as a result we have an endless number of definitions; in fact almost every writer on religion has a different definition and conception of the subject. For the purpose of the sociologist Menzies[1] gives perhaps the best definition, calling it the "worship of higher powers from a sense of need," which implies the belief in some power or powers more potent than the individual. It includes a feeling of dependence and need, a feeling which finds expression in acts of worship. While religious sentiment takes many forms, it is found among all races and is admitted to be an innate trait of mankind.

Religion and civilization have advanced together, and in this respect religion resembles other social institutions. We must not expect to find a high religion among people living in savagery or barbarism, for they could not appreciate a lofty conception of religion. Neither must we expect a religion belonging to a low period of civilization to continue after the people emerge from that condition, for they will not be satisfied with it and will demand a loftier conception. So religion, like other institutions, tends to reflect the stage of progress achieved by a people. However, the forces that influence the religion of a people

[1] Menzies, Allan, *History of Religion*, p. 13.

may not be the same forces which determine their form of government or their industrial development; hence we may find a conception of religion in advance of, or behind the state of progress of other institutions. Geographical environment, like that of Palestine and its surrounding countries, might tend to stimulate religious ideas and yet hinder economic development. So we must not expect to find the same rate of development among all races. But we shall find that there has been a steady, if not regular, progress, the higher religion supplanting the lower. Besides the different religions themselves are constantly undergoing change, and while some religions degenerate, there is on the whole a constant tendency upward, religious conceptions steadily growing purer and loftier. In our treatment of the evolution of religion we must include all religions, whether degrading or elevating; we shall attempt also to trace the constant progress that has been made.

It is extremely difficult to describe primitive religion, for the religion of the savage is seemingly a bewildering confusion of all manner of beliefs. It has been influenced by a vast number of forces, and has all kinds of extraordinary growths; so it is very hard to reduce the evolution of religion to any definite order, and in any such series many exceptions must be allowed and few dates or periods of time assigned. But in general the following seems to have been the approximate scheme of development:[2]

1. *Nature Worship.*—Sometimes in discussions of primitive religion animal worship is separated from the worship of other objects of nature, such as rocks, mountains, the sun, the moon, stars, trees, waterfalls, etc.; but in this study all will be treated together, because the theories of worship were much the same, the periods of time concerned were identical, and the effects were quite similar. Primitive man lived in a world which he did not under-

[2] It must be clearly understood that it is not meant that every form of religion, or any particular religion for that matter, has passed through the following order; but what is meant is, that this is an attempt to arrange in the order of advancement and that development in general followed such lines.

stand; he was surrounded by all manner of dangers, many of which he could not see or comprehend; so it is no wonder that he feared nature. Since he could not explain many of the objects of nature about him, it was only natural that he should look upon them as being animated like himself; and when he did so and conceived them as being more powerful than he, it was only natural that he should attempt to obtain their good will and to get them to aid him, or at least not to injure him.

Primitive man thus began to worship the objects of nature that impressed him most or that he feared most. If he lived in a country where the rays of the sun were welcome, it followed that he would worship the sun. The sun is probably the most common object of worship among nature worshipers. If he lived near a volcano or great waterfall, primitive man would be impressed by it and worship it. The same would be true of any high mountain, large river, huge tree, great rock, or any animals which were feared, such as the tiger, lion, alligator, or poisonous snake like the cobra, or any animal upon which man depended for food or raiment, such as the cow, bear, or buffalo. If the rain brought prosperity, it might be worshiped. On the contrary the thunder, lightning, or tornado might be worshiped through fear. The sea and fire have been common objects of worship. At a later time animals and other objects of nature were worshiped, because they were considered as homes of spirits, especially the spirits of ancestors. This was not, however, the original type of nature worship but a later development of it.

2. *Spirit and Ancestor Worship; Spencer's "Ghost Theory."*—Primitive man could not realize the full meaning of death, and could not think of the person who died as leaving this world entirely. He thought that the spirit must be simply leaving the body or going upon a journey, and that it was therefore apt to return. Dreams might have increased this belief in spirits; in fact, Spencer declared that belief in spirits came from dreams. This conception of death, supplemented by dreams, led primi-

tive man to believe that the spirit was able to leave the body and to dwell at a distance from it, or upon death to come back and perhaps enter into some object of nature, as a tree or animal, or return to his old hut. His shadow, his reflection in water, and the echo of his voice went still further to prove to the savage the truth of such a belief in spirits. Sometimes the savage would look upon this spirit as a friend and sometimes as an enemy, depending largely upon whether the person was liked or feared in life. Efforts were made to appease the ill will or gain the good will of a spirit by means of prayers, offerings, praise, and even flattery. Also attempts were made to ward off its bad effects or to protect one's self against it by means of signs and charms, and even by such methods as striking a spear in the ground when lying down to sleep.

While many of these customs and actions seem strange to us, the theory is logical enough. The belief in spirits seems to have been almost universal, at least the belief that the spirit lived after the body was gone; and this notion furnished the basis for higher conceptions of religion. Of course this belief in the immortality of the spirit did not always take the form of ancestor worship, although in many places it did. Such customs as burying weapons, food, clothing, and articles of everyday use with the body, and the killing of slaves or wives, in order to serve the departed in the next world, are merely customs derived from the belief in a future life.

Herbert Spencer, imagining that religion originated from this belief, worked out his famous "ghost theory" of the origin of religion. He suggested that a savage, because of overeating, or from some such cause, might have a dream, perhaps of going on some hunting expedition, and yet be told next morning by his wife or by someone else that he had not stirred from his hut, but had tossed about all night; that he might see his reflection in the pool of water; that he might go into some canyon and shout and hear his voice come echoing back from its walls; and that in this way he would come to the

natural conclusion that he had a double, which could leave him at will, especially when he slept. Sleep-walking, delirium and swooning would only go still further to confirm in the mind of the savage such a belief.

From this belief in a double personality came ancestor worship—based on a feeling that the spirits of ancestors hovered about—and the idea of transmigration of souls—that the spirit of the dead person entered some animal or object of worship. An animal with a scar which had a resemblance to a scar carried by a man before his death was of course recognized as the possessor of the soul of the dead man. Animal and nature worship originated in this way, according to Spencer, as a development of ancestor worship. In fact, Spencer attempted to show that all religions originated in this fashion. The theory was of course built upon too narrow a foundation, for while possibly some religions began in this manner, it is preposterous to assert that all religions were thus evolved. Ancestor worship still survives in many countries, most noticeably in China, simply because the people have not emerged as yet from this stage. In some countries it preceded nature worship, at least in certain forms, but as a rule ancestor worship came later, being an outgrowth of nature worship. It in turn gave way to higher forms, although many of the nobler phases of spirit worship survived and were carried over into some of the higher religions. Like nature worship, spirit and ancestor worship was accompanied by many strange customs, and was much interwoven with superstition and magic.

3. *Fetish Worship.*—In fetish worship an object is idolized, not because the object itself is thought to be a divinity, but because it is supposed to be the residence of a spirit or god. In this way any striking object of nature or any unusual object might be worshiped; it might be carried around as a kind of talisman. This type of religion might be called a combination of the preceding two; it is an outgrowth of them. Many of the so-called idols have been merely fetishes.

4. *Worship of a Supreme Being.*—While usually a late

development, the worship of a supreme, all-powerful being was sometimes found among primitive men. This at first took the form of polytheism, or the worship of several gods, but it gradually changed to monotheism through the culling out of the minor or less important gods. Sometimes this supreme being was merely a mountain, a tree, or the sun, but it stood out as supreme over other deities. Gradually this belief became loftier and purer, the worship of the lesser divinities being abandoned. This gave the foundation for the highest form of religion which we have to-day.

Each of these beliefs lays claim to being the original form of religion, and with the exception of fetishism, which was clearly the outgrowth of other forms, each undoubtedly was in some places the original. But on the whole we must regard nature worship as the lowest form, as it is the form generally found among the most primitive people. So we treat it as the starting point in our development of religion, although we must make some allowance for a belief in life after death.

Characteristics of Primitive Religion. — *Sacrifices.* — When a savage looked upon a god as a person, he naturally thought that the god needed food and other necessities of life; so he offered them to him. Sometimes these sacrifices were destroyed entirely. Among some tribes a family might become impoverished by the destruction of property used up in such sacrifices. At other times the sacrifices were not destroyed but used again by the people. Food used as an offering seldom was wasted. In countries where cannibalism was, or had been, practiced these sacrifices might take the form of human beings, generally slaves or children. Hindu mothers even to-day frequently throw their babies into the Ganges as offerings. The early Greeks before starting upon a great expedition would sacrifice a beautiful girl, and the Spartans allowed their children to be flogged to death before the temple of Diana. The sacrifice of animals succeeded human sacrifice, and has always been the most general type of offering. In this way, especially among the Jews, sacrifices took

the nature of a sign of atonement for sins, or as a means of warding off punishment.

Prayer.—Prayer is the normal method of appealing to a god and is a natural feature of religion, particularly of fetish worship. Prayer is the logical attendant of sacrifices; in fact, it is the method of telling what is the object of making the sacrifice; it states the request that is made of the god. While to some extent present in most religions, its importance increases with the rise of the religion.

Sacredness.—Because of the religious association, objects connected with worship attain an air of sacredness, especially the fetishes, temples and places of worship. Any object or ceremony or service connected with religion becomes invested with sacredness. This still continues, and at times has become more pronounced with the progress of religion.

Magic.—Vitally related to and infinitely confused with early religion was magic. Professor Thomas takes the view that magic with the savage is of higher importance than religion, because it assumes a scientific attitude in that it is the attempt to explain things, thus becoming the forerunner of modern science. In nearly every tribe there was some person or persons similar to the medicine men of the American Indians, whose function was to interpret signs, foretell the future, exercise power over the spirits, either in warding off calamity or in bringing things desired, cure the sick, and do those things which were beyond the power of the average man. In performing these duties this person—the witch doctor—resorted to magic. In this way magic along with superstition played quite an important part in primitive religion. As the religion became elevated, it gradually purged itself of these impurities, although most religions are not yet entirely clear of them.

Importance of Primitive Religion.—Formerly religion was of greater social importance than it is to-day; it was not necessarily more vital to civilization, but it absorbed more of the life of the savage. With him religion entered

into every act of life. The gods had to be consulted before any important event took place, even after the state of savagery was passed. The Romans would never undertake any war or military expedition or engage in any battle unless the signs were favorable. The king or chief was also high priest at first, and, as we noticed in the last chapter, church and state were one; it was not until very recent times that they became separated. Religion was a tribal affair, and every member of the tribe not only adopted the religion of the tribe, but took his or her part in the services or ceremonies. Religious dances formed an important feature in religion, in the same manner that the dance played an important part in all phases of the life of the savage. Religious feasts were held in times of harvest, and on other special occasions.

The moral effect of religion was chiefly in the way of producing tribal solidarity, and in restraining the tendencies to excess. It would tolerate those things which were of help to the tribe, and forbid those things which were injurious. It developed tribal loyalty, obedience to the chief, observance of tribal customs, and submergence of individual interests to tribal interests. In practice it acted as a strong conservative force, checking and discouraging individual initiative and independence. On the other hand, it was a hindrance to reform and gave little chance for original thinking; in fact it discouraged it. This unfortunately is a tendency which all religions have too strictly fostered; it is one which we are even to this day struggling to overcome. While primitive religion held the individual from excesses, it often was an impediment to progress.

Before we can get a really good picture of the evolution of religion, we must consider the development of national religions and take up a study of the leading religions of to-day, not so much from a theological as from a historical standpoint.

The Growth of National Religion From Tribal Religion.—As one god became more important, its worship spread,

and because of some superior appeal to the people it came into greater popularity. Although each tribe tended to keep its own objects of worship, unless it was conquered by some other tribes, the gods of the stronger and more important tribes began to supplant the gods of the weaker peoples because of the greater confidence reposed in them. The religion which appealed to the primitive mind tended to survive, but as man began to mount higher and higher in the scale of civilization, the religions which had higher conceptions of divinity and were loftier in their teachings grew at the expense of the lower and inferior. Also the religions which were detrimental to the group, such as those permitting or demanding human sacrifices, thus either killing off their own population directly, or indirectly by fighting for captives to offer as sacrifices, were weeded out. The tribes which had such religions lost in the struggle for existence, and of course their religions crumbled with them. On the other hand, religions which stood for customs and habits advantageous to the group, as for instance those advocating monogamy, and good treatment of women and opposing infanticide and slavery, increased in strength, because their groups increased in numbers and power. In this way the higher religions logically supplanted the lower. Then as tribes became more powerful, they compelled other tribes to adopt their gods, either by force of arms or by example. The weaker tribes were generally willing to do so, because they wanted the favor of what they considered to be more powerful gods. Thus national religion supplanted tribal religion; it was simply the enlarging of the scope and territory of the beliefs which were superior. Then, too, by coming into contact with other religions even these superior religions improved, adopting in many cases the strong features of the rival beliefs. Hence as their scope and power increased, the religions themselves became more elevated.

The Religions of Early Babylon and Egypt.—Of the three seats of early culture, Chaldea (or Early Babylon), Egypt, and China, Chaldea was in all probability not only

the earliest but the center from which the other two spread out. Other peoples, especially the Hebrews, borrowed heavily from Early Babylon, the Jewish Legal Code being traced back in many particulars to the Code of Hammurabi, which antedated the laws of the Jews by many centuries. The people of Early Babylon were cosmopolitan; in fact, Hammurabi, the first great king, ruled a collection of many peoples, who spoke many tongues. As a consequence their religion was not a pure religion but a mixture of many beliefs. There was a belief in spirits; the world was thought to be full of such spirits, which could be controlled only by means of charms and magic. These spirits were supposed to be responsible for all pain and disease as well as misfortune; thus the cruelty and superstition of the Babylonians are partially accounted for. Nature worship was also interwoven into the spirit worship. There was a vast number of gods, both great and minor, the worship of one predominating in one city, and that of another in another city; hence there was no common system. Most of the gods were represented by animal emblems. The religion was too complicated to develop into a real state religion. While the higher religion of Babylon took the form of worship of a human overlord, who controlled the destinies of man, it never fully drove out the old belief in spirits and never stopped the making of sacrifices to them. Although it was a confusion of beliefs, with many cults, and never came near to monotheism, the religion of Babylon was an advance from the previous timid trafficking with spirits through fear, toward the service of gods which were looked upon as friends of man. When Babylon was absorbed into the Persian Empire, it lost its religion, which was not sufficiently developed to survive.

Egypt is a country which has always been surrounded by an air of veneration and mystery, even before the Hebrews went to live there, for the Shepherd Kings, who reigned at that time, overthrew a still older civilization. Part of this civilization consisted of a religion which was elaborately worked out—a religion which was a combina-

tion of many faiths and the product of many forces, for Egypt had been conquered many times, and each conquest had left its impress. The earliest religion which we can find in Egypt was the resultant of many still earlier religions. It contained remnants of animal worship, as illustrated by the enormous temples which were erected to sacred animals, particularly the ibis, cow, and cat, and by the fact that those animals were sacred in the provinces in which they were worshiped. Alongside of this was the worship of higher gods, such as the sun, moon, and sky. Chief among these gods was Ra, meaning "sun," who was supposed to be a kindly old king and warrior, who guided the soul through the underworld, of which he was also lord, and around whose figure was interwoven a great deal of mythology. There was a family of gods similar to the Greek family of gods, consisting of Osiris, the sun god of Abydos, his wife and sister, Isis, and brother, Set. While Osiris was the embodiment of light and purity, Set was supposed to represent the opposite; he was the embodiment of all evil, particularly the desert, darkness, the hot south wind, sickness, and, what seems strange to us, red hair. Between Osiris and Set there was constant hostility, and we have the story of the death of Osiris, the search for the body by Iris, and the avenging of the death by the son, Horus. While by no means monotheistic, Egyptian religion approached monotheism through the survival of the stronger gods and the predominance of one god in each city or province. Each place had its own favorite god and attempted to make that god supreme, but there was no unity of belief in any particular one, although all the gods were apparently sun gods; therefore Egyptian religion tended to forms of sun worship.

Egyptian temples were residences of the gods, rather than places of worship, images being placed in the temples so that the gods might enter them. The worship of the gods was celebrated by great festivals and parades, worship being a public rather than a private function. The kings were supposed to have descended from the

gods, and it was one of their chief cares to erect stately dwellings for the deities.

Egyptian religion included a belief in future existence. This conviction motivated the care of the dead by means of embalming the body, and inspired the prevailing idea of the duty of marrying in order to bring into the world children who would pay the necessary attention to the body after death. The pyramids were erected as tombs for the kings. The belief was that the soul accompanied the sun god to the underworld, where its lot depended upon how its possessor had lived or had treated the god during life. While Egyptian religion was an advance over what had preceded, it showed possibilities of becoming a pure spiritual faith, and embodied in it many ideas of correct living and of duty to neighbors, it became degenerate and corrupt with the decay of Egyptian civilization and the crumbling of that nation as a political state. Reliance upon magic increased, pantheistic beliefs grew in importance, and the priesthood became corrupt, despotic and oppressive. While it undoubtedly contributed somewhat to subsequent religions, its influence was nothing in comparison with that of other nations, particularly the Jews.

Both the Babylonian and Egyptian cults show how religions develop through the coming together of many religions. In the attempt to obtain a centralized worship the religion thrives, grows purer, flourishes, and later declines and gives way to a loftier religion. The Babylonian and Egyptian religions were too cold and formal to become great, although they exerted some influence upon the development of other religious beliefs.

The Religions of Ancient Greece and Rome.—The religion of Greece passed through the same stages as other religions; however, because of the high state of culture attained, the rapid growth of civilization, and the favorable environment, which stimulated the imagination and the philosophical and religious development, it developed much more rapidly than the religions of other countries. The early history of Greece is so much interwoven with

mythology and intermingles to such an extent the acts of men and of gods, that it is very difficult to separate fact from fiction. While nature and spirit worship at one time existed in Greece, they were early abandoned. The gods were functional gods and had distinctly human attributes; not only were they thought of as having human bodies, but were idealized as the perfection of the human form. They had not only human bodies but even human passions; they hated, loved, were jealous, and even stole like human beings, despite the belief that they were endowed with superhuman powers. The Greek gods formed a family, Zeus being the father and Hera the mother. The number of the gods and goddesses increased without limit. The Athenians after establishing a vast number of temples and shrines, erected one to the "unknown god" for fear that they had omitted one. Each city had its patron god or goddess; also each divinity represented a particular function.

With Greek religion went a belief in a future world inhabited by spirits who received rewards or punishments, particularly the latter. Perhaps the greatest effect of Greek religion was the inspiration it gave to art, especially sculpture and poetry. The religious festivals and games offered an incentive to physical development. While the gods were supposed to be guardians of justice, righting wrongs and meting out punishments in both this and the future world, and in this way to hold men in restraint through fear of punishment, the moral effect was almost negligible, for the gods represented the prevailing standards of morals. The gods were not distinctly good or bad; they even quarreled among themselves; but they were called upon in time of need or danger. The Greek religion did not hold out a goal to be attained, such as the Nirvana of Buddhism or the Heaven of Christianity. It did, however prepare the way for Christianity, which easily supplanted the Greek religion when the early Christian apostles preached the new faith.

Rome offers perhaps the best example of the survival of the fittest in regard to religion. Early Roman religion

was animistic, there being no real gods but a host of spirits, which dwelt in nature. These nature spirits were worshiped or appealed to, not from a feeling of love but in a sense of bargaining or contract, sacrifices and worship being given in exchange for protection and help. There was the worship of the Lares, or household gods, who were the spirits of the ancestors, to whom prayers and offerings were made, because they were supposed to give or withhold prosperity. This led to the introduction of the worship of deified persons, like Romulus and later Julius Cæsar, which worship was added to the previous religion. Roman religion became a part of the state, no war or enterprise being undertaken without consulting the gods and then not carried out unless the omens were favorable.

The religion was so complicated that it required a priestly class to interpret the will of the gods or the wishes of the spirits, a thing which they did by examining the entrails of animals offered as sacrifices and by interpreting the flights of birds. Instead of suppressing or ridiculing the beliefs of the peoples whom they conquered, the Romans respected them, looking upon their gods as real beings with whom they themselves wished to be on good terms, and taking the attitude of toleration, instead of contempt or a desire for suppression which most conquering nations up to this time had exhibited. When Greece was reached and later conquered, the Romans took over almost entirely the Greek worship, especially their conception of the gods, only giving the Greek gods and goddesses Latin names, and carried out their worship to such an extent that many people think of the Roman religion merely as an outgrowth of Greek religion.

This principle of toleration was abandoned after Christianity invaded Italy and threatened to supplant the former worship. Then the government attempted to stamp out Christianity by persecution, but in so doing only spread it and hastened its final adoption by the entire population. Thus through competition the best

elements of the different religions survived until finally Christianity won the supremacy over all competitors and became the dominant religion. Increasing in force after the fall of Rome as a world power, it became incorporated into the state and ruled Europe for a long time politically, socially, morally, and religiously through the Catholic Church, which later split into the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches.

The Great World Religions of To-day.—This constant evolution of religion is to be observed among the religions of to-day as well as among those of antiquity, for its progress still continues. The religions which serve and aid mankind the most are the ones which are increasing and which are supplanting those that do not fulfill such functions. While there are many religions in the world, five stand out above all others, not only in the number of adherents but in their social influence. In order to complete our study of the evolution of religion, we must take a brief glance at the essential features of Confucianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity, taking them up according to their rank in social importance and development, although this does not accord completely with the chronological order of their origin.

1. *Confucianism.*—The most influential of the three religions of China—Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism—Confucianism is an integral part of Chinese civilization, which has been looking backward for centuries. While named after Confucius, a Chinese sage and philosopher who is supposed to have lived from 550 to 478 B. C., it antedated him by many centuries, for Confucius was chiefly a collector and preserver of the wisdom of the past, although he did add somewhat to it. He collected this knowledge and handed it down in written form, of which there are now preserved five or six books. To those books is added a second set of classics edited by disciples of Confucius, especially Mencius, which are supposed to contain teachings of Confucius. The worship of Confucius himself is the chief addition to the worship of the time

prior to him. Confucianism in reality is not much of a religion according to our conception of religion, being more a system of philosophy. There is nothing cruel or revolting or degrading in the worship, no mythology, no idols, no priestly class. Everything is dignified and well arranged. It is essentially a religion of form, in which doctrine counts for very little and action is not governed by any code of ethics. The main thing is to do the proper thing at the proper time in the proper way.

The objects of worship are of three classes: (*a*) *heaven*, the principal Chinese deity, by which is meant the sky—the blue air—which is conceived of as a living force, and worshiped for itself and not as the residence of some other power; (*b*) the *spirits*, all good, generally spoken of in the plural sense, there being one for each object of nature, and conceived of, not as moving around, but as being organized into a priesthood, and worshiped in a body; (*c*) *ancestors*, the worship of whom is the prescribed working religion of each individual. Belief in the future world is centered in the idea of the continuation of the family; it is thought to be the duty of everybody to marry and rear descendants in order to carry on this worship. Tablets are placed in the home to the memory of these ancestors; and to these tablets the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to come when properly invoked. The emperor must sacrifice to all the emperors who preceded him, and the magistrates to all who have held the office before them. This homage is given, not for the sake of peace or aid, but because of gratitude and devotion. The person offering sacrifices prays to be worthy of offering them. There is no self-humiliation, for the Chinese take their religion complacently.

Under Confucianism religion is not separated from daily life; it is a ritual fixed by tradition and carried out by custom and habit. As taught by Confucius religion becomes a theory of government and morals. In the way of social influence Confucianism is largely responsible for the complacence of the Chinese; it is one of the causes of the backwardness of China. Closely akin to Confucianism

is Taoism, a cult founded by Lao-tsze, which in its early days consisted of a higher code of morals and self-discipline than Confucianism. It degenerated, however, into magic and, while it later borrowed the apparatus of religion from Buddhism and became recognized, it has never obtained a vital hold upon the people. Confucianism never grappled with the social problems of the day or attempted to reform things; it has merely tried to hold them as they were. Its effect has been to keep its adherents from advancing. Unlike many religions it has not degenerated or become corrupt, but has remained much the same as it was two thousand years ago—it has neither advanced nor degenerated.

2. *Brahmanism.*—Brahmanism is the direct outgrowth of the anterior Vedic religion, which was brought into India by her conquerors. The Vedic religion was an advance over the previous faith of Babylon, but was a combination of spirit and nature worship. It went further in its approach to monotheism by making one god at a time supreme, each one in turn becoming dominant. All the gods were supposed to represent various manifestations of one supreme being. It had risen beyond the worship of idols or fetishes, thus producing higher conceptions than had formerly prevailed. Upon this Vedic faith was based Brahmanism, which cast aside the old ideas of nature worship in favor of an inward subjective religious attitude. New gods were introduced, chief of whom is Brahma, who is also the head of a trinity consisting of Brahma, the creator, Vishnu, the preserver, and Siva, the destroyer. The conception of Brahma is not unlike our idea of Jehovah; he is not only an external deity, but is also present in one's own experience. But while Christianity teaches that we serve God by serving our fellow-men, Brahmanism teaches that this is done by getting away from mankind, by isolation and separation of self from the sin of the world. There is no distinction between good and bad works, for to be holy one must keep clear from all that degrades or confuses. Salvation is a matter of individual concern, there being no desire

to spread the light or to save others. Religion is gained through isolation; to be holy one must be alone.

Connected with Brahmanism are sacred books, including the sacred Vedic literature, supposedly inspired writings, hymns, treatises and law books; there are also the famous laws of Manu, compiled about 2000 B. C., a collection of rules designed to govern the entire Hindu population. There is also required of the Brahmans a complicated system of sacrifices, which have become a matter of form. The social effects have been great, but since only the individual is concerned, group morality has not been fostered. Brahmanism has not attempted to relieve the sufferings of the people or lay hold of the problems of society. It has allowed the people of India to live in poverty and misery; it has made no attempt to break down the caste system, but on the contrary has upheld it, because the priestly class are on top of the social pyramid. Neither has it attempted to elevate the position of woman; it has held her down. These failures indicate its great weakness, because a religion to be successful must aid humanity. Brahmanism has not done it. Its key-note is isolation and self-salvation. It has, however, paved the way for Buddhism, which was an outgrowth of it and which is the culmination of Indian religion.

3. *Buddhism.*—Although it originated in India, Buddhism was banished from that country and is now extinct there. It is found in China, Japan, Tibet, Java, Sumatra, Siam, Burmah, and Ceylon and is divided into northern and southern branches. While considered a revolt from Brahmanism, it is simply the evolution of Brahmanism into a higher form.

Buddhism is a religion without a god, without prayer, without a priesthood, without worship. It is a religion which owes its success not to its theology or to its ritual, for it has neither, but to its moral sentiment and to its external organization. The term "Buddha" means the Enlightened One or the Enlightened; there were supposed to have been twenty-four of these Enlightened Ones be-

fore Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, appeared. They were human but were supposed to have reached a superhuman condition by passing through periods of renunciation and of compassion for man's suffering and to have entered human life and borne the burden of man's suffering. It is not negative like Brahmanism, but positive and constructive. One achieves happiness through a life of right living; thus the religion has an extremely high code of morals and ethics. It offers Nirvana, a place of salvation, the Heaven of Buddhism; Nirvana, a place of liberation and freedom, which one can reach even before death. The way of reaching it is by a life of self-renunciation and by suppression of the desires and passions. Under Buddhist morality, which includes equality towards all and respect for all living beings, are five rules of righteousness, which resemble the ten commandments; they are binding on all followers of Buddha. These are: (1) not to kill any living being; (2) not to take that which is not given; (3) to refrain from adultery; (4) to speak no untruth; and (5) to abstain from all intoxicating liquors. Devout members add the following: (1) not to eat after mid-day; (2) not to be present at dancing, singing, the playing of music, or acting; (3) not to use wreaths, ointments, scents, or personal ornaments; (4) not to use a high or a broad bed; and (5) to possess no silver or gold.

Because there is no god, prayers, or sacrifices, priests are unnecessary. Man must save himself by his own efforts. While under Buddhism there are no priests, there are wanderers who leave home and travel about, teaching and practicing the religion. They resemble the monks and friars of the Catholic Church.

Buddhism became marvelously popular because of its simplicity, morality and broad humanity. But because of its openness and freedom it has degenerated, becoming contaminated with magic and superstition in every land where it has gone. It was too lofty to be appreciated, and therefore was not suitable as a working religion to the people with whom it dealt. While a lofty religion,

Buddhism even at its best is a sad religion, regarding human life as evil. While having deep compassion for the sufferings of man, it has taken no means of reforming the world, concerning itself only with winning individual adherents; so it has had little social effect, although it has not been reactionary as Brahmanism has been. On the whole it is an exceedingly free religion, allowing its followers to worship as they see fit or not to worship at all. In loftiness it is probably next to Christianity, with which it is competing for supremacy in the East.

4. *Mohammedanism.*—In point of time Mohammedanism is the last of the great religions, appearing six centuries after Christianity, and incorporating many of the Christian ideals; but it borrowed still more from Judaism, which it closely resembles. It was founded in Arabia by Mohammed or Mahomet, who was born about A. D. 570. Arabia is a desert country and is inhabited by wandering tribes, who are held together by ties of kinship. At the time of Mohammed, Arabia had no settled religion, but there was a confusion of nature and spirit worship, each tribe having its own beliefs. The people generally did not believe in many gods, especially the minor ones; so the country was ready for a new religion. Both Judaism and Christianity were known and respected in Arabia, but were not adopted to any extent because of the widespread dislike of the Hebrews, who were unpopular because of their pride, exclusiveness, and success as money lenders. Mohammed had traveled much and thus had come into contact with both of these religions; also while herding sheep he had had opportunity for meditation and study. When he first started out to teach, he was rejected and ridiculed at Mecca, but he was later accepted and even welcomed at Medina, a more cosmopolitan place. When he found he could not spread the faith to any extent through persuasion, he adopted force and compelled all Arabia to adopt it, giving the choice of accepting Mohammedanism or the sword. Naturally they chose the religion. He also showed great diplomacy

and executive ability in welding these tribes together and adopting enough of their old faiths, especially pilgrimages and ceremonies, to win their allegiance. After conquering Mecca he spared the city and made it his capital. Before his death he started out upon the conquest of the world but died before it was well under way, leaving his plans to his followers, who carried them out as far as they were able, sweeping over all of Asia Minor and Northern Africa and entering Europe by way of Spain and the Balkans. They were barely stopped from a conquest of all Europe at the Battle of Tours, A. D. 732.

Mohammedanism includes a belief in one god, known as Allah, and in angels, good and bad spirits, prophecy, revelation, and a resurrection and judgment day, as well as a heaven and a hell. Allah is conceived of as an all powerful and just ruler. Mohammed represented himself as a prophet of Allah. "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet!" was the slogan. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus were also recognized as prophets. Hell is represented as a place of torment and Heaven as a place of sensual pleasure. In addition to faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimages are duties of the Moslem. Every believer must pray five times a day and must, at least once during his life-time, make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Drinking and gambling are prohibited. To wage holy war is an obligation. The Koran, which closely resembles the Old Testament, is the Mohammedan Bible. In reality this faith has many points of similarity to Judaism, only it is better adapted to become a world religion.

Mohammedanism, because of the adaptability of the faith, the readiness of the people for it, and the ability of its founder, has had a growth which was marvelous in its rapidity. It is spreading swiftly to-day in Asia and Africa, being the great rival of Christianity in Africa and western Asia; and in many lands it is more successful than Christianity, because it is more easily understood. While a very advanced religion, it lacks the high

morality of Buddhism and the warmth and love of Christianity. It is, however, a wonderful advance over the previous religions of the peoples who now embrace it, and must be counted as one of the great world religions, both as to numbers and in loftiness of thought.

5. *Christianity.*—Any treatment of Christianity should be prefaced by one of Judaism, of which it is an outgrowth, but because of lack of space and general familiarity with the principles of Judaism—such a treatment may be omitted. At the time of the coming of Christ, Judaism had become hardened into mere formality and needed rejuvenation. Christianity fulfilled that need by replacing the religion of form by one of love.

Christianity is not a religion of fear—although many have tried to make it such—but one of inspiration, one which leads instead of drives. It is not a religion of definite rules but one of freedom and inner guidance, rather than of external law or system. When Christianity appeared, the world was in need of a higher religion, hence its rapid rise and remarkable influence. It later became hardened into too definite a system under the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches, and still later under many of the Protestant sects, perhaps most noticeably under the Puritans and the Church of England; but its constant trend is to throw off the control of individuals and the opinions of a few, and allow greater and greater individual freedom, especially in the Protestant denominations. There is less quarreling over matters of opinion and greater eagerness to go on to higher conceptions of religion and wider fields of usefulness. Because Christianity is essentially a religion of freedom, hope, and love it is best fitted to become a universal religion. While it is without doubt the loftiest religion and at present the greatest achievement in the evolution of religion, it has not as yet reached its highest development or its greatest usefulness, but is constantly advancing as fast as humanity is able to appreciate it.[2]

[2] The *World Almanac*, 1922, gives the following estimates as to the

Evolution of Ethics.—Ethics, or the study of morals, is a separate science in itself and has its subdivisions, like sociology; theoretical ethics deals with the theory of morals and practical ethics with human conduct. Sociology is closely connected with ethics, especially with what is called social ethics; but it is especially in moral codes that sociology is interested; their influence in controlling society and their origin and development. We take these codes for granted; but they were not always so taken, and even now they differ with the time, place, and condition. We have codes of conduct in regard to the handling of property, those forbidding stealing, for illustration, but our interpretation of just what is stealing or immoral use of property is constantly changing. We have codes in regard to telling the truth, but the Chinese and African have different codes. Codes of family morality have been and are still evolving. Religious codes differ with the religion and the time. Under Puritanism all labor and recreation were forbidden on the Sabbath, but we are making different codes in regard to the Sabbath observance. We have codes in regard to injury to others, assault being forbidden, for example. We have codes in regard to wearing clothing, but the amount and nature differ with the time, place and style.

We cannot here take up a study of these different codes. We merely mention them as part of our social evolution. They have not all evolved in the same way, being affected by geographical environment and other conditions in a manner similar to other social institutions. Religion has been one of the greatest factors in their

probable number of adherents to the great religions:

Confucianists and Taoists	310,925,000	
Brahmanists	215,512,000	
Buddhists	140,047,000	
Mohammedans	227,040,000	
Christians	576,000,000	
Roman Catholics		288,000,000
Protestants		167,000,000
Greek Catholics		121,000,000
Judaists	14,972,000	
Shintoists	25,015,000	

development; economic and industrial progress has also conditioned their growth. We could neither develop codes in regard to property until there was property, nor frame them concerning industrial organization till we had that organization.

When we take up our study of groups we shall find that the group condemns those things which seem to be disadvantageous to it, and approves that which seems advantageous; in this way group morality developed. In fact most moral codes have developed as group codes. Moral codes are never settled, for new conditions are constantly creating new problems to be solved. Take the question of justice; every new invention upsets to some extent the existing code of justice, and we must adapt our code to the new condition. In short, moral codes are the product of society and are conditioned by social progress. They also help mold society and aid or retard further progress. While morality has its roots in human nature, its specific forms are determined by conditions of society. Like other social institutions morality is the product of society.

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CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION

In this chapter education will be treated as an institution of society, and an attempt will be made to outline in a general way its evolution. While a broad view of the subject will be taken, particular attention will be given to school systems as representing in concrete fashion the different forms of education.

Primitive Education.—Education in its simplest form is seen among primitive peoples. There is no school, and education is largely a matter of imitation, being to a great extent unconscious. The purpose is, however, much the same as that recognized in our most highly developed school systems—namely, fitting the youth for life. With primitive man as with modern man, knowledge is essential to the maintenance of life. Primitive man must understand nature in order to keep alive, and the primitive child needs training in the art of obtaining food, clothing, and shelter. He must know how to avoid the wild animals and how to hunt or fish. In order to progress, each generation must profit by the experience of the preceding ones.

While the bulk of primitive instruction comes through observation and imitation, there are various methods of supplying definite training and instruction. One of the best known is the initiation ceremony. Among most primitive peoples every boy before entering upon the duties and dignity of manhood is obliged to go through an initiation. In many tribes girls are compelled to perform similar rites before they are recognized as women. This initiation generally comes during the period of puberty and lasts several days, sometimes for weeks and

months. Often the novice is obliged to go through ceremonies which are symbolic or religious. During these ceremonies the youth is taught the legends and history of the tribe and the significance of the various celebrations, songs, dances, and rites. Instruction is given in religion, also in tribal and family duties. The importance of the occasion, and of the instruction, is impressed upon the mind of the youth by the seriousness of the instructors and the ceremony and dignity attached to the rites. The life of primitive man is as a rule hard, one in which he is obliged to endure hunger, cold, and pain; to fit himself for this life the youth is usually compelled to pass rigid examinations. He is generally forced to endure pain without flinching; he endures such tests as having teeth knocked out, smoking or burning over a fire, and flogging. Frequently the boy carries to the grave the scars made during his initiation ceremony. He is often required to fast for a time, or to procure his own food without assistance; or he may be compelled to abstain from certain foods. So severe are these initiations that among some tribes it is not at all uncommon for youths to die under them. The rites for girls are ordinarily not so severe, nor are they carried out with so great care, because of the lesser importance of females in the eyes of society.

By means of these initiations young men are taught obedience and respect for their elders. Also, much practical instruction is given in methods of capturing certain animals, in the art of making fire, concerning the importance of marriage and the duty of providing for the family. However, much superstition and magic are also taught, such as belief in spirits, and animal worship. Because of this, primitive education has had little progressive value other than as an adjustment to one's environment. It did have value in teaching group solidarity, and thus contributed its part to the preservation of man and the continuance of races. But as society advanced and the needs of man changed, it gave way to other methods of instruction.

Oriental Education.—*Chinese Education.*—The second stage in educational development has persisted almost to the present day in many of the Oriental nations, particularly China, which continued its ancient system down to the beginning of the twentieth century. With the Chinese formal education consisted in the mastery of language and literature. The Chinese language is ideographic and not phonetic, and as a result there is a different character for each idea. While the bulk of their educational material contains only about 5000 different characters, it has been estimated that exclusive of synonyms and obsolete words there are 25,000 characters, and including all forms about 260,000. These characters have to be memorized. Chinese education consisted in: (1) the mastery of these language forms; (2) committing to memory the sacred texts; and (3) the study of commentaries on these texts, for the purpose of acquiring the sacred literary style. In carrying out this scheme of education there was a system of schools which led up to and prepared for a schedule of governmental examinations. Each village or community had its elementary school, taught by some unsuccessful candidate for the degrees, or by the holder of a lower degree who was without an office. Here by a system of imitation and memorizing the student learned to read and write the different characters, although little connection was made between the two processes, the child often not knowing the meaning of either. On account of the poverty of the people few ever attended school, and of those who did attend only about one in twenty ever managed to pass beyond the elementary grade. Above the elementary schools the higher education consisted of the memorizing of the nine sacred classics and their commentaries. For those who failed in the examinations or were not successful in obtaining appointment to offices—and most of them did fail—education instead of preparing for life unfitted them for entering an ordinary occupation, for to do so would have brought about the loss of prestige. Many resorted to teaching, thus overcrowding that occupation.

The center of the Chinese educational system was the series of three governmental examinations for degrees and office. These examinations consisted of the writing of verse and prose essays on themes taken from sacred writings. From those who passed the lower examinations the minor governmental officials were chosen, and from those who passed the higher examinations the chief officials of the empire were selected. A few were selected by a further private examination before the emperor to form his cabinet. The educational system was the royal road to preferment and advance. Each degree brought its own reward, as well as the opening up of an opportunity to advance still higher. Because of this fact many spent their entire lives in the endeavor to pass these examinations. The whole educational system conduced to this end.

The Chinese method was memory and imitation. No attempt was made to develop originality or creative power; these were suppressed. Now, however, this whole system is rapidly being replaced by Western methods. While it preserved the past, it stifled progress and was largely responsible for holding China back from advancement.

Hindu Education.—Quite similar to the education of China was that of India. There education was based upon the sacred Vedic literature and training in the laws and traditions. A great deal of it consisted of study of the mystical Brahman religion and the Hindu philosophy of asceticism and isolation. Schools were kept by Brahmans, and to these not only Brahmans were permitted to go, but also members of the warrior and industrial classes, although few from these classes attended. The workers and outcasts were deprived of educational rights. So in practice education was a matter of caste and was almost limited to the Brahman of priestly caste. While by no means as barbarous and clumsy a system as the Chinese, education among the Hindus was not progressive. It did not attempt to fit for life work, for it consisted largely of memorizing the traditions and learning of the

past. New methods and studies were forbidden. It was restricted even more than the Chinese system, fully ninety-five per cent being deprived of it. In both countries education was forbidden to women, or rather women were not considered worthy of education.

Jewish Education.—Jewish education might be termed a sort of connecting link between Oriental and Occidental systems. While it consisted largely in a study of sacred literature—the Old Testament, which was the Jewish law—it did give more opportunity for the development of personality than the systems of such countries as China and India. It was non-progressive and did not invite new theories or methods. It did not offer any opportunity for the development of science and art. Like the Hindu, it was restricted largely to the priestly class and was not open to the great mass of the population. Jewish schools were not so highly developed as those of China, which had a regular system of schools. Most of the teaching was done in the temples, and regular schools were not organized until the close of the national life of the race.

Greek Education.—Real educational progress began with the Greeks. Here the past was not worshiped as in the Orient, and progress was made. The methods of education, however, differed with the ideals of the individual state, those of Athens and Sparta being the two extremes.

Spartan Education.—In Sparta education was almost wholly physical and was a preparation for service to the state. It was severe and stern, even cruel at times, and was required of all Spartans, who, however, made up only about one-twentieth of the population. Because of this great inferiority in numbers the Spartans were obliged to be a superior race of fighters, and their whole system of training had that end in view. The infant was inspected at birth, and if sickly or deformed was "exposed" to die in the mountains. If healthy, the child was allowed to remain with its mother till seven years old, when it was placed in barracks and trained by the state. Here the youth was subject to discipline and spent his time in drilling and

gymnastic exercises. The boys were taught to live a simple life by means of hard beds and scanty clothing and diet. Slight intellectual training was given; that provided was in the nature of memorizing the laws of Lycurgus and selections from Homer. Each boy was given an adult adviser. At the age of eighteen training in arms and methods of warfare was begun, varied by a severe flogging every ten days before the temple of Artemis. This continued for two years, when the youth entered the regular army and was assigned to a border fortress, where he was compelled to live on the coarsest of fare. At the age of thirty every man was compelled to marry. He could, however, live with his wife only clandestinely, being obliged to remain in the barracks and assist in the training of the boys. Similar education was marked out for the girls, in order that they might become mothers of sturdy sons, except that they remained at home. The whole system was designed to create strong warriors; it did to a wonderful degree accomplish its purpose. On the other hand, Sparta achieved nothing in art, literature, or philosophy, and contributed little if anything to civilization, other than the examples of heroism, physical endurance, and indifference to pain and discomfort which it gave.

Athenian Education.—In early Athens education consisted of training for service to the state, as in Sparta. Training began at the age of seven, but it was not limited to physical drill. Along with physical exercises (which lacked the severity of the Spartan regime) went education in music, reading, and writing. Moral training and discipline were given by a slave, called a pedagogue. At fifteen the Athenian youth took advanced training on the gymnasia, or exercising ground, and was given permission to go and come as he chose. At eighteen he took the oath of loyalty to Athens and entered upon a period of two years of military training, first at Athens, then at a fortress on the frontier. At twenty he became a citizen, but his education continued in the drama, in architecture, in sculpture, and in art. The weakness of the Athenian

system was that the women were neglected entirely, except for training in household duties. Aside from this defect Athenian education was far superior to that of Sparta, producing a better-rounded citizen.

Later this older form of education gave way to one of extreme individualism, under which the happiness of the individual was given more consideration than the welfare of the state. The study of grammar and rhetoric was especially emphasized because of the eagerness of the men to enter political life, and training in the gymnasia was neglected. With this change there appeared a class of teachers known as sophists; many of them were skilled teachers, but others were noted for their ability to argue and for their willingness to take any position. The three world-renowned Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, lived during this period. They attempted to harmonize the old and the new educational institutions and to build systems of education and thought for future generations. They had little effect on their own period, although they have influenced all succeeding generations. Their point of view dominated the thought of Europe for centuries. After them there arose schools of rhetoric and philosophy, out of which grew the universities, such as the University of Athens, which flourished from the fourth century B. C. Other universities followed, the most noted of which were those of Pergamon, Rhodes, Alexandria, and Rome; but Athens remained the intellectual center of the world until about A. D. 300, when it gave place to Alexandria. During this time students flocked to Athens from all parts of the Roman Empire. The later intellectual supremacy of Alexandria resulted from the development of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy and from the reputation of such investigators as Euclid in geometry, Archimedes in physics, Eratosthenes in astronomy, and Diaphontus in algebra. In addition to the university centers many different schools of philosophers sprang up in various parts of the Hellenic world.

Greek thought and civilization extended their influence

over the Orient and into every part of the Roman world. It did not merely conquer Rome; it has had its influence upon every age from that time down to the present. The contribution of Greece to the world was that of civilization in its highest form.

Roman Education.—During the early days of Rome education was largely a family affair and, with the exception of a few elementary schools, there was no system of education. Children were taught by their parents, but because of the intense patriotism and active military policy of the Roman people, the object of all teaching was service to the state. The boys were trained by their fathers and the girls by the mothers, although in early childhood the mothers instructed both. They were given physical and moral training, and the ideals were rigorous and the discipline severe. As the boy grew older, he accompanied his father and thus learned efficiency in life by the force of example. If the boy belonged to the patrician class, he might be trained for a profession, as that of a soldier, lawyer, or statesman. If he was of the plebeian class, he usually learned the trade or occupation of his father. A girl, no matter to which class she belonged, was instructed in the domestic arts, especially in spinning and weaving wool. Through their parents the children were generally taught to read and write and to commit to memory legends, ballads, and martial and religious songs, and were made familiar with the *Twelve Tables,* or national laws. Education during this period was essentially practical and was intended to produce efficient parents, citizens, and soldiers—an aim which it accomplished. It trained the youth to be strong in mind and body, simple in his life, and reverential to the gods, to parents, and to law and tradition. It produced a nation of fighters, but did not produce idealists or philosophers; consequently ideals were narrow, selfish, and low. It served while Rome was small, but when Rome became a world power, this form of training had to be supplemented.

Hellenization of Roman Education—In 168 B. C. Rome conquered Macedon, which under the leadership of Philip

and Alexander had previously absorbed Greece. Instead of imposing Roman education upon Greece, Rome adopted Greek culture and civilization, including the Greek system of education. It was not adopted altogether in the Greek form, but as it worked out in practice, Greek education was added to the Roman, and the result was an amalgamation. There was evolved a system of schools, consisting of three grades: (1) the *ludus,* or elementary school; (2) the *grammar* school; and (3) the *rhetorical* school.

The Ludus, or lowest school, in all probability existed before the conquest of Greece, as an extension of home training, but it was not fully developed until after the introduction of Greek methods. Through imitation and memory were taught reading, writing and the rudiments of calculation. Little if any effort was made to give the meaning of the things taught, and of course the work was irksome and devoid of interest. Discipline was severe and enforced by use of the lash, rod, and whip, and the teachers as a rule were feared and hated. The Greek custom of having a slave accompany the child to school was adopted by the Romans.

The Grammar School was a result of an increasing demand for education. Here were studied especially grammar and literature, including a study of the poets and prose writers, with some work in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, geography, and music. Gymnastic exercises were also frequently added. There was little improvement, however, in methods of discipline, although the schools were better equipped in the way of desks and decorations, as well as separate buildings. The elementary schools were generally held in porches and in booths.

The Rhetorical Schools were really professional schools, fitting for the occupation of politics and statesmanship. The training was chiefly in oratory, law, and history. The courses were broadened out by linguistic and literary education, although the main feature was training in declamation and oratory. After completion of the course at a rhetorical school, the student might supplement his education with work at a university, the most popular

of which were those of Athens, Rhodes, and Alexandria, and later the one at Rome itself.

At first there was no public educational system, the establishment of schools being a private matter. But in the time of the later empire the government began to subsidize the schools by contributing to their support, paying certain teachers, exempting the students from taxes and military duties and offering scholarships. On account of the rapid establishment of schools due to the desire of the people to obtain these privileges, rather than to procure an education; and in order to correct these and other abuses connected with the schools, the emperor decreed that he alone had the authority to establish schools, and brought them into the control of the government. In this way he laid the basis for a system of public education, the first known to history. While in the later days of the empire the schools deteriorated in character and influence, Roman education left its impress upon the world. It was essentially practical and helped mold the institutions that have advanced civilization. It adopted as a basis Greek education, added practical features, and thus prepared the world for further progress. It paved the way for the new educational system which was brought in by the Christian Church and which largely replaced the Roman school. The chief defect in Roman education was perhaps that it, like the Greek, was limited to the upper classes, and therefore was not democratic.

Early Christian Education.—When Rome began to decline, Christianity appeared and spread rapidly in spite of all attempts to prevent it. At first the new religion was accepted largely by the lower classes, such as the slaves and the poor. The majority of these classes of people were uneducated and unintelligent. The new religion, however, supplied them with moral training of a high order. Because of persecution and ostracism the early Christians were more or less segregated. There was within these groups of Christians a demand for instruction in the new religion, and it was deemed

necessary to give some such instruction before admitting into church membership. This led to the establishment of what were called "catechumenal" schools, which were held generally in some part of the church building, as the portico. The instruction was chiefly religious, including the reading and memorizing of scripture and the singing of hymns. The course of instruction usually lasted for a period of three years.

The early Christians were suspicious of the Greek and Roman philosophy and education. It was only natural that they should recall the immorality and the terrible persecutions of the Romans. But gradually there developed a reconciliation between the two, resulting in certain catechetical schools, in which there was some sort of alliance between Græco-Roman and Christian thought in education. The best known of these schools was probably the one at Alexandria, which was headed by Clement (150–215) and Origen (185–253), who were extremely advanced in their theology, so much so that they were branded as heretical. In these schools Christianity received a philosophical interpretation. Then in order to train workers and those intending to enter the clergy there were organized in the different cities what were known as "episcopal" or "bishops'" schools, later known as "cathedral" schools, because of their location. They developed into schools of three types, the "grammar" school, the "song" or music school, and the "choristers'" school, which was a combination of the two preceding. These increased in popularity and took the place of the older Roman schools which were subsidized by the emperors. With these schools there grew up again opposition to the Greek and Roman culture and ideas of life, and there was a breaking away from the Greek and Roman philosophy. This led to the rise of the monastic schools, which had so great an influence during the Middle Ages.

Education During the Middle Ages.—*Monastic Education.*—By the decree of Justinian in A. D. 529 the pagan

schools were abolished, and the field was thus left open to the cathedral and monastic schools. Monasticism grew up as a result of the desire on the part of some people for a deeper religious life, and as a reaction to the prevailing vice. Monasteries were founded, where the monks lived in cells, meeting for meals, communion, and instruction. This movement began in Egypt but quickly spread over Syria, Palestine, Greece, Italy, and Gaul. In the west the attention of the monks was directed especially to the cultivation of the soil and the preservation of literature. In accordance with a rule of St. Benedict, most of the monasteries adopted the plan of spending seven hours a day in manual labor and two hours in systematic reading. This created a demand for manuscripts, and each monastery had its "writing room" for the copying of manuscripts. Most of these manuscripts were of a religious nature, but some of them were from the classics. This literary activity helped to preserve the learning of the past. It also led to the establishment of monastic schools with organized courses of study, of eight or ten years. These schools were instituted for the training of youths for the monastic orders, although some were admitted who did not intend to become monks; likewise some instruction was given women in the convents for nuns.

At first the training in these schools was elementary and narrow, but later included such studies as grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, which were called the lower studies, and arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, which were known as the higher studies. Grammar included some work in literature; rhetoric some knowledge of law and history; dialectics led to metaphysics; geometry included geography and surveying; music reached such advanced phases as the theory of music; and astronomy included some physics and higher mathematics; so the courses of study were not so narrow as they would seem at first glance. Text-books were scarce, and the instructor usually dictated, and the pupil took the dictation down

upon tablets and memorized it. Many text-books were eventually produced, some of which were of high grade. While the monastic schools were conservative, superstitious, and decidedly hostile to the classics and science, they did the world a great service by preserving and handing down much Græco-Roman culture that otherwise would have been lost.

In the seventh and eighth centuries the schools of Europe degenerated and education stood at a low ebb. It was at this time that Charlemagne, noticing the degeneracy, induced Alcuin, the head of a famous cathedral school at York, to come to the continent and reorganize education in France. He built up, with the patronage of Charlemagne, the Palace School, where instruction included grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, and theology. He also improved the cathedral, monastic, and parish schools. Later, Alcuin retired to the monastery at Tours, where he established a school to which the bright youths of the empire flocked. Many of these later became teachers and churchmen. Although in his old age Alcuin became ultra-conservative, his pupils generally were broad-minded, and the result of his going to France was a marked revival in education.

Moslem Contributions.—Because of the almost absolute illiteracy of Mohammed, the Koran, or Moslem Bible, was a strange jumble of religious ideas. When Mohammedanism came into contact with Greek philosophy in Syria and Asia Minor, the Koran had to be interpreted in Hellenistic terms. Works in philosophy, mathematics, and science were translated into Arabic, and the Mohammedan cities of Syria became noted for their learning. This did not win the approval of the mass of Mohammedans, and the more advanced members were driven out of Syria, taking refuge in Northern Africa and Spain. Here they founded colleges at Cordova, Granada, Toledo, and elsewhere, which preserved learning, especially in mathematics, science, law, and metaphysics. They came into contact with the Christians and created a desire for Greek learning, and later the Venetians brought many

original Greek classics to Western Europe. This transfer of manuscripts preserved much of the learning of the East, which might otherwise have been lost.

Mediæval Universities.—Partly as a result of Moslem stimulation and partly on account of the local conditions many noted universities sprang up in Europe towards the close of the Middle Ages. The first of these was at Salerno, near Naples; it was simply a school of medicine, whose establishment was due to local conditions, such as the existence there of mineral springs and the preservation at that place of old Greek medical works. Probably the most noted of these universities was at Bologna, in Northern Italy. Through its investigations in Roman law it became noted for courses in canon and civil law. It was chartered by Frederick Barbarossa in 1158, and was perhaps the first university in the modern sense, having faculties in arts, medicine, and theology. The university at Paris was the next in order of foundation, and it became the most famous of them all. The universities of Bologna and Paris were of different types, the former representing the type known as "student" universities. In this sort of institution the government was in the hands of students, who were often mature men; they selected the masters and determined the fees, length of term, and date of beginning. Paris was of the type known as "master" universities, where the students were younger, and where all management was in the hands of the masters. At the beginning of the Renaissance about eighty universities had been established upon one or the other of these two plans. Only about fifty survived, and these changed a great deal in character.

Universities were usually granted charters which carried special privileges of some kind, such as exemption from taxes and military service, the right to license masters, and the privilege of "striking" when rights were infringed upon. In the last case, lectures might be suspended and the university moved to another town, a transfer which was not very difficult because of lack of laboratories, libraries, and other equipment. Wandering

students, a shiftless, reckless, and vicious lot, begging their way from one place to another and migrating from university to university, were also a feature of the time.

After a time, the universities were more closely organized, the students being grouped according to the countries or sections of Europe from which they came, and the masters into faculties. Each group of students had its counselor, who represented it and looked after its interests; and each faculty had its dean, who acted as its representative. The deans and counselors together generally selected the "rector," or head of the university. The faculties represented were as a rule arts, law, medicine, and theology. The courses of study in each of these institutions were determined either by papal decree or by legislation on the part of the university. The course in arts included the subjects taught in the monastic school, with the addition of the study of Aristotle. In the law course, *Corpus Juris Civilis* and the *Decree of Gratian* were used as texts in civil and canon law respectively. Texts were also used in the medical and theological courses. The lecture method was employed extensively, in which the texts were read and explained by means of notes, summaries, cross-references, and opinions of the professors. Opportunity was also given for argument and debate, all exercises being carried on in Latin, which had to be learned by the student before entering the university. Examinations were held and degrees conferred in much the same manner as at the present day. While the information was meager and the manner of presentation stereotyped and authoritative, and little was done in constructive thinking or investigation, the mediæval university contained the germ of scientific inquiry and modern freedom, and thus paved the way for progressive educational ideas. It advanced the cause of individualism and contributed its part to civilization and progress.

Agencies outside the school systems fostered special types of education, such as that given the upper classes through the institution of *chivalry,* and the industrial education received by members of the *merchant* or *craft guilds.* In

the former case, the boys who expected to become knights were required to pass through a long period of training, first at home, then at some castle where the youth served as a page and was trained by both the lord and lady, and later as a squire, when he attended the lord at the tournament or on the battlefield and went through a more strenuous training. Upon being knighted he had to observe certain ceremonies.

With the rise of commerce and industry in the later Middle Ages there developed merchant cities and a burgher class. Workmen organized themselves into guilds, which exercised rigorous supervision of the industry, and among other things regulated carefully the learning of the trade, in order to maintain quality of product and to guarantee prosperity for the workman. There were three stages: (1) apprentice, (2) journeyman, and (3) master. The apprentice received no wages but was under the protection of the guild while he received instruction. A journeyman received wages, but only by working for a master. He was obliged to pass an examination set by the guild before he was allowed to become a master. Thus a thorough industrial education was provided. Guilds also usually maintained priests whose duty it was to instruct the children a part of the time. Later priests were regularly employed to teach school, and in this way guild schools sprang up. These were afterward absorbed by burgher or town schools, in which practical education was given in reading, writing, and reckoning. They were controlled by the public authorities and represented the interests of the commercial and industrial classes. They not only contributed to the development of commerce and industry, but they also educated the masses in the liberal arts and were a large factor in preparing the way for the Renaissance.

The Renaissance and Reformation.—*Classical Education.*—The intellectual awakening known as the Renaissance which occurred during the fourteenth century brought into Europe a tremendous revival of learning. It took the form of a study of the classics, and an en-

thusiasm or craze for this form of study spread over Europe with an eagerness that knew no bounds. At first it was limited to a revival of the Latin classics and naturally started in Italy, the home of the Latin classics. The most noted of the early students of the classics were Petrarch and his pupil Boccaccio. Through their influence many Latin manuscripts were recovered, preserved, and copied, and a wide knowledge of Latin was handed down. Not much was done with the study of Greek till Chrysolas arrived in Italy as an envoy of the Eastern emperor, and was induced to settle there, in 1396, in order to teach Greek. With his help translations were made and a Greek grammar written. From that time the study of both Latin and Greek became paramount.

The tyrants of many of the Italian cities, including Florence, Venice, Padua, Verona, Ferrara, and Mantua, established schools in order to foster study of the classics. They did this as a means of catering to public sentiment, thus making their own positions more secure. The most famous of these was the school headed by Vittorino da Feltre, which aimed at a harmonious development of mind, body, and morals. A grammatical and literary study of both the Latin and Greek writers was required, thus providing the student with a mastery of vocabulary, rhythm, and style. Mathematical subjects were also taught and physical and moral instruction given. This school turned out a number of distinguished statesmen, churchmen, scholars, and rulers. The schools of this type received the children of the nobility and aristocracy at an early age, and retained them until they were twenty-one. They became rivals of the universities, because they carried the students generally as far and sometimes farther than did the latter. Because of this competition the universities were compelled to add the classics to their curriculums. In Italy the study of the classics gradually degenerated into an aping of the style and forms of Cicero, and became known as "Ciceronianism."

The study of the classics spread from Italy northward into France and Germany, where it took on a broader sys-

tem of culture. It was especially stimulated in France by the enthusiasm resulting from expeditions of several of the French kings into Italy, and later under the patronage of Francis I it was introduced into most of the educational institutions of France, where it produced many famous scholars. In Germany the Hieronymians, or Brethren of the Common Lot, were the first to introduce the study into their schools. Here Erasmus, who became the leader of the classical education in the north, was trained. Under his influence many textbooks and educational treatises were prepared. Classical training was introduced into many schools, and from the old cathedral and upper burgher schools there evolved the German "gymnazium," the typical classical school of that country. One of the first of these was established by Sturm at Strassburg, where a course of ten classes was provided, in which a careful study of the classics was carried out. The movement spread to England and was taken up at Oxford and Cambridge. The real development at Cambridge began when Erasmus, professor of theology, consented to lecture on Greek as a labor of love. A model for all secondary schools was founded in 1509 at St. Paul's by Colet. The study of the classics in England, however, degenerated into formalism, and the secondary schools have improved but little to the present day. The secondary schools of the American colonies were modeled upon those of the mother country.

Educational Influence of the Reformation.—The Reformation gave the world not only a religious awakening, but an educational inspiration as well. Luther stood primarily for religious reform, but he advocated the view that education should prepare for citizenship and should be state supported. Zwingli held similar views, but was killed before he was able to exercise much influence. Calvin not only founded several colleges but exercised an influence in the founding of others, and in determining the educational thought of Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, England and Scotland.

Catholic education also received a new impetus. The Jesuits organized colleges to extend Catholic Christianity; these taught the classics, theology, and philosophy. The teachers were carefully trained and selected, and while the methods used consisted largely of memorizing and reviewing, with devices to stir up rivalry, they were effective. These colleges increased phenomenally, till in 1556 there were 769 such institutions scattered throughout the world, with an attendance of at least 200,000 students. Because of quarrels with the church the Jesuit order, the society of Jesus was dissolved by the Pope. While it was later restored, its educational influence never again became so great.

Other Catholic bodies also founded schools and exerted educational influences; such were the Jansenists, generally known as Port Royalists, because of the educational method used in the convent school at Port Royal. They held that reason was more important than memory, and established small schools, known as "little schools," where individual instruction was emphasized, and where stress was placed upon the vernacular, logic, and geometry. The phonetic method of instruction was here employed. The Christian Brothers emphasized practical studies, in addition to the study of academic subjects and religion. They introduced the "simultaneous," or group method of instruction, preferring it to individual instruction, which had prevailed in the past. They also established training courses for teachers for the elementary schools.

One of the contributions of the Reformation was the creation of a demand for universal elementary education and control of the schools by the state. While some Catholics in Germany, Holland, Scotland, and some of the American colonies took this position, the movement was much stronger among Protestants in those countries. With the Protestants the secondary schools came largely under the management of civil authorities, although the clergy generally taught and inspected them. With the Catholics secondary education was mainly in the hands of the Jesuits. During this time many colleges changed

from the Catholic to the Protestant faith, and many new colleges, both Catholic and Protestant, were founded.

Modern Times.—During the seventeenth century *scientific education* developed rapidly. It had been stimulated by the labors of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo in the field of astronomy, and by the discoveries of Torricelli, Boyle, and Guericke. Newton, with his laws of motion; Harvey, with the discovery of the circulation of the blood; and other scientists, with their contributions, added to this impetus. The scientific movement was opposed at first by the churches, and consequently was not taken up by the colleges and universities for some time. But slowly and indirectly it crept into the elementary schools, and in time was incorporated in the courses of study of the colleges and universities throughout the world. German universities were the first to fall into line, especially those of Halle and Göttingen. The English universities of Oxford and Cambridge were much slower to accept science as an object of study. During the early part of the eighteenth century Yale, Princeton, Kings (afterwards Columbia), Dartmouth, Union, and Pennsylvania offered courses in science, and Harvard did so even before the close of the seventeenth century.

Growth of Democracy in Education. Its Extension to the Lower Classes.—During the early part of the eighteenth century there was a revolt against the repression of opinion in theology and education, much like the revolt during the latter part of the same century against political repression. There was a struggle to free the intellect from form and dogma, and to interpret life from a more reasonable and natural point of view. One of the great thinkers of those times was Voltaire, who championed reason against tradition. While he particularly assailed the church, both Protestant and Roman Catholic—especially the latter—because he considered it an enemy of liberty and progress, he aided education not only by his criticism of the old systems, but by his introduction into France of the new theories of education with which he had become acquainted while an exile in England.

In the eighteenth century there were many attempts at more universal education, especially in England, where the condition of the laboring class, which comprised about one-sixth of the population, was wretched, wages being low, work irregular, and dire poverty general. Many charity schools were established and philanthropic societies formed to extend this work. Such were the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the latter of which supported schools in all the American colonies except Virginia. These societies were organized and managed by philanthropic individuals. They encountered much opposition on the part of the upper classes, on the ground that the business of the working classes was to labor and not to think; and on the part of the lower classes, because they resented charity. This movement flourished for a while and, as mentioned above, was even extended to America, where a number of such societies were organized and schools founded; but in time interest waned, subscriptions fell off, and the movement declined.

Monitor Schools.—Another movement, which did much for the extension of education to the masses because of its method, was the system of instruction through monitors, a system developed in England by two rivals, Lancaster and Bell. With the use of older students as monitors, a much larger number could be instructed at a time than under the previous, more individual methods. This was carried out by company organization and drill, a system of officers, badges, rewards and punishments being provided. While formal and mechanical, it furthered the idea of national education and paved the way for state support; it also greatly improved methods of teaching. It spread widely and was adopted to a considerable extent in the United States, but disappeared with the improvement in educational methods. It contributed, however, its part to the advance of education.

Infant Schools for poor children were introduced during the early part of the nineteenth century in France,

England, and the United States. While founded largely from philanthropic motives, they spread widely and were adopted as a regular part of the national school systems. They soon became formal and mechanical, but had a beneficial effect by introducing better methods and equipment. They encouraged a movement towards playgrounds, and in the United States brought women into the schools as teachers.

While much opposed, the philanthropic movement in education was of value in that it prepared the way for public education on a national scale.

Educational Reforms.—1. *Naturalistic Tendency.*—The chief instigator of the naturalistic movement was Rousseau (1712–1778). While better known to the student of sociology and political science through his *Social Contract,* he had by means of his *Émile* a tremendous influence upon education. This work is divided into five books. In the first he takes the child from birth to five years of age, during which time the training should consist of physical activities. In the second, from five to twelve, or during childhood, when the training should develop the limbs and senses. In the third, from twelve to fifteen years, or during boyhood, when the training should be intellectual and should include a study of the natural sciences, stimulating the curiosity concerning nature. In the fourth, from fifteen to twenty, social and moral development are urged, for during this period the sex interests appear and should be properly guided and trained. The fifth book takes up the training of the girl. Émile is supposed to marry a type of woman that is extremely parasitic. In this work Rousseau, while inconsistent at times, is brilliant and suggestive; it entitles him to rank as an originator of the social, scientific, and psychological movements in education. He did not, however, make any immediate impression upon educators; in fact, it fell to Basedow first to put the naturalism of Rousseau into practice. He took the stand that education should be practical and should follow the methods of play. He established, with the aid of subsidies, a model school,

known as the "philanthropinum," and produced several textbooks for this method. Languages were taught through conversation, and games and other sciences by equally natural methods. Industrial training was also included. The school was very successful and its methods were copied to such an extent that this type of school became a fad. Nevertheless it did much good by giving a new stimulus to education.

2. *Observation and Industrial Training — Pestalozzi* (1746–1827).—The further development and practical application of the naturalistic theory of Rousseau was left to Pestalozzi to carry out. Early in life he was inspired with the desire to elevate the degraded peasantry of Europe. After meeting failure in the ministry and law, he turned his attention to education, where in a school at Neuhof he undertook a combination of industrial and educational training, but failed in the undertaking. In 1798 he was given another opportunity to carry out his philanthropic and industrial ideas in education. Having no assistants, books, or materials, he was obliged to instruct through observation, a method which he used in morals, arithmetic, languages, geography, and history. In another school at Burgdorf, Pestalozzi was obliged to discontinue industrial training, but here and later at Yverdon he developed his observational method to its culmination. He looked upon education as a natural development of innate powers. He believed that clear ideas could be formed only through the aid of the senses, and he tried to reduce each subject to its simplest elements and to develop it by means of graded exercises. He insisted that education should follow the psychological steps of a child's development. He sought to elevate society by means of education, and while his methods were unoriginal, impractical, inconsistent, and lacking in science and organization, he was the real progenitor of modern pedagogy. Not only did he usher in new methods of instruction, but he started a new type of discipline, substituting friendliness and love for the brutal methods then in vogue. Because of this, his methods spread

rapidly over Europe and the United States, being widely developed by his followers. The industrial and intellectual combination, which Pestalozzi was obliged to discard because of the social position of his pupils, was taken up by his friend Fellenberg (1771–1844) at Hofwyl. It was continued in industrial training schools in Europe and in the "manual labor" movement in the United States, where it has been particularly developed in the Indian and Negro schools, such as Carlisle, Hampton, and Tuskegee, and also in schools for defectives and delinquents. The Pestalozzi idea is also applied in the manual training departments of our public schools and the special trade schools.

(3) *Herbart* (1776–1841) *and Froebel* (1782–1852). Two followers of Pestalozzi, who extended and carried on to a higher development the work of their master, were Herbart and Froebel. Each of these worked out systems of pedagogy, Herbart basing his upon his own ingenious psychology, and Froebel upon a kind of mystic philosophy. Both reproduced theories of Pestalozzi in a more logical manner. Herbart and his followers laid stress particularly upon the moral aim of education and the control of conduct through ideas. They elaborated a theory of subject matter which was based upon epochs of cultural development; they constructed a curriculum founded on correlation of studies and upon the unity of knowledge and experience. Herbart believed that the mind develops through its own experience, that in this manner education can control the growth of intelligence and character, and that instruction should stimulate through ideas and experience.

Froebel laid emphasis upon self-activity as the basis and method of instruction; upon natural interests as the starting point of all education; and upon play, constructive work, and the study of nature as the chief means of teaching. He held that self-realization, or individualization, can only be achieved through the development of the social instincts. In addition, he developed the kindergarten, or school without books or tasks, and thus was the

originator of the kindergarten movement, which has spread over Europe and America.

Nearly all the modern tendencies in education can be traced back in some rudimentary form to Herbart or Froebel; in fact, present educational theory is largely a synthesis of Herbartian and Froebelian ideas, the latter being probably more in accord with modern thought.

American Educational Development.—*Colonial Education.*—Naturally the schools of the early colonies closely resembled those of the countries from which the colonists migrated, just as they were influenced by the prevailing religious and political ideas. The colonies which were under democratic control and in which the Calvinistic attitude prevailed made attempts at some sort of universal education, while those which were under aristocratic control and were composed of followers of the Church of England did not favor universal education. The Calvinists favored universal education because they believed that the people should be able to read the scriptures, in order that they might be guided by the word of God. The aristocratic colonies spent more time and means upon establishing higher education than they did upon universal education. After many efforts, this resulted in the founding of William and Mary College in Virginia, in 1692, although little was done for the education of the poorer classes in Virginia and the South until many years later.

Three types of school organization developed in the colonies: (1) the *laissez faire* method as followed in Virginia and most of the Southern colonies, where secondary and higher education for the upper classes was fostered, with little education, except industrial training through apprenticeship, for the orphans and children of the poor. Here education was looked upon largely as a private or family matter. (2) The parochial type as found in New Netherlands and in most of the middle colonies. (3) The governmental school system as found in Massachusetts and most of the New England colonies.

Period of Transition.—About the middle of the eighteenth

century a gradual modification of educational ideals and practices began in this country, which continued until after the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when our regular public school systems had become more or less definitely worked out. In most of the Southern states, especially in Virginia, it awaited a sentiment in favor of public education. Jefferson in his time worked out an elaborate scheme of public education, by which the country was divided into small districts, each having its public elementary school. From these schools the best students were chosen to go to more advanced schools, where in turn the selective process was to continue, till the best were finally educated at public expense at William and Mary College. This scheme was never carried out, but slowly permanent school funds were established and laws passed establishing public schools. At first these met with much opposition, both from the wealthy, who did not see why they should be taxed to support schools which would bring them no good, and from the poor, who resented this apparent charity. Then for a long time it was difficult to secure competent teachers, because graduates of colleges and academies refused to teach in the schools for the poor. But by degrees these objections were overcome and the schools increased in number and usefulness.

About 1800 New York began to make appropriations for public elementary schools, although it still neglected secondary schools. In New York City quasi-public societies, such as the "Free School Society," later called the "Public School Society," were forerunners of a system of public instruction. The new constitution adopted in Pennsylvania in 1790 made provision for the establishment of schools for the poor, but the usual method followed was to pay the tuition of poor children in private schools, till, in 1818, Philadelphia established school districts and provided schools upon the Lancastrian plan. Similar schools were established in other places, but it was not until 1834 that a state system of common schools was started, and even then it was done over much opposi-

tion. New Jersey and Delaware were even slower to follow in this movement.

In Massachusetts provision for public schools had been generous, but instead of increasing as time went on, support of education decreased. This was caused partly by the hard times and partly by the westward migration of the more enterprising. Then the control of schools was changed from the town to the school district; and many districts were either too poor or too indifferent to supply efficient teachers and equipment, and there resulted a great deal of inequality of schools. This decline became general in New England except in Rhode Island, which for the first time began to develop free public schools. In the states formed from the old Northwest Territory (now the North Central states), the sentiment for free public schools was stronger than in most of the older states. Many difficulties were in the way, such as the poverty of the pioneers, the sparsely settled country, poor roads, and incessant Indian wars. Federal land grants, however, acted as a stimulus, and systems of public instruction came into existence about 1825. These not only included free public instruction through the elementary schools, but extended to the establishment of state universities as well, the most noted of which was the University of Michigan, which was established by the legislature of that state in 1837, and opened in 1841.

Public Education.—With the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the democratic idea in education spread very rapidly. The older arguments against public education and the opposition to it were broken down. The unwillingness of the wealthy to be taxed to educate other people's children, and the prejudice against free public schools as pauper schools, were gradually overcome. What is known as the "common school revival" took place in New England and spread over the rest of the country. This movement for public education was aided greatly by the strenuous efforts of such able educators as James G. Carter (1795–1849), a practical educator, who advocated normal schools and

secured, by means of a legislative act in Massachusetts in 1826, town school committees and support for high schools. This law required each town of five hundred families to support a free high school. An act passed in 1837 secured a State Board of Education. Horace Mann (1796–1859) followed Carter and advocated free and universal education for girls as well as boys, better equipped, more sanitary, and better lighted buildings, more scientific methods, trained teachers, and practical studies. He insisted that character should be the chief aim of education. Henry Barnard (1811–1900) did much to bring before the public new methods in education, especially through the *American Journal of Education*, which he began to publish at his own expense.

This awakening and growth of public sentiment was followed by a steady increase in universal education, state support and control, supervision by local authorities, and the organization of normal schools throughout New England and the Middle states. In the Western states those settlers who came from states where public education was not fostered were convinced of the value of it by those who came from states which were in favor of public instruction; and as the West was settled up, progress in educational development kept pace with the general expansion of the country. Advancement was also made in the Southern states, but this was greatly hindered by the Civil War, when all education was paralyzed for a time.

European Educational Systems.—During the past one hundred and fifty years centralized state systems have been developed in many of the European countries, which differ in many ways from the educational systems of the United States. The most important are perhaps those of Prussia, France, and England. In all these countries elementary education is now free, but only in a few cases is secondary education gratuitous, and only in France is education entirely secularized.

Prussia.—The early development of a system of universal education in Prussia was due largely to the strong line of Hohenzollern monarchs, who, while despotic and arbitrary,

were advanced in thinking and had the real interests of the people at heart. This policy was begun as early as 1717 by Frederick William I, who decreed that wherever schools existed children should attend in winter, and also in summer whenever their parents could spare their services. This policy was further extended by Frederick the Great and succeeding monarchs, and was given still greater impetus by the conquest of Prussia by Napoleon, when it was realized that a centralized system was necessary.

The Prussian system of schools is complicated, and seems unjust to American minds. The lowest are the *Volksschulen,* or people's schools, which are free and open to all. These teach the child from six to fourteen years, but do not lead to higher schools; in fact, the graduates of these schools are not admitted to the gymnasium, and after the third year transfer is practically impossible. Thus at the age of nine the fate of the child so far as education is concerned is determined, although continuation schools are generally open to them. The Volksschulen naturally are attended mostly by the lower classes. The *Mittelschulen,* or middle schools, are for the middle classes, who cannot send their children to the secondary schools, but who demand better educational facilities than those afforded the common people. Modern Prussian education consists of a system of secondary schools. Three types of these have developed, the *Gymnasien,* which place their emphasis upon the classics; the *Realschulen,* which specialize in modern languages, mathematics, and the natural sciences; and the *Realgymnasien,* a compromise between the two, resulting from discrimination against the *Realschulen,* which were looked upon as inferior. The fact that most of these had only six-year courses, as compared with nine-year courses of the *Gymnasien,* led to the introduction of *Oberrealschulen,* with nine-year courses. In rural districts, however, six-year courses are often found. Tuition is usually charged for secondary education. Of recent years there have come in the *Reformschulen,* which postpone for at least three years the choice of schools, and lead up to all

three types of secondary schools. Surmounting the system of secondary schools are the universities and "technical high schools," the latter of which specialize in practical and technological aspects or science.

France.—The French system was developed later than the Prussian, because of the corruptness of the Bourbon monarchs, and of the social conditions which held down the lower classes. But under Napoleon a highly centralized system was developed in which secondary and higher education were united into one corporation, known as "the University of France" (1808). Under Louis Philippe the elementary schools were organized, and under the Third Republic elementary education was made free, compulsory, and secular. The secondary system consists of lycées and communal colleges, which are considered inferior to the lycées. These generally take the children at ten and keep them till seventeen, when the bachelor's degree is conferred. At first they were only for boys, but now there are secondary schools for girls, with a course ordinarily two years shorter. They are not free, but as they are heavily subsidized by the state the tuition is small. This system was really initiated by Napoleon, who established universities, one-half of which were later suppressed. Now there are universities in fifteen of the sixteen educational divisions of France.

England.—Progress was still slower towards universal education in England, because there was neither a despotic government to establish such a system, nor a popular revolution to overcome opposition to it. Consequently national education was a slow evolution, and it was not until the close of the eighteenth century that any sentiment for universal education appeared. Then the upper classes strove to keep education away from the lower classes; and control of the means of education was in the hands of the church. Gradually education was extended to the masses, but it was not until 1870 that schools in charge of school boards chosen by the people (known as "board schools") were established, to fill in vacancies in the previous systems. Denomina-

tional or "voluntary" schools shared with these in receiving government grants, but they did not receive local "rates." Towards the end of the nineteenth century free tuition and compulsory attendance until the age of twelve were provided. In 1899 a Central Board of Education was established. But secondary education was not unified until 1902. During the nineteenth century the monopoly held by the classics and the control by ecclesiastical authorities were broken, and more attention was given to modern languages and to the natural sciences. The secondary systems in England lead up to the universities at Oxford and Cambridge and the various provincial universities.

Scientific Tendency in Education.—During the past two centuries there has been an increase in the stress placed upon the natural sciences. This has been of particular importance since the middle of the nineteenth century. The movement was greatly fostered by the development of the theory of evolution, by scientific discoveries, and the practical application of their results. The theory was advanced by such practical educators as Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and Elliot, that such training would not only be of vastly greater use to the average person than the older training in the classics, but would furnish as good mental discipline as well. This movement of course met with much opposition on the part of the followers of the classics, but has continually gained headway, until now science has gradually been included not only in the curriculum of the schools of higher education, but even in those of the secondary and elementary schools of Germany, France, England, and the United States.

In recent years there has been in the colleges and universities an equally strong tendency to emphasize the importance of the social sciences, and this movement bids fair to extend to the secondary schools.

Present Tendencies.—While in the past we have made great strides in educational progress, we are not content to stop, but are progressing faster now than at almost any previous time. Because of the recent great indus-

trial tendency, industrial, commercial, and agricultural training have been incorporated into the school systems of Europe and the United States. In Germany and France industrial training is carried on in continuation schools, where both theory and practice are taught. In the United States training of this sort began in evening schools and was later carried on in day schools, both public and private. It has now become an important part of our secondary school system, and is taught in many high schools and colleges as one of the regular courses. It is also carried on in schools especially designed for this work. In Germany commercial subjects are taught in private continuation schools and in secondary and university courses.

Until recently the study of commerce was much neglected in both France and England, but in recent years England has remedied this defect. In America this study has been carried on chiefly in "business colleges" and in courses in secondary schools and colleges. Advanced work in business training is now being done by our leading colleges and universities in departments of business administration.

In Germany and France much has been done in agricultural training in an introductory way. The United States probably leads all countries in the establishment and perfection of special agricultural schools. Land grant acts by Congress did much for the establishment of agricultural colleges. Agricultural work is also being extended to our high schools, and the latest development of this movement is in the way of special agricultural high schools.

During the last few years Europe has paid a great deal of attention to moral training, and this subject is attracting considerable attention in the United States, largely because of the greatly increasing impersonal relationships in our business life.

While the evolution of education has been largely the development of the spirit of individualization, recent tendencies have molded the educational systems so as

to make them more useful to society, and at the same time preserve the growth of individualism. In this way education is striving to be more useful to both the individual and society; it aims not only to train the individual to become part of the social fabric, but also to enable society to do more for the individual. Schools have been developed for the training of defectives, for the blind, the deaf, the dull, the truant, and even for those possessing such peculiarities as stammering and for those afflicted with tuberculosis. Instead of forcing those who are handicapped into the regular schools we now establish special schools for them. More and more attention is being paid to school hygiene and care for the health of the pupils; to the improvement of school architecture; and to making teachers more efficient by giving greater consideration to the profession. Experiments recently carried on by such men as Dewey in his experimental school at the University of Chicago and by the now famous Gary school plan, are bringing about a more effective use of the school plant. The school is made more attractive and useful by means of rotation and variation of school activities. Surveys and experiments are constantly being made, and our whole educational system is being overhauled and reorganized so that it may become more efficient and useful to society. One result of the Great War will undoubtedly be a radical change in our educational systems and ideals, especially along the lines of standardization and efficiency, the elimination of waste, and the construction of useful courses of study. This first took the form of greater encouragement of scientific studies, but now is placing greater stress on courses of study leading to social efficiency.

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Part Four

CHAPTER XVI

INSTINCTS, FEELING, AND INTELLECT

In order to get an idea of how society is made up we must study the forces that control society and the motives that prompt man to act. Before we do this, it is necessary to consider what kind of a being man is. It is with this phase of the subject that the present chapter deals. While man began as an animal among animals, he was a superior one, being endowed with physical, mental and moral faculties not enjoyed by other members of the animal kingdom. In many ways, especially in strength, speed, and endurance, he was easily excelled by many animals whom he nevertheless conquered because of his superior mentality. While in this work we shall make no pretense to a psychological analysis of man or even a study of his mental machinery, we must consider the psychological side of sociology and try to identify the impulses that prompt man to dominate and weigh the forces that control his action. While man is controlled largely by his environment, which we have previously considered, that is not all, for he inherits characteristics which to a great extent determine his behavior. This is true not only of the individual but of mankind in general.

Instincts.[1] — The instincts, or innate impulses or tendencies, are directly or indirectly the prime movers of human activity, the mainsprings to action. Without

[1] The present writer fully realizes the recent criticism of the prevailing attitude towards instincts by such scholars as Professor Faris and Professor Bernard but it seems a bit too early at the present writing to follow the treatment of these critics in an elementary work of this nature. The reader's attention is called to papers by the above

them society would be inert and lifeless. We ordinarily associate instinct with animals, but when we look into the matter carefully, we find that man has many instincts in common with them. Because of the complexity of these instinctive impulses it is extremely difficult to classify them, for it is impossible to separate entirely any one instinct or set of instincts from others as they are bound up even more closely than are the muscles of the body. Even if we tried to analyze them carefully, such a treatment would not help us much in sociology, for we are interested in them rather as motives for action and as means of social control. Psychologists have studied the instincts in detail, but sociologists have not treated the matter closely, Ellwood[2] being about the only modern sociologist who gives anything like a clear-cut treatment of the subject. It is to social psychologists, like McDougall,[3] that we are obliged to turn for information along this line. We must not look upon instincts as being incapable of modification, for even animal instincts may be trained. Also instincts must have stimuli to develop them, and they are conditioned to a great extent by the character of these stimuli. Instincts do not necessarily exclude consciousness and intellect, for both of these are often present, serving to guide the instincts. We must therefore look upon instincts as innate tendencies to perceive, to pay attention to objects, to experience emotional excitement of a certain nature upon perceiving such objects, and to act or experience some impulse to act upon such perception.

Human instincts are not hard and fast as we find them among animals, but are more or less generalized tendencies to act, thus enabling man the better to cope with

professors which were read before the American Sociological Society in its annual meeting in Pittsburgh in December, 1921, which are indicated in the references at the end of this chapter.

[2] Ellwood, Charles A., *Sociology in its Psychological Aspects*, Chap. IX. *Introduction to Social Psychology*, Chaps. IX-XI.

[3] McDougall, William, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, also *Mind and Body*.

his environment, furnishing a starting point for mental and social life, and supplying a basis for habits. Almost every human instinct has its parallel or counterpart in animal life. In our analysis we shall take up those instincts or groups of instinctive impulses that center about certain modes of action. Although these impulses often conflict and are intricately interwoven, we shall treat them separately.

Food Instinct.—In common with other members of the animal kingdom man has the instinct to obtain nourishment for himself. This is clearly seen in the infant, for it does not have to be taught to nurse, but merely needs to be put into contact with its mother's breast. While subject to instruction and direction, the same impulse operates throughout life in the effort to obtain food. In the early history of man it results in the gathering of roots, fruits, nuts, and shellfish, and later in the instinct to hunt and fish. This impulse is sharpened by the pangs of hunger and encouraged by the physical satisfaction given by the consumption of food. It is purely an animal instinct, although with man it is under greater control than with the animals. With further development it takes the form of impulse to work, so as to insure a supply of food the year round. Thus it is at the basis of the food interest of man and to a large extent of the motives that prompt our economic and industrial activity. It also leads to storing of food and thus stimulates invention. On the other hand, it produces perversities such as stealing, begging, and the exploitation of others by means of slavery, serfdom, low wages, and similar means.

Instincts Connected with Reproduction.—Another impulse that man has in common with his animal neighbors is the instinct to continue the race. It is stronger in the male than in the female. Also under this heading there come two great primary instincts—sex attraction, and parental love. These are vitally connected and include many deviations and variations. Out of these have grown sexual love and family affection and upon them we have

built our institution of the family and the various forms of marriage, and our care of aged parents and the weaker members of the family. From the care of the children develops sympathy, which is the basis of altruism. While animals, noticeably the higher animals, have affection for the offspring, exhibited especially by the mother, it dies out much quicker than with man and is generally limited in time to the period ending with the arrival of the next young. The lower we go in the animal scale, the larger we find the number of offspring to be, as a rule, and the greater the decrease of this impulse; so it is only natural that man, who has fewer offspring than almost any animal, should exhibit this impulse in a stronger manner than the animals. The reproductive instinct in itself is not so regular, and is under greater control with man than with the animals because of man's superior intellect and powers of control. By means of conscious direction and control these instincts of man have led to the development of man's loftiest impulses and to the molding of some of his greatest and most uplifting institutions and achievements.

Instinct of Self-Preservation.—The food, reproductive, and self-preservatory impulses may be called the primary impulses of man, being common to both man and animals. The third mentioned is an instinct of man to avoid danger, either to fly from its presence or to keep out of its reach. This has been necessary to man's very existence, especially during the infancy of the race, when man was poorly equipped to combat with the dangers besetting him. The child must also have the fear instinct, in order to live when outside the protection of its parents. It causes fear or terror at sight of danger, flight or concealment from that danger, and later the knack of keeping out of its way. Man is equipped with nerves which warn him through pain of danger to his body, such as danger from cold, excessive heat, bruising or tearing of the body; and the mind is equipped with memory to tell him to avoid these dangers in the future. Man's sensory organs, while in many ways inferior to those of animals,

enable him to see, hear, smell, or taste approaching danger. The child exhibits this instinct of fear in the presence of the unfamiliar or unusual, often indeed when its intelligence tells it that there is no real danger. The instinct of fear haunts man, and while it often saves his life, it prevents him at times from achieving what he otherwise might; and because of this it is an impulse that man wishes to conceal or overcome. With the greater protection afforded by society its utility diminishes. This instinct has been one of the motive forces of invention; akin to it is our next class.

Instinct of Pugnacity and Resentment.—The desire to attack or to hold a grudge is not so universal as that of fear, being in fact quite weak among females of some species. It is much stronger in some people than in others, and is generally much more pronounced among males than females. While the instinct for fighting is used for defense, it also prompts offense and even oppression of others. Its use is strengthened by other instincts, such as that of acquisition; but it is the direct inspiration to warfare and conquest, and without it these would be very difficult. By means of it the strongest have survived and the best elements have been preserved, and races having it more than others have advanced and progressed, while those lacking it have been exterminated or overrun.

The impulse of resentment comes into evidence when any attempt is made upon the rights of a person; the one injured or molested shows his resentment in the emotion of anger. Without the instinct of pugnacity or resentment anger would be impossible. As society progresses, we control the emotions of anger more and more, priding ourselves upon our control rather than upon our resentment. This instinct has been very useful to man, although when allowed to run to excess it has been the cause of endless injustices, misery, and destruction. When properly controlled this instinct is very valuable to man, for it inspires him to conquer and succeed. Without it one is destined to serve rather than to lead.

Closely connected with, and possibly belonging to the same class of instincts as pugnacity and resentment, are those of *rivalry* and *emulation*. These are coming into much greater development and use; they work towards the same ends as the anger and fighting instinct. The sentiment of jealousy is related to that of resentment, generally carrying with it some recognition of weakness, or admission that some one else has or is enjoying something which is desired for one's self, whether it be the caress given the child, a piece of candy, or the beautiful wife of another. It is a feeling of resentment against the success of another person. While generally condemned and as far as possible held in restraint, it, too, is often a mainspring of action. It is frequently the motive of injustice and crime.

Instinct of Sociability.—In spite of his tendency to fight, and notwithstanding the influence of his struggles upon the progress of civilization, man has an innate craving for companionship. Professor Giddings has built up an extremely complicated and interesting system of sociology upon this one tendency of man. Not only is one person attracted to another, but he is attracted especially by the same kind of person. This impulse was important in the early history of man, for it resulted in alliances for the sake of protection and of making a living. As we shall find in our next chapter, the sociability interest is also strong in society to-day and is the basis of much of our companionship. Few of us care to be alone for any length of time; we crave companionship, we want some one to whom we may communicate our feelings, thoughts, and desires. This gregarious impulse is interwoven with many of our activities. It is one of the factors in the growth of cities and in the formation of groups. Out of it develops loyalty to the group, which results in the spirit of patriotism. Love of the praise or approval of others is a phase of it. Desire to show off or attract attention is simply an expression of this instinct or group of instincts. While not the most fundamental instinct,

it is one of the most important factors in the life of society.

Instinct of Possession.—Another innate tendency or impulse of man is to possess objects which are useful to him, objects that he desires. This probably manifested itself first in the possession of, or claim to, a mate. Later it was extended to weapons, tools, and all other forms of wealth. This is an instinct which has played a powerful role in the history of mankind, for it has motivated wars, migrations, invasions; it has caused man to labor and to compel others to labor for him; it has built up industry; it has in fact entered into every phase of man's existence. It is generally coupled with other impulses, such as the food instinct, and as a social factor frequently is supplemented by other desires.

Instinct of Construction.—Every child wants to build or make something. With his blocks he constructs buildings, roads, towers, and bridges. With dirt he makes mud pies, and with sticks he devises playthings. The Kaffir child of four will make intricate bird traps. In short, it is an innate impulse of man to make things. It is this instinct which underlies invention. The need of something, joined with the impulse to make, caused the invention to be achieved, not suddenly, of course, but by various steps.

Instinct of Imitation.—As soon as man sees something which he considers good, he immediately starts to imitate it, whether it be language, a weapon, a method of cooking, a trick in hunting or fishing, a tool, a strategy in war, an article of ornament, a dance, a song, a religious belief, a form of government, or in fact any achievement or institution whatever. The child exhibits this impulse as soon as it is capable of appreciating the desirability of things. We see this instinct in operation in regard to styles, particularly in regard to clothing; it operates also in all places of our daily life, in cooking, eating, social habits, forms of speech, selection of furniture, in the spread of fads and in all other phases of life. So

strong is this impulse that Professor Tarde attempted to build a whole system of sociology upon it, in much the same manner that Professor Giddings based his system on the sociability instinct. While without question a strong impulse, it is by no means the key to all social activity.

Instincts of Self-Assertion and Self-Abasement.—Both of these instincts are conspicuous in the animal world, the male strutting around, showing off his plumage or marks of physical adornment, before his mates. The smaller and weaker animal has the opposite impulse and slinks away, trying to avoid observation, thus abasing itself in recognition of the superiority of another. The child exhibits the same impulses. As soon as the baby acquires a new art or trick, such as walking, or jumping over some little object, it desires the approbation of others and is displeased if this is not shown. As it grows older, it exhibits the same traits when it calls to its playmates to see it do this or that.

Pride is a strong factor in life; it is the cause of boasting and vanity; the impulse motivates, to a large extent, the wearing of fashionable clothing and ornament, whether it be a silk dress or a bark loin cloth, a pearl necklace or a brass nose ring. It is the instinct of pride which causes some people to assume an air of superiority, whether there is any ground for it or not. It is the opposite instinct that causes others to exhibit an attitude of deference to those regarded as their superiors. The child displays this same tendency, shrinking from a stranger even when it does not fear him. In this impulse we may find the rudiments of shame, which, however, is not considered an innate tendency, but one which is developed through experience. These two instincts are never outlived; they are found in all ages, situations, and conditions of life. While minor factors, they have constantly played their part in man's development.

Closely akin to them are the instincts of *repulsion* and *disgust,* which are aroused by the sight of a snake or anything that is considered loathsome. These are opposed to the impulse of sociability.

Reference should also be made to the instincts of *wonder* and *curiosity*, which cause man to attempt to find out things, and thus lead him to acquire information and knowledge.

Play.—While hardly an instinct, play must be treated as a native tendency of the mind which performs an important function in the social life of man. Many people have attempted to explain play by means of some single theory, but like most phases of social activity it has more than one origin and explanation. Schiller ascribed play to the expression of one's surplus energy. While undoubtedly a cause or explanation of a great deal of play, especially of young children, we cannot give this theory the importance placed upon it by Herbert Spencer. It is true that a person is most inclined to play when well nourished and free from exhaustion, but the same person may play until utterly exhausted, as in a football game or tennis match. Others maintain that in his play the child retraces the periods passed through by his ancestors, engaging in games of hunting, playing with animals, etc., thus representing the different stages of progress. This theory is not widely accepted to-day. Groos[4] put forward a theory that play acts as a preparation for the serious business of life; that the kitten chases the ball over the floor, thus preparing for the more serious chasing of the mouse in later life; that the child in his play prepares itself for the work of life, the girl playing with dolls, making mud pies, and imitating the work of her mother, and the boy imitating that of his father by playing horse, building houses, etc.

While this undoubtedly is a valid explanation of a great deal of play during early youth, when the child is under the impulse to imitate its elders, it does not explain all play. It does not take into consideration the elements of emulation and rivalry, which exert such an important influence in our modern games, such as baseball, tennis, basketball, hockey, and football; or such sports as boxing, wrestling, running, and swimming; or even such

[4] Groos, Karl, *The Play of Animals* and *The Play of Man.*

quiet games as chess, checkers, and cards. In fact, one's activities are too complex and varied to be explained by any one theory, and furthermore no real line can be drawn between work and play. To many their life occupation is simply a game, and the spirit of emulation and rivalry is as strong as on the athletic field.

The spirit of play is much more highly developed among some peoples than among others, being very extensively cultivated among the European races; of these peoples the English and their descendants take the lead. The Orientals cannot see why Europeans or Americans exert themselves upon the tennis court, football field, or baseball diamond, asking if it would not be possible to hire coolies to do that work. The spirit of play can, however, be developed; for the Chinese and Japanese are rapidly adopting our games, especially baseball and tennis. Play gives a chance to exercise the primitive instincts and motives, and to develop individuality. In past times this impulse was discouraged, but to-day we are almost going to the opposite extreme by giving it too great a freedom. It does afford an excellent opportunity to train the child and to develop those needed qualities, such as self-control and sportsmanship, as well as to build up a physique for life's battles. The child who cannot play, being deprived of playmates or opportunity to exercise this innate tendency, is sorely handicapped for life. So important is the spirit of play, that it is being incorporated more and more into our school systems, its educational values being almost unlimited. It is one of those normal tendencies which must be directed and controlled; if wisely utilized, it is one of the most important gifts with which man has been endowed.

While instincts are present as motive forces in practically all human beings, they vary greatly in degree, some being much stronger in one individual than in another. This is one of the causes of the greater ability and success of certain persons compared with that of others. They differ also between the sexes: the female, being endowed with stronger sympathetic and social

impulses, is guided more by instinct and emotion than is the male. On the other hand, the male has the combative or pugnacious impulse to a much higher degree than the female. Sometimes the male is referred to as being katabolic, or inclined to expend energy, being more active; while the female is anabolic, or inclined to store up energy, being more passive and conservative.

While we must recognize this as an innate difference, we must remember also that social conditions have emphasized it. Society has hedged woman about with restrictions, and she therefore has not had an equal chance with man for development, either mentally or physically. Woman's inferior physique to-day is to a great extent the result of social conditions, for custom and habit have prevented her from developing her muscles. Her activity has been restricted by skirts, corsets, and high-heeled shoes, and her health has often been ruined by disregard of the rules of health. While neither sex can be said to be superior mentally, there is undoubtedly a mental difference between the male and the female, although not to such a marked degree as in the case of the physical. As we have pointed out in another chapter, we cannot claim mental superiority for one race over another; the difference is a matter of individuals and not of races. Similarly, while the sexes differ in innate characteristics, we cannot claim superiority for either sex.

Although instincts were more important with primitive man than with civilized man (because civilization is able to train and educate man, so that he is less dependent upon innate impulses), they cannot be ignored in an analysis of present-day society. But under modern conditions they alone are not safe guides; they must be supplemented and controlled by reason and intelligence. While education does not supplant them, it organizes them and increases their usefulness. Ellwood sums up their usefulness as follows:[5]

[5] Ellwood, Charles A., *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*, pp. 245-6.

"The native impulses are, then, from the psychological point of view the basis of man's social life. Representing the innate or the biological element in the relationships of individuals, they are necessarily the raw material out of which the social life is developed. They are the psychological expression of the biological forces of selection and heredity as these latter well up in the social life at any particular moment. While they furnish only the beginnings of social organization, that is, only certain simpler co-ordinations between individuals, it is their modification by feeling and intelligence, functioning with respect to environment, which produces the acquired habits out of which all higher forms of social co-ordination and social organization must issue. Concealed beneath these acquired modes of behavior or conduct in the individual and in society, behind them all, are always the various instinctive impulses. As they represent the original motor activities, they may well be characterized, therefore, as the real propelling forces of society, since the feelings and emotions, as has been already pointed out, do not lie behind these activities but rather accompany them. The physiological impulses, then, which when viewed from the psychological side, we term instincts, are the true primary forces of human society, the ultimate springs of all activity; and the guidance and control through the education of the individual and the organization of social relationships between individuals, that is, their control through reason, is the ultimate practical problem of human social life."

Feeling.—Feeling is another element of human nature which has been either neglected or exaggerated by the sociologist. It is closely allied with instinct and forms a sort of connecting link between instinct and intellect. It is shared, although in differing degrees, by both man and animals. Professor Ward[6] treats feeling as the

[6] Ward, Lester F., *Pure Sociology*, Chap. VI.

dynamic agent of society, believing that it resulted from life and that intellect developed from feeling. He postulates that feeling was the true propelling force for both animals and man. He places a very broad interpretation upon feeling, however, treating it as identical with desire, as embracing all wants, volitions, and aspirations. In short, he treats feeling as synonymous with desire—an interpretation that is entirely too broad. Feelings are sometimes called the emotional side of instinct, and it is with such a conception of feeling that sociology is particularly interested. Man is more or less an emotional creature. He is subject to, and affected constantly in his everyday actions by, such emotions as joy, envy, admiration, gratitude, reverence, loathing, scorn, reproach, jealousy, revenge, shame, bashfulness, pity, happiness, and sorrow. While feeling is not the primary factor or the chief end in life, it is an element which must be recognized as affecting human action. Says Professor Ellwood:[7]

> "Feeling is, then, a powerful factor in determining the coadaptation of individuals to one another in society. Feeling attitudes of individuals towards each other not only express the relation of their habitual activities, but also continually modify these activities. While in the main feeling is a somewhat conservative and passive influence in society, yet on account of its subjective and individual character it continually brings to bear an individualizing influence upon all social activities. Feeling is, therefore, an active as well as a passive factor in the social life. On the individual side it is continually modifying activity, both in conscious and unconscious ways. Feeling must, therefore, be taken into account, not only in any theoretical interpretation of the social life, but in all practical measures for modifying or controlling social activities. While not a primary force in society, feeling presents itself as an important secondary force."

[7] Ellwood, Charles A., *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*, p. 259.

Intellect.—It is the possession of mind power which has been the determining factor in man's progress, as compared with his animal neighbors. We find that the members of the animal world are equipped with instincts and feelings, although in a manner slightly different from that of man. Animals are likewise equipped with the senses, keener for the most part than those of man, and many of the animals excel him in strength and speed. But when it comes to intellect he stands alone, and it is because of this attribute that he has conquered nature and has changed his environment instead of allowing himself to be changed by it. Intellect plays the deciding role in the battle of life. Professor Ward attempts to show how intellect developed from feeling;[8] but the question of origin lies outside the field of sociology, for man possessed intellect long before sociology takes up the study of him and his institutions. The earliest men were equipped with intellectual powers. It is intellect that guides and directs the feelings and instincts, for without it they are not capable of lifting man above the animal world. The key to man's behavior does not lie in his environment, but in his mental make-up. It is intellect that puts values upon activities and then determines actions. What this decision shall be depends upon what the intellect considers to be of the greatest value. It carries out the suggestions of the instincts and satisfies the cravings of the feelings, but it also modifies and at times even vetoes their suggestions. It is to the intellect that both instincts and feelings go for commands. But because it generally listens to instinct and feeling, the ideas are colored and influenced by them.

Invention and discovery are made possible by intellect, for it is intellect that sees the need and the opportunity and brings them together. Without intellect, material progress would have been impossible and man would have remained an animal among animals, if not actually exterminated. Civilization has simply been the accumula-

[8] Ward, Lester F., *Pure Sociology*, p. 119-124.

tion of ideas, the piling up of inventions and discoveries, and the passing on to future generations of the wisdom of the past. An idea is precious and new ideas are rare things; it is very seldom that a new idea or invention is added to civilization. In general we only imitate or repeat the past experience, slowly improving upon it by adding a bit here and a bit there. Most of the things that we learn are really discoveries of the past. Social ideals are also the results of intellect, being the valuations placed by intellect upon acts or activities of mankind.

We have taken up in this chapter, as a starting point in our analysis of society, the study of man's social equipment; this will enable us the better to analyze man's actions and the workings of society. It will also give us an introduction to our study of social interests and the forces and institutions that control society.

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CHAPTER XVII

SOCIAL INTERESTS

By social interests we mean the stimuli which cause people to act. We do certain things; we get up in the morning, dress, eat breakfast, and rush to our work at the office, store, or factory; with the exception of a lunch hour we work all day; we come home at night, eat dinner, and spend the evening at home in reading, playing cards, or just resting, or perhaps go to the moving picture show, theater or opera according to our likes and means. On Saturday afternoon we may go to a ball game, and on Sunday drive to the park or to church in the morning, and sleep or go to the ball game in the afternoon. Why do we do such things? Why do we go to the theater or to the ball game? Why do we eat three times a day, and sleep eight hours a night? Why do we spend so many years in the schoolroom, often to the detriment of our health? Why do we risk life and limb in dangerous sports like polo or football? Why do we spend our lives working to buy houses, clothes, food, theater tickets, flowers, books, magazines, automobiles, or yachts, when we could get along and live just as long without most of these things? Why do we spend our lifetimes in building up industries, fortunes, or institutions, which we ourselves seldom have time to enjoy? Why do we spend our lives writing books which few will read, or working in the laboratory making experiments the results of which few care about, or teaching in college theories which will be of little practical value? We do such things because we want to. But why do we want to? Because there are interests in society which stimulate us to do them. It is with such stimuli that this chapter will deal.

Many of these stimuli or interests, like the desire for food, grow directly out of our instinctive impulses, but many of them, such as the desire to see a ball game or to go to the opera, are artificially created by society, although such interests may be indirect outgrowths of instinctive impulses. The intellect plays its part in shaping these interests, modifying and adapting the instinctive impulses. Many sociologists do not distinguish between social forces and social interests, but treat them all together, either under one heading or the other. But social forces include the influences, such as the geographical environment, which help or hinder man in his pursuits; and hereditary traits, which limit his achievements and largely determine his social environment, healthful or unhealthful, *e.g.*, home influences, religious control, and housing conditions.

Forces may be either external or internal, objective or subjective; while interests are more subjective, or within one's own consciousness. In previous chapters we have considered the influence of physical forces upon population; now we take up the interests that prompt man in his social activities. In our next chapter we shall consider the control of man by means of the institutions created by him. These institutions develop directly through the interests, in much the same way that the interests are the product of the instincts, feelings, and intellect. Although we act as a rule without stopping to reason out why we act, we shall attempt to analyze and study our actions.

Many sociologists have tried to classify and arrange the forces or interests in more or less definite tables, with varying degrees of success.[1] While all these classifications

[1] The most important of these classifications are those of Ward, treated as social forces, found in *Pure Sociology*, p. 261; Ratzenhofer, treated as interests, found in *Sociologische Erkenntniss*, pp. 54-66, and Small's *General Sociology*, p. 252; Stuckenberg, found in *Sociology*, Vol. I, p. 207; Small, treated as interests, discussed in *General Sociology*, pp. 443-467, and *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VI, pp. 177-199; Ross, treated as social forces, in *Foundations of Sociology*, p. 169; Blackmar and Gillin, treated as

are extremely suggestive and worthy of study, no one arrangement is wholly satisfactory. The simplest and possibly the most suggestive, although at the same time probably the most severely criticized, is that of Professor Small, who classifies interests under the headings of health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and rightness. But such a classification will of course not include all interests of society. In this work interests will be arranged according to groups, not because the arrangement given shows the order of importance or is the only type of arrangement possible, but simply because some classification should be adopted. No attempt will be made to include all social interests or to show the various relationships of these interests. The aim will be to aid the student to obtain a grasp of the matter and to be as suggestive as possible without becoming technical or philosophical.

Physical Interests.—Under instinct we discussed the food impulse and the instincts for self-preservation. Out of these impulses have grown the physical interests. The desire for food and drink is one of the chief interests of man. This means not only sufficient food and water to supply the body; the interest has been developed until the appetite demands foods, which are well seasoned, carefully prepared, and possessed of peculiar tastes. It has even taken extravagant forms, demanding unusual and expensive dishes, such as the extreme forms of the days of the old Roman banquets, when peacocks' brains and nightingales' tongues were in demand, and when the

forces, in *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 287-288. Blackmar and Gillin also give in Part III, Chap. II, of this same book other classifications. They are omitted from this volume because of the lack of space and because the average student finds many classifications more confusing than instructive. So in this text no use will be made of these schemes and no attempt will be made to classify the social forces for the simple reason that no really satisfactory classification can be made. The interests are too complex and too intricately interwoven to allow separation and arbitrary arrangement. Park and Burgess treat both interests and forces under *Social Forces* in Chapter VII of *An Introduction to the Science of Sociology* and at the end of this chapter give a splendid bibliography.

depths of the sea and the corners of the earth were searched for rare and peculiar foods. This desire has also taken abnormal turns, such as the cravings for intoxicants and drugs, and has gone to such an extreme that the average American family formerly spent annually nearly $100.00 on liquor alone. The demand for drink has passed from that for water to that for drinks which have pleasing tastes, such as tea, coffee, chocolate, lemonade, limeade, and the various concoctions furnished by the soda fountain and the saloon.

The demand for clothing arises in large part because of our physical needs or interests, although clothing was originally adopted for the sake of ornament and is still to a great extent worn for that purpose. But in modern society clothing is absolutely essential, especially in our northern climates. The desire for shelter is much the same, although in a modern house we demand far more than mere healthful shelter, requiring beauty, congenial location, and convenience.

Aversion to pain, love of warmth, and desire for bodily ease, as well as the demand for safety from physical injury, are other examples of physical interests. Craving for exercise is to a large extent a direct result of the health interest. Desire for sensuous pleasure also is included under physical interests. In short, this group comprises all interests leading to the satisfaction of any bodily demand.

Economic Interests.—While of minor importance under primitive conditions, the economic interests are perhaps to-day the strongest prompting man to activity. Under this heading comes any interest leading to the production or accumulation of wealth. It is closely connected with, and at times inseparable from physical interests, for wealth is produced in order to satisfy human demands, many of which are physical. Man works for a wage because that wage will procure him what he wants. He accumulates property so as not to be in want in the future. Yet those who build up and organize industry are seldom compelled to do it merely in order to supply their physical

needs. Industry is founded upon other pillars than physical need; rivalry, love of ostentation, instinct of workmanship, etc. Sociology does not recognize the conception of the "economic man" of the classical economists. Sociology recognizes that man strives for wealth in order to gain control, achieve prestige, win a wife, buy a title, or gain the applause of his fellows; or for the mere sake of the game as well as for the satisfaction of his physical needs.

Wealth is, in brief, the means of satisfying other interests. Yet it does not destroy the validity of the concept of economic interests that it cannot be separated from the other interests. Man labors in order to produce, exchange, distribute, and consume wealth. This wealth may bring him the power of satisfying desires for influence in society, power over rivals, books, art treasures, travel, music, or sensual pleasure. He may not take advantage of these things, but wealth to him is the representation of them. For the sake of wealth men toil and deny themselves the satisfaction of other interests. They organize their lives for this purpose and for meeting the demands of the wealth-getting process. They may do this for their own wealth interest, or may by the organization of society be compelled to do it for the benefit of someone else. With primitive man this interest was not so strong, the other more direct interests, particularly the physical, taking precedence over it; but as the satisfaction of wants becomes more indirect, and as consumption of goods is postponed through the increase in the number of steps in the production and distribution of wealth, the wealth interest becomes stronger, until under our present capitalistic organization it is probably the strongest interest in society.

Sociability Interests.—The sociability instinct of man has persisted throughout history and has permeated every branch of human society. Man cannot live a Robinson Crusoe existence; he has to have companionship. In order to obtain it he will deny himself the satisfaction of other interests, accepting smaller pay, enduring privation, and even suffering hardship. Solitary confinement is one of

the worst punishments, and even temporary absence from friends and relatives is considered a hardship.

One craves not merely companionship, but also congenial companionship, the association of kindred spirits. While there are many exceptions, it is the general tendency for each member of society to seek out and mingle with others of like character, temperament, ability, and training. This is not always possible, but such is the desire and effort of each person. We want to associate with others of our kind. We see this principle illustrated by the exclusiveness of the members of so-called society in their efforts to exclude those whom they consider unfit to be of their set. We find the same sentiment in the college fraternity, the club, the fraternal order, and even —sad to say—in some of the churches. If we watch any large gathering where there is freedom of movement, we shall quickly notice the drifting together of those having like interests and desires—unconscious perhaps, but inevitable. This interest is so strong in society that it underlies every phase of activity—social, political, and religious.

This interest has been a strong factor in history, kindred spirits establishing colonies, after the manner of Plymouth, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and founding model communities, such as Brook Farm, Arcadia, the Oneida Community, and the various Shaker communities. We find groups of kindred spirits engaging in piratical expeditions, and in warlike campaigns of conquest or discovery, starting revolutions, establishing governments, founding religions, going in fact into all the varied activities of life. If we took away from society this craving for companionship, life would be devoid of much of its charm. Man desires the sympathy of his fellows; he wishes to satisfy his pride and vanity. To gratify his love of power and glory he must have companions to witness his achievements. Though it is not the only factor or even the chief interest in society, the sociability interest is one of the most important and must be carefully considered in a study of any social or group enterprise.

Recreational Interests.—The recreational interests are closely connected with the social. The play impulse craves satisfaction. The demand for muscular activity, for rest from labor, for expression of emotions—all find their outlet in the recreational interests. Not only the child but even the adult craves recreation. In America recreation generally takes the form of team play, for which several participants are necessary and the number of onlookers is limited only by the seating capacity. Our great football games draw thousands; in fact, stadiums and amphitheaters cannot be constructed large enough to satisfy the demand. At important games our baseball parks are crowded, and people have been known to stand in line all night to insure themselves good seats. Theaters are often sold out for weeks in advance. The moving picture business has sprung up with wonderful rapidity, simply in response to the demand for cheap amusement.

Games provide fellowship as well as furnish rest and relaxation. Ideas of recreation differ among races, the English and Americans as a rule take their recreation in active sports; the Oriental takes his in repose and meditation. It is hard to draw the line between recreational interests and artistic interests, dancing, singing, and many games being on the borderland between them. Recreation is also vitally connected with other interests, for the economic motive functions in many of our sports and actually controls some, such as organized baseball and the professional sports in general. To many, engaging in sports is an occupation; among these are the professional boxer, wrestler, and baseball player. Teaching games is a profession, in fact a very well-paid profession.

Many people mingle pleasure with work, some taking keen pleasure in their work. The negro, for example, is never a good workman until he gets himself into the right emotional attitude. Successful employers of negro labor are often careful to employ some workers who are good singers. In this way they manage to have the work done much more rapidly. If one can fall in love with his work

and treat it as a game, he will not only enjoy it more, but will as a rule be far more successful than if he looks upon it as a task which must be performed. If he can combine work with the proper amount of recreation, he can accomplish work of a much higher order than if he took no recreation whatever. While often slighted, on the one hand, and allowed too great liberty, on the other, the play interest is a valid one, and when held under the proper control is one of man's greatest satisfactions. Sports, especially those where courage and daring are required, teach courage and a spirit of fair play. They also quicken the eye and the memory, train the muscles to accuracy and quickness of movement, and fit man for usefulness in society, in addition to satisfying the craving for amusement. This interest is perfectly normal and worthy and should be encouraged and regulated.

Religious Interests.—In our earlier chapter on Religion and Ethics we studied the development of religion, tracing the various steps in its evolution. In our next chapter we shall again consider religion, this time as an element of social control. All we shall do here, therefore, will be to treat it as a social interest. Our religious interests enter into every phase of our life, supplying motives of action or restraint, generally the latter. Everybody has some sort of religious nature and is affected by it, even though he may try to subdue or kill it. While this interest is to a certain extent innate, it is largely the result of cultivation. As the conception of religion becomes loftier this interest changes in a corresponding manner.

Closely connected and interwoven with the religious interests are the *ethical* and *altruistic* interests. They supply motives which are less sordid than physical and economic ones. While man is probably selfish by nature, he has some ideas of rightness and justice and wants to see fair play. He may not be so anxious to give the other fellow fair play as he is to have the other fellow give it to him, and he is much more eager to compel others to observe it than he is for them to compel him to practice it. But nevertheless there is the altruistic ten-

dency, which has been steadily growing as civilization has advanced. The world is gradually throwing off the shackles of despotism: freeing the slave, elevating the serf, destroying the absolutism of rulers or limiting their powers, extending the right of self-government to more and more people, allowing women greater freedom, changing the form of law from the arbitrary command of one or a few to the mature opinion of many, and substituting milder and more just forms of punishment of crime for the harsh and prejudiced decisions of those in power.

Because of the rise of ethical and altruistic sentiments religion has grown purer and loftier. The altruistic sentiment is not an innate characteristic but has been developed from sympathy. There is a growing sentiment in favor of caring for others. Formerly we looked with indifference at the suffering of others, provided they were not related to us or connected with us by ties of friendship, but now we draw no lines. The Great War presented many illustrations of this fact. The neutral nations not only sent vast sums to care for the orphaned, crippled, and needy of the warring nations, but furnished hospitals, nurses, and doctors, often at great sacrifices, in order to relieve the suffering of those in distress. This was later extended to relieve suffering even in the enemy's country. If a famine is caused in India by the failure of a crop, or an earthquake or volcanic eruption destroys the means of living in some far-off island, food pours in from all sections of the earth. Distress in China is relieved, even if those administering help are called "foreign devils" and are in peril of their very lives. The Americans have repeatedly tried to relieve the sufferings of the Mexican people during the past decade, although at times bands of Mexicans were destroying property belonging to Americans, and even killing the Americans who fell into their power. The American government endured insult after insult and yet did its best to overcome the chaos in Mexico and to give the people a stable form of government.

This altruistic sentiment has affected the policies of

other governments as well, being especially reflected in the policy of England toward her dependants, South Africa furnishing the best example. After conquering that country, the English gave the Boers better government and more real independence and freedom than they had enjoyed before, allowing even the election of the commander-in-chief of the Boer army to the presidency of the new republic, which embraced all of English South Africa. The Boers, on their part, showed their ability to appreciate such treatment and remained loyal to England in her time of distress during the World War, thus proving the practical value of such a policy.

Formerly we were indifferent to the misery of the lower classes, but now we try not only to relieve suffering but also to prevent it. We attempt, not merely to keep free from contamination ourselves, but to grapple with the problem and relieve the distress of others. Instead of avoiding diseases we try to find the cures for them; scientists even risk and oftentimes lose their lives in order to find the cures for such scourges as yellow fever, leprosy, the bubonic plague, spotted fever, and tetanus. Reformers throw their whole souls into the work of wiping out such evils as the liquor traffic, opium habit, graft in politics, and child labor, although personally they are not injured by such evils. People with comfortable incomes fight for minimum wage legislation; those who work short hours, for an eight-hour day; those who have not gone to jail, for the reform of our prison systems; those who live in comfortable homes, for building codes and housing reforms; those who do not work in factories, for protection against dangerous machinery and unsanitary conditions. Missionaries go to foreign fields to labor for small salaries, when they could command several times as much at home. Others give their lives to the elevation of the lower classes and the relief of distress at home. All these illustrations go to show the increase of altruistic motives and the importance of these interests in society. We may expect this group of interests to become stronger and stronger as civilization advances.

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CHAPTER XIX

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

We are now prepared for a study of the organization of society. Before we could undertake this it was necessary to study not only the forces of environment which affect the life of man, but also man himself. We had to study human population, how man populated the earth and increased in numbers and power. We had to consider the formation and development of human institutions before we were prepared to study the structure of society itself.

We have seen that there have been many attempts to classify societies and to analyze social order and human association; in fact dozens of sociologists have tried it, each one working out a different system.[1] Simmel works out an elaborate system and even deserts the science of sociology. Giddings has developed an exceedingly elaborate system of social organization, using consciousness of kind and concerted volition as the welding elements. Other sociologists, like Small, Tarde, Ratzenhofer, Gumplowicz, Durkheim, and De Greef, have also formulated systems of human association. Ross has recently contributed to this collection a wonderfully brilliant and suggestive treatment of social processes, which treatment, although it is as interesting as it is valuable, is outside of the scope of this work. All are interesting and instructive, but each of them is more or less incomplete. Society is too complicated and intricate to be thus easily classified. The social process cannot be reduced to a single theory, or set of theories. We shall make no such attempt, but only indicate some of the conditions of social organization.

[1] See Chapter I.

As we have already shown, society consists of a vast number of individuals, who live in groups, each person being a member of many groups at the same time. Each individual, as a rule, is a member of a family; of a local community, *i.e.*, a city, town, or county; of a larger community—the state or nation; and then of a still more expanded group—humanity itself. These groups form a system of concentric circles, each larger one containing the smaller ones. In addition, each person is a member of other groups, which are not so symmetrical and regular, but which continually overlap. Each of these groups affects the individual and the individual in turn affects each group.

Social life, or human association, is a process of living together, the constant meeting of individuals under different conditions and associations. People work together, play together, pursue different interests or the same interests side by side or in widely different places and conditions. Some men are striving for wealth, others for fame and reputation by winning cases in court, writing works of fiction, making discoveries in science, digging canals, building sky-scrapers, making speeches, perfecting inventions, producing works of art, or building up institutions or industries. Some are plodding along, making a bare living by laboring hard in the mine or rock quarry, shoveling coal, digging ditches, tending a machine, herding cattle, or working on a farm. Others are making a more comfortable living by following some skilled trade, such as brick-laying, carpentering, blacksmithing, plumbing, or plastering. Some employ and others are employed. To some, wages are the sign of success; to others financial return is a mere incident, achievement and happiness being placed above money. Politicians and statesmen strive for power; business men and capitalists for control; teachers and scientists for reputations; and ministers to build up their parishes. Some are trying to elevate humanity through missionary work, social service and relief work; while others are preying upon society, getting all they can from it without return, as illustrated not only by our

criminals but by grafters in politics and unscrupulous business and professional men. Some are pursuing callings useful to society, while others are anti-social or are living lives which are injurious to society.

While the majority of the individuals are leading honest, industrious lives, there are many who are merely parasites. Some do work which is conspicuous, like that of the statesman and industrial manager, while others do work no less important but which is never noticed, such as the daily routine of the average housewife. Some are seeking recreation and amusement, while others follow, as a profession, the amusing of others. Some men are gifted by nature and others are stunted. Some make good use of their opportunities, while others throw away all their chances. Some are attractive and congenial, while others are repulsive. Some are tall and some short, some large, others small. Some are altruistic and lofty-minded, while others are selfish and degraded. All have some good qualities and some bad. All, too, are subject to change, being selfish one minute and altruistic another, depending upon circumstances. Of such material is society made—a vast mass of persons of all grades, in all conditions of prosperity and happiness. Society might be likened to a machine with many intricate parts; or, better, to a mammoth factory with thousands of complicated and intricate machines; or to a vast collection of such factories, with all their machinery, which again is subdivided into parts. It would be impossible to complete such an analogy, for we never could settle upon an arrangement of the machines and their parts. As suggested in our first chapter, society is one mighty system of co-operation, where each person, consciously or unconsciously, performs his or her part of the process. Man cannot live unto himself; he is perforce an integral part of this complicated system.

Society is a moral and intellectual organism, an organism which is the result, not of any definite form of compact or agreement, but of progressive creation, a result which has been achieved through experiment, struggle,

and the survival of the fittest and best, not only of individuals but of ideas, ideals, interests, and institutions. Individuals, groups, nations, and races have carried on their work, done their part, and passed away. This is all the result of a gradual process—a steady accumulation and reorganization.

Communication.—The channel by which achievements have been preserved and handed down to later generations has been chiefly that of communication—that is, the transmission of thoughts, ideas, words, attitudes, expressions of the face, and the like. We communicate to-day by means of writing, printing, telephone, telegraph, speech, signal, radio, cable, railroad, steamship, submarine, and airship. Through communication man is able to come into contact with others distant in space and time. He benefits from the thoughts and feelings of others. "A word is a vehicle, a boat floating down from the past, laden with the thought of men we never saw; and in coming to understand it, we enter not only into the minds of our contemporaries, but into the general mind of humanity continuous through time."[2] When a person has a new thought he is able to write it down, and not only recall it when needed but pass it on to others. Before writing was invented, the past had to be preserved by means of oral tradition and memory, both uncertain methods; and as a result much was lost. Not only has writing preserved the thought of the past, but it has made civilization more rapid and history possible, for without writing no accurate records of the past could be kept. The invention of printing, and later that of the linotype, have made knowledge democratic by placing it within the reach of the common people; whereas, before, education was expensive and within the reach of only the wealthy. Books have brought to us the wisdom of the past and have enabled the exceptional men, no matter what their status, to advance themselves and to uplift society.

[2] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization*, p. 69.

But before man had invented books, printing, alphabet, or even speech, he communicated with his fellows by means of gestures, sounds, and signs. This communication was crude and difficult, yet by means of it he was able to advance and to reach that stage where achievement and progress were more rapid.

Art has been a means of communication, conveying ideas and emotions by means of pictures, statues, mosaics, friezes, and all forms of decoration. Music has perhaps to a still greater degree conveyed emotion and ideas. It has served as a means of progress as well as a means of control. Both art and music help to hold people together by imparting similar thoughts and feelings to the mass.

Modern means of communication are widely different from, and more complicated than former methods. The newspaper brings to the doors of people of all classes and stations in society the same or much the same information, giving a vast fund of information of all sorts, sometimes inaccurate and perverted, yet information nevertheless. Modern communication by means of permanent records is independent of time. Also by means of its speed it is able to overcome space; in fact, modern news travels faster than the earth rotates on its axis. The writer remembers learning through the columns of a newspaper of the recent assassination of a Japanese premier, in the morning preceding the evening on which it occurred!

The invention of wireless telegraphy not only adds to the speed but aids in the diffusion of knowledge. New and rapid methods of communication have made modern civilization possible; they have given human nature the opportunity to expand and to express itself. We can almost tell how advanced in the scale of civilization a country is, by the development of its means of communication: how many letters and papers are sent; books sold or read; miles of railroads, trolleys, and street car systems possessed; the number of telegrams sent and of telephones in use in proportion to the population, proper allowances being made in all cases for differences in den-

sity of population and natural features. That country in which the mass of the population is uneducated and lacking in proper means of communication is bound to be backward; and that country where the mass of the population is educated and able to communicate with each other with ease is certain to be advanced. Communication not only regulates the advance in knowledge but affects all the institutions; it determines the character of the government, the nature of the religion, the progress of arts and letters, and in fact all phases of the life of man. Communication is the means of achieving progress, or rather of passing it on to others. Man is continually imitating his fellows, but there has to be communication before there can be imitation.

Through communication, customs and habits develop which later control our actions. They develop much the same as do the institutions in society—*e.g.*, religion, law and government, education, and the family. We take these customs and habits much as a matter of course, little thinking that by our adhering to them we are keeping them with us and encouraging them; or that by protesting against them and refusing to observe them we are breaking them down. In the same way, each individual is working to keep up or break down the various institutions in society. If he supports religion, he helps keep it up; if he has nothing to do with it, he helps to weaken its control over society. If he supports law and order, pays his taxes, and votes on election day, he upholds law and government; but if he looks upon laws as restrictions only to be evaded, fails to vote on election day, and escapes taxation whenever possible, he breaks down the authority of law. Whenever he buys goods he contributes to the support of certain industries, whether they are monopolies or small concerns. If he buys the product of sweated industry or child labor, he helps to perpetuate those evils. Consciously or unconsciously, each member of society is throwing his influence towards the formation, development or destruction of the habits, customs, and institutions which control society.

Society may be called the product of an economic, a religious, an ethical, a biological, psychological, or philosophical process, for it is all of these in one. All are constantly at work in society. Each individual has all these interests welded into his makeup and is working for or against them. Each person is influenced by every other person with whom he comes into contact, whether the contact be physical, mental, or emotional; whether he sees the other person or reads one of his books; whether he hears one of the other's ideas or is influenced by one of his acts. That act may be by his actual presence or by a vote in a meeting of a board of directors thousands of miles away, or by instructions to some employee, working perhaps in another state, city, or continent. The person affected may never hear of the vote or instructions, or for that matter he may not know that there ever was such a person voting or giving instructions; yet he may by that act be vitally affected—may lose his position, his fortune, or even his life. Because of such facts as these, social organization is entirely too intricate and complicated to be explained by any one theory or set of theories. Society is too complex to admit of classification according to any one criterion. Society consists of individuals living in certain groups which are affected by certain interests and controlled by customs, habits and institutions. It is with these things that sociology should interest itself, rather than in an attempt to catalogue and classify the various factors in society, no matter how interesting such a study might be. It is these interests, forces, and institutions that we have made the chief object of our study.

Social Classes.—Society is also made up of social classes, which are determined by lines more or less sharply drawn and more or less rigidly enforced. In some countries there are the regularly defined castes, as in India. In others there are the different social classes, as the nobility, the middle class, and the peasants or serfs, which were found in France before the French Revolution, or in Russia until the recent upheaval. In some countries individ-

uals may move from one class to another, while in others this transfer has been strictly forbidden. In India such a movement has been impossible, one never being permitted to change his caste. In other countries, such as Russia before the revolution, social conditions make such a movement impossible. Under feudalism the serfs went with the land, in the same manner as the buildings and improvements, and no opportunities were given them to change their condition. Even in countries with highly developed governments, where law and justice have reached a high plane, like that found in Rome, social classes have been rigidly formed and the lines cruelly drawn. While the citizen enjoyed certain rights and privileges, there was a vast slave population which had no rights or privileges at all, its members being bought, sold, abused, wronged, beaten, tortured, and even killed at the will or whim of their owners. Also all citizens were not on an equal plane, for there were different social strata: the wealthy, who were waited upon by their slaves and who controlled the state; and the rabble at the other end of the scale, who were poor—so poor that they were even fed, clothed, and amused at public expense. In early Rome when luxury and vice were not so rampant and the sterner virtues prevailed there were social classes. The patricians represented the wealthy and, unmindful of the interests of the plebeians, who were the poor or laboring classes, managed with a high hand the affairs of the state, till they were compelled by the plebeians to grant greater privileges. The plebeians became the common soldiers, while the patricians furnished the officers and commanders. Even in democratic Greece, where the city-state reached its greatest development and where there was perhaps the greatest liberty known in ancient times, there were social classes. Citizenship was limited to the natives, foreigners being excluded from all rights. Even this citizen-equality was founded upon a condition of slavery, under which the slave was devoid of all rights. Such idealistic philosophers as Plato argued that slavery was a natural condition, resting upon the inequality of human

nature. In early Egypt the priests and rulers were exempt from all taxes and were given all privileges, while the common people had no privileges and were compelled to serve in the army when needed and to pay all the taxes; furthermore they were not permitted to improve their condition.

These social strata have resulted largely from conquests, though to a large extent they have been based upon the inequality of natural abilities. But they have always existed, at least since history began. While with primitive man inequality exists, it is generally individual inequality, resulting from individual superiority, either physical or mental. But as soon as social organization is developed we find social classes. One class takes more privileges than another and exempts itself from certain unpleasant duties, particularly those involving physical labor, and appropriates the pleasant tasks, such as political leadership, the priestly offices, and the management of affairs.

As civilization advances and life becomes more intricate, these different classes increase in number and complexity. Innumerable attempts have been made to break them down and to form societies in which there will be no classes and in which all will be on the same plane. Communistic settlements have been established, but sooner or later they have lost their communistic principles or have broken up. Reformers have stirred up antagonism to existing ruling classes and have either been put down or have overthrown those ruling classes; but even when the ruling classes have been destroyed, sooner or later other classes rise up to take their place. It seems to be impossible to prevent the formation of such classes; in fact, there is a great deal of truth in the argument that such divisions are necessary to society itself. The modern tendency is to recognize class distinctions, but at the same time to allow individuals to move from class to class, provided they are capable of so doing, and to prevent any one class from oppressing another for the purpose of disturbing this freedom of movement. Social classes will

exist so long as there are differences in human nature and inequalities of individuals. This inequality, however, will not depend upon the class but upon the individual.

While in the United States class lines are less distinct than in most countries, we have our social classes just the same. Each locality has what it calls "society," more or less exclusive. Lines are drawn according to occupation, a person's calling either admitting or debarring him from certain circles. We have classes drawn upon lines of wealth or income; the ranks of these groups are constantly shifting, according to economic prosperity. Admission to the so-called "society" depends in most cases upon one's financial rating or ability to spend. Again we have our professional class or classes, including lawyers, teachers, doctors and dentists. Distinguished members of these professions are admitted to and even sought by all classes, yet the members of the professional classes associate more or less together because of common interests and desires. The skilled workers, such as carpenters, masons, and bricklayers, herd together because of like interests, and they in turn form what might be called a social class which considers itself decidedly above the common laborers and yet in turn is looked down upon —or at least has been in the past—by the clerks, small traders, and salaried persons in industry and commerce, even though the skilled mechanic may earn double their wage. Clerks and salesmen are, in turn, slighted by the big business men: the manufacturers, capitalists, bankers, brokers, and large merchants.

While in the United States none of these classes controls our government, at least not directly, although all exert an influence, these class lines are manifest. While individuals, by sheer force of will power and ability, are often able to throw off the shackles of their classes and mount to the class above them, or even to the top round —or be compelled to fall from one class to another because of the lack of ability—the classes themselves are more stable, their members as a whole remaining together. These classes are often arrayed against each other and

at all times manifest class feeling and sympathy. Many attempts are made to arrange the social classes upon a scale of rank, such as the "upper," "middle," and "lower" classes; but such classifications are always inadequate and are consequently subdivided into such orders as "upper middle" and "lower middle" classes. But the mass is in a constant ferment, and any such classification is extremely hard to make, and even when made soon becomes antiquated. Social classes are the result of social interests, and rise or fall with the changing importance of such interests. When the military interests are paramount, the military class forms a high social class; and when economic interests are of chief importance, wealth is an important determiner of social classes; and so on with the various classes, the position of the class depending to a large extent upon the importance of the interest represented.

The value of social classes is often assailed and as often defended. Frequently classes are based upon conditions which have passed and upon needs which no longer exist; but on the other hand, social classes seem to be an inevitable, if not indispensable, part of social machinery. The condition often brings injurious results to society—for instance, it is detrimental to society to have a slave class which has no privileges, or a working class which has at best only a chance to make a bare living and which is constantly on the verge of distress. It is bad to have one class living in luxury and another in wretchedness. Yet on the other hand, if one class produces more and is thus more valuable to society, it is only right that it should receive greater reward and be given a higher social position. While it is undeniably bad for society to have a condition where it is impossible for the individual to rise out of a lower class and enter into a higher one, it is only right and just that the individual who accomplishes more, and is more valuable to society than another, shall receive more both of the world's goods and of social prestige. While hard and fast social classes are undoubtedly bad and while more or less injustice is bound

to occur, this is society's method of rewarding service. As we discovered in the last chapter, social control is carried out by means of class control. In the same way social valuation is manifested by class divisions.

Aim and Purpose of Society.—The aim of society is to promote social well-being. When it comes, however, to defining just what is meant by social well-being, there is often a great difference of opinion. Though the aim must be the greatest good to the greatest number of persons, that which is for the greatest good on one occasion may not be for the greatest good on another. At one time protection and safety may be the greatest need, at another time invention and discovery, at still another industrial and commercial development, at a still later time progress in literature, science, and education. The procuring of food may be all important at one period, at another the solving of some other problem, such as the expansion of territory.

Society must strive for the realization of the powers of self-development of the individual, but an ideally perfect society is of greater importance than the perfect individual. An ideal society is not a society where one individual is sacrificed for another, where one class is highly developed and another is held down in bondage. Society must not be content with resting upon its past achievements, as has been the case in China, but must be constantly struggling to advance. Social perfection can never be achieved; yet society must never stop but must keep on achieving; constant progress is the law of life to society. Society must continue to create more perfect adjustments among its members. It must enable each person to fit into the social fabric in a more perfect and useful manner. This does not mean necessarily personal equality, because individuals do not have equal abilities and powers; it does mean equality of opportunity. Society is steadily striving, or should be striving, to give each person the opportunity to do his best and to contribute the most to the world. In other words it is attempting to function in the best possible manner.

Society must strive continuously to produce better forms of government—governments which will serve society in the best possible manner. Just now the tendency is towards democratic and socialistic forms of government, or those which allow the greatest amount of liberty and equality of opportunity. The aim of society is to develop the individual so that he can govern himself and thus make the forces of control less irksome. In religion the tendency is to allow greater freedom and the privilege to worship as one sees fit, and to enable each person to work out his own beliefs, rather than have another's theology forced upon him; this means greater democracy in religion. Another aim is more enlightened public opinion, so that its control will be more beneficent. Loftier ideas of morals, higher ethical codes, and more useful customs and habits are also among the aims and purposes of society. Greater justice between individual and individual must also be achieved. Philosophers at various times, from Plato down, have worked out utopias and ideal forms of society, but most of these schemes seem ridiculous to us, because we have passed on to conditions of society far in advance of these time-worn conceptions. Reformers have tried in vain to establish model communities based upon ethical or idealistic principles, after the order of the Oneida Community or Brook Farm, but these have all failed. At the same time society as a whole has been steadily advancing. Progress is constant and purposeful, not accidental; and while there are frequent lapses and constant reversions, society is steadily progressing.

Social Maladjustment.—We have been studying the interests and organization of society, and in general considering its achievements, its progress, and its success. But society is not always successful in its attempts; it sometimes fails. Instead of happiness, sorrow and misery are often found. Instead of plenty and comfort, which are constantly being made more possible with the increase of inventions and the development of industry, we often find want and starvation. Instead of fewer hours of

labor, which is the general tendency, we often find a workday beyond endurance with little rest, relaxation, and recreation. Side by side with our higher codes of conduct, which are steadily being achieved, we still find crime, vice, intemperance, and lack of control. These are all due to maladjustments of some kind, sometimes caused by society itself, and sometimes persisting in spite of all the efforts of society to eradicate them. It is to this part of sociology that we now turn, taking up the leading forms of maladjustment: poverty, crime, immorality, and defectiveness. It is this phase of sociology which is often given chief prominence, in much the same way that sickness attracts more attention than health, even though health is the general rule and illness the exception.

These phases of sociology attract attention, because of the need of corrective efforts and the opportunities for service they represent; whereas the natural organization of society is overlooked, because it is thought to need no attention. Social maladjustment is only one phase—and an unnatural phase at that—of society, and therefore it is only one branch of sociology.

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Part Five

CHAPTER XX

POVERTY

Poverty a Condition of Maladjustment.—Most of the problems of society are the results of maladjustment, and the most striking and important of these problems is that of poverty. Yet there is enough economic wealth in the world to relieve all the existing poverty. Indeed, at the very times when the conditions of poverty have been the worst (with the exception of famine and disaster) fortunes and landed estates have generally been the most wonderfully developed. When the provinces of Rome were impoverished in order to pay taxes, wealth was pouring into Rome, fortunes were being piled up, extravagance reigned supreme, and riot and waste were the order of the day. In France before the French Revolution, when the peasants were in desperate economic condition, the lords and nobles were living in idleness and riotous extravagance. At the time of the industrial revolution in England, when there was so much misery and poverty and thousands were literally starving, fortunes were being amassed by the owners of the mills. In India, where there is so much wretchedness and misery, and almost the entire population is living on the poverty line—to such an extent that when a crop fails thousands die of starvation—the native princes and aristocracy have fabulous fortunes stored away. The same is true of China, as it has been of all countries both past and present; where we find great wealth we find great misery. When in our own South the large plantations were developed at the expense of slave labor, the poorer whites were forced back into the sandy, unproductive foot-hills. In

all our great cities where wealth is piled up, there we find the greatest poverty; the larger the city and the greater the wealth, the worse the poverty. One has only to turn to the works of Jacob A. Riis, to Jack London's *People of the Abyss,* or to Booth's *Life and Labors of the People of London* to get ample proof of this. Again in the works of Dickens and Victor Hugo are given woeful pictures of past conditions.

Every now and then we hear of overproduction of a certain commodity, such as shoes, cotton goods, woolen goods, furniture, and the like. Men are thrown out of employment and demand is still further curtailed. At the same time that this so-called overproduction occurs, there are thousands of people who are in need of these very commodities. Men are in need of shirts when there is an overproduction of cotton; children go barefooted when there is an oversupply of shoes; men and women are in need of warm clothing when woolen goods are a drug on the market. At the same time these people are out of work and cannot earn money to purchase the needed articles, or are working hard and yet cannot earn enough to buy them. While some are starving, others are wasting food. While some have not a dime for food, others spend five or ten dollars for a dinner, then tip the waiter another dollar for bringing them a meal at that price. If fortunes were leveled, it would be only a question of time until the same condition existed again. But still if our economic machinery worked as it should, there would be opportunity for all to make a living; dire poverty would be rare. Some people would make more than others because they are worth more; but our industrial system should so work that it might be possible for every able-bodied person of normal intelligence not only to make a decent living for himself, but to support a family of average size, and thus contribute his part to the propagation of the race. Nearly always when men are out of work there is work which needs to be done and commodities which should be produced. Really constructive efforts to solve the problem of poverty must

fluctuates. The demand for labor results from the demand for commodities, which in turn rests upon income, which again depends upon labor. The process is an endless chain and a break in any link breaks the combination. Any uncertainty, lack of confidence, or the failure of a large concern, as well as any great calamity, throws the whole system out of gear. Unemployment is an evidence of maladjustment. Often it is merely a matter of poor distribution, and the men who are out of work in Chicago may be needed in New Orleans or in the lumber camps of the north. Yet there are seasons when work is scarce; there are slack months in every industry, such as the winter months on the farm, in the stock-yards, in railway construction, and in any line of work which is hindered by the cold weather. For the same reason, bricklayers, masons, and carpenters are out of employment more or less during the winter months. Some occupations are altogether seasonal, such as dressmaking, cotton picking, berry picking, and harvesting.

The National Industrial Conference Board, 10 East Thirty-ninth Street, New York, in its report, issued January 21, 1922, gives the following statistics in regard to the causes of idleness in New York and Massachusetts:

Year,	All Causes.		Lack of Work.		Strikes and Lockouts.		Sickness and Accidents.	
	Mass.	N.Y.	Mass.	N.Y.	Mass.	N.Y.	Mass.	N.Y.
1904.....	..	16.9	..	12.1	..	3.6	..	1.2
1905.....	..	11.2	..	8.4	..	1.6	..	1.2
1906.....	..	9.3	..	6.7	..	1.4	..	1.2
1907.....	..	16.2	..	13.6	..	1.2	..	1.4
1908.....	14.2	29.7	12.5	27.9	0.6	0.4	1.1	1.4
1909.....	8.0	18.5	6.6	15.0	0.2	2.2	1.2	1.3
1910.....	7.5	19.1	6.1	13.6	0.1	4.2	1.3	1.3
1911.....	8.1	21.1	6.5	18.7	0.3	1.2	1.3	1.2
1912.....	8.3	17.3	5.1	15.2	1.9	0.9	1.3	1.2
1913.....	8.7	25.3	6.5	20.8	0.9	3.5	1.3	1.0
1914.....	13.0	28.9	11.0	27.5	0.5	0.3	1.5	1.1
1915.....	10.7	24.7	7.9	..	1.1	..	1.7	..
1916.....	5.7	..	3.3	..	0.9	..	1.5	..
1917.....	7.2	..	4.6	..	1.1	..	1.5	..
1918.....	6.1	..	3.3	..	0.4	..	2.4	..
1919.....	7.5	..	5.3	..	0.9	..	1.3	..
1920.....	19.7	..	16.5	..	2.0	..	1.2	..
Average.	9.6	19.8	7.4	16.3	0.8	1.9	1.4	1.2

The same report goes on to show that in normal times the average worker loses forty-two days a year, seven of which are due to sickness, or 14 per cent of his working time, and on June 1, 1921, more than one-fourth of the industrial wage-earners were out of work. The percentage of course varies with the industry, the building and clothing trades showing relatively high percentages of unemployment and the printing trades a relatively low percentage. Yet there is no limit to the production of goods, provided the right kind of goods are produced. It is not, therefore, altogether a matter of overpopulation or too much labor, but of maladjustment between labor and industrial opportunities.

Yet not all unemployed are employable. Generally the ones who are first thrown out of work are the last taken on again, and the same group is out of work each year. As a rule, the least efficient of those employed are superior to the most efficient who are out of work. They are unemployed because they are inefficient, and are at the same time inefficient because unemployed. Poor wages mean insufficient food, clothes, and shelter, and so less vital energy. Also idleness induces bad habits, such as laziness, drinking, and gambling, and these in turn reduce one's efficiency still more. We have a vicious circle here: the idler the individual is, the more inefficient he becomes, and the more inefficient, the idler. The bums in our large cities were once mostly capable and willing to work, but few of them now care for a steady job, for they have been out of work too long and have become really unemployable. As the demand for labor increases, the more efficient of the unemployed obtain work, while the most efficient laborers are busy a large part of the time.

Standards of efficiency have risen in late years, and it is becoming harder to measure up to them. Machinery has displaced much unskilled labor, and intelligence and adaptability are in demand. Yet large industries like to have extra men to draw upon in time of need, instead of keeping a smaller number busy all the time. This has

been the policy of the stockyards, which have tried to keep a line of applicants before their doors every morning. Whenever the line began to thin out, they made efforts to increase it, even to the extent of encouraging immigration. This method has been practiced by the steel mills, mines, and large factories.

Many unemployed are also unemployable because they are shiftless, unreliable, criminal, and physically or mentally defective, even when not unemployable as a result of the industrial conditions. Many do not want work, but merely make the search for it an excuse, the professional tramp coming under this class. Although this situation complicates the problem of unemployment it does not make the solution less imperative.

While unemployment is more common among union men than among non-union men, it is less destructive and so of less importance, for the union man is better able to bridge over the slack period. His wages are better when he is at work, and he is better organized and so has greater resources. Unions have unemployment, sickness, and accident benefits. The union man's bargaining power is greater, and so he is able to hold out for a higher wage.

Of the different classes of unemployed the following are the most important:

(*a*) Those engaged for short periods only, who have finished one job and have not started on another; such are those dependent upon common labor. This unemployment is generally only temporary.

(*b*) Those who belong to trades, like bricklaying, in which the volume of work fluctuates according to season.

(*c*) Members of an occupation or trade in which there is an over-supply of labor. Trade unions try to prevent this by limiting the number of apprentices.

(*d*) Those who, because of their inefficiency, cannot obtain employment, perhaps because of being in the wrong trade or having made a wrong choice.

While potentially efficient, members of these groups may become permanently unemployable.

The question presents itself, what can we do to solve or alleviate this condition? Indiscriminate giving not only does not remedy the situation, but increases it, and demoralizes industry more than ever. To find work is difficult if the condition is extended throughout numbers of people. Work may be found in the small place for the occasional person who is out of a job, but it is almost impossible to find work for thousands in a large city. Besides, the work should be productive and continuous. If work is provided by a city simply to give employment, very little is accomplished, unless some well-planned work is undertaken. Some relief may be given at times by starting work which has been already planned and needed, such as building a subway or digging a sewer. Commissioner Bell of New York introduced and put into operation a plan to give the news-stand licenses to the crippled, to the blind, to those who have lost limbs, or are otherwise unable to compete in the battle of life. The plan did not mean the crowding out of holders of the licenses, but the giving of preference in the future in the issuing of new licenses to the crippled and maimed. Some of the old license holders caught the spirit and surrendered their licenses. This method was expected to provide for about 12,000 otherwise unemployable. The labor agencies deal with this problem not in a way of solving it, but in order to profit by it. In Europe the majority of cities have municipal agencies which are generally united, being especially so in Germany before the war, and which have dealt with the problem of unemployment in a marvelously efficient manner. This has not been tried to a very great extent in the United States except during the war. Prior to the war a number of cities had instituted municipal labor exchanges, but the most of these failed because of poor management, the managers being chosen for political reasons. The national system of labor exchanges, while inefficient in places, did a wonderful work, and was only discontinued because of the failure of Congress to make the necessary appropriation to keep them up, that body not recognizing that a great constructive work had been

begun, thinking instead that it was merely a war measure. Insurance that is met by employer, employee, and the state combined is the best method of handling the situation, for the problem affects all three. A national system of labor exchanges should be combined with such a system of insurance.

Unemployment is a cause not only of poverty but also of crime, intemperance, vice, and gambling. It breaks up families, leads to divorce, fosters child labor, forces women into industry, and lowers wages. If unemployment is done away with or reduced to a minimum, these problems as well as others will be rendered less difficult.

At the beginning of the Great War in 1914 the amount of unemployment in the United States was unusually large, thousands being out of work in all our large cities. Everywhere it was recognized that the war would bring increased industrial prosperity to the country, but few knew just where it would come; so everybody waited and factories and large industries laid off their employees and undertook little new work.

After a while the demand for commodities as a result of the war materialized and the slack was taken up, and there developed a shortage of labor, a condition just opposite to the former one. This was increased when the United States went into the war and began to draft men from industry. While the government did its best not to disturb industry in its own special demands, there immediately arose a surplus of jobs and a scarcity of workers. So great became the shortage of help and so long was its duration, that we almost began to accept it as a natural condition. Instead of immigrants crowding our shores, emigration began. Women went into industry in the endeavor to fill this gap, and because of the attraction of high wages. After the war was over and our soldiers returned, the shortage of workers continued because the demand for goods continued to exceed the supply. The war had destroyed so many commodities and had postponed purchases of ordinary articles to such an extent, that industry could not fill the demand and

the shortage of labor continued. After we had supplied the extraordinary demand, and industry began to readjust itself to peace conditions, unemployment again began to appear. This was rapidly increased by the attempts of manufacturers to lower factory costs through wage reductions, and the discharge of unnecessary labor and the financial stringency which curtailed production and therefore increased unemployment. This became greater than normal unemployment, for the simple reason that many women who had secured positions during the war retained them. Many of the new female employees proved superior or more profitable to their employers than the men whom they replaced. While a return to normalcy was in all probability what the country needed, and the entry of more women into industry was not bad in itself, they both tended to intensify the unemployment situation. Many varying estimates have been made to measure the amount of unemployment, but the most reliable figures showed from three to five millions of persons in the United States out of work. In the early part of 1922 business showed signs of recuperation, and present indications are that in time we shall adjust ourselves to a new set of conditions. Just how much unemployment will be found under this new state of normalcy we cannot at this time predict, but unless society takes some progressive step to solve this problem we can expect unemployment to remain as a permanent phase of modern industry. A national system of labor exchanges, supplemented by some system of unemployment insurance, seems to be the most satisfactory method of dealing with the problem.

(2) Low Wages.—We have already considered in connection with family budgets the problem of low wages. The question might be brought up here of the ethics of low wages. The usual answer given is that the person receives a low wage because he or she produces little. Yet wages depend very slightly upon productivity. The product of labor fixes the upper limit of wages, never the lower. That is set by competition or regulated by supply;

and demand. As a rule big business is so organized that it is subject to little competition. If labor is abundant wages are low; if scarce wages are higher. Some industries make no pretense of paying all a person is worth to them but depend upon a surplus of labor, and so give as little as possible, often paying a person with dependants a wage too low to support even one person. The department store is notorious for this. Also cotton mills, especially in the South, woolen mills, silk mills, and candy factories are great offenders. Many states are attempting to set minimum wage standards for different industries. In 1917 twelve states had passed minimum wage laws, and the most of these states have commissions which set a minimum wage for each industry. A number of industries, particularly those employing large numbers of women, such as department stores, candy factories, and laundries, have been investigated by these commissions and minimum wages set. The question arises whether it is ethically just for any industry to be a parasite, as the department store so often has been. Has society the right to allow a great department store to go on piling up millions in profits for the founder's descendants, who do absolutely nothing towards earning them, at the expense of the poor employees in the store, who are not in a position to force their wages up? A person who labors and is productive and efficient is entitled to a living. Yet thousands do not receive it. The wage of the day laborer in the past has not been sufficient to support a family; in fact, the wage of the unskilled laborer in general has not allowed the worker any margin at all, often not even a decent living. The wages in many industries, such as the sweated industries, have not permitted a decent living, to say nothing of the comforts of life. Is it right for society to allow such conditions? Practically the only way of dealing with such a situation is by means of a minimum wage law. If such a law were correctly drawn, rigidly enforced and supported by public opinion, the condition would right itself. If the work were necessary, the workers would become trained and efficient; then they

would receive living wages. If this increased the cost of manufactured and retailed products, well and good, for then the people who enjoyed the fruits of the labor would pay for it. Trade schools to teach efficiency would then be in demand and would help to solve the problem.

As a result of war conditions, scarcity of labor has tended to raise wages. In many industries they went up even more than increased prices. In many they just kept pace with the increase in prices and in others they did not keep up at all, depending upon the demand for the products of these industries. Wages are generally slower to rise than prices, and salaries slower to fall when prices come down. Just now it is too early to predict what will happen when we return to normal conditions, but in all probability it will be some time, if ever, before we return to the low wages that formerly prevailed.

(3) Irregularity of Employment and Seasonal Work.—Irregular work is typified by that of the English dock laborers, who work night and day when shipping is brisk, and go for days and weeks without work when no ships come in. If industry were properly organized, such irregularity would be reduced to a minimum. These seasonal workers should dovetail into other seasonal occupations. If this is impossible, wages should be made high enough to enable the workers to live during the time when work is not to be had.

(4) Immobility of Labor.—Of all commodities labor is the most immobile; this fact adds to its poor bargaining position. The higher the grade of labor, the easier it is for the laborer to move, for he has the reserve power produced by greater intelligence and higher wages. The man with a small income is ordinarily unable to move, even if he knows that there is work to be had in another place.

(5) Unhealthful and Dangerous Occupations.—In 1917, 10,087 persons were killed and 194,805 persons injured by the railroads of the United States; over four-fifths of these people were employees of the railroads. While railroading can never be made absolutely safe, it kills and injures

far too many. The same is true of mining. Many occupations are dangerous to the health of the workers; the making of matches was especially so till the use of phosphorus was forbidden. Glass plants, lead industries, steel mills, and many kinds of factories offer hazards to life. Others which are not positively dangerous are frequently unhealthful occupations; among these may be mentioned the cigar factories, cotton mills, and telephone exchanges. More and more modern legislation is compelling the employers to protect their employees from dangerous machinery; the laundries to put guards upon the mangles so that the fingers of the operators will not be caught and crushed; and factory owners to cover up belts and place guards around dangerous machinery. Railroads are required to use air brakes and coupling devices that do not menace the fingers of the brakemen.

Unnecessary risks are being eliminated more and more by the making and enforcing of such laws. Disasters like the Triangle Shirt Company fire in New York, the *Eastland* disaster in Chicago River, the Iroquois Theatre fire, and the burning of the *General Slocum,* in which hundreds of children were either burned or drowned, have forcibly brought the need of safety provisions and the enforcement of regulations before the public, so that after every great disaster there is a demand for legislation to prevent any similar disasters in the future. When the attention of the public is called to such dangers, public sentiment is generally created to compel the proper legislation. As industry speeds up, dangers increase, but the increase in watchfulness probably keeps pace with it. Accidents cannot be prevented entirely, but can be held to a minimum by proper watchfulness.

5. *Changes in Industry.*—(1) New Machinery.—The industrial revolution in England produced untold misery. It threw thousands out of employment, reduced wages, and caused privation and misery on every hand. The invention of any new machine or improved method which enables one person to do the work formerly requiring several throws men out of employment and thus causes

poverty. After a time the industry readjusts itself and a better condition results. The improved machine produces more and lowers prices; the lower price increases demand for the commodity; greater consumption increases the demand for labor. But the temporary readjustment causes misery.

(2) New Styles.—Varying styles bring about changes in trade; narrow skirts caused a smaller demand for cloth than usual and compelled the quick return to wider skirts in order that the manufacturers might not lose money. The difficulty here was that many women, instead of buying new skirts, merely cut down their old ones. The decline in popularity of the bicycle caused that industry to go to the wall. Later the automobile filled this gap, but as a result of the growth of the automobile business the wagon industry suffered. Even reforms sometimes disturb conditions; prohibition, for example, decreased the demand for bottles and barrels and caused some unemployment until industry readjusted itself. This was possibly more noticeable in local option days when a town went dry, than when the whole nation adopted prohibition, for in the former instance there was an uncertainty as to the future. The adoption of national prohibition came at a very fortunate time when the extra demand for labor quickly absorbed the workers let out of the liquor industries, and there was very little unemployment.

(3) Changes in the Value of Money.—When prices fall and money becomes more valuable, it causes the debtor class to suffer. On the other hand a sudden rise in prices makes life harder on the working man, for wages are always slower to rise than the prices of commodities, and while the laborer is compelled to pay more for food, clothing, rent, and common necessities, his pay envelope for a long time is no fatter.

(4) Changes in Tariff Schedules.—Putting tariff on a commodity immediately raises its price, whether the article is imported or not, for prices are based more upon the ability to command than upon the cost of production.

Taking tariff from an article often forces industries out of business, thus causing unemployment and suffering. The building up of the sugar industry in the United States is a good example of an industry fostered by a protective tariff. When the tariff on sugar was removed, this industry was threatened with ruin.

(5) Any Great Disturbance in Industry.—Wages are affected by any disturbance, within or without. Such a disturbance was caused in the United States in 1914 by the war. Even though we profited by it financially because it furnished us a new market, it caused distress until we could readjust our industry to new conditions. After the abnormal conditions produced by the war were over, the readjustment to normal times caused a similar depression, only this time it was more serious because it was a contraction instead of an expansion. Any readjustment in industry brings hardship to some people.

6. *Defects in Educational System.*—Illiterate and uneducated persons are at a disadvantage in life's struggle. An educational system which does not reach all is at fault; also an educational system which does not train for life is a cause of dependence. Lack of adequate industrial training is a noticeable defect in our present educational system. The teaching of manual training is a step in the right direction, but it should be supplemented. Free public instruction should extend to all kinds of professional and industrial training, as well as cultural training. The Gary system, combining all forms of education, is one method of dealing with this problem. Poor education is one cause of poverty with which we can easily deal; it is one with which the American people are grappling now. School medical inspection and school lunches are among the recent methods of attacking the problem.

7. *Defective Courts and Punitive Machinery.*—If the courts are corrupt or inefficient, laws are not obeyed. If the punitive machinery is defective and court sentences are not carried out, laws are disregarded. This means that preventive legislation will not be enforced,

that the strong will prey upon the weak, and that misery and distress will be increased. There has not been much question of the integrity of the American courts, although such cannot be said of the legal machinery of many countries, especially China and Turkey. There has, however, been great complaint of the inefficiency of our courts. Decisions are often not handed down till all interested in the case are dead and buried and the whole matter lost sight of by everyone except the lawyers. Appeal can be taken so easily that cases are often decided in favor of those who have the deepest pocket-books. The poor man in the lower court often receives only the merest pretense of justice, cases involving the whole future of men receiving from ten to thirty seconds' time; and in some cases the defendant, especially if he is an immigrant, being given no chance at defense. This causes a disrespect for law and a hatred of society. The introduction of the public defender is a great reform, especially in compelling employers to pay workers, and in forcing those indebted to poor persons to settle, this being accomplished in most cases by a letter from the public defender.

8. *Defective Sanitation.*—Poor sanitation, while mentioned under government, is also due to other reasons than defective government. It may be the result of ignorance, neglect, or poor location. It is one of the most frequent causes of sickness, and so is a great producer of poverty.

9. *Unfavorable Surroundings.*—Living near a degenerate neighborhood or where one does not come into contact with real industry and enterprise is an indirect cause of poverty, for no real enthusiasm is engendered and one becomes discouraged, feeling that life is of no use. This is especially true if one lives among thieves and grafters, for then one is apt to feel that it is useless to work or save; such an environment is especially destructive in its influence upon children.

10. *Social Institutions, Such as Treating.*—The habit of drinking was formerly an excellent illustration of the

evils of treating. A person would go into a saloon to get a glass of beer, but meeting friends while there, he would drink six or eight glasses and spend, instead of five cents, as he intended, possibly fifty cents.

11. *Immigration.*—By increasing the supply of labor disproportionately to the demand for commodities, immigration upsets the balance between supply and demand for labor, and so lowers wages—or keeps them from rising—and throws many out of employment. This has been a cause of poverty in the United States in the past, and will be again in the future if the tide of immigration again sets in. This cause was made manifest by the immediate jump in wages when immigration stopped and emigration began during the Great War.

12. *Accidents, Other Than Those Due to Dangerous Occupations.*—Accidents, whether in one's work or outside, decrease the earnings, increase expenses, and hence often throw below the poverty line families which otherwise would be able to stay above. The loss of the breadwinner may break up the family. This problem is met in European countries, like Germany and England, by sickness and accident insurance which is compulsory and which is generally paid partly by the employer, partly by the employee, and partly by the state. This is one instance where the United States lags behind Europe in social development.

13. *Unwise Giving and Indiscriminate Charity.*—The American habit of indiscriminate giving is an unmixed evil. Especially harmful has been a large part of the charity of the churches. To them giving *per se* has been the chief thing and, being ignorant of how to give, they have in all probability caused more poverty than they have prevented. Unwise systems of relief increase poverty. Such was the old English method of supplementing the wages, for this method of making up the difference between the wage received and a living wage puts a premium upon low wages. Unwise giving removes the incentive to work and kills the spirit of independence. Giving to a beggar simply to get rid of him or because

his condition touches a sympathetic chord is probably the worst thing one could do for him. If the beggar is successful, he will choose begging as an occupation because it is more lucrative than working. Giving to a family without careful investigation often causes the family to cease to be independent and to depend entirely upon charity in the future. It has been discovered in Chicago that once a family receives help from the city it never ceases to receive it, but remains on the pauper list. If one family succeeds in getting help, all its neighbors want it too, even if they have previously been independent. Giving in general, except in cases of dire need, is more injurious than helpful, especially if aid is given without careful investigation and without requiring some form of service in return. The average person is more in need of an opportunity to earn a living than of material relief.

14. *War, Famine, and Disaster.*—The World War caused endless poverty, as well as untold suffering and misery. Its aftermath is felt not only at the present time, but it will be felt for generations to come. While the effects of war have been most severely felt in those countries which were overrun by the armies, especially by the armies of the central powers—particularly Poland, Serbia, Armenia, Belgium, and northern France—the war has affected all the nations engaged in the struggle. It took away, killed, and crippled millions of bread-winners, bringing in destruction and often starvation. Property lying in the track of the armies was destroyed and industries were shattered, even thousands of miles away from the actual fighting, through the destruction of markets. The fighting nations piled up debts which will mean heavy taxes for generations to come. While wars are abnormal causes, the World War alone will be a source of poverty for a generation at least.

Subjective Causes of Poverty.—By subjective causes of poverty we mean those originating within the person. These constitute only from twenty-five to forty per cent of the causes of poverty and are not so important as

those formerly considered. They are intermingled with the objective causes, often being their results. In fact, it is seldom possible to separate them entirely. The following are generally considered the most important of the subjective causes:

1. *Disease, Sickness, and Poor Health.*—In his *Misery and Its Causes* Devine asserts that three-fourths of all persons coming before charitable organizations for aid are in need of medical attention in some form or other, or are affected by sickness in some way. As we have seen, a good deal of sickness is caused by dangerous occupations and insanitary surroundings, and so is outside the control of the individual. Malnutrition likewise, which renders the body susceptible to disease and sickness. This is especially true of children. It has been noted that about twenty per cent of the children in the public schools of our cities do not receive food sufficient in quality or quantity, and as a result are unable to do the required school work. The same is true in regard to adult work, for to be efficient one must be in good physical condition. Formerly sickness was thought to be a plague or punishment sent by God. Now it is looked upon as a result of maladjustments and irrational living. Chronic diseases cause much poverty by increasing expense and decreasing income. Even common diseases like measles, whooping-cough, and influenza cause much poverty not only by increasing expenses but by throwing the parents out of work through quarantine or requiring their services at home to look after the sick ones. Moreover, the death rate from measles and whooping-cough is very high, especially among children, often exceeding that of dreaded diseases like small-pox; but because of their prevalence we do not fear them and often take no pains to prevent their spreading.

Corporations are realizing the economic loss brought to themselves as well as to their employees and their families through illness; so they are hiring company doctors, establishing hospitals, and, more important still, hiring visiting nurses, who not only nurse the sick but

teach the mothers to cook better and to keep the home in a more sanitary condition, thus increasing the efficiency of the workers. Dispensaries and free hospitals are provided by cities for the same purpose. Science is slowly conquering the various diseases by finding cures for them. For example, typhoid fever, diphtheria, whooping-cough, hook-worm, tuberculosis, syphilis, typhus, and yellow fever are yielding in varying degrees to the attacks of medical science. If these treatments are placed within the reach of the poor through free hospitals and dispensaries, and the spread of the knowledge of hygiene by means of visiting nurses is carried on, the importance of sickness as a cause of poverty will be greatly diminished. It will not only decrease poverty but increase efficiency. In other words, the policy of the future in regard to disease should be to have the very best medical treatment within the reach of all, and then teach people so to live as to have little need for it. Thus one of the greatest and most far-reaching causes of poverty is now being dealt with in a correct manner—that is, by prevention, in addition to the relief of present sickness.

2. *Shiftlessness and Laziness.*—From ten to fifteen per cent of poverty is generally attributed to shiftlessness, but if we go deeply enough into the matter we usually find that shiftlessness is a result rather than a cause. Nevertheless we find people who are too indolent to replace broken window panes, too sluggish to harvest their crops after they have ripened, and too lazy to do anything which is not absolutely required of them. As a result they are continually in trouble, and as soon as misfortune comes in are in distress. This trait seems to go in families, and so we find degenerate and worthless families which cost their communities thousands of dollars. These are the people, as a rule, who have large families, which of course they are not able to support. Laziness is very often due to undernourishment, caused by poor food and poor living conditions. Sometimes sickness or disease is a source of this trouble; the hook-worm, for example, causes much of the indolence of the poor whites

of the South and robs them of their vitality. Malaria has the same effect. Fighting these diseases and thus removing the cause is the only apparent way of eliminating this condition. As for lack of energy and ambition, unless it is caused by undervitalization and illness, we have no solution except possibly the resort to some kind of stimulus. In individual cases this can be done by means of an appeal to pride or by increasing the desires, as is sometimes done with negroes by the display of attractive goods in shop windows. Industrial concerns in the South have obtained results by establishing company stores which display all manner of finery, thus stimulating a desire to work.

3. *Poor Judgment.*—Poor judgment is closely akin to the preceding cause, only it appears to be more hopeless of remedy. Some people seem to have the ability to decide wisely in their undertakings, to choose the right path, to buy the most economical things, to decide upon what is cheapest and best in the long run, to choose their careers with the final goal in sight. Others seem to have just the opposite faculty—if we may be allowed to call it that; they are always being swindled, always getting the worst of the bargain, always getting "left," and always having a tale of woe to tell. Some are always having bad luck, continually meeting with accidents, and constantly getting sick. They are the ones who lose their positions, pay the highest prices for things, never know how to economize, and so are never able to save. Sometimes when they do chance to reach the brink of success, they change their mind and sacrifice all they have gained. In short, the world seems to be full of fools, who become the victims of those endowed with higher intelligence. While this characteristic is generally inherited, we occasionally see in the same family one member who is always "lucky" and another who is always "unfortunate." One has good judgment, and the other poor judgment. Apparently this whole condition is without remedy, except that judgment can be trained to some extent if the attempt is begun early enough in life. Where

results are possible at all, it is a matter of the home and home training.

4. *Intemperance, Bad Habits.*—The use of alcohol has been one of the greatest causes of poverty that we have had, about twenty-five per cent of all cases being chargeable to it and at least fifty per cent of poverty indirectly the result of it. Yet this cause is also attributable to others. It, like unemployment and sickness, is cumulative. Intemperance increases poverty, causes poorer families, and necessitates less desirable homes and poorer food. These stimulate the desire for liquor, and the further drinking of liquor increases poverty. Poverty drives to drink just as drink drives to poverty. Drink reduces efficiency, which reduces income, which increases poverty, which increases the temptation to drink, and so it goes on, forming an endless chain. The use of opium and morphine, Copenhagen snuff, cocaine, or other habit-forming drugs has the same effect. For this cause we have tried in the United States several methods of procedure, such as high licenses, local option, and the dispensary system, and at last have come to the true and only logical solution, prohibition. Other countries are still grappling with the problem. We have likewise forbidden the sale of most of the injurious drugs. With this cause removed it will be much easier to reach some of the other causes, such as low wages, unemployment, sickness, immorality, crime, neglect, and desertion.

At the present writing we are having some difficulty in enforcing prohibition, but this is only natural and in all probability it will take at least a generation to do away entirely with the liquor problem. As a great overshadowing problem it is a thing of the past in the United States, and as a great cause of poverty in this country it has disappeared.

5. *Immorality.*—Immorality is closely bound up with degeneracy and poverty. In such studies as those made of the Jukes, Kallikak, and Nam families we find immorality and intemperance going hand in hand, holding these families down to a state of poverty and degen-

eracy. Immorality weakens vitality and efficiency and so decreases earnings. It again is joined with other causes, such as poor judgment and intemperance, and is a result of poverty as well as a cause. On account of the nature of this source of poverty it is next to impossible to make any really accurate estimates of its importance.

6. *Old Age.*—On the face of it, old age would appear to be a very large cause of poverty, but upon examination we find that it is relatively unimportant. When a person becomes old, his dependants have, as a rule, grown up, and nearly always there are relatives to care for the aged ones, if they have no means of support of their own. European countries, especially England, France, and Germany, handle this problem by means of old-age pensions or old-age insurance, and it is possibly only a question of time till we do the same in this country. We generally do care for the aged poor, but in a shabby manner. This cause can never be removed, although its ill effects can be lessened by increasing the opportunity for saving, and by proper systems of insurance. It is a comparatively easy problem to solve as compared with some others.

7. *Neglect and Desertion by Husband and Relatives.*—Neglect and desertion contribute from five to ten per cent of the causes of destitution. They are especially important and, unfortunately, too common, particularly when the children are young. The time when the children are too small to help is the time when it is the hardest to support the family, and too many fathers become discouraged at their inability to support the family and desert them, thus only complicating the problem. It is difficult to remedy this situation. Attempts are sometimes made to bring back the deserting fathers and compel them to support the family, and also to compel parents to look after their children. But relief is usually the only thing possible: helping the mother to hold the family together, or removing the children from the home, when the home is hopeless. This condition is also the result of other causes, particularly intemperance,

immorality, low wages, and crime. Not only neglect of children by their parents, but neglect of parents by their children, is quite common in America because of the breaking down of patriarchal authority and the lessening of parental respect.

8. *Crime and Dishonesty.*—Not only are persons made unemployable by dishonesty and crime, and so unable to provide for their families, but, when a person is sentenced to prison, his family is often left destitute. Moreover, when the prisoner is discharged it is extremely difficult for him to get work again. The modern system of paroling and finding work before the parole is granted is dealing with the problem in a more effective manner. Also public opinion is changing somewhat in regard to the employment of an ex-convict, because belief in reformation is gradually becoming prevalent. Then, too, we are becoming more altruistic and are more willing to give a man another chance. Dishonesty will always stand in the way of success.

9. *Ignorance, Other Than Lack of Education.*—Ignorance is closely akin to poor judgment, yet has a slightly different aspect. We find people who simply do not know how to do things and who never are able to learn to do anything except as they are directed. This is not necessarily feeble-mindedness, for very often the person has normal intellect but simply does not know how to go about things. The person with poor judgment may be very industrious and may accomplish things, and then spoil it all by poor decisions. But the inefficient person simply is not able to produce much; so he earns little. Ignorance on the part of wives in household matters—ignorance of methods of running a house, planning a well-balanced diet, buying economically; ignorance of hygiene, of the proper care of the sick, and of the rearing of children—these everyday home matters contribute not a little to poverty. Improvement of the environment alleviates this condition by bringing such people into contact with efficiency and knowledge.

10. *Large Families.*—Formerly large families were con-

sidered assets, because as soon as the children outgrew the period of infancy they were trained to contribute to the food supply, and as they grew older they contributed to the defense as well as the support of the family. This was true in America down through colonial times and in later days on the frontier as long as free or cheap land was available. After we began to settle down to our present manner of living, there was no longer productive work for the children to do. Then again our ideas in regard to education of children and to child labor have changed. Now instead of being assets, children are liabilities and a source of added expense. Therefore, as the size of the family grows the strain increases in proportion. Whereas formerly a family might remain independent if there were only two or three children, it frequently is unable to do so when the number increases to eight or ten. This tendency has grown more important with the increased cost of bearing and rearing children.

Poverty Cumulative.—As we have seen, instead of there being one cause of destitution there are many. We find also that these causes go hand in hand, one prompting a second, and it in turn bringing on a third. Unemployment leads to intemperance, which in turn may result in crime. Sickness may reduce one's efficiency; lack of efficiency may bring on unemployment, and so on. We find that laziness and shiftlessness are frequently caused by undervitalization, which itself may be the result of sickness or poor food. Both of these last may be the consequence of ignorance or poor judgment. Ignorance may be due to the person's being compelled to go to work too early in life. This necessity may be the result of the death of the father through an accident met with in a hazardous occupation. The danger of the occupation may be due to the lack of legislation caused by graft in politics or to the inefficiency of the courts in neglecting to enforce the laws. Unemployment may be due to a change in industry, a change in style, immobility of labor, or some great upheaval in industry. Not only is it absolutely impossible to single out any one cause of

poverty, but it is impossible to find any one cause which is not connected with some other cause. Poverty is cumulative; poverty breeds poverty. The majority of the poor are held down in poverty as ruthlessly and arbitrarily as if there were some ironclad rule or law forbidding them to emerge from their condition.

Causes of Poverty are Also Results of Poverty.—Moreover, the conditions which we have just discussed are not only causes of poverty, but are also results of poverty. Poverty makes one inefficient; unemployment follows. Poverty lowers one's bargaining position; low wages and irregularity of work are consequent. Poverty prevents the laborer from moving from an idle district to a place where work can be had. Poverty will not allow one to take time to learn a new trade, when a change in style or a new machine deprives him of the old trade. Poverty prevents the child of the very poor from being able to receive the full benefit of the school. Lack of money compels the poor man to live in an insanitary and undesirable neighborhood. Poverty encourages indiscriminate living. Poor nutrition, caused by poverty, makes one less able to protect himself from accident. Poverty prevents the employment of good doctors and nurses in case of sickness, as well as precautions necessary to avoid illness. Poverty forces women into prostitution, and is in turn a product of immorality. Poverty causes family discord and desertion, as well as crime and dishonesty. Ignorance is traceable to poverty, as well as being the cause of it. Even defective government may be the result of power falling into the hands of the rich; the poor being too weak to rise or protest, are ground down under the feet of the mighty. The same is true of defective courts and punitive machinery. Laboring men receive far greater consideration in our courts since the unions have become strong; even decisions of the Supreme Court are much more favorable towards them. It is only human nature to despise the weak and instead of helping them to kick them still lower down. People may be too poor either to profit

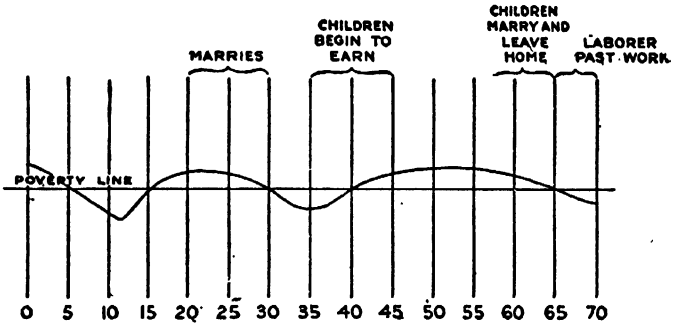
by the educational system or to demand such a system, this being the condition in many countries even to-day. Bad climatic conditions and insufficient natural resources may be endured because the people are too poor to overcome or move away from them. In fact, it is almost impossible to find a cause of poverty which is not also a result of it. This condition accounts for the diversity of views in regard to the causes of poverty and remedies for it. It is the reason why it is so exceedingly difficult to make an accurate and scientific study of poverty. The more definite and clear one becomes, the farther he strays from the real facts of the situation.

This complexity may be illustrated by the causes of destitution of 5000 families needing aid in New York City:[2]

Disability—	*Individuals Affected*	*Families* No.	*Families* Per Ct.
1. Unemployment	4424	3458	69.16
2. Overcrowding	....	2014	44.68
3. Widowhood	....	1472	29.3
4. Chronic physical disability	1603	1365	27.3
5. Temporary physical disability (accident and child-birth excepted)	1158	984	19.68
6. More than 3 children under 14 years	....	944	18.88
7. Intemperance	1000	833	16.67
8. Less than 5 years in New York City	....	814	16.28
9. Tuberculosis	675	619	12.38
10. Desertion and persistent non-support	....	606	12.12
11. Head of family 60 years or older	....	599	11.98
12. Laziness, shiftlessness	667	588	11.76
13. Child-birth	363	363	7.26
14. Rheumatism	359	347	6.94
15. Immorality	337	256	5.12
16. Mental disease, defects, or deficiencies	267	248	4.96
17. Cruelty, abuse	229	221	4.42
18. Accident	201	198	3.96
19. Untruthfulness, unreliability	210	194	3.88
20. Criminal record	161	151	3.02
21. Violent or irritable temper	148	140	2.80
22. Waywardness of children	160	129	2.58
23. Disposition to beg	134	117	2.34
24. Child labor (general, not illegal)	85	42	.84
25. Gambling	22	22	.44

[2] Devine, E. T., *Misery and Its Causes*, p. 204.

Rowntree[3] gives us the following interesting diagram as to the times in life when one is the most apt to sink below the poverty line. It will be noticed that there are three periods: first in childhood, when the parents are poor; next in the prime of life, if there are several children who thus increase the burden; and last in old age, when one loses his earning power.



Other Effects of Poverty.—We will now cite, along with the causes, some of the effects of poverty. These might be called different phases of the problem, but because they are natural outgrowths of poverty we shall take them up as consequences. Each of these might be considered as a problem in itself. But they are all lineal descendants of mother poverty.

Child Labor.—In 1900, 1,750,000 children were employed in the United States. Since then most states have passed child labor laws. Because so much of child labor is illegal, it is difficult to find reliable statistics of its extent at the present time. Estimates range between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 for 1916–1917. Much of this is due to the lax enforcement of the child labor laws and to defects in these laws, especially in the Southern states.

Child labor has arisen largely since the introduction of machinery. Before that time the child worked at

[3] Rowntree, B. S., *Poverty, a Study of Town Life*, p. 13.

home, where it received the training of the parents, who took pride in its work and stimulated a spirit of emulation in the child. The child was looked after and seldom was worked beyond its endurance. With the introduction of machinery the attitude changed, and the chief consideration became, not the child's welfare, but the amount of product, because this determined the profit. With the coming of the industrial revolution in the latter part of the eighteenth century, children were in demand for work in the factories of England. Because of the existing sentiment against this, and because of the stigma put upon the "factory girl," it was extremely difficult to get sufficient children to run the factories, and the people of England did not respond until forced to it by starvation. The mill-owners filled their factories from the workhouses; traffickers in children appeared, and children were sold almost like slaves. Of course no wages were paid, and the children were given the poorest of food and the scantiest of clothing; in fact, thousands were practically starved. Children were so cheap that it did not pay to feed them well; it was cheaper to replace them. These children, some as young as eight and ten years of age, were worked to the limit of their endurance, the working day generally being sixteen hours. If the children gave out before quitting time, they were revived either with the lash or by being dipped into a tub of water. Sometimes they were shackled to prevent their running away. Of course the death rate was high, but the parishes were glad thus to get rid of their poor children.

By the Act of 1802, the hours were reduced to twelve, and employers were required to provide for the clothing, education, and religious training of the children, if such education and instruction can be imagined under such conditions. This act did not apply to children working "under the supervision of their parents." As a result, the system of pauper apprenticeship was broken up, because it was cheaper to hire children than to comply with the provisions of this troublesome law. Wages had al-

ready been forced down and adults were employed only on condition that they bring a child or two. In the meantime the hand industries had been driven out of business by the cheaper machine-made goods; so the workers had to come to terms with the owners. These free children, sent by their parents, were treated almost as brutally as under the old system, and were often cruelly beaten, but the parents were not in a position to object.

So much for the introduction of child labor. Our present problem is merely an offshoot of this condition amid new surroundings. Child labor is possible and profitable largely because of machine production, which makes it economical to employ children, and possible for them to do the work which had been, or which otherwise would be, done by adults.

There are certain types of industries which are the largest employers of children. Probably the worst offenders in the United States are the cotton mills of the South; it is argued by the owners that because they give work they better the condition of the people. But the hours are long—the ten-hour day prevailing; the children are employed to run high-speed machinery, and they are often so small that they are compelled to climb upon the machines to tend them. The age limit is low in all the Southern states, fourteen years being high among them, and many states allow children even younger to work. In addition, because of poor enforcement of the laws, thousands below the legal limits are employed. It is argued in defense that the families need the money, which under the present scale of wages they possibly do.

The glass industry is another offender. The factories are located in small towns near some ready fuel supply such as natural gas. Because of being located in small towns and because of the ease in moving, conditions are allowed which otherwise might not be tolerated. The owners threaten to move to another town, a thing which can easily be done, as the equipment required is not

extensive. In order to retain the factories the towns do not enforce the child labor laws. In these factories the children are employed to carry bottles to and from the ovens, and are kept constantly on the trot. Adults are not quick enough to do this. Investigators have figured that on an average the boy travels twenty-two miles during the working day or night, running to and from the oven with his loads of bottles. He received for this before the war from sixty cents to one dollar a day. The work is very injurious, especially in winter on the night shift, for the boys leave their hot work to go out into the bitter cold of the early morning, and fall easy victims to pneumonia and grippe. The glare also affects the eyes, and if the boys work on the night shift it is extremely difficult for them to sleep during the day; so they get insufficient rest. Then the moral effect is bad, for the surroundings are generally not what they should be.

The mines, especially the anthracite coal mines of Pennsylvania, are also transgressors. They employ breaker boys, whose work it is to work amid the dust picking slate from the coal as it slides by. The lungs become filled with dust, the hands become bruised, and the boy becomes bent with the work and stunted for life. He does not get an education but graduates instead into the mines, where he becomes a door boy or mule driver. The cigar factories are likewise bad, although here the work is not so hard; here both boys and girls work in an atmosphere highly charged with nicotine. This bad air generally brings on tuberculosis or stunts the body for life.

The canning industry employs much child labor. Conditions in the oyster and shrimp canneries are especially bad. Children often begin work at four or five years of age and work long hours, sometimes as many as fifteen hours a day. Because their parents work with them conditions are not so bad as in some industries, the children seldom being abused. But the attitude of these parents seems strange to us; the majority of them are immigrants; they look upon their children as assets, and expect them

to help support the family, not considering an education necessary for them. The children work for their parents, so it is difficult to reach them except through the school laws, for they are not on the list of workers. A child of seven was able to make, before the war, from ten to twenty-five cents a day; one from eight to ten years of age, about fifty cents a day; and one from twelve to fourteen, often as high as one dollar a day. But the best of adults seldom made over one dollar, so the work offered no advancement. This work is seasonal, but at the end of the season the families are generally moved to the berry fields for the rest of the year. Because most of these canneries are located in the South, where school laws are very lax, these children receive little if any education. Moreover in the berry season in New Jersey schools are not in session, for it is then vacation. Some companies make a farce of providing school, requiring the children to work four hours, attend school half a day, then work four hours more. It can easily be imagined how much education will be acquired.

In addition to these and other industries there are home workers—children who work for their parents in the sweated industries, even tiny children, scarcely more than babies, helping their parents in making beads, artificial flowers and feathers, in picking out bastings, and in doing whatever their little fingers are able to do. Conditions are not quite so bad as in factories, because the children are working with their parents; yet most of these parents do not have our own high standards. The children receive no wages, and usually are under school age or work after school hours, and so cannot be reached by any child labor law.

Another phase of child labor generally unobserved is found on farms, especially the great truck farms, where children are profitably employed to weed the young plants. While the work is generally more healthful than in a factory it is often hard and the hours are long. In the raising of sugar beets in Michigan and particularly in Colorado, thousands of children are employed, not only

in weeding and thinning out but in pulling the beets, which is very laborious and detrimental to the physique of the growing child. The greatest injury to these rural workers is the loss of the opportunity to go to school as in these regions the school laws are not enforced. The National Child Labor Committee estimates that nearly 1,500,000 children between ten and fifteen years of age are gainfully employed upon farms. The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor puts this estimate at not less than 2,000,000.

Two of the most demoralizing occupations for children are the messenger service and the selling of papers. One-third of the boys sent to the John Worthy School in Chicago are newsboys, and one-third of these are below the normal in physique. The work keeps the boys on the street for long hours. They are under a constant strain and become old for their years. They also become accustomed to the life of the streets far too early in life. The occupation leads nowhere and unfits them for life. The messenger boy is still worse off, for often he works in the "red light" districts. Here he not only comes into close contact with vice and so generally becomes infected with the venereal diseases, but encounters great temptation to dishonesty. Tips are larger, persons are more careless, and it is easy to keep the change or to overcharge. The messenger trade, like that of the newsboy, leads nowhere and unfits for life. Formerly the bootblack belonged to the same class, but the Greek bootblack stands have put the native boys out of business; but there is a great deal of child labor in this business, for boys are imported from Greece often at an illegal age.

The moral effect of any sort of child labor is bad, even when the work itself is not hard. The labor is generally unskilled and the association is usually with coarse, uneducated persons, where the language heard is vulgar, profane, and obscene. The child never fully develops; he becomes discouraged and prematurely old, for, as Ruskin says, "To be a man too soon is to be a small

man," both mentally and physically. Vitality is used up too early and he who enters industry too soon is, in turn, too quickly thrown upon the scrap heap. This also cripples the succeeding generations. A good illustration of the effect of the system was furnished at the time of the Boer War, when the physique of the population of England was so poor that she could not fill her armies sufficiently to fight that little nation, and had to lower the physical requirements for admission into the army. Child labor takes work away from parents and thus demoralizes the family life, for instead of a man's supporting his family he is compelled to let his family support him. It keeps wages down, for the adult has to compete with the child. Labor unions oppose it for this reason. Parents get accustomed to depending upon the earnings of their children and hence lose their parental love and devotion. It is not essential to industry, for there are enough adults to do the work. It is unnecessary for the family, for if it were done away with wages would rise. It prevents improvements in machinery, for it removes the incentive to invention. Machines have been invented to do the work performed by the boys in glass factories, but it is cheaper to hire boys, so the machines are not installed. Other machines could be invented to do much of the work now performed by children. It is not necessary to the financial success of the industries in question, for the ones employing children generally pay high dividends, especially the Southern cotton mills and the coal mines of Pennsylvania. In fact any industry could get along without child labor.

But probably most important of all is the effect upon the nation of using up its supply of labor too early in life. It is like harvesting crops before they are ripe, cutting timber when it is too small, or killing cattle when they are calves, except that the effect is far more damaging. It is using up future resources. It is uneconomical and dangerous to our civilization. As mentioned before, most states have child labor laws, many good ones and well enforced. Others, mostly Southern states, have poor

ones or have lax enforcement, and these states profit at the expense of those having efficient laws.

What we need is a national child labor law. Several attempts have been made to get such a law, but they have been declared unconstitutional, because contrary to clauses in our Constitution which are based upon the old individualistic idea of society. We need either a law which will avoid this difficulty or an amendment to our Constitution; otherwise, states which are careless or have not developed a high moral sense of responsibility will continue to profit at the expense of those who have developed a higher social conscience. Until we can get such a law we need better state laws, and, still more important, strict enforcement of existing laws through proper inspection and penalties.

Women in Industry.—We shall not here discuss the entry of the unmarried woman into industry, but the entry of the married woman, not for the sake of a career or because she prefers it to housework, but from necessity —the necessity of supplementing the income of her husband. The entrance of this class of women into industry resembles child labor in many ways. It causes the wife to neglect the home and children. It makes it impossible to supply the family with proper food and attention. The children are neglected and forced upon the streets. If the wife tries to keep up her housework at the same time, the strain upon her is too great. If she delegates it to the children, she puts burdens upon them too early in life. Often she is compelled to labor when she is physically unfitted for it, especially just before or after childbirth. The whole effect is demoralizing and injurious to the family. The entry of woman into industry under these conditions tends also to keep wages down. It does much to complicate our next problem, child neglect. It increases the supply of labor, hence causes unemployment. In this way it is closely interwoven with other problems.

Child Neglect.—The children of the poor are not only underfed but also improperly fed. Often the food is

sufficient in quantity but not in quality, lacking nourishing elements; in that case the children suffer from slow starvation. They are often sent to school without proper breakfasts. For lunch they have a few pennies which go often for ice cream, candy, or pickles. Spargo in his *Bitter Cry of the Children* estimated, a few years ago, that 2,000,000 children of school age were victims of poverty, were denied the common necessities of life, and were turned adrift with feeble minds and bodies. He raises the question whether it would not be better to feed these waifs than to try to educate them; also whether it is not brutal to try to educate them when they are starving.

The cause of dullness in school is largely poor nutrition. Insufficient blood goes to the brain. Insufficient clothing also means that too much of the vitality of the body goes to fight off the cold. Children become discouraged and leave school, take to the street, and so easily drift into crime. Often they are taken out of school, on the ground that if they cannot learn they might as well help pay the rent. Child labor brings still further injury physically, mentally, and morally. If the child cannot stand the strain of school, it cannot stand the strain of factory life, and soon goes to help swell the class of degenerates.

The criminal population, as we shall see in another chapter, is drawn largely from this class of degenerate children. Reformatory children are nearly always smaller and lighter in weight upon admission than normal children of the same age. Poor nutrition lies at the root of much of crime. So great has been this problem in the slum districts that the public schools of most of our large cities have had to follow the practice of many European cities in furnishing free lunches or lunches at a low cost to the children. Lunches that are nourishing and palatable are furnished for a few cents. The writer was struck with the wonderful popularity of these school lunch rooms that he once visited in Chicago. They are generally conducted on the cafeteria plan, but with

some provision for those who cannot afford even them. But when they were first introduced, it was found that the digestive system of many children was so deranged that it could not stand good food; being too weak to digest it, the stomach would reject it. In one place the soup was found to be too good and had to be weakened. Children were found who could not eat chicken or meats of any kind, who could not even drink milk.

This is one illustration of where the school has to step in and perform the function of the home. Great improvements in school work always follow the installation of these cheap lunchrooms. In Switzerland the poor children are fed, clothed, and shod at public expense. Day homes are provided for very young children. Children are examined and the sick ones, instead of being sent home, where they are not apt to receive proper care, are taken to sanitariums. In Brussels and in Norway, if a child looks puny it is fed a special diet, and the school systems see to it that every child receives a square meal. In this respect America is behind Europe, but is rapidly following her lead. This work must be extended if we expect to stop the recruiting of a class of physical, mental, and moral degenerates. We are putting in day nurseries, where working mothers may leave their children under proper care. We are expanding the work of visiting nurses who teach mothers how to cook and how to care for their homes and children. We are also experimenting with mothers' pensions, which permits the parent to stay at home to care for the children, the state thus paying for this important service. We are also working towards minimum wage scales, in order to enable the parents to provide for the children. In other words, we are not only trying to relieve the distress, but we are attempting to dig up the roots of the evil.

Under this heading are to be considered the physical defects of children, such as poor eyesight, adenoids, enlarged tonsils, and other ailments which can easily be remedied if treated in time. Many children are dull because of defective vision, poor hearing, or some such

physical weakness and if these faults are remedied the dullness often disappears. It is stated that Theodore Roosevelt was considered dull until it was found that he was nearsighted. With the fitting of glasses the dullness quickly disappeared. This type of defect is not always confined to the children of the very poor, for well-to-do people often neglect to care for their children in this respect, thinking that the child is "all right," or putting off the matter till the child is injured for life. Many of our schools have medical inspection of the children at stated intervals. This too often is done in a hasty manner, a mere glance being given each child. Then if a defect, such as poor vision, is found, a note is sent to the parents asking them to correct the trouble. These warnings are frequently neglected; in fact less than half the time are they heeded, the parents being too poor, too ignorant, too shiftless, or too selfish to do what is advised. There ought to be better provision for such cases, for the country cannot afford to have its children thus neglected. This is one line of work that needs to be greatly extended.

It seems sad, but it is true that poverty always falls the heaviest upon those who have no control over it, especially the child, who has to go without proper food, clothing, and shelter, and who has to endure suffering and is often killed, or maimed for life. The death rate for the poorest class of laborers is three and one-half times as great as among the well-to-do. The infantile death rate is much greater because of the lower vitality, making it more difficult to throw off disease. Poverty always falls heavier upon woman than man, and heavier upon the child than the adult.

Degeneracy.—We find not only degenerate families, but also degenerate communities and nations. The factors entering into this problem are many, but one of the principal ones is poverty. Poverty holds down, destroys, or prevents the development of ambition. Poverty, as we have seen, brings with it a myriad of other evils like crime, vice, ignorance, immorality, disease, and general

inefficiency. Degeneracy is not all due to poverty: biological factors have to be considered, and geographic features also play a part. But poverty is the cause of much degeneracy. The writer well remembers when on a trip through the mountains of southeastern Kentucky being greatly surprised at the prosperity of the country and the rapid progress which that section was making. The cause back of it all, he found was the discovery of coal, which was bringing wealth into the country. Wealth brings opportunity for an education, time for study, means of travel, and a chance to enjoy the comforts of life. The inclination may have been there before, but poverty prevented. If we examine the location and economic status of the communities from which the degenerate families, such as the Jukes, Kallikak, Nam, and Hill Folks have come, we shall find that poverty has prevailed. If we take up the degenerate and backward sections of any country, we find the same condition. This condition is partly the cause of poverty, but it is equally the result of it. The sand hills of the Carolinas and Georgia, the Ozarks of Arkansas, the mountains of Kentucky and Tennessee—all these have been unproductive and inaccessible regions, which have been left to their own poverty. If we examine the backward countries of the world, we find the same thing true.

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CHAPTER XXI

TREATMENT OF POVERTY

Historical Treatment of Poverty.—One of the earliest methods of treating poverty was *slavery.* If a person was unable to make a living or to manage his own affairs in such a way as to make both ends meet, he was sold into slavery, so as to allow someone else to provide for him who was able to bring this about. If a group or nation was unable to stand on its own feet, it was likewise subjugated by a stronger one. This solution of the problem was never consciously worked out in accordance with any such theory, yet it was widely adopted in ancient times. Among some people the aged and crippled were killed, and often in a spirit of altruism.

Charity, or the giving of alms, has been from time immemorial the most popular method of dealing with poverty. It has taken the forms of public charity, or the help given through institutions or agencies under the control of the state or any of its branches; and private charity, or the help given by individuals or groups of individuals independent of the authority of the state.

We find the idea of charity highly developed in the philosophies of India, China, and Judea. The religions of these countries, especially Brahmanism and Buddhism, advocated charity as one of the roads to salvation. In India the Brahman holy men depend upon alms for a living, and it is a part of the Brahman religious code to give them. So much has this been stressed that the so-called "holy men" are a nuisance in India and thousands of impostors find thereby an easy way to make a living. Charity was developed and organized by the early Hebrew church. Christianity took it up and carried it on to a still greater extent than Judaism. With savages we do not as a rule find charity very highly developed,

for among them the weak are despised and helped only because of the personal sympathy of relatives or friends; but among the really advanced peoples, especially those having highly organized religions, such as the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru, we find systems of relief of the poor quite highly developed.

As we study the people who are higher in the scale of civilization, we find an increase in the spirit of altruism; and one of the forms which this has taken is charity. Although we find exceptions, this did not as a rule take the form of public charity, or aid by the state, but private charity, which was left largely to the church, especially the Christian church. In Athens a poor tax was levied, but Athens was an exceptionally highly developed community. Rome in the period of the Empire spent vast sums, amounting to millions of dollars each year, in feeding the poor. At the time of Augustus, 320,000 persons received grants of corn or other aid from the state, and it is estimated that Nero gave away during his reign nearly $100,000,000 from the public treasury to the people for food. The Roman populace was not only fed at public expense but even amused. All this was done, however, not from altruistic motives. In Rome the people were divided into patricians, or the wealthy, and plebeians, or the poor. At first the patricians ruled and took all the spoils of their conquests, but later the plebeians gained a voice in the government and came to be feared. In order to keep them from revolting and overthrowing the patricians, the rulers began to help feed them, at first by keeping down prices, then by giving corn, and later by adding oil and wine.

The problem of keeping the people quiet and contented finally became so great that the circuses and gladiatorial contests were instituted to amuse them. The politicians vied with each other in lavish gifts in order to gain the votes of the people, both before election and after being put into office. This giving, which eventually came out of the public coffers, probably exceeded the amounts contributed privately to the support of the people. The

politicians not only reimbursed themselves after getting office, but also took the opportunity of filling their pockets, till it came to be the custom for a consul, upon being given his province after retirement, to consider this his opportunity to recoup himself. In the one year that he held the province he had to make three fortunes: first, one to pay off the debts he had incurred getting into office; second, one to pay off all lawsuits after he got out; and third, enough to keep himself in luxury the rest of his life. So there was very little charity or altruism in the giving of the Roman state.

The Catholic Church, as it gained strength, assumed more and more the responsibility of caring for the poor and afflicted. Orders of nuns and monks were instituted with this motive in view. The church did heroic work in this field. But the whole attitude was to relieve distress, not to prevent poverty. It sought to relieve suffering without attempting to remove its causes, perhaps seldom thinking that the latter could be done. The church gave alms, cared for children, relieved sickness, and tried in general to alleviate distress. But instead of removing poverty, the church probably increased it. The conditions causing poverty continued to operate, and the very fact that they could get alms was a great inducement for the people not to struggle against adversity but to accept aid from others. This work of the church in dealing with poverty continued until the time of the Reformation, when the Catholic Church began to break up into sects, and when matters of theology began to gain the attention of the church rather than relief of suffering. Then it had to surrender a great part of this work to the state. The church has always regarded charity as one of its fundamental principles, but its importance has dwindled. In some ways this is to be regretted; yet on the other hand, the church never handled the matter competently, probably causing more poverty by indiscriminate giving than it relieved. The theory of the church was that the more one gave, the greater would be the reward in heaven.

Charity Taken Over by the State.—At first pauperism was treated as a crime. Before the time of the Reformation the laws in regard to poverty were revolting in their severity, flogging and branding being the punishment for begging; while the indigent and suffering were left entirely to the care of the church. But with the coming of the Reformation, when the church split up into sects, it was impossible for this function to be performed longer by the church, and to supply this need poor laws were introduced throughout Europe during the sixteenth century. Thus arose a public recognition of the responsibility of the community to look after its poor, rather than to leave them to the church. This work was generally entrusted to the town councils.

At Hamburg, as early as 1529, directions were published for the guidance of the overseers: "to visit the houses in their respective districts once every month, in order to make themselves acquainted with the circumstances of the poor; to provide employment for those who were able to work, to lend money without interest to those who were honest, and could with little assistance maintain an independent position, and lastly to grant permanent relief to the disabled and sick."[1]

In 1531 Emperor Charles V directed that "collections be made throughout the Netherlands for the settled poor —the idlers and rogues to be set to work; poor women and children provided for; the latter put to school, and afterwards placed out in service and trade."[2]

The law of the German Empire of 1577 ordered parishes "to support their own poor, send away stragglers, and provide accommodation for the sick." In fact, there sprang up over Northern Europe the general idea that each locality should make provisions for three classes of poor—the vagrant, the impotent, and the able-bodied out of work. Sometimes this was made compulsory, and sometimes only suggestions were made. England furnishes us the best example of these laws.

[1] Fowle, T. W., *Poor Law*, pp. 22-23.
[2] Fowle, T. W., *Poor Law*, p. 23.

English Poor Laws, 1601–1834.—Until 1601 there was no relief policy in England worthy of the name. The laws hitherto were against the poor and the rights of labor. The laborer was reduced to a condition of servitude; he was confined to his place of birth and compelled to work for fixed wages. These were set by law, and sometimes by justices who were themselves employers of labor. The work rates were determined by the wages of the previous five or six years, or by the price of foodstuffs. If the laborer wandered around in search of work at the highest possible price, he was liable to barbarous punishments, such as whipping, branding, burning or cropping the ears, the pillory, imprisonment, and even death itself.

The law of 1601, which was a compilation of a series of previous measures, provided for the appointment of two or three overseers in each parish, whose duty it was to raise a poor rate by subscription or by taxation. Then if a person could not make a living, what he lacked was supplied from the general fund. It was thus a system of public charity with ample opportunity for abuse. If a man was out of work, the parish tried to provide work, even to the point of selling the labor of the pauper and making up the balance. Sometimes the man would be paid if he applied for work—a procedure which led to the practice of walking the "rounds" and to that of farmers certifying that so-and-so had called. Sometimes farmers were compelled to employ the paupers, thus being forced to discharge their regular hands. This law further offered the employers the inducement to establish lower wages; for the deficit would be made up from the poor rate. Of course the poor rates became oppressive, amounting finally to over $30,000,000 a year in England, which then had a population of only 11,000,000; and money was much more valuable then than it is to-day. Rates became so high, indeed, that it was hard to find tenants for farms, the rates often amounting to as much as five dollars an acre. As a result the rate payer became worse off than the pauper. The poor laborer was

in a more deplorable condition, for he had to work harder for lower wages and was in constant danger of being replaced by paupers. If one was industrious and saved, he received no work; so it was foolish to work hard; in fact many couples left home in order to live in the workhouse, where little work was required. All industry became disorganized. Better wages were frequently refused for fear of losing one's settlement and there was a general deterioration in industry and in morals. In the almshouses the inmates were well fed, but they lived in idleness, having nothing to occupy their attention.

This condition became intolerable; so in 1833 a Poor Law Commission was appointed, which drew up the act adopted by Parliament in the following year, and extended to Ireland in 1838 and to Scotland in 1845. The principal features of this act were the abandonment of the policy of relief to able-bodied persons, and the substitution of the celebrated "workhouse test," by means of which relief was to be given to the able-bodied only in well-regulated workhouses, where work was required of all. Unions or parishes were formed to build and operate these workhouses. They were uninviting and the relief given was such as only the destitute would accept. The commission thought that they had settled the question forever, for in this way aid would be limited to the worthy poor. But the system was too rigid and the problem of poverty became so serious that towards the end of the nineteenth century great dissatisfaction arose over its failure. As a result, the present system of social insurance was adopted in the early part of the twentieth century.

American Treatment of Poverty.—The American system has centered around the almshouse, but it is to be doubted if any other institution needs reform so much as the American poor-farm, for it is an institution that has been sadly neglected. It has served as a catch-all for every class: the worthy poor, the feeble-minded, the insane, the epileptic, drunkards, prostitutes—all classes, in fact, from the able-bodied to the helpless; from the

hard-working man or woman who has lived an honorable, upright life, but who is broken down in old age, to the drunken, immoral wreck who has done nothing but squander his or her talents; from the innocent orphan to the hardened, vulgar, dissolute, criminal ne'er-do-well. Almshouses are under the control of the county authorities, except those in the states of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Since 1890 there has been a tendency to consolidate the smaller ones, and hundreds of such unions have been effected. Also in recent years there has been a tendency to remove many persons from the almshouse who do not belong there, such as the feeble-minded, deaf and dumb, blind, insane, and epileptic.

The almshouse system has passed through four different stages, as follows:

(1) That in force before the erection of any special building, when the paupers were boarded out or sometimes farmed out to the lowest bidder.

(2) The first efforts at housing, when some old cottage or farm-house would be purchased. This would serve as a catch-all for old, infirm, insane, epileptic, and idiotic persons and for abandoned children, and foundlings. Here they received little attention from the public, with the exception of grumbling over the expense they caused. The whole aim was economy, and the management of the place was generally given to the lowest bidder.

(3) The opposite extreme was a magnificent structure, imposing from the outside, but erected with no regard for comfort, being usually four or five stories high, and built with the same number of rooms for women as for men, although men outnumber the women two or three to one. The writer well remembers a visit to such a poor-farm in LaFayette County, Missouri.

(4) The cottage plan, the houses being sometimes connected by passage-ways. This plan allows separation of the sexes and provides for the different classes of inmates, and also for separate hospital cottages. This is the modern almshouse, and is the best plan, especially if enough land

is provided for light outdoor employment to such as are still able to work.

Our almshouses in the past have been conducted in a deplorable manner; the inmates have been neglected and even at times abused. Generally they have been poorly fed, poorly clad, and badly housed, to say nothing of being deprived of the comforts of life. One has only to turn to the accounts of Professor Ellwood[3] in his investigation of Missouri almshouses to get a picture of such abuses.

But when we consider the difficulties of running the almshouse, such as (1) lack of money and the consequent poor pay which of course would attract only inefficient superintendents; (2) the class of inmates—the riff-raff and scum, the inefficient, the half-witted, and the crazy; (3) the stolid, unsympathetic, and inefficient person who would be attracted to, or be willing to accept the position of superintendent, and (4) the bad temper and unappreciativeness of the inmates—an attitude that would try the patience of the most sympathetic—it is no wonder that we have such miserable conditions. These difficulties were only exaggerated when the lease system was employed, for then a premium was put upon negligence and stinginess.

The management of the almshouse does not matter so much when the inmates are old, for death will soon relieve the unfortunates, but it blasts the whole life of the child inmates. The neglect, ill treatment, and horrible environment kill all the good qualities and send the persons away, destined to return later as permanent inmates. While this condition is slowly being remedied by the removal of many classes from the almshouse, and the better care of those remaining, this is a matter which needs our attention probably more than any other phase of our relief policy. Professor Ellwood recommends three remedial lines of work: (1) visitation of the local board; (2) inspection by state authorities; and (3) mandatory and prohibitive legislation. Even at the best it is no

[3] Ellwood, Charles A., Bulletin on *Almshouses in Missouri.*

easy matter to run an almshouse, considering the class of inmates. Then it is very difficult to find suitable work for all; but the inmates must be kept occupied if they are to be contented. Successful almshouse management requires tact and ability, far more in fact than will be found in the average person willing to undertake such work.

Other Relief Institutions.—Another class which has to be considered here is dependent children. There always have been and probably always will be orphan and dependent children. They were formerly one of the sources from which the ranks of slavery were recruited. The church, especially the Roman Catholic Church, when it was at the height of its power, took care of these in the nunneries and monasteries and in orphan and foundling asylums. It did this, not from motives of philanthropy and altruism, but to win recruits. Foundling asylums are ancient institutions and have always been numerous in France, where the need of them, because of the widespread immorality, has always been great. There any one could leave a child with no questions asked, provision being frequently made to drop the child into a basket specially placed for the purpose. The foundling asylums were often supported by the state, as were the orphan asylums, and were frequently mismanaged, as Dickens has poignantly shown in *Oliver Twist,* a picture of life in the English orphan asylum.

In England the labor of orphans was sold to the factories, as we have seen under Child Labor. The abuses in the past have been terrible. The death-rate in the foundling asylums has been at times almost unbelievable, running even as high as ninety-seven per cent. This situation is unavoidable to some extent, because of the condition of the children upon admission; they have been poorly nourished, have received practically no care in many cases, and often have been injured by efforts to kill them before birth. Yet when the babies are properly cared for, the death-rate falls to almost normal, or at least somewhere near it. Ignorance and neglect of the attendants

make it much higher than it otherwise would be. As a rule they take no interest in the child except to see that it makes as little trouble as possible, often using opiates to quiet it. They do not care whether the child lives or not; in fact nobody cares.

Considering the class from which these children come and the future before them, the question often arises whether a high death-rate is wholly bad in the end, either for the public or the child itself. Another cause of the abnormally high death-rate is found in the fact that babies cannot be reared by wholesale, but require individual attention and affection, even if other conditions, such as sunlight, air, food, and clothing are good. The child misses the advantage of breast feeding, although this lack is sometimes overcome by boarding it out with a wet nurse—a procedure followed by the New York State Charities Aid Association with children under six months of age. By the careful boarding out of foundlings received from the Charities Aid Societies in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn, the death-rate was reduced from 59.9 per cent in 1898 to 11.6 per cent in 1906. In Massachusetts the practice of boarding out is carried on as far as possible, with a careful selection of homes. After the child grows up, he is subject to grave abuses, often being brutally treated not only in the institution but in the home. Where the system of placing out is used, it has to be supplemented by careful selection of families and rigid, frequent inspection afterwards to see that the child is properly treated.

While institutional care for children may have advantages, such as adequate food supply, sufficient clothes, a warm place in which to sleep, regular schooling, and protection from danger, these are more than outweighed by the disadvantages. Often the child is maltreated by hard-hearted and unsympathetic attendants. Not only is the rate of mortality high, but the discipline is demoralizing to the child that survives; and even when the discipline is not harsh, the system makes a machine rather than a man of him. The child does not learn how to do

the ordinary things of life, such as how to use matches and to care for fire, for such matters are all done by attendants. At home the child learns to do such things and acquires some sense of responsibility. The children learn too easily to submit to rule, to discomfort or to pain. Attendants are employed who have institutional experience, persons who are thus able to suppress the children with the minimum of trouble, who remember that the more suppressed the child is, the less trouble it will give. As a result the child comes out of the institution with no sense of responsibility and no conception of the value of money. It does not develop independence, and so is seldom able to form sound judgments. In fact, institutional life totally unfits the individual for leadership. This tendency is overcome in some institutions by a system of self-government; probably the most famous of the institutions using such methods being the George Junior Republic. The Massachusetts system is likewise a good one. This is a combination plan, in which about forty per cent of the children, mostly the young ones, are boarded out, about forty-five per cent placed in families, and only about fifteen per cent cared for in institutions. Placing in private institutions is used sometimes, but it is, as a general rule, bad, for it subsidizes private institutions and too often discourages private philanthropy, even if it does not lead to graft; moreover the treatment is not always the best.

The best methods should include, if possible, an attempt to repair the breaches and defects of the home, before breaking up the family relation, and then, accept institutional care only as a temporary expedient for such classes as the deaf, the feeble-minded, deformed, incurable, and delinquent children. A selected private home, chosen with great care and visited under a system of careful supervision, is the best substitute. There is also a growing demand for supervision of private institutions. Small institutions are at a disadvantage because of the cost of placing out and the consequent supervision.

So far as institutions are necessary, they should be

organized on the cottage plan, with only a limited number of children to each cottage, and in charge of a house mother.

Another kind of relief work demanding institutional treatment is the care of the destitute sick. In the past thirty or forty years the attitude towards hospitals has changed; they are no longer regarded as places in which to die, but as places in which to get well. It is now recognized that the poor man who is not able to pay anything should receive as good treatment as the rich. As a result of an attempt to obtain these two conditions the cost of hospital service nearly doubled between 1870 and 1910, on account of increase in the cost of food, better care and accommodations, and higher pay to nurses. Of the money which it took to maintain the hospitals of the United States in 1903, 18.1 per cent was paid by annual subsidies from public funds; 43.2 per cent was met by pay patients; and the remainder was obtained from charity. These hospitals treated 1,064,512 patients in 1903, or 1.3 per cent of the population. In 1910 there were 1918 such institutions, and they treated 1,953,309 patients or 2.1 per cent of the population. Although the number of hospitals and their facilities are increasing, there are still not enough of them. Some of the motives leading to the development of medical charities have been the following:[4] (1) the desire to aid the destitute; (2) zeal to advertise a religious faith; (3) the ambition to educate students and build up medical reputations; (4) the wish to protect the public health against infection and contagion; (5) the economic motive to restore earning power and thus save loss of wages. The fifth motive has prompted corporations to provide hospitals for their workers.

Two types of hospitals appear in the United States:

(1) The municipal, developed from the almshouse or city jail, where it originated in the attempt to treat the patients there. While such a hospital is liable to political

[4] First four motives taken from Warner, *American Charities*, second edition (1908), p. 304.

mismanagement (the past has shown much graft and poor management), these conditions are rapidly being removed, and we now have many efficient city hospitals.

(2) Corporate, generally managed by an unsalaried board composed of prominent citizens, ministers, business men, and philanthropists. Though such men often know nothing about methods of running a hospital, the efficiency of these institutions is constantly increasing. The death-rate in hospitals has decreased tremendously in the past thirty years, especially in the free city hospitals. This decrease is due largely to the greater efficiency of the nurses, obtained through the establishment of nursing schools, and by the use of civil service examinations in the appointment of nurses.

Mention should also be made of the increase and spread in usefulness of the dispensaries in the United States. Most of these charge a small fee for medicines for those who are able to pay. These dispensaries aid people who are down and out, those who are in need of medical attention but cannot afford to go to a physician; also those who can afford to pay a small sum for medicines and treatment, but who cannot pay for private medical care. The dispensaries are supplemented by the district and visiting nurses who help the sick in their own homes and —what is still more important—try to prevent sickness or at least check it before it has reached a serious stage. In 1910[5] there were 574 dispensaries, of which less than half were connected with hospitals, and in which 2,440,018 persons were treated. More than half of these dispensaries were located in the Middle Atlantic Division. The number of clinics, especially those for children, mentally defective and the tubercular has greatly increased since 1910.

Special hospitals for certain diseases and homes for the incurable are further extensions of this work of medical relief. While rapidly increasing these are still inadequate. It is in line with the modern theory of the prevention of

[5] Bureau of Census, 1910, *Benevolent Institutions*, 1913, p. 51.

poverty. Dental dispensaries are among the latest developments. The United Charities of Chicago maintains two such for the poor; in 1915 these performed daily dental operations at an average cost of six and one-half cents.

Homes for the aged are also increasing. A system of old age pensions, however, is in all likelihood the best way of dealing with this problem, provided the system is made contributory; for this plan will compel people to provide for old age and will enable them to maintain their own homes and not become dependent upon charity. However, we are not ready at present for old age insurance in the United States.

Outdoor Relief.—In addition to the indoor relief given in the various institutions, outdoor relief, or relief given the poor in their homes, other than medical, has been used a great deal in the past. The character of such relief has changed greatly in recent years, for there is a tendency to substitute private for public relief; not to aid the person because that person is poor, but to help lift him out of his condition or prevent his falling below the poverty line. The old method of doling out a few dollars or some groceries is not followed so much now as formerly, largely because of the abuses attendant in the past, especially in the large Eastern cities. When this method is followed it is only to provide partial aid or temporary relief.

There are arguments in favor of retaining outdoor relief, such as:[6]

(1) It is the natural method and is thus an expression of the spirit of neighborliness. It does not break up the family or separate dependent persons from friends and neighbors. The disgrace is less, because the help is less conspicuous, although this is not always an advantage. And it is sometimes desirable to be separated from one's neighbors, occasionally even from relatives.

(2) It is argued that it is more economical, for most

[6] Warner, Amos G., *American Charities*, (third edition, 1918), pp. 208-209.

families can almost make a living, and hence it is folly to break up the family and thus increase expense. Yet on the other hand, the number of persons helped will grow, and the total cost may even increase, because otherwise many families would manage for themselves.

(3) One of the strongest arguments is found in the fact that there are not enough institutions and the consequent fact that greater equipment would thus be demanded. It would be uneconomical to meet these demands, for the amount of poverty fluctuates with the seasons and with prosperity. Institutions sufficient to meet all demands would be empty most of the time.

(4) Individual private charity, the alternative of public outdoor relief, is uncertain and unreliable, depending upon emotion, sentiment and prosperity. When it would be needed the most it would be least forthcoming, as was evidenced in the winter of 1914–15, when the charity organizations all over the country were hardest pressed for aid, and when necessary funds were hardest to secure because of the hard times. Also under individual private charities relief is liable to be duplicated.

Against such arguments are advanced the following counter-arguments:[7]

(1) Except in small communities there can be no real inspection or supervision, and no chance for investigation or discrimination. The policy generally followed is to make it as difficult as possible to get relief; the actual result is that those who need it get disgusted and only the unworthy receive it. Relief thus becomes mechanical and unsympathetic.

(2) Unless the receipt of relief is made unpleasant, the number of paupers will be increased. There would be less incentive to save, for the state could always be depended upon. This increase would more than make up for all the contributions of paupers to their own support.

(3) Such a relief policy would lead to political corrup-

[7] Warner, Amos G., *American Charities*, (third edition, 1918), pp. 209-210.

tion, such as occurred in Rome. This situation is much more important in the cities, especially the large ones, but is found even in the small towns. Giving is done to curry favor and to further political ambitions.

(4) If such relief is lavish it results in a reduction in wages, for employers know that the deficiency in wages will be made up out of public relief. This was the result in England.

(5) And what is perhaps the most important of all, lavish relief would destroy thrift and self-respect. For why should any one work when the public treasury is open? People would receive help or ask for it, because their neighbors did the same.

The whole matter simmers down to a question of administration. As a rule public outdoor relief is generally preferred only in small towns and rural communities, except in cases of special classes of defectives, who can be better cared for in institutions. On the other hand, indoor relief is preferred in large cities, except in cases demanding partial or temporary relief.

Charity Organization.—The alternative to public relief, instead of being indiscriminate private relief, is organized charity. The movement towards organization began in Europe, where it early manifested itself in the principal cities, such as Paris, Berlin, and Vienna. This occurred about the middle of the past century. The movement spread to England and America, and first found a foothold in the United States in 1877, when the Buffalo Charity Organization Society was established. Since then it has spread to nearly all our cities and is now being adopted by counties. This is done to avoid duplication, to divide up the work so as to cover all needs, and to see that each endeavor has its share of funds. Such a plan not only prevents overlapping, but eliminates impostors. Co-operation is obtained through the comparison of records kept in a central office equipped with card catalogues. Prompt relief can be obtained by bringing the case to the attention of the proper authorities. Better results are secured also in the collection of funds through

co-operation. This work is now being supplemented by endorsement committees generally appointed by the commercial associations or chambers of commerce, who investigate the different charitable organizations and require them to conduct their affairs in accordance with business principles, to spend their funds wisely, and to see also that there is a real need. Then there is usually coupled with this some method of raising funds by tag-day, assessment, or general subscription. In this way those willing to contribute know where their money goes and how it is spent; therefore they respond much more liberally. Charity organization is really the conducting of charity in accordance with business methods. It has its failings as well as advantages; for relief is too often mechanical, and too much system and red-tape are frequently employed. The endorsement committees are often composed of business men who are not familiar with charity work and the needs of the community, and who are not always competent persons to pass upon charity matters. In general, however, this plan of organization enables much more efficient work to be done and much greater undertakings to be carried through. It is a great improvement upon indiscriminate private giving and unorganized charity. Such charity has to some extent the personal touch and a certain discrimination which public charity is rarely capable of giving. Under this system charity cannot be claimed as a right, as occurs in many cases with public relief. It, however, is not always able to meet a great calamity or crisis when it arises, because in such a crisis the difficulty of raising funds also increases. But on the whole, organized private charity is to-day our best method of dealing with the relief problem.

The Elberfeld System.—A system of relief and charity organization known sometimes as the Hamburg-Elberfeld, because it originated in Hamburg and was developed to its present high state in Elberfeld, Germany, but more commonly called the Elberfeld system, has not only been generally adopted throughout Europe, but has been

recognized as one of the best, if not the best, relief system ever devised. It started in Hamburg about 1765 at a time when a vast amount of poverty and misery was present in Europe, when the streets of Hamburg were lined with beggars, and when thousands were asking for aid, having been attracted there because of the great prosperity of that place. The scheme was proposed by a certain Professor Bush; it divided the city into districts, over each of which an overseer was appointed. The overseers reported to a central office. Giving to beggars was forbidden, an industrial school for children was established, and a hospital provided; but most important of all, the poor were taught to help themselves. The system freed Hamburg of beggars and relieved the poverty situation. Later, however, it was abandoned. It was revived in Elberfeld with some modifications in 1852 and has continued. There it operates as follows: The city is divided into districts, over each of which an overseer, or almoner, as he is called, is appointed, who looks after the poor cases in his district, and who has general oversight of living conditions. This almoner is unpaid and the service is compulsory, or rather if it is not given when required an extra rate is imposed upon the person refusing and he loses his voting privilege for a period of years. But as the office is considered a stepping-stone to political preferment, few people object to the work, and very able people accept it. Then since the districts are so small that never more than four cases, and seldom more than one or two, are given to each almoner, the service is personal and intimate and takes the form of true neighborliness. Because of the patriotic interest in it the work is done very efficiently. These small districts are included in larger districts; the almoners meet fortnightly, and the chairmen of these meetings report to a central committee of nine, which has charge of the relief system of the whole city. This central committee includes a trained paid administrator and paid assistants. It prepares instructions for the district leaders and the visitors, divides up the work, appoints the visitors, supervises the

hospitals, investigates causes of poverty, initiates legislation, and institutes other measures of amelioration.

The success of the scheme is shown by the fact that the population of Elberfeld increased from 50,000 in 1852 to 162,000 in 1904, whereas the number of those receiving either temporary or permanent help increased only from 4000 to 7689, or a decrease of from 8 to 4.7 per cent of the population. The cost of relief for each person in 1852 was eighty-nine cents and in 1904 eighty-eight cents —a great reduction when we take into consideration the increase in amount of wealth and the fall in the value of money. While this system has not been adopted to any great extent in America, it offers us many valuable suggestions; with some changes made to fit the conditions, it might be well adapted to relief needs in this country, especially in smaller cities.

Public vs. Private Relief.—A great deal of discussion has arisen over the advantages and disadvantages of the two plans of relief—public and private. Much could be said in favor of each. It might be laid down as a general principle that for new lines of work, involving experimentation and exploration of a new field, private charity is better. But when the public is educated to the need of a definite plan of action, when the work has reached such a stage of development that it can be systematized, and when the need is more or less permanent, it might be better to turn the task over to public authorities. As a rule, private charity is much more easily directed to something that is new, but after the work becomes familiar, interest is apt to die out. On the other hand, public authorities are not so well fitted to carry on new work, but are better fitted to carry on old lines of work. When a certain type of work is needed and demanded by the public, it is only fair and just that the public should be asked to carry the burden and not to leave it to a few philanthropists. Public and private charity can go hand in hand and not be antagonistic. Private charity is good in that it encourages altruism and allows those who are able to relieve the sufferings of those who are

less fortunate. Then public charity is necessary for the reason that there are lines of work which involve great expense, but work which cannot be permitted to be dropped or crippled in any way through lack of well-organized effort.

The Trend of Modern Charity.—Former ages accepted poverty, misery, distress, incapacity, and industrial slavery as inevitable. As a rule people tried not to notice suffering and wretchedness but to keep away from it; like the priest and Levite, they passed by on the other side of the road. Now we recognize that not only can poverty, disease, and misery be done away with, but that they must be; that unless we stop them we shall be engulfed by the degenerate classes. While some charity workers are too busy picking up those who have fallen off the cliff to stop to build a fence at the top, others are building fences and trying to prevent people from falling. In other words, prevention is the keyword of all future charitable work. Help those who need relief, but still more try to put them upon their feet so that they will not need help in the future. Then what is still more important, remove the causes of poverty and prevent others from falling below the poverty line; lock the stable door before the horse is stolen. If low wages cause poverty, adopt a minimum wage schedule. If intemperance is the cause, work for prohibition. If bad sanitation is the cause, put in sewers and better plumbing. If bad housing conditions are the cause, adopt a better building code and see that unsanitary houses are not occupied. Alleviate present poverty, but see that the conditions which caused it are removed.

Program for Prevention of Poverty.—In our discussion of the causes of poverty we have pointed out in most cases the measures for curing them. In addition to such measures the hope of the future lies along the following lines:

1. The advancement and continuance of all movements which try to prevent or remove bad conditions, such as those working for better housing, pure milk, better sani-

tation, the draining of swamps, disposal of garbage, irrigation, and the prevention and cure of disease; such institutions as the Rockefeller Foundation, which has among its various objects the search for cures of diseases; tuberculosis sanitariums; schools for the feeble-minded, blind, deaf, and epileptic; the building of hospitals and the spread of their usefulness; the establishment of free dispensaries; the extension of the work of visiting nurses and probation officers; the building of social settlements; and all like methods of removing the conditions in society that produce poverty.

2. Our educational systems should be improved, so as to fit better for both the production and consumption of wealth. The entire school curriculum should be better adapted to the child mind and to social needs. Manual and vocational training should receive greater emphasis, and girls should receive more effective training in cooking, care of children, and household management. The educational values in play and recreation should be more widely recognized, and more adequate facilities for the expenditure of leisure time be provided.

3. The worker should be adequately protected against dangerous machinery and unsanitary conditions in factories and other places of employment. The working day should not be so long that the worker's physical efficiency is impaired.

4. A number of measures are necessary to protect and improve the worker's standard of living. A better method of settling industrial disputes should be devised, so as to obviate wage losses due to strikes and lockouts. Monopoly profits should be curbed, and prices of living necessities regulated by public authority, where necessary. A better system of marketing foodstuffs should be established so as to do away with unnecessary middlemen. Co-operative stores and marketing systems should be encouraged. Minimum wage legislation should be enacted for underpaid trades which the unions are unable to organize. Business and industry should be established upon more stable foundations, and financial panics and industrial

depressions prevented. The labor market should be effectively organized by a nation-wide system of employment exchanges. Other measures requisite to the reduction of unemployment to a minimum should be adopted.

5. A comprehensive system of social insurance—covering industrial accidents, occupational diseases, sickness, unemployment, and death of family wage-earners—should be established throughout the country. The value of such insurance has been amply demonstrated and the time is rapidly arriving for the general adoption of such a system in the United States.

While poverty can never be abolished entirely, it can be eliminated as the great overshadowing problem that it is to-day. There will always be those who cannot stand on their own feet, no matter how many opportunities they have; but we can bring about a state of affairs when those who will may have the opportunity not only of maintaining themselves but of bettering their position. At least we ought to have a system under which anyone who is able-bodied, fairly efficient, and equipped with normal intellect will be able not only to support himself and family but to bring into the world children who will have equally good opportunities.

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Prisons were great manufacturing establishments run by contractors, because the contract system paid best. The state took little interest, except to make the prisons pay, and the financial test was the measure of success of a system. Self-control was not encouraged, and the prisons, instead of helping the prisoner, ordinarily sent him back into life a greater enemy of society than he was when he entered. In recent years there has been a change, and our leading penitentaries are trying other methods. They emphasize reformation of the prisoner, rather than punishment. Wardens are now chosen because of fitness rather than politics, and really capable men are accepting the positions.

Prison Work.—To find work for prisoners has always been more or less of a problem, but in general the following systems have been adopted:

1. *Contract system,* or the letting out of the work of the prisoners to a contractor, who comes into the prison and establishes the industry. He usually pays to the state a lump sum or a certain amount for each prisoner, and works the prisoners as hard as he can, paying them nothing, or possibly a small amount for extra work. The fault with this system is that it gives the discipline over to private individuals, who are interested only in the profit, and who care nothing for the reformation of the prisoner. Whether he or she does the required amount of work is the only test of conduct. From a financial standpoint it generally pays the state fairly well. It also relieves the state of the expense of buying machinery and establishing a factory, and frees the warden from a great deal of responsibility. It was once adopted in most of our penitentiaries, but is now being discarded. Because it gives a few manufacturers an advantage on account of the hiring of cheaper labor, it has been much objected to by other manufacturers and by organized labor especially. It will soon be a thing of the past.

2. *The Lease system,* or the farming out of prisoners to contractors who take them out of the penitentiary and assume entire charge of them—working, feeding, cloth-

ing, and housing them. It has generally resulted in gross brutality, the convicts being worked to the limit of their endurance—often to the point of death; in their being fed the cheapest and poorest of food and housed in dirty, filthy shacks, and in their being shackled together at night and often chained to a ball or guarded by men with shotguns and dogs during the day. The treatment is often brutal and demoralizing in the extreme, and it is difficult to see how such a country as the United States could ever adopt such a system; yet it has been followed in the majority of our Southern states, including Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Florida; and in the last-named state it was in operation as late as 1916. The whole system is wrong, for it grants to individuals not only the handling of prisoners but control over their very lives. The author knows of no arguments in favor of this shiftless and brutal system.

3. *Piece-price system,* by which the state pays the prisoners a certain amount for each piece of work done. This often requires an elaborate system of bookkeeping and on this account is difficult to operate; yet it is preferable by far to the two systems just discussed. It gives the worker a chance to aid his family at home or save money. It is often combined successfully with one or the other of the two systems yet to be named.

4. *Public account system,* by which the state puts in the factory or runs the industry. This requires much machinery and a large investment and so demands business ability to carry out. But under this plan the wardens can maintain a definite system of management. The goods, however, are sold on the open market in competition with the products of free labor; also there is danger of graft and scandal due to the inability of wardens to manage such an industry. This system in combination with the piece-price system of paying the prisoners has been worked out with remarkable success in the Michigan State Prison at Jackson, but as a rule it is not considered so feasible as the public use system.

5. *The Public use system,* or the manufacture of articles

of investigation that parole does, for under the parole system there is time to investigate and find out if the offender is wanted elsewhere for other offenses; under the probation system this chance is not given. Judges are often too busy to search for all the facts, or are not capable of making accurate decisions. A judicious use of probation for adults is all right and highly justifiable, provided it is backed up by a proper number of probation officers, but without such a system it often degenerates into a farce. Probation and parole are too often confused in the popular mind, and parole is condemned for the sins of probation.[1]

Honor System.—The honor system differs from the preceding ones in that it allows the prisoner to leave the walls of the prison on his pledge, not to try to escape, but to return at a stated time. This was first tried in Oregon a few years ago. There the governor abrogated the contracts that had been made by taking advantage of technicalities in them, but then he met with the difficulty of providing work for the prisoners; so he tried the experiment of getting work for them outside the walls. The plan proved so successful that it has been copied in other states. Of the 1700 prisoners committed to the Ohio penitentiary about three hundred work outside of the walls, some as far as forty miles from the penitentiary; many work under convict foremen. Of the first three hundred and eighteen, eighteen violated the parole, but nine of these were returned. Of the one thousand or so prisoners at Jackson, Michigan, two hundred are continually at work on their honor on the prison farm, several miles from the walls, and altogether about one-half of the prisoners are allowed this privilege at different times; fewer violate the privilege than escape from the prison by going over the walls in spite of the guards. In fact it is generally considered dishonorable to sneak away. This is especially so in Colorado, where

[1] In New York State, in 1921, 19,637 persons were released on probation and 79.6 per cent completed their probation period and were honorably discharged, while 8.2 per cent were arrested for violation of probation or for committing other offenses and were imprisoned.

sixty-five per cent of the men are engaged in road-making. Then only those who have good records and who have served a considerable part of their terms, thus becoming eligible for parole, are allowed to leave the walls. Since the risk of getting caught and serving a much longer term is greater than simply serving the remainder of the term, there is practically no incentive to violate the pledge. Because outside work is much preferred to inside work, the prisoners are careful to watch each other and thus prevent running away. The physical effect of getting the prisoners out into the open is good; the moral effect is much better, for the system gives them greater confidence, since they know that they are being trusted. It gives them greater self-control and thus makes them better fitted to take their places in society after discharge. Special privileges, such as conversation, the use of tobacco, and the wearing of ordinary citizen's clothing, are usually granted. Thus the prisoner feels more like a man.

No prison, except a jail in Vermont, has attempted to put all its prisoners on their honor; so it is a distinction to be given this privilege. This jail in Vermont allowed its prisoners to go out to work on the farms for two dollars a day, one dollar of which the prisoner kept. It is found that the hardened convict, accustomed to the old methods of harsh treatment—flogging, tying up, the water cure, the lock-step, stripes, etc.—responds most readily to the honor system, for it is new to him.

A novel phase of the honor system, in fact a very advanced form of it, was tried at Sing Sing by Warden Osborne, who instituted a system of self-government, by which the prisoners through committees fixed the punishments for the violations of the rules. Osborne, by means of his personality, made this such a success that Sing Sing was quickly transformed from probably the worst managed penitentiary in the United States to the model for the country; in fact, the success of his plan was so pronounced that Warden Osborne was quickly compelled to resign. The work, however, was still continued, for

Osborne introduced a system which bids fair to revolutionize our methods of prison treatment. The honor system is extremely modern; yet it is spreading very rapidly. It is now being tried in Indiana with county prisoners, in connection with the consolidated county or district workhouses or prison farms for minor offenders.

The whole method of treatment of criminals has greatly changed. The idea of retributive justice has vanished. The idea that the treatment of the criminal must be severe and harsh and his life made as uncomfortable and depressing as possible has given way to the idea that while the treatment must be strict and exacting it must at the same time be humane. The aim must be to reform the prisoner if possible, but if this cannot be done, protect society by confining the criminal in a place where he will be treated humanely, but where he will at least pay for his support. The theory that the criminal is a person who cannot respond to humane treatment and justice is now exploded.

The County Jail.—One phase of the problem of crime which has been sadly neglected in the past, and which perhaps needs attention now more than any other phase, is that of the county jail. As a rule, the average county jail is a miserable structure, often unsanitary and dangerous to the health of its prisoners. Then, too, it is used for all purposes—not only to detain those who are awaiting trial, but to house tramps and those desiring a night's lodging, whether honest and deserving or not. It is often used as a place of punishment as well, especially for minor offenses. Here, as a rule, no work is provided; the prisoner is merely supported in idleness at public expense, and that to the detriment of his health. All classes are herded together—boys, hardened criminals, first offenders, and repeaters. It is much the same problem that we noticed in regard to the almshouse. Movements are on foot in some states to consolidate county jails and have county judges sentence their short-term men to farm colonies, where work can be found for all, and where proper correctional methods, such as the honor

system, can be employed. In Indiana this system is working out with remarkable success and is certain to be copied by other states. With the building of proper municipal lodging houses that provide for work the vagrancy problem can be properly handled. Formerly the tramp who wanted a comfortable berth for the winter would hunt up a fairly decent jail and by committing some petty crime in the county, compel that county to care for him till spring. If he knew that he would have to work hard in some farm colony during the winter, he would not commit the offense.

Separate Prisons for Women.—Female prisoners present a special problem, owing in part to their small number. In most penitentiaries and prisons there merely are female wards, where the treatment is much the same as that of men and where suitable work is provided, particularly laundry work and mending. A few states, including New York and Indiana, have separate prisons and reformatories for women, the Bedford Reformatory in New York being famous for its success in reclaiming women. The problem is still greater in the rural districts, where female prisoners are so rare that it would be expensive to build separate accommodations. When a woman is arrested, it is a problem as to what to do with her, and often the sheriff has to care for her in his own house.

Other Plans.—An interesting experiment is now being tried out in New York and Boston by allowing those fined in court to pay their fines in installments. If it works successfully there, the plan will probably be tried elsewhere. Suggestions are often made to allow the person who steals or commits an injury to recompense the injured party, or to compel the criminal to repay the damage he causes. This would be difficult to enforce, yet it is very suggestive. If the plan compelled the offender to repay out of wages earned in confinement, it might of course be carried too far. Substitutes for imprisonment are being continually suggested, and many of them, such as probation, parole, and the honor system,

have proved themselves worthy of adoption. In time others may win the same recognition.

Scientific Attitude Towards Crime.—The chief aim of penal science should be prevention—to prevent the making of criminals through environmental causes; to prevent their being developed by bad industrial, governmental, economic, and social conditions; to remove temptation by having a well-organized and efficient government, and laws which are enforced by an efficient police force; to have courts that will give justice; to have economic conditions such as enable a man to earn a living wage; to educate the masses to fit them for life and citizenship; and thus make it possible for everyone to live on a better scale and maintain a higher standard of life. We should correct untoward social conditions which hinder the individual; we should improve conditions in the family. This can be done through visiting nurses, and by removing women and children from industry—where they are forced into it in order to maintain a living. We must substitute healthful amusements for the saloon, the gambling room, the dance hall, and the vulgar theatre. These measures will not prevent crime entirely; but such a program if carried far enough will reduce it to a minimum. This cannot be done in one generation. It will take several generations to lift the unfortunate to a higher standard of living. But in this way we can eliminate or reduce the criminal population.

At present we have our criminals and therefore we must deal with them. For this a penal system is necessary —a system to execute the sentences of the courts, to protect society from dangerous men, and to awaken the public conscience to the consequences of crime. The keynote of the methods employed should be reformation—whenever reformation is possible. Such a penal system should include both penitentiaries and reformatories, the latter for minor and younger offenders; also reform schools for boys and girls, and possibly a separate reformatory for women. There should be workhouses under state control, where the habitual criminals could be com-

pelled to work for a living, and where the short-term men might serve their sentences instead of in the county jail, as at present. The reform school should be the cap sheaf of a good probation system for juveniles. Where probation is applied to adults, probation officers also should be employed.

There should be separate places for the detaining of persons held for other purposes than the working out of sentences, such as keeping accused persons for trial, and holding witnesses. These should have separate cells, and such prisoners should be held as short a time as possible, especially the witnesses, and should receive good care. The places of detention used to-day are often worse than the places for working out sentences. The Harrison Street police station of Chicago, for example, is not suitable for a dog kennel, much less for the keeping of human beings. County jails should not be used for the housing of tramps; these should be cared for in well-equipped lodging houses, where work should be required in return. The courts should be equipped with physical and psychological tests, so as to send to hospitals and special institutions those who need medical attention, and to insane asylums and schools for the feeble-minded those belonging in such institutions. People of these classes should not be compelled to go to the jails or reformatories.

The jails and police stations should make special provisions for the care of females and should have matrons, or at least woman helpers subject to call when needed. The treatment of prisoners should be humane but not attractive. They should be compelled to do useful work. The public use system previously described has proved itself in general to be the best. There should be some way to pay the prisoners for extra work, so as to allow them to aid their families, if they have any, or to save up for the time when they will be discharged. In the penitentiary at Jackson, Michigan, the prisoners are required to do a certain stint; for what they do beyond that they are paid by the piece, and thus some earn for themselves as much as one dollar a day. This

gives the prisoner some incentive to work, and insures the prison against loss. The discipline should be such that it would build up self-respect and self-reliance in the prisoner, instead of killing all pride and initiative.

The theory should be, not to try to check crime by the severity of treatment, for that is always a failure, but rather to check it by the sureness of punishment. A mild punishment which is certain is feared more than a drastic punishment which is uncertain. Moreover, the idea should be to try to return the criminal to a useful place in society. Also the punishment should be fitted to the person rather than to the crime. This necessitates the indeterminate sentence, and in addition a good system of probation and parole. There should also be the honor system for such as are capable of it. In short, prevention of future crime and reformation of our present criminal class, wherever possible, should be our aim.

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CHAPTER XXIV

IMMORALITY

Under sexual immorality might be included all the various forms of sexual crime, such as adultery, incest, rape, and fornication, but these specific types come within the category of crime and will not be treated here. In this chapter the treatment will be limited to the matter of prostitution, or what is generally known as the social evil, and its accompanying conditions. No attempt will be made to enter into the sordid details of the conditions, or to trace carefully the history of this problem through all its horrible past. Prostitution may or may not be a crime, depending upon the attitude of society; but in either case it is best to treat it as a problem by itself. Sometimes it is visited with heavy penalties, and at other times it is permitted and even protected by society, being in some countries looked upon as a necessary evil.

History.—Prostitution is almost universal, in that it is found in practically all races and nations, although in a few places it seems to be unknown. Many have called it a problem of civilization, attempting to show that it is not found among savage tribes, but closer investigation shows that not only is it not unknown among many savages, but that with some it is carefully regulated. With primitive man the demand or occasion for prostitution was felt much less than with civilized man, and of course it never reached the high state of organization and regulation which it has received under civilization. Civilization brings in problems and conditions which tend to foster it more than primitive life, but prostitution cannot be said to be a product of civilization. Ancient history is full of accounts of this evil. In the Old Testament we find many records of its presence, and it was found also

among the Babylonians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, and other peoples of Asia. In Greece prostitution reached terrible proportions, especially in such cities as Corinth. But it remained for Rome to attain the climax of degeneracy in this respect; in fact, the prevalence and terribleness of this evil in the latter days of Roman history are almost unbelievable. In Europe during the Middle Ages and down to the present day prostitution has continued, and has presented a problem of varying proportions. In this period it probably reached its height in France at the time of the Bourbon monarchy, encouraged and influenced by the terrible excesses of the monarchs themselves; in fact, the whole line of French kings, with possibly a few exceptions, have been noted for their immorality. All of the monarchs and nobles of Europe during this period were noted for the same failing, the only difference being that possibly the French monarchs were the most notorious. Prostitution is by no means a thing of the past; it is a problem to-day in practically all nations of the earth, and is especially bad in France, Germany, and Japan. It is probably less of a problem in the United States than in most countries, and with us the evil appears on the wane.

Causes of Prostitution.—*Supply and Demand.*—Prostitution, like many phenomena of society, is subject to the great economic principle of supply and demand, man furnishing the demand curve and woman the supply curve. The selfishness of the male in his desire to satisfy his sexual passions at the expense of, and contrary to, the normal conventions of society, and his unwillingness or inability to control this desire, constitute the demand side. This is increased largely by the mistaken, but too frequently accepted notion, that sexual indulgence is essential to the health of the adult male. This theory has long since been exploded by science, but still persists with many people, and as a result adds enormously to this demand.

The supply side is made up of women recruited by society to live lives of shame, in order to meet this demand

of the male. In ancient times the supply was furnished by the slave populations, from whom the prostitutes were enlisted, being either sold into that life or forced into it by their masters, abductors, or seducers. This was particularly true of Greece and Rome, which were filled with huge slave populations. When cities were captured in wars, the women and children, as a rule, were sold into slavery, and naturally a large percentage of the female slaves, who were young and attractive, were forced into this life. At times laws were passed forcing women into this life, such as those condemning Christian virgins to lives of prostitution if they refused to worship the Roman gods, which were enacted in Rome during the early days of Christianity. Laws were also passed in Corinth compelling slaves to prostitute themselves for a trifling fee, in order to attract sailors to that place. Rome was crowded with an idle class—gladiators, ruffians, soldiers, and a floating population which contributed to the terrible moral conditions. In the Middle Ages the army of prostitutes was made up largely of aliens, who had been captured through petty wars and abused by the soldiers, abducted by robbers, or ruined by the nobility, and the neglected children of the unfortunate classes. Europe was also full of a floating population—travelers, soldiers of fortune, and traders, who added to the natural demand.

In modern times the prostitute is usually a citizen who has been induced into the trade or forced to accept it by modern conditions of society. In modern times, too, through the growth of great cities and industrial centers we find a constantly increasing class of unmarried adults, who add to the demand. There have, moreover, always been moral perverts, who have deliberately chosen lives of shame or through their own actions have been forced by society into an open confession of sexual irregularity. These are the natural prostitutes, but they have generally furnished only a small part of the number. The demand, if strong and persistent, will create a supply; in fact, as we have just pointed out, it has done that in the past

by drawing on the ranks of slavery and of alien populations, and is doing it to-day by drawing on certain elements of society.

Biological and Psychological Causes.—Primary causes for immorality are found mainly in the human passions, and in the lack of ability to control or hold the passions in check. Also there must always be considered the desire for finery and luxury on the part of the female; and the fact that prostitution offers an easy method of procuring these luxuries often causes many to take up this life. The desire for excitement and the temptation to do the forbidden are also factors. Then, as we shall see in the next chapter, a large percentage of the present-day prostitutes are feeble-minded, and consequently lack the ability to control their natures and to withstand temptation. In the past, prostitutes have been largely ignorant, illiterate persons, with the exception of those who were forced into it by slavery and other violent methods. The natural prostitutes enter the profession from biological or psychological reasons, because of innate or acquired perversities of nature. These causes are undoubtedly stronger on the demand side than upon the supply side, because the demand is wholly biological and psychological in its origin.

Economic Causes.—Among the present-day economic causes are such conditions as low wages, the large monetary returns from this life, and other industrial conditions. The wages paid by many of the employers of female labor, such as department stores, are inadequate, and hence either compel other means of support, or force the worker to live on a scale which means malnutrition, lack of amusement, insufficient clothing, and a dreariness of existence which at times becomes unendurable. To the worker who has no other means of supplementing a slender income, prostitution unfortunately offers an easy method of obtaining more money. While the majority of women will prefer starvation to such a means of livelihood, the pressure of poverty and the tremendous temptation is often too much for some with weaker powers

of resistance. Then too often there apparently is no hope of bettering one's economic condition, and the worker, who at first abhors such a life, weakens and succumbs to temptation.

Besides, under our present industrial regime there is unfortunately a large male population in our cities and industrial centers, whose earnings are too small to support a family upon the scale which their standard of living demands; as a result marriage is postponed or renounced. In order to satisfy their passions, they frequent houses of prostitution, and thus keep up the demand side. Under our present program of educating people to the dangers from venereal disease, this demand is slowly being cut down, but in the past it has been a strong factor in the problem. It has been increased by the absence of local restraint or knowledge of one's actions by relatives or neighbors, a source of restraint which is found in rural neighborhoods.

Compulsion.—As in the past, compulsion is still a cause of prostitution, although not to the extent it was under slavery and serfdom. Compulsion is both direct and indirect. The demand for women to fill the ranks of prostitutes who die has caused the organization of what is generally known as the "white slave traffic," by which women are forced into this life. Because of the efforts of the government to break up this traffic, it is not carried on in such a bold and successful manner as formerly. But heretofore this business was organized like any legitimate business, having its corps of cadets and procurers, who by means of trickery, offers of employment, promises of marriage, or mock marriages, beguiled innocent victims to their ruin, or by kidnaping and coercion, filled the ranks with recruits. Immigrant women and country girls coming to the city were the ones preyed upon the most, because of their ignorance of the new conditions and dangers, and their consequent inability to cope with them. Those receiving starvation wages were also sought and enticed into the life. Often victims were simply captured and reduced to submission by force and

violence. Houses of prostitution regularly used violent means, including chains, the lash, starvation, depriving of clothing, and employment of ruffians, to reduce their recruits to submission. So well-organized was the traffic, that regular prices were paid for girls, ranging from fifty to one hundred dollars each, depending upon the attractiveness of the victim. Girls who lapsed from the paths of virtue were also forced into this life by family and social ostracism, although the men who ruined them were permitted to remain in the best society. Compulsion has always been employed to keep women in a life of shame after they had once entered it; direct means being used by the brothel keeper, and indirect, subtle ostracism being employed by society to force back into prostitution all who ever practiced it.

Effects of Immorality.—1. *Disease.*—The two leading diseases, spread through prostitution, are syphilis and gonorrhea, both of which date back to antiquity. Both are germ diseases, the former being contracted through blood contact and the latter through the tissues. While both are the results of immorality, syphilis may be contracted in other ways than sexual intercourse, such as the use of infected drinking cups, towels, bed clothing, and water-closet seats. Both can be cured by long and patient treatment, but generally this is not completed, and the poison remains dormant in the system, for years after the disease has been apparently cured. This is especially true of syphilis, which has the peculiarity of appearing by stages, often many years apart. While syphilis is generally feared because of its horrible features in the last stages of the disease, and while gonorrhea is often looked upon as a local ailment and of minor importance, even at times being considered as of much the same nature as a cold, gonorrhea is, in fact, much the more serious of the two, both in regard to its effects upon society and because of its insusceptibility to cure. The effects of both diseases upon the offspring are terrible. Eighty per cent of infantile blindness is due to these troubles, both of them being

contributory. Syphilis is especially deadly to the fœtus, causing its death or malformation; in fact, hospital records show death-rates as high as sixty to eighty-six per cent for children when the parents were afflicted with syphilis. While less destructive to the offspring, gonorrhea is more serious to the wife and especially destructive to the female organs of reproduction; it is the leading cause of male sterility to-day. In addition to one-child marriages, where conception took place before the ravages of diseases were visible, nearly sixty per cent of all involuntary sterile marriages are due to these two diseases. Also sixty per cent of all operations upon women for female troubles are occasioned by sexual diseases. Both have hereditary effects; in fact, the effects of syphilis are inherited to the third generation. Then, too, both diseases weaken the constitution and thus leave the system liable to such diseases as tuberculosis, cancer, and nervous disorders.

When it is considered that some of the best authorities claim that from six to eighteen per cent of the male populations of different countries have syphilis, and from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent have gonorrhea, the seriousness of the problem is apparent. Gonorrhea is perhaps the most widespread disease among men. European records show that a few years ago seventy-five per cent of the men had it. It has been estimated in the past that from fifty to sixty per cent of the men in the United States have had either one or the other disease. This ratio (possibly too high) has fallen during the past few years, owing largely to education concerning the matter, and to the increasingly greater demands made by women upon the men they marry.

The decline in the United States was shown by the records of our enlisted and drafted men in the recent war. If these records are accurate, only about ten per cent of our male population have these diseases in a serious form.

The effects upon the birth-rate of nations, as well as upon the health of individuals and the morals of society,

are, of course, terrible. Venereal disease is probably the greatest cause of the decreasing birth-rate in France. In every country where records have been kept it reveals its devastating effects upon the manhood of the nation. And its indirect influences are hardly less harmful.

2. *Business Organization.*—As has been suggested, prostitution has caused the organization of brothels, which date back to ancient history, and regular methods of supplying the trade with women, now commonly known as the "white slave traffic." This organization interwove itself with many other enterprises. It was vitally connected with the liquor traffic, which fostered prostitution in order to sell more liquor; while prostitution in turn encouraged liquor in order to stir up the passions of people. Many saloons catered to this traffic because of the increased profits; and prostitutes were often hired by saloons in order to stimulate the sale of liquor. The traffic was also interwoven with politics and police administration, and utilized them in defending and protecting the business in much the same manner that the liquor business did.

3. *Family Disorganization.*—While not always mentioned in the bills for divorce, sexual disease and immorality are among the greatest causes of divorce and the breaking up of homes. The laws of nearly all modern nations recognize this as sufficient ground for divorce. It is also a cause of much marital unhappiness and neglect of children, even when homes are not broken up.

4. *Effect Upon Morals.*—Perhaps the greatest effect, although not the easiest to point out, is the effect upon the morals of society. It is responsible for the "double standard" which has existed from patriarchal times down to the present day, and which has not been abolished to any great extent even now. Under this system man could do as he pleased, be as immoral as he cared to, and yet pass in the best of society; but if woman departed from the paths of chastity in the slightest, she was immediately ostracized. Women themselves have been much more severe in this ostracism than have men, accept-

ing the sexual irregularity among men as a matter of course, but never forgiving it in members of their own sex. In many sections of this country, especially in the Southern states, this double standard is still binding, and in no place has it been entirely dispensed with. But there is a tendency towards a single standard for both sexes; it is being established not only by insisting upon a higher standard for men, but unfortunately by lowering the standard for women.

The moral effect extends to all phases of our life. It has corrupted police forces; it has adulterated our business and our legal and ethical codes. It has not only corrupted those who are connected with the evil, but it has affected the whole social fabric. How great has been this moral degeneracy we cannot say, because it does not lend itself to measurement; but without the social evil our morals should be on a vastly higher plane.

Treatment of Prostitution.—Society has always recognized prostitution as an evil, and has continually taken steps to eliminate, check, control, or regulate it. These attempts cannot be discussed chronologically, because several methods generally are found at the same period of time, even in the same country. Also it cannot be treated altogether by countries, because most countries have tried several methods. We can, however, sum up our treatment under three heads: repression, regulation, and prevention.

1. *Repression.*—At first, repression was exercised through the family; it has been the usual method of procedure in patriarchal countries. This was to protect the purity of the family; and the general method was to execute or ostracize the offending woman, no attention being paid to the offending man. This was the Jewish method of handling the problem, although the Jews treated it from the religious point of view as well as the family one. Throughout the Middle Ages laws and ordinances were passed against prostitution. The bulk of these were aimed at the woman in much the same manner that laws were aimed at criminals and beggars.

The prostitute was whipped, branded, put into a cage and ducked until nearly dead from drowning, compelled to wear distinguishing dress, imprisoned, and exposed—often naked—to the public gaze and torment. But all these measures failed, because no attempt was made to prevent the conditions which produced the evil. Yet this method still persists, especially in the United States in the form of fines and imprisonment. While it probably has some effect in checking or holding the evil within bounds, it cannot solve the problem.

2. *Regulation.*—Considering the problem as a more or less necessary evil, many countries have attempted to regulate it, in order to minimize the evil and to protect society. This policy is illustrated in an elementary way in the history of Greece and Rome, and also among some primitive peoples. It was tried out in mediæval times in various places in Europe, in order to keep in check vicious conduct on the part of citizen women, and was thus an attempt to protect the families of citizens, to preserve public order, and to obtain revenue. Houses of prostitution were legalized, in fact often licensed, and prostitutes were compelled either to live in certain sections of the towns or to wear a distinguishing dress, such as a badge. The revenues obtained were made use of, not only by civic, but even by religious bodies. These restrictions were imposed in order to make the trade less profitable and to lessen the temptation, as well as to fill the treasury.

In modern times regulation has been tried to protect both the family and the patron of the prostitute from disease; in fact, the chief feature of modern regulation has been the attempt to prevent infection from disease. For years France and Germany have licensed prostitutes, Paris adopting the custom of licensing in 1828, although long before that time lists of prostitutes were kept. In both Paris and Berlin weekly or bi-weekly examination of prostitutes for disease is made, and enforced treatment is provided, in case disease is found. While attempts are made to list all prostitutes, Paris is said to

have from 50,000 to 60,000 prostitutes while only about 6,000 are registered; for Berlin the figures are from 20,000 to 30,000 with only 3300 registered. Also, the attempt to stamp out and prevent the infection from disease is a failure, because those who know they have disease do not register and generally escape detection, for a time at least, and also because examination does not always reveal the presence of disease. At first the listing of prostitutes led to many abuses, often forcing women into this life when they slipped from the paths of chastity, or even at times upon suspicion that they had done so. Now, however, attempts are made by the police to prevent the novice from entering this life; in fact, minors are enrolled only when they are known to be depraved, and attempts are made to permit those capable of reform to re-enter the ranks of society. The present trend is towards the abandonment of the policy of state regulation, as a means of dealing with prostitution. Many countries have some such regulation, but it is employed chiefly because the officials do not know any better method of handling the evil. Modern regulation generally includes some form of segregation, the prostitutes being either compelled to live in certain sections of the city, or forbidden to enter certain sections, in the hope of thus limiting contamination and thereby protecting the rest of society. This has been as far as regulation in the United States has extended, and as a result of this, coupled with economic conditions, there have developed in practically every large city in the United States at various times segregated vice districts, some cities, such as New York, often having several such districts.

Many American cities have at various times and in different ways adopted, for a while at least, methods of licensing houses of prostitution, as, for example, by means of the payment of fines at regular intervals. More frequently, however, the toleration of such places is the result of graft in connection with politicians and police. Most of the leading cities in the United States have

abolished their segregated districts, and the results have been more than favorable, although at times such action apparently has not improved the situation, because it has forced prostitutes more upon the street and into residential districts, and thus has made the evil more conspicuous even if the results are not so bad. When segregated districts are abolished, this law has to be supplemented by measures to prevent street walking and the scattering of the prostitutes in other parts of the city. On the whole, regulation does not regulate; at least it does not regulate satisfactorily.

3. *Prevention.*—As in other social problems, present efforts are directed towards prevention of prostitution rather than to its suppression or regulation. While this evil can never be entirely abolished so long as human nature is as it is at present—the worst features of the situation can be eliminated and the evil can be minimized. Already the worst phases, especially the worst features of the "white slave traffic," have been greatly mitigated; no longer does this business loom up as the terrible menace to unprotected womanhood as formerly. The percentage of men who patronize the houses of prostitution has also greatly diminished. Two methods for prevention are now employed: (1) education of the people to the dangers of prostitution; and (2) the removal of the causes of prostitution.

(1) Education.—In the past not only were young people kept by their parents in ignorance of sex dangers, but anything bearing on the subject was strictly tabooed as a subject of conversation in polite society. Parents allowed their sons to go out into the world without any knowledge of the dangers from venereal disease, and at the same time permitted their daughters to be exposed to the dangers of abduction and seduction by agents of the "white slave traffic." They were also permitted to marry men infected with venereal disease, often in its worst forms, thus entering upon lives of humiliation and suffering, to say nothing of the effect upon the next generation. Seldom did even the most conscientious parents instruct

their children in such matters. Instead they forced them to obtain their information from vile and unscientific sources or through their own personal experience. It is no wonder that their sons visited houses of prostitution in order to satisfy their curiosity, and thus became infected with venereal diseases; or that their daughters either married men similarly affected, or were caught by the nets set by the traffickers. No more glaring example of the failure of parents to carry out their duty to their children has probably ever existed than this failure to instruct in regard to the dangers and temptations of the sexual evil. Girls were not supposed to know that such an evil as prostitution existed; their minds were supposed to be kept in a pure state, at least until it came time for them to suffer by it, as a large per cent were forced to do sooner or later.

Fortunately for society, these sins of omission on the part of parents are becoming a thing of the past. Society no longer taboos instruction upon these subjects, and the present generation is much better fitted to resist this evil. Modern schools are also attempting to give some instruction in sex matters, although as yet this has seldom been effectively done. Books and magazine articles are appearing upon the subject. Churches and religious organizations are also imparting knowledge on the topic; they are often too late, however, to do much good, and possibly they fail to reach those who need it most. In former times ministers knew little about society—at least the seminaries gave them little training of this sort—and they were incapable of dealing with the problem. But now the seminaries are slowly, if somewhat reluctantly, giving the ministerial students instruction which will be of practical use to them in the ministry. Ministers are thus becoming better able to grapple with the problem. In short, the members of the coming generation are getting some instruction as to the dangers of the evil, instruction which their parents and grandparents did not receive.

In the past men always demanded chastity of the

women they married. Now women are commencing to demand the same of the men they marry, and in the future women will in all probability be as strict in this regard as are men. This will probably go further towards doing away with the evil than anything else, for if men know that it will be practically impossible to marry the women they want, if they have lived improper lives, they will be extremely careful in regard to sowing their wild oats. Then, too, if men know the dangers of disease and the effects of it upon their wives and children, they will be more careful in regard to their conduct. In the past they were usually ignorant of these dangers till it was too late. As a crystallization of public opinion along this line, some of our states have passed—and in all probability in the future more will pass—so-called "eugenic laws" forbidding the marriage of people infected with venereal disease. At present most of these laws have defects and are poorly enforced, but the coming years will probably see the remedying of such defects. Education of the people is necessary before we can expect the enactment of adequate laws, or the enforcement of them after enactment. Education offers us the most effective means of combating this evil.

(2) Removal of the causes.—After we understand the problem and know what conditions contribute to the production of the evil, we can effectively deal with them. Along this line comes the adoption of minimum wage scales, especially for women, in order to remove the terrible temptation due to economic necessity. Proper building laws and the elimination of slum conditions will be of tremendous value, because in many of our present tenements life is so sordid and privacy is so hard to obtain that vice is almost inevitable. The government has already taken steps to protect immigrant women. Y. W. C. A. organizations are also aiding in the protecting of girls coming to cities, as are also all our settlements. The "white slave traffic" is being stamped out more and more vigorously; but we need yet stricter laws, severer penalties, and still more vigorous prosecution. Parks,

playgrounds, social centers, and settlements are furnishing more healthful recreation than formerly was obtainable, and so the sordidness and loneliness of the life of the wage-earner are being reduced. As education upon the subject spreads, we can expect to find more and more successful efforts for the removal of the causes of prostitution.

While in the past efforts were aimed at the supply, without paying any attention to the demand side, modern methods are striking at the demand for prostitution and are thus aiming at the real roots of the problem. If the demand is eliminated, the supply will automatically disappear. While the evil can never be eradicated, it is by no means hopeless and can be reduced to a minimum.

Thanks to the recent war, we have done much towards the elimination of this evil by curing the diseases found among the soldiers, by educating the soldiers and the civilian population to its dangers, and compelling cities near army camps to clean up their vice districts.

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CHAPTER XXV

DEFECTIVES

A problem which in the past has attracted little attention but which is one of the most serious confronting the American people is that of feeble-mindedness. And yet it is a problem which lends itself easily to treatment; in fact the danger from it can be easily prevented, for the plan of treatment has been more or less definitely worked out.

What is Feeble-mindedness?—The first question which confronts us is, What is feeble-mindedness? Where are we going to draw the line? In certain communities a person might be perfectly able to keep up the pace, but when transferred to an environment where life is more exacting he might be classed as subnormal. In one class in school a pupil might be able to do good work, but if he should be transferred to a more advanced class he might immediately become the dunce. In other words, the question is to a great extent a relative one. Yet by means of the Binet tests there have been marked out three more or less definite classes of defectives, according to the mental age of the person; that is, according as a person passes these tests with the same agility and accuracy as shown by a normal child of a given age. It is not that the defective knows only as much as a child of that age, for a feeble-minded person of the mental age of eight years remains at the age of eight for the rest of his life; while the normal child is eight but one year, moving on to nine, and during that one year he cannot acquire as much knowledge as the feeble-minded acquires in the twenty or thirty years that he remains at that age, during which time he may acquire quite a fund of information—that is, such information as an

eight-year-old would be able to acquire. The classification is made on the basis of mental ability. The three classes into which feeble-minded are divided are as follows:

1. *Idiots,* or those who never exceed the mentality possessed by the normal child of three years. They not only have little use or understanding of language, but are unable to guard themselves against common dangers, such as falling into fire. Some are not able to walk, to sit up, or even to know when they are hungry or cold. The writer well remembers a ward in the feeble-minded school at Waverly, Massachusetts, in which there were a score or more of this class, the majority of whom would starve to death with food all around them, or freeze unless pains were taken to see that they were covered up and kept warm. In other words, they were great babies and had to be cared for as such. It is this class in regard to which the question is always brought up, Would it not be better quietly to put them out of their misery? This class comprises about ten per cent of the feeble-minded population.

2. *Imbeciles,* or those possessing minds of children from three to eight years of age. People of this class are able to protect themselves against the ordinary dangers of life, such as being run over by a team, falling into fire, or falling and injuring themselves, but they do not possess sufficient brain power to do the commonplace work of life. They are able to play if the play is directed; they can easily be made happy; but they are unable to master more than the bare rudiments of an education, never being able to read or write with any fluency or speed. They form a class which is not able to take care of itself in ordinary society, but which is very easily cared for in the proper institutions.

3. *Morons,* or those having mentalities of from eight to twelve. They are able to do the ordinary work of life, to do customary tasks, and in general to pass in society without attracting much attention. But for this very reason, this class is the most dangerous of all, for it is the one which furnishes many of the criminals, a large

percentage of our prostitutes, the delinquent children in our juvenile courts and reform schools, and the dull and backward children in our schools. Morons lack the will power to keep out of trouble; they have not the mental firmness to resist temptation, for to be moral or law abiding requires a certain amount of strength of mind. It is this class which is not cared for by our feeble-minded schools, and which is the dangerous one to society, for it is the one whose members reproduce so rapidly. The idiot does not reproduce, and the imbecile seldom mates, but the moron not only does marry but—what is more serious—reproduces out of wedlock.

Extent of Feeble-mindedness.—As to the extent of feeble-mindedness we have no reliable figures to offer, estimates varying from one-third of one per cent to three and four per cent of our population; probably two per cent is more accurate, and this would include many high grade morons who sometimes manage to care for themselves. The danger is not in our present number, but in the rapidity with which it is increasing. While from eighty-five to ninety-five per cent of our insane are cared for in asylums, only from ten to fifteen per cent of the feeble-minded are so cared for. We do not fear physical violence from them in the way we do from the insane, for in that sense they are harmless. While each thousand of the most fit of our population produce in fifty years 667 descendants, each thousand of the least fit produce 3650 descendants, or almost six times as many. The moron has the physique, the passions, and the power to reproduce, but he lacks the ability to control his passions, and as a result he leaves a large progeny. Now every defective is not only a potential delinquent but a probable one, depending upon the hands into which he falls.

Feeble-mindedness and Crime and Vice.—At present we have no control over the feeble-minded until he or she becomes delinquent; and then control is by means of the reform school, reformatory, or workhouse. From one-fourth to one-half of the children appearing before the juvenile courts are mentally deficient; our reforma-

tories and reform schools are full of them. Following are some estimates as to the percentage of feeble-mindedness in some of our leading reformatories based on mental tests:[1]

Institution—	*Per Cent Defective*
St. Cloud Reformatory, Minnesota	54
Rahway Reformatory, New Jersey (Binet test)	46
Bedford Reformatory, New York, (under 11 years)	80
Lancaster, Massachusetts (girls' reformatory)	60
Lancaster, Massachusetts (50 paroled girls)	82
Lyman School for Boys, Westboro, Massachusetts	28
Pentonville, Illinois, Juveniles	40
Massachusetts, Reformatory, Concord	52
Newark, New Jersey, Juvenile Court	66
Elmira Reformatory, New York	70
Geneva, Illinois, (Binet test)	89
Ohio Boys' School (Binet test)	70
Ohio Girls' School (Binet test)	70
Virginia, Three Reformatories (Binet test)	79
New Jersey State Home for Girls	75
Glen Mills Schools, Pennsylvania, Girls' Dept	72

It will be noticed that the percentage of feeble-minded is higher, as a rule, in the female schools than in the male institutions. This is owing to the fact that the feeble-minded girl is more liable to get into trouble than the feeble-minded boy; though it might seem from the data given above that there are more feeble-minded girls than boys, the opposite is true. Feeble-minded girls have less will power in sex matters, and are the prey of unscrupulous men, while the defective man has little attraction for the normal woman. It is generally estimated that fully fifty per cent of our prostitutes are mentally defective. Goddard asserts that at least fifty per cent of the criminals are mentally defective, although most authorities estimate that only from twenty-five to fifty per cent are such. Feeble-minded people are not by nature more vicious or criminal than other people. The ordinary mentally defective person is docile and easy to manage. The trouble with them as a class is that they lack control; they are unable to withstand temptation,

[1] Goddard, *Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences*, p. 9.

and so fall easily into vice or crime. They are unable to distinguish clearly between right and wrong. Therefore, instead of being regarded as ordinary criminals they should be treated as children or as insane, and should not be held accountable for their actions. The feeble-minded person has the body of an adult but the mind of a child, and it is illogical and unjust to expect as much from him as from a normal adult.

The same condition is true of the mentally defective in regard to alcoholism. Since there is less ability to withstand temptation, the feeble-minded person readily falls a victim to drink. Now since the liquor traffic has been prohibited in the United States, this temptation is much less. Under the old order of things every feeble-minded person was a potential drunkard. All that was needed was to put him in the way of temptation.

Feeble-mindedness and Poverty.—The connection of feeble-mindedness with poverty and pauperism is much the same as with crime. The feeble-minded person lacks the mental capacity to make a living. Under our present economic system the race is for the strong, and the weak are ground under the feet of the strong. The idiot is incapable of doing anything and must become a public or a private charge. The imbecile is able to do simple things, but is not prepared really to support himself under his own direction. The moron is able to work at ordinary labor, but is incapable of planning things, and is therefore unable to direct his life in a rational manner. All of these classes sooner or later are compelled to look to others for help. Some are aided by relatives, but others become public charges. In nearly all of our states, under the present requirements for marriage, the moron and even the imbecile are permitted to marry and thus add to the problem. Some of these might be able to look after themselves, but when it comes to supporting a family, it is impossible. Added to this is the complicating fact that feeble-minded people have large families, most of whom lead a wretched existence. Their hardships are sometimes alleviated by neighbors and friends, but

the problem remains unsolved. Others fall back upon the almshouse or public relief. Goddard thinks it is highly probable that fifty per cent of the pauperism in this country is due to mental defectiveness.[2]

As we indicated before, feeble-mindedness is a relative matter, it being hard to draw the line between those who are defective and those who are normal. It is believed that many, if not the majority, of our ne'er-do-wells are such because they lack the mental capacity to be anything else. Though they may have the ability to work, they lack the ability to plan life intelligently. Their judgment is poor, and their mental capacity is so low that they are unable to adjust themselves to their environment. They may be able to get along during times of prosperity, but when difficulties arise they are incapable of surmounting them.

Feeble-mindedness and Education.—Our schools are full of pupils who are unable to learn. While many of them are backward because of laziness, poor health, insufficient food, and lack of care, others are defective mentally. They have not the same ability to learn as the normal child. They cannot think in abstract terms and they are slow of comprehension or weak in memory, being unable to recall to-morrow what they learn to-day. These pupils clog the schools and handicap the school system. It seems almost useless to try to teach such pupils; they simply are unable to make any progress. The presence of such children is not only an injustice to themselves, since they need special attention, but a hardship to the normal students, who are held back by them.

The problem of truancy is another in which feeble-mindedness is involved. Many children become truants because they cannot succeed in school.

Causes of Feeble-mindedness.—It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the exact importance of each of the various causes of feeble-mindedness. The alleged cause is often not the true cause. But the best authorities agree in saying that at least two-thirds of all

[2] Goddard, *Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences*, p. 17.

feeblemindedness is due to heredity—to the presence of bad stock. Feeble-mindedness is a characteristic which can be treated as a unit; as such it has been found to obey the laws of Mendelism, although there is some doubt as to whether it is a dominant or a recessive characteristic. If the mentally defective were not allowed to propagate, we should stamp out at one blow two-thirds of our future feeble-mindedness. The other third is due to many causes, such as accident or disease. There is a type of feeble-mindedness, known as the Mongolian, because of the resemblance to Mongolian physical characteristics, which occurs more often in the better families than in the poorer or less capable families. It apparently cannot be explained, except in individual cases.

Sometimes the mental defect is due to malnutrition before birth, or to a blow or accident to the fœtus. Sometimes it is attributed to hard labor or the use of instruments at birth. Yet often under such circumstances the child is perfectly normal. In investigations made by Goddard, nineteen per cent of causes were attributed to accidents, of which eight and two-tenths per cent happened before birth and ten and six-tenths per cent after birth. Five and three-tenths per cent were attributed to spinal meningitis, which in the past has been a common disease and one which was extremely fatal. It is estimated that the mortality ran as high as seventy-five per cent and that of the twenty-five per cent who survived, ninety-seven per cent became mentally defective. Under present methods of treatment the mortality has been reduced to twenty-five per cent, but the number who are affected mentally is as yet undetermined. Syphilis is another cause, but due to difficulty in obtaining data, the exact percentage is unobtainable. Consanguinity has been suggested as a cause, but investigation does not confirm this suggestion. If the stock was good it seldom has any bad effect, but it has when the stock is questionable; in other words, consanguinity may increase feeble-mindedness, but seldom causes it.

Treatment of Feeble-mindedness.—In the past the treatment of feeble-minded persons was one of neglect. Those

unable to care for themselves were either left to the care of their relatives, or were thrust into almshouses, along with all other dependants. They were the prey of the stronger, or became an object of sport to the community. The town fool has always been a familiar figure and is so even to this day, an object of torment for all the boys of the community. Those who were unable to do anything were generally left to the public to support. Special schools for the feeble-minded have existed for a long time, for upwards of a century, in fact, but the trouble has been that all who belong there have not been sent there. In the United States especially we have no laws compelling their segregation, and they have been so cared for only when their relatives were willing and when there was plenty of room in special institutions. Another great difficulty has been that the institutions have not had the room to care for the feeble-minded population, having waiting lists longer than the lists of inmates. Moreover, those who have been admitted have generally been the idiots and low-grade imbeciles who were a burden to their relatives; and so were not wanted. They, as a matter of fact, are the least important, for it makes little difference whether they live or not, and then they never reproduce. The ones who most need to be confined—the high-grade imbeciles and the morons—are cared for least; and yet it is in them that the principal danger lies. It might not be a bad plan for the idiots to be moved out of our special schools and left in the almshouses, or cared for by the towns or counties, and for the schools for feeble-minded to be reserved for the care of the higher classes. If parents object to institutional care there is usually no remedy, and many parents do object through ignorance, not knowing that the child is better off in an institution where he is protected from those with whom he is unable to compete.

The modern method is to segregate these unfortunates from society at large, protect them, make their lives as happy as possible, train them to the extent their minds will allow, and make them useful and either self-support-

ing or as nearly so as their capacity will permit. The boys in the brick-yard of the New Jersey school for the feeble-minded at Vineland cost the state before the war only about sixty-nine dollars apiece annually, and produced one hundred dollars' worth of brick each. In the other departments the school is nearly self-supporting; in some, more than self-supporting. Most well-managed schools for the feeble-minded do nearly all their own work, produce most of the things they require, and sell besides some articles for outside consumption; so their cost of upkeep is very small. Work is made as pleasant and congenial as possible, most of the work being done as part of a game. Children alternate their work so as to avoid monotony, spending an hour or so in the school room, then an hour or so in the cobbler's shop or in whatever place they work, then an hour in play, with a competent instructor. The study or work is not allowed to grow wearisome. In the matter of actual instruction less is accomplished than in teaching them to be efficient workers, but by means of a play method a great deal is done.

Madame Montessori borrowed from a Paris school for feeble-minded the system which she gave to the world. It is merely an adaptation to the normal child of methods which for over seventy years had been in vogue for the teaching of the feeble-minded. The senses of touch, taste, and smell are brought into use to supplement that of sight. Instead of dealing with abstract ideas or with imaginary things, the instructors use real loaves of bread, bricks, or apples; and they so manipulate them that the child will readily grasp the point to be learned. Such children should never be compelled to do things, but taught to want to do things. In this way they are often made very useful, especially in such work as caring for other children and doing simple tasks. At Waverly, Massachusetts, the men as soon as they become grown are sent to another place, where they work at clearing land. This keeps them out in the open and enables them to pay for their keep, and, not being worked hard, they

are happy and contented. The majority of the institutions for the feeble-minded are very efficient. All that is needed is an extension of their equipment and the care of all feeble-minded, especially the morons, by the state. This requires proper legislation and adequate enforcement. Such persons should be kept in institutions for life except in cases of recovery, which is sometimes made possible through operations on the brain or spinal column.

Sterilization has at times been advocated for the feeble-minded, but is no longer, for it is inhuman and does not prevent the person from spreading disease even if he is not able to propagate. It gives too much power to others. Then it is unnecessary, for segregation is no hardship; in fact in most cases it is a blessing to the afflicted one, for it shelters him. Here he can be happy and useful. It is also cheaper for society, for outside of a school for feeble-minded such a person seldom is able to be self-supporting. Two-thirds of the cases of feeble-mindedness will thus be checked, and checked in a humane manner. Abolition of the liquor traffic and reduction of immorality will still further reduce the number of feeble-minded. In short, this problem can be readily handled. All that is needed is a little agitation, the proper legislation, and a small appropriation for initial investment. Afterwards there will be required only small yearly appropriations for upkeep, and even these in many cases may not be necessary. It is strange that a problem so easy of solution has been sadly neglected in the past.

Blindness and Deafness.—Blindness and deafness are common and important physical defects requiring attention. Between eighty and ninety per cent of the cases of blindness are caused by the venereal diseases. Blindness is held in check to a great extent by dropping mercurial solution in the eyes of new-born children. The remedy "606" is stopping to a certain extent the ravages of syphilis. In addition our widespread agitation against the social evil, and the advertising of the effects of

immorality are cutting down its extent slowly but steadily. In time we can look for a curtailment of blindness.[1] Deafness is slightly different. While it is inherited like other traits and obeys the laws of Mendelism, it is as yet not a dangerous problem; in fact a person who is deaf and dumb is very rare. These two problems can be greatly alleviated by proper education. The blind are taught by the sense of touch and raised letters. They can easily learn trades and in most cases earn a living without much trouble. The deaf are still better off, for through education they can not only be taught to understand others by lip-reading, but many can learn to speak. Then by means of special sign alphabets they can easily communicate; it is only a matter of inconvenience. When only one sense is lacking, the others easily supply it by becoming keener. Of course those thus afflicted are always handicapped, except in such arts as music, in which the blind seem to be perfectly able to hold their own. But education solves these problems very easily. They do not present the dangerous feature that feeble-mindedness does, for the blind and deaf have the same control over themselves as normal persons, and so do not propagate any faster than normal people—in fact, not so rapidly, because of the difficulty in finding partners. Moreover, blindness is not inherited, and deafness often is not.

Insanity.—It is beyond the purpose of this volume to attempt to define insanity, to discuss its various forms, or to enter into detailed consideration of its causes. Our purpose is merely to call attention to it as a type of defectiveness, and as a part of our treatment of the maladjustments of society. Insanity is a condition which affects the nervous system, and therefore the conduct of individuals. As in the case of feeble-mindedness, it is

[1] The 1920 census gives 52,617 blind persons in the United States, as opposed to 57,272 enumerated in 1910. (Both of these estimates are probably too low.) Of these 30,199 were males and 22,418 were females; 45,783 were white, 6,306 negro and 488 Indian, thus showing higher ratios for negroes and Indians.

extremely difficult to draw the line between sanity and insanity; in fact no sharp line can be drawn. The perfect man mentally is about as rare as the perfect man physically; yet this does not mean that those who are imperfect are insane. Many people are peculiar in traits and habits and are known as queer in their temperament, who are by no means considered insane. Even if a person is eccentric and markedly different from his fellows, he is not necessarily insane. From the legal point of view, if a person leads a normal life and can successfully attend to his own business, preserve a fair degree of peace with his relatives and neighbors, and is able to share in the ordinary functions of society, he is perfectly sane, even if he be peculiar in a hundred different ways. If a person cannot attend to his own affairs, or if he becomes dangerous to those around him, he may then be declared insane. Because insanity is a relative thing, it is extremely difficult to obtain data in regard to it, and any statistics which are offered are open to criticism.

It is often asserted that insanity is a disease of civilization; and in support of this theory statistics showing the increase of insanity are advanced, data which seem to indicate that as the strain of civilization increases more persons are unable to withstand the pressure and consequently break under it. But when the facts are carefully examined, it is found that a great deal if not all of the increase is due to the fact that an increasingly larger percentage of insane find their way into the asylums and thus are detected and counted. Also because of humane treatment the insane live longer than formerly. It is observed that more manual laborers become insane than professional people. In fact, the professional men and women who undergo the greatest strain, such as teachers, lawyers, and physicians, present less than one-half the amount of insanity found among laborers; and the lowest rate of all exists among teachers, who undergo probably the greatest mental pressure. It is found that monotony of work is far more injurious than mental

strain. A person can endure strain if there is variety. Because of this fact we find a great deal of insanity among farmers and especially farmers' wives.

There are many forms of insanity. Some of the leading ones are mania, in which insanity takes an active form, such as suicidal or homicidal mania; melancholia; paranoia, in which the afflicted person appears lucid or normal on most subjects but has delusions in regard to certain subjects, such as religion; dementia, a general decay of the mind, often following some other form of insanity; and paresis, or general paralysis. Students of the subject have made many subdivisions of these forms, and also recognize a large number of other forms of apparent insanity. Insanity is also connected with feeble-mindedness and epilepsy. Theoretically the distinction between feeble-mindedness and insanity is an easy one: those who never attain normal development are classified as feeble-minded, and those who are born normal and attain a normal mind but lose it subsequently are classed as insane. However, in practice it is often difficult to draw this line. Epilepsy, as we shall see later, often leads to, or ends in, mental incapacity.

The causes of insanity are many and varied; the subject is one over which there has been endless dispute. The following are among the causes advanced: epilepsy, mental distress, violent emotion, alcoholism, drugs, influenza, mental strain, senility, congenital defects, heredity, injuries, rheumatism, diseases such as tuberculosis and syphilis, child-birth, religious excitement, monotony, overwork, poor diet, homesickness, jealousy, fright, and business troubles. Thus there are two main groups of causes—heredity and mental strain. Malnutrition and poor functioning of the different organs of the body are nearly always accompaniments of insanity.

Treatment of the Insane.—With primitive man insane persons were generally deserted or killed, although in some cases they were protected. They were generally mistreated until the Middle Ages, when they were re-

garded as criminals, and confined in jails and dungeons, loaded with chains, and compelled to endure every indignity. Such methods have been outlawed, and the insane are now looked upon as unfortunate rather than as delinquent, although it has been only a few years since this country was aroused over the brutal methods of treatment in many of our insane asylums. The care of the insane is now considered a public duty, it being thought unwise to leave this work to private enterprise or philanthropic bounty. Former methods of restraint, including cell, dungeon, cage, ball and chain, strait-jacket, whip, shower-bath, bleeding, and starving, have given way to kindness. It is very rare that any other methods have to be used. Insanity is not considered the horrible calamity it once was; much of it is now thought curable. Upon admission to the ordinary asylum to-day, the patient is taken to the hospital, where the case is diagnosed and, if it is found to be subject to treatment, is handled accordingly, either in the hospital or elsewhere. If an insane person recovers, it is usually during his first year of insanity. So it is wise and economical to be generous—even lavish—during the first few months, because in this way the state is saved a large future expense. Acute cases need individual treatment, particularly baths, varied diets, and massage, in much the same way that any ordinary sick person does. Chronic cases need custodial care, but fifty per cent of the insane are quiet and orderly; many are capable of working. Most of our best-equipped insane asylums have farms attached. where many of the inmates work. Of the methods of construction of asylum buildings, the one most commonly followed in the past has been the large, rectangular dormitory, divided into wards, by which some kind of classification of inmates is made. While this plan attracted attention because it was economical and conducive to a feeling of pride on the part of the residents of the town in which the asylum was located, it is not the best type of construction, because it does not give sufficient opportunity for individual treatment. Similar to this and in

many ways superior to it is the pavilion plan, with wings two stories in height, thus giving better light and ventilation.

The approved method to-day is the cottage plan, for much the same reasons that it is the approved method of almshouse construction. In Belgium the colony system was made famous at Gheel, and it has been adopted in several European countries. The bulk of the patients are taken into the homes of the peasants and treated as members of the family. This, however, would not suit American conditions. In Scotland about one-fifth of the patients are boarded out in private families under definite supervision. Here they are treated as members of the family. This method has been followed to some extent in Massachusetts with some of the best patients, with good results. But modern methods include hospital treatment for those capable of recovery, custodial treatment under the cottage plan for chronic cases, and, where possible, colonization on farms of those capable of that work and in need of outdoor life. The physical side is looked after very well at the present day, but the psychological side is often neglected. Sufficient recreation and amusement are too often lacking, although in most asylums efforts are now being made to remedy this fault.

Epilepsy.—Epilepsy is a disease which is receiving more attention now than formerly. There are different forms of this disease and so various classes of epileptics. Some are violent and liable to injure themselves or their companions, while others have the disease in a mild form. Some are able to carry on the ordinary work of life and maintain themselves; while others, because of the frequency and violence of the attacks, are unable to do so. Epilepsy is connected with feeble-mindedness; it is a cause of feeble-mindedness; while on the other hand some feeble-minded persons become epileptic. While epilepsy does not seriously affect the body, it affects the mind, as a rule, and often leads to feeble-mindedness. It is essentially a nervous disease and is hereditary to a marked degree, but it is also caused by sudden fright, prolonged

mental strain, over-work, and debauchery. As noted above, it is often a cause of insanity.

While formerly either neglected or cared for only in individual cases by physicians, it is now being treated more and more in institutions or colonies. The first colony was at Bielefeld, Germany. Several colonies have been established in the United States, usually with a farm attached, such as the Craig colony at Sonyea, New York. The modern treatment calls for the cottage plan with an outdoor life, or some form of farm colony, where individual attention can be given and the mental strain and humiliation reduced to a minimum.

On the whole, insanity and epilepsy are not the dangerous problem for society that feeble-mindedness is. The insane are kept in institutions, and the problem in connection with them is largely one of wise and humane treatment. With epilepsy the case is largely the same. We recognize the problem in much the same manner as that dealing with insanity and are at last taking steps to prevent its injuring society. As to feeble-mindedness, we have not yet awakened to the danger of the situation; yet this problem is by far the most serious of the three.

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Part Six

CHAPTER XXVI

PROGRESS

Many attempts have been made to define progress, such as "an increase in human happiness";[1] "the improvement of society"; "social betterment"; "the conquest of nature"; and "the accumulation of knowledge." Our purpose will not be to add to any such list, but to try to gain some conception of what progress is, and then to see if society actually is progressing.

Conception of Progress.—Progress might be interpreted as a greater assurance of the survival of the race or the preservation of human society. At first man lived on a very slender margin of safety, being in danger of extermination at almost any time and liable to perish in the face of any great disaster. Anthropologists tell us that countless groups or bands of people must have perished utterly, either being exterminated by stronger bands, or dying as the result of some disaster. Biblical history and legends of many lands tell us of a deluge in the early history of man which nearly caused the complete obliteration of mankind. Anthropologists also tell us of other disasters and the destruction of races at other times, such as the extermination of the Neanderthal man by the Cro-Magnon. Even history of comparatively recent times tells us of disasters and conflicts which have been very destructive; like the various waves of Mongolian migration, the campaigns of Attila, and the Mohammedan conquests.

[1] Ward, L. F., *Dynamic Sociology*, 11, 174-177.

The Black Death caused the loss of a large percentage of the population of Europe, and the recent World War threatened the retardation of society, while causing the death of millions. Even now some students point to a time in the near future when the world will be so densely populated that subsistence will be extremely difficult if not impossible; and some even go so far as to predict the extermination of society itself. Progress then would include the ability to combat such dangers and to guarantee future existence to society. While undoubtedly such a conception is a phase of progress, the elimination of danger is not all. Progress is more than an insurance policy. It is not merely a negative concept, but it is also positive and must offer some other goal than mere existence.

Progress is more than the mere survival of society; it must include a more complete life and offer a fuller existence. It must mean greater happiness, loftier conceptions of the meaning of life itself, and the more harmonious mingling of individuals in society. It must mean a better functioning of social institutions. These must not only hold individuals in check, but must offer more in return; they must serve as well as protect society. Progress includes not only the abolition of evils in society, but the promotion of a better and happier state of affairs. It is not limited to the mere securing of a greater abundance and better quality of food, of more and better clothing, of more commodious and comfortable houses, of shorter hours and more congenial conditions of labor, and of more sanitary and healthful environment, desirable as such conditions are. All these we strive for and must take into consideration in any conception of progress, but progress means more. It includes also more culture, better education, a greater production and appreciation of art, and the satisfaction of the æsthetic senses. It means still more, for it must include a loftier and more general diffusion of moral and spiritual uplift. It must include a greater development of the spirit of altruism; the appreciation of the rights of others. It means a greater

dispensation of justice and spread of democracy; the increase of the equality of opportunity, and a greater development of the sense of social service; the greater substitution of what we can do for, rather than what we can get from, society. To express this briefly, progress must include a greater spread of the doctrine of "the Golden Rule." While other conceptions of progress might be added or substituted, the above is an attempt to outline progress as the sociologist sees it.

Now in regard to our second question: Are we progressing? The question is frequently asked and in many quarters denied. There is no question as to progress in the increase of knowledge, in the production of wealth, and in industrial development. In economic life progress is so self-evident that there is no room for argument. But when the welfare of those engaged in industry is considered, there is plenty of room for argument. In regard to religious and moral welfare we constantly hear people bemoaning a supposed decline or degeneracy. The family is even criticized at times as failing in its mission, and men sometimes say that it has outlived its usefulness. Pessimists are constantly reminding us that things are going from bad to worse. No careful student of the question can agree with such pessimistic philosophy. To disprove such arguments one has only to compare conditions in society to-day with those of a few hundred years ago.

Social Institutions Becoming More Useful.—*Family.*—Under matriarchy the family relationship often broke down and the family did not always serve as it should; at best it was a more or less makeshift arrangement. Under patriarchy it was solidified, although by the subjection of the wife and children to the male. Woman became either degraded in position or a servant to her husband, often a mere chattel in his household. As time has passed, the position of woman has become more elevated and her lot made easier, until now in most countries she bids fair to stand upon the same footing as man and to enjoy equal privileges and opportunities. The

family is also functioning better in regard to the children than formerly. At one time children could be, and often were, sold into slavery. Under patriarchy the father had the right of life and death over them, just as he did over his wife, a condition which no longer exists in civilized countries. Formerly children were much neglected—and in some cases are even to-day, but not to the degree that they formerly were. On the whole, the family is functioning much better than it ever did in the past. Much more is expected of the family relationship; we now demand happiness and comfort, whereas formerly the family was looked upon chiefly as a means of continuing the race.

Government.—In regard to government, there is constant evolution; a government which does not serve the people in the best manner is sooner or later supplanted by one which does. When a government becomes tyrannical or oppressive it is overthrown as soon as the forces, which have been held back, become strong enough to assert themselves. There has been a constant growth in the part taken in government, by the people governed. At first government was largely a form of machinery used to carry out the selfish interests of a few; but now government to be successful must serve the people in the best manner possible. Of recent years there has been a growing tendency towards republics or constitutional forms of government. Even within these forms there is a steady growth in the usefulness of government. In our own country we are constantly striving to eliminate privilege and graft and to serve the people in a better manner. While all governments are far from perfect—in fact they all have many flaws—there is no comparison between the service to people rendered by a modern government, such as that of the United States, Great Britain, France, or even Germany, and that of Babylon, Ancient Egypt, Assyria, Persia, or even Rome. The ancient government was cruel, narrow, and tyrannical; the modern government protects and serves its citizens.

Religion.—We often hear of the decline in religion—

of the claim that religion is dying out. While formalism in religion is decreasing and the arbitrary control of religion is diminishing, religion itself is becoming purer and more useful to man. With primitive religion control was obtained through superstition and fear. Under early Christianity, even down to Puritan times, control was exercised to a great extent through fear. Religion in the past was narrow; one form of religion would not tolerate another. Indeed, under Christianity horrible persecutions were carried out in the name of religion, simply because of the narrowness and bigotry of religious leaders. Religion, like government, is becoming less arbitrary and is seeking to serve mankind more and more. In our study of religion we noticed a steady evolution, until the rise of Christianity, which is the highest form of religion known to us to-day. In the same way there is a steady development in Christianity itself, for it is becoming purer and is carrying out more than ever the teachings of Christ. It is trying to lead rather than to drive, to serve rather than to compel obedience to set forms and ideas. It is not trying so much to force the same religious ideas or the same theological doctrines upon all, but to permit each person to work out his own creed and to worship as he sees fit.

Moral Standards and Ideals.—As society advances, ethical standards and ideals become loftier and purer. If we compare our codes of ethics with those of Babylon or Ancient Egypt, or of the early Hebrews and Greeks, we shall be surprised by the contrast. We shall find that old ideas of revenge, such as the doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," are supplanted by Christian principles of reconciliation and forgiveness. We no longer sanction slavery and infanticide. We have ceased to torture prisoners and witnesses, or to invent ingenious methods of inflicting the most pain imaginable upon criminals. We even condemn wife-beating and child labor, and try to reform criminals when it is possible—ideals which in times past would have been scoffed at as insane. We demand an equality of opportunity for all.

While occasionally we may lapse in our moral standards, it is nearly always because we have outgrown the old standard before a new one has been formed.

Education.—Although our educational systems come in for much criticism, education is constantly becoming more useful. The very fact that we find flaws in our educational methods is a hopeful sign. Probably the greatest advance in education is the putting of it within the reach of all, instead of restricting it to only a few, as in the past. Education is designed more and more to serve the individual and to benefit society as a whole.

In brief, the institutions of society are all becoming more useful to society. Society is continually breaking down the control of institutions over individuals and reshaping them so as to be of greater service to mankind.

Society Functioning More Perfectly.—The interests in society are becoming more healthful and less selfish and individualistic. The spirit of altruism is steadily developing, and we are more and more willing to seek the interests of others than ourselves. Even nations are coming to adopt such an attitude, as evinced by the colonial policy of Great Britain and by the attitude of the United States towards her neighbors, especially Mexico. Economic interests are now being forced to recognize the health interests of the workers. Society is continually trying to curb and hold in check selfish interests that are injurious to the public, and to eliminate organizations and groups centered about such interests, such as the liquor business, prostitution, and political rings. While individual interests will always be more or less selfish, society is continually holding this tendency in check and striving to make them more healthful and useful to society, as well as to the individuals profiting by them.

Systems or means of control are becoming more efficient. Public opinion is now more rational and effective, since we are constantly improving our means of communication, thus enabling it to become more enlightened. It is being educated by use, and thus is becoming more efficient as a means of control. Laws are being made

more democratic and practical. During the past few years we have had a wonderful development in social legislation. Practically all European nations have accident insurance for workers in industry, and over half of them have systems of sickness insurance. Many have systems of old age pensions. In the United States we are backward in this line but have made some progress during the last few years, and just now are showing signs of soon being abreast of other countries. Already we have systems of workmen's compensation in nearly all of our states, mothers' pension legislation in three-fourths, and minimum wage laws in about one-fourth; and much sentiment is being created in favor of health insurance and a system of permanent employment bureaus, after the order of the system which was so successful during the war. We are adopting laws protecting the health and morals of workers in all branches of industry. Laws have been passed by many states regulating the hours of work for women and minors, restricting night work, and generally limiting the hours for women to eight. In industries where long hours are dangerous to the public, like railroading, we are adopting shorter hours, sometimes through voluntary action, and sometimes by means of legislation. Laws have been passed protecting the health of workers in many of the dangerous and unhealthful industries, such as that forbidding the use of phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. Laws are rapidly compelling manufacturers to protect their workers from dangerous machinery by the use of safety devices and guards.

In the past laws were made by the strong for their own interests; now they are being made to control the strong and to protect the weak. We are passing laws against rebating, pooling, and other illegal methods of competition in business. In our legal machinery we are giving the weak a better chance for justice, as illustrated by the instituting of the public defender.

As already suggested, control by religion, while it is breaking down in direct effectiveness, is becoming more

helpful both to the individual and to society. Instead of standing in the way of reform, religion is now doing its utmost to bring reforms to pass. It is teaching its followers to be more useful to society, by teaching them to help society, rather than to isolate themselves from the world. Control by education, ideals, and enlightenment is becoming more and more important. Increasingly are scientists, professional men, and experts called into consultation or placed in positions of responsibility. Not only is social control more efficient, but it is affording a larger share of equality than in the past. Instead of being employed for the interests of some one class, control now aims towards greater liberty and democracy. Control by artificial means, such as superstition, ceremony, habit, and custom, is becoming less and less important; while control by means of public opinion, education, and enlightenment is greatly increasing.

Our whole social organization is working together in a more harmonious manner; that is, it allows greater moral development and wider equalization of opportunities. There may, however, be more criticism of our social order, for the simple reason that where the worst conditions in society exist, the lower classes are held down in such wretchedness and helplessness that they are unable to protest, or have no hope of improving their condition. We find a constant tendency towards the socializing of our institutions. In our political life we find socialistic tendencies constantly coming to the front, in some countries through a definite socialistic party, and in others, especially the United States and Great Britain, in the adopting by the great political parties of socialistic policies, such as social insurance in Great Britain and governmental control in this country. While we may criticize the condition of social classes, especially in some countries, the social order of the present is far preferable to the social order of the past. Our class distinctions may be obnoxious and disagreeable at times, but they do not stand in the way of equality, liberty, and

progress, as did the social orders of such countries as Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, France under the Bourbons, Russia under the Romanoffs, and any of the countries during mediæval days. Faults in the present social order are generally the results of petty frictions; but we are constantly removing the causes and smoothing over the rough spots. New problems are, of course, developing with the change in methods and the ushering in of new orders, like those caused by the invention of machines or by scientific discoveries, but society grapples with such difficulties and overcomes them. While society is constantly becoming more complex and intricate in its organization, it is functioning more successfully than the social organization of the past, in that it is serving humanity better and allowing greater progress along all lines.

Social Maladjustment Becoming Less Harmful.—Although we are constantly being warned of the danger of some evil in society, and people are continually becoming alarmed over the rise of some new condition, the great problems of yesterday are steadily becoming less difficult, and we are meeting and grappling successfully with the new dangers that arise. Poverty and crime have always been our greatest social problems; at various times they have been considered hopeless, and often society has been alarmed by their overwhelming proportions. While both of these great problems are with us—and always will be in some form—we no longer look upon them as hopeless. We are now digging up their roots and striving to eliminate their causes as well as applying enlightened methods of treatment to those who suffer from them. In regard to crime, we are endeavoring to protect society and to reform all of our criminals who are capable of reform, and at the same time are attempting to extirpate the causes of crime and to prevent their producing future criminals. Though our efforts may be crude and clumsy, and though we often fail in our plans, we are working in the right direction and are achieving results.

The liquor habit was one that in former times we looked

upon not as a serious problem but as a natural condition. Later we became alarmed and started to deal with it, but without much success except in the way of educating the people in regard to its evils and creating public sentiment against it. Then when sentiment was sufficiently developed, we systematically went about its solution in the United States and adopted prohibition; thus we have reduced the problem to one of law enforcement. In Europe since the beginning of the World War gigantic strides have been taken in the same direction, and the handling of the question even there, where it was more firmly entrenched than in the United States, is meeting with a measure of success.

In regard to immorality, while conditions have been bad during the past few decades, it has by no means approached the proportions it attained in Rome and in Europe during the Middle Ages. We are also pushing this problem into the background by trying less to curb or suppress the outward symptoms, and striking instead at the root of the evil by eliminating the causes of the conditions. We are trying to eliminate the demand for the evil, instead of merely dealing with the supply side of the problem. As in our treatment of crime, instead of trying to suppress vice we are trying to prevent it. Our efforts in this direction have thus far met with only moderate success in this country, but we are advancing.

In regard to the defective classes, we are again trying to deal with the problem in a constructive manner—that of elimination, in as humane and altruistic a manner as possible. We are endeavoring to eliminate these classes largely by preventing their propagation, and the consequent bringing in of future generations of defectives to take their place. Thus instead of becoming overwhelmed by the dangerous classes, we shall eliminate them. We have not progressed very far in this policy in the case of the feeble-minded, but we are awakening to the need of action and soon shall be handling the question in a scientific manner.

While our outlook is optimistic, improvement will not

come about without continuous struggle and effort; hence the constant need of the trained sociologist as well as of the reformer. It will require the conscious endeavor of society and a steady determination to achieve progress. Instead of a *laissez faire* policy, constant struggle and effort are necessary.

At the present time the tremendous world conflict through which we have just passed, the greatest and most disastrous struggle that history has known, seems to deny, or at least shake, any such optimistic philosophy. At the beginning of the war it seemed as if the knell of European civilization might have been sounded, and even now, after the war has been over for some time, this possibility has not been entirely banished. But we are living entirely too near the terrible struggle to see it in its true perspective. The war, terrible as it has been, may make possible a measure of achievement which would have been impossible without it. The French Revolution seemed terrible in its bloodshed, but the later prosperous and happy France would not have been possible without it. The Chicago fire and the San Francisco earthquake were terrible disasters, but the present Chicago and San Francisco would have been impossible without them. Similarly the burning of Rome and London were blessings in disguise. Out of the ruins caused by the recent struggle there may emerge a free and prosperous Europe, and a plane of civilization may be reached which would have been impossible without this colossal holocaust. Already the indications are that a condition of greater democracy and political freedom will be achieved, as well as greater social advances. Perhaps the world needed such a terrible test of fire to bring out the finer qualities of character and to produce a higher type of civilization. Such has been the history of the past; and the present indications are that the recent war, instead of standing in the way of progress, will permit still greater progress in the future.

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