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AMERICAN DEMOCRACY ANEW

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An Approach to the Understanding of Our Social Problems

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PREFACE

The theme of *American Democracy Anew* is undoubtedly the most important and the most universally discussed of all problems or subjects before the American people today. It is fortunate that, at a time when the promise of democracy in the world is so important, people everywhere in this country are interested as never before in the re-examination and rebuilding of American democracy as the supreme task of the day.

There is no institution that is not vitally concerned, no group that is not affected, no individual who is not challenged. The schools, the universities, the churches, the towns, the cities, the rural communities, the national and local governments, the national and local civic organizations —all are keenly and vitally alert to as great a task of making democracy anew as ever faced the founding fathers in the earlier days.

A fresh understanding of America leading to a renewal of American democracy is basic to every aspect of American life and to every interest of the American people. There are no exceptions.

It is basic to the development, conservation, and wise use of our great resources and wealth.

It is basic to the development, education, and welfare of all the people.

It is basic to the continued development and preservation of American institutions.

It is especially basic in all programs of education and development of American youth and in all curricula for liberal and realistic education in the United States.

In accordance with the above considerations and in har-

mony with the best methods and practices of present-day instruction, this book is undertaking two primary tasks. The *first* is to study American democracy and the American people and their dilemmas and prospects more comprehensively, yet more simply and elementally, than has hitherto been possible. The *second* is to relate the education of the student more vividly and realistically to experience and to the living environment of regions and nation.

To this end, for the first time, the problems of American democracy are presented and interpreted, not only in relation to historical background and national purpose, but also in relation to the realities of our resources and our regions. To develop American democracy anew is the obligation of the next epoch of education and statesmanship.

It is of great importance to note the fact that this book does not attempt to solve the problems of a great people. It studies the comprehensive picture of America and its regions; it gives many samplings of topics and problems and workshop materials; it asks many questions that many people want answered. From all these the student can get a comprehensive understanding of American democracy and its problems and also can choose specialized subjects to study more intensively later on.

The student will understand, therefore, that the abundance of examples and questions are offered to supplement and enrich the text and to afford a reserve fund or resource for both immediate and continued study. The authors and teachers are prepared to offer the student further aids in study and in planning. The book itself is dedicated to American youth everywhere in their quest for reality and security on the social frontiers of American democracy anew.

THE AUTHORS

January, 1940

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BOOK I

THE AMERICAN PICTURE

Preview

The Contemporary Scene

UNITS I AND II

"MAN AT his best" has long been an ideal towards which human society and its institutions have moved. This is an ideal which every people and every nation, every state and every region, seeks to attain. It is also the long-range goal for the good society. Thus, we think of human society at its best, world society at its best, American society at its best; each region, each state, each community at its best.

Another ideal which has long appealed to mankind is "nature at its best." Nature and God have often been considered co-workers in the field of human and societal development. A study of nature has often been called the beginning of wisdom. Nature has been at the basis of our art, religion, literature, and economic resources. Nature and the "natural" have run through the fabric of education like a gold or silver thread interwoven both to beautify and to strengthen the pattern.

Yet, also, nature and natural resources are at the very heart of our living and our wealth. The existence, the development, the distribution, and the use of natural resources condition the nature and the quality of civilization and culture. They lie at the basis of poverty and wealth, of

national and international relations. In America as a whole and in the states and regions, within recent years, the conservation, development, and use of natural resources have become new themes for education and government, and for economic and cultural enrichment

There are, therefore, in reality two great sources of societal wealth: first the people, and, second, nature. Yet natural wealth and human wealth are also inseparably related. The development and enrichment, conservation and wise use of our great resources mean nothing except as they function in relation to human welfare and the progress and enrichment of society. On the other hand, it is not possible to develop, to utilize, and to appreciate nature and natural wealth except through an enriched and well-trained people.

It has come to pass, therefore, that, emerging from the history of the American nation, especially from our recent experiences, there appear to be two great parallel purposes. These are, first, the development, conservation, and wise utilization of our vast natural resources; and, second, a similar development, conservation, and use of our human resources.

Yet there are other sources of our wealth and welfare. One is work, and another consists of science, skill, and technology, through which work is made more effective in the development of our great resources.

And, then, there are two other types of wealth that are the products of work and science. They are capital wealth and institutional wealth. If with work, skill, and technology we develop our natural wealth, we achieve capital wealth, with which we can then endow our institutions, which in turn will develop our human wealth.

Thus we have this interrelated cycle: natural wealth is

translated into capital wealth by people well trained and equipped to work and to devote that wealth to the enrichment of institutions which, in turn, enrich the people and carry on the process.

Now these facts are peculiarly vivid and important in the present day because of the complexity of our modern civilization; the development of science, invention, technology; and the predominance of urban and industrial society in the world of today and tomorrow. It thus happens that changes are occurring more rapidly, that the relationship of man and nature, although differing in many respects, is peculiarly fundamental in the adjustment of men and nations to their environment and to their national programs. In particular, this is paramount in the renewal of American democracy and still more important in the strengthening and development of our state and regional contributions to a great national unity.

America may, therefore, well be envisaged in this multiple concept of man and nature, of work and skill, of science and technology working mightily for mastery in times of great change.

America comprehends a twofold ideal. It is first of all the people—their dilemmas and their destiny; and second, it is an entity, a program, a nation founded on "the American dream" of setting up such a democracy as would liberally develop these people and enrich mankind.

Democracy is the philosophy, the form of government, and the societal arrangement through which America believes "man at his best" can be realized. This, again, is an ideal that mankind is forever trying to renew and to attain. Yet this ideal and these people constitute America only as they rest upon a living geography, a great land on a continent distinctive from the European or the Asiatic or the

A SAMPLE CATALOG OF AMERICANISMS

All this clatter of class and class hate should end. . . . This is a classless country. If we hold to our unique American ideal of equal opportunity there can never be classes or masses in our country. . . . There is no employing class, no working class, no farming class.—Herbert Hoover, quoted in Wilbur and Hyde, *The Hoover Policies,* page 33.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, . . . not only the leader of the people of America boldly groping for a way out of economic depression but also the leader of the people of the world valiantly hoping for a way forward from democratic retreat and international despair. Through your leadership the voice and ideals of America are counting on the side of oppressed minorities and disinherited majorities. The America for which you gallantly speak, inclusive of factions and parties, stands for the freedom of open and wide discussion of all issues and a fair hearing to all sides; for the ways of peace and democracy rather than of war and dictatorship; for a new hope to youth and a more equal educational opportunity to all children in all the states; for the right to honest work whether in private industry or on public works; for humane nationwide minimum standards of hours, wages and conditions of fair competition in justice to workers and business men; for money as the medium of exchange rather than as master of labor and enterprise: For the saving of our soils, minerals, forests, and waterpower; for the security of banks, farms, industries and homes; for farmers as equal partners in our economic society; for the advancement of American democracy by more equality of bargaining power through the organization of workers, the cooperation of farmers and information of consumers; for social security against old age, unemployment, sickness, and the hazards of modern society; for intelligent production as a way of abundance and decent consumption as a way of life; and for a more abundant distribution of the good life for all people in the eternal adventure toward the kingdom of God. In appreciation of the democratic faith and the humane hopes your American leadership gives to the people of the world in this time of crisis and bewilderment, the University of North Carolina, by the vote of the faculty and the trustees, confers upon you the degree of doctor of laws.—*Citation* of Franklin D. Roosevelt by Frank P. Graham, December 5, 1938.

The men who established this country took it for granted that the conduct of public affairs would always remain in the hands of an upper class. They envisaged an aristocracy whose members would be qualified by brains and character . . . but they unquestionably envisaged an aristocracy.—Gerald W. Johnson, "The American Way: The Two Fundamentals." *Harper's Magazine,* Vol. 176, page 489. April 1938.

One of the most marked characteristics of the American is his genius for voluntary cooperation. . . . The United States is the home of millions of volunteer organizations whose members work perpetually and cheerfully and for nothing.—Struthers Burt, *Escape from America,* pages 98-99.

It was not a handful of robber barons who were successful, but millions of immigrants who came with nearly nothing and lived to see their children prosperous; and millions of farmers who managed in spite of the railways to live reasonably well; and millions of shopkeepers. For them it would be unthinkable to live in America and not believe in Progress. . . .—Gilbert Seldes in *Mainland,* page 102.

There seems also to have grown among the Americans a craving for sensation. Always in a world of change, of extraordinary happenings, they have come with the Machine Age to put an unusual emphasis on the spectacular, the exciting, and even the criminal events of life. . . .—Frank Ernest Hill, *What Is American?,* page 164.

America has an ideal. It is Liberty. That is, I am sure, our deepest commitment. No one who reads our national literature, who listens to our daily speech, who mingles in the common course of our living, can fail to hear that note rising above all others in which we express ourselves. The man who fails to find in us a deep, consuming passion for freedom does not know what we are.—Alexander Meiklejohn, *What Does America Mean?,* page 71.

. . . the nation's love for sheer bigness is after all responsible for the accomplishment of many things of great interest. . . . Unfortunately this desire for and expression of "bigness"— . . . to which one cannot be indifferent—is limited to about one fourth of the population. Only the inhabitants of the cities know the fever and react to its stimulus.—Lucien Lehman, *The American Illusion,* page 56.

(Americans) display an extraordinary enthusiasm for education. They have created an educational system which in point of quantity and physical equipment is without parallel. They have made a heavier investment in education than any other society, past or present. . . .—William Aylott Orton, *America in Search of Culture,* page 265.

Disorder is not an American habit. Self-help and self-control are the essence of the American tradition—not of necessity the form of that tradition, but its spirit.—Franklin D. Roosevelt, *On Our Way,* page 208.

Probably nothing in the American national consciousness has been of more importance than this sense of the frontier, nor has there been any other strain of tradition that has so shaped our character both for good and for ill . . . because of the frontier the American achieved his predominant characteristic, the imperturbable belief that everything is possible.—Struthers Burt, *Escape from America,* pages 143-144.

African. America is a great country, rich in nature and natural resources; fortunate in position and location; favored in climate and topography. It is, in fine, a new and separate world in which to develop new reaches in human society, worked out through a balance and equilibrium between man and nature, between human resources and natural wealth, and between machines and men.

Because of powerful forces working upon these two great resources of men and nature and because of swift-moving changes, there is need for more study and wiser judgments than we have been accustomed to make. There is also crisis, because of quick-changing national and world conditions. We must understand these and we must plan for them. For there are abroad in the land such modern science, invention, technology, and change as have not hitherto been recorded.

It seems likely that we can describe our present society as different from any earlier age in being dominated by the following traits: bigness, speed, science, technology, change, confusion.

We must therefore study changes and trends and understand how our society has come to be what it is and in so far as possible what the trends are for the future. We must understand not only what science and technology are doing *for* society, but what they are doing *to* it as well, to the end that social science may come in and balance the situation in favor of man.

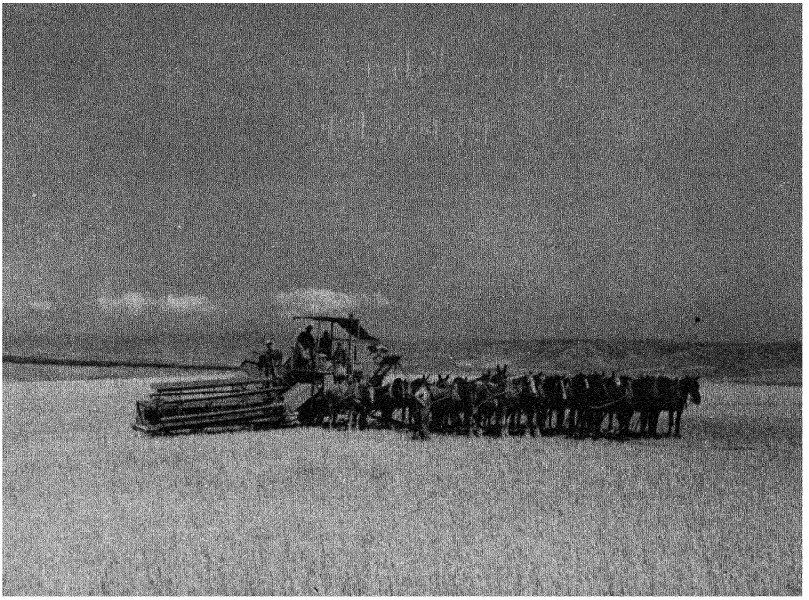
In seeking to balance the account of science and technology on the books of our human society, we must understand as nearly as possible all the factors involved. Thus, we must understand more about the people and their backgrounds. We must know something of biological and

physiological bases upon which men "live, move, and have their being." We must know more of how culture and economics condition life and affect different peoples and different races. We must understand society in its larger realistic bearings. Again we must emphasize the fact that the people are the key to the whole societal structure and that they must have opportunity for growth and development if civilization is to progress.

Furthermore, while we must understand that without science, skills, technology, we canot translate our natural wealth into capital wealth or money; without which we cannot support our institutions; without which, again, we cannot develop our human wealth; yet we must understand also that a civilization which is primarily interested in technology and material wealth may easily neglect its human wealth. We must understand how the startling changes which technology ushers in upon society multiplies its problems and creates dilemmas to be studied and mastered.

In this quest for America at its best, therefore, we turn first to look at the United States as the nation is now, the product of a high past heritage and of the powerful influences of science, technology, and change. We seek to understand the nation and its people and to note the developments and directions of the past, but also to note the trends of the present and future.

In this changing nation of ours we move toward new frontiers. Science, invention, technology, organization, have transformed most of our landscape and our customs. We have become an urban, instead of a rural nation; an industrial civilization rather than an agrarian culture. Yet all this is built upon the backgrounds of a living American geography and around the people themselves, who vary



Top, Wide World Photos; bottom, Farm Security Administration, Photograph by Rothstein

Rural and urban: Which way is forward in the search for balance between these two Americas, urban and rural, East and West, men and machines?





Above, Gendreau, below, Culver Service

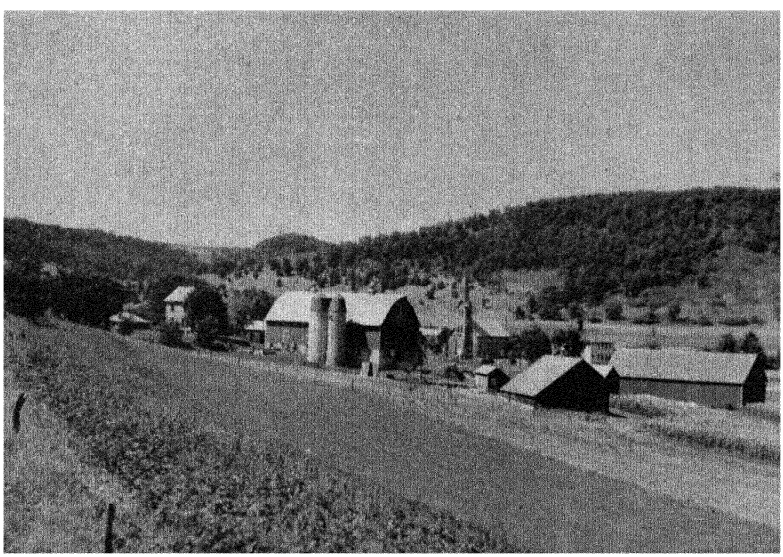
Urban life may offer rich chance for enjoyment, of music, for example; but it also produces the unhealthy life of dead-end streets.

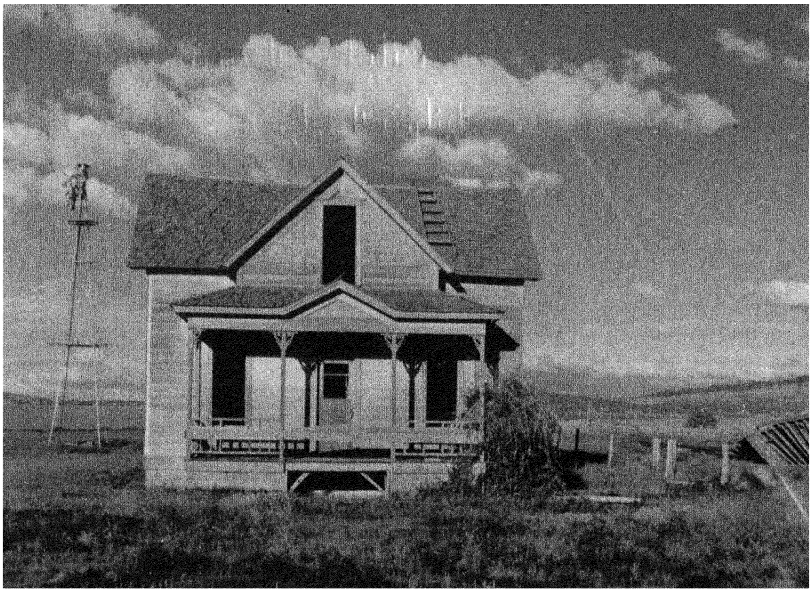




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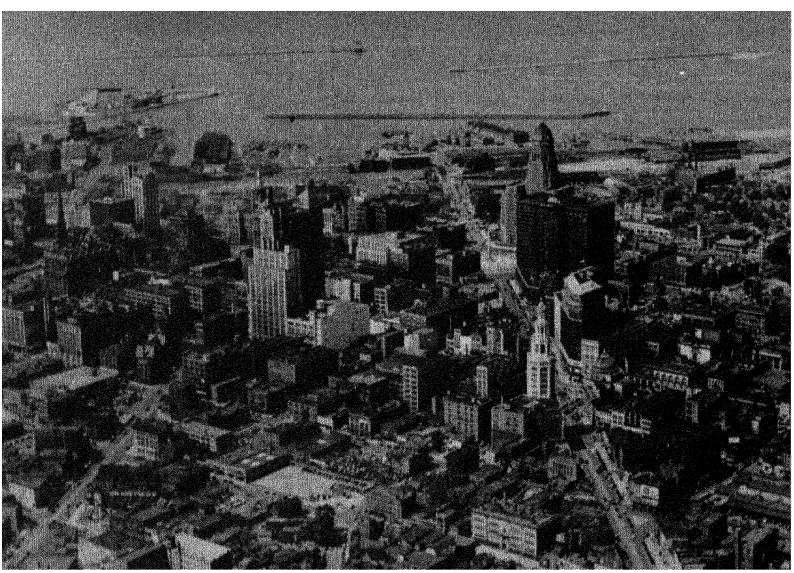
Struggling families in bare cabins—prosperous farmers with well-filled silos—all these are part of the picture of the rural life of the nation.





Top, Farm Security Administration; bottom, American Airlines, Inc.

Deserted farmhouses on the one hand, and urban concentrations on the other, mark the trend from rural society to urban culture.



greatly in different parts of the nation. We must therefore study the new frontiers of great regions of America and seek always democracy anew in the living geography, which, like democracy, is of, for, and by the people.

This is a fascinating task and one which enables us to use the best that we have in education and learning, in study and science, and in common sense and planning. It is a difficult task, but an inspiring one, too.

Unit I

A Changing Nation: We Move Toward New Frontiers

TOPIC 1: SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND CHANGE

PERHAPS THE most common characterization of the present times, generally agreed upon by critics, is that this is an age of science and technology. This has come to be almost a commonplace statement. Yet it is being more and more repeated, and it is everywhere more and more vividly illustrated in the extraordinary transformations which are being wrought in society. This condition is something we boast about: we believe it to be progress. It is something which youth is accustomed to think of as romantic and brilliant. Yet it is important for us to note the directions or trends which these changes take and to note what science is doing. What about this age of ours, anyway? Most people describe the present age with such statements as these:

This is an age of science.
This is an age of technology.
This is a machine age.
The physical sciences have outrun the social sciences.
Mechanical invention has outrun social invention.
Civilization is top-heavy with science.
Science is lopsided with technology.
Technology is a "runaway."

So, too, many people characterize the *results* of science and technology upon society, and as usual there are two sides to the question. On the one hand, there is a great chorus of praise for what science has done and is doing for society. Here are some of the products.

Comfort, convenience, culture have been provided for the common man.
Many a worker of today has what no king could have had in former times.
Standards of living have been raised.
Leisure time has been increased.
Hard work and suffering have been decreased.
Travel and knowledge are the fruits of science.
Progress in all material phases of civilization has been made.

On the other hand, there are numerous protests against the machine age and against what is called the mastery of machines over men, of material affairs over human. Science is charged up with a long catalog of responsibilities. Here are some of them.

Science is the chief cause of change.
This change has brought about a world crisis.
Civilization has outstripped the technique of control.
Cultural and material forces are out of balance.
Institutions are not adjusted.
Invention and discovery are heedless of the social well-being.
Power and wealth are usually controlled by the few.
War and conflict are aided by science.
The evils from which the world is suffering are due to the use of science. These are some of them:
Economic, moral, political crises.
War and conflict between nations, classes, and races.
Unemployment, insecurity, financial insolvency.
Physical and nervous exhaustion.
Concentration in cities.
Depletion of the countryside.

Confusion and doubt, artificial society.
The lessening of liberty.

The heart of all this is found in the phenomenon of change. There was that old folk song which boasted:

> Been mighty change since I been born.
> Change where I been, never changed me.

This humorous folk wisdom reminds us that we have the problem of adjusting the people as well as institutions and ways of living to great changes in the modern world. "Good old human nature," "old man human nature," or just human nature—we hear that it can't be changed! But always people can and must and do change to adjust themselves to new conditions.

So great have been recent social changes that our social scientists have sometimes been concerned lest many people are not prepared for such momentous changes; they have, furthermore, pointed out what they call the social, or cultural, lag, which means that some people and their institutions often do not move forward as fast as science and economic and material matters. The grounds upon which the social scientists base their conclusions are many. The two most vivid illustrations are, first, the present world of science and technology as they change our society everywhere, and, second, the crisis of world civilization. Specific instances may be found in the troubled world of war and conflict and in the new challenges to American democracy now everywhere being taken up by the American people.

We may boldly proclaim that this is a great age in which to live and a great nation to be living in, *provided that* we look realistically and honestly at our heritage and our

dilemmas and try to understand and achieve. We must first examine the American scene and, second, look at modern contemporary society the world over as it has been transformed by science, technology, and change.

We come first to the interesting but comprehensive task of looking at America as the great modern nation contrasted with an earlier and smaller nation of high ideals and purposes; and of looking at a modern world of science and technology against the background of an earlier and simpler world of a slower tempo of living. On the screen of this understanding we can portray the problems and the prospects of an American democracy anew.

The earlier Jeffersonian America in its simplest analysis of the people, their work, and their wealth, can be described in these phrases:

A small nation of thirteen states with ten million folk.
A nation more than ninety per cent rural.
Two regions, North and South, of simple living and hard work.
Relative homogeneity of the people.
Few occupations, largely primary, that is, agriculture, mining, lumbering, fishing, and hunting.
Small, individually owned fortunes.
Wealth largely in lands and homes and stores.
A nation of great untapped resources.
A nation of primeval forests and plains.
A nation of unmeasured frontiers.
A nation of many children and large families.
A nation in which woman's work was in the home.
A nation of man power and horsepower.
A nation of poor roads and slow communication.
A rapidly expanding nation.
A nation of great religious zest and faith.
A nation of simple democratic ideals.

And here is the contemporary America, with something of the same sort of analysis showing a part of the great changes that have come to pass.

A large nation of forty-eight states and several outlying possessions.
A nation already preponderantly urban with an ever-increasing trend to the city.
A nation of six or eight great regions, Northeast and Southeast, Northwest and Southwest, Middle States and Far West.
A great mixture of peoples. More people of a half dozen racial, ethnic groups than all of Thomas Jefferson's early America.
Fifty million gainfully occupied at more than six hundred occupations.
Large fortunes in oil and stocks; steel and drugs, moving pictures and power.
A nation of exploited resources.
A nation of eroded lands and wasted forests.
A nation of vanishing physical frontiers.
A nation of more elders than children.
A nation of small families.
A nation with millions of women at work outside the home.
A nation of good roads and airways.
A nation of motor power.
A nation of many "isms" and ideals.
A nation of great natural wealth.

These great changes may be illustrated vividly by contrasting the tempo of the life of the first president of the United States with the tempo of the life of some of the later presidents.

There was the first president of the United States, picturing most minutely in letters in his own careful handwriting a thousandfold details of family life, of health and good cheer, of a long and tedious trip to the nation's capi-

tal. "The day is come," he wrote, "and the hour at hand, or very nearly—when our journey will Commence for Philadelphia. From the stage drivers account, the Roads in places, especially between George Town and Baltimore are almost unpassible. This circumstance, and the desire of not injuring my horses, will make my movements very slow,—and they may be precarious as Giles is very unwell —and my bungling Smith, has lamed one of the Horses that draw the Waggon in shoeing him."

That slowly moving journey, with animal power to run the stagecoach, contrasts vividly with the fast mechanized travel of today. As early as 1933 there was airplane flight to Chicago to accept the presidential nomination and airplane flight back. True, these are conveniences, but they have added duties and responsibilities, for example: airship and yacht and speedboat and swift-moving train to the interior, to Florida, and to coast places for preinaugural conferences; radio talk to the nation; multitudes of photographers and reporters giving the nation pictures of what was happening; telegraph and wireless; dictated letters and memoranda; thousands of helpers telephoning across the nation, near and far. The voice of the people. Cabinet members and little cabinet, advisers and counselors speeding all over the nation in trains and in planes by the thousands of miles in order to reconnoiter for the nation's business.

So great were these changes that President Roosevelt himself later referred to an earlier age as the "oxcart age." So rapid were these changes that before 1933 President Herbert Hoover had directed a comprehensive national study of social changes in order that the people might better plot the course of the nation. A few samplings will indicate the nature of these changes.

Few transformations were more marked or fundamental than that of the highway system of the nation. By 1930, more than 3,000,000 miles, an increase of forty per cent since the turn of the century, with an increase of 330 per cent in surfaced roads, had wrought a revolution in American life. The picture of this new mobility included such rapid changes of automobile models as to make a 1925-model Ford a curiosity for exhibit by 1930. It also included rapid transformation of the early speed limits of fifteen miles an hour to a common average of fifty miles on through highways.

If the dominance and romance of earlier railway and interocean passenger traffic had receded, there was still a sizable picture of both; yet they were being supplemented by new ways and means of travel. With the decrease in railway and water-borne passenger traffic there was, of course, the new air transportation, which scarcely had its beginning before 1926. By 1931 there were 126 airway services, covering 45,700 miles, and serving 522,000 passengers. The aggregate would amount to something like 120,000,000 passenger miles flown in civil aeronautics, with a total of nearly 11,000 airplanes, and with nearly 20,000 licensed pilots. In this new aspect of civilization there was a continuous increase during the depression years, with more than twenty-five per cent of increase between 1930 and 1931. And by 1939 the change was still more startling.

To see vividly the contrast between methods of transportation, compare the original trek from east to west in a covered wagon, which took eight months, with the flight, made possible, by 1930, from New York to San Francisco between breakfast and dinner of the same day. This contrast is scarcely more startling, however, than the develop-

ment in other techniques of communication and transportation.

In communications, there were by 1930 more than 250,000 miles of telegraph-pole lines, and twenty-one submarine cables crossing the North Atlantic, with one from New York to Haiti, five to Cuba, and others from Galveston to Mexico, from Key West to Cuba, and from Miami to the Barbadoes. Such was the technology of this communication that it was possible to reproduce nearly one hundred words per minute with automatic transmitters replacing the staff of operators. Still the picture continued to grow, and wireless telegraphy became an established mode of communication where it was not possible to maintain wire lines. All told, the number of messages transmitted by the private commercial systems of the United States had reached nearly 4,000,000. Again, there were in the United States 20,000,000 telephones, more than half of the world's telephones, with perhaps a total of 30,000,000,000 originating calls. To the usual services of local, state, national, and international calls were added the revolutionary techniques of the teletypewriter, the telegraphic printer, with ample facilities for fingerprints, signatures, legal documents to be transmitted even over transoceanic radio and telegraph circuits.

Other vivid pictures were those of the thousands of radio stations dotted here and there throughout the nation. The contrast between the garage radio-station headquarters of broadcasting in Pittsburgh in 1924, and the palatial superstructure of Radio City in New York, completed during the depression days, was symbolic of growth in quick time, scarcely less impressive for its speed than for its quantity and quality.

Radio is first of all a phenomenon of science and tech-

nology. It is not only new and powerful in its own present status, but it is developing, mutable, both creator and creature of physical technology, rich in kinship with all that growing family of telephone, telegraph, television, photography, and multiple controls, potential master of new worlds to conquer. Radio, moreover, is also a great business and commercial phenomenon, exemplifying the great American tradition of what invested capital, utilizing the discoveries of science and the skills of technology, can do for the comfort, entertainment, and convenience of the people. Here, of course, are fundamental socio-economic implications in this new super-Americanism.

Radio has become a social phenomenon also in assuming a major rôle in communication, which is the chief medium of all social processes. It has become a social phenomenon when its ramifications and services extend to that wide range of activities and realistic experiences typified by an extraordinary program today and tomorrow: broadcasting as a community enterprise; as an educational force; as a technique in classroom, in forum and university; on farm and at fireside, in rural and urban areas. It has also become a social phenomenon when it broadcasts music and religion, industry and politics, recreation and books, art and speech, advertising and propaganda. It becomes a social phenomenon in America when more than 50,000,000 folk in the uttermost corners of the nation "listen in," through more than 25,000,000 sets, and when the whole world of English-speaking folk, through perhaps 200,000,000 listeners, find thrill and drama in the troubles of an abdication of king and emperor or in the excitement and fear of war.

These are but samplings of the great changes and trends. The student will want to catalog a great many more: some large, some small, some applying to America, some apply-

ing to the world at large. All in all they lie at the base of our programs for the renewal of our democracy.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 1: SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND CHANGE

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are some of the most profound effects of modern scientific discoveries upon society and the behavior of people? (Think in terms of a hundred years or more.)
2. What are the major changes created by modern inventions and technology?
3. What is meant by "social inventions"? Illustrate.
4. What are some of the changes that machines have brought about in the lives of many people? Illustrate.
5. What problems have machines brought to man? Offer as many as possible.
6. What major benefits have science and technology brought to mankind?
7. What are the major ills of material civilization?
8. What are the beneficial results of mass production upon (*a*) the consumer, (*b*) the producer, and (*c*) the worker?
9. What effect has the motion picture had on social life? Illustrate.
10. What effect has radio had on modern life? Illustrate.
11. What is meant by "tolerance"? Is it more or less evident today? Discuss fully.
12. What is meant by (*a*) standardization, and (*b*) regimentation? Illustrate.

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. Explain how modern mechanization is a cumulative effort of many individuals and many generations.

2. How has the machine affected man as to (*a*) divisions of labor, (*b*) necessary skills, and (*c*) needs for training?

3. How has mechanization increased standardization, and how is it related to mass production?

4. How has life been improved for most people by material progress?

5. How has the concept of "social equality" changed under the pressure of science and technology?

6. How has "slavery" been wiped out in the United States? Discuss.

7. How has the novel influenced modern changes? Illustrate.

8. How has the word "frontier" changed in meaning and concept? Note dates and periods—1600, 1890, 1930, and so on.

9. How has the factory system influenced the growth of cities?

10. How have inventions changed rural life and agriculture?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why should society continue to stimulate man's inventive, creative, imaginative, and explorative life?

2. Are there any reasons why society should attempt to check progress made in man's inventive, creative, imaginative and explorative life?

3. Why is man interested in conquering time? Note speed records, contests, and transportation progress.

4. Why is speed demanded today in many vocational fields?

5. Why is so much attention paid to the invention rather than the inventor? (As an illustration, list ten outstanding modern inventions. What is known about the inventor? This can be carried down to small but helpful inventions in the home.)

6. Why are the unequal places in people's lives often balanced by science and technology? Why often left unbalanced?

7. Why is it increasingly more important for government to become socially minded as science and technology march onward?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. What are the chief effects of science and inventions upon (*a*) the home, (*b*) the school, (*c*) the community, (*d*) the

church, (*e*) politics, (*f*) industry, (*g*) war, and (*h*) agriculture?

2. Contrast a home of 1890 with a home of today. List specific changes.

3. Contrast a schoolroom of 1890 and one today. List specific changes.

4. Contrast the army of the United States that fought in the Spanish-American War, with the army of the World War. What about the Army and Navy today?

5. List devices and materials of war developed since 1920.

6. Describe a farm of 1900 and a farm of today—as it might be if full use were made of modern discoveries and inventions.

7. Describe a kitchen of 1850 and a modern kitchen.

8. Interview the oldest doctor in the community about changes in his profession in the past quarter of a century.

9. Make a bar graph showing how far a man could travel from dawn to dusk in the following years: 500 B.C., A.D. 1000, 1800, 1900, 1940.

10. What inventions and discoveries have made public health service possible?

11. By case studies, show the effects of these changes on (*a*) the individual, (*b*) group life, (*c*) regionalism, (*d*) international relations.

12. Report on some of the developments of very recent date in the fields of (*a*) food and diet, (*b*) medicine, (*c*) air conditioning, (*d*) communication, (*e*) chemistry, (*f*) psychology, and (*g*) transportation.

13. Give brief biographies of a few discoverers or explorers in the field of (*a*) medicine, (*b*) chemistry, (*c*) physics, and (*d*) biology.

14. Contrast the sources of information on public affairs that were open to the average man in 1800, 1850, 1900, 1930, and 1940.

15. Obtain a few newspapers of a hundred years ago. Compare them with your daily paper; also compare the opportunities of obtaining information.

16. Indicate differences in the following ways of making a living: hunting and fishing, agriculture, manufacturing, insurance.

17. Trace the development of the railroad in the United States.

18. Describe the invention of the telephone and telegraph.

19. Investigate the progress made to date in television.

B. *To Plan*

1. Plan surveys that will indicate changes brought about by science and technology in the life of (*a*) some individuals, (*b*) some families, and (c) some communities.

2. Build up a list of challenges and needs for the future. What effects will they have on the individual and society?

3. List some of the hazards, drudgeries, and hindrances to man's well-being. Offer suggestions for eliminating these.

4. List some commonplace things of today that were once only fantastic dreams.

5. Poll the class for new ideas—inventions, changes, possible discoveries, and the like, that may better mankind. Be as creative, imaginative, and inventive as possible—even fantastic ideas are not to be discarded.

6. Describe a community of the future—improved streets, housing, and public utilities.

7. List negative forces that might develop from certain inventions and techniques. How can these hazards be eliminated? Note the field of chemistry as applied to war.

8. Mention ways by which the full value of modern technology can accrue to the masses of the people.

9. Suggest ways of using many scientific values that are known to exist but are not widely used.

10. Make a comparison and contrast study of the community as to the extent it is using modern benefits of science in many aspects of life—health, education, business, public utilities, and safety devices.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

The social sciences have special terms, just as do other sciences, such as mathematics and physics, for example. In your study of *American Democracy Anew* you will find some new terms and some familiar words used in a special sense, which may be new to you. The following words from Topic 1, listed here for study, probably contain examples of both. These words are defined in the Glossary at the end of the book. The pronunciation of the more difficult of these words is also given in the Glossary.

eroded lands	status	evolution
mechanization	ethnic	technology
regimentation	racial	homogeneity
standardization	technique	cultural lag

B. *Selected Readings and References*

The readings in this area of science and technology are so vast and the discussion so extensive and popular that it is easy to select titles which will present the case.

Of *Recent Social Trends*, readings should include especially the following sections: Part 3 of the Committee Findings and specifically "inventions and economic organization," pages xxv–xxxiv; all of Chapter III, "The Influence of Invention and Discovery," and parts of Chapter IV, "Science, Technology, and Change"; Chapter XIII, "Children"; and Chapter XIV, "Women."

Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization* is a brilliant popular presentation of the evolution of modern technology.

The March of the Iron Men presents a vivid picture of the sweeping movement of machine on men.

William F. Ogburn has summarized in *Machines and Tomorrow's World* for the Public Affairs Committee, the report of the subcommittee on technology as to the National Resources Committee, entitled "Technological Trends and National Policy," while for the theoretical aspects Ogburn's original *Social Change* is still fundamental.

Communication Agencies and Social Life by Willey and Rice, one of the *Recent Social Trends* monographs, contains a great array of statistical data.

A special group of new works that may be studied is that of the biologists, medical scientists, and philosophers, who write abundantly on various aspects of science and technology in relation to man.

The following books offer a wide range of selection and materials:

BAKER, ELIZABETH FAULKNER. *Displacement of Men by Machines.* Columbia University Press, 1933.

BRINTON, CRANE. *The Anatomy of Revolution.* W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1938.

BURLINGAME, ROGER. *March of the Iron Men.* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938.

DRINKWATER, JOHN. *This Troubled World.* Columbia University Press, 1933.

ELY, R. T. and BOHN, F. *The Great Change.* Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1935.

FELS, SAMUEL S. *This Changing World, as I See Its Trend and Purpose.* Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933.

FREUD, S. *Civilization and Its Discontents.* Robert O. Ballou, 1930.

GILFILLAN, S. C. *The Sociology of Invention.* Follette Publishing Company, 1935.

HAUSLEITER, LEO. *Machine Unchanged.* The Century Company, 1933.

JASPERS, K. *Man in the Modern Age.* Henry Holt and Company, 1933.

LINK, HENRY C. *The Rediscovery of Man.* The Macmillan Company, 1938.

LOMBROSO, GINA. *The Tragedies of Progress.* E. P. Dutton and Company, 1931.

MCDOUGALL, WILLIAM. *World Chaos.* Covici, Friede, Inc., 1931.

MERRIAM, CHARLES E. *The Rôle of Politics in Social Change.* New York University Press, 1936.

MUMFORD, LEWIS. *Technics and Civilization.* Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1934.

OGBURN, WILLIAM F. *Machines and Tomorrow's World.* Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated, 1938.

Recent Social Trends in the United States. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933. Chapter III.

RUGG, HAROLD. *The Great Technology.* The John Day Company, 1933.

SULLIVAN, J. W. N. *The Limitations of Science.* Viking Press, 1933.

Technological Trends and National Policy, a report of the Subcommittee on Technology to the National Resources Committee. United States Government Printing Office, 1938.

TOPIC 2: FROM RURAL CULTURE TO URBAN CIVILIZATION

AMONG THE extraordinary transformations which science, technology, and change have made in society, the transition from rural culture to urban civilization is undoubtedly one of the most marked. This is particularly conspicuous when the earlier agrarian society of the United States is contrasted with industrial society of today.

We have already called attention to some of the major contrasts between the early America and the later America. Since one of the chief problems of modern America is to adapt our democracy and our constitution, conceived by a very small nation of rural folk with few occupations and simple living, to modern industrial America, complex and complicated in all of its relationships, it will be well for us to look at some of the differences between rural culture and industrial society. These statements show the importance of rural life in early America:

More than ninety per cent of the people were rural.
The farmer was the bulwark of democracy.
The land was the basis of national wealth.
Forests and farm lands and grass lands beckoned new settlers.
Farming was a way of life.
Jefferson himself magnified the rural people as the hope of the nation.
Jefferson held that "the mob of great cities adds just so much to the support of pure government as sores do to the strength of the human body."
Industry and division of labor flourish on the farm, in the home, and in the village shops.
Jefferson admonished the nation "to let our workshops remain in Europe."

Marked individualism and independence characterized the people.

Turning now to the contemporary American scene, what are some of the main contrasts that we find to the above picture? To what extent is America different? Is it true that America is becoming mature because it is an urban nation? Is the trend towards cities still continuing? What are the problems and dilemmas involved? Here are some of the contrasts from which we may seek the answers to these and many other questions.

A single metropolitan area, the New York Region, has twice as many people as all of Jefferson's beloved first America.

There are in round numbers a hundred metropolitan regions, each with over 100,000 people.

The majority of the American people now reside in urban areas.

The trend is continuing cityward.

More than three-fourths of all the nation's working people are now occupied in manufacturing, mechanical, distributive, and social services.

Not much more than one-fifth of all the gainfully occupied work in all the original five primary occupations, namely, agriculture, mining, lumbering, fishing, and hunting.

As late as 1880, there were only fourteen million people living in incorporated places of over 2,500.

The number of such urban places rose from 1,099 in 1880 to 3,165 in 1930.

We have already pointed out how science and technology have contributed powerfully to this great change from rural to urban, from agricultural to industrial civilization. Perhaps the two most common questions being asked here are whether science and technology may now turn their attention and contribute equally to the development of country life and agriculture, on the one hand; and, on the

other, whether the trend towards urban life really constitutes progress. Let us see what are some of the technological contributions to what we call the megalopolitan civilization of the super-city.

Billions of dollars expended in a great railroad transportation system, with 250,000 miles of railway track at its crest, with an annual capacity of more than a billion and a quarter passengers traveling nearly fifty billion passenger miles.
Billions of dollars expended in highways.
Thirteen billion passengers on electric and railway cars each year.
These electric and railway cars being outdated with already a billion and a half on city busses.
Nearly thirty million motor cars of all sorts in operation.
Lighting and heating, cooking and cooling, comfort and culture.
Magnificent buildings and industries.
Theaters and moving-picture houses de luxe, play and recreation.
Art galleries and museums, publishing houses and newspapers.
Telegraph and telephone, messengers and taxicabs.
Apartments and living arrangements de luxe.
Chain stores and specialized services unlimited.
A great variety of different occupations, white-collar jobs and excitement.
Concentration of the nation's money and wealth in the cities.

Whatever this great shift to the city may mean in terms of progress and civilization, one thing is certain, namely, that the change from one way of life to another has changed the nation. It is as if there were two worlds. In the first world, the nation began and grew up as a rural nation; and now it has chosen to continue in the other world of urban life. Picture a young man living from

youth to manhood in an environment composed wholly of rural problems, rural tasks and rural amusements; suddenly move him to one of our large American cities; try to picture his dilemma, and you will have a fair analogy to one of our nation's most complex problems.

Most people in general and young people in particular express a preference for urban life because of all these facilities which science and technology have made possible. They express the belief that it is not possible to ruralize the city as the country is now being urbanized, and that agriculture as a way of life and agrarian culture are decadent. Here are some questions which were asked in a book called *Fifth Avenue to Farm* by Frank Frills and Ralph W. Gwinn.

Can a young man, born on an Ohio farm, who has made Phi Beta Kappa at Yale and taken his Ph.D. *magna cum laude* at Harvard, marrying a girl, born on Park Avenue, New York, who has graduated with honors at Vassar and taken an M.A. *magna cum laude* at Radcliffe, take his wife to the countryside and enter upon a life of farming, without giving up his ambitions for a life of high cultural and intellectual pretensions?

Can a young woman, born of wealthy business parents in Bronxville, New York, who has graduated with honors at Smith, marrying a man, born of wealthy business parents in Montclair, New Jersey, who has graduated with honors at Princeton, join with her husband in entering upon a life of farming without feeling that she is retreating from the demands of civilization, but with the same sense of dignity that she would have if he were entering upon the life of a banker?

Can a farmer's son from North Carolina, who has taken honors upon graduation from Duke, marrying a farmer's daughter from Georgia, who likewise has taken honors at Duke, enter upon farming as a career and expect to make an estimable contribution to American civilization? Or can a youthful couple who for some good reason failed to go to college but who know their genuine worth look upon farming as a real career?

If it is likely that, as the present trend continues, young people will not wish to live on the farm, young women college graduates will not marry young men who expect to farm, the student will certainly need to examine very carefully the merits of city life as well as the dilemmas which are involved and compare them not with the old country life, but with the possibilities of new agrarian culture.

What are some of the great gains which are derived from city life? Enthusiasts for the city interpret Van Dyke's poem, "The 'City Crowned' " as representing the thought that, while the countryside is beautiful for refreshment, and while reformers come, as did John the Baptist, from the wilderness, it has been in the great cities of the past and present that learning and culture have attained their finest flowering. These intellectual and spiritual treasures are, accordingly, peculiarly available only in the urban environment. The romance of the city throbbing and pulsating with the life of men and machines, they say, is the thrilling climax of modern effort.

The city represents progress.
The city represents advanced culture.
It is in the city only that concentration of wealth, leisure, and culture make art and music accessible in the greatest quantity and highest quality.
In the city only are comfort and convenience supreme.
In the city concentration of industry and economic production are possible.
In the city concentration of wealth makes for economy and efficiency.
The city makes possible skill, training, and technical equipment.
The city makes possible great uses of science, invention, and technology.

The city is civilization at its highest pinnacle.
The city is always the climax of cultural evolution.
The city must be superior because the people universally move in its direction.
The city is symbol of coöperation and socialization.

On the other hand, the student will wish to inquire into the possible liabilities which the cities impose upon society. The student will wish to ask whether the super-city with its megalopolitan civilization will ultimately destroy society or retard the evolution of men as men, and so a critical examination of these descriptive phrases will suggest deficiencies and shortcomings of an exclusively urban environment.

"Cities," they say, "cannot reproduce the population."
The present inhabitants of a great city will have no great grandchildren to take their places.
Society, therefore, cannot survive through an urban civilization.
Cities are artificial and mechanical.
Cities are too big and too complex for survival.
Cities smother the individuals and the institutions.
The city is antagonistic to the country.
In times of war cities provide super-hazards.
The city, according to Lewis Mumford, is a crystallization of chaos.
Men become impersonal and disassociated as citizens.
Cities lack nature, air, and freshness.

Some popular quotations about the city may be examined. In *The Culture of Cities* Lewis Mumford writes:

> If the destructive forces in civilization gain ascendancy, our new urban culture will be stricken in every part. Our cities, blasted and deserted, will be cemeteries for the dead: cold lairs given over to less destructive beasts than man. But we may avert that fate: perhaps only in facing such a desperate challenge can the necessary creative forces be effectually welded together."

THE MAJOR METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Ninety-three Urban Centers Classified as Metropolitan Districts on the Basis of Having 100,000 or More Population in 1930 *

Region	Population
Southeast	
New Orleans	458,762
Louisville	307,745
Atlanta	270,366
Birmingham	259,678
Memphis	253,143
Richmond	182,929
Nashville	153,866
Norfolk	129,710
Jacksonville	129,549
Chattanooga	119,798
Miami	110,637
Knoxville	105,802
Tampa	101,161
Southwest	
Houston	292,352
Dallas	260,475
San Antonio	231,542
Oklahoma City	185,389
Fort Worth	163,447
Tulsa	141,258
El Paso	102,421
Northeast	
New York	6,930,446
Philadelphia	1,950,961
Baltimore	804,874
Boston	781,188
Pittsburgh	669,817
Buffalo	573,076
Washington	486,869
Newark	442,337
Rochester	328,132
Jersey City	316,715
Providence	252,981
Syracuse	209,326
Worcester	195,311
Hartford	164,072
New Haven	162,655
Springfield	149,900
Bridgeport	146,716
Scranton	143,433
Paterson	138,513
Yonkers	134,646
Albany	127,412
Trenton	123,356
Camden	118,700
Erie	115,967
Fall River	115,274
Elizabeth	114,589
Cambridge	113,643
New Bedford	112,597
Northeast (Cont.)	
Reading	111,171
Wilmington	106,597
Somerville	103,908
Lynn	102,320
Utica	101,740
Lowell	100,234
Middle States	
Chicago	3,376,438
Detroit	1,568,662
Cleveland	900,429
St. Louis	821,960
Milwaukee	578,249
Minneapolis	464,356
Cincinnati	451,160
Kansas City	399,746
Indianapolis	364,161
Toledo	290,718
Columbus	290,564
St. Paul	271,606
Akron	255,040
Dayton	200,982
Youngstown	170,002
Grand Rapids	168,592
Flint	156,492
Des Moines	142,559
Fort Wayne	114,946
Peoria	104,969
Canton	104,906
South Bend	104,193
Evansville	102,249
Duluth	101,463
Gary	100,426
Northwest	
Denver	287,861
Omaha	214,006
Salt Lake City	140,267
Kansas City	121,857
Wichita	111,110
Far West	
Los Angeles	1,238,048
San Francisco	634,394
Seattle	365,583
Portland	301,815
Oakland	284,063
San Diego	147,995
Long Beach	142,032
Spokane	115,514
Tacoma	106,817

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1937,* pp. 20-24; R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community,* pp. 336-338.

Dale Harrison's popular feature service in the 1938 newspapers says:

> The pity of New York is its unimportance. It lives blusteringly and pompously and egotistically, but contributes so very, very little to the fundamentals of existence . . . Here are seven million persons. They make up a city that pays nearly one-fifth of the nation's income taxes—yet produces none of the food it eats, the water it drinks, or any raw material to clothe or shelter itself. I have seen bronzed cowboys, in for the rodeos, sauntering down Eighth Avenue and looking over the town amusedly. There is a surprised look in their eyes. It seems to say: "This town's got big buildings, slick dudes, gaudy gals and fancy mess halls, but there ain't nothing solid a hombre can take hold of."

Peter Van Dresser discusses "Machines and Individuals" in *Harper's* for December, 1936, as follows:

> . . . Big cities mean bigger corruption; big organizations of any type crush and obliterate, distort and frustrate a large proportion of the men-cells which compose them or which come in contact with them. Never by any chance are their policies wise and humane unless they are dominated by one or a few powerful men who happen also to possess these characteristics.

The case for the organic rôle of agriculture and rural life can be stated and has often been stated. It is not only that agriculture has been basic to early cultures and to later civilization but that it has also been interwoven in the whole fabric of our culture and economy. It is not only that land is still the basis of our American wealth. The seed bed of the nation's population must continue to be in rural America and therefore the quality of future America is conditioned by the quality of our rural culture, but the case for agriculture is bigger than that. The spirit and genius of early America were grounded in a vital agrarian culture, with the nature of our laws and institu-

A CHART OF THE NATURAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE OF RURAL LIFE AND AGRICULTURE

Below is a list of "things I love in the country" as actually written by rural dwellers and published in *The Progressive Farmer* for 1923-1935. Contrast these with similar values and situations in urban life.

To see things grow . . . The happy expression on my boy's face as a martin goes into his gourd and hear him yell, "Time to go barefooted, Mother! Martin's in my gourd."

The smell of clean-scrubbed floors and freshly washed fireplaces . . . The songs and flashing colors of the birds . . . The sweetness of yellow jasmine by the roadside, of lilacs in my garden and arbutus in the woods.

To dig in flower beds and plant seeds . . . Pastures carpeted with sweet young grass . . . Elms that stand aquiver in frills of tender green, the rose mist of the red-buds, and the scent of wild plum blossoms in the air . . .

The rippling, dreamily-drifting river and the little marsh-surrounded islands and the high, green, white-capped waves that break on the uninhabited beaches of our sea-coast . . .

The winter winds as they sing in the chimney, chanting a melody no one knows, and the March winds that bring in the birds and blossoms in a flurry . . . The frogs as they sing in the marsh on the first warm nights in spring.

To inhale the perfume of a crab-apple tree in full bloom . . . To smell freshplowed fields and walk in a drizzling rain . . . The superb optimism of wheat fields nestling beneath blankets of snow.

To swap seeds and plans with my neighbors . . . To see smoke rising in little circles from the chimney top on a frosty morning . . . Bluebells forming lovely, fragile architecture in a gloomy swamp . . . The delicious drowsiness and peace that steal over one at night after planting Irish potatoes all day in a March wind . . .

The whispering and murmuring of pines . . . Terraced fields—they remind me of ocean waves . . . The hum of a crosscut saw working its way through a log . . . Lacy cypress trees and the moonlight making shadows on the rippling water . . .

Dark storms, leaden clouds, breath-taking gusts of sleet, frozen marshes, and streams with closed eyelids . . . To do my chores at the close of day . . .

The tap-tap of the ram as it pumps water up the hill to the tank in our yard . . . The clear ringing of the axe as the wood-cutters chop wood . . . The peep-peep of baby chicks in the spring . . .

The cows standing knee-deep in hay on a cold day, eating to their hearts' content . . . The delicate, far-reaching aroma of sage, and the smell of mist, wood-smoke, and pine needles . . .

The sound and sight of wild geese against the November sky . . . The nicker of a horse for his corn . . . The quiet solitudes, where one may steal away and be alone and yet not lonely . . .

The valleys of golden-hued stubble, dotted with shocks of ripened grain . . . The wild squall of a hawk before a summer shower . . . The friendliness of my country neighbors . . .

The rustle of the breeze through dry fodder . . . Big green patches of sugar cane surrounded by brown fields of corn . . . To see the men come in from the fields and water their tired horses at the well . . . The rumbling of farm wagons going to market . . . The smoky fog which settles over the river at sunset . . .

The odor of decaying cover crops . . . The smooth, flowing ribbon of earth as it slides over the plowshare . . . The towering white masses of clouds with the promise of refreshing showers . . .

The sound of a steady stream of milk in the pail . . . An orchard in bloom . . . To watch the hop toad around the doorsteps at eventide . . . The odor of ripe scuppernongs on a cool dewy morning in September . . .

The lulling roar and foam of the water pouring over the mill dam . . . The lazy drone of a bumblebee as he hunts the choicest cotton blossom . . . Sheep grazing on the hillside and a lamb down on his knees, wiggling his tail as he goes after his dinner . . .

Taking eggs to the store in exchange for things I do not have . . . The wind blowing across ripened broomsedge . . . The warm sun shining on brown pine needles . . .

The sound of cowbells as the cows come up the lane . . . The sweet odor of honeysuckle on a calm, still night . . . To watch a mother quail and her newly-

hatched brood . . . To watch the crows at sunrise . . .

The sloping hillsides near glades of cedar, where sheep have grazed, and left bits of wool on bush and shrub, from which the birds will line their tiny nests . . . To have the lines tightened on a team at the disk or plow . . .

To hear the purr of the old cats around the corncribs . . . The little brown wren that sits in the flowering willow outside and sings to me every day . . . The roar of a loaded wagon on a new gravel road . . .

The silent comradeship of another person plowing in the same field or across the road . . . The mournful note of the turtledove in distant fields . . . To gather the vegetables I have raised by the work of my own hands . . . To go a-fishing with Sonny in the little stream that runs through the pasture . . .

The gleam of a rattlesnake's back in the sun . . . The peace of twilight descending on the earth like a benediction . . . The apple orchard in October, when the trees are loaded with rosy fruit . . .

The firelight from the coals in the furnace and the lighted lanterns making fantastic shadows . . . The aroma of the boiling syrup, and added to it the sweet sharp scent of ripening muscadines . . .

I love corn-shucking time, when neighbors are invited to help and the dining table is loaded with delicious food and hot coffee and everyone revels in jokes and humor . . .

The trustfulness of young rabbits . . . To fondle the three-months-old colt, to feel its soft coat, and its odor that no other animal possesses . . . To lie on the ground and drink from a sand bottom spring . . .

After a sudden and brief shower, followed by the sun, to enjoy the watermelon odor that comes from sunbeams and raindrops together caressing vegetation . . . The tinkle of cowbells in the distance, the chirp of crickets, the croak of frogs, the nicker of farm horses . . .

The smell of freshly split oak and pine when getting winter firewood . . . The rumbling bellow of a sassy young bull . . . The thought of a day's work well done so that someone is able to eat or be clothed because of my having lived . . .

The low sweet sound of snow falling in the woods . . . The chirping of crickets in the bright fall sunshine . . . A boy and his dog driving home the cows down the cool shady lane . . . Purple and scarlet sumac and elm leaves touched with gold by Autumn's magic paint brush . . .

To take my pail and milk my little Jersey, and to stir up the rich cream into a golden ball of butter . . .

Sweet scents of country nights, and the voices of insects that are never heard until the curtain of darkness falls and the sun gives place to the moon and stars . . .

I love to "go home to dinner" with a neighbor and sit down to a meal at which there are a dozen or more guests . . .

I love the smell of ripe scuppernongs from the arbor near the kitchen door, the picnics and 'possum hunts of fall, the smell of oak and hickory wood on a camp fire . . .

I love a night flooded with the light of the harvest moon and hearing a hunter's horn and the sound of the dogs . . . I love the path between my neighbor's house and mine, worn white and smooth by much coming and going . . .

I love the cane mill in the corner of a nearby woodland, where neighbors make molasses in autumn, their days lengthening into the night in order to boil off three "runs" in one day . . .

Hog-killing time, and eating crackling bread with sweet milk . . . I love to pick off peanuts and have peanut-boilings . . . To go to the white cotton fields and pick cotton all day long . . . Cane-grinding time in the Fall and going out in the fresh of night to a cane-grinding.

A field of oats rippled by a languid summer breeze . . . The smell of clover on a spring day . . . A hummingbird buzzing around a bed of flowers . . . A lone buzzard against a stormy sky . . . Clouds flying like phantoms across the moon at night . . .

The sound of a woodpecker drumming on an old hollow tree . . . The call of treefrogs in the twilight of a summer evening . . . The pleasant smell of tobacco being housed . . . To arise early and prepare breakfast for husband and hearty boys, get milk pails and rush off to cowpens and have the baby calves run in as I call their pet names . . .

To get up in the cool, gray dawn and begin the adventures of a new day . . . The sharp bark of a fox late at night . . . The smell of homemade lightbread while cooking . . .

tions assuming a continuity of such fundamentals, but the case for agriculture is bigger even than that. It is all of these and more. It is a matter of essential equilibrium and balance between agrarian and industrial culture, between country life and city activities, between physical resources and technology, between machines and men. It is, therefore, essentially a problem of progress and survival.

Our problems, however, must be solved with our eyes open realistically to the plain facts in the development of the nation. There *was* a major rural America and there *was* a minor urban America. There are *now* a minor rural America and a major urban America. The adjustment must be made between these, and the understanding of the problems which have grown out of two differing cultures is a first essential.

Harry E. and Bernice M. Moore state the problem clearly in an article called "Problems of Reintegration of Agrarian Life" in *Social Forces* for March, 1937:

> Urbanism and industrialism, on the one hand, and agrarianism and agriculture, on the other, have developed a deep-seated antagonism seemingly inherent in their interdependent relationship. Agrarianism builds its social organization on and around the primary group, an economic as well as a social unit. . . .
>
> Since the Great Depression has demonstrated that cities have not yet attained anywhere near the agrarian ability to meet serious crises, the question arises as to the advisability of developing urbanism at the expense of ruralism. This failure of the city has placed upon rural districts the necessity of reabsorbing a large group of migrants, possessors of a hybrid culture fitting them for successful life in neither environment.
>
> Urbanism is inherently a "hothouse of cultural change," whereas agrarianism is fitted to a slower tempo of cultural evolution, so that the ideals and values cherished in these two portions of society become widely divergent. This brings us face to face with the problem of ascertaining whether or not the rapid social change charac-

URBAN, METROPOLITAN VILLAGE AND METROPOLITAN UNINCORPORATED POPULATION BY STATES, 1930

State and Region	Census Urban (1)	Metropolitan Village (2)	Metropolitan Unincorporated (3)	New Total Urban Sum of 1, 2 and 3
Southeast	7,616,831	36,489	558,228	8,211,548
Alabama	744,273	5,611	72,279	822,163
Arkansas	382,878	2,092	12,064	397,034
Florida	759,778	4,965	42,787	807,530
Georgia	895,492	5,252	94,533	995,277
Kentucky	799,026	14,420	69,452	882,898
Louisiana	833,532	.....	22,544	856,076
Mississippi	338,850	.....	.....	338,850
North Carolina	809,847	.....	.....	809,847
South Carolina	371,080	.....	.....	371,080
Tennessee	896,538	4,149	135,307	1,035,994
Virginia	785,537	.....	109,262	894,799
Southwest	3,467,701	17,094	167,502	3,652,297
Arizona	149,856	.....	.....	149,856
New Mexico	106,816	.....	.....	106,816
Oklahoma	821,681	5,088	36,428	836,197
Texas	2,389,348	12,006	131,074	2,532,428
Northeast	28,296,202	369,980	2,258,844	30,925,026
Connecticut	1,131,770	8,534	265,381	1,405,685
Delaware	123,146	3,031	32,363	158,540
Maine	321,506	.....	.....	321,506
Maryland	974,869	1,877	129,965	1,106,711
Massachusetts	3,831,426	.....	175,554	4,006,980
New Hampshire	273,079	.....	.....	273,079
New Jersey	3,339,244	127,336	248,559	3,715,139
New York	10,521,952	55,976	484,801	11,062,729
Pennsylvania	6,533,511	168,628	840,293	7,542,432
Rhode Island	635,429	.....	20,939	656,368
Vermont	118,766	.....	.....	118,766
West Virginia	491,504	4,598	60,989	557,091
Middle States	20,890,935	214,734	897,065	22,002,734
Illinois	5,635,727	74,086	116,013	5,825,826
Indiana	1,795,892	19,774	86,022	1,901,688
Iowa	979,292	1,352	19,285	999,929
Michigan	3,302,075	14,353	137,297	3,453,725
Minnesota	1,257,616	12,854	30,750	1,301,220
Missouri	1,859,119	13,061	151,773	2,023,953
Ohio	4,507,371	76,097	294,109	4,877,577
Wisconsin	1,553,843	3,157	61,816	1,618,816
Northwest	2,626,940	15,485	98,493	2,740,918
Colorado	519,882	10,789	24,131	554,802
Idaho	129,507	.....	.....	129,507
Kansas	729,834	.....	29,813	759,647
Montana	181,036	.....	.....	181,036
Nebraska	486,107	809	11,995	498,911
North Dakota	113,306	.....	.....	113,306
South Dakota	130,907	.....	.....	130,907
Utah	266,264	3,887	32,554	302,705
Wyoming	70,097	.....	.....	70,097
Far West	5,569,345	55,485	612,954	6,237,784
California	4,160,596	36,888	482,909	4,680,393
Nevada	34,464	.....	.....	34,464
Oregon	489,746	9,129	45,431	544,306
Washington	884,539	9,468	84,614	978,621
UNITED STATES *	68,467,954	709,267	4,593,086	73,770,307

* The District of Columbia is omitted here and in many of the tables which feature regional comparisons.

A Type of Measure for the Metropolitan Trend. The above table was prepared by T. J. Woofter, Jr., for *Southern Regions of the United States.*

teristic of the city is beyond our ability to successfully absorb and integrate.

Such movements as that sponsored by the American Country Life Association and special divisions on rural education of the National Education Association, in the United States Office of Education, in the various state educational associations, and in teacher-training institutions are efforts pointing in this direction.

Alongside these are such efforts as the Farm Chemurgic Council devoted to applying science to agriculture and devising new processes and new products through which a greater amount of farm commodities might be utilized.

In favor of a richer country life are also the great strides made by the agencies of communication, including good roads, telephone, radio, and others, as well as the large increase of library service and community centers, including consolidated schools.

Over against these trends are the perpetual inroads of science, technology, and machinery: the almost immeasurable possibilities for machine agriculture, which will displace millions of men; possibilities for the much greater production of commodities on much smaller areas, and for the invention of chemical processes and products which may be substituted for farm commodities; while all this time the ever-changing foreign market and economic nationalism is reducing the demands of foreign countries for American farm products.

This is especially true in the Southeast and the Southwest, where King Cotton has reigned so long and where the scheme of life based on the cotton industry, affecting perhaps two-thirds of all the people of the South, will have to be reconstructed. This, of course, affects the whole nation.

It seems quite likely that the social problems involved comprehend all these factors, and that the solution must be worked out through a combination in which science, skill, technology, organization, management, and various levels of social planning might be joined by a sort of folk movement, in which the value of rural life and agrarian culture might seek a nearer equilibrium in the flux of American change.

Part of this balance and equilibrium may come through the necessity of decentralization and the limits to which big cities and industries may go. A part may come from decentralization due to the failure of the cities to employ and sustain their millions of people. Part may come from national planning and directed policies. But whatever the result may be, the social problems involved in the balance and equilibrium between urban and rural life, between agriculture and industry, show admirably the necessity for the scientific and bettering approach, worked out through both long-time planning and emergency relief.

When all is said and done, however, the chief generic problem in this area is that of attaining a balanced economy. The answer here is, of course, that such balance and equilibrium will be of multiple proportions, including balance between agriculture and industry, between rural life and urban culture. It will be found also in a better-balanced agriculture, which will again include many aspects; between cash crops and use crops, between land-destroying and land-conserving crops; between planted crops and livestock; between landownership and farm tenancy; between the whole-land system; between credit and the colonial economy inherent in cotton economy. It means equilibrium between the income of farmers and of city folk and between production and consumption.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 2: FROM RURAL CULTURE TO URBAN CIVILIZATION

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are the major forces that have contributed to the change from rural to urban culture?
2. What rural culture patterns persist as influences upon national life and thinking?
3. What are the attractive characteristics of rural life?
4. What are some of the drawbacks of rural life?
5. What forces in urban culture tend to attract people?
6. What factors of city life tend to handicap the individual?
7. What is the difference between the ruralizing of city life and the urbanizing of country life?
8. What are some of the chief rural trends at the present time?
9. What problems may be expected if the cityward drift continues?
10. What are the social and economic ills of farm tenancy in the United States?
11. What are the principal aims to be considered in the land-use planning?
12. What are the steps by which a city comes to dominate a region?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How did the early rural community enjoy its recreation?
2. How did the (*a*) minister, (*b*) farmer, (*c*) businessman, (*d*) teacher, rank in rural esteem in the period prior to the Civil War, the nineties, and at present?
3. How did rural families manage without modern conveniences in the home, on the farm, and in the community? Picture conditions.
4. How does agriculture fit into the present economic set-up?
5. How do submarginal farms create social problems?

6. How is the average village or small city economically dependent upon its regional center?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why are the rural areas slow in promoting trends in education and health?
2. Why are so many rural congregations disbanding? Is this a good or a bad sign?
3. Why have rural schools consolidated? What are the advantages over the one-room plan?
4. Why is the housing situation as it is in rural areas?
5. Why is there so little community consciousness in the large city?
6. Why should the cityward movement of farm youth be encouraged or discouraged? Discuss.
7. Why are so many youths leaving the rural area?
8. Why has agriculture so little appeal to the average boy or girl as a vocational opportunity?

II. For Exploration

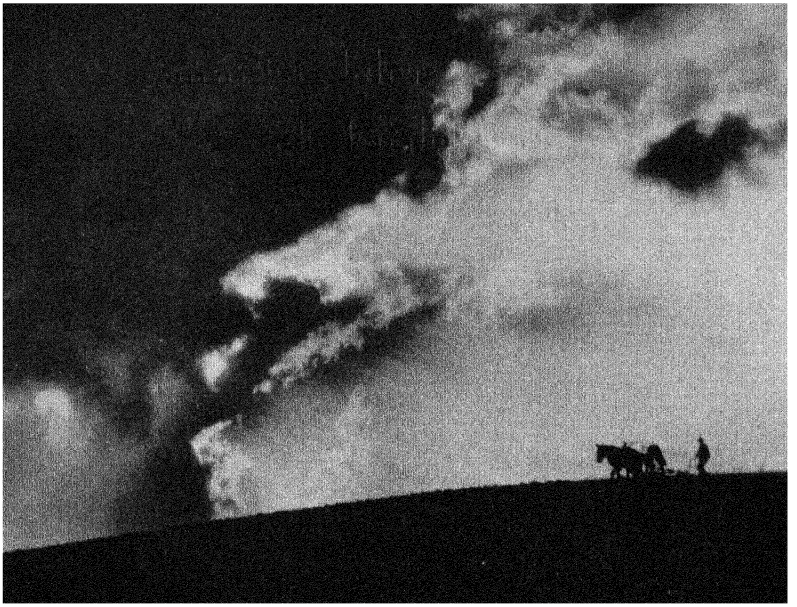
A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Offer a statistical picture of the gradual trend to an urban population.
2. In terms of the census, what are metropolitan regions and how many are there in the United States? Locate them on a spot map.
3. List and illustrate the chief causes of the growth of cities. Group them into major and minor forces.
4. Present a colorful picture of the characteristics of rural life in the colonial period.
5. Do the same for the period from 1860 to 1900.
6. Do the same for the period from 1900 to 1925.
7. Report on the definite forces that are influencing rural life of this period.
8. Report on the work of the Federal government and its interest in the farmer.
9. By word pictures indicate the influence of a half-dozen or more recent inventions on farm life.



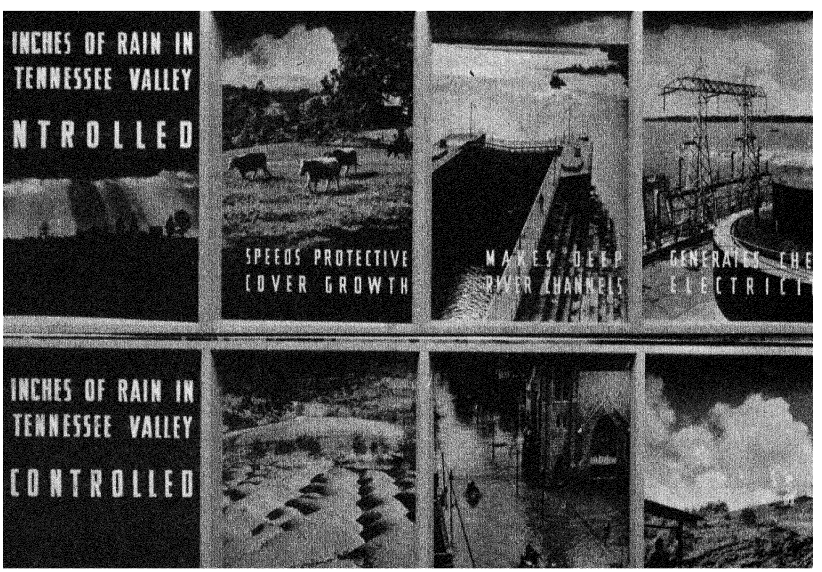
American Airlines, Inc.

Science, technology, and change: In the foreground of the new mobility is the airplane.



Photographs by Charles Krutch

The love of the land is still powerful, but it is science, technology, engineering, machines, that now determines man's way of life.

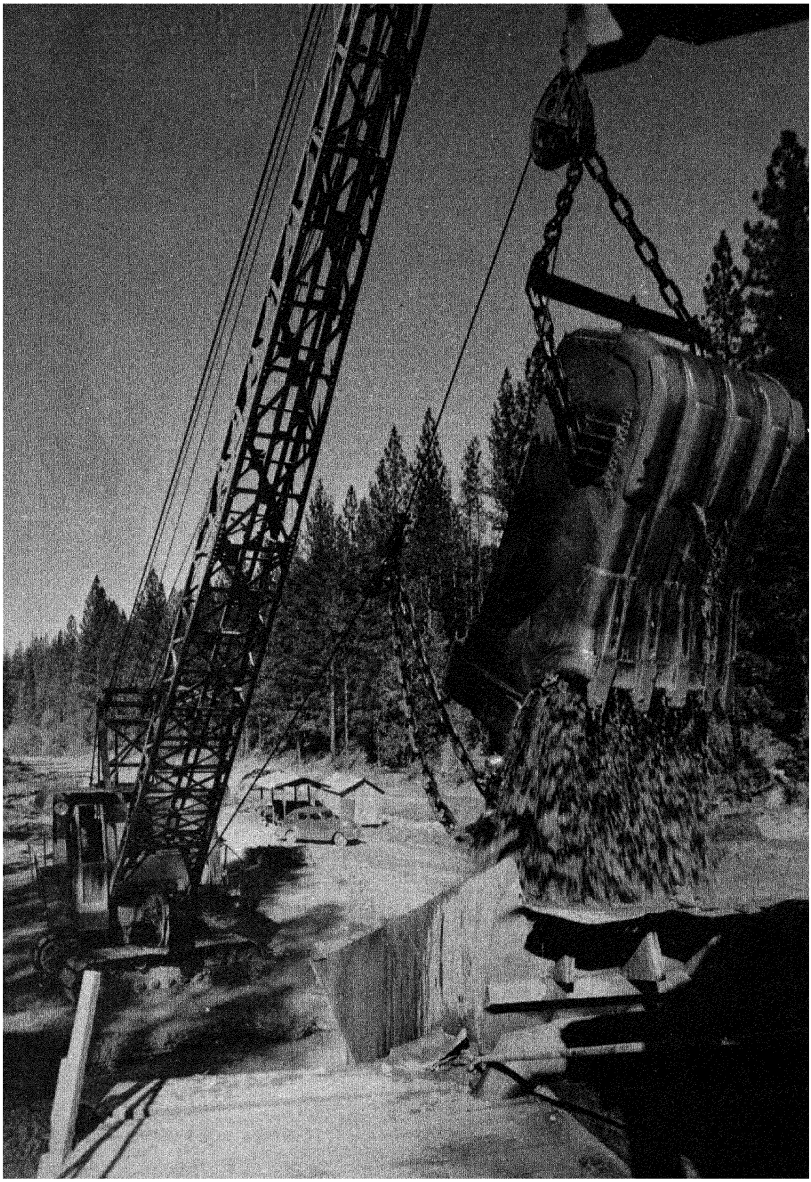




Top, H. Armstrong Roberts; bottom, National Youth Administration for New York City, Photograph by Eagle

Distance at sea and in the air waves is conquered by science. The mariner using his navigating instruments and the class in radio know these conquests at first hand.





Ewing Galloway

Gold mining in modern fashion is carried on by means of dragline dredge, powered by a Diesel engine.

10. Obtain material on child labor in agriculture from the National Child Labor Committee, New York City, and also the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Report on your findings.

11. Report on the recreational opportunities of a typical rural community.

12. Report on the work of the Rural Electrification Commission in your state.

13. Study the work of the Social Security Act as it affects a specific rural community in your neighborhood.

14. Report on the work of the Farm Security Administration in your state.

15. Investigate the achievements of agricultural coöperatives in the United States, especially those close to you.

16. Approximately how many farm coöperatives are there in the United States? How many in Denmark? What does this ratio suggest as to the comparative success of the idea in the two countries?

17. Poll the class and list attitudes regarding their desire to live on the farm or the city. Offer reasons for choice.

18. If you live in a rural area, make a list of the vocational opportunities that exist there.

B. *To Plan*

1. Plan ways by which present-day society can obtain more accurate pictures of life in the past.

2. Plan a program designed to make rural life more attractive in all of its aspects.

3. Suggest ways of minimizing the drabness of the social life of some rural communities.

4. Offer means and methods of making possible higher standard of living in rural life.

5. How may the county-farm-demonstration agent and the home-demonstration agent enrich their program activities?

6. How may the 4-H Clubs of the nation become more valuable and effective?

7. Plan a program to bring about the minimum of conflict and the maximum of coöperation between urban and rural folk.

8. Develop a land-use program for the state.

9. How may the local area better utilize government benefits?

10. How may the chief ills of city life be ameliorated or eliminated?

11. How may the best of city culture be brought to rural living, and how may the reverse be done?

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

generic	rural	environment
metropolitan	urban	hybrid culture
megalopolitan	decadent	cultural patterns
agrarian society	integrate	submarginal land

B. *Selected Readings and References*

Of the new volumes on urban problems and culture, Lewis Mumford's *Culture of Cities* is notable and should be examined alongside two or three texts on urban society and the report of the National Resources Committee on urbanism. See list below.

Of the new volumes on rural life and culture, selections may be made from a number of texts as indicated below. The 1938 Agricultural Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, *Soils and Men,* is a masterpiece of comprehensive and useful information.

Of the data presented in *Recent Social Trends,* two chapters will constitute the minimum with certain parts of other chapters. The whole chapters to be examined are Chapters IX and X on "The Rise of Metropolitan Communities" and "Rural Life," while pages 8–17 of Chapter I give a summary of population trends toward the cities. R. D. McKenzie's special monograph on *The Metropolitan Community* and Brunner and Kolb's *Rural Social Trends* in the same series will give the student adequate facts for more detailed study.

BRUNNER, E. DES. and KOLB, J. H. *Rural Social Trends.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934.

CLAY, CASSIUS M. *The Mainstay of American Individualism.* The Macmillan Company, 1934.

GILETTE, JOHN MORRIS. *Rural Sociology.* The Macmillan Company, 1936.

HACKER, LOUIS M. *The Farmer is Doomed.* John Day Company, 1933.

KOLB, J. H. and BRUNNER, E. DES. *A Study of Rural Society.* Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935.

LEE, HOON K. *Land Utilization and Rural Economy in Korea.* University of Chicago Press, 1936.

LOOMIS, C. P., LISTER, JOSEPH J., and DAVIDSON, DWIGHT M. *Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-over Area.* United States Department of Agriculture, 1938.

MCKENZIE, R. D. *The Metropolitan Community.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934.

MUMFORD, LEWIS. *The Culture of Cities.* Harper and Brothers, 1938.

PATTEN, MARJORIE. *The Arts Workshop of Rural America.* Columbia University Press, 1937.

Recent Social Trends in the United States. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933. Chapters IX and X.

Soils and Men. Yearbook of Agriculture, 1938. United States Government Printing Office, 1938.

TAYLOR, CARL C., WHEELER, HELEN W., and KIRKPATRICK, E. I. *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture.* Social Research Report No. VIII. United States Government Printing Office, 1938.

WOOLSTON, HOWARD B. *Metropolis: A Study of Urban Communities.* D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938.

TOPIC 3: A GREAT NATION AND ITS REGIONS

In each of the major groupings of problems which we have discussed as inherent in the natural heritage of physiography, biology, and psychology; in the technological heritage of science and invention; and in the cultural heritage of rural and urban life, there are great regional differentials among the people and their institutions. This fact is of such great significance that it seems impossible to understand the development of society in general or the social problems of the American people without understanding their regional backgrounds and cultures.

America is so vast that we take for granted great expanses and differentials at which Europeans marvel. Many of the European states could be superimposed upon the great American continent and cause scarcely more than a small eclipse of view! The nation is so complex in its historical and cultural backgrounds and in its present situations that there can be no average man or typical community. Its people and its economies, its geography and its culture, are continuing evidence, not only of strength in spite of diversity but of problems of unity in which there are differentials.

The American picture abounds in the evidences of regional diversity, an understanding of which is basic to the nation's success and to the direction of its future. Certainly within the sweep of its physical resources no two of the great regions are alike. Consider the soil, the climate, the forests, the minerals, the rivers and lakes, and the consequent crops and industries, work and manners that grow out of them.

The Southeast is different from the Northeast. The

Southwest is different from the Northwest. The rural Midwest is different from the rural Southeast. The industrial Northeast is different from the industrial Middle States. The Far West is different from any other region.

To be more specific, consider the problem of rivers and water in the different regions, in one of which the problem is flood control and in another irrigation. Thus the problems of water planning in New England are quite different from those of the valley of the Colorado or the Rio Grande. In New England, flood control is uppermost, while in the Colorado Drainage Basin there are many more problems of storage, recreation, irrigation and navigation; and even the basic potentials of civilization are involved.

Again there is the California area which must depend for further expansion entirely upon the development, conservation, and utilization of all available water supply, while in the Southeast it is often a question of too much water. In all of these aspects we have pointed out how romance and realism alike pervade the regional differences.

The drama of the Oregon Trail or of the multiple transcontinental highways and railroads is no more romantic or realistic in frontier development than the nearly completed 249-mile aqueduct to divert water from the Colorado River over the mountains to Los Angeles. What were formerly vast desert wastes now blossom with Edens of crops and flowers and beautiful homes, thus creating new regional worlds for the enrichment of the new frontiers. Still contrasting with these are the river valleys of the Great Pacific Northwest and of the multiple mountain and valley streams of the Southeast where power and industry may thrive or dwindle depending on the development of resources.

Again, the life and culture of the people of the different

regions vary because of these other two great heritages of rural and urban life. Specifically the great regions of the Southeast, the Southwest, and the Northwest are essentially rural, while urban and industrial concentrations predominate in the great Northeast, the Middle States, and in the Far West of Los Angeles and San Francisco.

"Six Americas in Search of a Faith" was the phrase which Sir William Beveridge used, when he went back to England after his observation of the multicultured United States, to indicate differences in problems which characterize the nation. This study of the American people and their institutions in terms of six great cultural regions is both an interesting task and a realistic approach to the understanding of our nation's problems. It is one way of learning what "American" means in the sense that we may know what the historical and cultural factors are, what the stocks and types of people are, what problems of economic and social life owe their genesis and development to geographical variations.

Even the problems of justice, according to William Allen White, are problems of regional adjustment. These great regions, he points out, "are not merely colored places on the map. They present different views of life; justice for one region is not justice for another. Yet a rough approximation of justice for each region must be worked out if all these regions are held together in the bonds of a continental commonwealth."

For the purposes of understanding the nation and for the very practical purposes of analyzing it, we have divided the United States into six major regions, keeping in mind the greatest possible flexibility for future trends and allowing for the greatest possible number of uses and agreements. Thus, sixfold America comprehends the *North-*

east and the *Southeast*, the *Northwest* and the *Southwest*, the *Middle States* and the *Far West*. These are realistic extensions of the earlier historical "sections." They represent two "Souths," two "Norths," and two "Wests." Still more historically literal, they represent one "East," one "South," and four "Wests."

The *Northeastern Region* is practically synonymous with Frederick Jackson Turner's greater New England, described in his book *The Significance of Sections in American History*. It includes twelve states: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

The *Southeastern Region* includes eleven states, approximating the "Old South": Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

The *Southwestern Region* represents a new cultural region long since differentiated from "the South" and nearer West than South, including the four states of Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona.

The *Middle States*, largely what was long known as the Middle West, include eight states: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri.

The new *Northwest*, comprising much of what was called the Mountain States, includes nine states: North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah.

Finally, the *Far West* picture, holding to the concept of the Pacific West, includes the four states: Washington, Oregon, California, and Nevada.

The change from rural culture to urban civilization has

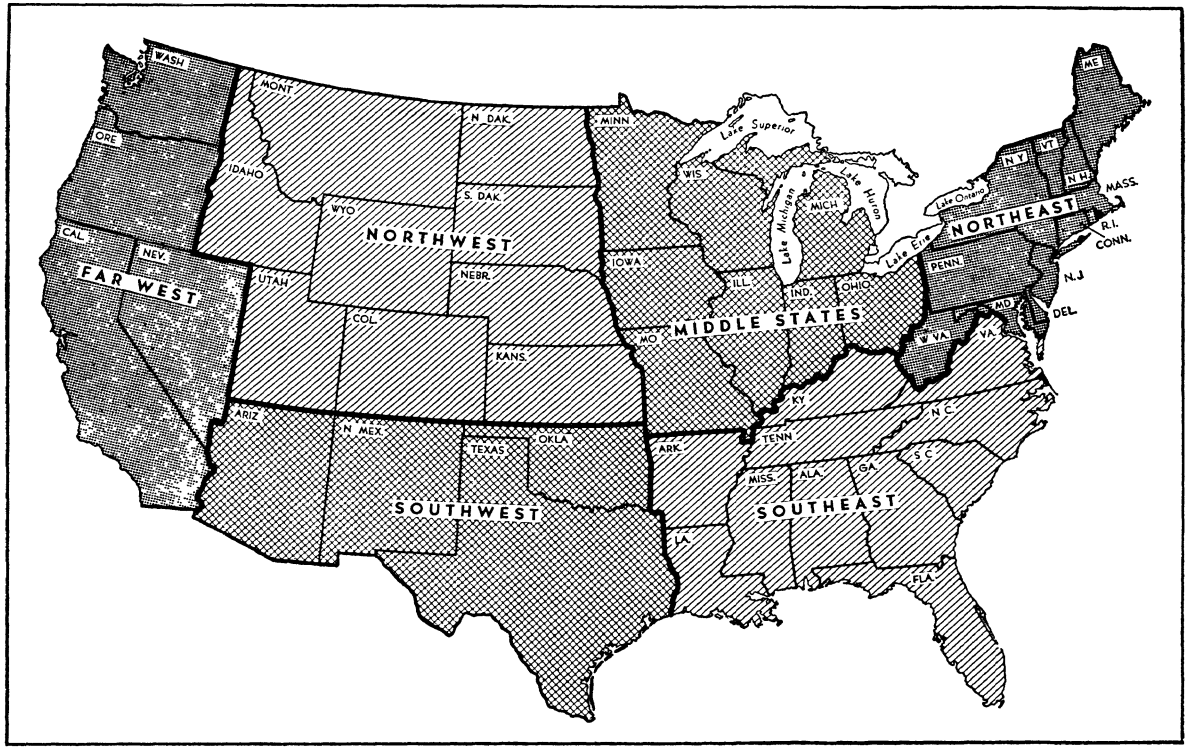
resulted in many fundamental transformations of the economic geography of the nation. It has made industry the dominant power and brought about the concentration of population not only in cities but in regions of the nation. All of this has been going on contemporaneously with that other powerful transformation, namely, the phenomenal conquest of the new frontiers of the many wests, transforming the United States into a staggering and bewildering nation, which yet remains intact as one great nation.

The change from thirteen seaboard states into a powerful nation, continuous from the Atlantic to the Pacific with forty-eight states and a relatively large number of major regions, constitutes a transformation almost as startling as the mushroom growth of cities.

The physical frontier which was formerly characteristic of the nation moving westward and farther westward has disappeared. The nature of American problems, the influences which affect the American people, and, therefore, the nature, quality, and type of their culture are undergoing change.

The rapid development of frontiers, the building of new states and incorporation of these into the new civilization gave rise to what has been called sectionalism in American life.

This sectionalism was early reflected in a North and a South, in an East and a West. In terms of the North and the South, it led to the War between the States. It was what James Truslow Adams called America's tragedy. In the case of the East and the West, sectionalism gave rise to conflicting interests and bitter relationships. The great historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, predicted that such sectionalism would grow, and that it might be quite possible that America would become a United States of nations



THE SIX MAJOR REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

in conflict with one another somewhat after the fashion of European states.

The rise of regionalism in American life to take the place of the narrow, selfish sectionalism marks a new era and gives promise of a greater national integration and at the same time a richer regional development, increasing the wealth and welfare of each of the several regions.

In every area which represents a distinct cultural pattern, we find a regional pride and attachment. Each regional society has a strong tendency and desire to continue to develop in accordance with its geographic, historical, and cultural backgrounds. As the regional societies slowly take character, the knowledge of other regions gradually creeps in. The people become increasingly conscious of their differences and more alarmed at the prospect of being coerced into conformity with some uniform pattern which might not be suited to their conditions or to their temperament.

Regionalism may be said to be, in one sense, then, a recognition of the fact that the folk of the different parts of the nation are different; that these differences are deeply rooted in the geographic, historical, and cultural backgrounds; and that there is more to be gained by recognition, tolerance, and capitalization of these diversities than by seeking to destroy them in the interest of national uniformity.

The new regionalism is distinguished by its dynamic quality. It has risen rapidly in spite of its frequent confusion with sectionalism. It finds roots in the natural attachment of man to what is his own—land, customs, or people. It finds support in the pride of achievement, the exhilarating effect of progress under one's own power. It fosters that sense of importance that comes of being a recognized part of a larger and grander whole.

The doctrine of States Rights was originally promulgated to protect local traditions and local self-government against the encroachments of federal power. The principle is still valid. It has, however, been found that the states cannot cope successfully with certain important problems because the area of their jurisdiction does not cover the entire area in which the problem exists.

Regionalism stands between the narrowness and ineffectiveness of state action and the cumbersome, coercive federal action on problems of a regional nature. Giving political powers to regional divisions is unnecessary if not impossible. Regional rights, differences, and needs can be amply cared for by state and federal governments, if the regional approach is used in the process of studying the problems and planning the action.

The trend today is for the national government to have more and more to do with social and economic matters. It deals with such things as employment, investment, dependency, and development of resources. In these activities it must either assume a national uniformity of need or it must plan in terms of regional differences.

It seems safe to say at the present time that our government is committed to planning under guidance of experts and is sympathetic to the use of the regional approach in the formulation of most plans; yet there is needed an exhaustive and unbiased study of the regional characteristics, needs, and resources of our nation. Likewise, there is needed some provision for the clearer expression of regional initiative.

We have characterized the theme of American regionalism as essentially the theme of a great American nation, the land and the people, in whose continuity and unity of development, through a fine equilibrium of geographic,

cultural, and historical factors, must be found not only the testing grounds of American democracy, but, according to most observers, the hope of western civilization.

In this regionalism may be found the tools and the techniques for helping us work out many of our problems of democracy. Thus through the development of the regions we may help with our rural life and urban problems; we may help decentralize industry and population. We may help distribute wealth in the American way of creating the capacity in each region to produce wealth and use it wisely for the benefit of the people within the region in coöperation with other states and regions. Regionalism represents the American philosophy of self-help, self-development and self-government and emphasizes work, achievement, and the conservation and development of resources. We shall next look at the big questions of nature, geography and natural resources in relation to the people.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 3: A GREAT NATION AND ITS REGIONS

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are some of the definitions of (*a*) a region, (*b*) regionalism?
2. What is the rôle of regionalism in decentralization programs?
3. What evidences are there to indicate the acceptance of regionalism as a social concept?
4. What changes are necessary to the present set-up of governmental units if regionalism is to be widely accepted?
5. What is (a) a service region, (*b*) a natural region, and (c) a cultural region? Illustrate each.
6. What are some of the measures of American Regionalism?

7. What concepts are expressed in the terms (*a*) Middle West, (*b*) Old New England, (*c*) The Old South, (*d*) The Deep South, and (*e*) The Open Spaces?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How does the philosophy of the new regionalism compare with the techniques of the earlier metropolitan regionalism?
2. How is a region dependent on its center for educational, recreational, and other services?
3. How does regionalism affect the development of each of the following: (*a*) industry, (*b*) banking, (*c*) transportation, and (*d*) agriculture?
4. How may tourists and other travelers and recreationists be aided by regionalism?
5. How does transportation affect regionalism?
6. How can regionalism be best integrated with nationalism? What forces aid this process? What hinder it?
7. How do you and other members of the class think regionally? Illustrate.

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why is it to be expected that, as a region matures, it tends to develop a complete system of economic and social institutions? Illustrate.
2. Why will regionalism continue to grow? Offer facts.
3. In what way does the city planning movement lead to regional planning?
4. Why will regional planning aid efficient national planning?
5. Why are problems that are based on regional thinking more easily adjusted than when based on sectional thinking?
6. Why should sectionalism fade out as a concept in a democracy?

II. For Exploration

To Inquire and Discover and To Plan

1. Clearly state the different concepts of sectionalism and of regionalism. On an outline map denote the natural geographic regions of the United States.

2. Make a number of regional divisions of the nation as a substitute for the sixfold division used in this volume.

3. Illustrate social problems which require regional study and approach.

4. Upon outline maps locate regions based on the following classifications: (*a*) earlier historical significance; (*b*) newer administrative functions; (*c*) commerce; (*d*) literary achievement; (*e*) agricultural adjustments; (*f*) land; (*g*) water; (*h*) forest; (*i*) minerals; (*j*) flora; (*k*) crops; (*l*) educational institutions; (*m*) football arrangements; (*n*) wholesale trade; (*o*) civic clubs.

5. Can there be regions within regions? Illustrate in a half-dozen ways.

6. Can the term "region" apply within the local community? How?

7. Present a number of illustrations showing the differences between sectionalism and regionalism.

8. What has the New Deal done to promote the regional concept? List all the forces possible.

9. Has the New Deal done anything that might have a tendency to promote sectionalism?

10. If it is true that the nation came to its dilemmas in 1930 through unbalance and unevenness in its regional developments and integrations, along with modern technological and urban civilization, then how can we reintegrate and coördinate regional forces for a stronger national unity and social well-being? Let this question be the basis of extensive discussion and the motivation for many plans.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

concentrations	regional initiative	genesis
multicultured	potentials of civilization	dynamic
differentials		sectionalism

B. *Selected Readings and References*

Most of this chapter may be found in substance or in form in *American Regionalism* and is used by permission of the publishers. In that volume, too, there is a comprehensive bibliography.

The following list may be utilized as a sort of minimum reference shelf:

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Unit II

The Physical Backgrounds of Our Society

TOPIC 4: NATURE AND SOCIETY: THE LIVING WEALTH OF AMERICA

We have called attention to the extraordinary range and variety of the geography of the United States with its richness and resources, its variations in land and climate, and its wide expanses of mountains and plains. We have pointed out how important it is to understand and to develop the several regions of the nation in order to integrate and strengthen the nation as a whole.

In order to understand America, its people, and its democracy, it is necessary, first of all, to understand the influence of nature and physical environment, both as they characterize the continent and as they affect the people.

Again we are aware of two great factors in America. One is the American continent, the living geography of the United States, as opposed to, let us say, the nations of Europe or Asia or Africa or the islands of the seas. The other, as we have pointed out often, is the nature and spirit of the people and their democracy.

America is America because of its unique panorama of land and forests, its rivers and deserts, its mountains and plains, its harbors and highways. It is this physical America which constituted the first backgrounds of the second

America, namely, the spirit and reality of democracy and of equal opportunity for men.

As a matter of fact, all nations and all societies are conditioned largely by the nature of their physical environment and physiographic backgrounds. In some ways, therefore, the study of nature is "the beginning of wisdom." The natural environment is of great power and variety, including the animal, the plant, and the mineral world; the climate and the soil; the influence of nature upon man and his culture. This natural environment influences migration, settlement, general culture, the number and nature of cities, the amount and character of rural life, as well as the economic and industrial life of the people. Thus, both the quantity and the quality of the people as well as occupations and institutions are influenced by natural environment, which becomes basic to civilization.

The people are faced with the problem of mastering the environment rather than being subject to it. Here are involved many problems: that of migration; the limitation of natural resources; the development, use, conservation, and waste of natural resources; and the development of science as it relates to nature and the physical environment.

Of all the stories of man's adventures on this earth, none appears more dramatic and powerful than his struggle with land and climate, with mountains and rivers, with situation and resources, together with the resulting social arrangements which he has made for himself in his heroic attempts both to improve his societal environment and to explain his long road up. It is a long story, sometimes tedious in the telling; sometimes, like a mighty river sweeping on, now deep and swift, now wide and turbulent in floodtide, now disappearing beneath the earth again in perpetual life-giving waters.

It is a long way from the slow journeying of mankind encumbered with all of his earlier cultures to the swift-moving drama of western civilization; from the primitive fear of nature and the all-explaining magic to the modern mastery of nature through a new mechanistic order of technology. Yet the story is all there for the telling, as vivid as life, as comprehensive as the world of men and geography, as powerful and dramatic as the struggle to live and to conquer.

Inherent in this story of man and his physical environment is the problem of man's adjustment to his environment and the consequent adapting of his cultures and his later civilization. All along the way there has been the perpetual "problem" of adjustment and adaptation. It is as ancient as man and it is as modern as technology. It is world-wide in its timeliness, and underlies the scientific theories of society and the practical working of the social order.

This societal problem of man in his relation to his environment has appeared so fundamental that many theorists have made it the central theme of their study. The range of emphasis has varied from the theme of man's love of the land to the assumption that only through the equitable adjustment of the world's population to its natural resources is it possible to attain a high civilization well balanced with human welfare. In between are the many theories relating to the environmental basis of society and of education. All of these theories ascribe to natural environment an important rôle in civilization. The geographers had a way of saying "we are what we are because of where we are."

Within recent years many factors, such as technology, transportation and communication, world tensions and

nationalism, together with great population movements and conservation programs, have magnified both the importance and timeliness of a re-examination of the social problems involved in the natural environment and resources.

The biologists have developed well their phase of the field of ecology, which is the science which studies the relation of an organism to its environment. Their two fields are animal ecology and plant ecology.

It is easy to see the importance of human ecology which interprets men and institutions in terms of their relation to the living environment. It is easy to catalog many economic problems in relation to crops; conservation and waste problems in relation to the soil and Dust Bowl; problems of abundance and scarcity in plant and animal production; problems of disease and adaptation to climatic areas; and many others. While the chief emphasis here is upon the societal or theoretical backgrounds, it is easy for the keen student to sense the very practical significance of ecology to our own American problems today. Such an understanding will help him to see improvements on the long-time basis.

Similar in some respects, but more general in its application, is the geographer's interpretation of history and culture within the historic period of man's development as being profoundly affected by climate, topography, soil, rainfall, drainage, and the other physiographic factors. Thus the geographers point out that the great civilizations have developed around the favorable influences of mild, varied climate, fertile land, river valleys, or water fronts. Some geographers and historians designate climate as the chief determining factor, so that temperate and colder

climates are reputed to provide the greater reaches of civilization.

The constant demand for adjustment and mastery can be indicated by the general requirements for a high type of civilization, namely, favorable climate, good soil, and accessibility. The climate and the land must include adequate temperature and moisture, productive soil and situation, to which must be added abundance of sunshine and winds and growing seasons. To these potential resources of abundance must be added, of course, minerals and power, the two other great blocks of resources essential to the flowering of a culture of the first order. It is easily observed that modern science, invention, technology will vary the importance of these.

Miami and Los Angeles in the United States are examples of very prosperous and populous centers, once considered unsuited to civilization because of climatic factors which now constitute their chief assets. In the desert areas the great reservoir dams being constructed make possible the utilization of desert lands through irrigation and add recreational features besides, so that the problem of adjustment to environment is to some extent solved through science and engineering. Thus, it may be said, in some respects, that climate and distance constitute a less important controlling factor than originally. By the same token, however, because of the new uses of science and technology, the rôle of natural resources assumes an increasingly larger place, and through competitive processes the geographic factors continue to be of major importance.

This changing significance of geographic factors and of natural environment may be well illustrated in the case of rivers. Originally, rivers were basic to travel, through

navigation and through trails and gateways to new frontiers. The big rivers constituted the arterial trunk lines for the location of settlements and for travel and commerce. Now most of these appear as minor factors in comparison with other major services, namely, power, irrigation, flood control, and recreation facilities. It is apparent that the problem varies with time and locality, the new problems differing from the old as those in various regions differ widely at the present time.

We may close this discussion of the importance of nature to man and of the rôle of the geographic environment in the development of cultures by giving several important quotations which the student will want to study carefully.

Stuart Chase in *Rich Land, Poor Land*, page 350, says:

"People do not make continents; continents make a people. The age-long strength of Russia is due to her latitude, climate, resources and sweep. The strength of England is due to her position on the sea. The strength of our nation is due to the continent of North America. It has molded us, nourished us, fed its abundant vitality into our veins. We are its children, lost and homeless without its strong arms about us. Shall we destroy it?"

John E. Pomfret in *The Geographic Pattern of Mankind*, pages 4 and 12, says:

Men live in groups, and every social group is attached to some place or region. Every such region affords a certain type of topography, a certain type of soil, certain mineral and metal resources, and a certain type of climate. These things constitute the physical environment of the group. To this environment the social group must adjust itself. . . . Man is constantly surmounting disadvantages of physical environment. Poor soil is overcome by the use of fertilizers; lack of rainfall by the introduction of irrigation works; handicaps of relief by the building of roads, tunnels, and canals; and so on. The chief interest, therefore, in the study of human geography lies in the manner of man's adjustment to the

physical environment, not in the elements of that environment. . . . The influence of environment upon the history of man and upon the shaping of human culture has been tremendous. Indeed the task incumbent upon each society at the start was to arrive at an adaptation that would enable it to survive. Each social group discovered certain helps to be gained from nature, and these had a hand in shaping the peculiar complexion of its culture.

Franklin Thomas in *The Environmental Basis of Society*, pages 3–4 and 6, says:

"It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of environmental theory for the study and interpretation of history. The notion that geography influences the course of history did not originate with Huntington, nor Buckle, nor even with Montesquieu. Historians of all ages have been aware of the very close relation between the two fields. Many of them have made large use of the contributions of the students of anthropogeography and not a few have made noteworthy contributions to that science . . . it is more than ever agreed that the environment has a far-reaching effect upon every social group, in some cases overpowering social initiative and in others, the majority of instances, conditioning and limiting social activities which are directed toward the conquest of the environment and its adaptation for the use of the group."

Finally, we may summarize some of the ways in which the natural environment conditions group life. The topics listed below represent an expansion of a Social Studies Chart for the Secondary Schools of New York State. It is a good summary of the ways in which nature influences man and society.

1. *The natural environment is of great power and variety.*
   The animal, plant, and mineral world are basic.
   Climate and soil are masters.
   Scenic nature may be of great wealth.
   Health elements in nature are fundamental.

2. *The natural environment influences ways of living.*
   Natural factors influence settlement.
   Natural factors influence general culture.
   Natural environment is powerful in the development of cities.
   Environmental factors are elemental in agriculture and rural life.
3. *Natural resources are distributed over the earth.*
   Natural resources are unevenly developed.
   Natural resources condition the areas in which they are found.
   The value of natural resources is in relation to availability and use.
   The effects of natural resources on group living are great.
4. *Distribution of population is influenced by natural environment.*
   The quantity of the people is affected.
   The quality of the people is affected.
   The effect of natural resources on occupations of peoples is great.
   The relation to standard of living is vital.
   Migration and resources are inseparably related.
5. *The limitation of natural resources makes for interdependence.*
   Unequal distribution of natural resources affect national development.
   Use and value of resources are affected by trade.
   The effect of exhausting resources is often tragic.
   Science creates synthetic products from nature.
6. *Mechanization of industry has increased the exploitation of natural resources.*
   Resources for industrial development are limitless.
   Discovery of new uses of natural resources transforms the world.
   Economic progress is made through wide use of natural resources.
   The effects of machine farming are far-reaching.
7. *Man is faced with the problem of managing his environment.*
   Waste caused by ravages of natural forces is a great liability.
   Waste caused by man constitutes a problem.

New methods are used to combat waste and destruction of natural resources.
The need for planning for natural resources is clear.

8. *Man learns from nature.*
All science is based upon natural phenomena.
Science leads in the utilization of resources.
Nature in art and literature has had a profound influence.
Nature and conservation are twin partners in the new day.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 4: NATURE AND SOCIETY: THE LIVING WEALTH OF AMERICA

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What influence does the mountain, the river, the sea and ocean, or the plain exert on the life of man?
2. What influence does poor soil, torrid climate, rich mines, or abundant water power exert on the life of people?
3. What effects do the forces of climate and weather have on man's physiological, psychological, and governmental processes?
4. What connection do you see between land utilization and democracy in American history?
5. What natural resources are basic to the problem of modern warfare?
6. What ways are open to aid in bringing about world peace, as far as natural resources are concerned?
7. What effect has modern means of communication and transportation (the automobile, airplane, and radio) had on man in his relation to the geographic environment and natural resources?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How does the geographic environment influence (*a*) population, (*b*) family life, (*c*) character of man, or (*d*) type of recreation?

2. With the sum total of facts before us to demonstrate the power and abundance of our natural resources, how do we account for the plight of the farmer, miner, fisherman, and lumberman?

3. How does geography influence the majority of people in their choice of an occupation?

4. How is the migration of people affected by geography?

5. In the light of present-day international affairs, how do geography and natural resources influence the trend of events?

6. As regards natural resources, how can the attitude of people who "have not" and those who "have" be changed to satisfy relationships?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects and Results*

1. Why is the geographic environment important to social problems?

2. Why is man less or more dependent upon his geographic environment now than formerly?

3. Why is man more dependent upon his material environment now?

4. Why have we become so conscious of the values involved in our geographic heritage?

5. Why is it true that the United States, with barely six per cent of the world's area and only seven per cent of its population, has nearly half of the world's monetary metal, fifty-two per cent of the world's gold, four-fifths of the world's automobiles, and two-thirds of its oil? What does this imply in terms of American problems?

6. Why does land in many of its aspects constitute a social problem?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Tabulate the principal natural resources of the United States according to regions.

2. Locate them upon an outline map of the United States.

3. Make a list of the natural resources which this nation possesses in abundance and a list of important ones that are scarce.

4. What are some of the natural resources that are not found in this country?

5. Where can these needed resources be obtained?

6. Name and locate the climate belts of the nation.

7. Upon an outline map locate the leading rivers of this country and indicate their influence on the growth of cities.

8. Select the first twelve minerals "in abundance." List the principal uses of each.

9. Compare the growth of (*a*) mineral production and (*b*) water power from 1900 to 1940, with that of population, manufacturing, and transportation.

10. Report on about a dozen events in history that show the influence of geography on historical events.

11. Present a detailed picture of the natural resources of your state. Use diagrams, charts, and maps to display the facts.

12. What are the principal types of soil in the country? What effect do these soils have on determining types of crops that can be grown?

13. Take the three leading cities closest to you and study the geographic factors which have aided in their growth or have tended to retard growth.

14. Looking at the European situation at the present time, tabulate the needs of raw materials of the leading countries, and discuss this problem in the light of peace and discord.

B. *To Plan*

1. What are some of the natural resources of the United States that are yet undeveloped? Imagine the possibilities in them. Offer ideas for future promotion and use.

2. Many substitutes are being found for certain natural resources. What can be done with the original source?

3. Suggest further possible uses of water power.

4. Suggest ways in which a local area with excellent climate can benefit therefrom.

5. Suggest an international plan that will insure to most of the people of the world a just share of the needed raw materials.

6. Suggest new ways by which many natural resources can be made into natural wealth.

7. In terms of dollars and cents show the value of some of the natural resources in your local state. How can the value of these resources be increased?

8. Suggest ways by which the spirit of democracy can bring to the people further benefits from and uses of their natural resources.

9. Plan a program that will portray to the people a true picture of the value of the natural resources of their regions.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

synthetic	physical environment
adaptation	societal
human geography	topography
natural environment	mechanistic order
natural resources	anthropogeography

B. *Readings and References*

There is such an abundance of new and ever-changing material for this topic that it is difficult to choose. Not only are there hundreds of articles, brochures, and books dealing with the living geography of a nation newly conscious of its resources, but also a similar abundance of literature dealing with the historical and theoretical aspects of environment and society, thus indicating the distinction between the current emergent problems and the long-time societal problems.

Special reference to *Recent Social Trends* includes Part I of the Committee Findings, namely, "Problems of Physical Heritage," pages xvi–xix. Also Chapter II, "Utilization of Natural Wealth," should be studied in its entirety.

Two of the most vivid and convincing volumes that have yet been written on the problem of the conservation and the use of natural resources are Stuart Chase's *Rich Land, Poor Land* and Russell Lord's *Behold Our Land.*

Other volumes available for such further detailed study as may be desired include:

A National Plan for American Forestry. The Report of the Forest Service of the Agricultural Department on the Forest

Problem of the United States. In two volumes. United States Government Printing Office, 1933.

LORD, RUSSELL. *To Hold This Soil.* Publication No. 321 of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1938.

National Resources Board. *Report.* Part II, Land; Part III, Water; Part IV, Minerals. United States Government Printing Office, 1934.

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TOPIC 5: NATURAL RESOURCES: THEIR CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT

WE HAVE called attention often to the fact that one of the products of the depression in America is the new interest in and appreciation for the meaning, range, development, and conservation of our natural resources. We have pointed out how the weal of the nation depends upon this wealth and its wise use.

On the part of the people of the United States in the past, there has been an extraordinary ignorance concerning the nature, size, power, and problem-generating qualities of our natural resources and an incredible forgetfulness of the history and romance of their discovery and recent development. This applies especially to a general lack of knowledge and understanding of basic relationships between land, climate, regions, minerals, and the nature of the culture and the behavior of the people.

Here are extraordinary pictures of the basic natural wealth of the nation, and their reflection in the stupendous spectacle of a changing use of wealth which transforms the whole culture and civilization.

Land and forests, flora and fauna.
Rivers and lakes and rainfall abundant.
Coal and iron and hundreds of other minerals.
Stone and clays of fabulous mode for fabricating great buildings.
Energy and power surging and dormant from oil and gas and electricity.
Parks and playgrounds, summer and winter resorts, play places of a nation.
Nature reserves and sanctuaries for wild life.
Highways and byways, railroads and airways extraordinary.

There is land, for instance, the source and power of all the Jeffersonian dream of the greater domain and democracy. The nation's extraordinary resources in land, with the companion forces of climate and accessibility, still constitute its incomparable basic power, but like most other aspects of the American situation they challenge the nation to a new sort of utilization and planning economy as a result of the great changes of recent years. Land there is in abundance, and more, but the epic of free land and frontier domain is transcended by the complicated problems of the new agricultural crisis, the land problem of cities, and the backsweep from frontier and city to newer rural life and to new ways of using the land.

Forestry land there is, but not the primeval limitless woods for prodigal cutting and lumbering; on the contrary, new forestry policies and developments anticipate the utilization of millions of acres for other uses, such as erosion prevention, recreation, parks, game conservation, and paper manufacturing. The old frontier has gone, but a new and expanding domain of county, state, and nationally owned lands challenge new utilization policies, extraordinary economic and social planning, and great obligations for a new agrarian economy.

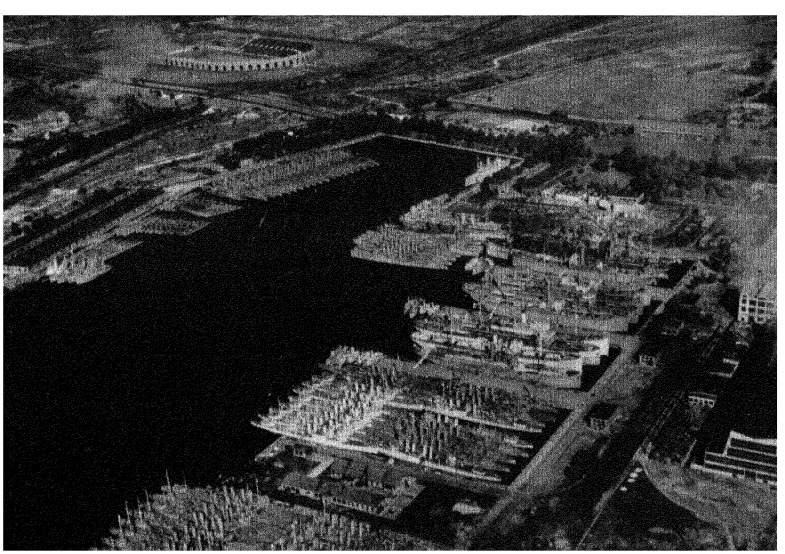
All in all, it would be difficult to find in the early twentieth-century, in which the foundations of great natural resources are the same as those in the nineteenth century, any feature which reflects a greater difference of treatment and requires greater science and skill than that of the utilization of land. The natural land resources themselves have changed little; the problem and setting have changed almost entirely.

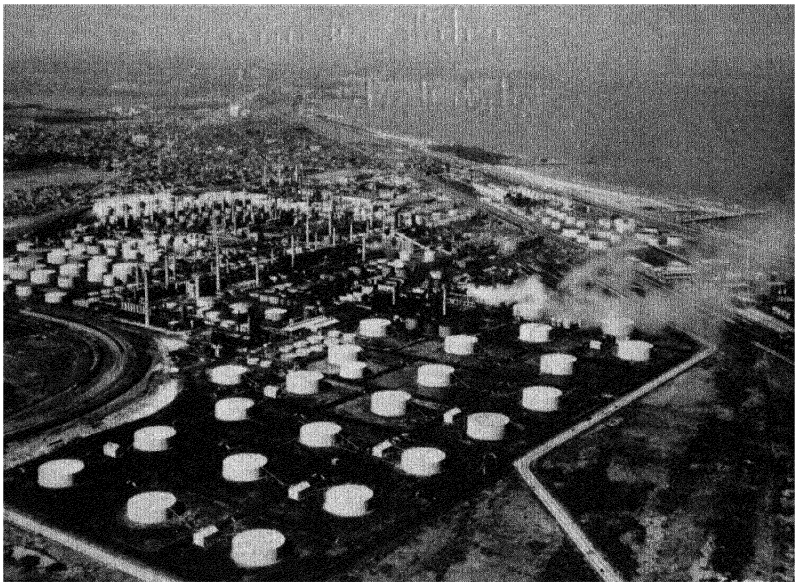
The total American land picture comprehends not a few million; not one hundred or two hundred or three hun-



Top and bottom, American Airlines, Inc.

Physical backgrounds of society: the regions of our country, seen by air, present contrasting spectacles. Boston Harbor and the Philadelphia Navy Yard show good harbor facilities.

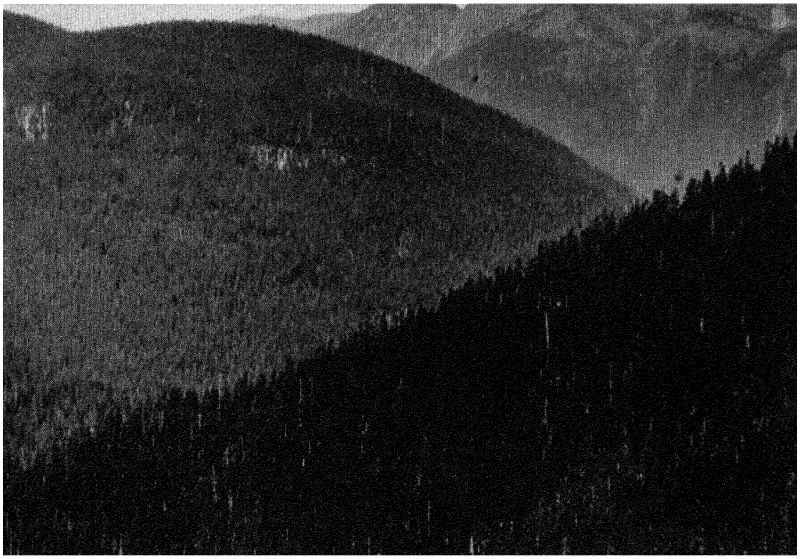




Top, American Airlines, Inc.; bottom, Ewing Galloway

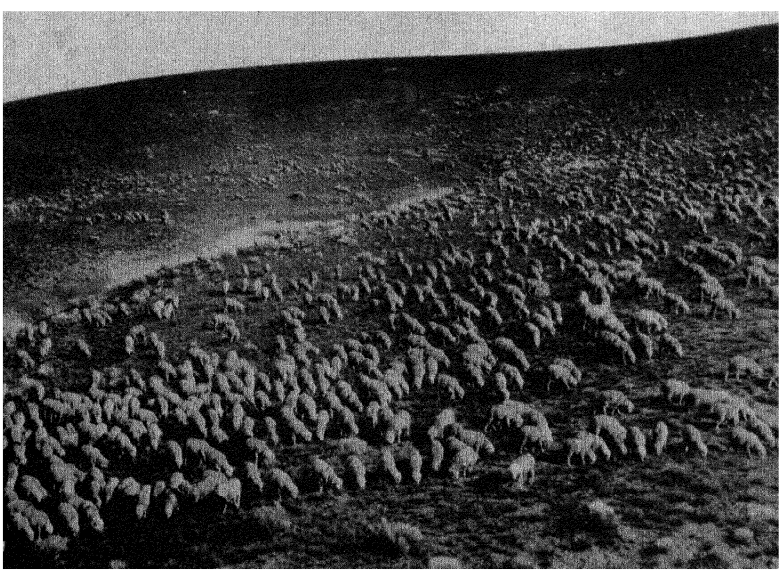
Oil fields and wheat fields add their significance to the panorama of the nation's resources.





Top and bottom, Ewing Galloway

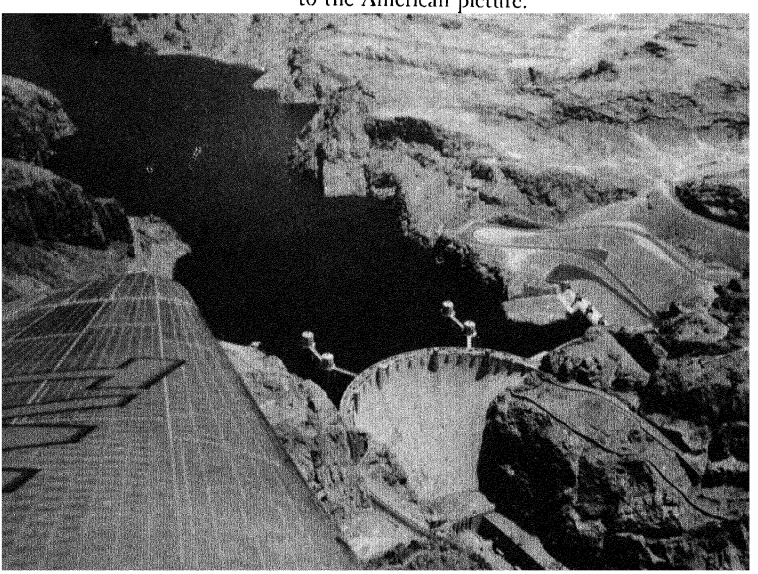
Broad slopes of timber and, in another region, flocks of sheep grazing on rolling highlands—these, too, are part of the physical backgrounds of our society.





Above, Ewing Galloway; below, Transcontinental and Western Air, Inc

Mount Hood, symbol of goals to be attained, and Boulder Dam, a goal actually attained—these in their different regions help to give character to the American picture.



LAND IN FARMS, 1930

Adapted from *Southern Regions of the United States*

State and Region	Number Farms	Total Acres	Average Acreage
Southeast	2,388,806	170,507,839	71.4
Virginia	170,610	16,728,620	98.1
North Carolina	279,708	18,055,103	64.5
South Carolina	157,931	10,393,113	65.8
Georgia	255,598	22,078,630	86.4
Florida	58,966	5,026,617	85.2
Kentucky	246,499	19,927,286	80.8
Tennessee	245,657	18,003,241	73.3
Alabama	257,395	17,554,635	68.2
Mississippi	312,663	17,332,195	53.4
Arkansas	242,334	16,052,962	66.2
Louisiana	161,445	9,355,437	57.9
Southwest	744,932	199,846,608	268.3
Oklahoma	203,866	33,790,817	165.8
Texas	495,489	124,707,130	251.7
New Mexico	31,404	30,822,034	981.5
Arizona	14,173	10,526,627	742.7
Northeast	618,079	63,407,903	102.6
Maine	39,006	4,639,938	119.0
New Hampshire	14,906	1,960,061	131.5
Vermont	24,898	3,896,097	156.5
Massachusetts	25,598	2,005,461	78.3
Rhode Island	3,322	279,361	84.1
Connecticut	17,195	1,502,279	87.4
New York	159,806	17,979,633	112.5
New Jersey	25,378	1,758,027	69.3
Delaware	9,707	900,815	92.8
Pennsylvania	172,419	15,309,485	88.8
Maryland	43,203	4,374,398	101 3
West Virginia	82,641	8,802,348	106.5
Middle States	1,622,625	209,566,897	123.0
Ohio	219,296	21,514,059	98.1
Indiana	181,570	19,688,675	108.4
Illinois	214,497	30,695,339	143.1
Michigan	169,372	17,118,951	101.1
Wisconsin	181,767	21,874,155	120.3
Minnesota	185,255	30,913,367	166.9
Iowa	214,928	34,019,332	158.3
Missouri	255,940	33,743,019	131.8
Northwest	648,927	278,832,755	429.7
North Dakota	77,975	38,657,894	495.8
South Dakota	83,157	36,470,083	438.6
Nebraska	129,458	44,708,565	345.4
Kansas	166,042	46,975,647	282.9
Montana	47,495	44,659,152	940.3
Idaho	41,674	9,346,908	224.3
Wyoming	16,011	23,525,234	1,469.3
Colorado	59,956	28,876,171	481.6
Utah	27,159	5,613,101	206.7
Far West	265,175	64,605,943	243.6
Nevada	3,442	4,080,906	1,185.6
Washington	70,904	13,533,778	190.9
Oregon	55,153	16,548,678	300.1
California	135,676	30,442,581	224.4

dred million acres; but nineteen hundred million. Yet of all this extraordinary domain only 973,000,000 acres, or about a half, has been considered capable of farm use and only 359,000,000, or less than one-fifth, has actually been in harvested crop lands. Now the use of land is part, parcel, and product of that other most important segment of the natural resources of the nation—its climate. But this is not all. Climate, the geographic historiographers said, is molder of culture and character. In America, for instance, it encouraged slavery, which created conflict, with resulting war which set the nation in new patterns of political and economic behavior. Climate they said, made for efficiency and inefficiency, for wealth and waste. This example of one influence of climatic conditions is extreme, yet much of the new science and invention were making void both the extreme effects of climate and the dogma of the geographers.

Nevertheless, the great range in temperature and rainfall, in growing seasons, and in adaptations constituted a basic source of wealth and is still fundamental, so that, region by region, Americans are developing vast resources in varied and seasonable growing things and in the better utilization of climate for recreation, health, and commercial development.

Of all these things about the land and its people, the great American urban populace know little. The urban descendants of men and women who live close to the soil, who help the animal world to grow and multiply, and who watch the rains and seasons bring benefit and disaster, scarcely know one animal from another, neither mule from cow, nor sheep from goat. They little understand the ways and culture of American farm folk as they work and struggle, paradoxical folk, prophets of gloom, cheerful in spirit.

Although Jefferson saw the country people as "those who labour in the earth—the chosen people of God . . . the focus of that sacred fire which otherwise might escape from the face of the earth," urban America complains of their demands, lobbies against them, and takes little thought for the morrow of a nation suffering from agricultural catastrophe.

Parts of the nation are becoming interested in the American picture of the out-of-doors, a sort of back-to-nature movement, with the emphasis upon recreation, leisure time, physical reconstruction, picturesque and historical heritage. Parks and playgrounds—national, state, municipal—have multiplied a hundredfold; national forests and bird sanctuaries have become a public interest; and a thousand organizations attend to the promotion and educational features of the new good life.

Here is scenic beauty unparalleled, a picture unsurpassed. The picture includes twenty-one national parks in sixteen states, with an area of over 8,000,000 acres and still others in prospect. There are national forests of 185,000,000 acres in nine regions in twenty-six states.

Another part of the nature picture reflects a growing interest in the conservation and development of wild life. In the earlier American picture the abundance and variety of the wild life of the New Continent was a constant marvel wherever it was not taken for granted by the pragmatic pioneers. There were pioneer pictures unsurpassed: buffalo and bear, turkey and deer, fox and beaver, marten and mink; clouds of wild pigeons, millions of ducks, millions of small game, rabbit and squirrel, bobwhite and dove. Wild life was in reality one of the nation's great natural resources.

Since the turn of the century there has been a great revival of interest, both from the esthetic and recreational

CONSERVING AND UTILIZING NATURAL WEALTH THROUGH NATIONAL PARKS

Illustrated Booklets Concerning No Less Than Twenty of the Twenty-six National Parks Listed Below May Be Had from the Director of National Park Service at Washington

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, KY.—Birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. Established 1916; 0.17 square miles.

ACADIA, MAINE.—Combination of mountain and seacoast scenery. Established 1919; 24.91 square miles.

BRYCE CANYON, UTAH.—Canyons filled with exquisitely colored pinnacles. Established 1928; 56.23 square miles.

CARLSBAD CAVERNS, N. MEX.—Beautifully decorated limestone caverns. Established 1930; 15.75 square miles.

CRATER LAKE, OREG.—Beautiful lake in crater of extinct volcano. Established 1902; 250.52 square miles.

FORT McHENRY, MD.—Its defense in 1814 inspired writing of Star-spangled Banner. Established 1925; 0.07 square miles.

GENERAL GRANT, CALIF.—General Grant Tree and grove of Big Trees. Established 1890; 3.98 square miles.

GLACIER, MONT.—Unsurpassed alpine scenery; 200 lakes; 60 glaciers. Established 1910; 1,537.98 square miles.

GRAND CANYON, ARIZ.—World's greatest example of erosion. Established 1919; 1,008 square miles.

GRAND TETON, WYO.—Most spectacular portion of Teton Mountains. Established 1929; 150 square miles.

GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS, N. C.-TENN.—Massive mountain uplift; magnificent forests. Established for protection 1930; 643.26 square miles.

HAWAII: ISLANDS OF HAWAII AND MAUI.—Interesting volcanic areas. Established 1916; 248.54 square miles.

HOT SPRINGS, ARK.—Forty-seven hot springs reserved by the Federal Government in 1832 to prevent exploitation of waters. Made national park in 1921; 1.54 square miles.

LASSEN VOLCANIC, CALIF.—Only recently active volcano in United States proper. Established 1916; 163.32 square miles.

MAMMOTH CAVE, KY.—Interesting caverns, including spectacular onyx cave formation. Established for protection 1936; 54.09 square miles.

MESA VERDE, COLO.—Most notable cliff dwellings in United States. Established 1906; 80.21 square miles.

MOUNT McKINLEY, ALASKA.—Highest mountain North America. Established 1917; 3,030.46 square miles.

MOUNT RAINIER, WASH.—Largest accessible single-peak glacier system. Established 1899; 377.78 square miles.

PLATT, OKLA.—Sulphur and other springs. Established 1902; 1.32 square miles.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN, COLO.—Peaks from 11,000 to 14,255 feet in heart of Rockies. Established 1915; 405.33 square miles.

SEQUOIA, CALIF.—General Sherman, largest and possibly oldest tree in world; outstanding groves of Sequoia gigantea. Established 1890; 604 square miles.

SHENANDOAH, VA.—Outstanding scenic area in Blue Ridge. Established 1935; 282.14 square miles.

WIND CAVE, S. DAK.—Beautiful cavern of peculiar formations. No stalactites or stalagmites. Established 1903; 19.75 square miles.

YELLOWSTONE: WYO.-MONT.-IDAHO.—World's greatest geyser area, an outstanding game preserve. Established 1872; 3,437.88 square miles.

YOSEMITE, CALIF.—Valley of world-famous beauty; spectacular waterfalls; magnificent High Sierra country. Established 1890; 1,176.16 square miles.

ZION, UTAH.—Zion Canyon 1,500 to 2,500 feet deep. Spectacular coloring. Established 1919; 134.91 square miles.

In *What Are National Parks?* Supplement to *Planning and Civic Comment* for March 1938,

The role of parks in land planning and use is given as follows: "Park conservation is a national policy and a national challenge. . . . Parks are as much a form of land settlement as are farms, and park management is as much a land settlement industry as is the growing of corn, potatoes, or wheat. In the settlement of a country some lands are more suited to farming, others to grazing, others to forestry and mining. But some lands are more suitable for the inspiration, or recreation, of the people—breathing spaces, they might be called. . . . National parks may be defined as the superlative natural areas, set apart and conserved unimpaired for the inspiration and benefit of the people. National monuments are the objects of historic, prehistoric, or scientific interest, set apart and conserved unimpaired because of their national value. . . . For the national park and monument system, the Federal Government seeks to locate, appraise, and secure for public inspiration and benefit: All those areas that are nationally of more value for recreation than for any other use; Outstanding stretches of the ocean beaches; Nationally important prehistoric and historic sites, objects, and buildings; The finest representative examples of native plant and animal life; The most instructive geological exhibits—such as the Grand Canyon; and A system of nationally important scenic and historic parkways."

viewpoint and from that of economic value, in the conservation of birds, of fur-bearing animals, and of fish, particularly in stream and lake. By 1930 there were no less than eighty-one federal refuges and sanctuaries and fifty-nine Audubon refuges throughout the country. All the states save perhaps three had adopted an official bird, selected variously because of special feature campaigns or for beauty, songs, economic value, or traditional associations. Here is another colorful picture of America—no less than seven states choosing the western meadow lark, four each the robin and bluebird; at least three states each the cardinal, the mocking bird, the bobwhite or quail.

Since forest and forest lore have played a significant and romantic rôle in the story of general human culture as well as in its specific aspects of literature, art, and religion, so also in the United States it is in nowise possible to understand the national culture and background without comprehending the tremendous part which its more than 600,000,000 acres of forest lands have played in the development of the American people.

Deep, dark piney woods with their tall, graceful, and compact millions of swaying and sighing lumber trees, fragrant with the incense of woodland moisture and golden brown needles, rich in wealth of rosin and turpentine and lumber and timbers. Great northern spruce and hemlock and hardwoods, powerful sentinels of a sturdy nation, native haunts of hunted game, terrain of the romance and commerce of a great fur industry, million-dollar fortunes of the early Americans. Great deep swamp, forest dark and mysterious—now eloquent with the silence of morning, now echoing with the cry of wildcat and panther, owl and hawk—tall gnarled cypress silhouetted against the sky or river bank. Immense midland woods, bisected by great

rivers, challenge to the clearing instinct of pioneers, ambush places for Indians on the warpath. Giant western redwoods incredibly big and old, chronicles of precivilization days of the continent, their manufactured products extending their survival qualities through generation and generation of fabricated pipe lines and timbers, roofings and containers. A vast panorama of wealth and beauty, American picture supreme.

The phenomenal rise of the automobile and of new modes of rapid transportation and communication have obscured for most Americans the important aspects of the nation's physical wealth as found in its hundreds of rivers. Yet, counteracting this, is the new dominance of power in which streams are again keys to wealth and development. There are yet other inventories in the countless little lakes which dotted its landscape, the Great Lakes like inland seas, and the limitless reaches of its 5,000 miles of gulf and ocean water front. What the Lakes to Gulf development may be is still problematical; yet, with the new reaches of building upon the Tennessee, the Cumberland, the Ohio, and others farther west, the outlook is immense.

There are four great rivers in the picture which would average more than two thousand miles in length; another four, more than a thousand miles; and fourscore and more are navigable, capable of adding richly to the scenic beauty and commercial assets of the nation. Pictures of showboat and river romance are lost in the past, yet the modern picture is more dynamic and productive; power dams and factories, rivers of waters with towns on their shores, barges on their bosoms; big rivers laden with commerce, little rivers and creeks, mountain streams and lakes, water reservoirs for the cities.

It is unfortunate that the nation can forget what these

rivers have been in the romance and practical techniques of earlier developments, whether as practical routes of discovery and commerce or as travel ways for intrepid trappers whose trading posts penetrated far into the depths of the forest frontier.

Still the picture grows. The episode of the rise of water power belongs perhaps more to the story of the technological than to the story of the natural wealth of the nation. But its base is, like coal and oil, a part of the interrelated units of natural wealth. The problem has become one of super-power through the rise of interconnected electrical systems and other technical developments. Such is the development of water power in the United States during the early 1930's, that there is a capacity of more than 16,000,000 water wheels' horsepower, exclusive of the new Norris and Wheeler dams and other smaller units which would be constructed by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Perhaps the magic of "natural" America had scarcely begun to appear before the great new energy resources of oil and gas were on the way to being developed. Something of this colorful picture, of the colossal power of minerals of the nation, might be glimpsed by contemplating the new civilization constantly being transformed by energy from the crudest of crude resources—oil. A part of the picture was the marvel of production. There was a single state, and a part only of that, East Texas, projecting no less than 9,300 producing wells which in two hours of open flow could provide fifty per cent more oil than the daily consumption of the whole nation.

If one wished to view the colossal nature of such a picture, one might imagine a review of more than 30,000,000 automobiles, trucks and tractors, busses and boats, airplanes and engines—picture de luxe of the great American

mobility, product of the new engine, dethroner of steam. This is no mere fanciful scene, but the liberal transforming power of the nation.

Of coal which had been doing two-thirds of the work of the nation, there is again a magician's supply, as yet not measured even by the new technology. Of the world's coal reserves, estimated at the long, long count of 8,154,322,500,000 short tons, the portion of the United States is no less than 4,231,352,000,000 or a little more than half of the total. This is perhaps 250 times the reserves of France and more than twenty times those of Great Britain and Ireland. Such are the stupendous reserve resources that it was estimated that, at the rate of consumption of the 1930's, there is coal enough to last the nation hundreds, if not thousands, of years. And the coal reserves are scattered far and wide over the nation, so that the coal picture is one of the most representative of the nation's variety and power.

America is a land of great buildings and monuments, memorials and bridges, pictures beyond compare, fabricated from seemingly endless supplies of building materials of steel and stone, marbles and granites, concrete, and metals.

Steel, king of fabricated structural materials, and basic to modern civilization, appears in the picture almost a hundred times as much as any other one metal. It is, too, index of advance and recession in the markets of the world. Of the world's requirement of about 100,000,000 tons of steel a year, the United States furnishes a little more than half of the supply. In the United States the per capita annual requirement of new iron and steel is nearly one hundred times the amount upon which nearly half of the world operates. Yet in the America of the early 1930's

the steel industry was sick unto death for the need of the oxygen of more consumption to provide for more production to satisfy its limitless capacity. Picture Pittsburgh and Bethlehem and Birmingham gauging the return of prosperity and hope by the red ember glow of furnace blasts!

Natural resources, after all, constitute the basic wealth of the nation. They exist for the future as well as the present. They have been fundamental in all of the past developments of the nation. These considerations should not be overlooked. The further facts are that natural wealth is everywhere available in great abundance and variety sufficient for the attainment of a full measure of the American dream and for the zestful entertainment of its best talent for generations to come.

On the other hand, there is the critical problem of technical ways of guaranteeing not only the utilization of natural resources, but such equilibrium of distribution and conservation as would genuinely balance the wealth and the welfare of the nation. Opportunities seem limitless. It is to be remembered, however, that although the land possibilities of the United States exceed those of all Europe and approximate those of China and India, its population is still less than 125,000,000 in contrast to Europe's 350,000,000 and China and India with their 800,000,000. There are still land and resources in abundance to challenge new reaches of planning for human adequacy and security.

The beauty and power of it! Scenic extravagance in a thousand parks, rolling hills and level plains; ten thousand smooth-flowing streams through meadows and valleys; a million pictures of farm folk at sunrise and sunset, in the fields and at the markets; a million pictures of ripening grain and mellowing fruits, pictures of the age-long con-

test of flowers that bloom, of foods for man and beast and weeds that grow and choke out the gardeners' and the farmers' handiwork; animals and animals, prize specimens and scrub, swift-running race horses, high-producing cattle; age-long pictures, meadows and hillsides, grazing lands and watering places.

This greater picture has often been blurred by the plight of farmer and miner and fisherman and lumberman, and by the dilemmas of poor men on poor land, of unemployed millions; a land of waste in a land of plenty. These come to be among the nation's chiefest problems of the new day.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 5: NATURAL RESOURCES: THEIR CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Emphasis is being placed upon the conservation and uses of natural wealth as contrasted with the waste and exploitation so common in the past. A main question here is to ascertain the ways in which technological aspects of conservation and use for human welfare constitute social problems.

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What is meant by the formula "poor land, poor men"?

2. What about this statement made by an authority that "unless something is done to stop erosion of the soil, certain areas will have to be turned back to 'the foxes and briers'?"

3. What about the statement of some of our conservation enthusiasts that another hundred years of our present waste of soil will render parts of the nation "a literal desert of a past civilization?" Discuss.

4. What relation is there between tenancy and soil conservation?

5. What would be the advantage to agriculture if the crude-oil supplies were to be rapidly depleted?

6. What have science and technology to do with all this problem of oil and other mineral resources?

7. What does Professor Zimmerman mean when he implies that coal in the United States today is a different sort of resource from what it was in the earlier 1900's?

8. To what extent should the great desert area be irrigated, if at all?

9. To what extent should the forest lands of the country be controlled?

10. What about the management of all public-owned lands? Should not unnecessary waste become a matter of social responsibility?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How may the soil be conserved?

2. How should drainage and reclamation of land proceed and to what extent?

3. How can the best use of specific areas of land be determined?

4. How may the conservation of water supply bring added material civilization to an area?

5. How can the people best be kept informed about these problems?

6. How can the regional concept be developed and utilized to an advantage?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why is there so much interest in the conservation movement at this time? Give facts to substantiate opinions?

2. Why is it said that we are cultivating too much land? Might it not be said that conservation sometimes means a "locking up" of these and other resources?

3. Why should a "back-to-the-farm movement" be encouraged in the face of overproduction of agricultural commodities?

4. Why should the federal government become so interested in conservation in all its aspects?

5. Why are the people of this country considered to be so wasteful?

6. Why are there dust storms in the Middle West? What plans have been proposed to prevent them? Which plan do you consider most feasible?

7. Why may thrift be considered a poor policy and under what circumstances?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. In terms of land, forest, water, and minerals within the state, to what extent can the word "waste" be applied? To what extent can the term "conservation" be used?

2. Gather facts on "soil erosion" in the state. Is it increasing or decreasing? What is being done to prevent it? Compare these facts with those obtained from other states.

3. By practical illustrations relate "soil erosion" and "social problems." Note the relationship as applied to a family, a community, or an area.

4. Is there a need for reforestation? Prove the case.

5. Report on the exploitation of timber resources in the state.

6. Upon an outline map locate all the government projects concerning water power. Do they warrant the assumption of continued interest on the part of the federal government? Why or why not?

7. Report on the work of the United States Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, and Interior in the field of conservation.

8. Gather pictures and clippings of Coulee Dam, Boulder Dam, and Roosevelt Dam. Discuss these projects in relation to social welfare and progress.

9. Justify "irrigation." Offer facts to illustrate and substantiate opinions.

10. Gather some facts to show waste of water power. How much power is available in each case and at what cost can it be made available over a wide area?

11. Compare the present programs toward conservation with the original Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot movements.

12. What special aspects of conservation are sponsored by the National Park Service?

13. Report on the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

B. *To Plan*

1. Create a composite picture of what the class considers the proper uses of (a) land, (b) forests, (c) water, (d) food, and (e) minerals.

2. What can the class and the school do in the field of conservation?

3. Formulate a program and sponsor some of its activities.

4. What should be the methods and means of preventing destructive erosion?

5. Develop a plan to rebuild the run-down lands.

6. Suggest possible uses of the millions of acres classed as "submarginal lands."

7. Can the harnessing of water create power to remake rural life, to build a better rural community, and to make a better agricultural community? Develop this picture.

8. Study the plans of your State Planning Board. Suggest next steps.

9. Interpret the plans of the National Resources Committee as they affect regionalism.

10. Formulate a program whereby regional planning may be of benefit to both the region and the nation.

11. Lay down specific rules that might prevent waste in the future.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

esthetic dogma
agrarian economy pragmatic
geographic historiographer

B. *Readings and References*

The following books will serve as a basis for general study, and special bibliographies may be found in some of them:

A National Plan for American Forestry. The Report of the Forest Service of the Agricultural Department on the Forest Problems of the United States. In two volumes. United States Government Printing Office, 1933.

Bulletins of the United States Departments of Agriculture and the Interior.

CHASE, STUART. *Rich Land, Poor Land.* Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936.

LORD, RUSSELL. *Behold Our Land.* Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938.

——. *To Hold This Soil.* Publication No. 321 of the United States Department of Agriculture. United States Government Printing Office, 1938.

National Resources Board. *Report.* Part II, Land; Part III, Water; Part IV, Minerals. United States Government Printing Office, 1934.

National Resources Committee. *Drainage Basin Problems and Programs.* United States Government Printing Office, 1936.

ODUM, HOWARD W. and MOORE, HARRY ESTILL. *American Regionalism.* Henry Holt and Company, 1938.

Recent Social Trends in the United States. Committee Findings, pages xvi–xx; also Chapter II.

Saving Our Soil. Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated, 1937.

Soils and Men. Yearbook of Agriculture, 1938. United States Government Printing Office, 1938.

State Departments of Conservation can render helpful assistance.

State Planning Boards have produced valuable bulletins and books. Most of the Boards are located at the state capitols.

Statistical Abstract of the United States Census.

Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933–1937. United States Government Printing Office, 1937.

TRACY, M. E. *Our Country, Our People, and Theirs.* The Macmillan Company, 1938.

ZIMMERMANN, E. W. *World Resources and Industries.* Harper and Brothers, 1933.

TOPIC 6: BIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BACKGROUNDS

We have often emphasized the fact that there are in reality only two great sources of wealth, namely, natural wealth and human wealth. So far in our studies we have been discussing mostly natural wealth and resources, although we have continuously emphasized the fact that these resources are of importance only in relation to the development of the nation and its capacity to provide for the people an American democracy fitted to a great civilization.

We have called attention to the importance of these resources as the backgrounds of our American nation. The living geography of the American continent is the framework upon which our civilization has grown and upon which it will continue to develop.

Other powerful and elemental backgrounds upon which the nation has builded its superstructure are the materials from which the people themselves, the human wealth of the nation, have developed. The people are, after all, biological folk and belong to certain stocks—earlier America being largely of the upper European stocks and later America adding many other stocks to the melting pot.

It is not only the biological background of the people in general that we must understand but also their psychological background. Their behavior has been determined largely by their earlier cultural and psychological heritage. They were pioneers and free people. They brought also certain customs and folkways from Europe. Their institutions were a part of their psychological background as well as product of the new land and culture. This is espe-

cially true also with reference to each of the great regions. They contain different people with different customs which have evolved from earlier days. To understand the people and their dilemmas, we must understand their background.

Other general backgrounds which must be understood include the relation of plants and animals to the diet and to the health of the people; the whole field of sanitation and hygiene; of sickness and health. All these are involved in the total biological background and influences. Yet these may be studied in relation to special problems elsewhere in the book.

We must seek, therefore, to understand many of the more specific fundamental aspects of man's natural heritage, other than geographical, which give rise to social problems and which also condition the nature of the equipment and tools with which the problems may be attacked.

One such major field is the biological background and heritage through which arise individual differences, sex and age classes, race differentials, and all the heritage of physiological processes through which nature utilizes food, climate, work, sex.

Whether "right" or "wrong," nature's economy is such that no two individuals are alike, no two groups behave alike, no individual is the same yesterday, today, or tomorrow. If one is inclined to doubt the difference of individuals, he might examine the scientific evidence in the modern fingerprint test which is universally accepted as a mode of exact identification of an individual, or he might study the scientific measurements of millions of individuals, or the evidence of individual differences in strength and appetites, in emotions, and in the long catalog of illustration of differences everywhere manifest in the division of labor

throughout the world. Regardless of questions of rightness or wrongness, of equality or superiority or inferiority of men and women or of nationalities or of races, all the evidence indicates that biological heritage has contributed something to this differentiation of the people.

It seems inevitable that these differentials should be the basis of situations and of dilemmas and constitute the background for many of our social problems. The problem of the use and control of liquor is bound up with the facts of individual differences; the problems of crime and poverty, of health and disease, are all interwoven with the fabric of differentials in both inheritance and training of the individual.

It is clear, therefore, that just as societies, groups of people, races and nationalities, are greatly influenced by their geographic backgrounds, so also their culture and behavior, and, therefore, their problems, are conditioned by their biological heritage. More particularly, however, the people themselves who constitute each group and all groups find the backgrounds of their character to a considerable extent in their biological heritage.

The societal problem involved is fourfold. First is the fact that human beings as the elementary units in human society are essentially biological units, and, therefore, the character of culture and society is very much conditioned by the nature and type of these biological units that make up society. Second is the organic fact, already indicated, of inherited differences in such characteristics as size, for example. There is a third factor of increasing importance in the modern world, which is inherent in certain physiological processes and in the biochemical aspects of diet—that is, the relation of diet to the chemistry of the living organism. Vitamines, glands, the effect of light and

foods upon the organism, are only a few of the new and emerging possibilities. It is possible, of course, to inquire at any length desired into a fourth aspect, namely, that of the evolutionary processes and stages through which men have grown to their present stature. Some of these may be primarily "intellectual" problems, but the majority offer opportunity for the scientific study of many larger societal problems and for the ameliorative approach to many more local social problems.

Important also in the situations and problems which reflect great diversity and differentials among individuals and groups are the psychological foundations and the cultural conditioning through which individuals and societies develop. These psychological backgrounds are especially important in the modern world and constitute the basis for the study of much that is often termed pathological. They are important also in the study of modern leaders and of the mass action of great multitudes of people. They are of primary importance in the consideration of all programs of action or amelioration, in that ever-present human nature and individual differences lie all too often athwart the path of successful group organization and coöperative effort.

There is, for instance, the major problem of population itself, which comprehends not only scientific inquiries into vitality, heredity, and a vast array of biological aspects, but also the more practical problems of population policy. There are further the larger problems of race and ethnic groups and, again, of eugenics and genetics, as they may be practically applied to human stocks. Both these scientific and practical phases will, however, be treated in subsequent chapters dealing with specialized aspects of these subjects. It is of the utmost importance to note the extraordinary significance of these problems of race and

ethnic groups and of population study in any adequate consideration of social problems.

In much the same way, the psychological backgrounds are elemental in the scientific study or the practical direction, let us say, of the child or of child-welfare programs. They are fundamental in the study of crime and pathology, as well as of the dependent and of other types of people deviating in any way from the normal.

Now upon looking at the American picture, we immediately catalog the people in terms of differences. Twenty-two million youth are different from approximately the same number of elders. There are nearly the same number of children, and there are twice as many in the great multitude of those who work and play in the middle years from twenty-five to forty-five. There are about 65,000,000 females and nearly as many males. Variations by localities, states, and regions furnish other important bases for classification. Some 11,000,000 or 12,000,000 Negroes are catalogued apart from about the same number of foreign born, and the foreign-born are catalogued under nearly two-score major categories, which indicate basic assumptions of different biological and cultural heritage.

Again, 30,000,000 and more of the American people are catalogued according to the grades and classes in which they are enrolled in school and college and, therefore, as they are differentiated by educational equipment. Other special millions are catalogued in relation to their home and family conditions, their income and their religion, through all of which, both as individuals and as groups, they have inherited a profound behavior conditioning.

Still, again, our communities and our cities, our states and our regions, are characterized in accordance as these likenesses and differences cluster about given modes and

standards: How many are married and how many are not? What is the concentration of special racial and ethnic groups and where are the centers of each group? What of this area with eighty per cent rural and this other area with twenty per cent? What of an area with half of its farmers tenants, and how does this compare with another area where the great majority are landowners? We might continue with further illustrations, yet these are adequate to make the case; namely, here as elsewhere, the reality and scientific nature of the case are found in the listing of resemblances and differences.

The individual is of peculiar importance in the whole scheme of social study because he represents both the subjective unit and also the objective service of society. The individual, after all, is an index to the quality and effectiveness of the good society, and in him will be found the key to the understanding of society and its problem. The individual, socially behaving, is the smallest unit of society. The individual is the unit upon which the institutions are built. Individual and social differences represent the basis of much modern social study and social work. Thus the student of social problems must ask many questions concerning the individual himself. Of what sort is he? In what ways do individuals differ? What social differences are there to make or mar the individual and to influence him in his social relationships? How is he related to the institutions? How are the institutions related to him? What ways of testing his general and specific abilities? What ways are there of guiding him into social living? What ways of making the free individual also the socially-minded component of society?

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 6: BIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BACKGROUNDS

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What opinions are often expressed about heredity and environment with no foundation in fact?
2. What are the principal causes of the decline in the birth rate?
3. What are the major causes of the decline in the death rate?
4. What besides good will is necessary to improve the human race?
5. What ways are there to test the general and specific abilities of individuals?
6. What is meant by "personality"?
7. What are some of the most important determining factors in personality?
8. What frequently determines the choice of a friend?
9. What has caused you to change friends occasionally?
10. What are some of the influences of family life on personality?
11. What are some of the effects of (a) society, (b) the community, (c) the neighborhood, and (d) the government upon personality? Discuss and illustrate.

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How do individuals differ? Discuss.
2. How does age affect individual differences?
3. How do diet, vitamins, and glands affect the organism?
4. How do social differences make or mar the individual or influence him in his social relationships?
5. How may personality be changed?
6. How do modes and standards of living affect personality?
7. How is the individual related to his institutions and how are the institutions related to him?

8. How can the individual be guided from the free self to be a socially minded component of society?

9. How efficient are intelligence tests as means of determining trends in equality population? When should they be accepted?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects and Results*

1. Why are public health statistics valuable?

2. Why should we investigate as to the type of population in this country?

3. Why should we be encouraged by the lowering of the death rate?

4. Why do people have different personalities?

5. Why is it that some people like, while others dislike, the same personality?

6. Why should we become more interested in the facts of biology and psychology?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. On a chart make a comparison and contrast study of the composition of the population in the United States according to (*a*) age groups, (*b*) sex, (*c*) birth rates, and (*d*) death rates.

2. With facts indicating the lowering of both the birth and death rates, what trends and problems are to be expected?

3. What facts, from laboratory and experience, can be collected that offer information on the quality of the present population?

4. Observe four classmates as to (*a*) physical, (*b*) mental, and (*c*) personality differences.

5. Choose ten pupils of your school—list, for each one, outstanding personality traits. Which traits appear common to most of them? Do some possess distinctly different traits? How do you account for this?

6. Make out a list of your own personality traits. Which ones do you believe you inherited? Which ones did you acquire? How did you arrive at your conclusions?

7. Select three outstanding personalities in modern life—list the elements that make the character outstanding.

8. Select, at random, a dozen people in the community—how do they differ according to: (*a*) type of work, (*b*) social rank and culture, (*c*) interests, and (*d*) leisure time activities? What facts can you give that would aid in determining the cause of the differences?

9. Choose four leading women in the United States. Why the choice? What personality traits determined choice?

10. Are intelligence tests used in your school? To what extent and for what purpose? How are they used?

B. *To Plan*

1. Suggest ways by which the span of life may be increased.
2. Plan ways by which the death rate can be lowered still further.
3. Offer a program to check infant mortality rates.
4. Plan methods of enlightening the public about the facts of individual differences.
5. Suggest ways by which the population in the unequal places may be given proper care and instruction as to health habits.
6. Suggest certain regional emphasis on these problems.
7. Study various plans and types of intelligence tests. How may they be used in the local community?

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

condition	genetics	eugenics
subjective unit	amelioration	tenant farmers
objective service	pathological	population policy

B. *Selected Readings and References*

Here, again, it is very difficult to limit selections of references in a field as broad as the biological and psychological backgrounds of the people. Manifestly, the student cannot become a specialist in biology or psychology. What he must do, therefore, is to become thoroughly cognizant of the existence and significance of these backgrounds and know where to find data when he needs further support.

From *Recent Social Trends*, the summary in Part 2, "Problems of Biological Heritage," pages xx–xxv, gives a brief statement of the problem. Chapter I on "The Population of the Nation," Chapter VIII on "Changing Social Attitudes and Interests," Chapter XXI on "Health and Medical Practices," and Chapter XII on "The Vitality of the American People" are all important.

The literature on mental testing is so specialized that the student is not expected to know about it, except as he will need to make special studies. Yet the following classification of types of testing should be considered:

Intelligence: Binet, Yerkes, Army Alpha and Beta, Stanford-Binet, General Intelligence Delta, National Intelligence Tests, Otis Advanced, Otis Primary, Haggerty, Myers, I. E. R. (Thorndike), Pintner-Cunningham, Terman Group, Rational Learning, Mental Maze, Dearborn (A. and C.), Goodenough Non-Language, Pintner-Patterson, International, Non-Linguistic Ingenuity, Atkinson, Healy, Porteus, Substitution, "Psychological," "Performance."

Scholastic: School Marks, College Entrance, Standard Achievement.

Personality: Kent-Rosanoff, Pressey, Downey Will-Temperament, Inhibition, House's "A Mental Hygiene Inventory," various standardized and unstandardized attitude tests.

Other: Memory, learning, learning-multiple choice, color preference, color naming and reading names of colors, Seashore Musical Talent, community of ideas, mental fatigue, reaction time, six speed tests, apparatus, "various."

Some of the selected reading might include:

ADLER, ALEXANDRA. *Guiding Human Misfits. A Practical Application of Individual Psychology.* The Macmillan Company, 1938.

BINGHAM, WALTER VAN DYKE. *Aptitudes and Aptitude Testing.* Harper and Brothers, 1937.

BOGARDUS, EMORY S., and LEWIS, ROBERT H. *Social Life and Personality.* Silver Burdett Company, 1938.

BRIDGMAN, P. W. *The Intelligent Individual and Society.* The Macmillan Company, 1938.

BUROS, OSCAR KRISEN. (ed.) *The Nineteen-Thirty-Eight Mental*

Measurements Yearbook of the School of Education, Rutgers University. Rutgers University Press, 1938.

GROVES, ERNEST R. *Personality and Social Adjustment.* Longmans, Green, and Company, 1931.

—— and BLANCHARD, PHYLLIS. *Introduction to Mental Hygiene.* Henry Holt and Company, 1930.

——, —— *Readings in Mental Hygiene.* Henry Holt and Company, 1936.

HALDANE, J. B. S. *Heredity and Politics.* W. W. Norton and Company, 1938.

HART, HORNELL, and HART, ELLA B. *Personality and the Family.* D. C. Heath and Company, 1935.

LANDTMAN, GUNNAR. *The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes.* The University of Chicago Press, 1938.

Recent Social Trends in the United States. Chapters I, VIII, XII, and XXI.

Reference should be directed to basic texts in biology, physiology, psychology. Helpful information may be obtained from the United States Department of Public Health, Washington, D. C., and from the state departments or bureaus dealing with vital statistics, mental hygiene, and public welfare.

Preview

The New Realism of the People

UNITS III, IV AND V

THE THREE chief factors that contribute to the making of society are, first, the physical environment, second, the people, and, third, the culture which they develop.

We have called attention to the fact that the general resources and wealth available for the development of this society are fivefold. First, there is the natural wealth such as we have already described in previous chapters.

Second, there is the technological wealth, which consists of science, invention, technology, organization, and management. We have already studied the effect of this upon society.

Third, there is capital wealth, which is the product of using science, skill, and technology in the development and use of natural wealth.

The fourth is institutional wealth which the people develop through the application of capital wealth along with science, invention, and discovery.

Fifth, and finally, there is the supreme wealth, namely, human wealth.

We turn next to the study of the people who constitute the major theme around which we must organize our study of society. This is true in all society; it is vividly true of

America. This means, therefore, not only a study of "population" and "population problems," but a study of the people as the heart of society and the master key to all of its problems and progress. The people not only are the units of society; they, with their behavior and institutions, are society itself.

"Of, for, and by the people" was not spoken by a great statesman for the American people merely as shibboleth or appeal to the mob. It was fundamental to the tenets of a societal democracy which sought special privilege to none and equal opportunity for all. Yet the theme was even more fundamental. It represented the theory that the reality of all realities in society everywhere will be found in the people.

It is in accordance with this theory that the key to all our social problems will be found ultimately somewhere among the people in their multiple behavior situations. It is in this sense that we have pointed out in previous chapters how the differentials of individuals and of regional and cultural groups, with varying geography and heritage, shape their conduct and affect their problems. It is in this sense also that we have pointed out the fact that the people represent the supreme wealth of a nation and that the development and utilization of all our other wealth is valid only in relation to the people themselves.

For, in this new day of powerful movements, great change, and epochal opportunity, the people are the center and symbol of our wealth and welfare, of whatever power and glory may be inherent in a great civilization. Such a verdict, however, can no longer be expressed merely in terms of abstract tributes, for a world of restless folk will see that they are more than concepts or statistical units, or charts or graphs of population studies. Timeless,

spaceless, the ever-constant springs of all civilizations, the people *live*, sometimes pointing the way ahead for the next great period of progress, vibrant with the promise of a new day, or perhaps, unless conserved and developed, symbolic of the long road back.

The American ideal has always insisted that it is through the vigor and freshness of a strong and virile people, and through the orderly development of their capacities and institutions that we must attain stable and enduring civilization. Thus the popular ideal upon which the nation was founded rests also upon a scientific basis in which the people as individuals, as geographic units, and as regional component parts of the nation, constitute the elemental factors out of which the nation has been fabricated.

It is in this sense that the old *vox populi, vox dei*, the voice of the people, the voice of God, represented an organic truth paraphrased in a thousand ways by a thousand spokesmen. Thus Woodrow Wilson's picture: "The great voice of America does not come from seats of learning. It comes in a murmur from the hills and woods and the farms and factories and the mills rolling on and gaining volume until it comes to us from the homes of common men. . . ."

This power and elemental force of the people of the world are not only reflected in its romantic, heroic, beautiful episodes, in the sweep and power of epic movements towards freedom, justice, opportunity, but also in the tragic conflict of brothers, in the struggle for power and conquest, in ruthless exploitation of minority groups, in the terrifying carnage of revolution. There is something beautiful in the epic quality of the people; there is terror in the blindness and power of an unrestrained folk.

Throughout the world today, apparently in whatever

transition we may be making to new states of civilization, the mass man, the whole real people, approximate an accession to social power such as has not hitherto been recorded in the annals of man. Thus we come today to realize not only the historic significance of the people and their power, but in a day when the speed and sweep of technology have exceeded the capacity of even our most educated and widely experienced people, we face the problem of the great mass power of people, through communication, redistribution of wealth, clamoring for control, for reality, for quick readjustment, in a world which they little understand.

There are other realistic aspects of the situation. In a day when the world at large, and America in particular, has realized that its destiny depends upon the conservation of its great physical resources, we have come suddenly face to face with the realization that all this conservation and redistribution of the world's resources has meaning only in relation to the people.

On the one hand, we have found that the misuse and maldistribution of these resources have had their tragic results upon the people of the earth, upon the wealth of nations, upon national and international relationships; upon poverty of the people. If we use the analogy of soil erosion so freely predicated as the index of a nation's decay, we must also envisage the great erosion and waste of the people, an even surer index of how and when and why the people perish. But we must face also the other side of the problem, in which it must be clear that there can be no permanent, enduring conservation and development of resources except as the people are equipped and trained, motivated and conditioned, for such individual and cooperative effort and arrangements as will make possible

permanent planning for the coördinate development of physical and human wealth.

There is here also in this new world of technics and civilization a strange and powerful paradox; even as the machine gains power and control, even as science and technology dominate the world of man, even as lesser men through machines can do greater work, and lesser numbers produce greater wealth; so in the midst of this, and by its very token, man and the spirit of man become more important; the quest for spiritual expression and participation in the machine world becomes more insistent; and the people ever clamor for a larger and larger part and a greater degree of participation in a world which otherwise threatens to destroy them.

There is, finally, perhaps one other conclusion indicative of this organic power of the people. It is illustrated in a statement to the effect that those governments and government leaders who stray very far away from the life and reality of the people are not likely long to survive. If we check up on the great and historic civilizations, it seems quite possible that such a conclusion is justified.

Perhaps nowhere in the world is the new realism of the people more vividly illustrated than in the United States, boasted melting pot of the world, and now a nation of great compositeness in the midst of diversity. Who and of what sort are these people whose voices are being raised more and more, oftener and oftener, in an ever-extending range of inquiries and complaints; whose patronage becomes increasingly important for ruler and leader; and whose restlessness appears itself as a major social problem in many places? Who are these people who seem closer to the living realities than all the rulers?

Over there in the cities of Europe, they speak forty

THE PROSPECTIVE POPULATION PICTURE FOR 1960

Adapted from Thompson and Whelpton's *Estimates of Future Population of States*

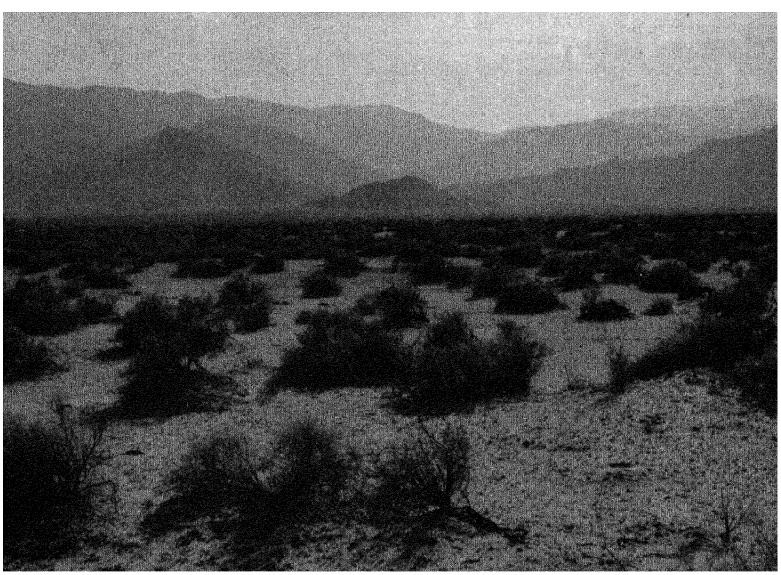
State and Region	Population, 1930	Population with Migration, 1960	Population without Migration, 1960
Southeast	25,550,000	29,066,000	35,168,000
Virginia	2,422,000	2,577,000	3,166,000
North Carolina	3,170,000	4,226,000	4,740,000
South Carolina	1,739,000	1,856,000	2,535,000
Georgia	2,908,000	2,898,000	4,048,000
Florida	1,468,000	1,997,000	1,640,000
Kentucky	2,614,000	2,943,000	3,631,000
Tennessee	2,617,000	2,892,000	3,497,000
Alabama	2,646,000	2,982,000	3,743,000
Mississippi	2,010,000	2,298,000	2,797,000
Arkansas	1,854,000	1,928,000	2,575,000
Louisiana	2,102,000	2,469,000	2,796,000
Southwest	9,079,600	11,330,700	12,201,800
Oklahoma	2,396,000	2,902,000	3,456,000
Texas	5,825,000	7,255,000	7,519,000
New Mexico	423,000	539,000	640,000
Arizona	435,600	634,700	586,800
Northeast	38,026,000	43,130,000	40,790,000
Maine	797,000	856,000	948,000
New Hampshire	465,000	487,000	496,000
Vermont	360,000	367,000	410,000
Massachusetts	4,250,000	4,613,000	4,391,000
Rhode Island	688,000	776,000	731,000
Connecticut	1,607,000	1,843,000	1,713,000
New York	12,588,000	14,548,000	12,617,000
New Jersey	4,041,000	4,930,000	4,204,000
Delaware	238,000	254,000	254,000
Pennsylvania	9,631,000	10,410,000	10,808,000
Maryland	1,632,000	1,825,000	1,768,000
West Virginia	1,729,000	2,221,000	2,450,000
Middle States	33,961,000	38,325,000	37,502,000
Ohio	6,647,000	7,548,000	7,096,000
Indiana	3,238,000	3,564,000	3,536,000
Illinois	7,631,000	8,544,000	7,838,000
Michigan	4,842,000	6,502,000	5,638,000
Wisconsin	2,939,000	3,312,000	3,538,000
Minnesota	2,564,000	2,690,000	3,019,000
Iowa	2,471,000	2,484,000	2,883,000
Missouri	3,629,000	3,681,000	3,954,000
Northwest	7,385,600	7,929,400	9,253,300
North Dakota	681,000	728,000	985,000
South Dakota	693,000	772,000	930,000
Nebraska	1,378,000	1,436,000	1,659,000
Kansas	1,881,000	1,979,000	2,228,000
Montana	538,000	503,000	650,000
Idaho	445,000	466,000	602,000
Wyoming	225,600	274,400	284,300
Colorado	1,036,000	1,117,000	1,184,000
Utah	508,000	654,000	731,000
Far West	8,285,100	10,824,600	8,147,500
Nevada	91,100	97,600	93,500
Washington	1,563,000	1,708,000	1,590,000
Oregon	954,000	1,075,000	949,000
California	5,677,000	7,944,000	5,515,000
UNITED STATES *	122,775,000	141,124,000	143,502,000

* Includes District of Columbia not in the above classification. The omission of hundreds and thousands, of course, also explains failure of totals to tally.

See also especially the report of the committee on population problems to the National Resources Committee and published in May, 1938, under the title *The Problems of a Changing Population,* for additional data and for conclusions and implications. This is a vivid picture of one of America's chief social problems.



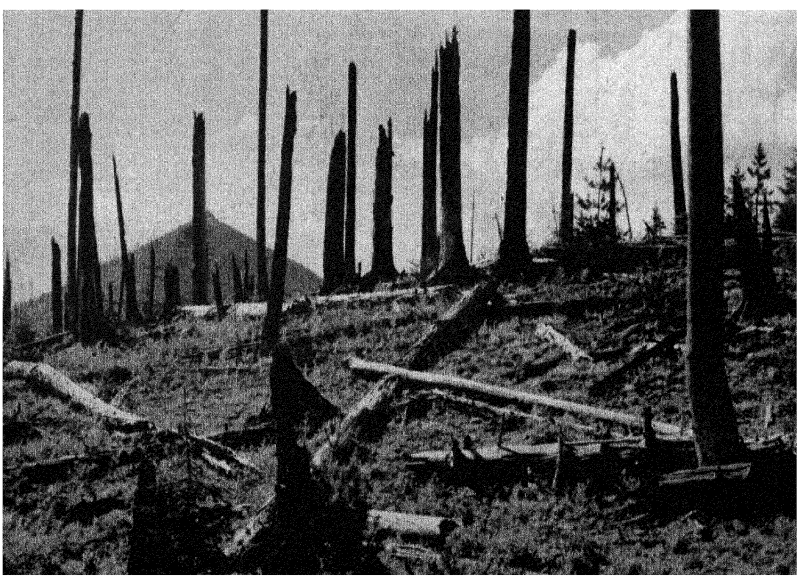
Physical backgrounds of society: from desert waste to flowering orchards —this is the justification offered for building reservoirs for irrigation and flood control.





Photographs by Farm Security Administration

Waste and cut-over areas in both northern and southern woods are remnants of an age before conservation.

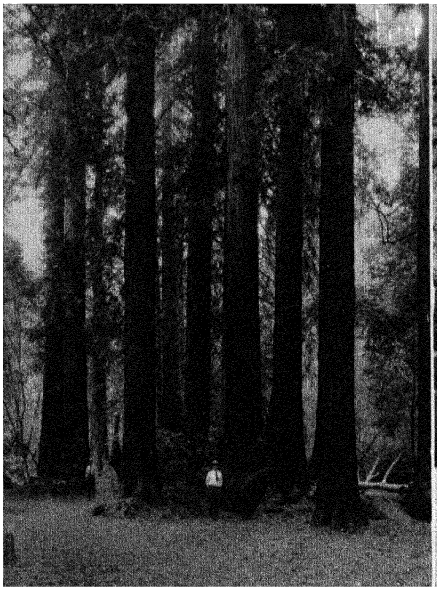


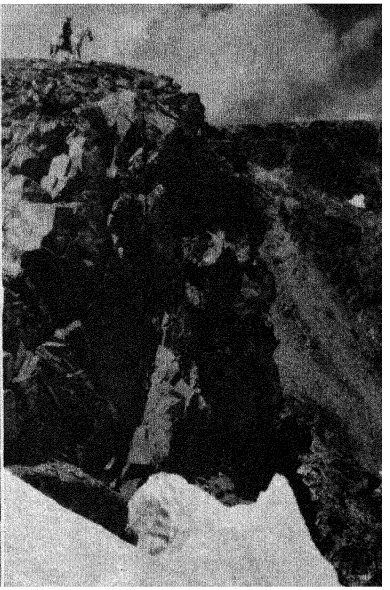


Photographs by Farm Security Administration

Waste of land, waste of men. Poor land, poor men. Which way is forward, land for foxes and briars, or land for men?

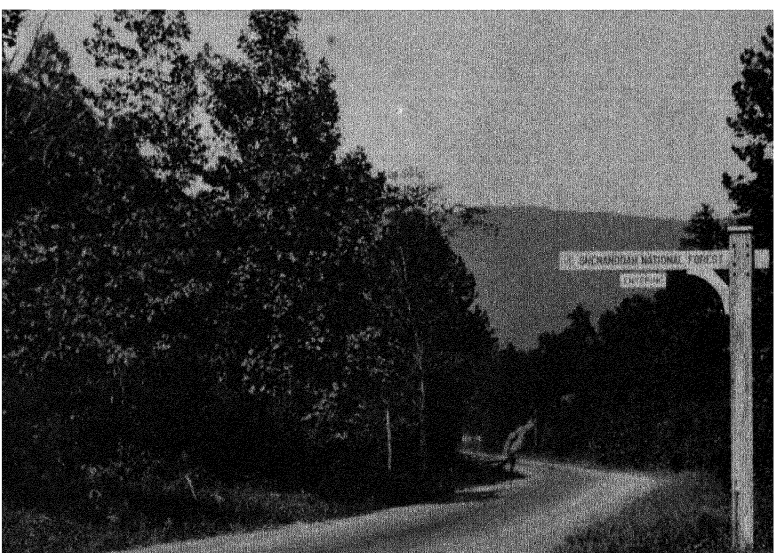






Top left, Department of the Interior; top right, U. S. Forest Service; bottom, Ewing Galloway

National parks and wild life conservation enrich the natural wealth of the nation. The watchman above may be symbolic of the far horizons of national development.



tongues and know nothing of the regions of the national domain. Over here in the vast plains and countryside they toil and spin in the heat of the day, some in the backway places, some on the mountainsides and in the flatwoods, some in the richer soils of limitless land. And in between, on highways and byways, the millions of folks of village and smaller industry cling to the old dreams of opportunity for the common man and pray for the prophet of the new day. Other thousands move hither and yon, fruits of the new mobility and of the too-rich harvests of unplanned achievements, homeless wanderers, farm squatters again, national nomad paupers, hitchhikers and freight-train hoboes in multitudes, mass on mass by wayside, in flophouses, anywhere, everywhere.

Other hundreds of thousands restless and dissatisfied, recruited from every class and type, maladjusted in the new crisis; millions of unemployed, common man and intellectual; and the new poor rich, head bankers and bakers and candlestick makers, unable to lead because themselves caught up in the whirling, uprooting financial tornado of unprecedented sweep and length and breadth and power.

And what a mass panoramic picture of the workers of the nation! For the more than 50,000,000 workers moving hither and yon on farm and factory, under the earth and over it, new occupations galore—more than 600 types —new industries, no less than 7,000 in all. Through these workers is told the story of a changing nation, from rural to urban and industrial, from primary to secondary work, from a man's world of work to woman's participation, from simple and plain ways to complex and technical intricacies —in the midst of which are countless discriminations and subdued irregularities, Negroes and immigrants, women and children, rich and poor.

And what of the other side of the picture—the other half of the people not counted among the workfolk of the nation, or if counted, somewhere in the background or on the outskirts of the picture? A new generation of playfolk, vacationing in summer, vacationing in winter, spenders of time, spenders of wealth, consumers of goods, stimulators of invention and makers of industry. At home and abroad, on land and on sea, in forest and field, at club and at games, in pictures and in playhouse, on tour and in park, a vast multitude, users of leisure time, prophets of the universal play of man and the shortened hours of work, or forerunners of the new leveling down of work and play, wealth and well-being?

And other thousands making up the institutional population of homes and hospitals, schools and training centers, refuge for the physically handicapped, homes for the mentally sick—a vast multitude challenging the Jeffersonian democracy and the answer to the question: Who shall inherit the nation? And the host of schoolfolk, children and youth, 30,000,000 strong.

And of college and university men and women a vast host, restless, ambitious, thinking, questioning, promise of the new day, perfect gamble of the great Jeffersonian democracy. And the new woman, the new liberal, the new Negro, the youth—crossroads and crises, shall they lead the nation, and which way will they lead?

And in the shadows of the great American pageant, stragglers and clusters of marginal folk, gangsters and racketeers, kidnappers and crooks, gunmen and thugs, bank robbers and hold-up confederates, incredible armies of the underworld. Organized criminals, leaders and financial backers, entrepreneurs of a new economic traffic, a new generation of specialists in speakeasies, of artists and tech-

nicians, of bootlegging commerce, new luminaries for the Star Spangled Banner, new reminders of Jefferson's dire prophecy of the civilization of cities.

Now all these people of whatever sort are the first wealth of the nation, sometimes its chief pride, sometimes a major hazard. For without them there would be no wealth; neither making nor using it. Yet here is human wealth, the people, dominated by technological and artificial wealth in the hands of some who make virtual slaves of human beings. The measure of human wealth is determined by the number and kind of folks; by the amount and nature of their increase, decrease, and mobility; by the multiple *ethnic* composition and cultural cumulations; and by the character and equipment of the people. What the people do and how they do it; what they want and how they go about getting it; how they lead and how they follow; and what they purpose in their hearts for the future —all of these are basic indices.

The essential drama in the case is found in the picture of people as living, striving, battling folk and not merely as numbers and statistical units or curves of increase and decrease. Whatever else they are, the people of the United States are of the substance of drama and life. They are often sacrificed in the conquest of frontier and of physical resources, discriminated against by technology, and exploited by the masters of accumulating wealth. Yet they are the constant irreducible basic wealth. Foreigners are people. Negroes are people. Indians are people. Farm tenants are people. Male and female, those over fifty years, those under five, and all the census categories, represent people.

We turn next, therefore, to a study of all these people in their various groupings. Some of these groupings are

organic; some are cultural and technical. Some are constantly changing, and nearly all are changing their ratios to the total. Our first unit will look at the general composition of the people in terms of three great groups: races, sex, rural and urban. Our second unit will look at the age groups. Our third unit will look at the functioning groups of workers and leaders and all those who fall somewhere in between in the annals of the handicapped and of the disadvantaged.

Unit III

The People: Their General Make-up

TOPIC 7: RACES AND NATIONALITIES

THE STUDY of culture and of peoples may well begin with the study of races and nationalities. For always the culture or the civilization of a nation is made by the people or peoples who compose that particular nation or society.

Thus the immigrants from more than twenty-five countries constitute a rare composite picture of peoples, cultures, conflicts, and adaptations which characterize the nation. These are the backgrounds of our institutions and our problems. And they are quite different from those of early America.

In the nation today there are three times as many Negroes as there were of all the people combined at the time of the Jeffersonian Declaration of Independence; three times as many foreign born of great heterogeneity; while New York City can boast of the several largest cities in the world—of Italians, of Irish, of Jews, of Germans and of Negroes.

A major exhibit of the real America would be a constant procession of peoples and cultures, an American cavalcade par excellence. There is a probable language range of more than forty tongues. Such an exhibit would be an

Epic of America as portrayed in a hall of nationalities, depicting the distinctive contributions which each had made. It is a picture that has never been adequately or vividly portrayed. The picture, were it complete, would show a mighty panorama of folk cultures merged or merging into the total American scene, still powerfully affected by its racial and ethnic groups.

And what an amazing picture to most Americans who have taken it for granted just as they have taken science, technology, and invention for granted! American people, indeed: more than 1,000,000 each from Russia and Poland and Italy and Germany and Great Britain. And of others countless multitudes, from Austria and Czechoslovakia, from Belgium and Denmark, and from Finland and France, Greece and Hungary, Ireland, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Yugoslavia.

For in spite of the ever more restricting immigration policies, America continues to be a nation of many ethnic and racial groups. These groups continue to reflect great vitality and interest in their national backgrounds. There are some distinctive developments of note. One is the shift of immigration from European countries to that from other places on the American continent. The Mexicans have recently increased migration to this country from about three per cent to more than eighteen per cent; the Canadians have increased from three to thirty-two per cent. Numbers of immigrants from the United States' dependencies are also increasing. All these changes are vitally related to the American problems of unemployment, standards of living, and purchasing power.

The Negro shows extraordinary vitality and cultural development. Although the Negro increase from 1920 to

1930 was not quite so large a percentage as the percentage of increase for the whole population, being 13.6 per cent compared with sixteen per cent for the nation, his increase was more than twice as large between 1920 and 1930 as it had been between 1910 and 1920, whereas the total population increase over the 1910–1920 decade was only one per cent, from 15.0 to 16.1.

Not only was there a substantial increase but there was a tendency to diffuse the Negro population throughout the nation, resulting in a number of important situations. Thus the largest Negro cities in the nation are not in the South. New York has more than 225,000 Negroes; Philadelphia more than 220,000; while Cook County, Illinois, has about 250,000.

While the Negro thus increased much less rapidly in the South than did the white population, and constituted a smaller percentage of the southern population than a half century ago, a number of northern communities show an increase in Negro population of several hundred per cent; many new centers of Negro population have been established; there are no fewer than ten cities outside of the South with a Negro population of over 50,000; there are 149 northern or western counties with a Negro population of over 2,500.

There has developed increasingly an important middle class and, in particular, business and professional groups among the Negroes. Considerable progress has been made in improved race relations in the South, with new areas of race contact and conflict in the North.

The whole picture of the "American people" could scarcely be comprehended without at least a hurried review of the growth and main currents of the population. Yet modern America is prone to forget the romance and the

costs, the will and the endurance, the purpose and the drive, the tragedies and the mistakes of its yesterdays.

Here are pictures and pictures of a growing America. First the English stocks, fringed here and there by Swede and Dutch and German and French Huguenot, followed by a great floodtide from Ireland and Scotland, resulting in that strong thread in the American fabric known as the Scotch-Irish.

Next came the dynamic movement of later Irish to the cities and of sturdy Germans to the Middle West, contributing a new culture and a new energy to the building of great cities. These were again fringed roundabout with the Scandinavian groups.

In contrast to this epic of the earlier peopling of the American nation is the picture of the foreign born of 1930, in which the new immigrants composed 54.5 per cent of the nation's foreign-born people. This picture was a continuation of the earlier-later floods of immigrants from Italy and Southeastern Europe, bringing in a different culture that was to influence profoundly the later years of the nation.

Here were new elements which were to be woven into the new fabric of great cities and their complicated occupations and politics, religion, and conduct. They were to change the nature of the entire American picture and to add new dramatic features to its development.

In addition to the Negro, with his separate epic of America, there were other color and racial groups: Chinese and Japanese, Filipino and Hawaiian, Hindu, Korean, Malay, Siamese, Mexican, and Indian. Indian and Negro were foci of dramatic action throughout the nation's development. Early New England settlers, praising God for victory over the Red Men, gave thanks that by virtue of Prov-

idence and good luck they were able to slay and burn hundreds of women and children in the Indian encampments. The red trail of American conquest of the American Indian constituted an unbelievable picture, which was eloquent of some of the backgrounds of the America of the 1930's.

The Negro has constituted one of the most dramatic pictures of any epoch in history. His achievements have perhaps never been excelled in so short a time; respect for his race has multiplied. He has been the center of dramatic action of "avenging" mobs throughout the nation, but particularly in the southern regions, although lynchings have decreased rapidly since the turn of the century, the average of 187.5 for 1899 having decreased to fewer than ten in recent years. The South expects the time soon to come when there will be no more lynchings.

In many ways the American Negro is symbolic of American drama and dilemma, at the same time that he reflects a cross section of the age-long problem of race conflict and exploitation. Here is one dramatic way to look at the Negro in American life.

From Africa to America, in multiplied tens of thousands, the Negroes have come to constitute an American population bigger than all of Jefferson's beloved American people.

From Africa to America, the Negro became slave and free, climaxing America's greatest tragedy in a war stranger than fiction, brother against brother, section against section.

From Africa to America, the Negro became the key problem that built and then destroyed a great and distinctive culture of the South.

From Africa to America the Negro grew and multiplied

and made greater progress in less time than has ever been recorded in the history of a slave people turned free.

From Africa to America, the Negro has adapted himself and survived, a black man in a white civilization.

From Africa to America, the Negro now presents an extraordinary spectacle of cultural evolution which may be observed as a culture in the making.

From Africa to America, the Negro has changed from a southern question to a national problem; from having no voice in his government to holding the balance of power in the politics of many states.

The Negro typifies a biracial civilization such as has rarely ever been recorded. It will readily be seen, therefore, that the Negro constitutes a separate problem: as symbol of race and reality; as symbol of race and cultural conflict; as symbol of population problems; as symbol of discrimination and exploitation; as symbol of retarded culture and progressive cultural evolution; as symbol again of "the American people" in its contrasts and paradoxes.

The American problem of races and nationalities is really of two sorts. One is the problem of ethnic and minority groups of the white race, representing the foreign nations. The other is the problem of race in the more accurate sense of Negro, Mexican, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, in which race conflict, struggle, and exploitation assume a more conspicuous part. For here is a biracial civilization of varying degrees in various regions, in which nearly 14,000,000 people of the colored races try to adjust themselves to the rest of the people, who in turn reflect many types of dilemmas in their efforts to make adjustments. Of the colored peoples, the Negroes constituted in 1930 nearly 12,000,000, the Mexicans nearly 1,500,000, the Indians considerably more than 300,000, the Japanese

about 140,000, the Chinese 75,000, the Filipinos about 45,000.

Of the foreign whites of foreign extraction, in 1930 a little more than 25,000,000 were of foreign or mixed parentage and a little more than 13,250,000 were foreign born, being nearly 500,000 fewer than all colored races in the United States. Of the foreign-born groups from Italy, Germany, Poland, and Russia, each had more than 1,000,000; Italy accounted for more than 1,750,000. Ireland had nearly 1,000,000, as did England. Of those having around 500,000, Sweden had a little over that, and Czechoslovakia a little under.

The regional distribution of these groups is of great significance. As to numbers, the Northeast had nearly half of all foreign born; the Middle States had 3,500,000; the Far West a little over 1,000,000; the Northwest 500,000; while the Southeast and the Southwest had very few. With reference to the distribution of the several groups by regions, the figures are illuminating. The Middle States had the largest number of Germans of all regions, although it had less than a fourth as many Italians as the Northeast. So, too, the Middle States show the greatest concentration from Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Yugoslavia. The Northeast had the largest number from most of the countries, but particularly from Italy, Ireland, Poland and Russia. In so far as the Southeast reflects many foreign born, they are from England, Germany, Italy, Ireland, and Russia. The regional distribution of the Negro reflects a surprising picture of diffusion into the national picture.

Woofter's picture of racial and ethnic groups in *Recent Social Trends in the United States* featured five main situations.

1. There was a relatively stable Negro population, whose rapid rate of increase was on the decline and whose location was for the most part in the south.

2. A growing immigrant population was divided between the older settlers on the farms of the middle west and the newer immigrants in the industrial cities of the east. The newer element in response to the pull of expanding industry was entering the country at a rate of between half a million and a million per year.

3. A small and slowly increasing Indian population was segregated in reservations.

4. There was an oriental population largely confined to the Pacific states, whose increase by immigration had been greatly reduced by exclusion acts and agreements.

5. A small Mexican population was confined to the border counties. The demand for the labor of these groups was slackening in most of the rural sections except in the Pacific and southwestern states and was increasing in the industrial sections of the east and middle west.

Of these situations, the one which provides the most critical series of problems is that of the Negro. For this reason we may examine it again. We have tried to show how the problem of the Negro and of race relations is a national problem and that its solution must somehow be worked out in an equilibrium which takes into consideration that which is best for the Negro and for the whites, for the South and for the North, and, therefore, for the race and the nation.

This is essentially, therefore, a long-time societal problem of racial adjustment and also an emergency social problem of race relations. Adjustments, as we have pointed out, must be made on the basis of facts; yet facts are of two sorts, the one of race qualities and capacities and experience and the other of race prejudice and culture heritage. These constitute the factual basis of reality in dealing with the problem. And although the situation is

quite complicated and difficult, it is possible to indicate a prospect for effective study and for successful adjustments. As for the most distinctive minority group in America, which is, perhaps also the most handicapped, the Negro has shown extraordinary vitality and cultural development. And white America is learning more and more about the Negro and becoming more sympathetic both with the Negro and with the dilemmas involved.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 7: RACES AND NATIONALITIES

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What is (*a*) race, (*b*) nationality, (*c*) ethnic group? Give examples that clearly illustrate the differences?

2. Leading anthropologists state that (*a*) there is no innate connection between "race" and "culture," (*b*) no race is "superior" or "inferior" to another, (*c*) mixed groups are not better or worse than others, (*d*) there are no "pure" races. Discuss each statement in the light of accumulated knowledge and social realities.

3. What are the usual handicaps of any minority race or nationality? Illustrate the ways in which these handicaps work.

4. What are some attitudes that persist regarding different races and nationalities in the United States? Discuss.

5. What are some of the major values to be gained from a continual flow of interracial and international views?

6. What facts can be enumerated to show the intelligence and ability of Negroes in the United States?

7. What is the status of race relations in your community? Are they improving? Illustrate.

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How are races determined?
2. How may one's nationality be changed?
3. How are specific ethnic characteristics, that we apply to different people, determined or formed?
4. How can better assimilation and amalgamation in the foreign born be achieved?
5. How are the problems of the differences in race and nationality regional in nature?
6. How may the broad tenets of democracy find expression in race and nationality relations?
7. How may the state adjust the unequal places of races and minority nationalities in its boundary?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effect or Result*

1. Why does race prejudice exist?
2. Why should nationality superiority exist?
3. Why is race prejudice in most cases stronger than prejudice against nationality?
4. Why has this country abandoned the "open-door policy"? Justify.
5. Why do we have the Asiatic exclusion clause in the present immigration law?
6. Why is Congress considering bills to add other restriction to immigration?
7. Why is Germany promoting an anti-Semitic campaign? What can be done about it and to what extent should the United States assume responsibility for refugees?
8. Why is it to the advantage of the citizenship to bring about the best of relations between races and nationalities?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Make a chart showing the leading races in the world today, numbers of each, and location. This might be done on an outline map of the world.
2. Make a bar graph or circular graph to show the percentages of different races in the total population.

3. Upon an outline map of the United States spot the races that live here. Note numbers.

4. Write a paper on the topic "The Present Status of the Indian in the United States."

5. On a bar graph show the numbers and percentages of leading nationalities in the United States as of 1790, 1890, 1910, and 1930.

6. Upon an outline map spot nationality locations in the United States today.

7. Relate to the class a few case studies of how foreign-born people have risen to great heights here as citizens.

8. After careful investigation, report on the difficulties of proper assimilation and amalgamation of our recent immigrants.

9. Write a report on the Nordic superiority myth. Substantiate your statements.

10. Explain and criticize the Aryan-blood policy of Nazi Germany.

11. Give a full analysis of the present immigration law in the United States.

12. Report on the following: (*a*) educational progress of the Negro, (*b*) athletic achievements of the Negro, (*c*) advancement in labor and business, (*d*) the Negro in drama, (*e*) contributions of the Negro to music, (*f*) literary contributions of the Negro.

13. Since the World War there has been extensive migration of Negroes to other sections of the country. Offer a brief account of these migrations, indicating numbers and location. What are the largest Negro centers of population in the United States?

14. Upon an outline map chart the number and percentage of Negroes in each state.

15. Write brief biographical sketches of a Negro man and woman of outstanding merit in your local community.

B. *To Plan*

1. Plan means and methods of bringing about better international relations.

2. Organize a program to hasten the assimilation and amalgamation processes of nationality groups.

3. Suggest ways by which the status and condition of the Indian can be improved.

4. Suggest needed changes in the present immigration laws.

5. Plan ways by which the school through its curriculum can create better understanding with peoples of other races and other nations.

6. Formulate ideas to insure justice in the courts for people of all races and nationalities.

7. Organize and plan a program for a community interracial commission.

8. Plan a citizenship day to mark the day when a foreign-born person becomes a citizen of this country.

9. Suggest regional concepts for race and nationality relationships within a region.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

nationalities	biracial
heterogeneity	interracial

B. *Selected Readings and References*

There is an abundance of material on race and nationality. The student and teacher can supplement the list of books below in accordance with the degree of specialization which is desired.

BOND, HORACE M. *Education of the Negro in the American Social Order.* Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934.

EMBREE, EDWIN R. *Brown America.* (Special Edition.) Friendship Press, 1936.

GARTH, T. R. *Race Psychology.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1931.

HERTZ, FRIEDRICH. *Race and Civilization.* The Macmillan Company, 1928.

JENESS, MARY. *Twelve Negro Americans.* Friendship Press, 1936.

JOHNSON, CHARLES. *The Negro in American Civilization.* Henry Holt and Company, 1930.

LANDTMAN, GUNNAR. *The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes.* The University of Chicago Press, 1938.

MOTON, R. R. *What the Negro Thinks.* Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1929.

RAPER, ARTHUR. *The Tragedy of Lynching.* University of North Carolina Press, 1933.

Recent Social Trends in the United States. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933. Chapter XI.

REUTER, EDWARD B. *The American Race Problem.* Revised Edition. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1938.

RYAN, W. CARSON. *The New Day for the Indians.* The Academy Press, 1938.

SCHRIEKE, B. *Alien Americans.* Viking Press, Inc., 1936.

WOOFTER, T. J., JR. (ed.). *Races and Ethic Groups in American Life.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934.

WORK, MONROE N. (ed.). *Negro Year Book,* 1931–32. (Later Edition, 1937–38) Alabama: Tuskegee Institute.

YOUNG, DONALD. *American Minority Peoples.* Harper and Brothers, 1932.

——. *Research Memorandum on Minority Peoples in the Depression.* Social Science Research Council, 1937.

Special reference is noted on the work of the following organizations in the field of the Negro:

Commission on Interracial Coöperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York, New York

Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

TOPIC 8: WOMEN

"GALLANT AMERICAN WOMEN" is the title of a series of dramatized educational radio programs showing the part women have played and are playing in the various phases of American life. The programs were prepared by the United States Office of Education in coöperation with the Works Projects Administration.

Numerous women's groups contributed to the development of the series, among them the General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Council of Women, American Association of University Women, National League of Women Voters, Associated Country Women of the World, American Home Economics Association, Women's Trade Union League, and the National Consumers' League.

The announcement in *Education by Radio* of these programs for 1940 is symbolic of the rôle of the feminine half of the American people. In few major areas of modern society have social inventions and social technology wrought greater social change than in that part which woman has attained in the world's work and the place which she has assumed in the total culture of the modern era. This is true in nearly all lands and among nearly all people, in such degree that the change has assumed the proportions of a cultural revolution.

In so far as these changes affect the institutions and behavior of the people, they create new sets of adaptations basic to general social problems. In so far as they affect the family, the home, the community, industry, politics, they create new specific problems.

There is no more dramatic and realistic picture of Amer-

ica than that of its millions of women, their daughters and younger sisters and grandchildren and nieces, a little more than 60,000,000 strong, assuming their rôle in the cavalcade of American civilization. There are, of course, state and regional variations, the Southeast, for instance, having a little more than half of its population women and the Northeast having approximately half. In seven of the eleven states of the Southeast over fifty per cent of the population is female, while, in the Northeast, Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut have the same proportion of women.

On the other hand, the "Wests" are all below the national average, the Far West having a little under forty-eight per cent of its population women, and Nevada having as low a percentage of women as 41.6, not including, of course, temporary residents in Reno, who are not reported as residents.

The regional picture shows the Northeast with nearly 19,000,000; the Middle States with little more than 16,500,000; the Southeast next, with its pro rata of nearly 13,000,000, followed by the Southwest with about 4,500,000; the Far West with not quite 4,000,000; and the Northwest with 3,500,000.

Of the women in the United States fifteen years of age and over, a little more than 26,000,000 are married; a little more than 5,250,000 are widowed or divorced; while 11,250,000 are listed as single or unknown. Of this last group, more than fifty per cent are catalogued as gainfully occupied, while nearly thirty-five per cent of the widowed and divorced and nearly twelve per cent of the married are so catalogued.

We have already presented, in our discussion of the people who work, a kaleidoscopic picture of the increasing

work of women outside the home. In round numbers, there are about 10,500,000 women at work, about a fourth of all those fifteen years of age or over and about a sixth of all females. Of these women in occupations, classified by the Census, more than 3,000,000 are in the domestic, and personal services; nearly 2,000,000 in clerical occupations; nearly as many more in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; 1,500,000 in the professions; nearly 1,000,000 in trade; and a little more than 250,000 in transportation and communication.

What the general numbers mean to industry and work, to the family and the home, and to woman herself constitute special problems upon which multiple interests are at work. It is a part of the great American picture, and it extends, of course, into international relations. Indicative of this interest and range was the request of ten national organizations for an exhaustive study of the status of women in the economy of the United States.

These organizations included: American Association of University Women, American Home Economics Association, Interprofessional Association, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, National Consumers' League, National Council of Catholic Women, National Council of Jewish Women, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National League of Women Voters, and National Women's Trade Union League.

Here are samples of the findings of such a report of nearly 150 pages, published in 1938. The 10,500,000 gainfully occupied in 1930 were nearly six times as many as in 1870. Two women were in gainful work to every seven men so employed. . . . More than three-fourths of all women are not in gainful occupations, and of these the

majority are homemakers, whose value to the family is signified by the fact that 95 per cent of the families in this country have no paid help. The contribution these 24,500,000 homemaking women make to the economy of the nation still is paramount, despite the difficulties of measuring its value. . . .

The extreme depression that began toward the close of 1929 bore with great severity upon women. . . . Practically one-fifth of the women normally employed were out of work. . . . Moreover, practically one-tenth of all jobless women in 1930 were heads of families. . . . Women also had to cope with employment discriminations that bore upon them with especial severity because they were women. Even where the two sexes are employed in the same industries, the levels of women's wages are much below those of men. . . . Probably more than one-tenth of the employed women in the United States furnish the entire support of families of two or more persons, and in many cases of families much larger.

A very large body of women in addition to those who are the sole family wage earners are supporting dependents, either wholly or in part. . . . Of the family heads in the United States one-tenth are women. . . . In practically one-sixth of the urban families in this country the only wage earners are women. . . . Well over one-third of all wage earning women are homemakers as well, thus carrying a double responsibility to those depending upon them for money aid as well as for the social ministrations required in the home. . . . The universal experience with minimum-wage legislation, wherever it has been introduced into the various states in this country, is that it has very materially raised the wages of large numbers of women.

. . . The development of gainful employment for women has been accompanied by extensive increases in the labor legislation applying to women. . . . It was found that regulatory hour laws as applied to women engaged in the manufacturing processes ordinarily *do not handicap the women* but serve to regulate employment and to establish the accepted standards of modern efficient industrial management. . . . Labor legislation divides broadly into two parts: (1) laws definitely prohibiting employment of women; (2) laws regulating their employment. . . . In almost every kind of employment the real forces that influence women's opportunity were found to be far removed from legislative regulation of their hours or conditions of work.

Notable among the trends and achievements in the world of women have been their organizations with millions of members. For instance, the general Federation of Women's Clubs was at one time credited with more than 2,000,000 members working in many aspects of civic and cultural life, ranging from public welfare and social service to creative writing. The Congress of Parents and Teachers in a recent year had enrolled more than 1,250,000 members in 22,000 units in 49 state branches.

Miss Breckinridge estimates that there are 23 major organizations, including the Service Star Legion and the American Legion Auxiliary, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, Women's Overseas Service League, National Council of Catholic Women, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Congress of Parents and Teachers, American Association of University Women, Young Women's Christian Association, Girls Friendly Society, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, National Council of Jewish Women, American Home

Economics Association, Three National Organizations of Nurses, National Women's Trade Union League of America, American Federation of Teachers, Organizations for Women in Medicine, Osteopathic Medical Women's Association, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Association of Junior Leagues, National Consumers' League, National League of Women Voters, National Woman's Party.

Other major phases of women's work are reflected in the activities of women as consumers and buyers, in the new citizenship and politics, and in the ever-enlarging field of public social services. Each of these might well constitute the theme for a dramatic story or realistic picture of American life. In the matter of citizenship and politics, the new era dates from the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States and woman's subsequent participation in suffrage and the similar progress in the training of women in skills and techniques of public services. In this last group are the great developments in social work and public welfare through social security and many other agencies requiring the skills of many secretarial and administrative women workers.

Yet the picture of women in American life is so much more than an itemized account that it should be interpreted in relation to our whole civilization. This Professor Ernest R. Groves has done well, and from his conclusions we obtain the best appraisal that has yet been given. In *The American Woman*, Professor Groves points out how the history of woman's part in American life reflects both the bases of woman's past inequality and of her changing status.

While woman's functions as worker, wife, and mother have been valued, her distinctive reactions to life have often not been wel-

comed outside the home since, alien to the masculine scheme of things, they threatened invasion of man's prerogatives. The omission of women from American chronicles is an indictment of the civilization itself, evidence of an unbalanced appraisal of events and values, a lack of appreciation of the conserving attitudes characteristic of women from their socially-assigned activities and biologically-rooted interests.

The range of change and problems in American life due to the distinctive nature of woman's part in the past and present is well presented in Professor Groves' concluding chapter.

Modern civilization everywhere has changed the life of woman. In the United States it has also changed her status. This is so obvious that only those untouched by the swift stream of modern culture or insensitive to its effects are unknowing of what has happened and what is still in process. Nothing is more distinctive in American civilization, more revealing of its temper, or more disturbing in its consequences. By forces chiefly of social origin woman has been moved toward a near equality with man. Unless influences antagonistic to the long-continued trend appear and dominate—and at present they are not in evidence—the social momentum will carry American women still nearer to equality with men if not to a full cultural parity.

Many other phases of American social problems, as they relate to woman's part in life and culture, will be discussed in relation to the family, industry, the church, and the community. Among the most interesting of the trends in the last few decades in America are those tending away from what was often called the woman's movement. That is, such movements as woman suffrage, equality of opportunity before the law, more nearly equal status with men, are assumed rather than fought for, while the tendency in politics and education and in the professions is more to-

wards coöperation. There are still inequalities to be adjusted.

Of particular vividness is the extraordinary development of coeducation, which, beginning in a large way with the great Middle States universities, has extended now even into New England and the South. Here indeed in the colleges and universities are developing the new and more realistic corelationship with the likelihood that problems of differentials will be decreasingly important in the future. Yet the rôle of women in Germany, Italy, and Russia will continue for a long time to raise new questions of many sorts. And in America the twin problems of unemployment for men and of low family incomes, working against each other, will continue to constitute major dilemmas. The situation is, however, a normal problem of cultural development, in which again the chief actor in the drama has been that of science, invention, and change.

Yet there are still other questions to be asked, namely, whether woman pays too big a price for her equality and her emancipation; whether there is societal as well as organic function in the actual differences between men and women; whether the new rôle of person instead of woman will be satisfying to the individual or to society; whether the new freedom reverts to what many earlier tribes already had long before modern civilization.

There are many questions on the other side also; namely, if mankind is to make progress intellectually and spiritually as he has materially, will it not be because of the free play of woman's intellect and creative genius? Will the long-sought-for roads to peace come through the inevitability of woman's participation in all activities?

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 8: WOMEN

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are some of the modern scientific attitudes regarding the differences between men and women?
2. What are some of the attitudes that exist but do not have the factual basis of scientific proof?
3. What are some of the (*a*) physical, (*b*) mental, and (*c*) emotional differences between men and women?
4. What are traits that you consider to be (*a*) feminine and (*b*) masculine? Why?
5. What were some of the influences of the World War on the occupational opportunities for women?
6. What are the usual reasons given for the discrimination against women in the matter of equal pay for equal work?
7. What are the occupations that appear to be primarily feminine in nature? Why?
8. What are some of the objections to women entering the professions of (*a*) law, (*b*) medicine, and (*c*) the ministry?
9. What has been the influence of the church in denying woman a larger sphere?
10. What evidences can be shown to indicate that science, inventions, and discoveries have emancipated women from the drudgery of menial work in the home? What effect has this had on women? Indicate present-day trends.
11. What evidence is there to show that there will be larger opportunities for women in the future?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How has woman responded to her so-called emancipation?
2. How have women participated in the rights of suffrage? Offer facts to substantiate statements.
3. How has woman "measured up" when placed in offices of public trust?

4. How are women lawyers and doctors rated in the local community?

5. How may discriminations against women in the past be contrasted with action of the present?

6. How may women be interested in taking a more prominent part in civic matters?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effect or Result*

1. Why can't a woman do any type of work that a man can do?

2. Why have women been slow in entering competitive sports? Indicate progress in this field.

3. Why do we generally think that cooking and sewing are primarily feminine arts? Is this necessarily true?

4. Why is it said that "Woman's place is in the home"? Give various viewpoints.

5. Why are men, so often, conservative toward the freedom of women?

6. Why shouldn't the man remain in the home and the woman become the wage earner? Can't this procedure be justified in certain cases? When should both work on the outside?

7. Why would you or wouldn't you vote for a woman as President of the United States? Discuss.

8. Why shouldn't equality and balance exist always in the matters of the opportunities of the sexes in a democratic way of life?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Chart statistics of the number of women in the population of the United States—also percentages, age groups, married, widowed, and divorced.

2. Tabulate the leading occupations of women outside the home. Indicate trends.

3. Write brief accounts of the position of women in (*a*) the colonial period, (*b*) the reconstruction period, and (*c*) the early part of the twentieth century. Stress especially their work life.

4. Report on the progress of women in (*a*) higher education, (*b*) the professions, (*c*) art, and (*d*) music.

5. Sketch woman's practical participation in politics.

6. Report on the activities of five or more women's organizations. Interpret their influences.

7. Write a brief history of woman's struggle for equal educational opportunities.

8. Make a list of a dozen or more prominent women in the United States today. Why were they chosen?

9. What is the status of women as regards employment in (*a*) the local community and (*b*) the state?

10. List the women of more than local reputation in your community. Why were they selected for positions that they hold?

11. Report on the status of women in (*a*) Russia, (*b*) Germany, (*c*) Italy, and (*d*) India.

12. Report on the status of women in the Scandinavian countries.

B. *To Plan*

1. Plan studies that might indicate the best occupational opportunities for women.

2. Suggest ways by which existing discriminations against women can be eliminated.

3. Propose laws to equalize the rights of women along all lines of social relationships.

4. Plan a "back to the home" movement.

5. How may woman be encouraged to enter fields of vocations into which she has not entered freely?

6. Suggest a more satisfactory occupational adjustment for the married woman.

7. Plan more effective ways whereby women's organizations add to civic improvements and cultural innovations.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

emancipation
cultural parity
social momentum

B. *Selected Readings and References*

In the presentation and study of women in the United States Miss Breckinridge's chapter in *Recent Social Trends* on "The Activities of Women Outside the Home" and her monograph on *Political, Social, and Economic Activities of Women*, and Professor Groves' discussion of *The American Woman* will give a comprehensive picture of the American situation.

Other questions and answers may be studied in the following references:

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TOPIC 9: RURAL AND URBAN PEOPLE

THE TWO greatest changes in the composition of the American population are found in the increase of the proportion of older people and those who live in cities. To state the change negatively, there is a very great relative decrease in the number of children and youth of those who follow the agricultural way of life.

So important do we consider these changes that we devoted an entire topic to this transition from rural culture to urban civilization and shall again study the problems of rural and urban communities. Our main interest in this topic, however, is with the people; country people and city people; farm tenants and urban workers; those who work in primary occupations and those who work in secondary occupations. From this vantage point, however, we must then examine some of the problems of rural folk as well as of city folk.

Perhaps the two types of summaries which will best complete the picture are those presented by the National Resources Committee of the New Deal and by the President's Research Committee on Social Trends of the Hoover administration.

Concerning the general movement from country to city, the National Resources Committee writes:

> The transition of the United States from a predominantly rural to an urban country has taken place in less than half a century. Whereas in 1880 the United States was still overwhelmingly rural with only some 14,000,000 of her people, amounting to about twenty-nine per cent of the total, in incorporated places of 2,500 and over, by 1930 the urban population had increased to nearly 69,000,000 representing approximately fifty-six per cent of the nation's total population.

The number of urban places rose from 1,099 in 1880 to 3,165 in 1930. If we restrict ourselves to the larger urban places of 8,000 and over, or the still larger cities of 30,000 and over, the rate of increase in both the number of cities and the urban population is still higher.

If the degree of urbanization of a country is a measure of its maturity, then the United States may be said to have come of age. The leading problem facing the United States today is no longer what it was in the early days of the nation when a concerted national effort was put forth to overcome the dependence upon the Old World of an undeveloped, agricultural, frontier community by encouraging local industries, and incidentally thereby the growth of cities.

The issue of the present day seems to be, rather, how in the face of the uncontrolled growth of urban and metropolitan agglomerations a reasonable balance may be retained between the urban and the rural elements in the national economy.

As long as the United States was principally a rural and agricultural country, as long as our predominant mode of life was based upon a relatively self-sufficient local economy, as long as our rich natural resources were scarcely tapped, and as long as our population was more or less homogeneous and unchecked in its growth, it was not to be expected that special attention would be paid to the city in national affairs. But inasmuch as the trend of urbanization has proceeded on the scale that we now know, a lack of special knowledge of the city can lead only to an unbalanced perspective, inadequate understanding of our national affairs, and failure to seize our opportunities and to master our problems.

The Committee points out these facts:

Not only has the increase of population been concentrated in a few states during recent years but it has also been concentrated largely in the urban centers of these states rather than in their rural areas.

The urban population was larger by more than 14,600,000 in 1930 than in 1920, while the rural nonfarm population was larger by only 3,600,000 and the rural farm population was smaller by at least 1,200,000. A similar differential existed from 1910 to 1920

but additions to the rural population were relatively larger before 1910. The farm population was not enumerated separately before 1920 but it probably was larger in 1910 than now, since the entire rural population increased only a little over 2,000,000 from 1910 to 1930, whereas the rural nonfarm group alone increased about 3,600,000 from 1920 to 1930.

As a result of this large urban concentration, the rural population made up less than forty-four per cent of the total population in 1930 compared with sixty per cent in 1900.

The concentration of population in large cities was thus considerably greater in 1930 than it was earlier. . . . In the thirty years from 1900 to 1930 the proportion of persons living in cities over 500,000 rose by almost three-fifths, from 10.7 per cent to 17.0 per cent.

The proportion in cities of 100,000 to 500,000 rose by about one-half, from 8.1 per cent to 12.6 per cent; while in cities of 10,000 to 100,000 the rise was about two-fifths, from 13.0 per cent to 17.9 per cent. The proportion in cities of less than 10,000 changed only from 8.3 per cent to 8.6 per cent, while that in rural areas decreased from 60.0 per cent to 43.8 per cent, as mentioned earlier.

Let us look at the changes in rural urban population in the United States by decades since 1790, when ninety-five per cent of the people were rural and when all the urban people in the nation were about as many as now reside in Syracuse, New York, and were nearly a hundred thousand fewer than those who live in Atlanta, Georgia. We may look at the picture either as decrease of rural population or as increase in urban.

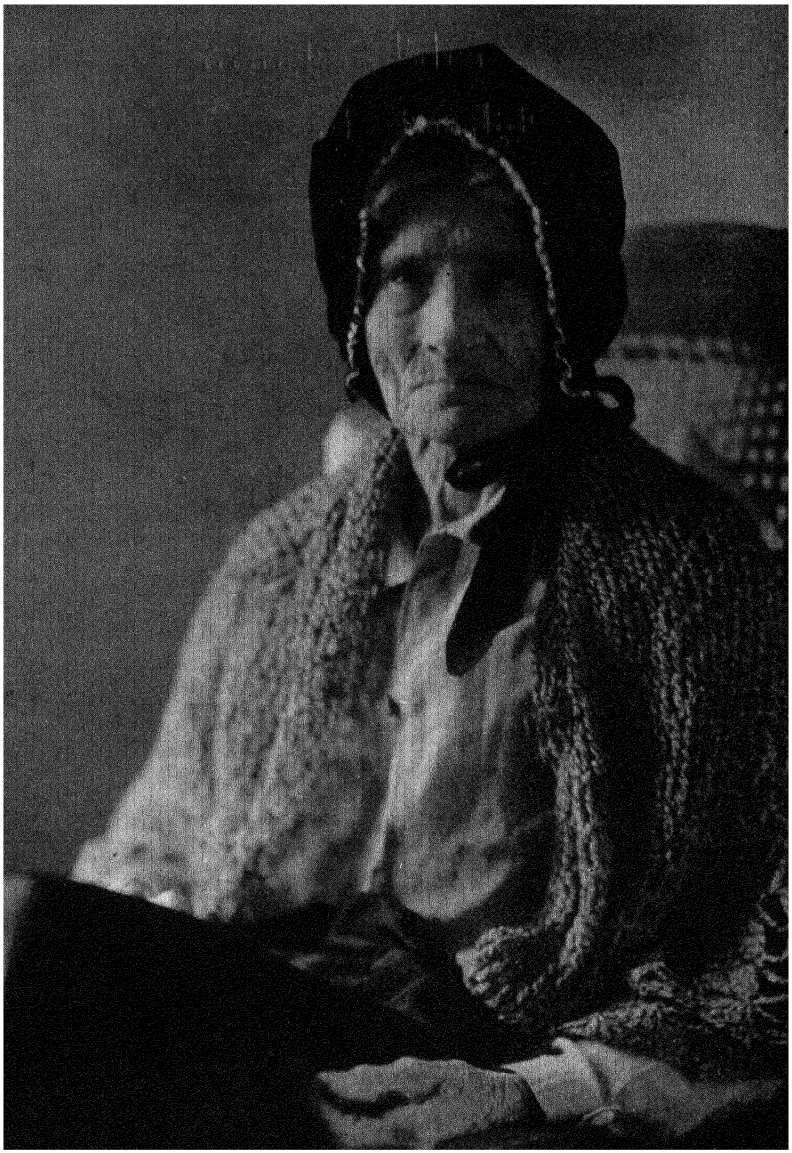
In 1790, urban	5.1	rural 94.9
In 1880, urban	6.1	rural 93.9
In 1810, urban	7.3	rural 92.7
In 1820, urban	7.2	rural 92.8
In 1830, urban	8.8	rural 91.2
In 1840, urban	10.8	rural 89.2
In 1850, urban	15.3	rural 84.7
In 1860, urban	19.8	rural 80.2



Photographs by Farm Security Administration

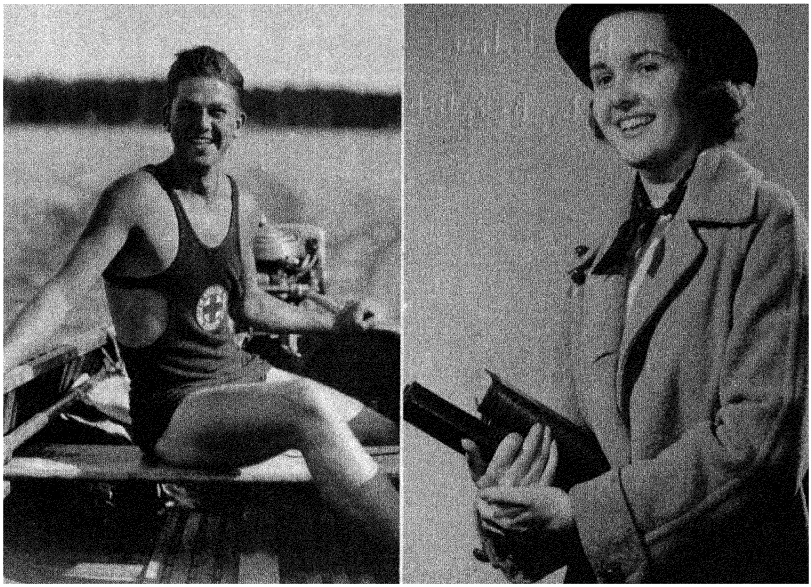
The people: New generations and old are meeting new problems in new ways.





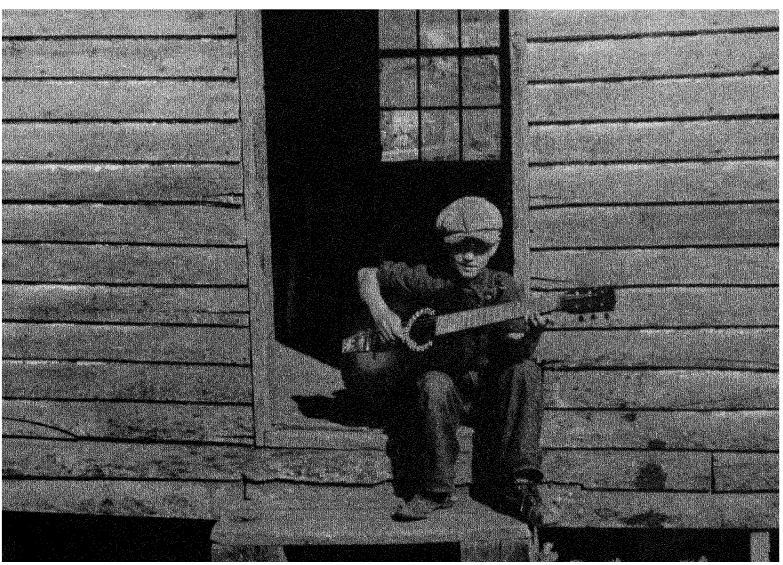
Photograph by Bayard Wootten

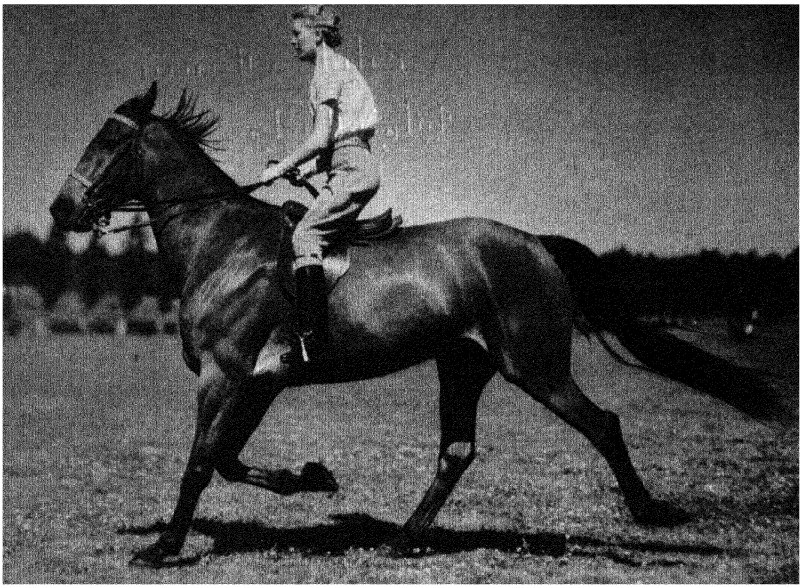
In old age our people should have adequate opportunity for living happily.



Top left, Gendreau; top right, Ewing Galloway; bottom, Farm Security Administration

American youth, even with different outlook, should find society ready to help them in accomplishing their purposes.





Above, Ewing Galloway; below, Farm Security Administration

These, too, are American youth, facing different problems of adjustment in a changing world.



In 1870, urban 25.7	rural 74.3
In 1880, urban 28.2	rural 71.8
In 1890, urban 35.1	rural 64.9
In 1900, urban 39.7	rural 60.3
In 1910, urban 45.7	rural 54.3
In 1920, urban 51.2	rural 48.8
In 1930, urban 56.2	rural 43.8

It is estimated that by 1940 there will be about the same number of people living in the cities as the total population was as late as 1900. If we include in the urban, the metropolitan village and the metropolitan unincorporated population, the number will probably be still greater than the population in 1900.

Of the more than seventy-three million of such people in the United States in 1930, they were distributed by regions as follows:

In the most rural Northwest there were only 2,740,918.
In the Southwest there were only 3,652,297.
The Far West was next with 6,237,704.
The Southeast was next with 8,211,548.
Most urban was the Northeast with 30,925,026.
And next the Middle States with 22,002,734.
The total urban village population was 73,770,307.

Of the ninety-three urban centers classified as metropolitan districts on the basis of having 100,000 population or more, the Northeast had no less than thirty-four; the Middle States, twenty-five; the Southeast, thirteen; the Far West, nine; the Southwest, seven; and the Northwest only five.

There are at least three great metropolitan regions which have more population now than the entire nation had in 1790. At least a half dozen cities have more than a million

people. New York City has over seven million; Chicago about three and a half million. Philadelphia has about two million people. Detroit and Los Angeles have more than a million and a half and a million and a quarter each respectively. Another half dozen cities range from a little more than a half million to just about a million people: Cleveland, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Milwaukee, and Pittsburgh.

By 1940 no less than twenty cities had between a quarter and a half million people with at least a half dozen exceeding the four hundred thousand mark and rapidly approaching or exceeding the half million mark. Strangely enough the greatest percentage of increases in urban population have been in two of the rural regions, namely the Southwest and the Southeast.

Of the six great regions in the nation, the Northwest with an area of 818,508 square miles is not only by far the largest of the regions but it has a larger percentage of the nation's total area in farms than any other region, namely, 27,833,000 acres, or 23.8 per cent. It derives a greater proportion of its total income from agriculture than does any other region. The area of farms in each state in the Northwest except Utah and Colorado is thirty per cent or more of the area of the state. Though ranking fourth in the total number of farms, the region has the largest percentage of large farms, over half the farms exceeding 500 acres as compared with the 17.5 per cent of the Southwest, the next in rank, or the 2.6 per cent of the Northeast. Correspondingly, it has the least percentage of small farms—3.6 per cent—since only one-fifth of its farms are under 100 acres. It comes second among the regions with its 43.1 per-cent total crop land, and third in total pasture land.

The present Southeast is primarily rural, farms constituting in area almost the whole landscape. Three-fourths and more of the people are rural either in actuality or in experience and interest. The region ranks second only to the great agricultural Middle States in composite measure of its commodity production. Moreover, the Southeast receives more than twenty-five per cent of its income from agriculture as opposed to about 12.5 per cent for the nation. The percentage of those gainfully employed in extractive work—45.7 per cent—is the highest of all regions, as is its ratio of farm population to urban population.

It was pointed out in *Southern Regions of the United States* that this preëminently rural Southeast has a larger number of farm families than any other region of the nation. Of the 6,266,000 odd farms in the United States, the Southeast has 2,380,000. In round numbers the Far West has 265,000; the Northwest, 648,000; the Northeast, 618,000; the Southwest, 744,000; and the Middle States, 1,622,000.

Mississippi alone has more farms than all of the great agricultural Far West. The Southeast is different, among other respects, in having the lowest average acreage per farm; namely, seventy-one acres. Mississippi averages only fifty-three acres per farm. A similar small farm division is found in the other "plantation states"; in Louisiana where the average size is scarcely fifty-eight acres; in Arkansas, where it is only sixty-six; and in Alabama, where it is only sixty-eight.

For the whole Southeast nearly eighty per cent of the total farms are under 100 acres and less than one per cent over 500 acres. Moreover, the size of these farms has been steadily decreasing since 1900. And before that time the break-up of the plantation system into small farms consti-

tuted an unprecedented revolution in the economic and cultural ways of the region.

This change in the composition of the American people, as we have pointed out, has changed the whole cultural landscape of the nation. It is not only that the people have left the open country, but those who remain have a different type of country life; and some of them have quite different problems to solve.

This new country life must be examined. Professor William E. Cole of the University of Tennessee in *Recent Trends in Rural Planning* calls attention to the new country life. To the unmeticulous mind, "rural" means the smell of freshly mown meadows, herds of cattle, fields of crops, quietude, a country store, a rural church and a school at the crossroads, farmers in overalls, wives in house gingham, and hired hands in the fields. True, these elements characterize one phase of the meaning of rural, but an ever-widening concept of the term is necessary in any consideration of planning procedures. Today, the rural environment includes many occupations besides farming, and many classes of people besides farmers. It includes many thousands of individuals who live in the country but who work in the town or city. It includes a constant daily flow of population between city and country. Homes with radios, farmers with stocks and bonds and automobiles, recreation at urban centers, and other similar cultural traits and patterns, all belong to rural environment today.

Often it is so difficult, in fact, to differentiate between rural and urban that some have suggested the term "rurban" to characterize adequately the cultural patterns of these two population groupings within the hinterland of metropolitan areas which no longer live as separate entities, but as an integrated whole. "Rural," then, is an ever-

expanding term, including more and more interrelationships between city and country and calling for an ever-expanding set of concepts for the consideration of the problems of urban and rural planning, and for an increasingly more inclusive definition of what is rural.

Yet the student of culture, as well as of national history, recognizes distinctive traits that appear to be rural and are, therefore, of elemental importance. These differences center in community life and institutions, occupations, composition of population, cultural heritage, relation to land and nature and out-of-doors, and the composite differences due to physiographic environment and psychological processes. Carl Taylor describes some of these differences in a news release from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics:

> We recognize that during the last 150 years, American agriculture has traveled steadily from the ox-cart and ox-team to the automobile and the tractor; from the cradle and the flail to the combine; from the tallow candle to the electric light; and from dire isolation to modern socialization.
>
> We recognize that there is a vast difference between types of agricultural production and their concomitant techniques, technologies, habits, and customs, and consequently of the thinking and purposing of the people engaged in agriculture.
>
> We recognize that there has been and is a difference in the parts played by the owner-operator, the tenant, and the hired man in these various processes and purposes of agriculture. We recognize that there are great differences among the various type-of-farming areas of the nation.
>
> But with all of these differences, there are a great many things that are common to farmers everywhere, whether they be intensive or extensive farmers, whether they are owner-operators, tenants, or hired men, and even whether they are producers of products for the market or for home consumption. And these things are not common to persons engaged in other occupations and living in other environments.

The average urban worker on the one hand is very little influenced by direct contact with physical nature. The weather is excluded by walls and roofs, temperature is controlled by means of artificial heat and electric fans, and even daylight is no longer essential for work.

The farmer on the other hand works out-of-doors, is compelled constantly to struggle against or coöperate personally with the forces of gravity, and must adjust his physical behavior to climate and season. He works for the most part with tools and implements in a process of individual production rather than with giant power machines in mass production. He works many hours in solitude or associated with relatively few people, most often with members of his own family. He is a breeder, a husbandman, a nurturer, and a conserver, rather than a fabricator or a machine operator. He works with a high degree of initiative and judgment, not under the compulsion of the factory whistle or the edicts of someone higher up. His manual labor, his planning, his money-making, and his family life are all woven together in his day-by-day behavior and thinking.

There is yet to be examined more carefully than has yet been done the significance of these differences. To many, rural life and urban life are considered as of differing degrees of accommodation to technology and density of population. To others, the difference is more fundamental.

Carl Taylor gives the arguments on either side of the new and the old rural situation:

Those who believe that the entrance of science, business, commerce, and mechanization into agriculture has been all to the good, point out the following as grounds for their convictions.

They say that human labor per unit of farm product is much less today than it used to be; that increased application of science to agriculture has brought to all rural people a much more exact knowledge, not only of their day-by-day problems, but of the world at large; that the application of business criteria to the farm enterprise has facilitated the adjustment of population to the land

base and the production of at least the major crops to areas in which they have a natural comparative advantage; that a relatively high material standard of living has been gained for the entrepreneurs of agriculture; and that there is a growing tendency to modernize all rural social institutions and thus give to rural people facilities and services which the farmers of yesterday did not have.

Those who are inclined to the belief that most of this so-called progress has in fact been a net loss, argue that we have sacrificed the cohesiveness of family life, largely lost the homogeneity of rural community life, suffered a heavy depletion of folk culture, and developed widespread insecurity.

Many special problems have arisen because of this change in rural life and people. Dr. W. W. Alexander, Administrator of the Farm Security Administration, said in his annual report for 1939 that mechanization of agriculture and rural unemployment are swiftly changing the pattern of farm labor into a way of life that does not offer stability of residence, security, adequate income, or wholesome environment to the hundreds of thousands of families involved.

Reporting that during the last fiscal year the FSA increased the number of its camps for migratory agricultural workers to meet a pressing need, the FSA Administrator stated that since 1930, hundreds of thousands of farm families have been pushed off the land by drought, foreclosure, or mechanization.

Most of these uprooted families, he added, were forced to take to the highways in search of work. Few found work in industry; the cities were already filled with the unemployed. For the most part the jobs they found were seasonal day labor in the only trade they knew, farming.

The largest employers of these displaced rural families were the mechanized farms, which have been growing in number and extent for a decade. These farms have elimi-

nated most of the resident labor formerly needed, but they still require large numbers of workers, for short periods, to do the hard labor involved in thinning, harvesting, or packing processes not yet fully mechanized.

While mechanization of most of these farms has resulted in increased efficiency, the decrease in labor requirements has been in terms of hours and seasons, rather than in total number of workers needed. Socially there is no advantage in this greater efficiency, unless the seasonally employed are able to find work between seasons.

So far few of them have been able to find such jobs. Under the present system, the large mechanized farm usually supports its workers only during the few weeks of their employment, and after that these people must depend largely on relief.

Moreover, there has been a great surplus of farm labor, and consequent unemployment even at peak seasons. The migrant families must travel continually from one crop area to another, as they follow the harvests. Annual incomes of $250 to $450 per family are the rule and many families make considerably less. Much of the migrants' income must be spent for transportation from one harvest area to another, the report noted.

As a result, extremely bad living conditions are common among most of this group of 200,000 to 350,000 families. Usually they find little or no provision for shelter, health protection, or schooling.

Winter weather brings a sharp increase in cases of pneumonia, influenza, and other pulmonary diseases. The risk of epidemics of smallpox, typhoid, scarlet fever, and similar diseases is a year-around menace.

Doctor Alexander said the problem calls for two solutions—new and more stable employment for the surplus

workers, perhaps in subsistence farming; and decent shelter, steadier employment and a chance to educate their children, for those who must continue to be seasonal migrant workers. . . .

Of special urgency is the problem of farm youth and the new generation of young people born in rural America. Here as elsewhere their problems are inseparably bound up with those of youth in industry and cities. We turn next to this topic.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 9: RURAL AND URBAN PEOPLE

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are certain characteristics that we typify as rural? List them.
2. What are those we label as urban? List them.
3. After a careful study of both lists and the actual facts applied to each characteristic, which ones can be justified?
4. What facts are available to determine whether one is "rural minded" or "urban minded"?
5. What are the chief causes of rural migration?
6. What are some of the attitudes we should develop and promote among rural and urban folk in their relations to each other?
7. What opportunities are available in your community to create a better understanding between the rural and urban dweller?
8. What are certain types of illness that are characteristic of (a) the city, (b) the country? Why?
9. What are some of the interdependencies of rural and urban life?
10. What are some of the chief problems of the farmer as society moves toward an industrial pattern?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How can we eliminate the influence of attitudes that tend to injure rural-urban relations?
2. How is the church influencing rural life?
3. How is the school affecting rural life?
4. How can the handicaps of city life be minimized?
5. How does the "small town" influence rural life?
6. Show how the rural school can develop in the boy or girl a recognition of rural opportunities and ideals for rural development.
7. How could the country newspaper become a medium of greater civic development?
8. How can we improve the slum districts in various cities?
9. How can the civic clubs of a community aid in promoting better social relationships between rural and urban life?
10. How can illiteracy in rural and urban areas be eliminated?
11. How does seasonal employment affect the farm population?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effect or Result*

1. Why are most rural folk considered conservative?
2. Why are so many rural youth leaving the rural area?
3. Why is the average rural family thought more stable than the average urban family?
4. Do you think it is true that we need fewer people in the rural area today than formerly? Why?
5. Why is there a great neglect of rural esthetics?
6. Will the country folk of the future be the backbone of American civilization as they have in the past? Why or why not?
7. Why should we be concerned about certain rural and urban trends? List them and discuss each.
8. Why is the term "rurban" needed? Illustrate.

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. What are the number and percentages of (*a*) rural and (*b*) urban population in the nation?
2. Make a bar graph showing the ratios of rural and urban population in (*a*) the nation; (*b*) the state; and (*c*) the county.

3. Explore the composition of the rural population as to: (*a*) age groups, (*b*) sex, and (*c*) nativity.

4. Explore the composition of the urban population according to the same classifications.

5. Locate the three great metropolitan regions. Describe each.

6. Statistically show the growth of cities in the United States since 1790.

7. Offer facts about farms in the United States—number, size, regions with largest number, and other facts.

8. On a spot map indicate areas where certain nationality groups are located. Note the tendency for settlement in urban or rural areas.

9. Are there any nationality farm colonies in your state? Locate and describe them.

10. Compare birth rates of rural and urban life.

11. Compare death rates of the two classes.

12. Make a study of old-age statistics and factors of rural and urban areas.

13. Offer a statistical picture of family life in (*a*) the country and (*b*) the city—number of families, number of children per family, and other factors.

14. Describe the daily routine of a farmer living in (*a*) New England, (*b*) the South, and (*c*) the West. If desired, break this grouping into more specific areas.

15. Chart the amount of illiteracy found among rural people in the different regions of the country.

16. Compare this chart with one that shows illiteracy among urban folk in different regions.

17. Write a story of the consolidation of (*a*) schools and (*b*) churches in the rural areas of your state.

18. Describe the school as a community center in rural life.

19. Show specific contrasts between rural—small town or village—and urban life.

20. Does the rural boy or girl have equal opportunities as compared with the boy or girl from the city? List positive and negative forces acting for and against both.

B. *To Plan*

1. Suggest ways of keeping the best of rural folk interested in farm life.
2. How can the drift of rural youth toward the urban centers be minimized?
3. Plan specific programs to ameliorate the economic handicaps of rural life.
4. How can the school enrich rural life?
5. How can the church improve its program in rural areas?
6. Plan ways of bringing all the advantages of federal and state aid to specific rural areas.
7. Suggest ways of advancing the public health program in rural areas.
8. Plan programs to bring better recreational opportunities to rural folk.
9. Offer suggestions by which better economic and social cooperation can be obtained and promoted among rural and urban folk.
10. Suggest ways of checking unemployment of rural folk.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

fiscal year	concept	land base
entrepreneurs	hinterland	folk culture
agglomerations	cohesiveness	national economy
business criteria	local economy	extensive farmers
secondary occupations	intensive farmers	subsistence farming

B. *Selected Readings and References*

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Obtain latest bulletins and information from the United States Chamber of Commerce and Federal Government agencies directly interested in this topic, such as the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.

Special studies of your State Planning Board, State Department of Agriculture, and State Agricultural Extension Service, The County Home, and Farm Demonstration Agents may contribute information.

Special studies and research from state educational institutions.

Unit IV

The People: Age Groupings

TOPIC 10: YOUTH

OF ALL the people, the two most dynamic groups concerned with the problems of work and of leisure are youth and the aged. And society is equally concerned about both. Each group, while troubled about the economic world, is troubled in a different way. Strangely enough, each group is assuming significant changing ratios in the total population. The ratio of children to the total population has been, first gradually and then more rapidly, decreasing; and by the same token the ratio of youth becomes smaller and the proportion of older people becomes larger and larger.

For the first time in the history of the nation there were fewer persons under five years of age at the end of a decade than at the beginning. In 1920, there were 11,573,230 children under five, but nearly 129,000 fewer in 1930. The census estimates of 1938 continued to indicate decreasing ratio. This decrease in the actual number of children tended toward a still more marked decrease in the ratio of children to the total in view of the fact that the older groups from forty-five to seventy-five years of age increased nearly one-third. Thus a characteristic of the population is a greatly increasing ratio of old people, with every

prospect that the increase will continue. The problem of a very large population of older people in an industrial era disposed to lay off its workers before the older age limit is reached has begun to assume puzzling proportions.

The chief change, however, is being wrought in the ratio of the young and the old, for both of whom in 1933 there was every indication that the nation was making inadequate provision for education and guidance, on the one hand, and for work and security, on the other. By 1950, it is estimated that the proportion of people over sixty-five years and eligible for old age pensions will be half again as large as in 1930. Likewise, by 1950 the ratio of workers over forty-five years of age, and thus subject to decreasing eligibility for employment, would probably have risen from 22.8 per cent in 1930 to thirty per cent or more. With reference to old and young, the picture shows the need for immediate long-time planning, to forestall a sudden gross impoverishment of the human wealth at both ends of the life line and a mass deficiency in the ideals of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is important to note that the decreasing proportion of children and youth is reflected in the school population, so that, in 1870, thirty-one per cent of all the people were of school age, but, in 1930, only twenty-six per cent. Yet the problem of employment for both groups assumes larger and larger proportions, since there has been a trend toward raising the age at which youth may go to work and lowering the age at which older people are likely to be "laid off." All of these trends, of course, tend to create new problems of adjustment. In this topic we shall discuss the problems of youth and in the following topic present the situation with reference to the aged.

Here, as elsewhere, we have the larger societal problems

of youth—the age-long problem of adaptation to elders, of acquiring education, and of growing effectively into maturity. But there are also many social problems due to the particular situations at this particular time in the American scene. This is so much the case that the question, "How Fare American Youth?" has assumed the proportions of a national crisis and has created impetus for a flood of research projects. The federal government has attempted to come to the rescue with its National Youth Administration and other measures. The American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education has made valuable studies. Hundreds of other organizations and agencies have set themselves to the task of helping modern youth to make the most effective adjustment possible to the modern changing world, while youth organizations themselves are active in the study and planning of their part in the new world.

Of the pressing American problems which youth faces in relation to its own future, perhaps the very first one has to do with the quest for work, for economic security, and reality which perhaps is the outward symbol of mental security.

From considerable study and observation of the main currents of feeling and opinion in the several regions of the United States, the conclusion seems justified that the prevailing aspirations of the American people may be characterized as a twofold quest for security and reality. The quest for economic security represents a more specific, tangible urge for the substantial, standing out beyond and above all the common problems of the people. It is not only the increasingly imminent and desperate problem of insecurity for laborer and aged and infirm, the pall of unemployment, the fear of lost savings, but also lost hope and

ambition, which hang deep and dark over millions of laborers and of the aged.

It is as if there had flamed up suddenly a well-nigh universal passion for security among the young people—youth in college and university, youth in high school, youth from farm and factory, youth everywhere clamoring for security to develop a future, for homes and families, for living opportunities and pay, for the right to do creative work. They are asking with religious fervor, if not security, then what has the nation to offer? What explanation to show why stirring crises must not be met with uprootings of the system? Along with this quest for economic security is the passion also for mental security, which is youth's way of seeking reality in the modern world. They want the facts. They want their questions answered frankly and fairly.

The significance of this quest for security and reality on the part of American youth may be emphasized vividly by pointing out the fact that there are nearly 22,500,000 youth in the American population—youth being listed as those between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four years. The transition from the earlier years to adolescence is often so gradual and the basic problems so similar that in reality there are other millions of "children and youth" who are involved in the problems of youth. These will be discussed in a later chapter dealing with the children of the people.

In terms of the numbers and the distribution of youth in the nation the picture is somewhat as follows: first, of the nearly 22,500,000 youth, the largest number, nearly 6,750,000, are in the Northeast, the region of the nation having the densest population. Next, the great Middle States follow with nearly 6,000,000, and the Southeast with a little less than 5,250,000. Then come the Southwest with nearly 2,000,000, and the Northwest and the Far West

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF YOUTH, 15–24, IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930

Area	Total Population	Youth 15–24	Percent Youth	Youth 15–19	Youth 20–24
UNITED STATES *	122,681,024	22,422,493	18.3	11,552,115	10,870,378
Northeast	37,998,022	6,692,766	17.6	3,412,589	3,280,177
Maine	796,832	129,258	16.2	68,683	60,575
New Hampshire	465,049	73,689	15 8	38,822	34,867
Vermont	359,493	59,200	16.5	31,371	27,829
Massachusetts ..	4,246,566	711,722	16.8	366,149	345,573
Rhode Island ...	687,276	119,091	17.3	62,414	56,677
Connecticut	1,605,966	279,985	17.4	148,123	131,862
New York	12,577,500	2,210,342	17.6	1,071,313	1,139,029
New Jersey	4,038,630	714,798	17.7	364,396	350,402
Delaware	238,242	41,295	17.3	21,173	20,122
Pennsylvania ...	9,626,276	1,732,415	18.0	918,507	813,908
Maryland	1,627,720	291,650	17.9	145,804	145,846
West Virginia ..	1,728,472	329,321	19.0	175,834	153,487
Southeast	25,535,248	5,197,843	20.4	2,772,292	2,425,551
Virginia	2,420,667	473,360	19.6	255,757	217,603
North Carolina .	3,168,157	665,487	21.0	360,640	304,847
South Carolina .	1,738,173	377,699	21.7	211,345	166,354
Georgia	2,906,662	622,962	21.4	334,836	288,126
Florida	1,466,974	276,029	18.8	138,215	137,814
Kentucky	2,613,201	479,817	18.4	258,156	221,661
Tennessee	2,612,931	525,056	20.1	276,437	248,619
Alabama	2,644,979	553,529	20.9	294,168	259,619
Mississippi	2,009,012	421,764	21 0	222,402	199,362
Arkansas	1,853,704	378,042	20.4	202,734	175,308
Louisiana	2,100,788	424,098	20.2	217,602	206,496
Southwest ...	9,073,686	1,832,118	20.2	942,940	889,178
Oklahoma	2,395,001	483,646	20.2	252,755	230,891
Texas	5,820,524	1,187,106	20.4	607,069	580,037
New Mexico ...	423,113	80,936	19.1	43,135	37,797
Arizona	435,048	80,434	18.5	39,981	40,453
Northwest	7,380,606	1,353,686	18.3	714,381	639,305
North Dakota ..	680,452	137,196	20.2	75,343	61,853
South Dakota ..	692,473	129,193	18.7	69,609	59,584
Nebraska	1,377,213	252,888	18.4	132,100	120,788
Kansas	1,880,280	337,012	17.9	174,573	162,439
Montana	537,269	93,888	17.5	50,135	43,753
Idaho	444,818	82,023	18.4	44,565	37,458
Wyoming	225,387	40,607	18.0	20,162	20,445
Colorado	1,035,090	182,045	17.6	95,132	86,913
Utah	507,624	98,834	19.5	52,762	46,072
Middle States .	33,939,095	5,914,237	17.4	3,017,256	2,896,981
Ohio	6,643,510	1,142,386	17.2	578,133	564,253
Indiana	3,236,234	550,815	17.0	284,714	266,101
Illinois	7,623,271	1,351,125	17.7	676,053	675,072
Michigan	4,839,450	835,088	17.2	416,886	418,202
Wisconsin	2,937,370	515,531	17.6	271,427	244,104
Minnesota	2,562,985	454,378	17.7	239,946	214,432
Iowa	2,469,697	424,709	17.2	223,542	201,167
Missouri	3,626,578	640,205	17.6	326,555	313,650
Far West	8,269,280	1,374,650	16.6	656,851	690,799
Nevada	91,008	14,160	15.6	6,875	7,285
Washington	1,561,416	268,323	17.2	137,922	130,401
Oregon	953,344	161,356	16.9	83,370	77,986
California	5,663,512	903,811	16.0	428,684	475,127

* District of Columbia figures are included here.

NOTE: Only those whose age is reported are tabulated here.

Source: Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930; Population Table 107, pp. 191-207.

with a little more than 1,250,000 each. Yet the ratio of youth to the total population varies greatly in these regions, with the Southeast having the largest per cent and the Far West the smallest.

These ratios, of course, again are not merely statistical aggregates, but represent the varying living problems of youth in the several regions. In the Southeast, for instance, with its greater population of youth, with the demand from other regions being relatively less than formerly, and with the region itself limited in wealth and work, the problem assumes the proportions of a crisis.

So, too, in many of the cities of the congested Northeast, youth is seeking opportunity elsewhere, even in the Southeast. Thus, it is estimated that seventy-five per cent of youth sixteen years of age in New York cannot find work to do. The details of regional, urban, and rural variations may be studied in detail from the accompanying full-page statistical picture. Yet, to point up vividly the wide range of differences, we may compare the ratio of youth to all other people from twenty-five to fifty-nine years of age in South Carolina with those in Los Angeles, California, as does the American Youth Commission. The South Carolina youth ratio is 63.3 per cent and the Los Angeles ratio is 28.6 per cent. To give another comparison, the total percentage of rural farm youth is 53.3 per cent and of urban youth is 37.7 per cent.

What else do we know or want to know about this youth of the nation? We know much, but we want to know more. Some of the conclusions which seem justified from many studies follow. First, with reference to work, there are not enough suitable jobs for youth.

This is a twofold problem, namely, one of employment and one of keeping youth busy and trained. In the earlier

days of the republic, there was always work ahead. Now youth does not receive its share of available jobs, and even after all the child-labor regulations are complied with, there is still in the cities a great problem of work and, if not work, of leisure-time activities. In the rural areas there is the problem of an outlet for the large number of youth in an age when agriculture is a diminishing occupation.

Furthermore, in a large and complex society youth cannot choose, and there is, due both to general conditions and to the depression, the spectacle of millions of youth glad to have "something" to do instead of looking forward to doing what they want to do. Here, of course, is a dilemma, since a great many more youth wish to go into the professional and social services than can possibly be accommodated. Now which ones shall have the chance and which ones not?

Here is the ever-recurring question of how many and what sort of youth should go to college and what sort must the college education of the future be. There is also the problem of widening the range of occupational opportunity and of raising the standard of pay, if possible, to the end that youth may look forward to security and to founding a family. What to do with from forty to fifty per cent of employable youth who cannot find work and what to do with them while they wait—these are questions that must have answers.

The raising of the school age as a means of bridging the gap between school and job brings other questions. If youth must stay in school until he is twenty and has not had training or experience, or formed habits of work, how can he fit himself into the social order? And then again, youth complains that he must spend so much of life getting ready to work, and just as he is well under way at forty, he is

suddenly too old for employment in many fields; so what is he to do? This is a problem for the school and for the sociologist and the economist. The problem involves the whole field of vocational education and the problem of making the high school and the junior college schools in reality for the people.

There are other problems. One is that physical health is more and more subject to hazard under the present circumstances. Another is delinquency, with similar hazards and dangers. These two together constitute the problem of mental health. These problems bring us face to face with the problems of play and recreation and of the facilities of the public school and the community both for providing recreation and for training leaders. All these problems are recapitulated and often accentuated in the special areas of rural youth, city youth, Negro youth, foreign-born youth, and the separate problems of boys and girls. And there are many other specialized aspects of the problem, including training in the upper brackets of research, teaching, politics, citizenship.

All these problems lead us to ask more questions about the backgrounds of youth, the contrasts between the past and present, the nature of their complaints, and the prospects of the future. It is a far cry from our former attitude toward youth, in which all discipline and regimen were planned arbitrarily from the viewpoint of his elders, to the present-day recognition of the changing processes that go on in the body, spirit, and mind of the youth, both male and female. The boy who grows from twelve to fifteen becomes a new person.

Along with physical changes, his mind and spirit, his enthusiasm and his discontent, change. The boy is timid and retiring, he is bold and crude. He is interested in the

whole world and in many beings. He is a child and a man, and yet neither. For the most part he is not understood, and he imagines that he is misunderstood more than he is. He is religious and affectionate but wishes to appear otherwise. He is gentle and savage, and at the same time he may be poised, as it were, ready to take his direction for mature life toward study and achievement or toward idleness and inertia.

The boy of today knows more than the aged folk of a previous generation. He has more information, more social contacts, more stimulation. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the midst of all these physical, mental, and spiritual changes of his own, when he is thrust into a rapidly changing age, his own attempt at personal adjustment may cause some disturbance.

The young woman, come to quick maturity, will appear to have changed more rapidly, to be more romantic, more restless, more difficult to understand even than the boy come to manhood. She, too, having grown rapidly from girlhood to womanhood, has become a different person in body and mind and spirit, often without the guidance and sympathy of her elders. Added to all the dynamic conflict of her being, she has an age-long tradition of suppression and limitation with which her brother does not have to struggle. She has to combat the old conventions in a new day.

Matters of dress, of speech, of work, of manners, of general conduct, often appear to her as illogical and without foundation. Like her brother, she has acquired a vast amount of knowledge of new things, and brings to bear upon new situations keen insight, satire, and often an irresistible, if illogical, argument. She resents the double standard in industry, in government, in the home, and in

morality, and protests against inequality of opportunity. Here again it is but natural that the modern young woman with all her new knowledge and new life refuses to "stay put" in the forms of previous generations. It is not surprising, therefore, if in her attempts toward adjustment she should cause disturbance in the social order.

Manifestly, the first of the problems of youth is therefore one of adjustment between growth and adolescence, between youth and society, and between youth and elders.

On the part of the older generation, on the one hand, and the teacher and worker, on the other, it is necessary to understand more of the intellectual side of adolescence, to be sympathetic with the social phases, to recognize the importance and dangers of maladjustment, to appreciate the religious and spiritual aspirations of youth, to understand and often to encourage whims and peculiar manifestations which may lie at the bottom of the esthetic life. It is especially important that they know more about the dangers of abnormal development and the basis upon which adolescent delinquency may rest.

There are other delicate problems involved in the freedom which modern youth vaunts since some of the restraint and authority in the home has been removed. There are, furthermore, the problems of adjustment between youth and the several institutions—the family, the church, morality, citizenship. From the viewpoint of youth, there are the constantly recurring needs for better guidance, better education, better companionship, and above all, a well-rounded social nurture such as will bring full growth and maturity without too heavy penalties of experience.

The common impression that society has underestimated the strength, wisdom, foresight, and general power of youth has many facts to substantiate it. There are many

PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1930

State and Region	Under 20	20 to 55	55 and Over
Southeast			
Virginia	44.4	44.6	11.0
North Carolina	49.3	42.2	8.5
South Carolina	50.6	41.5	7.9
Georgia	46.3	44.6	9.1
Florida	39.2	49.6	11.2
Kentucky	43.9	44.0	12.1
Tennessee	43.8	45.6	10.6
Alabama	47.0	44 3	8.7
Mississippi	46.6	44.4	9.0
Arkansas	45.8	44.6	9.6
Louisiana	44.0	47.2	8.8
Southwest			
Oklahoma	44.2	45.8	10.0
Texas	42.6	48.0	9.4
New Mexico	46.8	43.6	9.6
Arizona	42.1	48.9	9.0
Northeast			
Maine	37.3	44.9	17.8
New Hampshire	35.2	46.2	18.6
Vermont	37.0	45.2	17.8
Massachusetts	35.1	50.0	14.9
Rhode Island	37.0	49.1	13.9
Connecticut	37.0	49.5	13.5
New York	33.6	53.8	12.6
New Jersey	36.1	50.9	13.0
Delaware	35.9	49.3	14.8
Pennsylvania	39.4	48.2	12.4
Maryland	37.2	49.7	13.1
West Virginia	46.1	44.3	9.6
Middle States			
Ohio	36.1	50.1	13.8
Indiana	36.5	48.1	15.4
Illinois	34.9	52.4	12.7
Michigan	37.7	50.5	11.6
Wisconsin	38.0	48.0	14.0
Minnesota	38 3	48.1	13.6
Iowa	37.2	47.1	10.7
Missouri	35.7	49.5	14.8
Northwest			
North Dakota	45.4	44.3	10.3
South Dakota	42.5	47.9	1.6
Nebraska	39.3	47.7	13.0
Kansas	38.1	47.3	14.6
Montana	39.0	48.8	12.0
Idaho	42 8	45.5	11.7
Wyoming	39.2	51.2	9.6
Colorado	38.0	49.5	12.5
Utah	46.1	44.1	9.8
Far West			
Nevada	31.8	54.9	13.3
Washington	33.7	51.5	14.8
Oregon	33.1	51.3	15.6
California	30.4	54.8	14.8

classical illustrations of the unsuspected accomplishments of youth. There was, of course, the symbol of the Master Teacher, who at twelve years of age was instructing the learned men of the temple. There have been the master musicians whose genius in the earlier years might easily have been smothered. There have been the masters of literature, like Shakespeare, whose talents were in his youth all but completely ignored. A common note in the biographies of men and women who have achieved success is lament over the limitations and suffering which have come to them through the failure of others to appreciate them and through their lack of opportunity. Thousands of youth in the schools of the older days have suffered and lost out because of misunderstandings. The timid youth dreaming dreams may become the subject of satire for teacher and pupil alike until he is driven from the school. Those upholding formal religion and morality likewise have frequently misunderstood the struggles of youth and have driven them in a direction opposite from that which youth really desired.

This conflict between youth and institutions, on the one hand, and between youth and age, on the other, is, after all, not a new thing. In all ages the elders have conscientiously felt that the youth of the generation was lowering standards and endangering the common good. "The old days," they said, "were not like these." And so they were not. But in many ways the youth of each generation is both the friend and the progenitor of a better society.

Not only in primitive times but in all periods youth has been a symbol of power. Athletics, general recreation, games, contests have been conceded to be the supreme realm of youth. The physical youth among the Greeks represented the superlative of form, endurance, and

strength. The Romans also valued physical prowess. Vergil, the Latin poet, tells that when on one occasion the aged Entellus, ex-champion, fretting at his defeat by a youthful champion, threw himself into the ring and fought with such vigor as to endanger the life of his antagonist, pious Aeneas stopped the bout and recorded the episode as of phenomenal occurrence.

In war, youth is the supreme symbol of group power. Quickly and easily mobilized, quickly and effectively trained, the great army of youth represents the irresistible power of spirit and body. If much of the world's great tragedy has been in the sacrifice of such power, war is none the less eloquent testimony of its existence. The history of frontiers and pioneering also has been the story of youth. Thus the youth movement, with its disturbing factors and its challenging demands that its powers be conserved and developed, lies at the bottom of much of social development and social progress.

Youth is not only the symbol of strength and power, but it is essentially the symbol of growth, evolution, and progress. The chief function of the child and of youth for the time being is to grow. To retard growth is to retard the essential laws of life. Because children and youth can grow, because they can learn, because they can utilize vast power and strength in the development of themselves and of their surroundings, they represent the supreme force of social progress.

Youth with its venturesomeness and fearlessness plunges ahead, sometimes suffering, sometimes losing, but making possible new gains.

Youth takes the place of age, and the coming of each new generation with the passing of the old is typical of the great social and biological processes of development. Age must

decrease while youth increases. The liberalism of youth makes possible new discoveries and new inventions, while the fearlessness of youth overcomes difficulties to which older generations might surrender.

How, therefore, shall we conserve, develop, and guide this greatest of social forces into right channels? How shall we avoid dangers and pitfalls of abnormal development, of misdirected energies, of wasted power? How shall the modern youth movement be turned into its natural power and effectiveness?

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 10: YOUTH

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What factors have contributed to the restlessness of youth in the modern era?
2. What evidence can be presented to indicate the positive characteristics of modern youth?
3. What aspects of youth can be labeled as negative in nature?
4. What new values and attitudes have developed which should be (*a*) encouraged or (*b*) discouraged?
5. What are rural youth doing to meet present day problems?
6. What are some of the contributions that rural youth are making to American life?
7. What is the general attitude of youth toward religion and what is the church doing to satisfy the spiritual demands?
8. What effect have part-time jobs on education and on the later life of youth?
9. What concepts of democracy prevail among youth of your acquaintance?

10. To what extent should youth be disciplined or regimented? Does youth have too much freedom?

11. To what extent do the problems of rural youth differ from those of city youth?

12. Do you know of any conditions that resemble life as depicted by the "Dead End Kids"?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How is the present-day demand for freedom of youth encouraging or alarming?

2. How is youth going about determining vocational interests? What can others do to aid?

3. How far should recreation be a family affair?

4. How do you and your classmates feel about the prospects for the future? To what extent do your classmates appear apprehensive?

5. How far should the family go in supporting boys and girls after high-school graduation? How much, if any, of the family budget belongs to the children at each age?

6. How can the government participate in bringing to youth better prospects for the future?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why is the anxiety of elders over youth today more justified than in former years?

2. Why is it that present-day youth finds a more difficult task in its quests for work and economic security than formerly?

3. Why does youth want these questions answered frankly and fairly?

4. Why does each generation criticize the other about its moral standards and code?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. What proportion of the population of the United States may be classified as "youth"? Chart numbers and percentages for total population, age groups, geographic location, race, foreign

born, children of foreign-born parentage, school population, and occupations.

2. We hear of "youth in conflict" and "the revolt of modern youth"—against what are youth revolting? Formulate a "bill of complaint" stating the different points of adjustment in the life of modern youth.

3. Explain the revolution of adolescence—physical, mental, moral and social forces, and changes involved.

4. Using a study such as Howard M. Bell's *Youth Tell Their Story*, conducted for the American Youth Commission, Washington, D. C., note findings and apply procedure to your local community.

5. List some of the leading organizations for youth in the United States, with a brief account of each organization and its program.

6. What is the Federal Government, through its relief program, doing for youth? Report on the organization and activities of (*a*) the National Youth Administration, (*b*) The Civilian Conservation Corps, (*c*) youth activities in WPA.

7. Study a few cases of conflict between youth and parents with the view of discovering contributory factors.

8. Report on the Youth Movements of (*a*) Germany, (*b*) Italy, and (*c*) Russia. Give essentials of organization and principal program activities.

9. Report on the youth activities in the Scandinavian countries.

10. What library facilities exist in the community to care for the leisure-time reading of youth? Are these facilities adequate?

11. What recreational facilities and programs for youth are sponsored in the community? To what extent do they satisfy demands?

B. *To Plan*

1. Plan ways by which a young person in this nation can better understand (*a*) youth of other lands, (*b*) youth in other parts of the nation, (*c*) youth in the region, (*d*) youth in the state.

2. Design a program to give youth a better sense of security as they try to understand the complexities of modern times.

3. Suggest how the school curriculum and activities may be revised to meet more adequately the needs of the growing boy and girl in modern society.

4. Develop a program for the church, designed to recognize and direct the activities of its young members.

5. Suggest how the home may better recognize the changing ideals of youth.

6. Plan programs for direction and guidance of the activities of city youth.

7. Plan a program of leisure-time activities for rural youth.

8. Propose a better extracurricular program for the school in line with needs and desires of modern youth.

9. Develop ways of training leaders of youth in church, school, and community.

10. Suggest new occupations for youth today. Can predictions be made how these occupations might change? Can new types of work be foreseen through possible inventions and discoveries?

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

guidance	regimen	esthetic
arbitrarily	aggregate	delinquency
maladjustment	adolescence	recapitulated

B. *Selected Readings and References*

There is a growing abundance of material related to youth and contemporary society. For instance, within the covers of a single book, an annotated bibliography on *American Youth*, works of two thousand authors have been described. The book is one of the publications of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education and was prepared by Louise Menefee and M. M. Chambers. Here are the eighteen major questions on which information is supplied.

What are the problems of modern youth?
What are the attitudes of youth?

What about youth in the depression, especially with reference to unemployment and relief?
What about employment and vocational adjustment?
What about the education of youth?
What about child welfare and child labor?
What about adolescence?
What of family life and housing?
What of leisure and recreation?
What are the problems of citizenship, character, and religion?
What is the rule of governmental youth-survey agencies?
What of non-governmental youth-survey organizations?
What of research and surveys?
What of rural youth? Of Negro youth?
What of youth in other countries?

The youth problem is essentially a social problem of the present, envolving not only security and prospects for youth, but also critical tests of government, education, and industry. Our references are largely limited to the new approach.

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BELL, HOWARD M. *Youth Tell Their Story*. A study conducted for the American Youth Commission. American Council on Education, 1938.

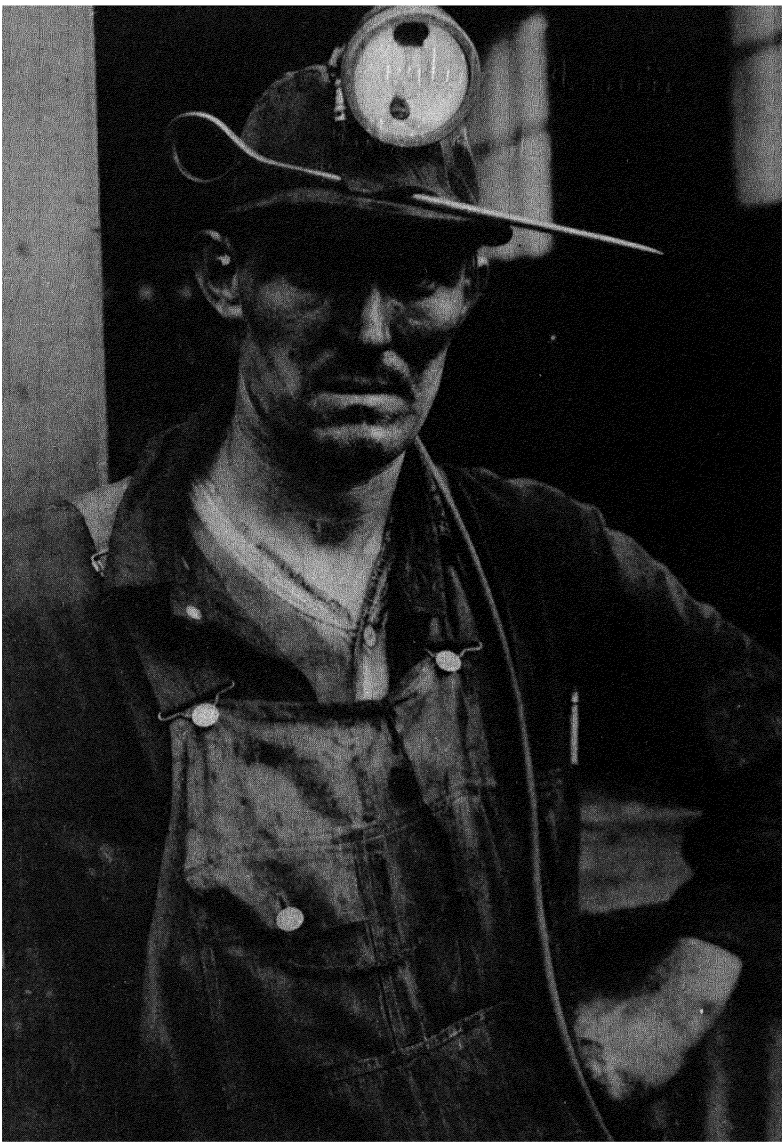
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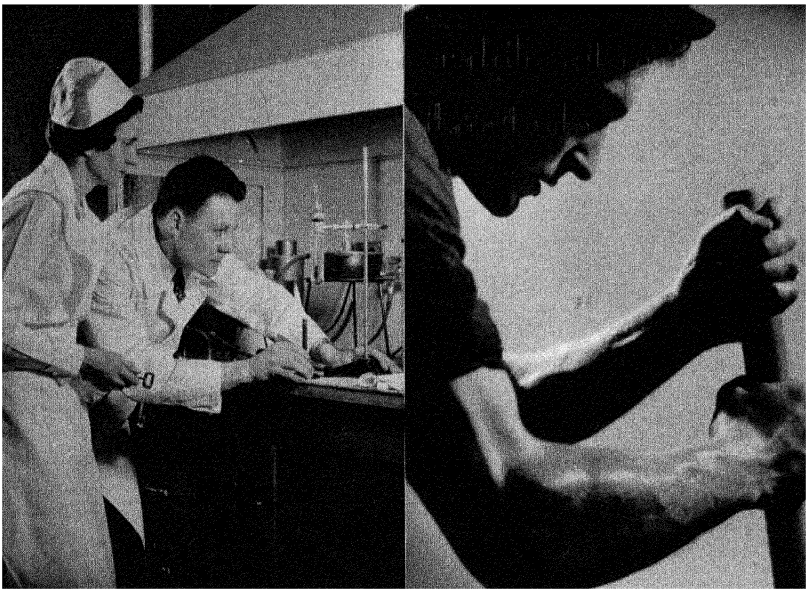
Photograph by Farm Security Administration

The people: Must workers, such as this miner, be subordinated to their work? What of their development as individuals?



Ewing Galloway

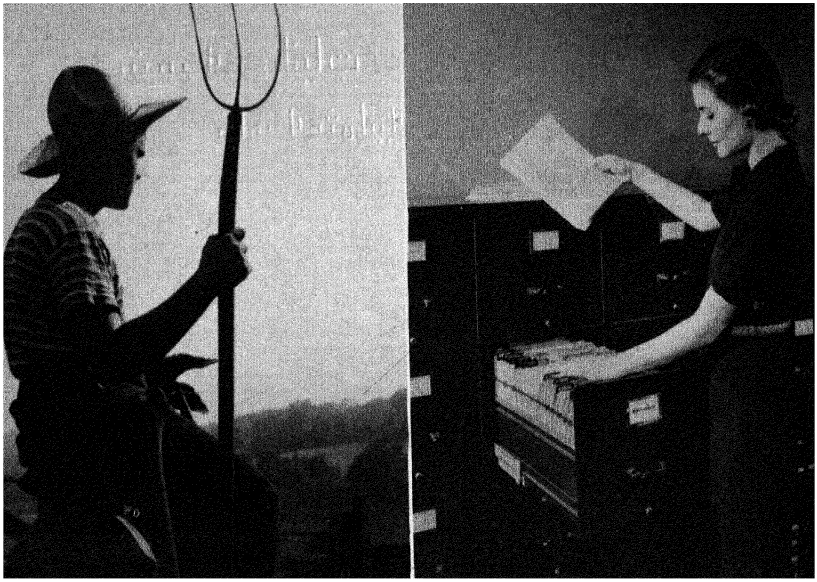
The work of management, as well as scientific invention, is a part of the technological wealth of the nation.



Top left, H. Armstrong Roberts; top right, Ewing Galloway; bottom, Farm Security Administration

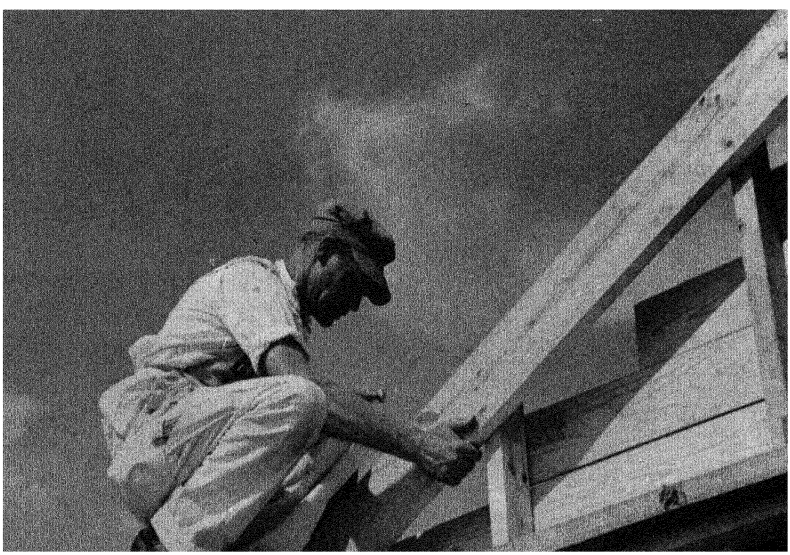
Work is still the American mode. It includes the work of the scientist, of the laborer, and of the government employee.





Top left and right, Ewing Galloway; bottom, Farm Security Administration

The quest of the people is still for the right to work.



RAINEY, HOMER P., and others. *How Fare American Youth?* D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937.

Recent Social Trends in the United States. Chapter XV.

ROBERTSON, JACK. *A Study of Youth Needs and Services in Dallas, Texas.* American Youth Commission, 1938.

STEWART, MAXWELL S. *Youth in the World of Today.* Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1938.

VAN WATERS, MIRIAM. *Youth in Conflict.* Republic Publishing Company, 1926.

Added to this list should be the publications and materials issued by:

1. The National Youth Administration, Washington, D. C.
2. The Civilian Conservation Corps, Washington, D. C.
3. The many youth organizations such as the Boy Scouts of America, The Campfire Girls, the Four-H Clubs, and a host of others. The Girl Scouts, Inc., have recently revised their entire program.

TOPIC 11: ELDERS

AMONG THE most dramatic of all American pictures is that of its older people and the rôle they promise to play in the next generation and beyond. Just as we must inquire into their concern about security and work, we must also examine facilities and opportunities for their participation in a more active life as members of society. Here indeed is a new situation with new problems in old settings and old problems in new settings.

In many ways it is a strange and surprising picture. In other ways it is a logical and inevitable development. In many ways it is a picture of contradiction and paradox. In other ways it is strangely consistent. But always the rôle of older people is a picture of dynamic proportions. It includes problems that rank among the "musts" for immediate attention.

Strangely enough, this picture of the aged is not merely one of dependence, but contrariwise it is one of great independence and of the threatened dominance of the political scene and of parts of the fiscal policy of the nation. We have already pointed out that next to youth in America, the older people are most concerned about security and work.

And strangely enough their concern, like that of youth, has been brought about by developments and change in the society which they are criticizing. That is, as a result of modern technology, there has been a tendency toward lowering the age limits of the older people in favor of the young. Yet because of science and society's ameliorative effects, the people not only tend to live longer but to feel better. By the same token they have been conditioned to higher standards of living and to greater capacity and de-

sire for money to spend and recreational opportunities. Now, if alongside these developments there looms the spectacle of early old age without work or money or security, it is natural that older people should lay the problem of their future on the doorsteps of the society which created their dilemma.

But this is not all. It is not only that the aged and upper middle-age groups are becoming more articulate. They are also becoming so much more numerous that it is estimated that there will be an increase of almost fifty per cent of persons over sixty-five during the next twenty years and almost a twenty-five-per-cent increase of persons from forty-five to sixty-four years of age. Needless to say, this increase, alongside the decrease in children of school age and of later youth, will work profound changes in our politics, in our education, and in most phases of American life. Here is a prospective spectacle of the elders who do not work yet they control by their votes the money of the younger folk who do work. But of these problems we shall see more later.

It is now important to look at the size of the picture and to note more in detail the trends of the future. Thus, the prediction of the population experts is that by 1980 the people in the groups from forty-five to sixty-five and over will equal all those from twenty to forty-four and will be nearly fifty per cent greater than all those under twenty years of age. For the present, from estimates based on the 1930 census, it is important to repeat again the fact that there has been a steady decline in the proportion of persons under twenty years and a corresponding increase in the proportion of those over forty-five years of age. More specifically, the group over sixty-five years of age has increased tenfold since 1850, while the increase of the whole popula-

tion has been only fivefold. The principal facts are summarized in *Recent Social Trends in the United States* somewhat as follows:

As the nation has become older, the median age of the population has risen from 16.7 years in 1820 to 26.4 years in 1930. This has come about because the number of persons in the older groups has increased faster than the total population and the number in the younger groups has increased more slowly. The 20–44 group has increased at about the same rate as the total; so the relative importance of this group is much the same now as formerly.

This aging of the population is not a new process but one that has gone on for more than a century. What is new is the greater speed in recent years and the extent of the changes which have resulted, particularly in certain parts of the population.

To illustrate, the first decrease in the number of persons in an important age group occurred during the decade 1920–1930. According to the census enumeration, there were 11,573,230 children under five years of age in 1920 but only 11,444,390 in 1930. The decline of 128,840 almost equals the number of children under five in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle, or in the entire state of Connecticut.

Furthermore, at no census prior to 1930 was the population in any five-year age group smaller than that in an older five-year group. But in 1930 there were slightly fewer children in the group under five years of age than in the five to nine year group, even after allowing for the under-enumeration that usually occurs in the former group.

While the population under five decreased from 1920 to 1930, the increase in the number of elders was larger than for many decades. Persons 45–64 increased over one-fourth and those 65–74 over one-third. It might almost be said that the older the group, the more rapid the gain in population.

If we wish to see the picture of the older groups more specifically, we may look at the numerical drama of a little more than 21,000,000 people who are over fifty years of

age. That is, in order to include in the picture people over fifty—those traditionally considered as older people—, we may omit the other five-year group from forty-five to fifty. This group of older people is almost identically the same size as that of youth, the group already described as being most dynamic in the search for security and reality.

Now if we wish to see this group in still smaller segments, we note that there are about 14,250,000 who are between the ages of fifty and sixty-five years, a little more than 2,750,000 who are from sixty-five to seventy, and nearly 4,000,000 who are over seventy years.

Of all these old people, nearly a third are in the Northeast and a little more than 6,250,000 are in the great Middle States. Yet the number of those over seventy years is larger, and the ratio considerably larger, in the Middle States than in the Northeast. The Southeast has a little more than 3,500,000; the Southwest a little less than 3,250,000; the Northwest a few more than 1,250,000; and the Far West nearly 1,750,000. Five states have more than 1,000,000 people over fifty years of age. Of these states New York leads with nearly 2,250,000; Pennsylvania is second with about 1,650,000, Illinois third with about 1,150,000; Ohio fourth with just about 1,250,000; and California fifth with 1,160,000.

All told, ten states have a little more than half of the total, these states tending to be the highly populated urban areas and ones in which old-age security and pensions are to play an important part. Regional variations will cause important ratios, as in California where the ratio of children is small and that of the elders large, or in the Southeast where the people must support a very large ratio of younger folk and an increasingly larger ratio of older people,

and where the middle group of earning capacity is relatively smaller owing to migration to other regions for the sake of work.

It is, of course, difficult to indicate the most important problems involved in this increasing ratio of older people. First of all, we must go back to look at the work situation and the trends in industrial and economic life. This means that we must try to see what the balancing forces which are at work may accomplish. For instance, it may be decided that two ways of providing employment for all at high pay will be, on the one hand, to hold youth back in school for a longer period and, on the other, to let the older people out earlier. Then that policy will frankly require federal and state support of both extremes of the population, and each segment of each extreme will tend to become larger and larger.

This policy would also place a double load on the middle groups for the support of two kinds of education and recreation; namely, an increased provision for children and youth in school and college as well as for adult education and leisure-time activities for the older groups. A corollary problem, therefore, would be the possibility that more and more older people with fewer and fewer children in their families would tend to be less and less interested in the elementary and high schools and more and more interested in old-age security and in provisions for their own maintenance. This might mean also, of course, a more conservative nation as the voice of the elders assumed a larger ratio to the whole.

This problem of the older people, therefore, assumes major proportions in the nation's public policy and fiscal organizations for two reasons. One is the bare fact of millions of older people in the present trend who will require

old-age payments as guarantees of security and happiness; the other is the increasing power of their votes in the election of the people who represent them in legislative halls.

There is a third major problem in so far as old-age and aged people provide the framework for utopias and for idealistic ameliorative programs set up by the intellectuals, on the one hand, and by the fanatics and publicity seekers, on the other. All three are problems of the first magnitude.

First, the problem of old-age security is already one of extraordinary magnitude. Even on the present scale as provided by the existing security legislation, the total amount of moneys will run into almost astronomical figures. Yet the great masses of farmers and home workers and government employees and hosts of others are not now provided for, and it is not likely that they will forever be left outside the arm of governmental assistance.

The present Social Security Act, passed by the federal government and now in process of being amended, presents the most comprehensive attack on the problem of old-age security yet undertaken in the United States. Through the Social Security Board there will be administered, in addition to those for the aged, provisions for unemployment compensation, for the needy, the blind, for children, for maternal- and child-health services, and for other needs. The provisions for old age were such that 1,500,000 old people were receiving assistance by 1938. And on the basis of the present plan, the reserves for the fund would by 1980, when provisions should be fully matured, amount to $47,000,000 invested in government obligations; and this fund, it was often claimed, must come from the earnings of the younger groups.

Not eligible for old-age benefits under the act are agricultural workers, domestic workers in private homes, casual

laborers, employees of the United States government, employees of any state or political subdivision of any state, employees of nonprofit organizations and of carrier systems.

In the case of the aged, two sets of provisions are provided, as summarized by Louis M. Hacker in *American Problems of Today:*

> The first called for the payment of pensions to the aged by the states, with the federal government making matching grants-in-aid to those states which accepted the conditions laid down in the act. These included the following: programs were to be state-wide in their effects; the minimum age limit for pensions was to be seventy years up to 1940 and sixty-five years thereafter; the period of residence to be required was not to be in excess of five years; and the federal government's maximum contribution to the states for each person aided was to be fifteen dollars a month, provided the states made matching grants.
>
> The second plan called for the building up of an old-age benefit fund (which, in time, would replace the pensions), out of which aged persons would receive annuities based upon their wage experiences. The fund was to be created out of contributions made by both employers and employees; and these contributions, like the unemployment benefit contributions, were to be paid into the general fund of the federal Treasury. All working persons (except for the same excluded occupations already listed) receiving $3000 or under, or on the first $3000 of their wages or salaries, were to have annuities provided for them after sixty-five years of age. The employer contribution (in the form of an excise tax) and the employee contribution (a form of income tax, and deducted from pay rolls) were to be equal. Both were to begin at the rate of one per cent each in 1937, 1938, and 1939, and increase gradually to three per cent after 1948. Old-age benefits, from the fund thus built up, were to be paid on a monthly basis, beginning in 1942.

Concerning the success of the plan on its third anniversary the Chairman of the Social Security Board, Arthur J. Altmeyer in 1938, expressed the belief that "no

legislation in our time has so taken hold of America." He pointed out, for newspaper release on August 14, 1938, that:

Whereas in August, 1935, the month the act was passed, some 314,000 needy old people were cared for under State and local old-age assistance provisions, in August, 1938, more than 1,700,000 are receiving regular cash allowances from combined Federal, State, and local funds under the act.

Though this represents more than a 400-per-cent increase, it does not mean that the number of old people who are in need has increased since 1935. What has happened is, rather, that we have at last set up an organized nation-wide plan for meeting this immediate and urgent problem. A recent estimate indicates that only about one out of every three persons now sixty-five or over in this country is, on the whole, self-supporting, a situation which means that some 5,000,000 are dependent on their families, friends, or organized private or public assistance. Because we now have a system of old-age insurance, those who are not yet old will not have to face this two-to-one chance of future dependency. Meantime, old-age assistance—in which all the States but one are already coöperating—will continue to care for those who are now old and in need or who may become so.

Concerning the difficulties of the problem, the Chairman of the Social Security Board calls attention to the fact that America must start "from scratch" and that America is different from other countries. Thus, he continues:

Because the American concept of social insurance differs from that held in Europe, we cannot lean too heavily upon European precedents. For one thing, we gear benefits much more closely to the worker's individual earnings; for another, even allowing for the lower wage levels in most European countries, we have a much higher standard of what constitutes adequate benefits. Our determination to preserve these American principles, in developing an American system of social insurance, has compelled us to pioneer along new paths. The prospect of pioneering should not

scare any good American. But neither should it lead him to assume that the entire job can be done on paper. The Social Security Act mapped out a practical plan, which is more than our pioneer forefathers had to start on. In three years we have made astounding headway, but it is unrealistic to complain because the end of the road is not yet in sight.

As to where this road will lead, that is in the hands of those who have charted the path so far—the American people and their representatives in Congress, who framed and passed the Social Security Act. Certain new lines of development are, however, beginning to emerge, particularly in the field of old-age insurance. These lie in the direction of extending coverage to agricultural labor, domestic service, and other occupations not yet included. Other possibilities to which the President has recently called attention are increasing the size of benefits for those retiring in the early years, and extending benefits to aged wives and widows of covered workers and to the young children of those who die before the age of sixty-five.

Finally, the question of health protection is beginning to appear on the horizon; we may one day set up safeguards against the hazard of illness, paralleling our present lines of defense against the hazards of want during unemployment and of a destitute old age. The Social Security Board is charged by the law with the duty of making studies and recommendations for legislation to improve and extend the scope of social legislation. Regarding this as one of its most important responsibilities, the Board is studying these questions, as well as others relative to immediate problems of administration.

Now the composite effort of the United States Government to work out these problems of old age may be said to represent the cumulative experience of the nation, to include something of its study of European systems, to meet the growing demands of the older voters, and to avoid, if possible, many utopian and fantastic plans for old-age security. With reference to the experience of the United States, it must be said that private philanthropy and indi-

vidual efforts have not been adequate. Personal savings and the old-time care of the aged by their children can no longer be counted upon because of the insecurity of both in a modern world of unemployment and change.

Concerning other means provided by society, we need to ask and answer a number of questions. For instance, does anybody now believe public poorhouses are either adequate or proper for the indigent or ailing aged people of this country?

Does local public outdoor relief offer adequate and suitable care for the aged and infirm?
Can organized charity do the job for the old people any more than it can for the relief of the poor and the sick and the unemployed?
Is it likely that there can be enough endowments found to set up adequate benevolent homes for the aged?
Has the system of industrial pensions proved strong enough, either to succeed in large industries or to apply to the millions in small industries?
Are the trade unions providing or proposing to provide pensions for their aged members?
Can the fraternal organizations meet the needs even of their own members?
Are the churches able to support pension funds for their aged?
Can the states and local governments provide pension funds for their civil service employees and, if so, how will this appeal to those not on the state rolls?
Can the teachers' retirement funds take care of a large number of older people?
How many can military pensions take care of?

These are questions that have been asked many times over, and they have been partially answered by experience. They can be further answered by a study of each of the main avenues of relief suggested in each question. In gen-

eral, of course, the approximation to the best plan will be to utilize the best parts of all the acceptable programs so that public and private coöperation may assume workable proportions. In reality, it is necessary to utilize all methods, but the trend is decidedly toward larger and larger governmental participation in this field as in all aspects of relief and amelioration. The very real dilemma of the American people in this area may be seen vividly and dramatically from an examination of recent political movements and the extraordinary hold they have taken upon the people. There is drama, and there is pathos here, but for all practical purposes, there is reality, too. There was, for instance, Upton Sinclair's EPIC to end poverty in California, a movement which almost swept the state off its feet. Mothers out in the towns, old people in the cities, citizens in the village—all were excited and earnestly asking why they should not join this movement to make things right in California. It was a recrudescence of the earlier New York utopian technocracy, which, too, was supposed to remake society.

Then came the Townsend movement. Catching the imagination of the people, it became in the twinkling of an eye a national movement of great sweep and power. Two hundred dollars a month to be expended within the month and to make way for millions of jobs when the older people retired. This was indeed a plausible plan and one yet powerful in its motivation.

And, in 1938, in California again, Sheridan Downey's "Thirty Dollars Every Thursday" swept him into the national Senate over the veteran William McAdoo, with $1500 a day pouring into the California headquarters. Instead of the "End Poverty in California" slogan, there is a more concrete one embodied in a persuasive natural-

colored booklet, which is entitled *Ham and Eggs for Californians.*

If this scheme seems incredible to the realist who has not been in close touch with these movements, ask such a practical man as Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. Is not Massachusetts one of the states with a very large old-age population and are not 800,000 votes of great importance? So Arkansas and Tennessee and North Dakota and Washington State, Colorado, and Alabama and others. "Life Begins at Fifty," lead to another refrain: "Yes, but life will be hard before fifty," and various alternative satires —"thirty-Thursday," "fifty-Friday," "sixty-Saturday," "million-Monday."

Yet not all of this, nor any of it, must be allowed to obscure the realities of a great human and social problem, problem of the ages, of primitive and modern folk, suddenly grown into new proportions and complexities; problems really for youth to solve. For the glory of citizenship in its promise of life must not be allowed to sink into poverty and failure, and the old wisdom of honoring the elders unto the third and fourth generation is still powerful among the folkways that rule.

Here as elsewhere in the American picture, there are many other questions to be asked and answered. How is it possible to plan and legislate and educate so that false movements will not in any way endanger substantial programs?

How provide that in an age with the increasing numbers and wisdom of the aged they can be best utilized with the optimum effect and cost? This is a fundamental societal problem of long standing.

These and other questions may be studied more in detail from the sources that are quoted in this topic. Full

opportunity will be given for further reading and checking of the abundance of information about our American social problems.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 11: ELDERS

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What is the intelligent position for society to assume in regard to old age?
2. What are the physiological problems involved?
3. What are the psychological problems involved?
4. What emotional elements enter the picture?
5. What place should "respect" have in the relationships of society to the aged?
6. What economic factors of the present are connected with security in the future?
7. What could schools do to provide educational advantages and interests for the aged?
8. What elements of nature might enter the picture of security for the aged and upset speculations and plans?
9. What are the hazards to be met in old age that cannot be adjusted?
10. What attitude should the employer have toward one who has given the best years of his life to his work and comes to old age?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How are the problems related to aged people political problems as well as problems of public welfare?

2. How has the system of industrial pensions proved successful enough in large industries to apply to the millions in small industries?

3. How can the churches participate in the responsibility toward the aged?

4. How may youth serve old age today?

5. How would you like to approach old age? Turn your imagination to that period.

6. How may the home bring security to old age?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why are the problems of the aged considered new?

2. Why are they "economic" rather than "social"?

3. Why are they more "solvable" than in earlier periods? To what extent less so?

4. Why in this day and time, is the "poorhouse" concept of dealing with people aged considered neither adequate nor proper?

5. Why is it unlikely that enough endowments can be set up to provide adequate benevolent homes for the aged?

6. Why is it that the fraternal orders find it difficult to meet the problem of old age among their several memberships?

7. Why is it that teacher's retirement funds, government pensions, and the like will not suffice?

8. Why is some form of large scale, nation-wide, government-participation plan the best way to handle this problem in all of its aspects?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Chart the distribution of old-age groups in the United States, numbers and percentages in the total population over sixty, between sixty-five and seventy, over seventy.

2. Make a comparison and contrast study of increases or decreases in this bracket of population over the past fifty years.

3. Compare these statistics with those of other age groups, especially children and youth.

4. List the forces that are extending life to old age.

5. Report on the forces that check extension into old age.

6. Describe in detail three or more of the recent movements interested in old-age security.

7. Discuss the Social Security Act—its good and weak points.

8. Report on the old age assistance and old-age benefit clauses of the Social Security Act.

9. Describe an imaginary aged couple and the conditions of their life.

10. Visit the local branch of the public-welfare administration which deals with the old-age sections of the Social Security Act and get first-hand information on how the work proceeds. Report findings.

11. Visit one or more institutions now serving the aged. What are your impressions?

12. Does your county have a "county home"? Visit it and offer a frank appraisal of its program and facilities.

13. Have interviews with some of the leading elder citizens of your community. Question them on modern trends. Note attitudes.

14. Interview some of the leading men of business, bankers, and industrialists; report on their attitudes and ideas regarding old age.

15. Poll the class on attitudes regarding old age.

B. *To Plan*

1. What has medicine to offer that will continue the extension of life into old age?

2. Plan ways of lessening the hazards of life so that it can be extended.

3. Suggest changes and additions to the Social Security Act to enlarge and make adequate old age security.

4. Plan how the economic forces in the democracy might provide for old age security.

5. Plan so that the benefits of medicine and psychiatry can go hand in hand in assuring old age better health.

6. How may youth plan now for old age?

7. Suggest a way by which all of the classifications of old age not included in the Social Security Act may be cared for.

8. Suggest a way better to adjust the aged to family life where those of other generations also live.

9. Plan ways of assuring old age a wholesome life of recreation, social contact and enjoyment.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

folkways	EPIC	utopias
technocracy	articulate	psychiatry
outdoor relief	philanthropy	recrudescence

B. *Selected Readings and References*

Readings are focused on the newer aspects and interpretations of the problems of the aged. There is an abundance of this material for those who may wish to specialize in this field.

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The Social Security Board releases bulletins and materials. Washington, D. C.

State Departments of Public Welfare and county and local Boards of Welfare should render helpful assistance.

TOPIC 12: CHILDREN

IN THE long road of human history there appears to be no area of man's life and culture in which universal progress seems so completely recorded as in the field of child welfare. Yet, strangely enough, both in the past and the present, this great segment of the population has been the battleground of many bitter conflicts and of much that has been catalogued as social amelioration and reform.

Strangely enough, too, while the child has been the symbol of the race's most noble ideologies, it has also provided the reality of almost universal exploitation. "The world is served only by the breath of the school children"—so runs the old adage of wisdom. Yet child labor and truant officers have constituted a strange accompaniment to so high an ideal.

"Of such is the kingdom"—so runs another great saying; yet for generations and generations the suffering and death of little children might be said to be the most appealing of all claims for philanthropy—the appeal motivated by the ideal contrasted with the tragedies of children everywhere.

It is only in comparatively recent years that the rights of the child have been recognized in practical ways. Even within the last generation, and in some places at the present time, there is still a tendency on the part of parents to believe that the children are their property and may be utilized as assets in child labor. So much has this been true that social responsibility of parents and of the community at large for the welfare of children may be looked upon as an index of the modern social movement.

We have continued, therefore, to ask many questions

and to seek the answers about the rôle of the child in civilization. What are the fundamentals involved in the modern program of child welfare? What are the "minimum essentials?" What are the methods and disciplines involved in bringing to pass the ideals of child welfare? What are the agencies and means whereby society may conserve this basic asset of its human resources?

Strangely enough again, the problems of the child, in spite of all this progress, continue to multiply, and the problems are not only of the same sort as originally, but there are new and different problems arising from a changed society. There are problems of standard child-welfare services, and we must understand them.

There are also problems of population policy with reference to the number and kind of children that are born or that are adjudged desirable for the future society. And furthermore this problem of numbers has become one of great reality already, such that in many parts of the world there is the very genuine problem of replenishing the world with people.

Not only, however, is this problem restricted to those portions of the world where the birth rate is not adequate for replacement, but, owing to the trend everywhere, the questions of birth rate now constitute standard problems in all countries.

Now, if much of the most recent drama and dynamics in the American picture has been reflected in the two great groups studied in the previous chapters, namely, youth and the aged, we must not forget to see these great segments of the population in their setting as they appear in relation to those other two great segments of the people, the children from whom youth is emerging and the middle years into which youth will soon graduate.

In Topic 13 we shall study that great middle portion and backbone of the population—those who work in the heat of the day and carry the load of wealth making and of serving the rest of the people. These are the people from twenty-five to forty-five years of age.

In the earlier topic, in which we studied some of the facts and problems which pertain to that large part of the population called youth, we asked and answered the question, "Who are the youth of the land?" We classified all those between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four years as youth and all those under sixteen years as children. We pointed out the fact, however, that the borderlines in the matter of both age and problems overlapped and that many writers extend the years of childhood to twenty. Especially those authorities who estimate the number of "children" to be educated tend to make their appraisals on the basis of all under twenty years of age.

It is important, however, to make our classifications a little more specific. The age of sixteen as the top limit of the classification of children is itself indicative of a number of technical situations and problems. Sixteen years, for instance, represents the standard age at which child-labor legislation recognizes children as workers, and is a minimum age for the completion of the secondary-school program, from which age up to twenty-four years will be found a great gap between school and employment. This age, too, represents the transition from later childhood to adolescence. Primarily, however, children constitute a distinctive block of the population, index both of the number and the kind of people and a symbol of the future.

In the United States, although the actual number and ratio of children to the whole population is large, there has been a gradual but certain reduction of the proportion of

children to the total population. Thus from about forty per cent in 1850 the ratio has diminished to less than thirty per cent in 1930, and the prediction is that it will approach twenty per cent by 1980, when the population will apparently become stationary.

To explain the situation more specifically by age groups, children under five years of age constituted a little more than fifteen per cent of the population in 1920 and a little more than nine per cent in 1930; those from five to nine years of age decreased from fourteen per cent to a little more than ten per cent, and those from ten to fourteen years decreased from 12.5 per cent to a little under ten per cent. Not only, however, did the ratio of children decrease, but the actual number of children under five years decreased during the years between 1920 and 1930 from 11,573,230 to 11,444,390.

Previous to 1930, the children under five years were always the largest of the five-year groups, but in 1930 the group just above it, that is the group from five to nine years, was a million larger. This was true, of course, in the face of a constantly reduced death rate of children. This decreasing ratio of children was more in evidence in the cities than in the rural areas, and it has been pointed out that the total number of children in the three great metropolitan centers of the Far West just about equals the total decline of children from 1920 to 1930. The trend, therefore, must be contemplated in the future alongside the trend toward urbanization.

There are great variations between and among the different regions of the nation. The 36,000,000 children under fourteen years of age in the nation constitute a little less than thirty per cent of the total population. Yet in the Southeast the children constitute about thirty-five per cent,

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930

Area	Total Population	Children Under 14	Percent Children	Under 5	5–9	10–14
UNITED STATES*	122,681,024	36,056,876	29.4	11,444,390	12,607,609	12,004,877
Northeast	37,998,022	10,497,354	27.6	3,275,586	3,644,389	3,577,379
Maine	796,832	228,825	28.7	75,037	79,727	74,061
New Hampshire	465,049	124,921	26.9	39,350	43,543	42,028
Vermont	359,493	101,710	28.3	33,232	34,765	33,713
Massachusetts	4,246,566	1,127,300	26.5	349,640	390,657	387,003
Rhode Island	687,276	191,988	27.9	59,624	67,620	64,744
Connecticut	1,605,966	445,475	27.7	132,899	152,530	160,046
New York	12,577,500	3,152,319	25.1	989,294	1,084,839	1,078,186
New Jersey	4,038,630	1,094,928	27.1	329,668	380,918	384,342
Delaware	238,242	64,218	27.0	19,283	22,321	22,614
Pennsylvania	9,626,276	2,885,054	30.0	895,843	1,004,447	984,764
Maryland	1,627,720	459,898	28.2	144,629	162,656	152,613
West Virginia	1,728,472	620,718	35.9	207,087	220,366	193,265
Southeast	25,535,248	8,904,785	34.9	2,873,708	3,143,760	2,887,317
Virginia	2,420,667	818,639	33.8	257,138	291,875	269,626
North Carolina	3,168,157	1,200,560	37.9	391,150	427,112	382,298
South Carolina	1,738,173	668,634	38.5	205,076	240,750	222,808
Georgia	2,906,662	1,009,174	34.7	316,404	353,910	338,860
Florida	1,466,974	436,840	29.8	141,832	152,127	142,881
Kentucky	2,613,201	889,335	34.0	292,866	316,231	280,238
Tennessee	2,612,931	868,625	33.2	281,818	306,629	280,178
Alabama	2,644,979	949,035	35.9	313,882	331,713	303,440
Mississippi	2,009,012	712,037	35.4	234,295	249,398	228,344
Arkansas	1,853,704	645,550	34.8	208,709	225,828	211,013
Louisiana	2,100,788	706,356	33.6	230,538	248,187	227,631
Southwest	9,073,686	2,983,242	32.9	979,645	1,056,957	946,640
Oklahoma	2,395,001	808,413	33.8	264,537	285,846	258,030
Texas	5,820,524	1,876,131	32.2	611,168	665,560	599,403
New Mexico	423,113	155,293	36.7	53,853	55,094	46,346
Arizona	435,048	143,405	33.0	50,087	50,457	42,861
Northwest	7,380,606	2,263,033	30.7	720,984	783,961	758,961
North Dakota	680,452	233,731	33.8	75,726	78,119	79,886
South Dakota	692,473	224,677	32.4	71,324	77,961	75,392
Nebraska	1,377,213	408,163	29.6	130,337	141,487	136,339
Kansas	1,880,280	542,471	28.9	171,094	190,343	181,034
Montana	537,269	159,651	29.7	49,263	53,992	56,396
Idaho	444,818	145,724	32.8	45,814	50,070	48,840
Wyoming	225,387	68,342	30.3	22,495	24,097	21,750
Colorado	1,035,090	299,390	28.9	95,670	104,780	98,940
Utah	507,624	180,884	35.6	59,261	62,239	59,384
Middle States	33,939,095	9,368,602	27.6	2,965,961	3,253,014	3,149,627
Ohio	6,643,510	1,825,204	27.5	573,164	639,272	612,768
Indiana	3,236,234	897,005	27.7	285,030	314,917	297,058
Illinois	7,623,271	1,980,797	26.0	615,826	681,782	683,189
Michigan	4,839,450	1,405,880	29.0	463,441	486,970	455,469
Wisconsin	2,937,370	849,059	28.9	271,360	291,222	286,477
Minnesota	2,562,985	741,540	28.9	231,001	256,751	253,788
Iowa	2,469,697	699,060	28.3	220,277	242,963	235,820
Missouri	3,626,578	970,057	26.7	305,862	339,137	325,058
Far West	8,269,280	1,939,220	23.4	596,202	690,777	652,241
Nevada	91,008	22,035	24.2	7,123	7,850	7,062
Washington	1,561,416	389,260	24.9	114,854	136,013	138,393
Oregon	953,344	233,038	24.4	68,858	81,520	82,660
California	5,663,512	1,294,887	22.9	405,367	465,394	424,126

* District of Columbia figures are included here.

NOTE: Only those whose age is reported are tabulated here.

Source: Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930; Population Table 107, pp. 191–207.

and in the Far West only twenty-three per cent. The variation is even greater between the Carolinas with about thirty-eight per cent of children and California with less than twenty-three per cent.

The implications here are manifold in the obligation of the states and regions to educate their children, to protect them in health, and to give them work when they grow up. For the several regions the percentage of children to the whole population of the region is as follows, in the order of highest to lowest: the Southeast, 34.9; the Southwest, 32.9; the Northwest, 30.7; the Northeast and the Middle States, each 27.6; and the Far West, 23.4. Here the three rural areas, Southeast, Southwest, and Northwest, are consistent, as are the two great urban and industrial regions of the Northeast and Middle States.

Concerning the further implications of the differentials with reference to the number of children, the Educational Policies Commission states:

> It is important to note that families of inferior economic status have the higher fertility rates.
>
> In the towns and cities the lower occupational groups, especially those in straitened circumstances and on relief, have on the average more children than neighboring groups with superior economic, social, and cultural advantages. At the same time there is hardly a single urban group in which the majority of the young people enjoy the advantages of high school education, and in which many continue their education through college, that is now replacing itself from one generation to another. The net reproductive loss in these urban groups ranges from ten to thirty-five per cent per generation. . . .

President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, estimating deficiencies on the total basis of all under twenty years of age, figured that there

THE CHILD IN SOCIETY: A SYMPOSIUM AND INVENTORY SYMBOLIC OF THE STUDY AND PLANNING OF AMERICAN PROBLEMS

A Twofold Contribution of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection

I. THIRTY-SEVEN VOLUMES, PUBLISHED BY D. APPLETON-CENTURY CO.

White House Conference, 1930
Adolescent in the Family
Child Labor
Children's Reading
Education for Home and Family Life: In Elementary and Secondary Schools
Education for Home and Family Life: In Colleges
Home and School Cooperation
The Home and the Child
Nursery Education
Parent Education: Types, Content and Method
Safety Education in Schools
The School Health Program
Social Hygiene in Schools
Special Education: The Handicapped and the Gifted
Summer Vacation Activities of the School Child
Vocational Guidance
Young Child in the Home
Body Mechanics: Education and Practice
Fetal Newborn and Maternal Morbidity and Mortality
Growth and Development of the Child: General Considerations
Growth and Development of the Child: Anatomy and Physiology
Growth and Development of the Child: Nutrition
Growth and Development of the Child: Appraisement of the Child
Health Protection for the Pre-school Child
Hospitals and Child Health
Nutrition Service in the Field and Child Health Centers: A Survey
Obstetric Education
Pediatrics: Education and Practice
Psychology and Psychiatry in Pediatrics: The Problem
Communicable Disease Control
Public Health Organization
Milk Production and Control
The Delinquent Child
The Handicapped Child
Organization for the Care of Handicapped Children: National, State, and Local
Dependent and Neglected Children
Administration of the School Health Program

II. THE CHILDREN'S CHARTER, 19 POINTS AS ABBREVIATED BELOW

For every child spiritual and moral training
For every child understanding and the guarding of his personality as his most precious right
For every child a home and that life and security which a home provides
For every child full preparation for his birth
For every child health protection from birth through adolescence
For every child from birth through adolescence, promotion of health
For every child a dwelling-place safe, sanitary, and wholesome
For every child a school which is safe from hazards, sanitary, properly equipped, lighted, and ventilated
For every child a community which recognizes and plans for his needs
For every child an education which, through the discovery and development of his individual abilities, prepares him for life
For every child such teaching and training as will prepare him for successful parenthood, home-making, and the rights of citizenship
For every child education for safety and protection against accidents to which modern conditions subject him
For every child who is handicapped, such measures as will early discover and diagnose his handicap, provide care and treatment, and so train him that he may become an asset to society rather than a liability
For every child who is in conflict with society the right to be dealt with intelligently
For every child the right to grow up in a family with an adequate standard of living and the security of a stable income as the surest safeguard against social handicaps
For every child protection against labor that stunts growth
For every rural child as satisfactory schooling and health services as for the city child
To supplement the home and the school every stimulation and encouragement should be given to the extension and development of the voluntary youth organization
A district, county, or community organization for health, education, and welfare

were in the nation 6,000,000 children improperly nourished, 1,000,000 with damaged hearts, another similar number with defective speech, and 3,000,000 with impaired hearing. A half million are dependent, 200,000 delinquent, 300,000 crippled, and another 1,000,000 are variously handicapped.

Of the children from ten to fifteen years of age, only about four per cent are employed now as compared to nearly twenty per cent from 1890 to 1910. These figures show the results of child-labor legislation and education.

The facts of school enrollment have been interpreted by the Educational Policies Commission as corresponding to the general trends of population. Thus, from 1870 to 1922 both showed rapid gains. From 1922 to 1930 increases in enrollment were somewhat less pronounced, but there were still important increases in the upper-grade levels.

Between 1930 and 1932, however, elementary-school enrollment decreased while the total population growth continued, although with less rapidity. In this two-year period the total elementary-school enrollment declined by 143,173 children.

By 1934 there were 370,383 fewer than in 1932, and by 1936 there were 372,476 fewer than in 1934. The decrease from 1930 to 1932 was 0.7 per cent; from 1932 to 1934, 1.8 per cent; from 1934 to 1936, 1.8 per cent; and from 1930 to 1936, 4.2 per cent.

Up to 1934 the decreases occurred in the first five elementary grades while the sixth and each succeeding grade made annual gains. These decreases, however, will creep on up through the grades as the years pass.

It has been stated that in the year 1935 more pupils were graduated from the elementary schools than ever had been before or ever will be again. There was a smaller number of children to enter first grade from 1930 to 1935 than from 1920 to 1925. It is predicted that five per cent fewer children between the ages of six and nine will be found in 1940 than there were in 1930.

Thus, the accumulated effect of steady decreases in child population will be found in all grades soon. Indeed, by 1936 the *total* elementary and secondary enrollment showed a decrease of 67,000 below the 1935 peak.

The drama of the nation's children runs parallel with the nation's attempt to work out programs for the conservation and development of its children. The whole picture of the technical approach to the field of child welfare was admirably illustrated by President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

This had been the third of the decennial child-welfare White House conferences, the first being called by Theodore Roosevelt in 1909–10, the second by Woodrow Wilson in 1919–20, and the third by President Hoover in 1929–30.

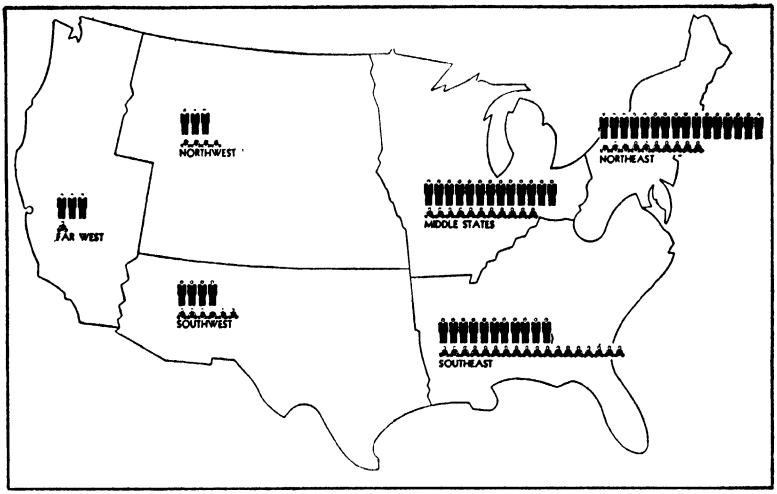
The picture was characteristic of America in many ways. It revealed an unusual number and variety of specialists in the field with more than a thousand participating in the work: psychologists, pediatrists, physicians, social workers, sociologists, nurses, home-economics specialists, psychiatrists, economists, anthropologists, school men and women, kindergarteners, and many others. Their problem and their goal was one which looked to the building of a better nation through the guaranteeing of a better generation to come. The picture reflected an extraordinary range of subjects fully embodied in the formal *Children's Charter* and the more than twoscore volumes which grew out of the White House Conference.

Thus, the picture reflected a host of fields and ways and means, the technology of which was reflected not only in the scientific nature of the findings, but in the *Children's Charter*, which demanded both ways and means. The find-

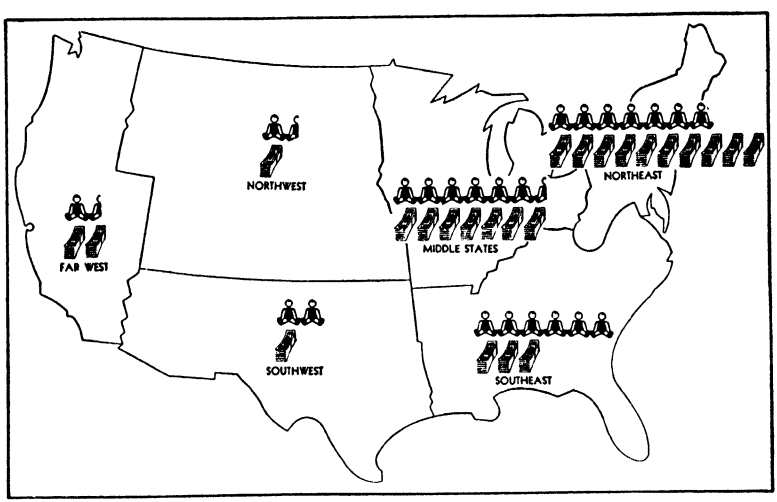
ings, a library in themselves, constituted a new high in American child welfare. Here are samplings of the work.

Child labor.
Children's reading.
Education for home and family life.
Home and school coöperation.
The home and the child.
Nursery education.
Parent education, safety education in schools, the school health program.
Social hygiene in schools, the handicapped and the gifted, vocational guidance.
Body mechanics, growth and development of the child, anatomy and physiology.
Nutrition, appraisement of the child, health protection for the preschool child.
Hospitals and child health, nutrition service in the field and child health centers.
Obstetric education, pediatrics, psychology and psychiatry in pediatrics.
Communicable disease control, the delinquent child, organization for the care of handicapped children.
The handicapped child, fetal, newborn, and maternal morbidity and mortality.

The size of the child-welfare picture indicated something of the organization and technical elements involved. The detailed picture could be seen by examining about ten thousand pages of publications—from the *Children's Charter* all the way through to the comprehensive volume on milk production and control, a possible three-million word total. This description will suggest the technological nature of the work. The child's health and the vitality of future America were to be conserved and promoted. How? That was more "technology" and science and social science. The answers were given in a hundred technical plans for



Proportion of total population and total natural increase by regions in a recent year. Each man represents about 2 per cent of population; each child about 2 per cent of natural increase.



Per cent of nation's children and per cent of nation's income in a recent year. Each child represents 4 per cent of child population; each stack of bills 4 per cent of accountable income. From Educational Policies Commission, *The Effect of Population Changes on American Education.*

working out problems of providing milk, food, sanitation, medical care and recreation.

There must be practical plans in each field, and these must be worked out on the basis of science and general welfare.

There are more than 3,000 health centers, including prenatal centers, each of which is making available the discoveries and practices of science and social work.

There were reported in 1928 more than 1,000 specialists in pediatrics. School hygiene had become a function of no less than eleven state departments of health; and of the department of education in at least nineteen states. At least forty-four states had developed mother's-aid work. There were about 1,500 children's institutions and 350 child-placing agencies.

The development of case work, increased provisions for the delinquent child, and the rise of the juvenile court are samples of the technical problems and procedures which must be faced in the adaptation of the child to the larger and more complex society. All states of the union except two were making some use of that new social invention known as the juvenile court.

Probation and child-guidance clinics had become general, while in school and outside, new reaches had been attained in special classes and treatment of specially equipped children, whether defective or superior.

Play and amusements, reading and vocational education were other fields in which technology was important. There were good school libraries. Perhaps 3,000,000 boys and girls had been affected by camps, while child study and parent education went hand in hand with a score of other educational activities. These developments show the size and nature of this amazing picture.

These various problems and viewpoints, of course, lead us back to the review of what mankind has done on behalf of the child and forward again to look into the future. In the past the child has been the symbol of conformity to the culture of his elders and symbol of the miniature adult.

In the United States, at least, the tendency has been to inquire more into what our culture can do for the child rather than how the child can be made to carry on the traditional culture of the past. This is a phase of the democratic tenet of the right of each individual to develop his own personality.

From this has come such measuring scales for "rights" as the *Children's Charter*, the points of which are enumerated on a separate page. That is, the child has the right to be well born, well nurtured, and well trained, and this right is held to be fundamental to the strengthening of the race.

The other point with reference to understanding the child as a "class" within the population has been well stated by Lawrence K. Frank, in his chapter on "Childhood and Youth" in *Recent Social Trends in the United States.*

> One of the most important discoveries of the past thirty years is that the child is not a small-sized adult, but is a growing, developing, ever-changing individual, whose treatment must differ not merely in degree but in kind from that received by the adult. . . . The discovery of the child has been accompanied by a gradual acceptance of the principle of variability among children and a giving up of the belief that children are essentially alike and should be treated alike.
>
> The willingness to recognize individual differences in all aspects of the child is bringing far-reaching modifications in child nurture and a respect for the individual as a unique person. What this may mean to childhood and to adult life may be foreseen in the changes already initiated by the acceptance of this principle in

medical care, mental hygiene, education and the special care of children. . . .

We are witnessing the emergence of the child as a sensitive indicator of the quality of social life. His status is becoming a measure of the value of the whole complex of economic, political, and social activities as they affect his health, emotional development, education and maturation. This was the dominant theme of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. In the perspective of the years this concept may well assume a position of outstanding significance, foretelling the major influence in twentieth-century social development.

The consciousness of the "holiness of generation," as Ellen Key expressed it, will make the central work of society the new race, its origin, management, and its education; about these all morals, all laws, all social arrangements will be grouped. This will form the point of view from which all other questions will be judged, all other regulations made.

We still have many questions to ask.

What will be the effect of so many ameliorative programs for children?

If children are taught only to play, how shall they suddenly become workers with skills, habits, and the feeling of responsibility to do the job?

If they are kept as children up to twenty years of age, how will they comprehend the years of adult life, suddenly emerging as a new world?

Are the children of the intellectuals overeducated, oversensitized until the world loses its quality of zest, of wonder, and of ambition?

What is the best program for balance and equilibrium for the child surrounded by the various institutions and modern stimuli which beset him on every hand?

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 12: CHILDREN

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are the fundamental purposes and aims in the modern programs of child welfare?
2. What are considered as the "minimum essentials" for an adequate child-welfare program?
3. What are some of the methods and disciplines involved in bringing to pass the ideals of child welfare?
4. What evidence is there to indicate that parents are increasingly demanding knowledge of child problems?
5. What changes can be noted in the respective relations of child and parent?
6. What knowledge have we about the type of child life being produced at present?
7. What contribution is the church making to child welfare?
8. What are the birthrights of any child?
9. What leadership is available for proper child-welfare guidance in the community?
10. What facilities exist to promote proper child-welfare programs? Are they adequate to meet growing needs?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How is the community responding to modern child-welfare activities?
2. How can the federal government stimulate interest in child welfare?
3. How may the state aid the local community in its preschool child program?
4. How may kindergartens be provided and supported?
5. How can the new emphasis on the preschool child be explained?

6. How is the prevalence of child labor a survival of the old idea of the child as being the property of the parent?

7. How can the citizenship be aroused to oppose child labor and demand that the several states ratify the federal amendment to the Constitution on this subject?

8. How is child clinical service contributing to child welfare?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why has it taken society so long to recognize the waste incurred by child neglect?

2. Why is child labor a poor substitute for adult workers?

3. Why is it that work on the farm has not been considered child labor?

4. Why should the school assume responsibility for nursery schools, day nurseries, kindergartens and other activities that are considered "preschool" today?

5. Why is it necessary for certain agencies of government to assume responsibility in the preschool field? What benefits will the government derive?

6. Why should the community accept responsibility for the health, education, and compulsory vaccination of children, and for advocating compulsory laws regarding child labor? Should there be other compulsories?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Chart the number of children in the population of the United States below the age of one year, between one and five, between six and eleven. Give ratios of children to the whole population, and several other classifications.

2. Report on the possibilities of well-established and sponsored (a) kindergartens, (b) day nurseries, (c) nursery schools.

3. Report on the work of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

4. Make a study of the extent of child labor of various types in a specific community or state.

5. List the principal types of child labor in the United States. When possible, offer statistics on each.

6. Report on the activities of county agencies dealing with child welfare. Be as comprehensive as possible.

7. What provisions are being made in the community for the feeble-minded, backward, and other mentally defective children?

8. List the state, county, and community efforts in the promotion of child welfare.

9. Make a list of six selected books on child welfare which might be made available through library or other facilities for the use of parents.

10. Report on the Children's Charter from the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

11. Report on the facilities for children in your community to enjoy wholesome play.

12. Report on the opportunities that the childhood of the community has to read wholesome children's books.

13. Discover instances of child labor in your community.

14. Present the full text of the proposed Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution. Which states have ratified it? What is its present status?

B. *To Plan*

1. Propose a plan for a state-wide child welfare council.

2. How may the state obtain full benefits from the child welfare sections of the Social Security Act?

3. Suggest ways by which all existing agencies functioning in this field can promote a well-correlated program.

4. Plan an adequate child-welfare program to meet the needs of the local community.

5. Propose a wholesome and adequate recreational program for child life in the community.

6. Plan clinics whereby the handicapped child may receive proper care and treatment.

7. Suggest revisions of the state health program designed to increase child health values.

8. How may (a) the school and (b) the church indicate increased participation in child welfare activities?

9. Suggest ways of bringing into the community and state the programs and benefits of national agencies interested in child welfare.

10. Develop a regional concept of child welfare.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

stimuli	tenet
morbidity	ideologies
anthropologists	pediatrists
stationary population	hygiene (social)

B. *Selected Readings and References*

For selected readings note the following:

ABBOTT, GRACE. *The Child and the State.* Vol. I: *Legal Status in the Family, Apprenticeship and Child Labor.* Vol. II: *The Dependent and the Delinquent Child.* The University of Chicago Press, 1938.

ARLITT, ADA HART. *The Adolescent.* Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938.

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FORMAN, HENRY JAMES. *Our Movie-made Children.* The Macmillan Company, 1933.

MANGOLD, GEORGE B. *Problems of Child Welfare.* Revised Edition. The Macmillan Company, 1936.

MORGAN, JOHN J. B. *Child Psychology.* Richard R. Smith, 1931.

——. *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child.* The Macmillan Company, 1937.

NIMKOFF, MEYER F. *The Child.* The J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934.

NORTON, JOHN AND MARGARET. *Wealth, Children and Education.* Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937.

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D. Appleton-Century Company has published many excellent volumes in this field. Their list includes: *The Adolescent in the Family, Child Labor, Children's Reading, Education for Home and Family, Home and School Coöperation, The Home and the Child, Nursery Education, Parent Education, Safety Education in Schools, The School Health Program, Social Hygiene in Schools, Special Education: The Handicapped and the Gifted, Summer Vacation Activities of the School Child, Vocational Guidance, Young Child in the Home, Body Mechanics, Fetal Newborn and Maternal Morbidity and Mortality, Growth and Development of the Child, Health Protection for the Pre-School Child, Hospitals and Child Health, Nutrition Service in the Field and Child Health Centers, Obstetric Education, Pediatrics, Communicable Disease Control, Public Health Organization, Milk Production and Control, The Delinquent Child, The Handicapped Child, Organization for the Care of Handicapped Children, Dependent and Neglected Children, Administration of the School Health Program.*

Also use recent bulletins and materials from the following and other public and private agencies interested in the field:

The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.
The Child Welfare League of America, New York City.
National Parent-Teacher Congress, Chicago, Illinois.
Parental Education, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.

Unit V

The People: "The Unequal Places"

TOPIC 13: THE WORKERS

THE OPINION is frequently expressed that work is a law of life. Work, growth, struggle, survival, thrift, and prosperity are often thought of interchangeably as both processes and products of human industry and development. Two major aspects of American life in which there has been great change since the Jeffersonian era are, first, the number and kind of workers of the nation; and second, the later emphasis upon leisure and freedom from the drudgery of work.

Yet work is still the American mode, a greater percentage of the total population being gainfully employed in the 1930's than in 1870. From 1870 to 1930 the population increased approximately 200 per cent, while the employed increased 300 per cent.

The difference is in the astonishing array of new jobs, of technical positions and of professional work. These are indications of the machine-age civilization and of the new prosperity of the nation, just as the millions of unemployed are an index of both the technological era and the depression era. The quest of the people is still for security and the right to work, but the problem is far different from what it was in the early days.

Nearly forty per cent of all the living folk in America are employed for monetary gain. By this figure we mean all those so reported by the United States Census. This means in round numbers more than 50,000,000 people. The Census of 1930 gave nearly 49,000,000. Later estimates following the depression gave the number available for employment as about 54,000,000.

Who are the other seventy-five million people not classified as gainfully occupied? A little over twenty per cent of all the people are housewives with work "never done," but not classified as gainfully employed! Of others who do not work, nearly one in every ten of the population is classified as under five years of age; one in every fifty as five to fifteen years of age but not at school or gainfully occupied; almost one in every four is in school; and perhaps one in every 200 is an adult somewhere in the nation's benevolent institutions.

Perhaps there are 3.5 per cent left somewhere in the unknown miscellaneous class of unaccounted for—dependents and handicapped not accounted for elsewhere, people of leisure, upper class, middle class, and lower, adventurers, wanderers, folk without a calling.

Among the gainfully occupied, there has been a notable increase in the number of women at work. By 1930 there were 10,000,000; by 1940 the student will expect still more. The picture of the American woman at work and at play or as chief consumer is constantly impressing the foreign visitor as one of the great contrasts between the United States and Europe.

In seven of the ten major occupational classifications of the census, women are liberally employed. In 1930 domestic and personal service led the group with 3,438,000. But the real index of the changing workers of the nation

OCCUPATIONS OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS TOTAL POPULATION AND 10 YEARS AND OVER BY FUNDAMENTAL OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1930

State and Region	Total Number	Extractive Number	Extractive Per-cent	Manufacturing and Mechanical Number	Manufacturing and Mechanical Per-cent	Distributive and Social Number	Distributive and Social Per-cent
UNITED STATES	48,829,880	11,706,790	23.8	14,110,652	29.0	23,012,438	47.2
Southeast	9,690,158	4,443,156	45.7	1,895,656	19.6	3,351,346	34.7
Virginia	880,211	298,060	33.9	212,855	24.2	369,296	41.9
North Carolina	1,140,971	511,728	44.8	290,719	25.5	338,524	29.7
South Carolina	687,737	348,908	50.6	147,590	21.5	191,239	27.8
Georgia	1,162,158	506,542	43.5	233,060	20.1	422,556	36.4
Florida	598,939	148,630	24.8	141,951	23.7	308,358	51.6
Kentucky	907,095	422,445	46.5	162,873	18.0	321,777	35.6
Tennessee	958,386	395,872	41.3	201,614	21.0	360,900	37.5
Alabama	1,026,295	529,652	51.6	185,681	18.1	310,962	30.5
Mississippi	844,905	565,223	66.9	82,464	9.8	197,218	23.3
Arkansas	667,845	398,772	59.7	81,960	12.3	187,113	28.1
Louisiana	815,616	317,324	38.9	154,889	19.0	343,403	42.1
Southwest	3,342,674	1,352,521	40.6	583,256	17.4	1,406,897	42.0
Oklahoma	828,004	349,588	42.3	139,923	16.9	338,493	40.9
Texas	2,206,767	882,665	40.0	385,307	17.5	938,795	42.6
New Mexico	142,607	67,054	47.0	23,322	16.4	52,231	36.7
Arizona	165,296	53,214	32.2	34,704	21.0	77,378	46.8
Northeast	15,974,001	1,496,557	9.4	5,889,009	37.0	8,588,435	53.6
Maine	308,603	62,009	20.2	113,985	36.9	132,609	42.9
New Hampshire	192,666	24,762	12.9	89,303	46.4	78,601	40.7
Vermont	141,203	41,213	29.2	41,450	29.4	58,540	41.4
Massachusetts	1,814,315	64,769	3.6	773,293	42.6	976,253	53.8
Rhode Island	297,172	10,138	3.5	151,462	51.0	135,572	45.7
Connecticut	677,208	38,356	5.7	309,465	45.7	329,387	48.7
New York	5,523,337	281,804	5.1	1,866,374	33.8	3,375,159	61.1
New Jersey	1,712,106	70,546	4.1	689,715	40.3	951,846	55.5
Pennsylvania	3,722,103	555,513	14.8	1,416,590	38.1	1,750,000	46.9
Delaware	98,104	17,731	18.2	33,604	34.3	46,769	47.7
Maryland	672,879	95,164	14.1	223,412	33.2	354,303	52.7
D. of Columbia	243,853	1,221	.4	46,658	19.1	195,974	80.3
West Virginia	570,452	233,331	40.9	133,698	23.4	203,423	35.7
Middle States	13,471,922	2,673,289	19.8	4,351,090	32.3	6,447,543	47.9
Ohio	2,615,764	353,277	13.5	991,242	37.9	1,271,245	48.5
Indiana	1,251,065	272,280	21.8	433,095	34.6	545,690	43.6
Illinois	3,184,684	414,902	13.1	1,035,696	32.5	1,734,086	54.4
Michigan	1,927,347	280,703	14.6	786,031	40.8	860,613	44.6
Wisconsin	1,129,461	300,466	26.6	364,511	32.3	464,484	41.1
Minnesota	992,798	320,380	32.3	206,139	20.8	466,279	47.0
Iowa	912,835	340,317	37.1	173,149	19.0	399,369	43.7
Missouri	1,457,968	390,964	26.8	361,227	24.8	705,777	48.4
Northwest	2,733,222	1,098,137	40.2	451,509	16.5	1,183,576	43.3
North Dakota	240,303	135,516	56.4	21,995	9.2	82,792	34.4
South Dakota	247,653	132,457	53.5	27,682	11.2	87,514	35.4
Nebraska	507,008	197,924	39.0	80,989	16.0	228,095	44.9
Kansas	694,232	243,850	35.1	131,715	19.0	318,667	45.9
Montana	216,479	97,088	44.8	33,618	15.5	85,773	39.7
Idaho	162,232	76,578	47.2	26,652	16.4	59,002	36.4
Wyoming	92,448	37,922	41.0	15,155	16.4	39,371	42.7
Colorado	402,867	124,806	30.9	76,734	19.0	201,327	50.0
Utah	170,000	51,996	30.6	36,969	21.7	81,035	47.7
Far West	3,617,903	643,130	17.7	940,132	26.0	2,034,641	56.3
Washington	664,730	141,718	21.4	188,411	28.3	334,601	50.4
Oregon	409,645	102,678	25.0	107,166	26.2	199,801	48.8
California	2,500,644	384,711	15.4	636,564	25.5	1,479,369	59.2
Nevada	42,884	14,023	32.8	7,991	18.6	20,870	48.7

was found in the extraordinary array of women in the three great branches of service.

There were 1,970,000 women in clerical occupations; 1,860,000 in manufacturing and mechanical industries; and 1,226,000 in the professions. Trade and agriculture provided occupation for nearly a million each; another quarter million were working in each of the fields of transportation and communication.

How great were these changes may be indicated by noting the increase from less than one per cent in clerical service in 1870 to 18.8 per cent in 1930; in trade and transportation from 1 per cent to 11.7 per cent; in professional services from 5.5 per cent to 10.6. On the other hand, domestic and personal service decreased from 52.6 to 32.6 per cent and agriculture from 20.5 to 7.4 per cent.

All this statistical enumeration, however, provides no adequate inventory of woman's work in the nation and the long hard road to achieve it and the still harder road of keeping it when she has it. Nearly three-quarters of all women at work are in the distributive and social group. Here is American drama of thousands of young women with soft-sounding voices, deft hands, and unlimited patience, helping the world to carry on its communication through telephone, telegraph, and endless correspondence. No man's world could ever do this nearly so well.

Other thousands in attractive blue- or green- or brown-costumed patterns work in restaurant or factory or chain stores. And yet other thousands have mastered office technique or are ministering to hospital sick or are charting the course of administrators and professional men. Call the long roll: secretaries and assistants, technicians and helpers, directors and executives—few pictures of America are more characteristic.

And in the farm country, far and near, hundreds of thousands of bonneted women bear the heat of the day in forest and field, heritage of the older European and earlier American pattern, helping their menfolks in the age-old economic division of labor.

And no man could paint fully the picture of the American woman as teacher—praised as servant and savant, accused of feminizing American education, nearly a million of them, paid relatively less and less wages. What could the schools do without them, and what would they do without the schools?

All these concrete pictures and their aggregates are of the essence of the changing America and of the new society which is coming rapidly to demand new designs in a new venture. And here, too, in the planning and designing, the prospect is that women will be more and more dominant in the picture.

To return to the total field and to continue in the more concrete pictures, there are no less than 527 types of occupations in which women were employed. This is an amazing inventory. Like men, women are employed as lawyers, doctors, architects, chemists, business executives. Women are also employed as dressmakers and milliners, tailors and seamstresses, hotel keepers and managers, waitresses and cooks, hairdressers and barbers, manicurists and beauty-shop specialists, janitors and housekeepers, elevator operators, and in hundreds of other callings of service.

Or, to list the new rôle of women as creatures of modern organization and technology, women are clerks and storekeepers, salesgirls and buyers, stenographers and typists, bookkeepers and cashiers, decorators and artists, real-estate and insurance agents, and bankers. Of teachers and nurses,

women constitute seventy-eight per cent and ninety-eight per cent, respectively.

The thousands of women pursuing college and graduate and professional courses in the universities constitute a picture such as could not be duplicated in any other country. In politics, in community organizations, in national propaganda societies, women have assumed new rôles of great significance.

Looking again at the total inventory of human wealth of the nation as measured by its 50,000,000 workers, both men and women, we find the picture divided into eight major divisions: Jefferson's small nation of *farmers* has developed into a world power with little more than twenty per cent of its people engaged in all agricultural and allied occupations. Even now, however, there are almost 10,500,000 so employed, or more than the total population of Jefferson's nation.

Jefferson wanted manufacturers to remain in Europe. Yet the number of workers in his much-berated *manufacturing* and mechanical industries has grown to a little more than 14,000,000 or more than a fourth of the total, while the number of those in *trade and transportation* is just about 10,000,000, or nearly as many as all the farmers.

The minor ratios fall to *mining* with nearly 1,000,000; *clerical service*, with a little over 4,000,000; *professional* service, with about 3,250,000; *domestic and personal service* with about 4,000,000; and *miscellaneous* and varied public service, not otherwise classified, with nearly 1,000,000.

Or to focus the groups, a little less than a fourth of the population are occupied in all extractive industries corresponding to the primary occupations, which originally employed ninety per cent of all the workers. A little less than

a third of the population are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical services; nearly one-half of all the gainfully occupied persons ten years of age and over are engaged in distributive and social services. What is the meaning of this great change? Of what sort is the nation's progress, and how is it assimilating this rapid transformation?

The most significant trend is the movement of workers from agricultural to nonagricultural pursuits. In 1870, over one-half were in agriculture, and even from 1870 to 1910, agriculture remained the chief field of employment of gainful labor. Since 1910, however, the number as well as the proportion of all workers engaged in agriculture has been declining.

In 1870, over seventy-five per cent of the nation's labor force was engaged in the production of physical goods, that is, in agriculture, forestry and fishing, extraction of minerals, and manufacturing and mechanical industries. But since 1870 the trend has been plainly away from production of physical goods and toward distribution and service. The proportion of the labor force engaged in the production of physical goods dropped from over three-fourths in 1870 to over one-half in 1930.

During the sixty years covered by the statistics, it is pointed out that workers have gone persistently from the farms to the factories, shops and offices. In ever-increasing numbers rural dwellers have become urban dwellers.

From 1870 to 1910, manufacturing and mechanical industries were next in importance to agriculture as a field of employment for gainful labor, and in 1920 and in 1930 these industries gave employment to more workers than did agriculture.

From 1870 to 1930, the numbers engaged in transporta-

tion and communication increased over 600 per cent, and the numbers engaged in trade increased nearly 600 per cent, as compared with an increase of 277.8 per cent in the numbers engaged in all occupations.

During the 60 years covered by the statistics, the professional class increased until the group was almost ten times as large in 1930 as it had been in 1870. The clerical group increased more rapidly in relative importance than did any other of the groups—from 0.6 per cent of all workers in 1870 to 8.2 per cent in 1930.

Such is the picture of the main groups of occupations as shown in the barest of statistical narratives. But it is no adequate picture of America at work. It reflects little of miners in the earth digging coal for an industry in a world which is substituting something else for coal and leaving the worker stranded. It shows little of the hundred and one techniques of mining operations, the increasing mechanization of the industry, the toil and dangers in the workers' lives, and the conflict between operators and workers. The figures show no comprehension of the hundreds of mines in nearly a hundred fields in thirty-two states and in Alaska,—the setting for the multiplied drama of families and households and all that human wealth and waste which challenge the new democracy.

The statistical summary tells no human story of millions of industrial and manufacturing workers in a quarter of a million establishments with hundreds of varied jobs and wages, with now high peak, now low; no story of insecurity and unemployment, of strikes and lockouts, of mass democracy trying to forge a way to better living.

The figures fail to show a complete living picture of mill folks and factory workers, industrial village and slum, sweat-

shops and stretch-outs, sit-down and slow-down strikes, and all that long catalog of complications which challenge the social technology of the new democracy.

The statistical picture does not reveal the hazards of farm life on the more than 6,000,000 farms. There are hazards of drought and flood, markets and prices, and debt and mortgages. The picture shows nothing of the romance of soil and stream and forest and of the age-long passion for land and more land. It shows nothing of the battles against the odds of technology, of a changing civilization, of unbalanced economy; of women and children in the fields, sometimes in the spirit of the song of the lark, sometimes bowed down and weary with work and fatigue and hopes long deferred. Nor do the statistics tell much of that long catalog of complications in modern agriculture which challenge the technology to achieve a new parity for the farmer in the new democracy.

The extraordinary changes in the types and classes of occupations and the changing nature of our nearly 50,000,000 people gainfully occupied in the United States are symbolic of the changes in types of industry, of goods wanted by the people and, therefore, of the rôle of new industries in the world of labor. These changes presage something of the contrasting claims of such powerful divisions of American labor as the C. I. O.—Congress of Industrial Organizations—and the A. F. of L.—American Federation of Labor. Some of our problems, therefore, may be studied against the background of the epic of the labor movement in the United States.

In the history of the nation, the rise of the American labor movement has been both a major force and a product of the American evolutionary picture. The newer ideals of justice and public welfare and the advance in education

and social organization have prepared the way for a rapid rise in organized labor, which in turn has set itself to work for a more articulate part in the American economy.

On the other hand, the rapid rise of machinery, the new technology of production, the new reach of business organization, are powerful forces working upon American labor, even as they affect other institutional modes of life in America. What is to be the measure of technological unemployment and labor's relation to it?

The picture in the early 1930's constituted an enigma. American organized labor up to 1933 was apparently on the decline and somewhat demoralized. With, however, an added stimulus from the New Deal, which gave new impetus to the cause of labor, the outlook was changed. The trade-union membership had decreased steadily from 5,100,000 in 1920 to 3,300,000 in 1931.

The momentum set up by the New Deal and the competitive activities of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. by 1938 had perhaps more than doubled the 1931 enrollment. The actual reported figures in 1938 were four million for the C. I. O., and the A. F. of L. had added to its membership, making a grand total for both organizations of from 7,500,000 to 8,000,000 in vivid contrast to the decline in membership during the late '20's.

The picture of labor as the foremost factor in the production of wealth in America is so inseparably bound up with industry and invested capital that the problem continues to be almost symbolic of the whole national economy.

The measure and problems of the human wealth of America will be determined not only by the number, age, sex, and heritage of the people, but by what they do, how they are equipped, and what their opportunities are.

The American picture from the beginning was one which featured work as a way of life. All the people of the earlier days were supposed to work. Work was a sort of law of life and a code of the nation.

In the story of America's industries and the episodes of its workers will be found not only the key to the historical nation, but also the heart of many of her present crises. Here indeed are multiplied American social problems superimposed upon the fundamentals of the nation's earlier development and destined to affect its future. Neither industry nor work, neither business nor worker, will be the same tomorrow as yesterday or today.

Complicated problems extend through the whole range of industrial relationship and of the right and the desire of human beings for work and security. From the basic capitalistic system upon which America was founded, through the great episodes of transfer from agrarian culture to industrial society, on through the dilemmas set up by machines and technology in competition with men—the problems are ever-recurring and ever-changing.

The coming of machines, accompanied by the growth of new classes of skilled workers and larger groups of technical workers, created new "classes" whose participation in societal development has been and will be different from that of the earlier workers. The technological creation of abundance and of skills and conveniences, and the trend away from drudgery, have set up a new economy of leisure in contrast to the older economy of work.

In addition, this same economy of abundance has created a new standard of living, philosophically woven into the American pattern and thence communicated to the people, all of whom seek a nearer equilibrium between the very small per cent of the families who have a very large per cent

of the income and a very large per cent of the families who have a very small per cent of the income.

The incidence of machines, of war, of depression, and of other factors has left on the doorsteps of industry and democracy millions of unemployed workers, and this situation has both handicapped industry and retarded prosperity.

The efforts of labor to better conditions of the laboring man have led to irreconcilable conflicts and formed antagonistic groups of organized labor, with the same hazards of leadership which abound in political life. As a result, a variety of concepts of labor and workers inconsistent with the realities of American civilization have arisen. For instance, there is the usage which differentiates the farmer and his helpers from the laborer or worker; also there are the conflicting rules and regulations which are in favor of labor on the one hand and which are adverse to agriculture on the other.

These are samplings of American problems which today focus within the framework of industry and society, of capital and labor, and of employer and employee. These points of tension, and lines of cleavage, recall the strategic importance of "work, place, folk" in the understanding of our contemporary society; and they show the need for directing the next stages of its development. They certainly challenge a new and more realistic study of the problems of work and leisure and how work and leisure may influence our chances of personal success or failure.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 13: THE WORKERS

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What is the distinction between the terms (*a*) work, (*b*) business, (*c*) labor, (*d*) profession, and (*e*) industry?
2. What are the essential qualities of a good worker?
3. What evidence can be produced to picture man's conquest of drudgery?
4. What are the facts about vocational guidance? Illustrate its values and its limitations?
5. What effect does opportunity have on obtaining a job?
6. What is meant by "white-collar jobs"? Discuss.
7. What are the chief causes of unemployment?
8. What are the cures for unemployment?
9. What are some of the new, possible, and potential fields of employment?
10. What is the significance of the standard of living in relation to labor?
11. What part does age play in the problem of job security?
12. What is the status of labor conditions in the (*a*) local community, (*b*) the state, and (*c*) the region?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How can the individual determine what he is best fitted to do? Illustrate.
2. How can society guide the individual and make it possible for him to enter the field of special interest?
3. How can the individual be assured of any degree of "security" relating to the job?
4. How far should one be "equipped" to do a specified piece of work?
5. How should "capacity for work" enter the picture?
6. How can the worker meet the hazards of constant change?

7. How far should society go in urging all boys and girls to go to college?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effect or Result*

1. Why do people work? List all possible motives.
2. Why is it felt that too many people are going into the professions?
3. Why is it that the aged desire to continue at work rather than to resign or to be pensioned?
4. Why do many people work earnestly and diligently in jobs they do not enjoy? Is this necessary?
5. Why is labor organized on such a large scale?
6. Why has it been necessary to legislate "better conditions" under which people work?
7. Why is the statement made that "Competition is the life of trade"? Isn't this concept changing?
8. Why should we decide, as soon as possible, our vocational interest? Discuss fully.

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Statistically chart the major fields of occupation in the United States. Indicate numbers, percentages, sex and age groups.
2. List those jobs classified as hazardous work. Give some facts about them.
3. Report on the growth of interest in the professions. What are the trends at the present time?
4. Trace the steps of the workers toward organization and improvement.
5. Give a brief account of the agencies now engaged in bettering the workers.
6. Discuss the changes in the structure and function of the American working population from 1900 to 1930. What changes since 1930?
7. Workers are paid wages, salary, or commission; give six examples of each type of pay.

8. Make visits to some of the factories in the vicinity. Study their organization; study the workers, conditions for work, and welfare policies.

9. Give many facts about unemployment—numbers, types, locations, and trends.

10. Report on a few case studies of the unemployed—individuals and families.

11. Classify the types of work in your local community. How do you rate them? What determined the choice of the workers? Note the rating of the work as to its importance for human welfare.

12. List causes that have created conflict between employer and employee.

13. Trace the emphasis from agricultural to nonagricultural pursuits.

14. Tabulate the growth in numbers and fields of service of government employees in the past seventy-five years. What trends appear evident?

15. Why the migratory worker? Trace his history and status in the field of employment.

B. *To Plan*

1. Present a plan for enhancing the prestige and dignity of work.

2. Develop means and methods of assuring, as much as possible, security in employment.

3. Suggest ways to distribute work so as to give each and every man a chance.

4. Plan a program designed to raise the standard of living for the masses of the people.

5. Plan better conditions of work where needed.

6. Suggest how to eliminate child labor.

7. Suggest new fields of vocational interest.

8. Suggest ways to check overcrowding of some fields of work and to stimulate activity in other fields.

9. Secure or construct vocational preference tests and give them to the class. Tabulate the results of the tests and report to the class.

III. For Exploration

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

incidence
stretch-outs
sit-down strikes
lockouts
sweatshops
assimilating
slow-down strikes

B. *Selected Readings and References*

"Labor Groups in the Social Structure," Chapter XVI, in *Recent Social Trends*, gives a comprehensive picture of the range and development of American labor problems. Other chapters in *Recent Social Trends* include those on "The Activities of Women Outside the Home," Chapter XIV, and "The Status of Racial and Ethnic Groups," Chapter XI.

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TOPIC 14: THE HANDICAPPED

SO GREAT has the number of unemployed become in America that we often think of unemployment as our most urgent problem and of the unemployed as the most unfortunate of all the handicapped. This situation is quite different from that of frontier America.

In the earlier days of our American democracy it was easier to observe, to count, and to minister to the handicapped or those deviating markedly from normalcy. In general they were all classified as the dependent, the defective, and the delinquent. The poor were ever present; the maimed and crippled were always there; the criminals and bad folk of the community constituted the delinquent group. In the earlier days causes appear simpler because of the relative simplicity of life in general.

Today, however, in the light of the more complex civilization, our problem is not so simple. Causes are complex; economic factors are more powerful; even nature and disaster in congested areas work more havoc and need more control than formerly. Thus, we come to look at our problem of the handicapped in scores of areas, whether the group is made up of crippled children or of the ten million unemployed.

What individuals or groups of people, we often ask our enthusiastic and youthful students of social problems, have suffered most during the last year or the last few years? Which ones have suffered the greatest inequalities and which ones the most unnecessary handicaps? Who in America? Who in the Orient? Who in Europe? What clustering of circumstances has seemed to heap upon the people that which is "unfair," or "unjust"? Which of these

handicaps and inequalities are tragic? Which are preventable?

The answer to these questions is often startling. The answers vary from year to year, from region to region, and from nation to nation. It is important to understand as many of the situations as possible. Let us look at some of them.

Thousands of innocent sufferers have been left in the wake of flood waters of the Ohio and Mississippi and of the Connecticut and the Rio Grande or of the Yangtze as they swept resistlessly on with death and destruction, misery and disease.

Other thousands, victims of drouth and dust storm and of hurricane and tornado, suffer personally and economically as their property is destroyed.

Here are other thousands, victims of the new horrors and hazards of war now no respecter of the homes behind the battle line.

Other thousands of people are persecuted in Germany or in the uttermost parts of the world.

Here are still other thousands, victims of accidents on highway, in factory, in travel, and at work.

There are millions with handicaps before they start, namely, racial groups in minority situations—the Negro, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Mexican in America; the Jew in Germany and elsewhere.

Hundreds of thousands of others are handicapped through the deficiencies of economic opportunity.

There are others handicapped with inadequate opportunity for education and for work.

Millions are retarded because of physcial handicaps.

Hundreds of thousands are handicapped because of mental sickness and limitations.

A sixth of the people are handicapped because of advanced age.

A half million are lost in the handicaps of criminality.

Millions of youth are handicapped through maladjustment in home relationships.

Ten million in the United States are handicapped by reason of unemployment. Their children suffer in the unequal race through no fault of their own.

These are the areas in which drama grows, drama of tragedy, tension, and struggle. Here are the settings for what the literary folk come to designate as realism, as opposed to romanticism. Here are *Tobacco Road* and *Look Homeward Angel;* here are the stranger-than-fiction pictures of slum and tenement; of rural problem areas and mountain coves; of pathos and tragedy in high places—lakeshore to city, Fifth Avenue to Palm Beach.

What, specifically, does it all mean in the more scientific realms of reality? What are the measures of the disadvantaged and the handicapped? What are the causes? Which are due to physical inequalities? Which to mental? Which to economic maladjustments? Which are subject to remedies, of what sort are the remedies, and what are the relations of each set of problems to the others?

These and many other questions are asked that we may understand the great range and variety of handicaps, the organic nature of many of our inequalities, the complexity and remoteness of many of the causes, and the essential need for scientific and comprehensive study.

Thus, not all inequalities are due to economic causes. Not all handicaps reflect simple dilemmas of social organization or disorganization. Not all people begin life with the same or equal start and resources, physical, mental, or cultural.

The remedy, therefore, is not so simple as merely changing our social order or substituting a new economic system; it is rather the larger task of diagnosing problems and situations in realistic perspective to all the factors involved, many of which, such as biological heritage, the rôle of struggle and suffering, we do not yet understand.

It must be clear, therefore, that our solutions must be worked out on a comprehensive basis, including special case studies of individuals and broader planning for social institutions. The larger problem we have designated as *making democracy effective in the unequal places*, in which the inequalities, the disadvantages and handicaps are of many sorts.

They are permanent, or they may be temporary.
They are minor, or they may assume devastating proportions.
They may be physical or they may be mental.
There may be economic or cultural disadvantages.
They may be handicaps of the individual or of the group.
They may be handicaps of the young or handicaps of the old.
They may be handicaps of women or of men.
All of these and more are interrelated and interdependent.
All are conditioned by the individual and by social organization.
They are closely correlated with economic organization and with cultural standards.

Our first group of disadvantages and handicaps due to storm and flood and drouth and accident, in terms of "problem," becomes the problem of disaster. Here the American Red Cross has worked out definite techniques and procedures whereby it uses the vast resources entrusted to it by the nation, for the relief of suffering of this sort.

The story of the Red Cross is an amazing one. Now down the Mississippi with succor for white and black, for

men and animals, for people and property; now off to a town in Georgia suddenly stricken by tornado or a Florida coast scene, or more lately to a New England community wrecked by tropical hurricane; helping the farmer or the housewife or the sick—these are everyday tasks for Red Cross relief. So, too, the federal government of late has engaged in helping reduce the handicaps of disaster or physical disadvantage, trying to make democracy effective in the unequal places.

There is another large group of handicaps which assumes the proportions of a special field, namely, those handicaps of health and disease and the incidence of cultural and biological heritage. In terms of problems these are problems of public health. Here, again, both the Red Cross and private agencies are at work, in coöperation with great programs of federal, state, county, and city public-health services.

We have already referred to the child-welfare aspect of this service. Perhaps the simplest and most vivid illustration of the almost universal problem of handicaps is furnished by children themselves, whose basic problems have often been considered symbolic of all social problems.

We pointed out how the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection estimated that of the 45,000,000 young folk in the United States under twenty years of age, no less than 10,000,000 were handicapped in one way or another in the sense of not having equal opportunity with the other 35,000,000 estimated as "normal." These illustrate the inequalities of which we have just written, namely:

No less than 6,000,000 are undernourished.
A million are defective in speech.
Another 1,000,000 have weak hearts.

Three million have impaired hearing.
There are more than 300,000 crippled children.
More than a quarter of a million have tubercular weakness.
Nearly 500,000 are mentally retarded. (This is about one per cent of the total, which means that about ninety-nine per cent of the youth are capable of mental growth.)
Nearly a quarter million are delinquent.
There are 18,000 totally deaf.
There are more than 64,000 blind and partially blind.
Another 500,000 are dependent upon the public.

Yet the term "the handicapped" has come to have more specific meanings. Often the public thinks of the handicapped primarily in terms of physical handicap. Again, the handicapped may connote the pathological. Not only has the public come to assume some such meanings, but the earlier college courses in "social problems" most commonly featured social pathology, so that "social problems" came to mean poverty and crime and broken families.

These are problems of such range and power and significance that they must always constitute an important segment of all our social problems. It may be well, therefore, to characterize, for the present at least, many of these handicaps in terms of the pathology of the people and subsequently to re-examine them in the study of our institutions, our public welfare, and our social planning.

Professor John L. Gillin of the University of Wisconsin has written much on the subject. He defines social pathology as "the study of man's failure to adjust himself and his institutions to the necessities of existence to the end that he may survive and meet fairly well the felt needs of his nature."

The areas in which man has failed to adjust himself to the necessities of existence and happiness will constitute

our field of social pathology or the field in which handicaps and disadvantages are most marked. Samplings of these will both illustrate our problems and give the basis for further study.

One of the areas which has not commonly been considered pathological is that of the effect of alcoholic liquors upon the individual and the group. The use of intoxicating liquors must be recorded as a handicap in so far as it impairs the individual's capacity or usefulness or prevents him from equal competition or undermines his physical and nervous resources. It must be considered pathological in so far as it makes an abnormal person out of a normal one, leads the kind-hearted individual to become the criminal or the brilliant person stupid.

Alcoholism is both a handicap and a pathological affliction in so far as it leads to accidents on the highways, to many kinds of crime in the community, to poverty and disease in the family, to the suffering of the individual. So prominently has this problem come to the front in recent years that the American Association for the Advancement of Science has set up an Institute for Research in this field, members of which represent both the physical and the social sciences.

The aggregate of social problems which are commonly treated as pathological makes a long catalog, the very enumeration of which is an object lesson in social study. Professor Gillin classifies under major headings all these failures to adjust.

There is the pathology of the individual.
There is the pathology of domestic relationships.
There is pathology of social organization.
There is the pathology of cultural relations.
And there is the breakdown of economic relationships.

Professor Gillin finds thirty-three separate groupings of pathological problems. Most of these are interrelated both among themselves and between and among the several institutions. Thus, undoubtedly the ten problems listed under the pathology of the individual are concrete at the same time that they illustrate the interrelationship of our various problems to each other and the significance of individual and social differences and, therefore, of tasks for the institutions to tackle.

These handicaps of the individual are sickness, blindness, deafness, disablement, drug addiction, alcoholism, mental deficiency, mental disease, suicide, personal disorganization.

In the field of social organization the problems of urban and rural disorganization and of class and race and international disorganization indicate the nature of certain modern situations.

In the field of economic relationships, poverty and dependency and unemployment may or may not be pathological, but they do always represent handicaps and disadvantage, while the employment of women and children in industry may constitute a special problem of maladjustment.

So, too, the pathology of religion, of crime and delinquency, and the breakdown of moral standards may reflect a social pathology, or they may reflect products of certain social policies or organizations.

The cataloguing of so long a list of problems all designated as pathological, however, also reflects the weakness of featuring the pathological base for so many problems of adjustment. To put together all these types of maladjustment as pathological exhibits is to say little more than that every aspect of individual and group life is susceptible to

pathological developments. This is a specialized subject and should be so studied.

On the other hand, the great body of our social problems should be studied in relation to the normal development of society to the end that causes may be discovered and a preventive economy established before such maladjustments come to the point of pathology. Yet it must be evident that we may get a clearer view of many social problems by looking at them in concentrations which intensify the handicaps or disadvantages. From a long list we may illustrate with three or four.

There is, for instance, the social problem reflected in our institutional population, nearly all of whom have already reached some degree of pathological condition. There are 1,250,000 people in our various public and private institutions for the dependent, defective, and delinquent. So important is this group that although it comprehends scarcely more than one per cent of the total population of the nation, several of the groups are constantly publicized before the nation as its chief problem. So, too, are the *criminals* publicized, and the congenital *defectives* and the *poor*. Hence the ratio of importance is much greater than the proportion of the whole, a fact which indicates the intensifying of a problem.

We may well look at the types of institutional groups from the fivefold viewpoint utilized by the National Resources Committee in their study of consumer incomes in the United States. Their estimates are that in 1935–1936 there were somewhat more than 500,000 mental defectives, about 100,000 physical defectives in institutions, a little more than 200,000 prisoners and delinquent adults, more than 150,000 dependent and delinquent children, and about the same number of dependent adults.

The nature of the problems involved may be indicated by an examination of the types of institutions which house these "problem" groups and by inquiring as to how many additional individuals in the nation suffer from the same handicaps but are not in institutions.

Not all mental defectives are confined in insane asylums, homes for the feeble-minded, hospitals for epileptics, or similar places of custodial care.

Not all physical defectives are living in tuberculosis hospitals or in schools for the deaf and blind or in children's hospitals.

Not all adult offenders are confined in jails, penitentiaries, workhouses, and reformatories for men and women.

Not all dependent and delinquent children are living in orphan homes and reformatories for juvenile delinquents.

Nor do all dependent adults live in almshouses and homes for the aged.

We must, therefore, follow up the social problem involved in these groups further if we are to make appraisal of the real nature and size of each. Thus, poverty and dependency have assumed quite a different significance within recent years from merely the older concepts of dependent folk, unemployables and people headed "over the hill" to the almshouse. Yet we must still study the problems of poverty. It is well to take the larger view, exclusive of dependents living in institutions, who constitute a very small proportion of the nation's tragic poor at the present time.

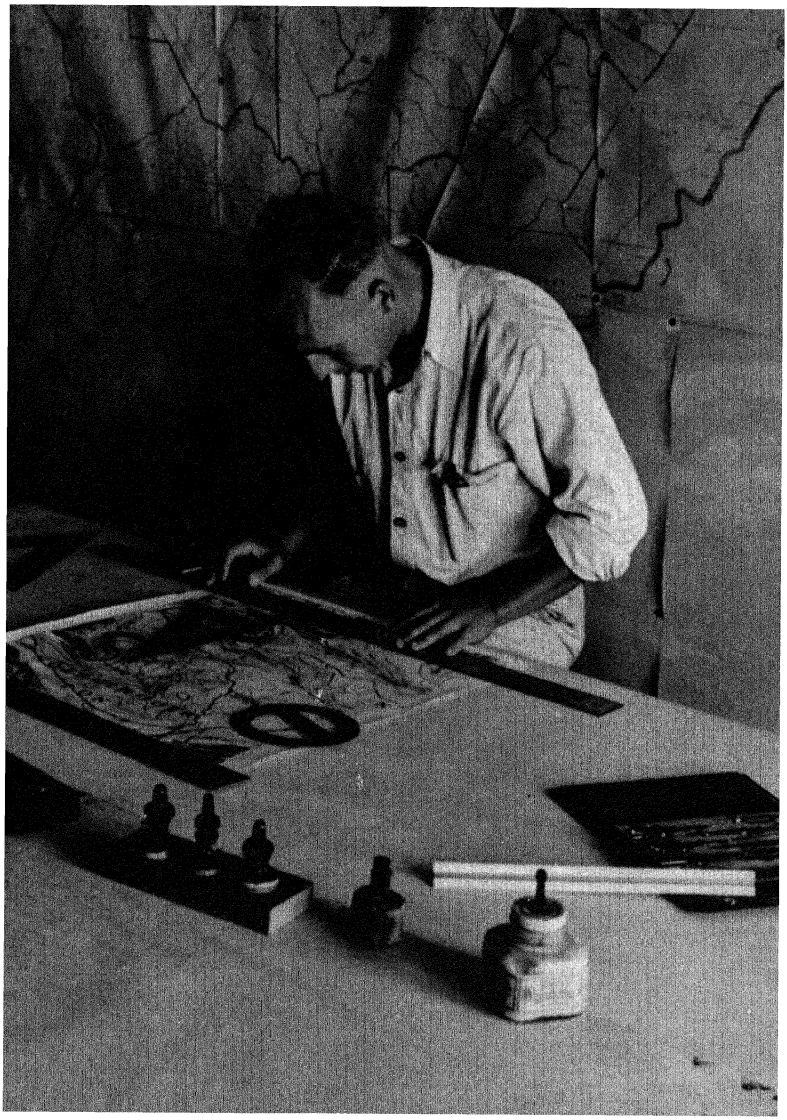
Utilizing Gillin's definition of poverty as a condition in which a person does not maintain a standard of living high enough to provide for himself and his natural dependents to function well in the society in which he lives, and checking the total population during and since the depression, it

is quite possible to estimate a poverty load of 25,000,000 or 30,000,000 people.

This, of course, is a relative sort of estimate, but, even so, is a staggering consideration for the American people to face. For the parents who cannot provide their growing children with adequate facilities and equipment and often with adequate food and clothing represent a peculiar kind of pathos never planned in the American dream of opportunity.

Yet here and there throughout the nation, on farm and in towns, in cities and in villages, and moving hither and yon over the country are millions of poor people, poor now with prospects of continuing poor. If we wish to measure this poverty, we turn naturally to the incomes of families and individuals, on the one hand, and to relief figures, on the other.

Keeping in mind the limitations of most studies of income and living standards, and the extraordinarily high standards set by urban America for the comfort, convenience, and necessities of American families; and keeping in mind also the special cumulative results of the depression years, we still have to record an appalling inventory of poverty in the nation. Taking the estimates of the National Resources Committee's study of *Consumer Incomes in the United States* as a basis and utilizing the usual definition of poverty, we would have to estimate that nearly half of the people of the United States are below or near the marginal line of poverty. That is, if the urban estimates of the necessary income for adequate functioning be accepted, say around $1,500 a year for the usual family, sixty-five per cent of all the families in the nation register below this point. This manifestly cannot be a really pathological exhibit, yet when nearly a sixth of all the families receive



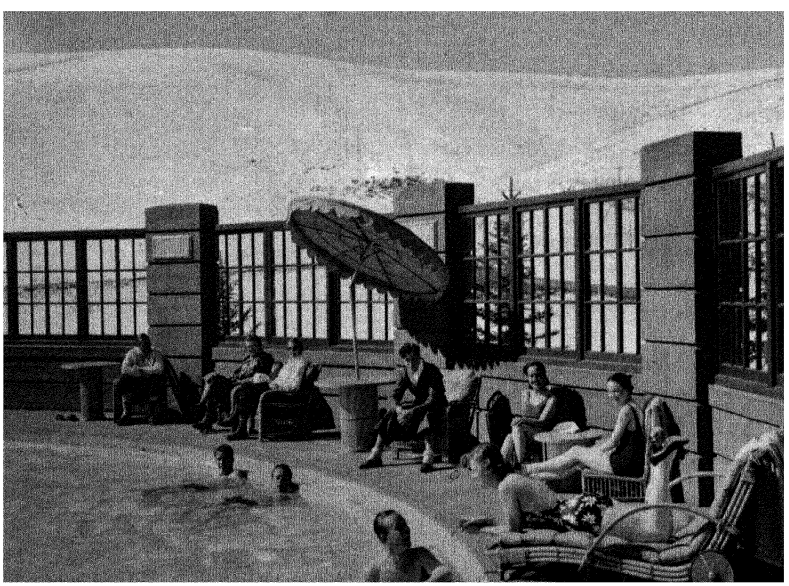
Farm Security Administration, Photograph by Jung

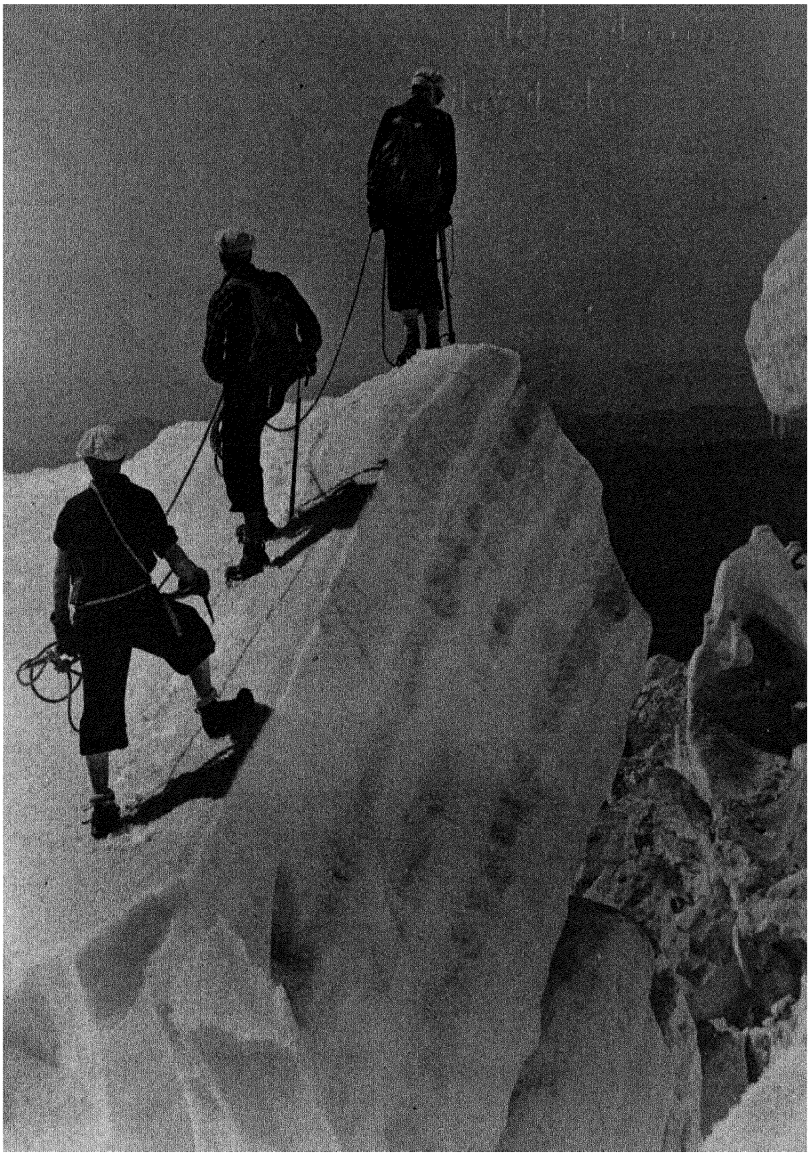
The people: Skills, science, education, management, leadership are all needed in the development of American resources. After all, America is grounded in the living geography of a new world.



Top and bottom, Union Pacific Railway

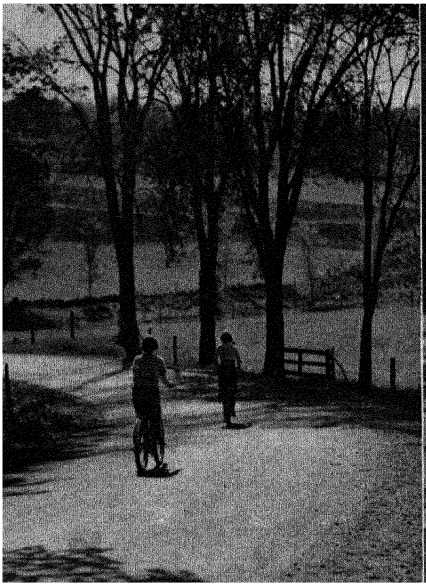
The geography of America is a background for the recreation of people in all the regions.

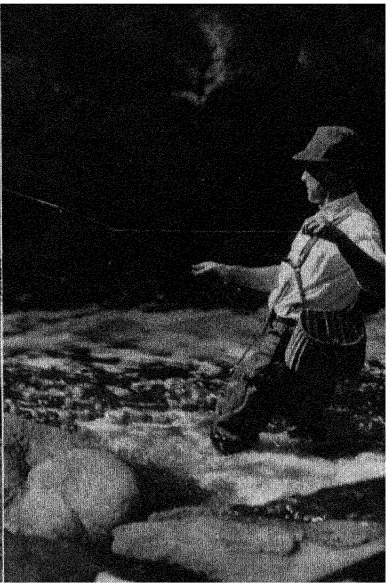




Northern Pacific Railway

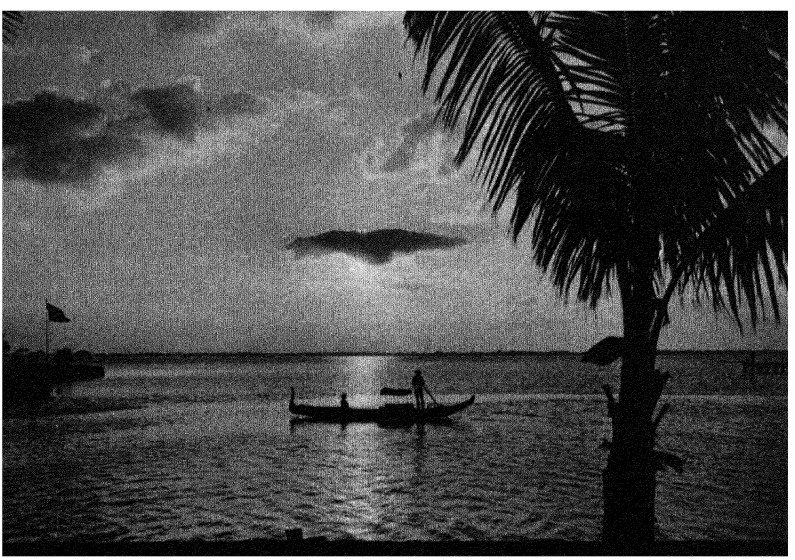
An iceberg on land challenges explorers in the Far West.





Top left and bottom, Ewing Galloway; top right, Gendreau

Elm-shaded roads and mountain brooks and palm-fringed shores are all part of the geographic background of the people.



less than a third of the minimum for an acceptable standard of living and when more than forty per cent receive less than two-thirds of the necessary income, the situation reflects wide economic and social maladjustment.

These facts have perhaps been uncovered only in recent years by depression studies, and it is quite likely that the nation has had for a long time a much larger ratio of poverty than was known. It is better perhaps to use the term "poor" rather than "poverty."

On this basis of estimating poverty, we must assign as causes, not the usual ones primarily, but the twin causes of unemployment and low pay as the basic explanations. Thus, our problem becomes a comprehensive one, involving social and economic factors quite beyond the mere problems of individual differences, sickness, mental and physical handicaps, climate and poor land, inefficiency, lack of skill and training, and the usual catalog of deficiencies.

These causes still operate, but the major reasons are lack of adaptation of the people to the living resources and geography of the nation, the maldistribution of goods, and an imbalance between production and consumption, between abundance and scarcity. These problems begin to assume unusual major proportions in almost every approach to national progress. The verdict is that the American dream cannot be realized when perhaps a half of all the people are thus handicapped by economic insufficiency.

Another of the more recent measures of poverty is found in the extent and character of public relief. Figures are available over a period of years for the study of relief in both urban and rural areas, to almost any extent desired. There are monthly reports, yearly reports, summaries for various periods of time, studies of different regions, and many interpretations of these studies as listed in Book II of this

volume. We need, however, to present the general picture of these new measures of American poverty.

As in other instances, we begin with some sort of measure of the size of the problem, and we note, for example, that, first of all, there is an abnormally large load of relief, but that, as in other problems, the variation is very great in different cities and rural areas. For instance, in seventy-nine cities sampled as representative of the American picture in May, 1934, the extremes ranged from fifty-five per cent of the total population on relief in Butte, Montana, to less than ten per cent in Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

In the story of *Urban Workers on Relief* by Katherine D. Wood, it is pointed out that no definite pattern determined by size, geographic location, or type of city appears to exist for the ratio of persons on relief to the general population of 1930.

> If the 79 cities are divided into four groups of equal size on the basis of the proportion of the population on relief, both large and small cities are scattered among the four groups, that is, among those with the highest proportion of the general population on relief, among those with the lowest, or among the two intermediate groups. Cities from each of the four geographic regions, namely, eastern, southern, central, and western regions, also fall in each of the four quartile groups. . . .
>
> Cities of a diversified economic character, such as Baltimore, Charleston, and Atlanta appear among the one-fourth of the seventy-nine cities having the heaviest incidence of relief as do specialized industrial cities such as Butte, Montana; Douglas, Arizona; and Shenandoah, Pennsylvania. At the lower extreme, among the one-fourth with the lowest incidence of relief, are San Francisco, a commercial city, and such specialized industrial cities as Detroit, Michigan; Paterson, New Jersey; Gastonia, North Carolina; and Gloversville, New York.
>
> This does not mean, however, that economic conditions are not one of the most important explanations of the extent of relief

in most communities, but rather that any broad classification of cities obscures many city differences in this respect. A more intensive study must be made of such characteristics and of economic conditions at any given time to explain differences in relative magnitude of the relief problem.

Furthermore, other factors are also effective in determining the proportion of the population receiving relief. These include local administrative policies, community attitudes toward acceptance of relief, availability of public relief funds, and certain social factors such as the racial composition of the population. Only a careful analysis of each city can, therefore, adequately answer some of the questions as to why the incidence of relief is greater in some cities than in others.

Not only are there state and regional variations, but the incidence of race and cultural groups is once again of importance in explaining some of the causes and factors that contribute to the problem of poverty. The story reflects the fact that, in contrast to the large majority of white households among those on relief in most cities, in the cities in which Negroes or other races are of importance in the general population they have constituted a larger proportion of the relief group than they did of all families in 1930.

In forty-six of the cities, Negro households constituted five per cent or more of all households on relief in May 1934; in twenty-eight cities they were over twenty per cent of the relief load; in Norfolk they were eighty per cent. Again, perhaps more important than the actual proportions are the relative proportions of Negroes as a part of the relief load compared with their ratios in the population of 1930. In all of these forty-six cities the ratio of Negro households to all households on relief was above their ratio in the total population of the city in 1930. The degree to which they appear to have been disproportionately present on relief differed widely among these cities. In Charleston, for example, Negro households were almost the same proportion of the relief load as

of the population of 1930, whereas in Akron, they were twenty per cent of the relief, but only four per cent of the total population. These are extremes; in general, Negro households were on relief in larger proportions in northern cities relative to their importance in the city populations than in southern cities. Explanations for these differences are numerous, but the most likely appear to be local administrative policies, local attitude towards relief, relief standards, and the availability of funds for relief needs.

Another contribution made by the new statistics is found in the fact that the American picture of rural relief has featured what is now being called rural slums, sometimes more marked than urban slums. Thus a special study, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, published by the United States Department of Agriculture, states that it is a conservative estimate that one-third of the farm families of the nation have standards of living so low as to make them slum families.

In the studies of problem areas and in the larger studies of farm tenancy in the South and of migrant workers in the Far West, poverty and insufficiency have been discovered and analyzed to an extraordinarily surprising degree. Here, again, there are problem areas in which more than half the people are on the margins. This reminds us again of the complexity of the problem and of the interrelation to our old series of problems of land utilization, planning, and social welfare.

An inventory of the status of disadvantaged farm folk in the nation gives the following summaries, startling to examine and affecting directly nearly 30,000,000 people: There were in 1929 approximately 1,700,000 farms which yielded gross farm income of less than $600.

A few more than 900,000 farms yielded less than $400

income. And almost 400,000 farms yielded less than $250.

There were in 1935, 2,865,000 tenant families on American farms.

The total tenant population is approximately 13,000,000 people.

Approximately 3,000,000 persons move from farms to towns and cities or from towns and cities to farms each year.

Over 1,000,000 farm families move from one farm to another each year.

During the depression, at least 3,500,000, or more than one out of every four, rural families in the United States received public assistance at some time.

Another example of a social problem which assumes far greater significance than its ratio to the total population is that of crime and delinquency. We classify the criminal as handicapped and disadvantaged because of the various contributing causes, such as heredity, physical and mental deficiencies, moral inadequacies, environmental surroundings, lack of educational and family relationships, and other causes. But the criminal represents especially a handicap to society and his influence is measured by what he does or may do to society.

Thus in the modern world, in addition to the age-long types of crime against person and property, there is the new sweep of organized crime, of rackets, of kidnapping and the accompanying corollaries of social disorganization and hazard. Hence, the delinquent child must be regarded as one disadvantaged and as a challenge to sociey both to treat him and to eliminate, so far as possible, the causes for his delinquency. To this end, there are hundreds of agencies and organizations striving to reduce delinquency and crime,

and there has grown up a literature of more than 10,000 titles in this field.

There are, of course, many other samplings of handicaps which would have to be presented if the whole picture were to be seen. More than a million folk in the United States handicapped by the war of 1914–1918 reflect many millions in other countries and in the younger generations coming on.

There are many handicaps reflected in regional situations in which some children have less opportunity for education and health than others.

And there are cumulative handicaps of the millions of landless folk and their children who reflect the un-American ideal of less promise and prospect than their parents—handicapped through cultural heritage.

In any area of study or action, the challenge is always that of making democracy effective in the unequal places, and we shall have to look forward to effective programs of public welfare and social planning to which we shall turn our attention later. All of this is bound up with the future of our leaders and of our institutions, to which we shall immediately turn our attention.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 14: THE HANDICAPPED

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are the major classifications of dependents?
2. What is our social responsibility toward these classes?

3. What fields of social pathology are related to the classifications of dependents?

4. What are the principal physiological illnesses that destroy people in the United States? Offer facts.

5. What are the major forces in the community working to produce healthy community conditions?

6. What are the facts and figures about alcoholism and drug addiction?

7. What provisions are made for the blind and the crippled in the state? Whose social responsibility?

8. What are the two major classifications of the mentally ill? Illustrate each.

9. What is meant by juvenile delinquency?

10. What is crime and who is a criminal? Discuss fully.

11. What should the attitude of society be toward juvenile delinquents?

12. What is the best procedure for rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents?

B. *Problems Dealing with Method or Manner*

1. How can government lessen or eliminate unemployment?

2. How far should society assume responsibility toward the unemployed?

3. How does the growing complexity of life affect physical and mental illness?

4. How can the school promote proper attitudes toward health?

5. How may safety education be promoted in the school, home, and community?

6. How might a program of crime prevention begin?

7. How might a sense of economic security check crime? Illustrate.

8. How may the social institutions—the family, the church, and the school—help in preventing crime?

9. How may the community organize to prevent delinquency?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effect or Result*

1. Why should society do all that it can to change the dependent into the independent?

2. Why is physical illness thought of as social waste?

3. Why does the profession of medicine rank so high in public accord?

4. Why have so many reformations failed to reform?

5. Why is the delinquency rate so high: (*a*) among the poor, (*b*) among men, (*c*) among children of the foreign born, and (*d*) in percentage among the colored population?

6. Why does it seem necessary for people to commit crimes? Give a few examples.

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Tabulate the status of orphans in (*a*) the nation, (*b*) the region, and (*c*) the state, according to numbers, age groups, and sex.

2. What is the state doing for orphans? List state institutions that are supported by the taxpayer. Give their location and explain their organizations and their programs.

3. What private agencies are functioning in this field? Explain their organizations and activities.

4. Gather statistics on the health of the nation and on the social and economic waste of illness.

5. Report on the work of the (*a*) United States Public Health Service; (*b*) program of the State Health Department; (*c*) activities of the National Safety Council; (*d*) Social Security Act in relation to health.

6. What are the trends in hospitalization in (*a*) the nation, (*b*) the region, and (*c*) the state?

7. Figure the cost of illness as a waste to business and to the individual. Present specific cases.

8. What is the state doing for its mental defective and diseased? Describe the institutions. Are they adequate?

9. What is the state doing for its orthopedic cases?

10. Describe a juvenile court—its organization, administration and procedure.

11. Outline a program to ameliorate or eliminate juvenile delinquency.

12. Indicate the major causes of crime in the United States.

13. Give a list of facts about criminals as to age groups, sex,

race, nationality, amount of education, economic levels, and other possible classifications.

14. What is the state doing to rehabilitate the criminal? Describe fully.

15. Indicate the values of scientific criminology and penology.

16. Have a panel discussion on the subject of capital punishment.

B. *To Plan*

1. Plan ways of developing wholesome attitudes toward the handicapped.

2. What is rehabilitation? Write to your state department of rehabilitation and also to Washington and find out what provisions have been made to make the disabled and handicapped independent by teaching a profession that they can use.

3. Plan a community-wide health program.

4. Suggest ways in which the community or state can improve its safety program.

5. Plan how the school might build better health habits for the individual.

6. Plan a program designed to ameliorate or eliminate juvenile delinquency.

7. Plan a survey to determine delinquency areas, a program of action and an evaluation of results over a period of time.

8. Offer a program designed to lessen the hazards and cost of crime.

9. Plan a rehabilitation program for the prisons of the state.

10. Suggest efficient ways to handle the re-employment of criminals after they have served their sentences.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

orthopedic	imbalance
congenital defectives	rehabilitation

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TOPIC 15: LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

MANY PEOPLE feel today that demagogues and dictators cannot survive in a land where the social and political institutions render adequate service to the people. However, the increase of such leaders along with recent world crises have given rise to new thoughts and some doubts concerning older ideas of leadership.

We have emphasized the fact that, emerging from the drama of conflict and depression of the last few years, two parallel purposes now seem to stand out clearly. The first is the urge to conserve and develop the sources of the good society as found in our natural wealth. The second is a similar purpose to develop and conserve our human wealth. It is fortunate that these two purposes are being more and more envisaged as inseparable. The movement, in one sense, is the reflection of a new leadership, just as the previous neglect was an index of lack of leadership.

The problem of the conservation and development of the human resources of the nation is, however, quite different from the problem of conservation and development of natural resources. For here the people are acting for and upon themselves. "Of, for, and by the people" was not spoken of government alone, but of the whole, powerful drama of the people in action and in conflict with social change in all its places.

Mediocrity and superiority, feeble-mindedness and brilliancy, integrity and weakness, uprightness and crookedness, demagoguery, and statesmanship—these are some of the hazards and prospects, the liabilities and assets of the new day. We have the ever-recurring questions:

Who shall inherit the earth?

What sort of people will multiply and replenish the nation?

Who shall lead the people?

Can leaders draw up plans through which all the people may function?

Can the people be protected from exploitation and from themselves?

Or will the leaders, through some new mechanized media of control, be able to exploit the people in new and more dramatic ways?

The multitudes of people are more numerous than before, often extremely gullible. They are more susceptible to mass movements, owing to the multiple sensatory influences; and they are not well enough educated to resist the excitement and appeal of the emotions. People who become hysterical over a radio drama of Mars invading the earth can be mobilized quickly for almost anything.

These people—the great human wealth of the nation—are alike the hope and despair of stable society, the raw materials for fabricating a new culture. Here they are—call the long roll:

Faddists and militant idealists, pragmatists and dreamers.
Workers and drones, antis and pros—a powerful minority leading the multitudes.
Prohibitionists and evolutionists, anti-prohibitionists and anti-evolutionists.
Vivisectionists and anti-vivisectionists.
Dietists and nudists, vegetarians and perfectionists.
Pentecostalists and spiritualists and atheists.
Menonites and Millerites, Adventists and Ethical Culturists.
Holy Rollers and Theosophists, Russellites and Shakerites.
New Thoughtists and quacks, psychologists, new and old.
Members of the House of David, and of other houses galore.
And they club together: Black Shirts and Brown Shirts.

Ku-Kluxers and one-hundred percenters.
Anti-race and anti-Catholics, EPICS and Utopians.
And all these colorful folks are no respecters of places. They come from everywhere and grow in numbers and influence. They abide and abound.
In glittering, impatient New York.
Or in million-peopled, million-dollared competing Los Angeles and San Francisco.
They come from temperamental Louisiana or proud Virginia.
Or stern-faced New England or realistic Pennsylvania or West Virginia.
They cluster in the big cities and they flourish in isolation.
They come from the Southeast and the Southwest.
From the Northeast and the Northwest.
From Middle America and the Far West.
From countryside and village, from farm and factory.
They hatch up schemes in California and Carolina.
In Georgia and in Maine.
In lake region and desert.
And what wealth and variety of leaders—call the roll of yesterday, today, and tomorrow. The great and the vivid, mingled with the small and stupid, lesser men often overshadowing greater characters:
Lincoln and Washington and Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt.
John Alexander Dowie and Jack Johnson, Aimee Semple McPherson and Huey Long.
Mary Baker Eddy and Lyman and Henry Beecher.
William Lloyd Garrison and Oswald Garrison Villard.
Harriet Beecher Stowe and Susan Anthony.
Alvin York and Chauncey Depew.
John Sharp Williams and James K. Vardaman.
Tom Watson and Cole Blease.
H. L. Mencken and Bishop James Cannon.
Clarence Darrow and Dwight Morrow.
Lucy Stone and Ida Tarbell.
Walter Lippmann and William Allen White.
Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Charles Beard and Rex Tugwell.
William Green and John L. Lewis.
Hugo Black and Carter Glass; Nicholas Murray Butler and Glenn Frank.
Harry Woodburn Chase and Mayor La Guardia.
Alfred Landon and William Borah.
The two Deweys, philosopher and prosecutor respectively.
The Vanderbilts and the Morgans.
The Astors and the Rockefellers.
The Wideners and Andrew Mellon.
The Gates and the Hills and the other "sixty families"; John L. Sullivan, Gene Tunney, Joe Louis and Max Baer.
Babe Ruth, Helen Wills Moody, Bobby Jones and Red Grange.
Ruth Elder and Byrd and Lindbergh.
Henry Ford and Thomas A. Edison.
Stuart P. Sherman and Eddie Guest, Will Rogers and Will James.

But why try to picture them? Call the roll of the New Deal or of the New Literati or of the "liberals" or of the D. A. R. and the sponsors and advisory members of a thousand committees. Harry Hopkins and Ellen Woodward, Henry Wallace and Will W. Alexander, Robert Jackson and Tommy Corcoran, Felix Frankfurter and Walton Hamilton and their bright followers who dream dreams and see visions. Or call the roll again of Townsend and the old folks, of Du Pont and the Liberty League, of music-campaigning, "pass the biscuit" Governor of Texas.

"Of and by and for the people," they were and are and ever shall be patriots without end. In ferment and conflict; Tea Party; Revolution; War between the States; Sacco-Vanzetti; Dayton, Tennessee; Passaic, New Jersey; Scottsboro, Alabama; white supremacy; humanism; technocracy; strikes and feuds; profiteers and chiselers; philanthropists and patriots. "Of and for and by the people"—the stuff

that all our human institutions and human life are made of.

Or this picture and problem of leadership may be vividly seen from the portraiture of the states and their leaders, of institutions and their founders, of movements and their sponsors.

The history of a state is the story of its leaders, and the rise of institutions is the emergence of leaders.

A Thomas Jefferson and Virginia.
A Horace Mann and Massachusetts education.
A Justice Marshall and the traditions of law.
A William Harper and a University of Chicago.
Columbia's Burgess and the beginnings of graduate university work.
Granville Stanley Hall and the Johns Hopkins importation of German science.
A Jane Addams and the new social-work movement.
A Booker T. Washington and the great upsweep of racial harmony.
A sensitive William Edward Burghardt Du Bois and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
A William Knapp and the farm extension movement.
And in lesser places everywhere, measure of leaders.

And what of the states and their rôle in national leadership? What of Virginia and Ohio, mothers of presidents, Virginia of eight, Ohio of seven?

And what other states contributed presidents, and how many? New York four; North Carolina and Tennessee three; two each for Vermont and Massachusetts; one alone for New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, New Jersey, Iowa.

Roll call of states, pictures of the cabinet members 200 strong. In their order: New York, 50; Massachusetts, 35; Virginia, 18; Maryland, 17; Kentucky, 16; Pennsylvania, 16; Ohio, 14; Iowa, 11; Georgia, 8; Delaware and South

Carolina, 5 each; North Carolina and New Hampshire, 4 each; Louisiana, 3; Vermont, 2.

No more interesting picture of personnel in the states can be found than that of the state legislatures. Here is *genus Americanus* indeed, rich and varied, unlike anything before. Inventory and classification shows them to be approximating the mythical average American; mostly lawyers, but also merchants, farmers, church members, Rotarians, Kiwanians, Americans first. Their distinction lies in what they can do with their power and glory, and in a certain prevailing "lawyerness" about their goings and comings.

In the midst of them are extraordinarily able individuals and unbelievably stupid men, and they all together furnish as much entertainment, dilemma, limitation and problems, uncertainty and discouragement, as any other group in the nation.

There is yet to be written the masterpiece portraying the state legislature in the United States. They deadlock and they quarrel, they legislate and they repeal, they trade and they caucus, politicians de luxe, American vintage of the 1930's. Self-nominated, they represent the people of their own states, with ears close to the ground, more potent as leaders than all the Einsteins and Deweys and savants.

Yet there appears everywhere some subtle change in the qualities of the modern leader and in the demands which contemporary America places upon him. The American hero of the 1930's has no longer been the military strategist or the millionaire "success" man who had made his way over all obstacles. These are barely being recorded in the annals of the nation except as part of the record, or as examples of what ought not to be.

It has sometimes seemed doubtful whether there are

many dominant leaders. Yet there have been hundreds of men and women of greater capacity than many of the earlier heroes. It is a changed nation with its changed and complicated system which demanded new instrumentalities.

In the old days leaders were often big because they contrasted with the littleness of their followers. This does not happen in a world of increasingly equal opportunity for education and participation in social control. Hundreds of America's most prominent men have been discredited for doing the very things that had been the mode of earlier days.

Here the picture is a puzzle as to the sort of leadership to be required for the next period and as to the operation of that leadership. One of the trends in public administration has been toward the dominant executive, yet the people have not always followed. The transitional stage has been such that there has been a great shortage of leaders, a shortage, for example, of men who seem strong enough to lead the Republican or Democratic party to successful achievement in a new decade of the century.

If we are inclined to doubt the significance of the new demands or opportunities for new types of leaders, we may well study the dominant leaders of the present, in America or throughout the world. Einstein, valued throughout the world as a leader in science, is no "leader" in Germany or America or anywhere else in the old sense. In Professor Bogardus' list of 100 leaders, voted by some 350 judges selected for the purpose, approximately seventy are scholars, scientists, artists, musicians—men who have exerted great influence; and those who are living today exert little influence in the councils of nations.

Many a leader, incidentally provided with an audience

through the special circumstance of writing books or speaking over the radio or holding a governmental position, suddenly assumes extraordinary leadership of great numbers of people who often follow blindly. And, by means of radio talks, all the people now may hear what all the other people hear. Thousands of individuals clamor for leadership with no other reason than that they want to lead and that they can control the avenues of approach to the people.

And here we have, of course, the age-long process through which some men lead and others follow, with the intensification of the problem through radio and other agencies of communication.

Professor Giddings used to explain this phenomenon of leadership and of the accompanying exercise of power through a realistic sociological interpretation. Thus he would point out:

> Some individuals react more quickly than others, as all those who have experimented in psychology know, and some are more resistant than others. Given an opportunity to seize a new advantage like that of taking up free land in this country, or the opportunity that is offered from time to time by the discovery of mineral wealth, as the discoveries of gold in California in the forties and fifties, and later in the Transvaal, and still later in the Klondike of Alaska, the persons who react to opportunity of this kind react with a great deal of difference. Some are quick, some are persistent, some follow the crowd.
>
> One result is that the individuals who are quick in their reactions to opportunity, and persistent, are the ones who shape up a situation which the others have to conform to as they struggle in later, and these firstcomers and first profiteers of opportunity usually become for the time being a ruling group. They may not continue to be the ruling group, but if they do, they bring others in with them.
>
> When once a leading group and a ruling group, ruling in the sense that it shapes the situation to which others have to adapt

themselves and in the long run controls the opportunity, has made itself pretty secure in its position, then privilege always does arise. It is not in the nature of man or things that those who have taken quick advantage of opportunity and who have shown a cleverness in using it that other men do not show should resist temptation to get advantage for themselves thereby. . . . Privilege grows up because the men who have seized opportunity and have begun to be a ruling class are desirous of having the greatest possible following and the greatest possible strength which they may use against any rival faction or any competing group.

Professor Giddings pointed out that there is "one fundamental way in which human beings get this following":

A man puts himself in the position of asking rights and privileges of the ruling group, and the group says to him, "All right, you can be let in, you can have our privileges and protection provided you are our man, we can count on your loyalty, your fealty to us." And that is the way the groups strengthen themselves. It is a bargain of give and take; we let you into the privileges of this group on one condition, that you are loyal, that you serve us, that we can count on your support under any circumstances; whether we are right or wrong, you are our man. That comes to be generally accepted even by people who question its morality. When these psychological phenomena have worked themselves out to some extent, you get privileges.

As an example Professor Giddings took the group that is first on the ground when the new discovery of precious metals is found.

Do they leave things in such shape that the latecomers will pick up good opportunities to work for nothing? Not by any manner of means. They stake it out and become owners of it, and others coming in later have to pay money for the privilege of getting in. . . .

When a ruling group becomes strong enough, it becomes aggressive; it adds to its opportunities and increases its privileges by deliberately wresting goods and other things from other people.

It engages in a small way or a big way in the business of appropriating whatever it can lay its hands on, and in time a very strong class is built up.

It is of the greatest importance, in an age where democracy appears everywhere to be struggling for survival, to watch out for the new leaders of whatever sort and to study the backgrounds upon which great leaders have built their power. Professor W. F. Ogburn, a Georgian at the University of Chicago, has presented the case for the "great-man" theory of history. The great-man theory of history has been so generally accepted that not only has written history been centered in great men, but some outstanding individual has been acclaimed as the most important factor in each high peak of human achievement. Professor Ogburn calls attention to the confusion between greatness as inherited through biological processes and greatness in personality developed through social incidence. He concludes that the potentialities of greatness are common and constant. This conclusion is in accord with our other chapters in which we urged a more comprehensive study of social incidence and social organization.

Professor Ogburn estimates that the great achievements of these personalities have depended upon two cultural situations. The first is a favorable cultural environment in which achievements may be performed. The second situation is that of favorable social valuations of the group.

These different social conditions that affect the production of greatness include the social forces, which usually mean the dynamic element arising from the impulses of a plural number of human beings, impulses organized into particular habit mechanisms in different cultural media. Social valuations represent probably very well these social forces, for men do what the group values.

In previous chapters we have called attention to the lessening influence of physical environment, race, and other factors in the modern world due to social change. The comprehensive organization of society with its elimination of distances and time and its coördination of activities reduces the exclusive influence of single factors. Without lessening the importance of society's power to develop leadership, the same tendency will probably be true with reference to the great man of the future.

Professor Ogburn's conclusion raises the problem as to whether after all the great man will be the leader. He points out:

> The rôle of the exceptional individual in the social process and the relative dependence of social change and achievement on social forces or the great man will no doubt be a subject of debate for some time to come. But these results of recent researches do seem to clarify the analysis. Our conclusions are that greatness must be conceived in terms of inherited qualities and environmental traits. The distribution of inherited qualities appears to be such that the inherited abilities of greatness should be plentiful and constant, facts which minimize the importance of the great man, biologically conceived.

He goes on to say:

> On the social forces side, there are two important factors that affect great achievement, the existing cultural materials and the social valuations. These two factors vary greatly over time and by places, and hence may be called causes of great achievement. They are of the nature of social forces.

"Great men," therefore, he thinks, "are thus the product of their times."

> They in turn influence their times; that is, their achievement influences the times. The great man is thus a medium in social change. The phenomenon of the great man varies in the different

kinds of social activities, and each situation should be separately analyzed as to the relative strength of the different factors.

In some cases psychological traits of personality are more important than others. These factors at the present time are only with great difficulty susceptible of precise measurement. But certain extended observations indicate that the production of great men and their influence are strongly conditioned and determined by the particular existing stage of the historical development. The great man and his work appear therefore as only a step in a process, largely dependent upon other factors.

We have pointed out something about the influence of the leader upon his state or institution or movement. We should go even further and note that, in the history of communities and movements, the dominant personality has usually constituted the greatest individual factor. This is true in influencing individuals as well as groups. If the personal judgment of several thousand college students be summarized, it will be found that far more of them have been influenced by a single leader or person than by any institution except the home and family.

Sometimes the influence of the dominant personality is good, and sometimes it is bad. Sometimes he is teacher, preacher, doctor, athlete, friend, chum. Sometimes he is statesman, sometimes a demagogue. So important is the problem of leadership in the common community that men are accustomed to despair of effective work or to expect great things in proportion as there is poor or good leadership. For, just as it is the nature of some individuals to lead, so it seems to be natural for the majority to follow.

The possession of qualities of leadership, therefore, gives men enormous power and lays upon society a great obligation for the proper training and development of the individual. One of the most important studies that can be made is an exhaustive inquiry into the inheritance and per-

sonalities of community leaders. Here is a man who for twenty years has been leader in school, church, political, and banking circles; and he has kept the town split from end to end. He is the dominant, "righteous" sort of man. But is he a good leader? Here is a man who keeps his state constantly alive and tense by opposing every constructive act for social progress; who lives upon the propensity of men for following picturesque personalities and "anti"-agitations. Is he not a bad leader? Here is the great-man theory, all too real and destructive.

Glenn Frank, in his *The Outlook for Western Civilization*, interprets the ideal of the creative leader in an effective way:

> The creative scholar has an insatiable appetite for facts and an insistent reluctance to draw conclusions. To this modesty of scholarship the world owes a debt it can never discharge. I realize the importance of suspended judgment in the work of the scholar, but it seems to me that we must also face the fact that a civilization will starve on a diet of suspended judgment alone. The scholar can never turn dogmatist. He must ever hold his conclusions open to revision in the light of further research. This does not, however, do away with the fact that, unless civilization is to play into the hands of selfish interests and social inertia, society must evolve some technique for using the results of scholarly research in the determination of its basic policies.

The late President Eliot of Harvard University has well said that "The pioneers of science like the pioneers in exploration and colonization must find their way through pathless regions. It is only later generations that build smooth roads and railways for the transportation of inattentive multitudes where the pioneer trod alone and watchful."

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 15: LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are the essentials of leadership?
2. What is the great-man theory of history?
3. What is the significance to leadership of professional codes and standards?
4. What factors and forces in life tend to create leaders?
5. What characterizes a bad leader?
6. What can the school do to train good leaders?
7. What are some of the first indications of leadership to be found in child life?
8. What influence have science and technology had upon leadership of a national, state, or community character?
9. What responsibilities go hand in hand with leadership? Illustrate.

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How are leaders made? Note as many different ways and methods as you can.
2. How is society changing its concept of leadership?
3. How may the qualities of the ancient and modern leader be contrasted?
4. How do physical characteristics influence or determine leadership?
5. How do leaders use slogans?
6. How do leaders use the power of propaganda?
7. How is it possible for one man to gain so much power in this day and time?
8. How can leaders determine and change the destinies of so many people?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effect or Result*

1. Why are some leaders called good and others bad? Isn't it true that the so-called bad leader has his following who call him good and vice-versa?
2. Do the best men lead? Why or why not?
3. Why did the people celebrate Lindbergh's conquest of the Atlantic with such abandon?
4. Why is there a change in the type of leadership esteemed by (*a*) the farmer, (*b*) the teacher, and (*c*) the minister?
5. Why do the burdens of leadership fall so heavily upon a few individuals?
6. Why do you vote as you do in school elections? What concepts determine your choice?
7. Why is leadership in a democracy more complex and difficult than under other forms of government?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Select fifteen leaders: (*a*) five from ancient history, (*b*) five from early colonial life, (*c*) five from contemporary life. How did they come to occupy their positions? Compare them as to types represented and as to fields of service.
2. Select fifteen leaders of modern time: (*a*) five from the field of medicine, (*b*) five from the business and industrial world, (*c*) five from agriculture. How did they become leaders? Compare their characteristics.
3. Select fifteen leaders of contemporary time: (*a*) five from the field of family life, (*b*) five from church leadership, (*c*) five from community life. Why were they chosen? Compare their activities.
4. Select: (*a*) a great general, (*b*) an inventor, (*c*) a writer, and (*d*) an athlete. What are the general characteristics that determine their position?
5. List the essential characteristics of a good leader. Illustrate each characteristic.
6. Report on the leadership of your community. Is it adequate? Is it good? Evaluate.

7. Write an imaginary story of (a) George Washington, (b) Thomas Jefferson, (c) Abraham Lincoln as the president of the United States today.

8. Write the story of one good leader.

9. Write the story of one leader whose influence has been bad.

10. By illustration show the influence of other leaders on the life of five different leaders.

11. Discuss the influence of literature and biography upon leadership. Offer numerous illustrations.

12. Instead of a few leaders over many, aren't we having many leaders over small groups in highly specialized fields? Report on this trend. As an illustration take the field of education—there are leaders of superintendents, principals, classroom teachers, subjects such as English, geography, physical education, and on and on. Note these trends in athletics, business, law, medicine, government, the Army and Navy, and many other fields. What does this imply?

B. *To Plan*

1. Write a leadership qualification code—let this embrace the essential concepts of leadership.

2. Outline a leadership training course.

3. Suggest ways of developing sound "followship."

4. Plan ways of developing leadership in a democracy through practical participation.

5. Organize leadership opportunities in the home, school, church, and community.

6. Illustrate ways by which games and sports demonstrate the arts of good leadership.

7. Offer ways of making a leader—how forces of propaganda and communication can actually be used to build up a leader.

8. Suggest ways of getting the voters to understand each candidate—his qualifications and platforms.

9. Study the community and note its leadership needs along certain lines. Remedy the situation.

10. Suggest how leadership can be utilized for constructive social service rather than personal gains.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

demagogues
media of control
mechanism (habit)
humanism
inertia (social)
genus Americanus
sensatory influences

B. *Selected Readings and References*

The problem of leadership could be studied in recent American biographies, the selection of which would be difficult because of the number and high quality. They would range all the way from William Allen White's brilliant study of Calvin Coolidge entitled *A Puritan in Babylon* to the more sweeping *Mellon's Millions* by Harvey O'Connor and *Who Rules America*, by John McConaughy.

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Preview

Institutions and Planning in a Changing World

UNITS VI, VII, AND VIII

IN DISCUSSING American democracy we often speak of democratic institutions. Yet we may not have a clear understanding of what this means. For one thing, it means that no one institution may regiment or dominate the people, but that all institutions work together in the service of the people.

Too often both the philosophy of democracy and the machinery through which its ideals are to be attained are conceived as merely political. It seems clear that such a supposition, if not already discarded, is well on the way to being transcended by broader social conceptions. That is to say, political democracy is only a part of the whole, and even that part can be attained only through the working out of its allied aspects.

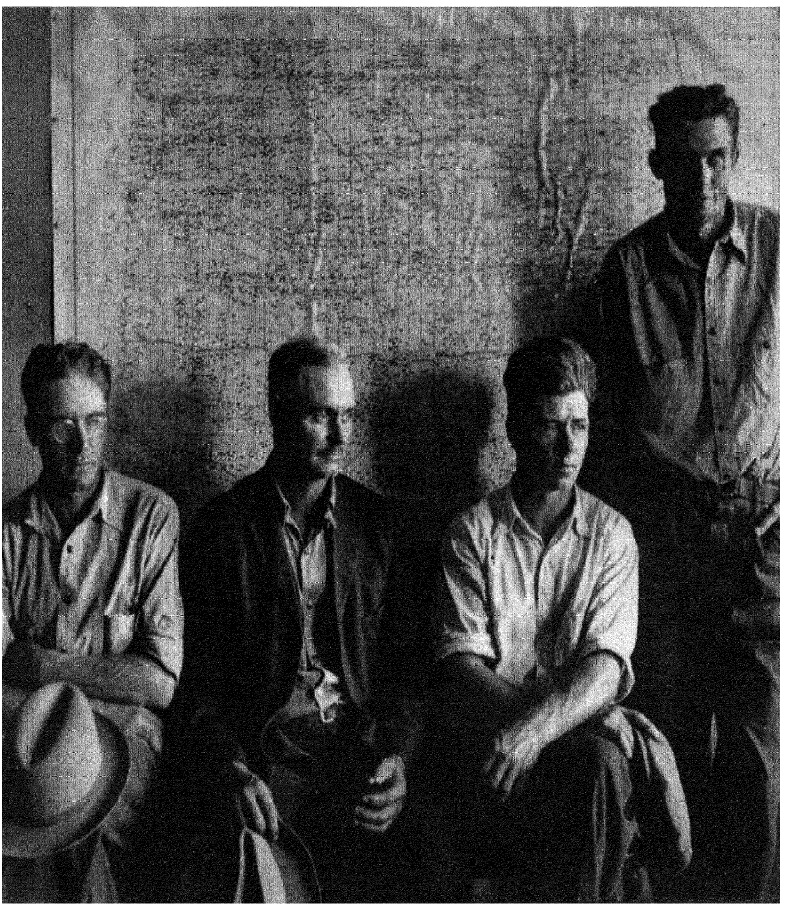
To seek to offer political equality, at the same time to urge the rightness of enforced arbitrary standards of social opportunity for adults whose whole past heritage, family life, and childhood development have been woefully unequal and deficient, is to offer a poor substitute for normal social life. To secure only a partial representative share in government through the ballot, for those whose lives have been and are handicapped or broken through unequal

struggles in industry, is to offer a poor substitute for democracy. To violate, through intolerance and persecution or through constant denominational strife, the original American principle of freedom to worship after the dictates of one's own conscience even though political activity at the polls be unimpeded, would be going backward and not forward.

To offer, as a substitute for democratic government, a centralized bureaucratic service, uninformed and unsympathetic; or a dictation by an intellectual aristocracy; or unlimited power wielded by any class group; or a regime of totalitarianism and censorship, is un-American and violates the democratic principle of community participation in government. On the other hand, to offer complete freedom of leadership and dominant representation to individuals and groups uneducated in the standards and structure of democracy, simply because they have the political right and without adequate efforts to instruct them, is to defeat the very ends of democracy. And so for its other aspects. The important facts are that democracy is as many-sided as life and that to attain it there must be developed not only a social philosophy but a social organization adequate for life.

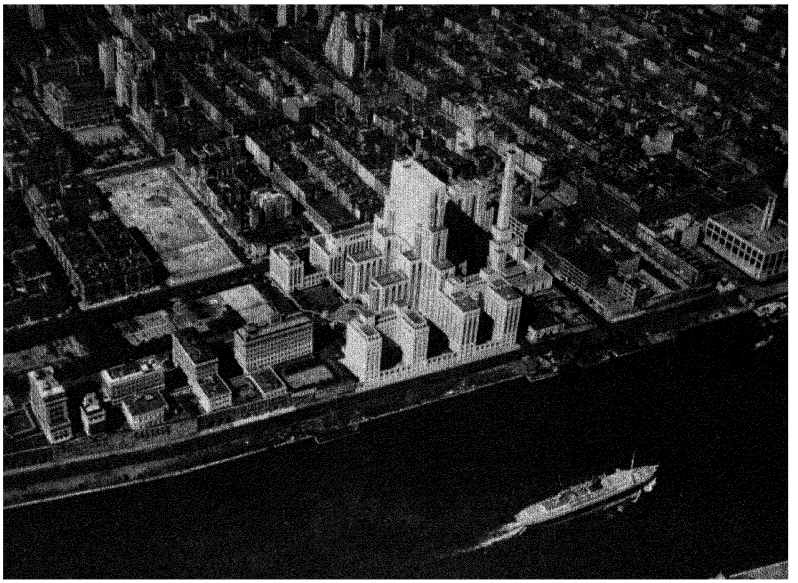
In order to illustrate these institutional problems of the people and to simplify our presentation, we have been accustomed to limit our discussion to six major institutions: the *home and family;* the *school and education;* the *church and religion;* the *state and government; industry and work; community and association;* all of these focused, of course, upon the setting of American democracy.

Acting upon these and created by them is, of course, a vast jungle of attitudes, beliefs, patterns of behavior, codes and manners, techniques and procedures, traditions and



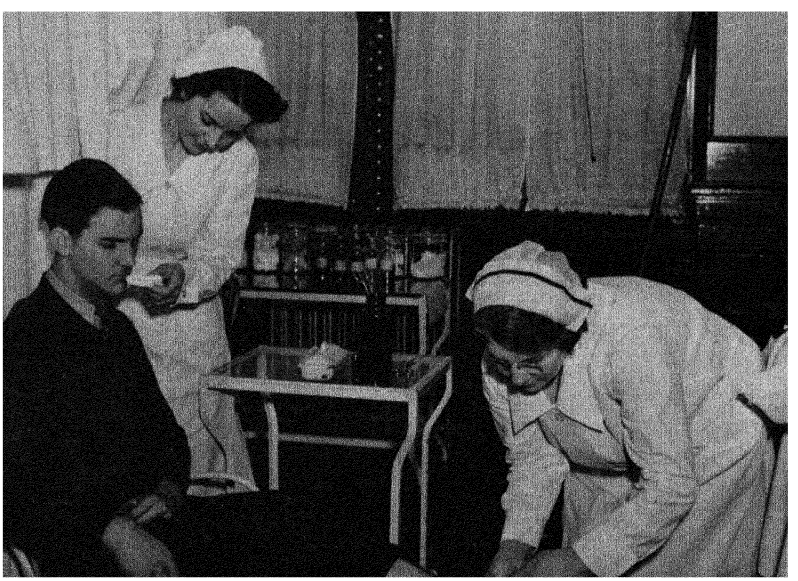
Farm Security Administration, Photograph by Rothstein

Americanisms may be classified in three big categories: first, the continent with its resources; second, the people; third, their institutions, ideals, and historic backgrounds.



Top, American Airlines, Inc.; bottom, Farm Security Administration, Photograph by Mydans

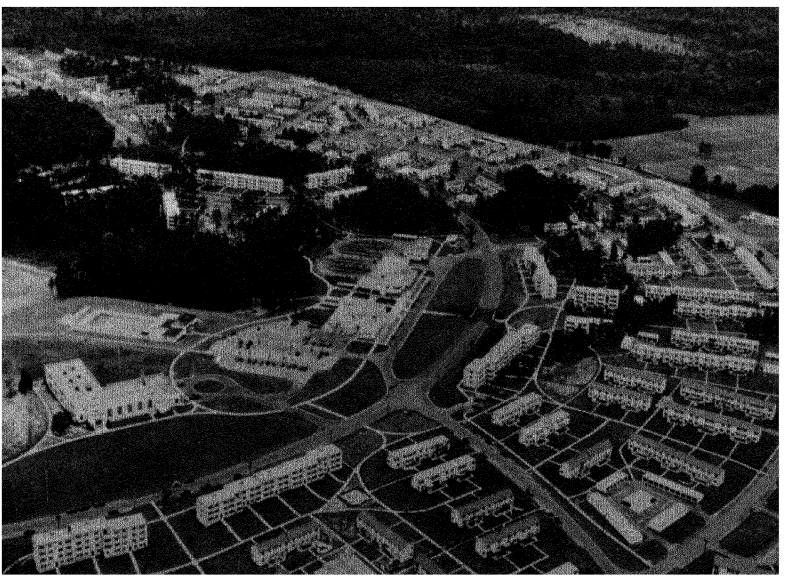
Among American institutions, the care for public health is important. Research is carried on in centers like the Rockefeller Medical Foundation, shown above. The picture below shows public medical services.

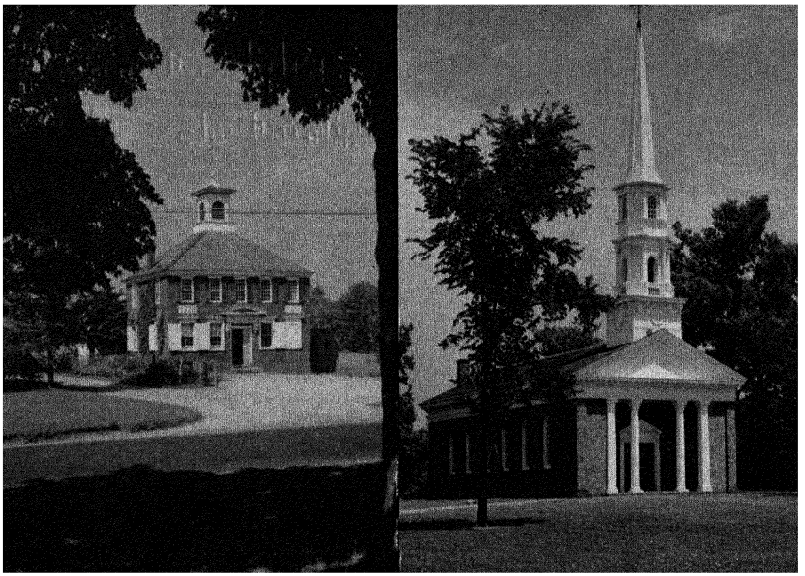




Top, Ewing Galloway; bottom, Farm Security Administration

The community is an important part of American life. The model community of Greenbelt, below, is somewhat similar in pattern to the Vermont village, above.





Top left and bottom, Gendreau; top right, Ewing Galloway

And here are other American institutions—a colonial schoolbuilding still in use in the Northeast—a church in the Middle States—buildings at Rollins College in Florida.



near-institutions, baffling and bewildering alike to social scientist, moralist, publicist, leader, common man.

Now each institution has its relatively generic and organic structure and function, more or less constant in the long road of human evolution, in contrast to the temporary form, medium, or local instrumentality through which such structure and function survive. Thus the *home* is the physical abode of the *family;* the *school* represents the multiple housing and organization of *education;* the *church* is the tabernacle of *religion;* the *state* is the organization of *government.* If *work* is a law of life and growth, *industry* is the way of work. Recreation, fellowship, association, collective action, are society itself, for the multiple expression of which the *community* has grown to be the nearest total symbol.

There have been great variations and changes in the forms and organization of these institutions, but the institutions themselves change slowly. And there are innumerable unnecessary conflicts between the form and principles involved.

Government and sovereignty in some form abound everywhere, but the form is constantly changing. It has changed radically of late in Germany and Russia.

So, too, the form of the home, log cabin to mansion, has varied greatly. The rural home and the city home, home of rich man and home of poor man, home in America and home in India, have differed greatly; yet the family, with varying stages of development, is the same basic unit of society no matter what type of new home arrangements may have developed.

The school might be the much-romanced little red schoolhouse, or it might be one of the many "million dollar" high schools or a greater university; yet the processes

of education are always fundamental to survival and progress.

And as to religion, there are more than 200 creeds and denominations in the nation, reflecting different forms of worship and representing the religious forces always powerful in America.

And of forms of government in the United States there were no less than 250,000 separate governing, money-appropriating bodies to indicate variation in form and function. And of industry, the industrial revolution and technology are ample illustration of changing forms for fundamental processes.

Within each of these institutional modes of activity there grew up scores of patterns and standards, codes and customs and manners for the guidance of men, deep-grounded, slow-changing: etiquette and honor, sanction and taboo, parental control and standards of living in the home.

In American public education, "learning will make us free, college is the thing!" And of vocational and technical education, with a hundred patterns of teaching and administration in the school, there is no end. And still new religions, worship and ritual, faith of the fathers, moral and spiritual dictatorship, multiply the forms of religious expression.

Money and banking, trade and credit, multiple minor institutions, free private enterprise—business is for business, not for health—patterns for the industrial order. Language and literature, a thousand "societies" and organizations, East side and West side, folkways and *mores*, consolidate the ways of community expression. Laws and precedents, constitutions and charters, are multiplied institutional ways of social control by government.

For the purposes of this discussion it is suggested that a

sixfold democracy be interpreted in terms of the six major social institutions, previously used as types, through which the individual may be developed and rendered justice and equal opportunity. These institutions, as we have already stated them, in dual terms of local form and generic value, are: *The home and family; the school and education; the church and religion; the state and government; industry and work;* and *community and association.* The sixfold democracy will therefore be: *organic, educational, religious, political, industrial,* and *social.*

It seems clear that each and all of these aspects of democracy are essential. Industrial democracy can no more be taken for the whole system than can work be interpreted to be the whole of life. Religious freedom will be worth little if organic democracy be not safeguarded so that children may be born well, grow in health, develop in mind and stature; if mothers and wives in isolated or congested areas must perform hard labor unequally divided between men and women.

The great American boast that men may rise from simple beginnings to leadership in all walks of life will amount to little if communities may poison youth with vice and crime or injustice in the courts. Freedom to go to school or compulsory-attendance laws are pitifully weak in comparison with an effective family case service which will instruct youth in the values of education and the desire to receive it. Labor proclamations and agitations for industrial democracy are worth little if the basic principles of coöperation, of understanding, and of mutual values are ignored.

In seeking to render equality of opportunity to individuals and groups everywhere, what vast mistakes have been made because of failure to recognize facts that relate to the organic bases of life and society! The whole problem

of "equality" must be interpreted anew to do away with many of its sentimental and arbitrary concepts. Facts of race, of sex, of inheritance, of intellectual and moral deficiencies; of eugenics, of age, of social accidents, and others loom large in the sum total of efforts toward democracy. In general, this phase of democracy is concerned with the home and family and with the biological and social heritage with which the individual begins his life.

It seems clear that democracy would fall far short of its application if it awaited the coming of age of individuals to offer them political equality and to demand from them an equal degree of conformity to social regulations, while at the same time it neglected child welfare and social service in the interests of those upon whom normal developments depend.

Similar adjustments may be made in the case of those who are uneducated or whose social deficiencies require them to be placed in a separate classification. The value of such a concept is that it extends greater opportunity—not less—to all those who need the upbuilding of better organic bases upon which to place equality of opportunity and justice; and that the service is not for one generation only, but for many. It may well be affirmed that the later social and political stages of democracy will always be impossible of achievement if the groundwork of organic and structural conditions be ignored in theory and neglected in fact.

After all, the objective of society and its institutions is the development and maintenance of an environment in which every individual may attain the maximum individual and social growth, may function normally in the midst of and through his association with other individuals, and may give promise of the perpetuation of the best qualities of the

race. The individual does not exist in order to nourish the flower of institutional life, as has so often been assumed. Rather the institution and social organization have evolved in order to meet the needs of the individual in constantly changing social conditions.

Thus many "individual" problems are in reality social problems and many of the commonly studied "social" problems are problems of the socially deficient individual. This prime emphasis upon the social individual is in harmony with the accepted principles and practice of modern education, with present-day scientific methods in the study of human society, with the newer concepts of human freedom, and with social programs for the development of human adequacy.

Thus, since the maximum growth and development of the individuals will not be possible except through society as a whole, with its social organization and coöperative effort, a larger objective will be the strengthening of the social institutions and in control and direction of social and physical environment. What are the forces that direct or affect the individual and society for good or for evil, for progress or for retardation? If the study of social problems is to contribute something to the good society, what are the fundamental points of attack?

Perhaps the heart of social study and control will be in the social institutions which must act as a buffer between the individual and social change, and through which society may marshal its forces. In general, the viewpoint of the present study is that, whenever in the long road of human destiny an individual has failed or a social group has deteriorated, some one or more of the institutions have failed in the time of need. Social institutions have failed often not only because of what Professor Ogburn calls "social

lag," but because of the tendency of each institution to develop its own organization and structure in isolated ways and to aim at objectives not coördinated with other social institutions or with other organic social forces.

Another major point of attack, therefore, in the study of problems centering in the institutions seems to be their interdependence and interrelationships. In simple terms, no institution may function completely and socially if its chief objective is the perfecting of its own organization and flower rather than the serving of its constituency and the building of society.

That family which does not contribute to better citizenship, to better education, to better industry, to the making of a better community, is an imperfect family. That school which does not contribute something to the making of a better community, to instruction in family relationships, to guidance in work, to interpretation of civic problems, and to high standards of social morality is not a good school. That state or municipality which does not render social justice, provide through public welfare and social legislation for its individual and institutional needs, support education and industry; or which persecutes the individual or group for religious belief, is not a good social institution. That industry which does not contribute to the upbuilding of community or the support of other social institutions and which does not take thought for the welfare of its workers is not a good social force. And that church or religious group which divides a community against itself, which persecutes groups of other beliefs, which opposes the right social objectives of other institutions, is not a good social institution.

In fine, any institution which sets up its own objectives and forms as an ultimate goal, heedless of other social re-

lationships and social change cannot keep pace with social progress. These rather simple and obvious limitations of the institutions have given rise to a great many social deficiencies and social problems which impede the progress of mankind.

Adequate study of the situation would indicate some such criterion as follows. That is a good society which so builds and strengthens its institutions that through their own organization and reorganization, and their direction of physical and social environment, they may tend to guarantee to the largest possible number of individuals opportunity for complete normal growth and development. If we characterize the institutions as buffers between the individual and his environment, this is one way of calling attention to the importance of institutions in a modern world where environment is so complex and changeable as to overwhelm the individual.

If we point out further that the institution should serve especially as a buffer between the people and rapid social change, this is one way of indicating the continuing need of strong social institutions at a time when science and technology are working such tremendous changes in all walks of life. As buffer between the people and their changing environment, the institution would appear to assume a larger and larger rôle in the totality of modern society. Here, again, the illustration from American society is impressive.

Yet this very change and technology create new problems for the institutions themselves, so that most institutions appear to be more concerned with their own form and survival in the changing world than they are with the welfare of the people for whom they exist. Here indeed is dilemma of the first order—problem for the institutions,

problem for the people. For, if the institutions must expend their energy and devote their processes to their own ends, what is happening to the people in their midst? Yet this is apparently the case. For what ancient institution, whether family or government or industry, is not in the throes of some titanic struggle for survival in the modern world?

How realistic this struggle is may be seen by glancing at prevailing changes and conflicts which go on in and among our institutions and our moral and esthetic standards. Thus we come back again and again to seek balance and equilibrium between the past and the present, between science and tradition, between men and institutions. A part of the dilemma of the American people in the crisis of the 1930's was that what they called "American" and esteemed as American, was one thing; whereas what they were doing was, by the same token, "un-American." The people clamored for conformity to the American tradition, the American ideal, the American doctrine, the American system, the American philosophy, at the same time and with the same eloquence with which they proclaimed the breakdown of the old American way, the outmoding of the present order, the "tottering to the ground of the old system," which made absolutely inevitable the New Deal and the abandoning of the old America which men would know no more forever.

College alumni wanted "the old college" to remain as it was in their day; the businessman, doctor, lawyer, farmer, thought the religion of his mother was good enough for him; luncheon club speakers, organized business and professional folk spoke nonchalantly of the preservation of American manners and morals, the sanctity of the home, the glory of the American tradition, with scant sympathy

for newfangled ways and social reform or interference with American individualism. What they did, as soon as ever they could conclude with admonition and eloquence, was indeed the action of a new America. Now they were speeding at seventy miles an hour to a football game to denounce the college for a losing team; now traveling by airplane hither and yon; now making a quick summer trip to London and back; now playing golf or touring or seeing moving pictures the Sabbath livelong day; or hearing a radio sermon or light entertainment for 60,000,000 listeners, from Radio City to the uttermost parts of the nation. They read books on mystery and murder, and saw crime thrillers in such abundance as never existed in the old American days.

Yet they were proud that they were "as American as turkey and cranberry sauce." They were proud that they had made of America the greatest nation on earth and that they had worked hard to give the nation a life more abundant in the search for new reaches of multiple activities. They longed for a sense of satisfaction and security as of the earlier days. Still something was wrong somewhere. Nostalgic yearning for the good old days could not meet the demands of changing times and institutions from which came abundant harvest of dilemmas.

There were many who affirmed that it was the people who could not change rather than the institutions. Certainly the problem of America in the next period was essentially a crisis of both. The limitations of the people contributed to the difficulty of designing the new blueprints of progress but also made absolutely imperative planned specifications to follow. It came to pass, therefore, that there was no greater and more dramatic picture than that which showed the changing ways of the nation and its people.

These included many a new and dramatic product of what the *human* wealth of the nation, working with *natural* wealth and *technological* wealth and *artificial* wealth, had wrought in *institutional* modes of life and what changes the great technology had imposed upon the nation's *social institutions* and attitudes.

The ways of the nation of the 1930's in striking contrast to what was called the American way of earlier days constituted basic groundwork for the new planning. Here are samplings of contrast between the old and the new. They indicate the basis for different problems.

The Earlier America	*The Later America*
The old clear motivation	The new confusion
The old scarcity	The new abundance
The old security	The new fear
The old personal-contact control	The new corporate power
The old self-sufficiency	The new interdependency
The old natural bounty	The new artificial wealth
The old primary work	The new secondary occupations
The old low standards with hard personal work	The new high standards with machine production
The old personal life relationships	The new impersonal anonymity
The old self-discipline	The new self-expression
The old leisure	The new restlessness
The old saving	The new spending
The old liberty	The new prosperity
The old self-reliance	The new dependency
The old solitude	The new gregariousness
The old simplicity	The new luxury
The old restraint	The new ostentation
The old solidity	The new show
The old integrity	The new success
The old wise giving	The new easy generosity

The Earlier America	*The Later America*
The old affection for the old	The new desire for the novel
The old thought	The new impressions
The old ideas	The new facts
The old outdoors	The new indoors
The old knowledge of nature	New knowledge of things
The old walking	The new riding
The old rural	The new city ways
The old etiquette and training in the home	New movie-trained children

And further, the mass picture reflected a civilization so complex and intricate and so fabricated with collective action as to lose the individual. The old emphasis upon the individual struggle and upon the spirit of mankind seemed to be submerged in emergency action and social planning. And especially the tempo was in contrast with that of the Jeffersonian Era.

Working through these institutions, and created and developed by them, are the leaders of the people, brilliant and stupid, imaginative and dull, statesman and demagogue, stubborn to move, and varying notably from time to time and from environment to environment.

Also working upon institutions and created by them are the forces of science and invention and social change itself, no respecter of things old or new. And over and above these are the forces of social incidence, the "acts of God" and of the elements which man has not mastered, the eternal puzzle of human nature which he had not yet diagnosed—mankind speaking new languages, swept on through new techniques, driven by old, old impulses, into new ways of all flesh.

Now the problems of institutions are multiplied by the increase of technology and science, as we have pointed out, so that there is always disorganization when the demands

of artificial society and technology are greater than the capacity of the institutions themselves. Thus a great many of the problems of the institutions arise over the stubborn allegiance to form of tradition as opposed to the generic institutional values.

The dogmas of religion have often been instrumental in the defeat of Christianity. Inflexible patriarchal household rule has often broken up the family. Traditional curricula in the school and failure to recognize individual differences in pupils have often defeated the ends of education. Fighting over forms of labor organization has often negated the great opportunities of work, while stubborn allegiance to traditional paternalistic patterns has often defeated the ends of industrial order. Bureaucracy and totalitarianism are forms of the state which enslave the people and defeat the ends of good government.

Thus, specific problems of institutions emerge from changing conditions, so that one task of the student is to design technical, workable ways which will tend to bring about balance and equilibrium between the old forms and the new demands. In the family are, therefore, problems of divorce and marriage, and greater opportunity for women. In the church are problems of interpreting and administering the social gospel. In the school are problems of meeting the increasing demands of community and home and industry.

And focusing upon all the other institutions are the new demands upon government and new dangers to government inherent in the increasing tendency to make the form of the state supreme as an end rather than as a means to serve the people. The function of all our institutions is to serve mankind, not as an end but as a means, yet the trend of government toward the totalitarian state may be

explained both because sovereignty and power reside only in the state and because the scope of governmental activities gradually touching nearly all phases of life has been greatly increased. We shall, therefore, examine, first of the great institutions, government in relation to democracy and particularly with reference to the American scene.

Unit VI

The Institutions of the People: Political and Economic Relationships

TOPIC 16: GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY

WE HAVE made the keynote to this study that of *American Democracy Anew*. We have called attention to the fact that our democracy is as comprehensive as all our institutions. Yet for the better ordering of these institutions and for the guarantee of democracy, our government is being called upon more and more to take the lead. What sort of government, therefore, and how strengthen it, are the paramount questions of the day.

We have shown how democracy, however, is not only a form of government and a philosophy, but also a societal arrangement looking toward a continuous development of humanity into a superior mankind. In recent years, the question of strengthening and renewing American democracy is becoming more and more important.

Pressing and vivid in the midst of all the dramatic episodes of world events of the 1930's and especially in the American scene, is the perennial question as to whether democracy will survive, whether the democratic nations can hold their own in a world threatened by dictatorships, and whether society can find the happy margin between governmental control and governmental service.

Throughout the whole scene, too, is the sure trend of government to comprehend within its services and technique more and more of the life and labor of the people, so that we come to seek perhaps as never before a new balance and a new equilibrium between individualism and socialization.

Because of these facts and especially because of the increasing conflict between government and business, our first task of examining the great institutions is to appraise the state and government in relation to the world setting and more particularly in relation to American development.

In the United States, the "American System," the American tradition, "the American Dream," all have usually been considered synonymous with "American democracy," which in turn has been inseparably associated with the government of the nation and what it has given the people.

Here, again, the national picture is similar to the larger societal premise which assumes that government is the most comprehensive of all the institutions and more nearly than any other institution touches the life of the people at all points. If, therefore, the "American nation" has been synonymous with "democracy," would it not be possible for all practical purposes to make the study of American government the study of that sovereign societal arrangement which we call democracy?

For the student of contemporary society, however, the problem is not quite so simple. Nor, even for the general student of the American scene, can the problem be confined to the single concept of democracy or the capitalistic system of the United States.

At the very least we must study the ideals and aims of the earlier American government, the changing functions and scope of this government, the rôle of democracy in it.

And, finally, we must inquire as to the meaning of all these in relation to the great societal problems of new adjustments between totalitarian governments and the other institutions.

Something of the changing nature and problems of government may be suggested in the simple review of the changing government of the nation within the first third of the twentieth century. Perhaps no picture of America has been more startling or impressive than that of the expansion of government and government activities and the consequent trend toward centralized control. From the Jeffersonian ideal of simple government, the United States has traveled an incredibly long and devious road.

To take a few examples: in contrast to the personal recording of a relatively few short and simple documents in the earlier days of the nation, the government was publishing in 1930, through its superintendent of documents, the amazing total of 100,000,000 words.

This change is not so fundamental, however, as that in the chief picture of governmental expansion—the tax bills which the American citizen has been called upon to pay. In two decades the tax bill was increased by something like $10,000,000,000, or about 400 per cent. Moreover, total government expenditures have not stopped with tax moneys, a fair average estimate being that about a third more has been expended than would be available from tax moneys.

The catalog of itemized expenditures has been a fair inventory of the expanding functions of government: federal contributions to states and consequent supervision; state control and supervision of education, highways, prisons, public health, public welfare; inspection and supervision of foods, drugs, dairies, industries; supervision of

utilities, corporations, basic operations in coal and oil fields; coöperation with aeronautics and with coastwise and ocean shipping, aid in scientific research, service to agriculture and industry; legislation protecting children, women, labor; and more recently, social security, federal equalization funds, public works, public relief, and agricultural adjustment.

However, centralization, consolidation, scientific specialization, executive control, beginnings of controlled economic processes, had set in before the New Deal era; as had also the rumblings against taxation, the desire to shift responsibility of government, large-scale competition, the failure of criminal justice, the protest against surplus wealth, and the dominance of business over government.

Thus the picture of the emergency America of the early 1930's was superimposed upon a screen and background which had appeared to be made for just such a product. The nation might be expected to be wealthy in proportion as it had a well-ordered government conserving and promoting the well-being of its citizens. The United States did not have such a government. If, therefore, such a government was the measure of a democracy, then again, by another count, the picture of American democracy held confusion.

If wealth and welfare again be appraised as synonymous, America had become immensely wealthy in many of its other institutional modes of action. Among the special items of institutional wealth were its public-welfare and social-work activities. The trend toward centralization, sometimes called the great balance wheel or stabilizing force in modern complex democracy, was reflected especially in public-welfare systems in the states where reorganization of state governments for more economical and more

effective services on behalf of the general welfare of the people was considerably accelerated.

In recent years the development of state systems of public welfare, in particular, reflected some of the most progressive tendencies. On the one hand, public social work on behalf of children, widowed mothers, the poor, the aged and infirm, the physically handicapped, the socially handicapped, prisoners and delinquents, and the subnormal members of the population, was provided for in systems capable of utilizing the best of public administration in government and of professional social work. More than two-thirds of the states have now reorganized state boards or departments under the welfare designation.

Developments went so far as to provide, on behalf of government, practical and technical ways of meeting the many social maladjustments which arise from the bigness of our civilization, the inequalities which arise from economic cycles and depressions, and those which arise from the natural inequalities and deficiencies of a complex ethnic and racial population.

This objective was sought through new legislation and methods for supplying and administering public relief, for taking care of the old and infirm, and for pointing toward unemployment and health insurance in coöperation with private business. A majority of the states had enacted some sort of legislation on behalf of workmen's compensation and old-age relief, while Wisconsin in 1931 had blazed the trail for unemployment insurance.

There was more and more the insistent demand that social science, and in particular economics and political science, working through social technologies, should discover a way of producing equable coöperation between private philanthropy on the one hand and social and public-

welfare work on the other. The aim of such coöperation would be to work out the problem of social welfare in such a way as to reduce greatly the hazards and fear of unemployment and old-age dependency, and to meet the basic stirrings of revolution which well up from gross inequalities unjustly concentrated on the working man and his family.

So fundamental was this unrest that it was freely predicted that public relief would have to be provided or else far greater governmental expenditures would be required for armed control of the suffering millions. To work out this situation was one of the major problems of the time alongside those of taxation, reparations, and disarmament.

The sweep and the speed of change, technology, science, and invention have augmented the unequal places by 10,000,000 unemployed and their families, deprived of the common satisfactions of wholesome living and loving; by millions of youth in school and out, with no outlook worthy of American ideals; by 2,000,000 prehandicapped depression babies; by 5,000,000 marginal folk on land and in urban fringe; and by 10,000,000 in minority groups, growing more articulate as the years go by.

From the viewpoint, therefore, of the visible ends of democratic achievement, it would appear that we are rapidly approaching the margin of limits beyond which democracy does not and cannot exist. For these reasons and because of social tensions and of multiple currents and forces now at work, it is imperative that we examine as critically as possible the probability of bridging the chasm between the concepts and ideologies of what has been called the American dream and its successful working through political democracy. It is imperative also for us to explore the availability of whatever alternatives may be possible.

The general premises of our discussions assume specifically the American democracy of the United States, rather than merely a general concept and philosophy of democracy. They assume some sort of answer to that critical current questioning as to what really is Americanism. The American characterization, however, applies to the underlying philosophy as well as to the historical recording of actual practices of democracy.

The American ideology seemed to assume first of all a political democracy with economic freedom. Within this framework was the "American dream" of every man with his opportunity for development, the lowest to the highest, the highest with only the limits of genius or skill.

The American ideal seemed to imply, therefore, the sociological ideal of superior mankind, which sets a premium upon individual variations from type, upon developed personality, upon the contribution of the genius or superior person. This kind of person was to attain eminence through these self-same channels of opportunity, which, in turn, was to have been made possible through freedom and through the nurture of well-equipped institutions.

American democracy, however, seemed to include, also, other elements, from which the present status is derived. Among these elements were the assumption of limitless frontier areas and resources; of a magnificent agrarian culture later to be well balanced with industry; a ruthless exploitation of nature and the unquestioned mastery of a chosen people over racial minority groups; a group analogy to individual freedom in sectional achievements; the assumption of continuing strong genetic stocks of people in generous reproduction rates with no planned population

limits in view; and the assumption of a certain national isolation and self-sufficiency.

Within these American premises there is, however, a distinction between the concept of democracy which represents attainable ideals, and the actual visible ends of organized democracy which represent, at most, direction and approximation. This distinction implies a recognition of the difference between theory and practice, between dominant ideas and actual institutions.

Americans have assumed, further, that no matter what the present chasm between the theory and the practice of democracy may be, the concept must be preserved because it constitutes the greatest promise of attainment of the reality of the democratic process. Our definition of democracy, therefore, must be found by merging concept and theory with the reality of social process, in which will be realized the attainable ends of an enduring democracy.

What the student of democracy wants is a fair examination of how much our government is succeeding, in attaining such ends, where it is failing, and how it can be remedied in the future. It is not so necessary to cite commonplace evidence to support the assumption of failures as it is to indicate a sort of framework of inequalities and how they have grown up from the earlier American days. For here is a nation in which the per capita wealth of the highest group is a thousand times that of the lowest; in which the per capita personal income tax of the state with the highest record is more than a hundred times that of the state with lowest record. If personal and corporate income be considered, the highest state in the nation is 120 times that of the lowest, while if the per capita income as measured by net incomes of $50,000 or over be con-

sidered, the highest state is more than 400 times that of the lowest. The states with the largest number of children to be educated have less than one-tenth as much money for this purpose as the states with the smallest number have. When measured by more than 200 ordinary gauges of status, the index of inequality in the states and regions ranges anywhere from 2 to 500.

To cite more specific samplings, there is scarcely an approximation to democracy in the life of many of the minority peoples in America. There is little semblance of democracy, either cultural or political, for 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States, or for 18,000,000 white folk in the South who must educate more Negro children than all the children of all races in the wealthier Far Western Region.

There is no equality of opportunity for tenant farmers and their children. There is no semblance of equality and fraternity in the millions of displaced folk turned adrift from farm or mine or factory or shunted from one age group to another. There is no democracy for the millions who, following the American dictum to save, have lost everything they had and have broken under the strain. There is no equality for the millions of depression-handicapped children already being conditioned to un-American standards and ideals. And there is little in current American democracy to appeal to the college youth who can look forward to very little in prospect for the immediate future. The fundamental reason for the continuing of this American faith as exemplified in democracy is the increasing conviction, arrived at from much observing and gathering of evidence, that the present alternatives being tried in the rest of the world do not appear to approximate the ideals of equality and opportunity even so much as the

American system; and even though they succeed in lands of their peculiar conditioning, their ideologies and form do not carry with them the basis for social organization competent to achieve the highest American human welfare.

Furthermore, preliminary experimentation in regional problems and in special areas of American dilemma have not become available at the present time for successful application. Within the framework of our American premises, even though the goals of these alternatives is the greatest good to the greatest number of people, the difficulties in the way of their implementation are greater than those of our democratic organization.

Moreover, the great deficiencies of American democracy and inequality are explainable in terms of logical and inevitable sequences to circumstances, policies, and action which will not remain in the American picture. Consequently, there is yet the supreme challenge for American institutions to achieve qualitative results in the next era as they have achieved quantitative results in the past.

The hypothesis of this discussion is that the present gross inequalities and chaos are due to failure to achieve orderly transition from the old America to the new, and that in all probability the motivation and the attainment of such orderly transition in the present period will constitute the sole definitive democracy of the next few years.

This problem of transitional democracy, like the other aspects of the American experience, is reflected in the past history of the nation as well as in the current dilemmas which condition future economic and social arrangements. There was first of all the transition from the Jeffersonian small nation of rural states, of one or two regions of simple motivation, of homogeneity of people, of few occupations, with small individual fortunes centered chiefly in farm

and forest or in land and homes, to the present very large nation of urban and industrial majorities, in greatly differing regions with complex motivation and heterogeneity of population, with hundreds of varied occupations, with large individual fortunes, with fabulous salaries, with corporate holdings and wealth.

There was a transition from slaves to free men in sectional realignment, and it was not orderly.

There was and is a transition from agrarian culture and rural folk to industrial life and urban people; from isolation to international contacts and back to nationalism; from lack of education to nation-wide education; from illiteracy to a new literacy fearfully and wonderfully fabricated.

There was the transition from the rule of the few to the dominance of the many; from a man's world to a new world in which women were assuming increasingly larger influence; from the authority of the elders to the questioning of youth; from state and local priority to federal centralization; from the human, man-land, man-labor emphasis, to technology; from ideologies to science.

And there was and is finally the transition from depression and emergency to recovery and reconstruction.

In the present transitional period, partly as a result of the elemental factors mentioned and partly responsible for them, there appear to be certain parallel complex forces or movements, sometimes almost merging the one with the other, sometimes in conflict and cross currents.

These multiple forces may be the guarantee of continuing democratic processes; or, if subtly utilized by demagogue and mass pathology to merge the folkways with new and powerful stateways, they might easily result in the destruction of the American ideals.

One of a half dozen such major forces may be assumed

to be the movement toward violent revolution, in which the restless, resistless tides of dissatisfied folk are focused upon the overthrow of present institutions.

In America the catalog of possible constituents here is relatively long. In the nation at large there are agrarian discontent, labor restlessness, minority groups, and the intellectual discontent of the professional agitator. In the regions roundabout there are the Negroes, other minority groups, the disinherited tenants or miners, the industrial workers, the local demagogues, and the extraregional agitators.

On the other side is the movement toward fascism and dictatorship. In the failure of "recovery" or in the absence of a better planned and ordered democracy would inhere the strength of fascism or its equivalent. In such a move, so the argument runs, would appear ways and means of satisfying youth, "solving" economic problems for the businessman, fighting communism and "radicalism," giving the feeling of power and importance to the multitudes, releasing sufferers immediately from poverty and despair, releasing the public from thinking, encouraging the protest against highbrowism, realizing the hopes of a great nationalism, and producing action now.

If the planned democratic order were rejected in the United States, the pattern of dictatorship would bring to bear the subtle and almost irresistible combination of a quick mass spiritual transformation and a rapid, almost complete regimentation of the people, such that the folkways would come mysteriously and suddenly to coincide with the stateways.

A third powerful force is what appears to be a sort of mass pathological and messianic current which sweeps along a mixed company of idealists and discontents, a chief charac-

teristic of whose programs is flight from reality in constantly shifting expediency programs.

There is then the powerful current of folk allegiance to the demagogue, whose power is in his technique rather than in his principles, and whose influence may be turned at any time in whatever direction appear to be merged the greatest number of forces capable of being utilized by him.

There is, then, the great, deep current of laissez-faire millions who represent the logical product of a great and wealthy nation, perpetually hoping for peace and prosperity, without doing anything about it.

There is finally a possible major current in the regional discontents and motivations of the different parts of America, whose orderly integration into the American democracy of the new era may well constitute the balance wheel, or whose disintegration might permit of chaotic movements subversive of American ideals.

This situation, however, we must remember not only represents a typical American paradox, but is symbolic of the realities of a complex societal evolution. The presumption would be that the multiplicity of these movements, together with the two-party system in the United States, would militate strongly against either communistic revolution or fascistic dictatorship.

Yet the combination of demagogic leadership and mass social pathology working in the framework of gross deficiencies and discontent may easily result in anything but orderly transitional democracy.

The specifications of social planning necessary to deal with the problem of this period appear to be fourfold. First of all, of course, there must be some sort of mastery—mastery of resources and forces. Second, such mastery implies knowledge of these forces and scientific work in their inven-

tory and direction. This means realistic, hard-boiled adaptation to the spirit and technique of the age.

It means further that there must be balance and equilibrium: between the individual and the group, between the old and the new, between folkways and stateways, between the nation and the states, between rural and urban, between agriculture and industry, between production and distribution.

In the third place, there must be some sort of referendum to the people such as will recognize diversity of interests, parties, states, regions, and races.

This means that an orderly planned society for America will provide for the reintegration of its several diverse regions into the national economy in order to obtain both unity and adequacy of economic and social life. These conclusions are based, furthermore, upon observations relative to the evaluation of society in general and especially of recent developments in Europe, as well as upon American premises.

Consequently the assumption seems warranted that the concentration of all major efforts of all parties and regions should be focused upon such orderly planned procedure as may reasonably be expected to receive the general sanction of the people. This is the supreme test of democracy set in competition with the other alternatives of chaos, revolution, supercorporate control and centralization, socialism, communism, and fascism.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 16: GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What is the difference between the terms "government" and "state"? Illustrate.
2. What concepts do you include in defining "democracy"?
3. What are some of the challenges to effective democracy in the United States?
4. What is meant by: (a) fascism, (b) communism, (c) national socialism, (d) monarchy, and (e) anarchy? Show clearly the differences as applied to democracy.
5. What trends indicate the possibility of any of these forms of government becoming popular in the United States?
6. What could happen to change the democratic processes?
7. What are some of the educational problems with which democracy is concerned?
8. What evidence is there to indicate a tendency toward regionalism in matters of government?
9. What is the significance to democracy of the closer relation of community to government?
10. What are some of the unofficial aspects of the citizens' part in government?
11. What is censorship and when should it exist in a democracy? Illustrate. What are some things government cannot regulate?
12. What should our attitude be toward people who are living under forms of government that differ from ours?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How may we illustrate democracy in action?
2. How may we illustrate the fact that democracy is not functioning properly?

3. How can liberty and democracy exist where there are glaring inequalities?

4. How does education build for democracy?

5. How are people being educated for political activity? List the activities.

6. How may we explain the meaning of the phrase "making democracy effective in the unequal places"?

7. How is the city enlisting the interest of people in government problems?

8. How has the New Deal stimulated government-consciousness and citizenship-consciousness?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effect or Result*

1. Why is the state called a major institution?

2. Why are the failures in the application of democratic principles insufficient to warrant discouragement or the abolishment of a democratic form of government?

3. Why should democracy be taught in the schools? What should constitute the course of study?

4. Why should control be utilized in a democracy? To what extent are they compatible terms?

5. Why is a system like the English control of the radio not popular here?

6. Why should the munition industry be owned by the government? Why not?

7. Why are so many people concerned about democracy at this time?

8. Why should we exert every possible effort to keep the essential concepts of democracy alive, vital, and practical?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Make a chart of the different forms of government—list types, essentials, and structure.

2. List wherein the various forms of government are essentially alike and fundamentally different.

3. Read the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of

Rights of the Federal Constitution. (See Glossary.) Indicate how they form the bases of democracy.

4. Illustrate what is meant by "freedom of speech." Give cases, decisions, and interpretations.

5. Offer arguments "pro and con" on the question of freedom of discussion of all political, economic, and social problems in the schools. Why are there objections to this kind of freedom? From whom?

6. Illustrate the meaning of the word "tolerant." Show specific cases.

7. Distinguish between "religious tolerance" and "religious freedom."

8. Write a paper on the values of tolerance along religious, social, and political lines.

9. Examine the editorials of a half-dozen outstanding newspapers. Can you detect evidence of partisanship, bias, class distinction, or religious bias?

10. Examine a dozen or more of some of the current columnists. Does the analysis indicate whether the writer is conservative, progressive, radical, or reactionary? What determined your classifications?

11. How many people in your community or state are eligible to vote? What per cent of them vote? Make a bar graph to indicate this. Does this look like democratic participation?

12. Secure a voting machine for your school and learn how it works by holding an election with it. The companies selling the machines are generally glad to have an opportunity to exhibit them.

13. Select a number of individuals and study their reasons for voting.

14. Make a list of superficial legislative acts.

15. To what extent is the local community divided into political factions?

16. Have reports on: (*a*) The Alien and Sedition Acts, (*b*) Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, (*c*) the Neutrality Law.

17. What complaints can the class make about democracy in action? Do facts justify the complaint? How may they be ameliorated or eliminated?

18. Indicate how regional treatment of government can expedite and enrich its functions and possibilities.

B. *To Plan*

1. Write a code that incorporates the fundamental concepts of democracy.

2. Plan practical ways to teach students the fundamentals of democracy and citizenship—perhaps a set-up within the school that permits participation in school government.

3. Collect books, bulletins, and other materials on citizenship and democracy for library use.

4. Organize an annual program of investiture of those in the community who reach the age of citizenship.

5. Write a constitution for a club. What are the steps to consider? First, you must have a community of interest, or some interest common to all eligible members. What is the purpose of your proposed organization?

6. Make a score sheet for democracy in government. What are the essential and diagnostic characteristics of a democratic national government that other types of government do not have?

7. Suggest ways of insuring a larger participation of citizens in matters of governmental concern, including means and methods of enlarging participation in voting and ways of teaching the prospective citizen the arts of using the ballot.

8. Suggest ways for making party conflict more wholesome.

9. Have an open forum on the proposal of reducing the voting age to eighteen years.

10. Plan a lecture series on the essentials of various forms of government and a comparison of these with democracy.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

fascism	state	messianic
hypothesis	dictum	stateways
social planning	socialism	extraregional
centralization	communism	laissez-faire
cycles (economic)	investiture	implementation
supercorporate control		totalitarian

B. *Selected Readings and References*

In *Recent Social Trends* more emphasis was placed upon government activities than upon any other area of contemporary American life. It will be profitable to make a special effort to report on Chapters XXI through XXIX and to check the facts and findings of these chapters with what has happened in the New Deal since they were written. These chapters are "Government and Society" by C. E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, "Law and Legal Institutions" by Charles E. Clark and William O. Douglas of Yale University, "Public Administration" by Leonard D. White of the University of Chicago, "Taxation and Public Finance" by Clarence Heer of the University of North Carolina, "The Growth of Governmental Functions" by Carroll H. Wooddy of the University of Chicago, "Public Welfare Activities" by Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, "Privately Supported Social Work" by Sydnor H. Walker of the Rockefeller Foundation, "Crime and Punishment" by Edwin H. Sutherland of the University of Chicago and C. E. Gehlke of Western Reserve University, and "Health and Medical Practice" by Harry H. Moore of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care.

It is important for the student to note here in his study the differences between government as a political institution and as a societal organization, looking toward the development of human welfare rather than as mere order or protection. In this way the student will learn that he cannot attempt to pass judgment on technical matters of government without becoming a specialist, but he can apply his social study to the numerous questions which come up, and he can find the way to profitable answers.

Some of the samplings of the extraordinarily large number of new volumes are given below.

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STRACHEY, JOHN. *The Menace of Fascism.* Covici, Friede, Inc., 1933.

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TOPIC 17: THE COMMUNITY

IN THE previous topics we have shown how democracy and government are in many ways the same thing in America; or they should be. In somewhat the same way, *community* is synonymous with democracy and with all American life and culture.

The beginnings of America may be pictured in the Mayflower Compact and much of its early history may be described in the stories of its communities, frontier towns, growing cities, isolated settlements, and thousands of villages scattered throughout the states. The community has been symbolic of self-government, of local initiative, and of the essential virtues of Americanism.

In all these pictures we envisage industrial communities set over against agricultural communities, the village over against the city. The community has often been symbolic of social problems as well as social life in general. More than all this, in the community itself, as an integral part of the total society, are involved many of the technical problems of public welfare and public health, public education and public finance, control of crime and pathology, recreation and citizenship.

Still more, the community is symbolic of the interrelations of all the institutions, somewhat as the government is symbolic of the development, direction, and protection of the other institutions. For in the community will be found living laboratories and processes of the home and family, the school and education, the church and religion, industry and work, government and public administration. In the community will also be found all that long catalog of minor social arrangements as embodied in com-

munity groups, clubs, fraternal orders, coöperative societies.

Perhaps there is no more appropriate way to introduce our discussion of the nature and problems of the community than with the example of a community pact entered into a little more than three hundred years ago, which is the archetype of all our American democracy and free institutions. The Mayflower Compact not only represents an ideal of a community of men and women coming together for certain definite and inclusive purposes of association and welfare. It also is appropriate to the plans and purposes of this discussion of community and government, in that it reveals the true basis and method of community and government working together:

> In the name of God, Amen. Doe by these presents solemnly and mutually, in ye presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together in a Civil body politick for our better ordering and preservation and furthermore of yet ends aforesaid and By Verture Hearof do enact, constitute, and frame such just and . equal laws, ordinances, Acts, constitutions and offices from time to time as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye general goode of ye colonie. Unto which we promise a due submission and obedience.

We may point out further how the community is linked up not only with the government but with the other institutions. Just as in the beginning of our government, expressed in the Mayflower Compact, and a year earlier in the "General Assembly" at "James City in Virginia," community and government were inseparably linked together, so in our present-day efforts to give renewed energy and meaning to democracy, we must find in community and government the hope of greater achievement.

Group self-government in the community is but the modern result of socially-minded citizens organizing for

"better ordering and preservation." For government in a democracy is of the citizens themselves, here and now in their midst, and not something apart and mystical. As the government is, so is the service of the citizen.

The individual in the community may wrongly think he can separate himself from his government; but if there be poor government, whether in health, education, protection, convenience, or any other respect, the citizen suffers. And poor government in the community, conversely, can be corrected only by the citizens themselves. Community organization, therefore, becomes one of the chief modes of good government.

The same statement is true of democracy itself. A great America composed of thousands of communities must, of a necessity, render its democracy through its communities. It has been said that "the technique of democracy is group organization." And former Justice Louis D. Brandeis expressed a similar sentiment when he affirmed that:

> The great America for which we long is unattainable unless that individuality of communities becomes far more highly developed and becomes a common American phenomenon.
>
> For a century our growth has come through national expansion and the increase of the functions of the federal government. The growth of the future—at least of the immediate future—must be in quality and spiritual value. And that can come only through the concentrated, intensified strivings of smaller groups. The field for the special effort should now be the state, the city, the village. . . . If ideals are developed locally the national ones will come pretty near taking care of themselves.

One may test the efficacy of democracy simply by observing the institutional services which it renders to the citizen in his community, in his home, in his school, and in his work.

Even the school, with its redirected programs for the teaching of active citizenship, finds the community, in the long run, its arbiter. For the school can be no more democratic than the community in whose image it is fashioned and the teachers whose training the community fosters; nor can the quality of its democratic education be much different from that of the community responsible for its personnel and government.

This conviction has led Professor Joseph K. Hart to conclude that "the democratic problem in education is not primarily a problem of training children; it is the problem of making a community within which children cannot help growing up to be democratic, intelligent, disciplined to freedom, reverent of the goods of life, and eager to share in the task of the age."

For the school and education, more than any other force perhaps, can make and remake the community after the fashion of socially-minded, self-governing and mutually participating groups. The school can offer its instruction and its plant for the centering of community activities and for the promotion of community knowledge and spirit. The school can teach its citizenship with these ideals in view and upon the actual working basis of community projects and community interest. In this process the teachers and administrative officials themselves will become better grounded in the fundamentals of local and state government and will thereby become better teachers and better officials.

The community, therefore, may become for the school the greatest laboratory of citizenship. Although it is true that the school itself may become a little democracy, utilizing its organization and its functions in the promotion and practice of self-government, the real laboratory for democ-

racy must be in the community. Here are all the institutional modes of life as expressed in the home, the school, the church, the state, and industry or work. Here are the scores of "little states" themselves. Here are opportunities for organic democracy, political democracy, and educational democracy. Here are citizens in the making and older citizens in the remaking. Here are problems of association and recreation; of government and politics; of employment and leisure; and of all the other human interests. When, therefore, the school can know its community and its citizens, and when the community can know its school and the school's work, new forces will have been released for the bringing up of well-trained citizens for the future.

It should be clear, therefore, that the community is an institution—one of the major institutions that make for civilization and social progress.

If one wishes to test the power and significance of the community as an institution, he need but inquire into the conditions in the family without community support; or in the school, or government, or in the church where the community is divided; or of labor where the community takes no thought for the welfare of its workers. Or, again, how is the community related to the opportunities and obligations of play and recreation; to general social life and pleasurable association; to voluntary organizations and benevolent societies; and to the many other forms of association which are not included in the other institutional modes of life?

The community's contributions, both good or evil, have been almost unlimited to its growing citizens. But even as the community must contribute to its fellow-institutions, so

must the home, the school, government, the church, and industry contribute their utmost to making the community a better place in which to live. This correlation of the institutions is one of the finer tests of communal democracy.

If there were further doubt as to the meaning of community, it would be necessary only to trace its development and influence in the past, to note its present molding of democracy, and to look forward to its growing power in local, national, and international development.

The history of peoples, of course, begins with the family; from the family grew, through association and coöperation in community efforts, the phratry, the gens, the clan, the tribe, the confederation, the nation, the empire. These organizations arose out of the imperative need of community coöperation for purposes of defense, subsistence, worship, special projects, and others. Association and the community of effort have been the beginning and the mode of survival. Where no community coöperation could be effected, survival was barely possible; community, therefore, becomes in its spirit and form a fundamental in the development of all society and government. The spirit of community is essential.

The American nation had not realized, prior to the World War, to what extent it was a community of communities; the aggregate of community organization and effort during the war made the total national power. And if one looks to the future, to possibilities of the international mind and international relations, it is very clear that community of interests and organization must be the mode of relationship. The larger communities of fellowship, learning, labor, and others, will contribute to whatever technique

may be discovered that will make for world peace and brotherhood. The school, in its promotion of community citizenship, draws on its age-old resources and is therefore working in harmony with its fundamental history and principles.

It is very clear, also, from all the above viewpoints, that the individual good is inseparably bound up in the community. If the aim of all our democracy and social progress be the highest possible development of the individual, through his social personality and relationship, it will be seen clearly that the community's relation to the individual is fundamental.

There have been individuals and families who believed that they were independent of the rest of the community; that they could live their own lives heedless of the needs and limitations of the community. Then came the day when disease or vice or poverty which they and others had allowed to permeate the group disproved their theory.

There have been families who held that no responsibility was theirs toward other families or toward the community's care of its members. And the day has come when disease or vice, permitted by them in the community, has entered the home and taken away all that was dearest in their lives and purposes. No individual or family can remain isolated from the community, and it becomes, therefore, not only a duty but a privilege and honor for every individual and every family to join hands in making the community a noble example of democratic opportunity. Even as in the history of the community, so today the individuals and groups who do not coöperate in communal democracy scarcely survive in the long run.

Of special importance, and illustrative also of the task of democracy, is the close interrelationship of community with

community. Evidence of this is abundant. It is clearly manifest in the school, where one community, having neglected its duty to the child, sends it on to another community; it is evident in the counties, where one county, having neglected its opportunities for rendering health and education service to its children, turns them over as burdens to another county. It is evident in the matter of work and morals; in progressive and nonprogressive tendencies; and wherever communities touch in social relationships.

It is very clear, therefore, that each community must find a positive obligation in developing its highest organization and service, and likewise must contribute wherever possible, by example and participation, to the promotion of the highest development of community welfare everywhere. The very basis of uniform citizenship and democracy rests upon uniform community development and services everywhere.

The community as a type of "little society" may be studied as somewhat similar to the whole of society. it recapitulates much of the experience of the people. Thus, there is a rural community and an urban community. The rural community problems may be studied somewhat after the fashion of the nation, namely, its background of physical resources, its people, its institutions, and its planning. So, too, the urban community finds its background in situation and location and its growth and development in the basis of technology and change, while its people and its institutions epitomize the modern society, especially in terms of complexity and problems of adjustment.

One way to consider the urban community is to set up a possible score card which would look toward attainable standards in community services. In addition to general considerations, such as might apply to the small town, to the village, and to conditions which might promote good

government and civic interest, the following features would seem to make a complete community:

Location and position
General administration
Financial organization and methods
Town planning
Sanitation and housing
Public health
Public welfare
Public safety
Public works and utilities
Public recreation
Public education
Voluntary and civic services
Services to the rural community

In a similar way it is possible to characterize the rural community, although it is perhaps not quite so easy to score the rural community.

In any consideration of modern equivalents for the qualities of the older rural life, there must, of course, be taken into account the recent change in the relative situation of rural and urban areas. The time was when isolation, limited school facilities, poor home equipment, and lack of medical care were the common lot and therefore not marks of fundamental inequality. This is not the case now. Because of the greater opportunities now afforded the majority of the population in industrial and urban areas, these rural limitations now represent actual inequalities of opportunity and violate the very elemental principles of democracy. For our purposes there appear to be twenty elementary divisions of country and village life upon which social study and social work may center. These divisions are listed on the next page.

1. The farmer and his work
2. The business of buying and selling
3. Good roads and transportation
4. Communication
5. Rural finance
6. Organization and coöperation
7. Health and sanitation
8. Social satisfactions
9. The country church
10. The country school
11. Civic efforts and other education
12. The country newspaper promotion
13. Country womanhood
14. The country home and family
15. Rural esthetics
16. Development of rural leadership
17. Recognition of rural leadership
18. Rural values
19. Commercial growth and expansion
20. Coöperation with government

The analysis of rural social problems as just given is adapted to thorough study of limited topics as well as to a comprehensive view of the whole field. Naturally, the topics overlap; so do the activities and problems of country life. By subdividing the elementary problems of country life into smaller units, the student is enabled to study them thoroughly, item by item. The social worker, the farm-demonstration agent, the public-health nurse, and other workers are enabled to attack separate problems without becoming discouraged at the difficulty or size of their tasks.

In general, the twenty-item analysis may be grouped into three larger units. The first six headings, for instance, tend to emphasize the business factors of farm life; the next nine tend to emphasize the social and cultural factors; while the last five relate to education, leadership, and social direction,

through which the other objectives may be reached. From the viewpoint of this volume, each of the twenty topics represents an element of country life. That is, if country life is weak in any one of the aspects listed, the whole is incomplete, and the rest of the parts are likewise handicapped for the lack of the missing item. Furthermore, each of the items listed is distinctive of the *country community* rather than of the community at large.

Many people think that one of the happiest modes of American life will be found in the rural-village life of the future, where the facilities and conveniences brought about by science may be turned toward the enrichment of life.

A good way to envisage the activities and problems and programs of our communities is to look at the type of agencies, civic and governmental, that are at work "for the better ordering of our society," as the Mayflower Pact puts it. It is possible to divide these into three main categories.

The first includes those agencies which look to the economic and physical well-being of the community, such as planning boards, chambers of commerce, garden clubs, beautification agencies, engineering and architectural societies, and certain branches of the service clubs, such as the Rotary Club and the Kiwanis.

The second is the educational and character building groups, such as the schools, public and private, boys and girls clubs, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and branches of the service clubs, such as the Rotary Club and the Kiwanis.

The third group may be called the social service group, and this includes public-welfare and social-work agencies of various sorts, private and public, the Community Chest and Social Service Exchange.

In each of these divisions, many state, national, and community organizations have branches of their work de-

voted to special phases. That is, the Federation of Women's Clubs promotes beautification and development of the community physically, civic education and instruction, and special social service activities for children and the needy. The same is true of many of the fraternal organizations and the service groups, as mentioned above.

A good project for the student to work on is to enumerate the agencies in his community and classify them in accordance with these three main groupings.

In her new book of 1939, *Your Community*, Miss Joanna C. Colcord seeks to help the student and citizen by analyzing the subject in nineteen divisions. These divisions may well offer another score card for understanding and rating the community. Here are the themes:

1. Your community: how to study its health, education, safety, and welfare
2. Community setting, founding, and development
3. The local government of the community
4. Provisions for dealing with crime
5. Provisions for public safety
6. Workers, wages, and conditions of employment
7. Housing, planning, and zoning
8. Provisions for health care
9. Distribution of health care
10. Provision for the handicapped
11. Educational resources
12. Opportunities for recreation
13. Religious agencies of the community
14. Public assistance
15. Special provisions for family welfare
16. Special provisions for child care
17. Foreign born and racial group
18. Clubs and associations
19. Agencies for community planning and coördination

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 17: THE COMMUNITY

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What makes the community a major institution?
2. What concepts are included in a definition of the term "community"?
3. What concepts are not related to our present analysis?
4. What is meant by one's (a) work community, (b) home community, and (c) play community?
5. To what extent has the community acquired some of the functions of the family?
6. What evidence is there to indicate that the community is gaining in social power?
7. What are your community's provisions for (a) recreation, (b) health, and (c) libraries? Are they adequate for present needs and future growth?
8. What are the advantages and disadvantages of planning and zoning?
9. What evidence is there of a growing interest in a world community?
10. What are the distinct differences between a rural and an urban community? Are there advantages of one over the other?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How is the term "neighborhood" related to "community"?
2. How may a community concept include a nation or a group of nations?
3. How have numerous inventions, of recent years, changed community life?
4. How can it be determined where one community begins and another ends?

5. How is the community gaining more and more power over the life of the individual? In what ways?

6. How may the term community be applied to (*a*) the city, (*b*) the state, or (*c*) the region?

7. How may the region be thought of as a community?

8. How can community morale be developed?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why may the term "community" apply to rural, village, or urban life?

2. Why is it important for one to know and understand the community in which he lives?

3. Why is it more difficult to draw definite lines of demarcation between communities within the city than in rural areas?

4. Why do different economic levels separate peoples into communities?

5. Why are rural and urban life becoming more interdependent?

6. Why does the city planning movement lead to regional planning?

7. Why is a slum area a liability to a community? Discuss.

8. Why should the community be alert to check any forces of pathology that may appear?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Describe various types of communities.

2. Study the local community and classify it as to "type."

3. Study a half-dozen communities and classify them according to type.

4. Write up a half-dozen cases where the interests of individuals and community conflict.

5. Give concrete cases of the (*a*) rivalries and (*b*) coöperation of different communities.

6. Enumerate the chief disorganizing forces in a given community.

7. Make a table of the community influences on the life of a person.

8. Take an inventory of the principal organizations of the community interested in its betterment. What is being done?

9. Draw a map of the community of some near-by city. Locate its community of interests according to race, nationality, religion, education, and economic levels.

10. Make a camera study of your community indicating good and bad features.

11. Study various forms of city management; give benefits and weaknesses of each. Which plan or combination of plans do you believe best?

12. Find out what is meant by "zoning." Illustrate its benefits and give illustrations of it in practice.

13. What responsibility should the community accept in relation to (*a*) health, (*b*) recreation, and (*c*) relief?

14. Indicate many kinds of waste due to the lack of farsighted leadership in plans for community growth and expansion.

B. *To Plan*

1. Devise a plan by which you can measure a community according to definite standards that you establish.

2. Have the class make a community survey and formulate a program designed to improve local community situations.

3. Appoint a committee to find out what has been accomplished in the planning of your community. How are the plans kept up to date?

4. Invite a city planning expert to address your class or school.

5. List the beauty spots and eyesores in your community. Are the beauty spots safe for the future? What can be done about the eyesores?

6. Report on the community problems of (*a*) safety, (*b*) accidents.

7. Describe any blighted areas in your community. Why do they exist? Can anything be done to rehabilitate them?

8. Study the community planning aspects of several recent large-scale housing projects. Obtain information from the United States Housing Authority in Washington.

9. Have each member of the class describe his concepts of an ideal community.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

clan — gens
phratry — tribe
archetype — arbiter
farm-demonstration agent

B. *Selected Readings and References*

In *Recent Social Trends*, R. D. McKenzie's Chapter IX on "The Rise of Metropolitan Communities" and J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner's Chapter X on "Rural Life," together with their subsequent monographs on *The Metropolitan Community* and *Rural Social Trends*, tend to provide adequate material for ample elementary study.

Other studies may be made from a more nearly economic viewpoint, through the many publications and agencies of the federal government, looking toward assistance to the farmer and parity in agricultural prices. There is, of course, the long-time societal problem of balance and equilibrium between rural and urban life, as well as the concrete social problems involved in the various communities themselves.

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TOPIC 18: INDUSTRY AND WORK

WE HAVE pointed out how the institutions of government and the community are both symbolic of American democracy. Government is the symbol of the rule of the people and the tool for "the American dream" of opportunity. The community represents the smallest of the groups in which the whole democratic process can be typified.

Yet in the midst of the modern complex urban and industrial world, many people feel that in industry and in the economic order must be found the physical basis for democracy. For without work and living wages men cannot be free.

The American system of government and economy provided that men should be free to work. This freedom was basic to the democratic process. In the earlier days with few occupations, with unlimited lands and the western frontiers, men could expand, and free competition worked few hardships. Now that the society of the nation is more complex and the people more numerous, we have to work hard on plans to give this American opportunity to millions of Americans who are crowded in the cities and are affected not only by American prosperity, but also by European wars and conflicts which disturb commerce and markets.

Evidences of inequality in the economic world are found in the income and standards of living; in the poverty and wealth of the people; in opportunities for work, which we have already mentioned. We must study all of these in order to plan how we might build a new America better than the old.

This topic on industry and work will be one of the hard-

est we have to study. We will have to quote some figures. We will have to raise some questions which we know the student cannot answer now. But the student will grow into the citizen who will eventually solve these problems.

We shall look at two kinds of problems in this unit. One is a continuation of our study of labor—the worker and his problems. The other is the broader type of economic problem in which the whole fabric of American work and prosperity is involved.

We have already said much about the type of worker and the growth of labor organization. We need next to study particularly the social problems which arise through the relation of the laborer to his employer, to society and to life in general. We may begin by emphasizing the simple fact of the importance of work in the whole scheme of human society. For the institution of industry has been sadly neglected. Work is a law of life and happiness. Work is an essential to growth and progress. The form and means, therefore, which give adequate opportunity for all citizens to work must surely be a sanctioned institution of society. This institution may be called *industry* and includes the means of production—capital, labor, business, and occupations.

Certainly the institution of industry is most comprehensive, because the whole mass of democratic citizens have a part in it and its services. Certainly, therefore, conditions of labor and the relations between capital and labor are essential in any study of popular government. Certainly, therefore, the conditions of child labor and of women in industry are parts of the people-citizens' business of government. Certain it is that the opportunities for all those who work—and they should represent all the people—constitute an important field of community endeavor and offer a wide

field for service. The promotion of a new respect for work and the promotion of a better understanding between those who perform detailed tasks and those who employ such workers may well become one of the supreme tasks of citizen statesmanship.

It seems probable that if society had in the past considered the processes of industry and work to be as fundamental as the institutions of government and family and religion, a majority of the maladjustments due to conflict between capital and labor might have been avoided. Our viewpoint in this volume, therefore, recognizes industry and work as one of the fundamental social institutions.

We have called attention to the fact that to many students of the modern scene, the chief struggle in the 1930's, following the crest of the economic achievement of the 1920's, was the conflict between business and government, between the order of economics and the forces of government.

Whether this be true or not, so vivid has the picture of the economic world become, so rapid and sweeping have been its recent movements, that the whole drama of the national life appeared to focus upon economic policies and procedures, and upon such corollaries as security and employment.

Here was the amazing picture of the erstwhile dull and prosaic economic theory of *production, distribution, use, control of goods, money and banking, gold,* and the *operating processes* of the economic order, suddenly becoming chief actors in the nation's greatest dramatic episode.

In earlier days and in the stereotyped patterns of American progress the formula for the artificial or capital wealth of the nation would have appeared to be a simple one. Natural wealth plus technological wealth, with the people

at work in free private enterprise, would constitute the logical picture of the nation's artificial wealth or capital wealth. That is, the picture of the nation's invested capital, its industry, its costs and assets, its bank deposits, and the other parts of the world's created goods would be largely a matter of the amount and kind of science, technology, and management which had come into the picture.

What were the products of land, of mines and forests and streams? What of railroads and ships and factories and stores? What of capitalist and investor and banker and millionaire? The picture would show so much wealth here, so much there; the absence of it in one place, abundance in another; a big increase here, smaller increment there, all flowing freely and unmolested, save by competitive processes, through the channels of national free private enterprise. It was a picture to boast about, to present as a supreme entity, characteristic institution of the new America, the culminating activities of a powerful, satisfied people.

Of this characteristic economic picture there were many stock Americana. One was the rise of the common man and of the rugged individual from low station to a position of high esteem and prosperity. Every man's goal was the ownership of home, or home and farm, or success in his chosen vocation with accompanying comforts, convenience, social standing in the community such as would come from duly rewarded thrift and industry. Another vivid picture was the rise of the millionaire, the increase in wealth of the middle class, and the ambition of every man somehow, someday, to attain financial eminence.

Few more characteristic and absorbing episodes could be found than the magnificent evolution which followed the third of a century after the death of Lincoln, in which "rich men grew to millionaires and millionaires, be-

came masters of hundreds of millions of wealth." William E. Dodd has pictured it: "Fortunes pile high upon fortunes. The scattering millionaires of 1860 multiplied till they were like the sands of the sea in number. Men travelled first in special cars, luxuriously fitted out, then in special trains with private diners, parlour cars, smokers, and with liveried servants to attend their wants. They built yachts that only monarchs like William II could rival. Their palaces occupied blocks and double blocks in the great cities, costing often millions of dollars and requiring more than princely incomes to keep them going. Not only in the cities did these mansions rise. In the favored parts of New England, in the Adirondacks, or upon the high ridges of Pennsylvania, beautiful summer homes and vast private parks advertised the presence of men it were worthwhile for ordinary mortals to cultivate."

Although times had changed a great deal since the multiplication of millionaires after the War between the States, the ratio of increase appeared to be even greater in the period following the World War. It has been estimated that 20,000 millionaires rose and flourished during that period. In 1929, there were:

513 multimillionaires with taxable incomes equal to or greater than $1,000,000.

1,482 with incomes equal to or greater than $500,000,

4,053 with $250,000.

14,677 with $100,000.

Here was the United States, a literal giant of the western world which had waxed strong and powerful and big, face to face with the age-old evolutionary problem of saving itself from bigness and artificial growth and technology and from the stupidity of the too-quickly and too-powerfully grown nation which does not adapt itself either to its own

nationalistic economy or to international economic environment.

The economic picture showed not only bigness—a nation claiming perhaps a twentieth of the world's population, boasting of doing half the world's work, producing more than half of the world's many commodities, owning forty per cent of the world's gold supply and colossal wealth —but a nation incredibly confused and entangled in its own economic and financial difficulties.

It could boast of the long, long count of from $240,000,000,000 to $300,000,000,000, unaccountable dollars of wealth, but it had multiplied its debts until it owed more than $200,000,000,000, or something like four-fifths as much as the aggregate market value of its property. Its debts, if suddenly called, would take a five-year income to pay them off.

The nation which Washington had implored to keep free from entangling alliances and which Jefferson had admonished to leave its manufacturing to Europe, now had $26,000,000,000 overseas investment, had developed into a creditor nation to the extent of more than $11,000,000,000, and had at one time been the leading export nation of the world with the greater part of its exports, except cotton, consisting of manufactured goods.

And its annual manufactured products for 210,710 establishments in 1929 had reached an aggregate value of $70,137,459,000. These manufacturing establishments employed 8,807,536 wage earners and paid them an annual amount of wages of more than $11,640,000. Jefferson had designated such "artificers as the panderers of vice and the instruments by which the liberties of the country are generally overturned"; but the NRA required them to be paid higher wages than many teachers' salaries. As if in re-

sponse to Jefferson's admonition that "for the general operations of manufacture let our workshops remain in Europe," the nation boasted of no less than sixteen industries rated as "billion-dollar babies."

That was, of course, only a small part of the entire picture. One feature at which the European visitors marveled was that so small a proportion of the people controlled so large an amount of wealth and that the inequalities of income stood out in such incredible contrast. A close inspection of the picture revealed a group representing one per cent of the population and owning sixty per cent of all wealth, while a number not exceeding thirteen per cent of the population owned ninety per cent of the wealth.

Or if one examined the picture still more minutely, he could find eighty individuals holding nearly 300 directorships in over 200 corporations, which, in turn, had total assets in 1931 of more than $47,000,000,000—more than a fourth of all the corporate wealth of the nation.

Or to show still another part of the picture, 200 corporations controlled nearly half of all the corporate wealth of the nation, while fewer than 500 controlled ninety per cent of such wealth.

Furthermore, the greater part of the surplus wealth of the nation and especially its control were centered in the Northeastern Region of the nation.

Thus, of the taxable incomes of $1,000,000 or more, 388 out of the total of 513 were in the Northeast, of which 276 were in New York; and of 1,482 incomes of $500,000 or more, 1,082 were in the East.

Still more concentration was reflected in the picture of incomes of $100,000 or more, of which New York had 5,538 as contrasted to the next-high states of Illinois and Pennsylvania, which had fewer than 1,400 each.

There were countless other interesting aspects of the picture, such as, for instance, the banking and financial system, which could accommodate transactions for $300,000,000,000 worth of property, for $200,000,000,000 worth of debts, could report actual banking deposits of $40,000,000,000, although the total amount of money in the United States was only $9,000,000,000.

This amazing picture of the economic nation was understandable only through the continued and exhaustive examination of its history and development.

Giant industry taking the place of declining agricultural opportunity.

Rapid urbanization transforming a nation overnight.

The development of early American free private enterprise into a gigantic modern industrial capitalistic system.

The swift onrush of machine industry.

The increase of specialization and the spreading out of labor.

The concentration of business and industry into larger units with resulting scientific management and business organization.

The organization of labor and the struggles between capital and labor.

The rapid rise of speculative production and of the credit economy which has distinguished the nation.

But there were many other elements entering into the picture. There were the quantity production of the postwar period, the change of the United States to a creditor nation, the complex of international situations, the high-powered selling and credit era, the hectic speculation epoch of the late 1920's, and many others. Then came the self-perpetuating depression cycle. There had been the ac-

credited overproduction which had resulted in overselling and overstocking.

There was a saturation point beyond which the people could not buy—

Beyond which the merchants could not stock.
Beyond which the bankers could not lend.
Beyond which factories could not operate.
Beyond which workers could not be employed.
Beyond which wholesale unemployment set in.
Beyond which buying power began to ebb.
Beyond which there were no profits.
Beyond which the people could not pay debts or taxes.
Beyond which confiscation began to mount.
Beyond which not only a fourth of the nation's workers were out of work and incapable of buying goods, but millions of the best citizens were of necessity on the relief roll.

One-third of all the banks of the nation failed between 1930 and early 1933. In most communities the majority of the wealthiest citizens had lost both wealth and prestige, half the people had been "ruined" financially, thousands had died of the strain, other thousands had broken under it, and many others had committed suicide in ways more numerous and devious than the nation had yet witnessed. Many other thousands had resorted to every known device for survival until the faith and morale of the nation were at the cracking point. New highs were reached in the tragic multiplication of wanderers and transients, and in the mass treatment of those under the relief program. Multiplied millions of public money took the place of former private philanthropy, the stream of which had dwindled down to a trickling, sluggish flow.

The picture was made more serious and more vivid by the world-wide depression and by epochal events transpir-

ing in other nations, by the ominous threat of still more tragic chaos and by the constant fear of war.

Men began to question the social order.

No one could point the way out.

The capitalistic system in America was challenged by individuals from practically all classes of people.

The past was forgotten save in condemnation. All manner of remedies and panaceas were poured upon the nation.

Sinister forces lay in wait for the spoils.

Thousands of conscienceless individuals and groups stood ready to rebuild their fortunes on the calamities of the unfortunate host of the nation.

The overwhelming defeat of President Hoover in the fall of 1932 showed the stock American picture of the people holding one man responsible for the troubles into which they had rushed headlong of their own accord.

No man, it was agreed, could be elected in the face of 15,000,000 unemployed who held him responsible.

It would have been a grand picture of a confused democracy in a confused world—if there could have been found any who stood afar off and viewed it as a master struggle of humans and human institutions against tremendous economic odds.

By the spring of 1933, under the popular dictum of President Franklin D. Roosevelt that the country demanded action and demanded it now, the Congress of the United States had declared with rare unanimity that an emergency existed in the nation, that the nature of the emergency was economic, and that drastic war-time measures were necessary to meet the situation. No more dramatic scene had probably been enacted in the history of the nation than that at Washington under the early days of the New Deal administration.

Rushed through both houses were scores of public acts calculated to save the country from economic bankruptcy and chaos and from what appeared to be the threat of complete breakdown of its institutions.

That the ship of state was being buffeted by violent economic storms was evident from an inventory of the Public Acts, beginning with such examples as Public Act No. 10, the AAA; No. 68, the ICA; No. 75, the FCA; No. 30, the USES, together with the giant NRA, FERA, the HOLC, the TVA. The Home Owners Loan Act, the Banking Act, the Securities Act, the Railroad Act, the Economy Bill, and a multitude of subdivisions with their series of concrete setups and empowering provisions, were forerunners to an extraordinary series of later arrangements and administrative techniques, such as the Resettlement Administration, later the Farm Security Administration; the Rural Electrification Administration, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the National Labor Relations Board, the Federal Housing Administration, and scores of others.

The picture showed not only the speedy enactment of these provisions but the amazing spectacle of the American people clamoring for their Congress to confer upon the President powers which, when granted, were commonly reputed to be the most extraordinary that any nation had ever conferred upon an executive.

Something of the bigness and variety of the American picture of industry at that time may be indicated by a list showing the rank of leading industries including both manufacturing and non-manufacturing:

Railroads
Textiles and their products
Machinery, not including transportation equipment
Public utilities, including power and light, telegraph, telephone

Electric-railroad and motor-bus operation and maintenance
Iron and steel and their products, not including machinery
Forest products
Construction and building
Mining and quarrying
Food and kindred products
Transportation equipment, air, land and water

There were as usual contradictory pictures of the future of agriculture. One was a picture of the new agriculture as predominantly machine farming, on large farms owned by commercial concerns with ever-increasing use of inventions and fewer men. There was the cotton picker which would do the work of forty Negroes or the multiple-purpose corn harrow or the threshing machine which might do the work of 100 men. It was pointed out that by 1930 over half of all farms had automobiles, and that about fifteen per cent had trucks, besides a great many other types of farm mechanical equipment.

On the other hand, the picture was presented, following actual facts of 1933 trends, to show that whenever the big farms owned by banks and insurance companies were sold, the tendency was invariably to break them up into smaller units. The statistics showed a regular decrease in the size of farms. Likewise, during the depression years the use of machine cultivation had decreased tremendously.

The great decrease in exports threatened to make commercial farming unprofitable, while there seemed to be a definite trend toward self-sufficing farming, with very large increase of the balanced live-at-home operations. These trends were as yet unmeasurable; what was vivid and measurable was the plight of the farmer.

Farm mortgages aggregated $8,500,000,000, nearly as much as the total money in circulation in the nation.

Forty-two per cent of all farms were affected by mortgages which totaled about one-fourth of all farm land values. Here, as elsewhere, there were great regional differences. Sixty per cent of the mortgages were in eleven states, largely in the great Middle States farming area. Nearly one-sixth of the farms were mortgaged up to three-fourths of their value. There was the picture of a single federal land bank owning 1,100,000 acres of land and operating more than 4,000 farms in three states only, with the reasonable prospect that the amount would be doubled before the end of 1934.

Here were actual indices of the farmer's plight. How was he to pay debts which had more than doubled out of an income cut in half? Or how could he pay anything with his products selling far less than cost, his state and federal government forcing him to increasingly high costs of equipment and inspection, and confiscating his herds of cattle in disease-eradication programs? Couldn't someone, he asked again and again, work out the answer?

Three-fifths of all mortgages and real estate securities were in trouble. With a fifty per cent decrease in income and a forty per cent decrease in rentals, how were these debts to be paid? Worse, how could the property be saved at all?

And there was a huge family indebtedness of more than $11,000,000,000, so that nearly a fifth of the family budget must be allotted to interest and amortization.

Industrial corporations had an indebtedness of $10,500,000,000, perhaps a fifth of tangible assets.

Railroads showed a long-time debt of $13,000,000,000 and were still borrowing money from the government.

Their net earnings were short more than $350,000,000, which would be required to pay interest and maturing

bonds. Here was stark contrast to the early romance of railroads, fortune makers, remakers of the nation.

The picture of America's indebtedness was an extension of the picture of her rapid expansion:

The colossal dealings in foreign securities and trade.

Multiplying tools of production for foreign consumption.

Colossal real estate developments throughout the nation.

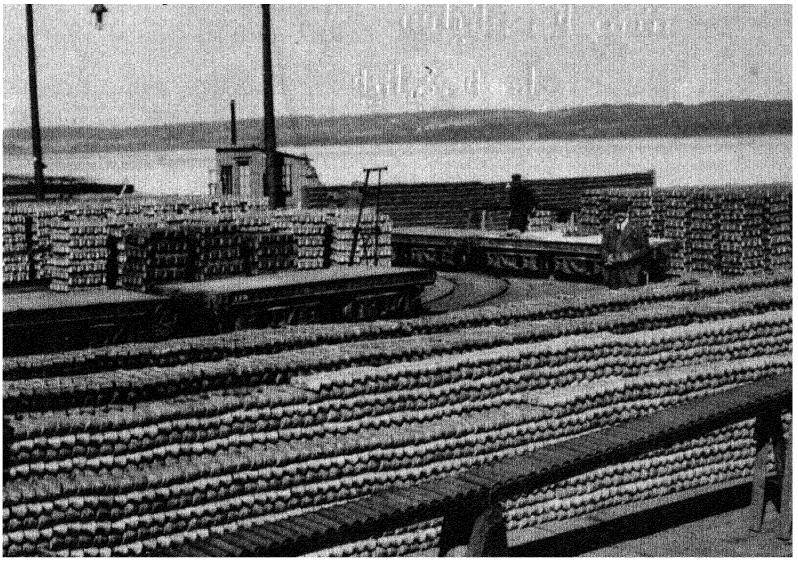
The trend toward corporations and other consolidated efforts, such as banks, newspapers, the rise and increase of chain stores.

There were more than 7,000 chain stores of all kinds with approximately 160,000 unit stores variously distributed throughout the country.

There were at least 50,000 units of another type of groccry coöperative chain store 700 strong.

The astonishing picture of consolidation in the United States was reflected in the merger movement. In manufacturing and mining more than 8,000 concerns disappeared; 4,300 in public utilities; and nearly 1,800 in banking. An indication of the size to which consolidation had grown was found in the spectacle of 200 out of the 300,000 non-financial corporations controlling nearly half of the corporate wealth and nearly a fourth of all wealth of the nation. They were an integral part of the American system which had brought the nation to a crisis. They determined much of the national economy to affect smaller companies, to fix prices, to control policies, to develop or retard communities and regions, to direct institutions.

It was estimated that at the current rate these corporations by 1950 would control practically the entire wealth of the nation. Even as early as 1930 it was estimated that 2,000 individuals, themselves subject to no control, were able to direct and control half of the nation's industry.



Top and bottom, Ewing Galloway

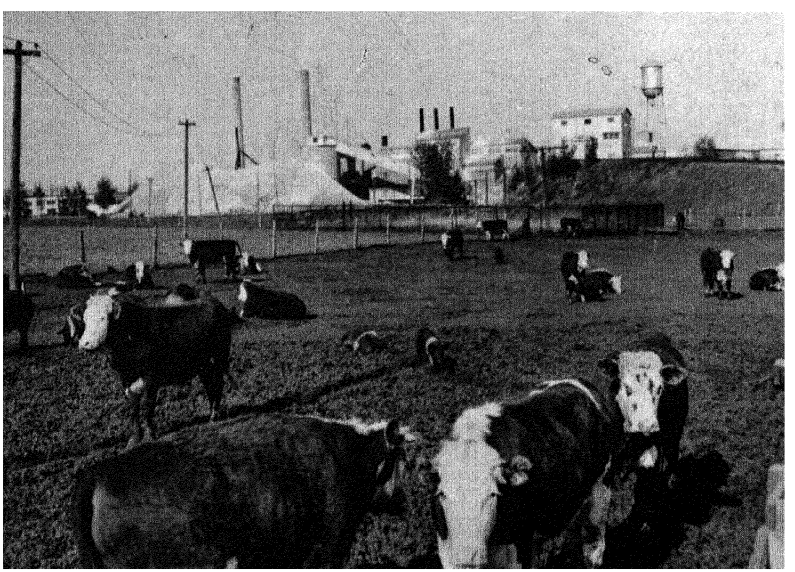
ıdustry: Bars of copper awaiting shipment, and pyramided bars of silver are the products of industry and the materials for industry.

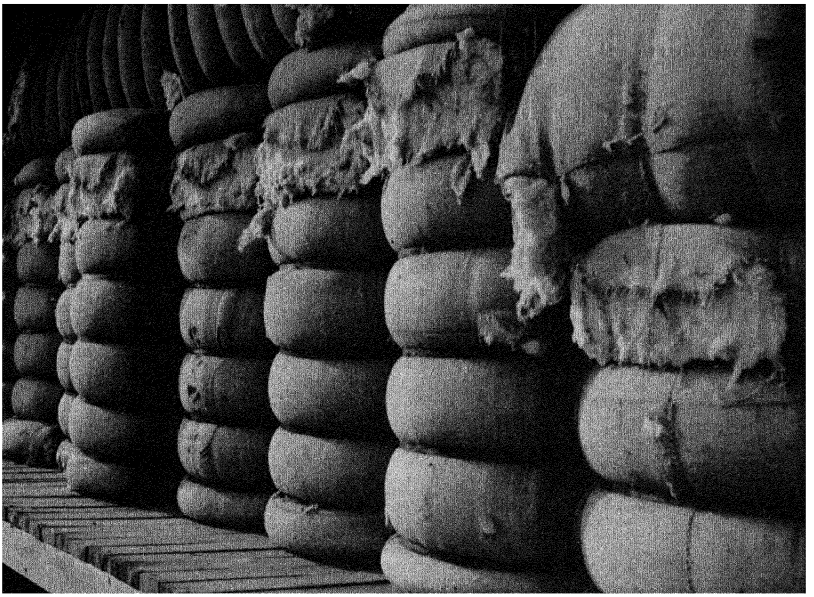




Top and bottom, Ewing Galloway

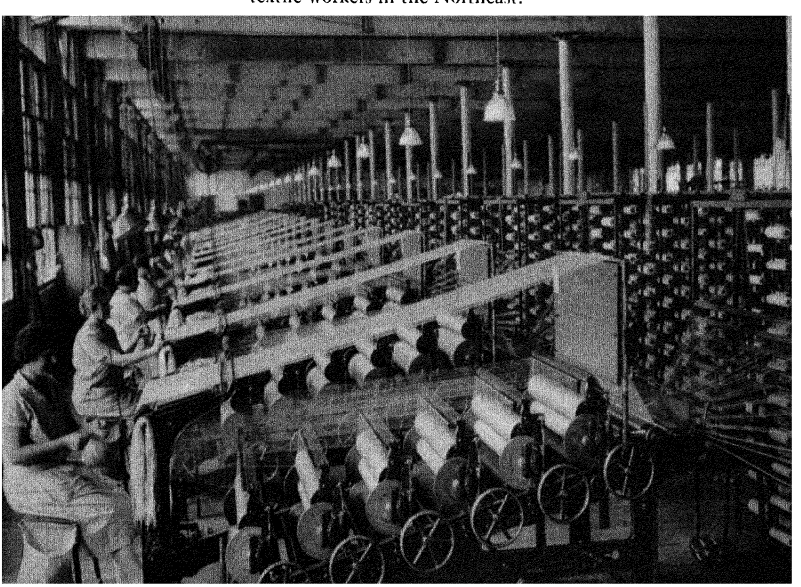
Armies of logs in strict formation, and herds of cattle move steadily into the nation's markets.

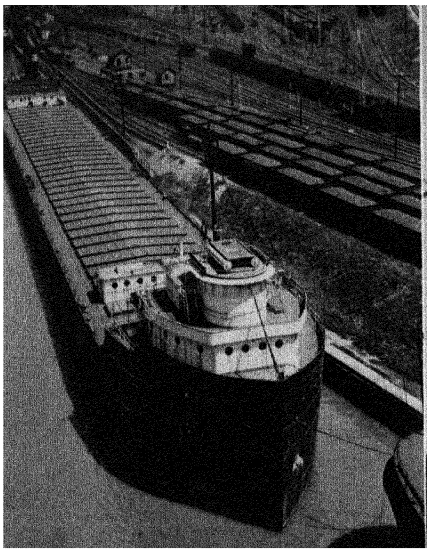


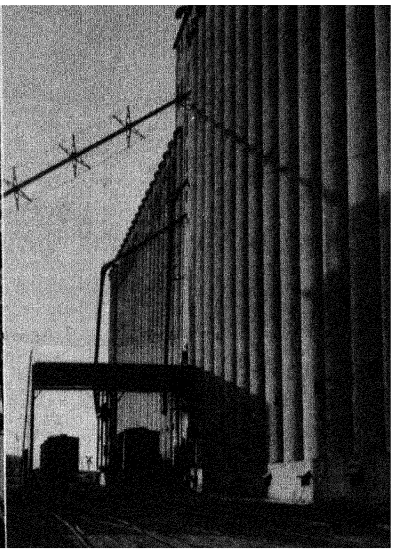


Top and bottom, Ewing Galloway

Bales of cotton from Southern regions are transformed into fabric by textile workers in the Northeast.

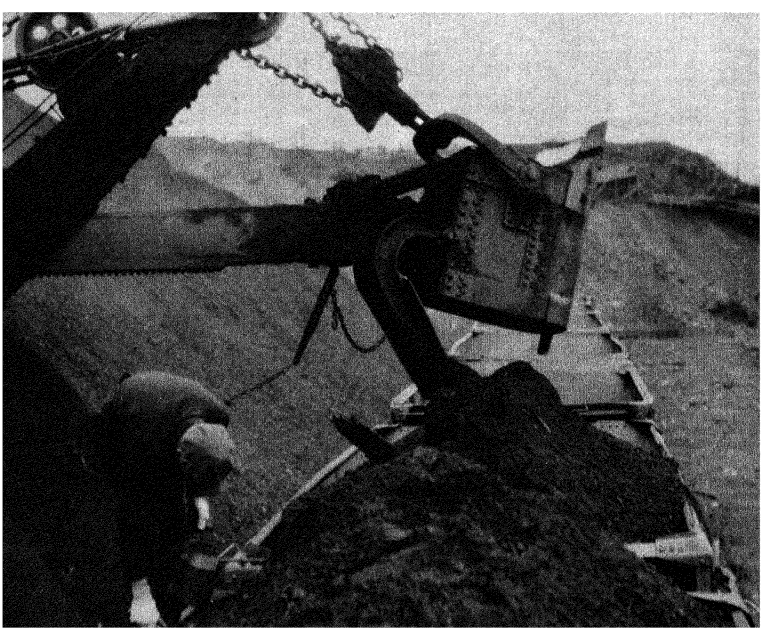






Top and bottom, Ewing Galloway

Lean, strong freighters; classical columns of grain elevators; a tenacious steam shovel loading iron ore—these are parts of the industrial picture.



Furthermore, the large corporation had come to dominate or influence practically all the industry of the nation and, together with the great banking consolidations, had come to direct budgets, determine appropriations, and greatly influence states and cities through their financial power.

The range and vividness of the picture were further shown in the names and nature of these 200 corporations, which in themselves gave a fair picture of the transformation of natural wealth by technological wealth into artificial wealth. Here were gross assets of more than $67,000,000,000 distributed among from forty to fifty public utility companies.

Thirty-seven others were gas and electrical companies.
Forty or more were railroad companies.
Twenty-seven were chemical industries, of which twenty produced petroleum.
Thirteen were companies engaged in the food, drug and tobacco industries.
Ten produced machinery.
Four were automobile manufacturers.
Two were electrical-equipment companies.
Seventeen were in the metal industry.
Four produced rubber.
Two were transportation companies.
Three were paper companies.
Nine were mercantile companies.
One company was engaged in real estate; one in the textile industry; one in the lumber industry; one in the glass industry; and one in the leather industry.

This picture of the corporations suggested the oft-repeated query of the 1930's as to whether in the next period of American development economics would dominate government or whether government would dominate economics. The American way had been to combine the two,

sometimes to the indirect overdominance of politics by business. It would not be easy to change the picture. Yet here was another test of planning.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 18: INDUSTRY AND WORK

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. Discuss the responsibility of capital, labor, and the public to one another.
2. What has been the history of employer-employee relations for the past ten years in the local community?
3. From a scientific viewpoint, what are the most plausible means of adjustment between capital and labor?
4. What is meant by the "capitalistic system?" Find out what is meant by "collectivism."
5. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the above systems?
6. Characterize the coöperative system in a few words.
7. Find out what is meant by "tariff." Present different types.
8. Should there be a limit to what any one person can acquire or accumulate as to wealth?
9. What forms of legislation has labor been interested in promoting?
10. Study a particular strike. What were the losses to capital, labor, the public? What were the gains? Evaluate.

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How can industry best state its case to the public?
2. In what ways is the public concerned in capital-labor disputes?
3. How may modern industry avoid the mistakes of past years?

4. Find out what is meant by "competitive distribution."
5. How can a "living wage" be determined?
6. How can government aid business? To what extent is this aid necessary?
7. How can industry aid government?
8. Indicate methods of better relations between industry and agriculture.

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why labor organizations? Can they be justified?
2. Why has government entered the field of business and labor?
3. Why has there not been greater coöperation between school and industry?
4. Why should government assume the responsibility of the unemployed?
5. Why should wages and hours be regulated?
6. Will the future bring more or less control of (*a*) capital and (*b*) labor? Why? Go into this carefully.
7. Why objections to labor organizations? Discuss.
8. What results can be expected from constant changes in industry due to science and technology?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Trace the steps that account for government regulation of capital and labor—illustrations and results.
2. Catalog causes, historical and current, of the conflict between capital and labor.
3. Give examples of noted strikes with their causes and results and solutions.
4. Report on the activities of the New Deal in the field of capital and labor relations.
5. Give a brief account of the (*a*) American Federation of Labor and (*b*) Congress of Industrial Organizations. Why are they fighting each other?
6. Present the story of a sit-down strike. Analyze and interpret procedure.

7. What legislation exists to regulate wages, hours, and working conditions—federal and state?

8. Describe the organization and activities of the state labor board or commission.

9. What are the activities of the National Labor Relations Committee?

10. Compare and contrast the labor relations of capital-labor and government in (a) Russia, (b) Germany, (c) Italy, (d) Sweden, and (e) United States.

11. Present some of the distinct regional problems of industry.

12. Report on the activities of federal and state employment bureaus. Indicate results.

B. *To Plan*

1. Construct an ideal plan to assure everybody a chance, a living wage, and a bit of security. Why can't this be accomplished?

2. Offer suggestions of changes in the present system that should tend to bring about balance in the unequal places.

3. Work out a plan by which government and industry can coöperate for the best interest of both.

4. Create a plan to bring industry and agriculture into closer relations.

5. Plan to adjust the differences between labor organizations.

6. What suggestions can be made for a better distribution of the wealth of the nation?

7. Plan needed legislation, within the state, to create better labor conditions.

8. Offer suggestions to Big Business.

9. Plan the elimination of hazards to the public by strikes, lockouts, closed-shops, and other labor organization techniques.

10. Plan a long-time program designed to insure the best of labor-capital-people relations on democratic principles.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

panaceas	NRA	Americana
corporate wealth	increment	credit economy
creditor nation	buying power	speculative production
stereotyped patterns		

B. *Selected Readings and References*

In *Recent Social Trends* many of these aspects are discussed in the nine chapters already referred to in the previous chapter. In addition, Chapter V on "Trends in Economic Organization" by Edwin F. Gay and Leo Wolman and Chapter VI on "Shifting Occupational Patterns" by Ralph G. Hurlin and Meredith B. Givens, as well as Chapter XVI on "Labor Groups in the Social Structure" by Leo Wolman and Gustav Peck are all important treatments of this problem.

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Unit VII

The Institutions of the People: Cultural and Social Relationships

TOPIC 19: THE HOME AND FAMILY

THERE ARE several ways of studying the family and its problems of living and serving the community. One way is to study the history of the family as the basic institution of society. Another is to study the problems of the family in terms of family welfare, on the assumption that the stable family is essential to the good society, or that the problems of the family are the problems of society. Another way is to study the family as it has constituted the historic foundation of American democracy. Still another way is to study the characteristics of the modern family. And still another is to study the trends and changes in family life, in some such way as we study trends in other fields.

Typical of the historical study of the family is that of *The Family, Past and Present*, a volume prepared for the Commission on Human Relations by Bernard J. Stern. Here are some statements gleaned from the part dealing with the earlier development of the family:

In early times: The family varies in its form and in the function it performs.

The family varies in the values it passes on to coming generations.

The minimum human social and economic institution cannot be less than the family.

The potential germs of the clan lay in the traits of the family.

While the men were away hunting, the women cut and carried the firewood.

Wives prided themselves on economy and good management.

The typical household was founded on the principles of equality and independence of function.

Formerly a husband was chosen for a girl by her parents.

In relation to other persons the wife was a much more free agent than in many civilized countries at present.

When married, the wife was expected to live at home and give no trouble.

Under Roman law: complete subjection of the wife to husband on the legal side; complete equality on the moral and social side.

In the old Testament: The wife looketh well to the ways of her household.

In later medieval life: The women were largely segregated from the men and had their own fashions of life.

According to Martin Luther: The state of matrimony is the chief in the world after religion.

According to Catholic doctrine: The first parent of the human race pronounced the bond of matrimony perpetual and indissoluble.

In China: The family is seldom an independent unit, but a member of the greater family.

In the Victorian era in the industrial order: The home was little but a shelter. The father found the labor of his wife and his children often more sought after than his.

Typical of another approach to the study of the family is that of family welfare. It is generally agreed everywhere that stable families are the best guarantee for the future citizenship of a nation. The stable family gives the children a fair start in life. The stable family contributes to

the whole community welfare. The stable family is the smallest whole unit of the community society. The family typifies the religious, educational, and democratic process of life. Therefore, one way to study the family and to realize its significance is in terms of the total programs of family welfare. That is, when the family is not stable or when there is maladjustment, what are the provisions and programs of family welfare which are needed? Joanna Colcord proposes that both study and welfare can be promoted by attention to the following aspects:

Marital status and number of families
Formation of new families
Dissolution of marriages
The family court
Family finances, which include small incomes, home ownership, savings, income and investments
The promotion of family welfare
Care for adults out of their own homes

In all of these there are involved the several factors of individual relationships; of the state and community services; of economic opportunities and standards of earning; as well as of the problem of education for marriage and parenthood.

Another approach to the study of the family in general is through the study of the American family. We have pointed out in Topic 17 how much of the history and spirit of the United States has developed in the pioneer communities of the nation. In the same way, a large part of the story of the American people may be told in the biographies and drama of its families, and much of the character of the population may be seen from the family groupings today. This is true whether we are studying the great migrations to the West in terms of cultural history or whether we read the great novels of American life centered

in the episodes of many a typical family, or whether we seek realistic pictures of life today.

This key place of the family in American development coincides, of course, with the theoretical assumptions that the family is the basic institution upon which all society has been built. The rôle of the family in historical America, too, in contrast to its changing status, parallels the changing rôle of the family in most places the world over, as earlier cultures grow into more mature civilizations and as individuation tends to give way to coöperative processes. Here, again, the American emphasis upon the family in the course of development of a powerful nation has conformed to the sociological theory that the family constitutes a first unit of social study and planning.

From the first settlements throughout the early twentieth-century flood of immigration, the American people have been a unit in emphasizing the family as the basic institution of society. Old European stocks, new immigration stocks, Protestant, Catholic, refugees from debt, seekers after freedom from political bondage—all alike laid the family foundation of the nation. The family was also a religious sanction, based on Scripture and revelation, and it was a great economic institution in the agrarian days of the republic and later. Families were large; they lived in a rural home, worked at home and in the fields, spent little money; young people married early, "two could live as cheaply as one." They remembered the Sabbath to keep it holy, went to church and visited kinsfolk. Divorces were few, assuming proportions of discredit or scandal, and were hard to get.

Then as a result of time, technology, and change, the family in the American home by 1930 had come to average only about 3.5 persons, exclusive of relatives or dependents.

City families were larger in number but smaller in size than country families. Conditions of city life were not considered favorable for the rearing of children. In some parts of some cities there was evidence which led some students to predict that the time would come when parents with children would live outside the great metropolises and that the city schoolhouses would ultimately not be needed.

In the American family of the 1930's, one out of every six marriages was ending in divorce; one out of seven or eight married women earned money outside the home, which was an increase of more than half since the World War. In addition, more than a third of the families contributed more than one gainfully occupied member, and one-tenth of all families furnished more than two workers. And the home as the base of occupation, of supplies and of industries had long since passed except in rural and isolated areas where home industries still survived on a small scale.

Since the days of compulsory education and of restrictions on child labor, children were no longer considered financial assets to the family. Even on the farm the cost of "raising" and educating the child was such as to change the economic status of the family from its old position. Moreover, the employment of women outside the home, greater freedom of women, increasing standards and costs of living, decreasing earning capacity of children—all these have contributed to a greatly decreased birth rate.

About half of the families of the nation did not own homes and moved often, and in the cities about a fifth of all families lived in apartments. The family worked away from home, played away from home, and moved often from home to home, so that the picture of American home life in the 1930's was not the same as the old idyl symbolized by the "God Bless Our Home" mottoes that used to hang on

the wall. On the other hand, there were aspects of family life that pointed toward new heights of family values. New types of houses and equipment had brought comfort and convenience more nearly within the range of every family.

Alongside many other ways in which society was trying to strengthen the home and the family, recent study and efforts towards the improvement of housing ranked high. Significant trends in recent years were indicated in the eleven-volume reports of the President's Conference on Home Ownership and Home Building. One of these was the more economic utilization of land through social planning. Another was the application of scientific research and management to home planning and home building.

Important strides were being made to facilitate home ownership through redistribution of the tax burden, and improved methods of financing, including industrial housing, the reclaiming of slums and blighted areas, the improved means of transportation, the development of power facilities, the increased use of invention, and shop fabrication. Altogether, there had been considerable progress in making possible a greater home ownership, by lowering costs.

Some of the indices of progress in both the development of the home and the family may be measured in terms of technological advance, and some of the handicaps may be indicated in terms of technological influences which take members of the family away from the home. If we look merely at the *physical home*—that is, the housing arrangements and equipment—, it is relatively easy to add up recent changes to net an almost total gain. The modern home has gained in general esthetic standards and in conveniences, so that it is often pointed out that the humblest factory worker may now have more comfort and luxury than the richest of

the earlier nobility. Some of the measurable indices of gain are windows and lighting systems, refrigeration and heating facilities, plumbing and sanitation, running water and vacuum cleaners, telephone and radio, books and literature, medicines and gadgets of convenience and health, comfort and convenience in kitchen and bedroom through a thousand inventions, the elimination of drudgery and the increase in quality of foods and equipment, better arrangements for financing, more safety from fire and disease. These and scores of more detailed measures within each class of improvements are eloquent testimony to progress in the home.

Over against these, of course, are some things often considered liabilities, such as noise from radio and automobiles, canned food for home cooking, the limitations of apartment living, the standardization of furniture, the elimination of the fireside, the drain of installment buying, the lack of porches and play places.

Undoubtedly there are losses in the religious and educational and economic training of children who have been transferred from the home to other institutions; yet the training is better in most instances when undertaken by the church and the school. Undoubtedly, owing to legislative restrictions upon homework, there are dilemmas in the problem of movies for children and of other leisure-time activities. Yet again there is more education, wider training, and more play. Scores of other illustrations may be studied in detail in order to see the prevailing picture of the American home and family and in order to study its problems and dilemmas.

When we turn to the size of the problem, we note that by the middle of the 1930's it was estimated that there were nearly 30,000,000 families of two persons or more in the

United States. The exact number reported by the National Resources Committee's Study of Consumers' Incomes in the United States was 29,400,300—an aggregate number of 115,906,000 persons, or about ninety-one per cent of the total population. Some 10,000,000 men and women were living separately in rooming houses, hotels or as one-person families, while some 2,000,000 were classified as institutional groups.

Among these families and individuals there was, of course, a very great variation in incomes. Nearly one-third had annual incomes under $750 with an average of about $471. This would be the "lower third." The middle third ranged from $780 to $1,450 a year with an average of about $1,075. The upper third had incomes from $1,450 up to over $1,000,000.

The romance and struggle of the American family might well be epitomized in the story of income, including the income variations among rural and urban dwellers, farm tenants and owner, and families of the different ethnic and racial groups. By breaking down the groupings into lower and higher income brackets, it is possible to present a picture of more than 1,000,000 families receiving under $250 a year, the total amounting to little more than $100,000,000; while at the other end of the scene a hundred families receive nearly twice as much as the million families in the lower brackets. Again more than half of the families receive an income of less than $1,250. Or again, fourteen per cent of the families receive less than $500; forty-two per cent less than $1,000; sixty-five per cent less than $1,500; and 87 per cent less than $2,300. Further examination shows that about forty per cent of all the families receive about one-sixth of the total income and that the top one per cent receive about the same. Or, to make another

grouping, the highest tenth of the families receive about thirty-six per cent of the aggregate income, while the lowest ten per cent receive less than two per cent of the aggregate.

There is also great variation between rural and urban families. About thirty per cent of all families are in cities over 100,000 population and they have an average-size family of about three and a half members, and they have a median income of more than $1,600. Middle-size and small cities constitute a little more than ninety-six per cent with an average family of 3.7 and a median income of about $1,300.

Rural non-farm counties have families about the same size as smaller urban families and with median income nearly as large, while in farm populations, about a fourth of all families have a family average of 4.5 and an income of less than a thousand dollars. There are, finally, great regional differences. The Southeast and Southwest have the lowest income of all the regions.

Marriage and divorce are key indices to the prospects and status of the family. It is interesting to note that there has been a constant increase in both marriage and divorce in the United States during the last half century. In 1890 about fifty-four per cent of the men and nearly fifty-seven per cent of the women were reported as married, whereas, in 1930, sixty per cent of the men and sixty-one per cent of the women were reported as married. Of all the people in the United States in 1930, in addition to the sixty per cent married, thirty-four per cent of the men were reported single and twenty-six per cent of the women with, however, eleven per cent of the women widowed and less than five per cent of the men. In all 1.1 per cent of the men and 1.3 per cent of the women were reported as divorced.

Facts with reference to marital status vary greatly with

the several regions as also in various countries and cultures. Thus, Reuter points out that the percentage of people married is about fifty per cent higher in Bulgaria than in Sweden and about one-third higher in France than in Sweden. He points out also the fact that the proportion of Frenchmen divorced is six times that of Englishmen.

The United States, however, probably holds the preeminence in the ratio of divorces and this rate has been steadily increasing. Gillin gives statistics to show a steady increase from the first figures available in 1887 when there were 5.5 divorces per 100 marriages performed to 1926 when the figures were up to 16.3.

It is always important to check these current trends and changes with the backgrounds of the historical development of society and the theoretical concepts of social values and practice. This is especially true of the family which has been considered the smallest and basic group-unit of society just as the people themselves have comprehended the organic units of population study.

The family is the first of the "little societies."
It is the first essential in the physical perpetuation of the race.
It is the first in the evolution of the race.
It is the first in the "social health" of peoples.
It is the first in the origin of the other institutions.
Beginning in the family were the organic inheritance and evolution of society.
Beginning in the family was education.
Beginning in the family was industry.
Here also were the beginnings of government, of communities, of religion.
In the history of the family is found much that is representative of the story of mankind.

We may well demonstrate this by an examination into the functions of this institution.

We, therefore, classify the functions of the family as they tend to correspond with the *sixfold institutional mode* of life already defined. The functions are:

Organic: The reproduction of the race; continuity of stocks.
Educational: The beginnings of education; primitive education; elemental beginnings in modern home.
Religious: The beginnings of formal religion; early religious training of the child; spiritual nurture.
Political: Beginnings of the state; obedience and authority; citizenship; democracy.
Industrial: Beginnings of industry; economic division of labor; inheritance of private property.
Social: Training in social nature; altruism; the beginnings of community.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 19: THE HOME AND FAMILY

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are the six major functions of the family?
2. What tendencies seem to be strengthening the modern family?
3. What are some of the critical stages through which the family is passing in modern time?
4. What social institutions and community activities appear to be coöperating with the family for the best interests and development of the individual?
5. What relation is there between an adequate income and secure family life?
6. What are the definite steps to insure proper health of the family?

7. What should the family do to provide wholesome recreation for its members?

8. What constitutes a high standard of family status?

9. What are some of the elementary family problems?

10. In considering marriage, what attention should be paid to (*a*) the necessary income, (*b*) the amount of education needed, (*c*) the place to live, and (*d*) the problem of insurance?

11. What special consideration should be given to possible standards of living by individuals in different income groups?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How is the family meeting the constant forces of change?

2. How have technology and science influenced family life?

3. How can the family prepare its members in the democratic ways of life?

4. How can the family bring about balance in the life of its members?

5. How may the family act as a clearing house for all the other institutions?

6. How has mechanization of the home affected (*a*) wife, (*b*) husband, and (*c*) child?

7. How may variety of experiences be good for family life? Illustrate.

8. How can each member of the family aid in promoting family unity?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effect and Result*

1. Why is the family considered "the primary institution"?

2. Why should society give its full consideration to obtain secure and happy family life for its members?

3. Why is there an increase in divorces?

4. Why do we think of the family as a universal institution?

5. Why is marriage a much-publicized ceremony?

6. Why should parents and children respect the rights of each other?

7. Why is the risk of disharmony greater when people of different backgrounds—religious, economic, or social, marry? Discuss.

8. Why are children considered today as a privilege and an

obligation—not an economic asset? Contrast this situation with that of two generations ago.

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Write a descriptive essay on the family in colonial days.
2. Write about the family of the reconstruction period in the South.
3. Describe an average family of the early twentieth century.
4. Present a picture of the average American family today. Note the points that you consider to be important.
5. Picture the changing family. From these essays work out a list of the major changes that have occurred.
6. Also work out a list of the forces that have created these changes.
7. List the functions of the family in earlier times. What institutions have acquired these responsibilities today?
8. Attempt a measurement of a number of successful families.
9. Where are the prevalent forms of marriage and family types to be found?
10. What two forms of marriage ceremonies are considered valid in the United States? Discuss.
11. What variations are there, in the many state laws, regarding age at which marriage may take place?
12. Report on the number of divorces granted in the past thirty years (*a*) in your state and (*b*) in the nation.
13. Report on the work of special courts related to family welfare—(*a*) the juvenile courts, (*b*) courts of domestic relations, and (*c*) family courts.
14. Prepare a report on the gainful employment of married women.

B. *To Plan*

1. Plan ways to bring about a higher appreciation of and prestige for family life.
2. Suggest ways of meeting constant change to assure a better stability of family life.
3. Compile or construct a list of various estimates of incomes

that are necessary to maintain proper family life, on certain standards of living, (*a*) for a family of three members; (*b*) for a family of five members; (*c*) for a family of seven members; (*d*) for a rural family, (*e*) for an urban family; and so on. The class can formulate the problems, using variations.

4. Plan ways by which the family can better coöperate with (*a*) the school, (*b*) the church, and (*c*) the community in enriching the life of its individual members.

5. What progress is being made in "education for parenthood"?

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

epitomized — individuation
marital status — median income
reclaiming of slums

B. *Selected Readings and References*

Among the problems of this topic are those of finding the best balance and equilibrium for the family in the new economic and technological world, of the needs and rights of children, of the work of women outside the home, of divorce, and of freedom of the individual.

In *Recent Social Trends*, this problem was discussed by Professor William F. Ogburn in Chapter XIII on "The Family and Its Functions." Related subjects are found in Lawrence K. Frank's Chapter XV on "Childhood and Youth," S. P. Breckinridge's Chapter XIV on "The Activities of Women Outside the Home," Chapter XVII on "The People as Consumers" by Robert S. Lynd, Chapter XVIII on "Recreation and Leisure Time Activities" by J. F. Steiner, and Chapter XIX on "The Arts in Social Life" by Frederick P. Keppel.

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TOPIC 20: THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY

NEXT TO government and industry, perhaps no institution reflects such a vivid picture or constitutes such a basic factor in the development of American civilization as does public education. The picture of American education is especially prominent in relation to the two public forces of government and industry through which public education must receive its sanction on the one hand and its support on the other.

The present major rôle that education plays is due, however, to a later development. For a long time and in various regions of the nation, education was considered a matter of family and of private concern. Then came the American movement for public education, which assumed almost the proportions of a folk religion and an open sesame to success and happiness. The evolution of the school and education from a simple beginning to the extraordinary place that it holds in America today is also representative of the long road of education from earlier and pioneer times to later and maturer stages of civilization. The problems of education, in the modern world, are symbolic of most of man's social problems of adjustment, so that as never before the schools, the colleges, the universities, and adult education are challenged to direct mankind away from the errors of the past into new avenues of human achievement.

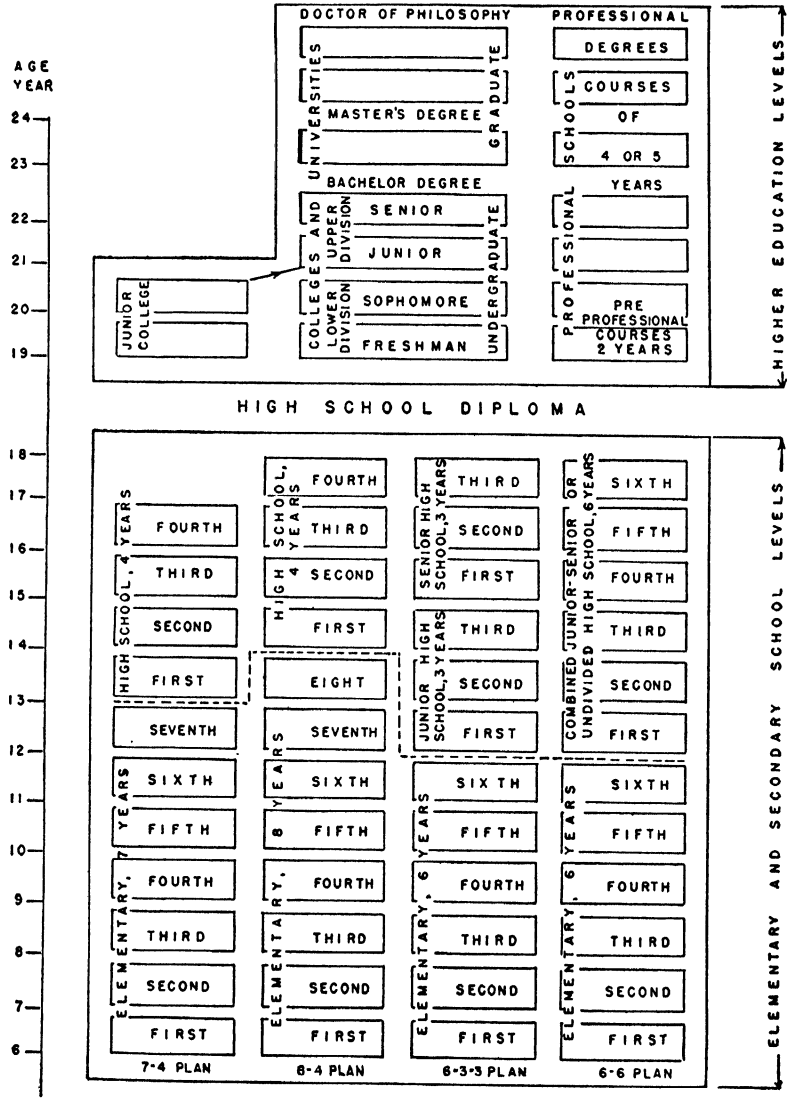
One way of testing the value placed upon education by the people is to note the amount of money that they are willing to pay for this service to their democracy. What the people pay for they are usually persuaded has undisputed value in the process of their development, their protection, or their happiness.

It happens, therefore, that no institutional picture in the nation appeared from 1930 to 1940 more impressive and vivid, than that of public education. Public education had long been acclaimed a strong American institution, just as equality of opportunity for the common man had been called the American ideal. Now America had flourished; its education, public and private, had swept forward in a steady march. Public schools, vocational education, universities, colleges, extension and adult education, professional education, commercial education—these had made the nation blossom like the rose.

It was an amazing spectacle—beautiful buildings, artistic grounds, consolidated schools, transportation, the employment of millions of people in the promotion of construction work and community development. More than 30,000,000 people in the school business in so short a time reflected an astonishing picture to the European observer—a matter of fact to Americans. A million were teachers, a million were college folk, and beyond these another million worked at the job—parent-teacher-association members, educational committees of civic and service clubs, and members of school boards.

America had taken its education seriously, believing that the essential wealth of a nation would be found in the proper education of its people. And the nation was practicing what it preached, at least until the great confusion of the 1930's and the reaction against the schools which might have been the beginning of a reactionary preaching of a new era.

For education was one of the nation's chief industries. Upon education by 1930 the nation was spending more of its tax money than upon any other general activity except that resulting from war, an exception due to the



PLAN OF ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Below the six-year school age are two possible years of nursery school. In a recent year there was a total enrollment of more than thirty million in the schools listed above. From United States Office of Education, *Education in the United States*, Bulletin, 1939.

World War. Of the total tax moneys collected from federal, state, and local sources, $2,164,598,000, or nearly twenty-one per cent, was spent for education compared with $2,646,612,000, or 27.7 per cent, which went for war—the two making up nearly half of the nation's budget of tax-money expenditures. Of expenditures of states for operation and maintenance, forty per cent was for education in 1931.

There is still a question as to whether this expenditure, on a wave of public clamor for the reduction of taxes, was responsible for the great reaction against the American way of education in the early 1930's, or whether the reaction was due to overproduction, overexpansion, supertechnology, or was primarily an integral part of the depression and a point of natural saturation. Whether this reaction is temporary or relatively permanent is also a question that has not been answered. It seems to be relatively permanent, to the extent that educators must reconstruct both the basis and the machinery of their schools and to the extent that social-security and public-welfare expenditures were on the way toward rivaling educational expenditures before the end of the 1930's.

The picture of the educational expansion during the first third of the twentieth century is relatively easy to present, such was its magnitude, so sweeping its advances, so clear-cut its parts. The nation had grown and its people had multiplied. Its children had multiplied in proportion. The American ideal and the ambition of every parent was to see the children completely educated; this was the goal of citizenship, and the sure course for success and happiness. The nation was also tending more and more to decrease child labor and to compel schooling. Thus, of children between ten and fifteen years of age, the ratio of employed

ranged from 18.4 per thousand in 1910 to 4.7 in 1930. Add to these factors the rapidly increasing facilities for education, the expanding organization of educational forces, the organized labor movement, and the rapid increase in wealth and ability for sending children to school; and the result is easily understood.

Thus, to begin with the lower schools, the enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools had increased from 15,500,000 to a little more than 25,500,000. The value of school property had multiplied many times faster, from a mere $550,000,000 in 1900 to the staggering amount of $6,211,327,000 in 1930, or, as some figure manipulator would put it, more money than Catullus could have stored away had he saved six dollars a day from the days of the Roman grandeur to the American decade of the 1930's.

The picture of higher education was in some ways even more pronounced than that of elementary and secondary education. From 1900 to 1930 the attendance in institutions of higher learning had increased 314 per cent, as opposed to only sixty-two per cent of increase in the population. It was an amazing advance, unprecedented in the annals of any other educational system on record. There had been a similar increase in the nature and number of subjects of the curriculum, the nature and number of buildings and equipment, the high standards required of teachers, and the technical administration of school work. Million-dollar high-school buildings were the pride of small cities and large. Music rooms and play rooms, art studios and gymnasiums, swimming pools and cafeterias, workshops and playgrounds, were brilliant items in the picture.

In the earlier days of the century, a million dollars toward college endowment made a notable contribution. By

1930, twenty-, thirty-, forty-, fifty-, sixty-, seventy-, and eighty-million-dollar total endowments were being recorded in comparative estimates of the wealth of universities and colleges. Not the least impressive of all the pictures was that of library development, public, urban, college and university, the rise of the American Library Association, and the multiplication of books and reading.

Such was a part of the picture before the 1930's, before the cry of "the deepening crisis in education" had become a chorus. By 1933, thousands of teachers were unemployed; not a fourth of college graduates of the current years could find employment of their choice; hundreds of university men and women with advanced graduate and professional degrees were afloat; while whole segments of budgets and activities were being curtailed. Out of a total of 700 typical cities, at least one-seventh either reduced or abolished instruction in art, music, home economics, and health service. Libraries were undernourished, librarians were not being utilized, money for books was lacking. Nearly 2,000 rural schools were closed in twenty-four states. Funds for the upkeep of buildings and plants had become exhausted. It was a situation for which the New Deal had as yet developed no codes of appraisal. If education was the way of democracy, then democracy was confused and at the crossroads on still another count.

Needless to say, this situation was symbolic not only of our general problems, but more specifically of the problems of American education. Everywhere the question was being raised as to whether education was succeeding in any measure commensurate with the need and opportunity. What was to be the nature of the changes in objectives, methods, scope of the new education for the new America?

It became, therefore, a problem of the first magnitude to inquire into the essentials of the education of the next period of American development.

An adequate understanding of the differences between current problems and those of earlier periods makes it clear that the old essentials of knowledge and education must be magnified into better education and more knowledge. The nation, having committed itself to universal education and to the full measure of democracy, finds the need for more and not less education. Yet it is clear also that the nature of that education must somehow be different from that of the past. The citizen must not only have a wider range of knowledge, but he must also know how to discriminate and to judge values, and he must be educated for an increasingly larger use of leisure time. And education for citizenship, or education for the well-rounded community and for human adequacy and personal balance, would manifestly be more important in the new day than exclusive formal education primarily for college or profession.

These added demands of education include other elements which rank high among the emergency needs of the day, one of which would be the *possession of skill and technical equipment.* In the increasingly complex and rapidly changing civilization of the planned society, there could be no substitute for skills and technical knowledge and for the capacity to apply science to social ends with the same scientific methodology and high standards as we have applied science to the discovery of knowledge. Such skill and techniques, however, would emphasize the "social technology" and social inventions and adaptation, more than the pure scientific discoveries, in order to meet the tests of sweeping physical technologies.

Inseparable from this emphasis upon skills necessary for

the mastery of the new frontiers would be *capacity for adaptation, ability* of the individual to manage life successfully, adjustment, and readjustment in a constantly changing world. It seems clear that one reason for the indescribable confusion of the 1930's was the fact that the nation was not prepared for such changes as had swept in upon it. Such qualities of adaptability on the part of people would, of course, include the ability to substitute reasoned experience for panic, fear, and emotional action.

Adaptability implied still other qualities, one of which would constitute a third characteristic, namely, *social and moral courage*. There does not appear to be any substitute for the socio-moral qualities which alone can equip the citizen for functioning in the complex modern world. It has not been the machine or technology or quantity production which has endangered civilization, but the use which might be made of them. To deal with these situations, special motivation in quality and power would be needed —a motivation as strong as that needed to realize the earlier "American dream" of harnessing the technology of the "Machine Age." The balance between personal gain and the social good has everywhere been paramount in the complex culture of the new society's future. While social legislation has been essential for uniformity and for the enforcement of sovereign covenants, and for guaranteeing the social good to be above benefits to the individual, social legislation could never achieve the same permanent civic righteousness as could be wrought through social morality, which would require a higher degree of courage than of form and fashion.

Yet *patriotism and loyalty* would still remain prime qualities. Even in the new nationalism, however, patriotism would cease to be a narrow Americanism or national-

ism or sectionalism. It would mean, rather, such consistent alignment with state, regional, and national purpose and programs as would insure continuity, dependability, and effectiveness in the pursuit of the justifiable ends of government.

In the readjustments and struggles incident to crises and frontier developments, the qualities of *tolerance and patience* would be at a premium. Dogmatism and emotional extremes would retard both the processes of reconstruction after crisis and the normal advance forward in the new era. This has been especially true in a period of confusion when so many experiments were being proposed, when such conflicting advice was being given, and when too much legislation was likely to be enacted. To make the folkways harmonize with the stateways into a well-synchronized social order, with all its regional units working in harmony, would tax all the tolerance and patience which the citizen could develop and conserve.

The complaint has often been made that the new generation appears to lack *purpose and motivation*. If true, that situation would of course contrast with the situation in the earlier days of the nation. Yet it has been generally assumed that those who predicted the mastery of machine over man have failed to reckon with the power of national purpose and the concerted determination of mankind. It has seemed likely that there would be a revival of purpose, idealism, and spiritual drive necessary to meet the new demands.

Finally, perhaps now as never before, there would be needed the best of *physical conditioning and morale*. The new frontiers would require physical stamina, a strong race of people, the utilization of the advances of science in food and nutrition discoveries, the products of recreation and

public health, and all that improvement of the population which a sound culture in a sound civilization promotes.

What then is the rôle of the school and education in these great tasks? To answer this question it is necessary to understand the societal function of the school and the nature of its work. In the words of a single definition, adapted to modern situations and social change, what is the school? In general, we may say that the school has two larger purposes, the one having to do with the transmission of knowledge and wisdom to society and the other having to do with individual and social guidance.

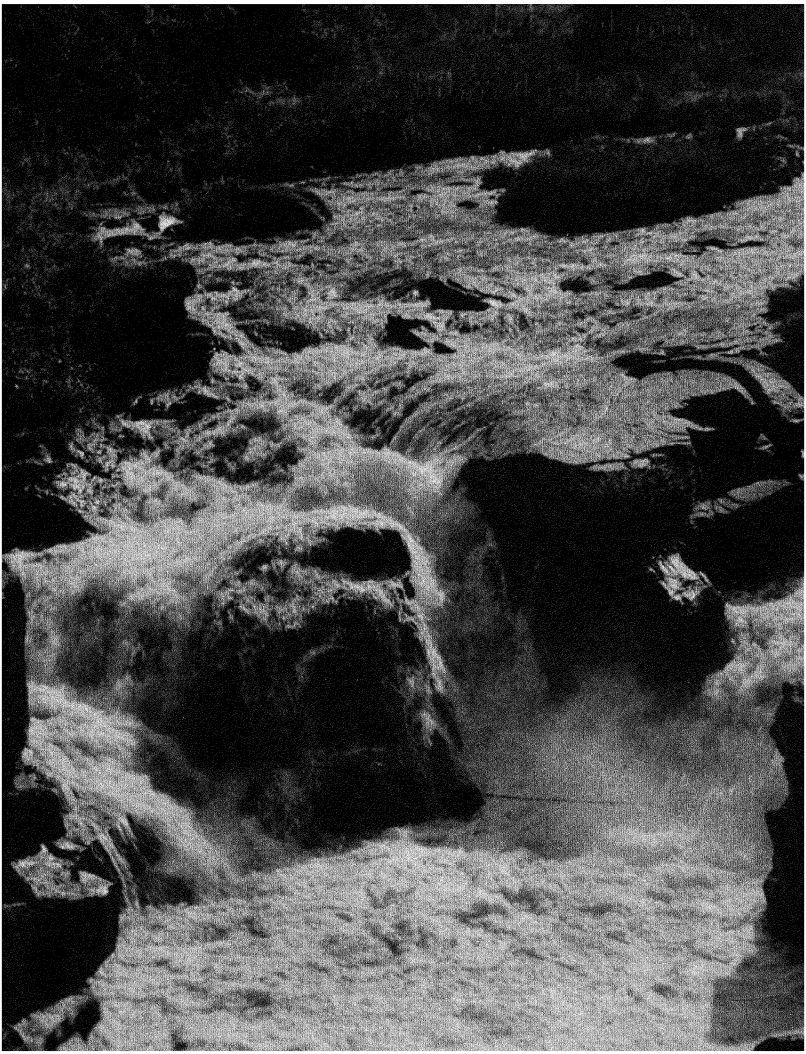
In terms of society's basic concepts, the school is that institution through which is transmitted to each generation the wisdom of the race and through which the individual and society receive guidance in continuous efforts for adjustment and progress. According to this concept, knowledge alone does not constitute education. Nevertheless, it should be clear that adequate guidance of the individual and the race must be based upon knowledge and experience of the past and of the present. The adequacy of this concept of the school and of education for the needs of the student of social problems may be tested by simple application to modern situations.

In our attempts to define the school or the family or the church or the state, it is important that our concepts of each of these institutions be stated in terms of exclusive function. That is, if it is the primary function of the school to transmit knowledge and give social guidance, manifestly this ought not to be the primary function of the church or the family or the state, each of which must have its primary function clearly defined and correlated. Nevertheless it is very important to understand each of the institutions in relation to the others. This is particularly true of the school

because of its central guiding position and of its contact with the whole population.

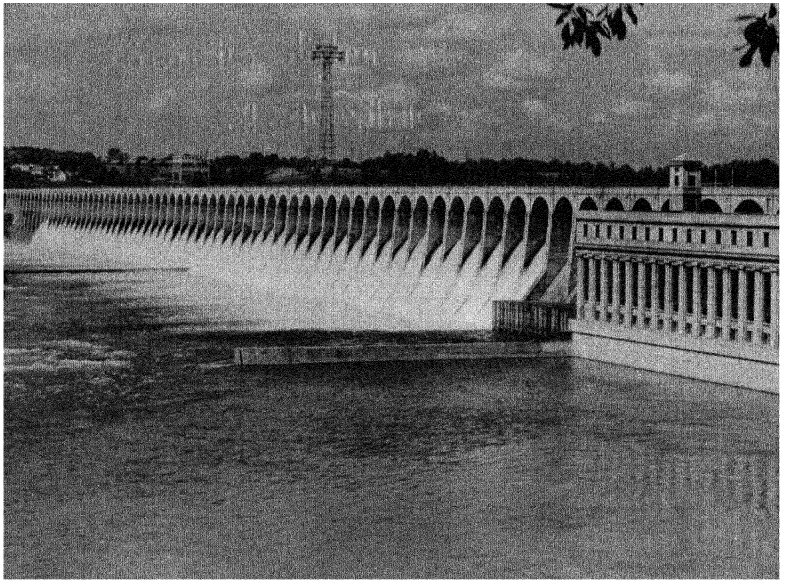
We are often able to measure the efficiency of the school in accordance with its success in strengthening the other institutions and in coördinating its work with theirs. That school, we say, is not a good school which does not, through its organization and curriculum, make for better homes and families, for better industry and work, for better citizenship and government, for better social morality and strong personality, and for better community. This is an excellent way of gauging the importance of the task which we conceive to be the function of the school.

The new school, for instance, finds itself called upon to take over some of the original tasks of the home and family. Such tasks will vary in accordance with the types of community and with changing social and economic conditions. In some industrial centers, for example, the school may provide not only lunches for children, but also kindergarten and nursery facilities which will take care of younger children while their mothers are at work. The school may provide medical and physical inspection of children, and by effective organization and good personnel do far more toward the prevention of disease and the promotion of health than the parents acting alone could do. The school may then go further and furnish clinics for the mother, for the preschool child, and for parents in general. The school may give information and instruction in home economics, in matters of diet and hygiene, and in the beautification of home and grounds. And, through its evening meetings, its recreation programs, its parent-teacher associations, and its other social activities, the school may provide some entertainment and pleasure for the parents as well as the children. In these ways and many others, such as through



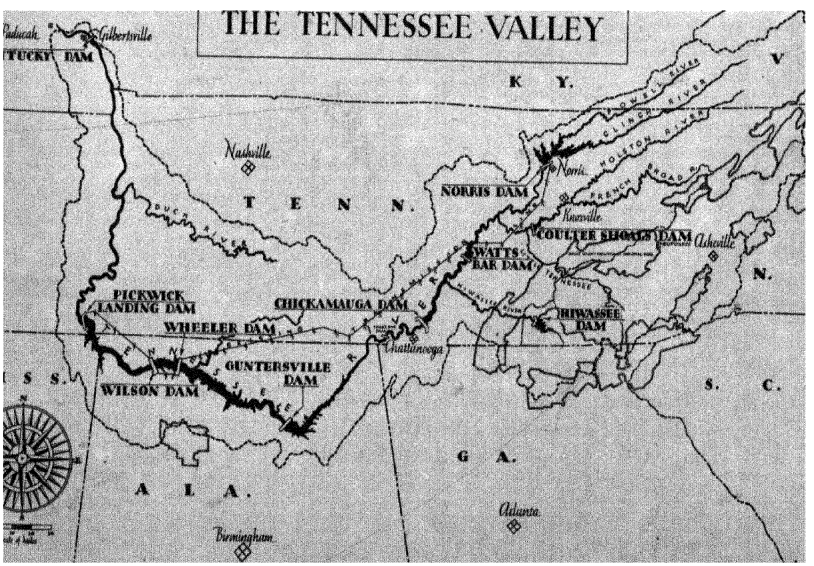
Ewing Galloway

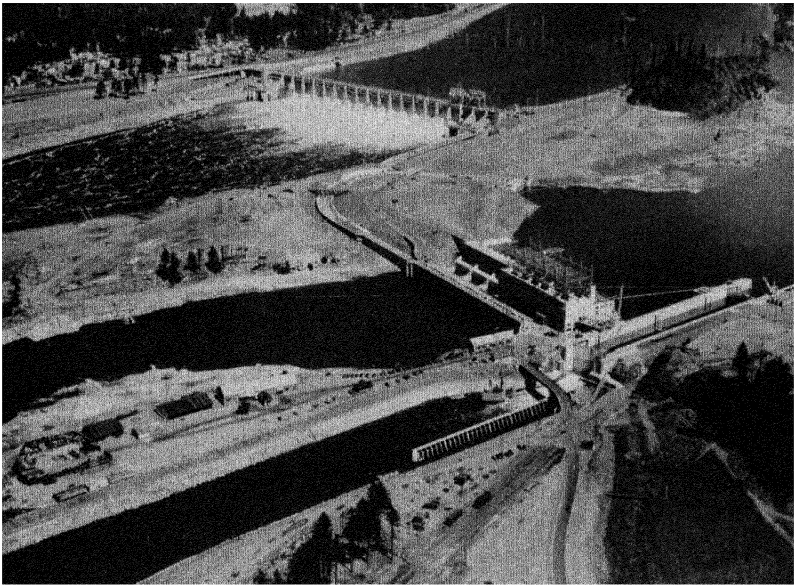
Social planning: Flood control, harnessing of turbulent water to produce electric power—such achievements of planning affect both community and family.



Photographs by Charles Krutch

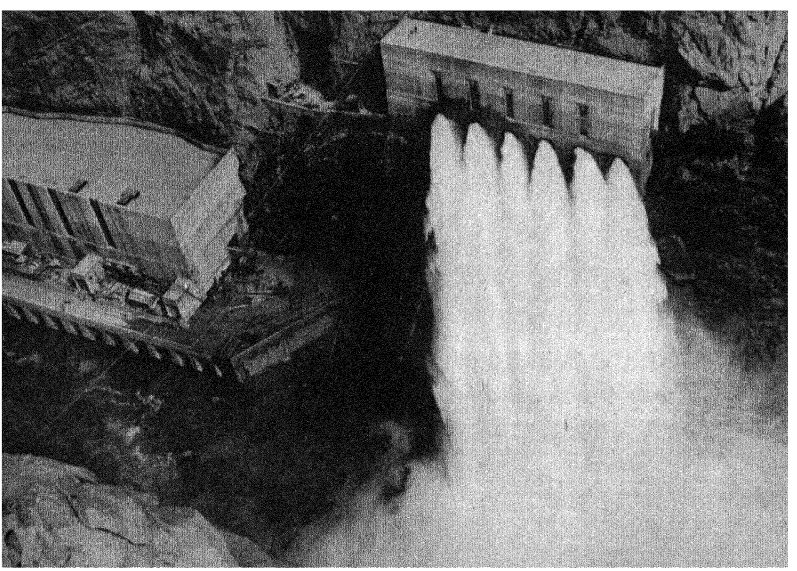
The most notable example in the United States of the efforts to plan for the development and conservation of natural resources is the Tennessee Valley Experiment.

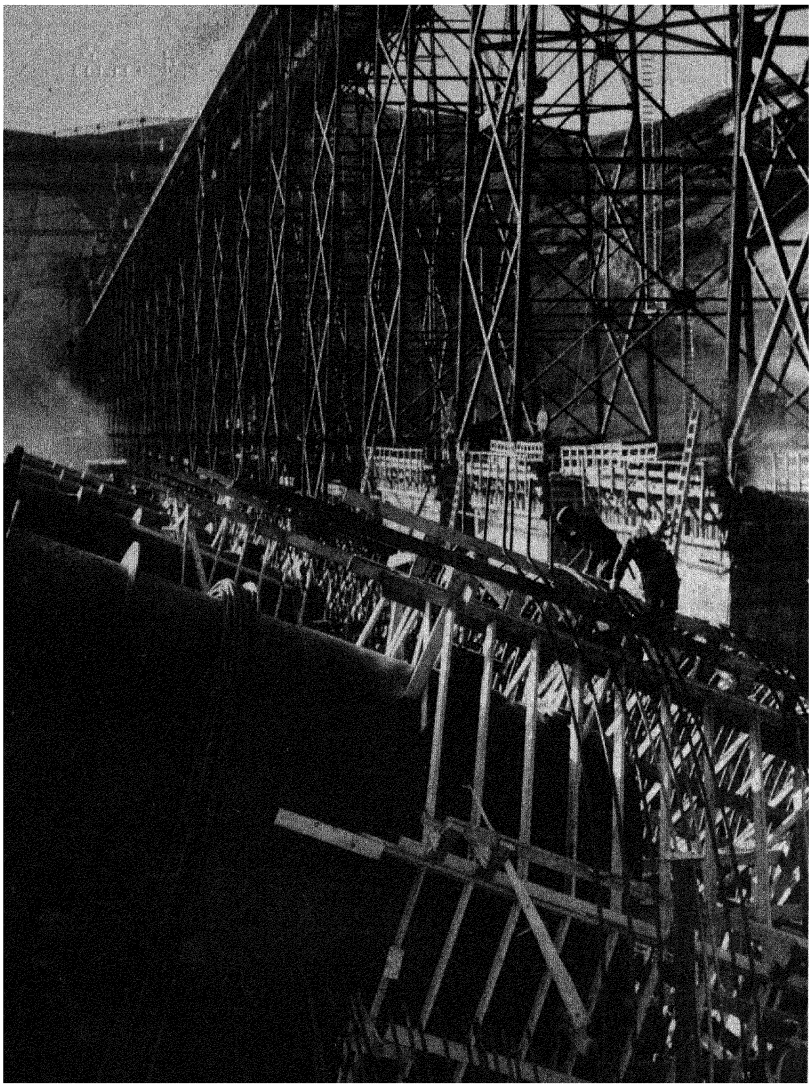




Top and bottom, Ewing Galloway

Vast enterprises of planning are Bonneville Dam, shown above, and Boulder Dam, shown below.





Like big guns of peace pointed upstream toward the flow of the Columbia River, these pipes will carry water to the power house of Grand Coulee Dam.

boys' and girls' clubs, and through school credit for home work, the school not only takes over much of the work originally done in the home but becomes a strong ally and friend of the whole family.

The school, once again, becomes, in its coördinating work with the family and other institutions, a community agency and a community center. Thus not only as it relates to the home but throughout the community the school becomes the key institution. The modern plan of having the school plant used all the week and all the year is an effort not only to see that the people get full value for their investment but to offer the school as a little community through which recreation, instruction, and inspiration may come hand in hand to old and young alike. The newer athletic programs, parent-teacher associations, debating societies, mothers' clubs, father-and-son banquets, and many other similar features make it possible for the community to feel that it really does own the school as its best social servant.

The tendency of the school to go back into the home and give education and coöperation to the older folk as well as the young, its efforts in general adult education and in teaching the unlettered to read and write, as well as its evening and continuation schools and its vocational guidance, all conspire to make the school a living institution serving the community. The school which does not so serve its community is no longer rated a good school.

In the ways already enumerated and in its special training for good citizenship, the school becomes also a chief asset of the state and of government, from which in turn it has secured, in modern times, its major support. In addition to its general service to the community and citizenship, of which we have spoken, the modern school some-

times becomes the voting precinct. But perhaps its most distinctive contribution to citizenship is its curriculum, which emphasizes more and more the social studies. Civics is no longer merely a course in civil government, but a course in social living. Instruction is no longer merely the mechanical learning of by-laws and constitutions and forms of government, but becomes an active observation of and participation in the forms and processes of local government and public welfare. And in times of war and stress the teachings of patriotism and emergency coöperation have been centered in the school program. In that part of the school curriculum devoted to citizenship the student will find a special field for further study.

One of the most difficult problems that the modern school has to face is the one relating to the teaching of religion. Since religion and morality have for ages been closely connected, and since character training has been one of the claims of the school, it is but natural that many should expect the school to give religious instruction. This is especially true, since formal schools originally grew out of religious institutions and because in America, the churches were the pioneers in almost all forms of education.

In an inquiry made recently, each superintendent of schools in all the large cities in the United States, was asked to specify in the order of importance the greatest needs and most difficult problems of his school. Summarized and tabulated in order, their replies emphasized most of all the importance of character and moral education. Here, then, was a sort of emergency task thrust upon the schools from the church because of the complexity and swiftness of modern life. This problem the schools are now working upon, and the student of society will find in it an important opportunity for his best efforts.

Toward no phase of modern life, however, has the school been called upon to redirect its curriculum more radically or to exert itself more practically than toward industry. The early beginnings were limited to simple training of the hand through minor vocational studies and manual training. Then followed a more serious attempt to equip the student for his work in life. From these efforts came new courses and new departments and particularly experiments in vocational guidance and vocational instruction. In this field the school has been especially effective in its continuation classes for people already at work, its part-time classes, its evening and extension teaching, and in its coöperation with farm and industrial agencies. Important alongside these phases of the school curriculum is the work in actual instruction in the social sciences, through which information and interpretation concerning the place of industry in modern society have been given an important position. Thus, again, the school becomes one of the chief allies of modern industry, which in turn often recognizes the school through endowment and other forms of coöperation and support.

The school, with its educative processes and programs, must not only be closely related to the major social institutions and to society at large, but must also bring to bear effective efforts for the interpretation and control of all other social forces. To illustrate with the classification of social forces used in this volume, the school must interpret to the individual and help the individual to master the physical environment, overcome inherited physical and social difficulties, make adjustments between individuals and races, and develop personality and leadership in the midst of a growing democracy. Of especial importance is the emphasis of the school upon individual differences,

upon special aptitudes, and upon the development of personality. The attempt to adapt folk of various sorts to an equally various social environment is a new and difficult task which, however, the school welcomes into its enlarged program. The utilization of natural sciences for the interpretation and mastery of the physical environment is balanced by the newer emphasis on the social sciences to interpret and master the social environment. And, finally, the whole process and program of education recognizes the newer task of interpreting human culture and education in terms of human growth and modern social progress. Here will be found a place in the curriculum not only for traditional culture but for direction of the new leisure time, which is of growing importance in the modern era. Here also will be opportunity for the direction of general social forces and social processes and for the determination of social values.

A final point of emphasis with reference to the place of education in social problems is the fact that since the beginning of human society, education has been one of the most important, most significant, most interesting, of all the activities which have to do with the ends and achievements of society. Education, therefore, is not in this sense a procedure, a technique, but a societal function, giving the race the sum total of the experience and wisdom of the past, correcting our evaluations, multiplying our values, and, according to Professor Giddings' concept, contributing to the following ten objectives: the development of confidence, emancipation from fear, control of mental disorders, the development of controls, emancipation from ignorance, the acquirement of knowledge, realistic thinking, emancipation from beliefs, enlightenment and public opinion, enlightenment and citizenship.

This is in contrast to the concept of education as merely the school, and to the pedagogical aspect of education, which trains the individual only. Even so, it is interesting to note the analogy between the education of the individual and society in Giddings' sense. He says, for instance:

> A man's head may be packed full of miscellaneous facts and notions that he has obtained from books, and he may have passed many examinations with credit, and yet be a shockingly uneducated person. An educated man or woman is one who has found out most of the more important ways in which human beings have made fools of themselves, and has thought about them long and seriously enough to have acquired an aversion for them. An educated person knows what ideas and practices have become almost universally discredited among civilized people, what ones are generally discredited although considerable groups here and there yet cling to them, what ones are becoming discredited, and what ones are discredited by experts who have made an exhaustive study of them.

Another Giddings' point of emphasis on education is somewhat as follows: Society is not interested in whether you, John Smith, are individually well educated, whether you get along and make a fortune or have good health. Society is not interested in you at all as an individual, *but* society is interested, and, in a democracy, means to guarantee that every you and every I shall have an education tending to guarantee that we get along and make progress and have good health, success, and so on. Like the insurance companies, society is not interested in whether Sam Smith or John Jones has a particular length of life, but it is interested in seeing that all men are so protected and developed as to conserve health, longevity, and so on. This becomes, therefore, a societal force, a policy, an activity, a major function, rather than merely a technique.

It is in this sense that, in American democracy, the na-

tion is willing, in terms of millions of dollars, in terms of more than any other expenditures except war, to pay for this societal force, function, activity.

Thus, in America public education is the keynote to democracy, first, in just that sense that we have been speaking of, namely, that it is *the* societal force which, more than anything else, comprehends the possibilities of the great ends of society, amelioration, socialization, individualization, encouragement of the deviate from type. It is, therefore, the force through which American ideals have been and must be developed.

We sometimes ask a series of questions to place a logical emphasis upon education.

What is society and what is *it* good for? The purpose of society is to develop, conserve, promote a superior mankind, a greater human welfare, the continuity of human and social evolution, and so on. Society is an end, not a means.

What is democracy and what is *it* good for? Democracy is a tool of progress. Human progress consists in the mastery of physical, societal, and technical forces and the resulting social order and human-use ends through which continuity of the evolution of human society is maintained. Democracy is a specific social order designed to conserve, develop, strengthen, and give representation continuously to the basic units which go into the making of society and civilization. Democracy is, again, a means to an end, the end of which is a better society.

What is education and what is it *good* for? In terms of the above explanations, education then becomes the key societal force. Any people willing to pay these millions of dollars and develop organizations and techniques ought to keep this constantly in mind—that education is a societal

tool and not an individual tool. If education is looked upon merely as a pedagogical device, or as school, or as a technique of individual instruction only, it would be very much limited. This does not mean that the school and methodology do not still remain the chief tools of education itself, but the distinction ought to be emphasized over and over again in the modern world. Thus, for instance, if the totalitarian state takes over education as a social force, it is easy to see how the school might become a special tool for the special ends of the totalitarian state.

Another reason why education is the chief keynote of democracy is that it trains the individual not as *the* individual, but as a unit which raises all individuals to the level of participating members of a democracy. According to the American standard, public education, therefore, becomes the shibboleth, the supreme key to democracy, on the ground that universal education would give us citizenship competent for democratic control.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 20: THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY

I. For the Open Forum

One way to emphasize the long-time societal nature of the problem of education in relation to democracy and the good life and the good society is to state boldly, for the purpose of challenge, the conclusion that the school and education are a result and product of other societal processes and agencies, rather than an institution which guides society.

There are many ways to study this, and it is of the greatest importance in the contemporary world.

Did the schools predict the dangers ahead or did they direct society?

Are the universities and schools in Germany directing the government or is the government directing the schools?

Do teachers in the United States influence business and boards of directors or are they influenced by them?

Do school men and women and teachers influence and direct radio or does radio influence the children and the public at large?

These questions and many others challenge the student to study the new meanings of education and to explain also much of the commonly attributed failure of education. Here, again, the student is studying education in relation to society and not as a pedagogical tool for teaching individuals, which is a subject for specialization.

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are the differences between the terms "school" and "education"? Note and illustrate.

2. What are the new trends in the curriculum—subject matter and methods?

3. What is the school doing to aid youth in (*a*) vocational guidance, (*b*) general guidance, (*c*) character education, (*d*) health, and (*e*) wholesome use of leisure time?

4. What is the school doing to assure the student that he is learning the fundamentals in the democratic way of life?

5. What should be the social objectives of the school?

6. What are the causes of illiteracy? Tabulate facts about illiteracy in the nation, the region, the state, the local community.

7. What next for education in the community, the state, and the region?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner and Method*

1. How is the school functioning as a community center?

2. How are the schools fitting youth for modern civilization? How not?

3. How may an individual or group continue education without going to college?

4. How may the local situation be improved in the way of adult educational opportunities?

5. How can we make formal education more attractive?

6. How can educational opportunities be equalized throughout the democracy?

7. How can better processes of assimilation be made for the educational opportunities of (*a*) the poor, (*b*) poorer states and counties, (*c*) minority groups, and (*d*) backward or handicapped children?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effect or Result*

1. Why are you attending school?

2. Why is there complaint on the part of certain large employment agencies against certain features of education today?

3. Why the term "progressive education"? Shouldn't all education be progressive?

4. Why has the adult education movement developed?

5. Why should one consider going to college? Note its advantages and its possible disadvantages.

6. Why is there objection to federal participation in education? Are the objections valid?

7. Why is it essential that the school assume leadership in social processes?

8. Why is ignorance dangerous? Illustrate.

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Tabulate the school age population in the United States and the State according to (*a*) totals, (*b*) percentages, (*c*) number in school, (*d*) school mortality rates, (*e*) secondary school graduation, and (*f*) college population.

2. The enrollment in the first grade is falling off each year. Why? Indicate problems that these statistics show.

3. Chart by statistics and diagram the conquest of illiteracy.

4. Write a brief history of public school education in the community.

5. Trace the movement for consolidation of schools in the state. What advantages have accrued? What disadvantages?

6. Write a brief account of the development and change in the school curriculum.

7. How are the schools of the community and state financed? Show by charts and diagrams the use of the tax dollar for education as compared to other services.

8. Report on the general attitudes of the leadership of the state on matters of educational policy.

9. Report on the (*a*) National Education Association and the (*b*) State Education Association.

10. Present a diagram showing how the State Department of Education or Public Instruction functions—its organization, administration, and activities.

11. What are the chief mediums of education other than the school? List them and give principal contributions and methods of each.

12. Report on the Extra-curricular Activities program of your school. Evaluate it.

13. What is your community and state doing in the field of preschool child training, the kindergarten, the day nursery, or nursery schools?

14. Report on library facilities for the school and those for the community.

15. What agencies in the community are closely related to the school? Indicate correlations and programs.

16. Report on the definite activities of the Federal Government in the field of education.

17. What contributions have the (*a*) WPA Adult Education Program, (*b*) Civilian Conservation Corps, and (*c*) National Youth Administration made to education?

18. Report on the status of private school facilities in the community, county, or state. What special groups do they serve?

B. *To Plan*

1. Plan ways of properly evaluating education.

2. Create a score card for the school to determine its efficiency and its needs.

3. Suggest ways of making the school a better functioning agency in the democracy.

4. Suggest definite ways in which the curriculum needs adjustment and change in (*a*) the primary, (*b*) the grammar, (*c*) the secondary, and (*d*) the college levels.

5. Plan ways in which the student can participate in the citizenship life of the community.

6. How can we evaluate the extra-curricular program of the school?

7. Suggest ways by which the school and community can be better correlated, coördinated, and integrated—the school as a community center.

8. After careful study, suggest changes in school architecture so as to meet the esthetic and efficiency standards.

9. Suggest changes in state laws pertaining to the school to assure an efficient educational policy.

10. Plan effective ways of federal participation in education.

11. Design a program to eliminate illiteracy in the nation, the state, the community, and the region.

12. Make a list of the things you believe the school should do for you before you are awarded a high-school diploma.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

deviate (noun)	radically	exclusive function
pedagogical device	planned society	covenants (sovereign)
methodology (scientific)	well-synchronized motivation	

B. *Selected Readings and References*

In *Recent Social Trends,* Chapter VII on "Education" by Charles H. Judd of the University of Chicago gives a vivid picture of the growth and development of education in the United States and raises many questions. There are many other questions not asked and answered either here or in our chapter. The complaint against education has been so universal of late and the writing so voluminous that once again we select a very small number treating particular current American problems involved in education, most of them new books.

COUNTS, GEORGE S. *Prospects of American Democracy.* John Day Company, 1938.

Educational Policies Commission. *The Effect of Population*

Changes in American Education. National Education Association of the United States, 1938.

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JACKS, L. P. *The Education of the Whole Man.* Harper and Brothers, 1931.

—— *A Living Universe.* Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1924.

JUDD, C. H. *Education and Social Progress.* Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934.

—— *Problems of Education in the United States.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934.

MYERS, ALONZO, and WILLIAMS, CLARENCE O. *Education in a Democracy: An Introduction to the Study of Education.* Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937.

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RUSSELL, BERTRAND. *Education and the Good Life.* Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1926.

TOPIC 21: THE CHURCH AND RELIGION

ON CHRISTMAS morning of 1939, the Associated Press of the United States heralded the following messages throughout the land:

In the Holy Land's Bethlehem pilgrims from a war-torn world came by thousands yesterday to the shrine of the nativity to pray that Christ's message again would prevail.

They prayed that peace would return to European nations which lost it during the twelve months, and they asked that good will would reign again in the hearts of men according to the teachings of Him whose natal hour they celebrated.

Peace found its staunchest champions in Vatican City and Washington. The Pope and President Roosevelt carried on their crusade against war in their Christmas greetings.

There were two of the Roosevelt messages, the one appealing for world peace and the other appealing for the Christian Way of Life, in which he said:

In these days of strife and sadness in many other lands, let us in the nations which still live at peace forbear to give thanks only for our good fortune in our peace.

Let us rather pray that we may be given strength to live for others—to live more closely to the words of the Sermon on the Mount and to pray that peoples in the nations which are at war may also read, learn and inwardly digest these deathless words.

May their import reach into the hearts of all men and of all nations.

I offer them as my Christmas message:

Blessed are the poor in spirit: For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
Blessed are they that mourn: For they shall be comforted.
Blessed are the meek: For they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: For they shall be filled.
Blessed are the merciful: For they shall obtain mercy.
Blessed are the pure in heart: For they shall see God.
Blessed are the peacemakers: For they shall be called the children of God.
Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

The tragedies of European civilization within recent periods and more especially the rise of totalitarianism have brought vividly to the attention of the world the essential principles of freedom. In particular there has been re-emphasis upon religious freedom. This emphasis has stressed two points: first, the elemental importance of the right to worship as a fundamental tenet of liberty; and, second, the close relation of religious liberty to all other liberty.

The assumption is being made, perhaps more often than ever, that where there is not religious freedom, there is not likely to be any other basic liberty. Many statements to this effect have been made in recent years by public speakers and leaders.

This new emphasis upon religious freedom has naturally grown out of the catastrophic results of the attempt to destroy the church and religious freedom in Soviet Russia, where individual liberty has long since disappeared. "There are lessons to be learned here," is the verdict of observers.

One reason why communism is so completely foreign to American democracy and so thoroughly contemptible to Americans is that it boldly attempts to overthrow the church as well as the government. How strongly the people feel about this is shown by the fact that one of the chief methods used by the communist agitating to influence the

people to violence is the attack upon the Christian church.

The student of American democracy renewed will want to understand clearly to what extent religion and the church lie at the basis of the American nation and of the democratic ideal. So important did the forefathers consider this to be that they often made "Christian democracy" the central part of the American dream. This was true partly because Christianity first recognized the sovereign dignity and worth of the individual spirit and of individual aspiration. This lies at the heart of liberty and freedom.

But, more than this, the student will find the historical thread of religion strongly and vividly interwoven throughout the American fabric from the first up to now. The rôle of religion in the history of American civilization, like that of religion in the development of all earlier society, has been a powerful one, but also one of contrasts and paradoxes. America was founded to a considerable extent on the motivation of religious freedom, and its earlier history was all interwoven with religious tenets and worship. Certainly, therefore, we must list in our catalog of authentic historical Americanisms the element of religious influence. And a review of the church and religion in the nation not only helps us interpret much of what has happened but reveals here, as almost everywhere, tremendous changes, from some of which emerge serious problems to be faced.

We must pause here to point out to what extent religion and the church constitute the basis of social problems, or how they have been and are instrumental in the treatment of social problems, or how they have contributed to the fabric of American democracy as it has developed up to now.

In so far as religion is a dominant factor in determining and maintaining attitudes toward individuals and society

it is, for our study under the plan of this volume, a very important factor.

In so far as religion determines and colors attitudes which in turn affect the policies and destinies of whole peoples, religion is a social problem.

In so far as religion is an important part in the building of institutions, in social conflict, in divisive and unifying processes, in contributing to the spiritual and creative urge of people, it is a fundamental social problem.

In so far as the church constitutes one of the major social institutions, it becomes a major social problem for the purposes of this volume.

One need but examine the course of past events to find illustrations of these statements. The influence of Christianity, for instance, upon the whole fabric of government and of other institutions is a case in point. Another case in point is the history of education with its beginnings in religious ritual, and, as late as the modern era, the church's major influence in establishing higher education in this country. Indeed, the history of peoples cannot be written without an important part devoted to religion from primitive man to the present time. Nor can the modern social problems and conflict be understood or attacked without a thorough knowledge of the backgrounds upon which religious sanctions have been built. Therefore it is important to review briefly something of the place of religion, and afterwards of the church, in the products of our modern civilization.

The picture of America in the earlier days had Christianity always in the foreground. The procedures of courts and the language of many of the laws, all paid homage to God as the guiding spirit of the nation. It was a nation of destiny, set forth by divine guidance to lead the world

into a greater attainment of the good life and a greater glory to God.

Thanksgiving Day was as American as the Fourth of July. "For God and Country" was symbol of supreme patriotism. The Sabbath was holy, and on it there must be no work. Blue laws and the non-continental Sabbath were basic to the earlier culture. Colleges and universities of the nation were founded by the church, and later state and municipal institutions were grounded deep in the religious faith. Harvard and Columbia, Yale and Princeton, Chicago, and the state universities were grounded in the Christian tenets. The church was long the arbiter of the national destiny and chief supporter of national institutions and conduct.

Thus Professor Dunning, after tracing the history of political theory from its earliest stages, says:

> Then came Christianity upon the scene. As this faith rose to influence and power its teachings transformed political as well as other philosophy. God and His scheme of creation gradually became recognized as the first cause of man and all human affairs. The divine will fixed the character and operation of social institutions.

That is, if Rome ruled nations, God ruled Rome; if nation ruled men, God ruled nation; if there were human rulers, they ruled by the will of God. If, again, there were human laws, they were sanctioned by the divine law. Law and institutions made by man were indirectly from God. There were two distinct systems of rules for mankind: that of the temporal from man, and that of the spiritual from God. Man must be subject to man, ruler, or government, sometimes church, sometimes state, but always with authority from God. There could be no questioning of the

right of God, and consequently government found its sanction and emphasis in the ruler's right derived from God, rather than in consent of the people.

In the first century of the Christian Era there arose the doctrine that by nature—God's nature, it is true—all men are free and equal; and if equal, then God's authority must not operate through any one superior being, but must reside in all the people. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and thereafter, the interpretation of nature, on the one hand, and the quarrel of creeds, on the other, brought about a lessened regard for divine authority. This was followed by an enhanced individualism and democracy, forerunner of more modern tenets of government.

The nineteenth century found one of its main tasks in the attempt to harmonize the two doctrines of authority and sovereignty, on the one hand, and of individual freedom, on the other. Neither nature nor God seemed directly adequate, so that the influence of Christianity was exerted indirectly through interpretation, reason, righteousness, morality, history, liberty, justice. Finally, the larger concept of society was held to be the arbiter. What sort of society, then, became the question of importance. In the last of the nineteenth century we find abstract theories developed—the inherent power of society as an organism, the natural rights of the individual, the separateness of state and government from religion.

But at various periods there remained underlying the ideas of the foremost theorists the great idea of God, which was assumed to be dominant as the basic concept of their philosophies.

Even Rousseau, who sometimes attacked Christianity as an antisocial force because it separated men from the things of this world, defended the fundamental values in Christianity,

such as belief in God, a future life, happiness for the good and punishment for the wicked, the sanctity of social laws and contracts, and "no tolerance of intolerance."

Hobbes, who thought that political sovereignty was supreme, felt that "the truth of God's word must prevail in the long run without recourse to restraint"; he was convinced that the Christian virtues of complaisance or pardon, modesty, mercy, forgiving disposition were all conducive to peace, which after all was the purpose of law—to substitute peace for war.

Bodin, who believed that God and justice were factors controlling political life and institutions, considered, according to Professor Dunning, "a belief in a supernatural being important for the welfare of the state." In his estimation, however, the details of creed were of little importance, and force at best could be but an indifferent instrument for the maintenance of uniformity of religion among citizens.

Locke, who thought that since the worship of God was a means of eternal salvation it was entirely outside the realm of the state, nevertheless declared that the atheist is not reliable when it comes to promises, contracts, and oaths which bind human society.

Montesquieu reasoned that religion was outside the bounds of human compulsion; yet he discussed Christianity in a spirit of reverence as "unquestioned divine truth."

Calvin asserted that the duty of secular leaders "begins with piety and religion," and the very spirit of the Reformation had to do with the relation of man to God.

Luther preached the doctrine of passive submission to the established political and social order, though in a different way from the later Tolstoi. In Luther's view secular power was sanctioned by God as controlling those who were not Christians; Christians themselves did not need it.

Melanchthon held that natural law included those principles of the human mind which concern the existence of God, our obedience to Him, and the principles concerning "civil institutions which promote His glory." "The first object of all government is the knowledge and glory of God." And so with others.

The doctrine of the divine right of kings grew out of the doctrine of the divine character of secular government, which was held by most of the greater reformers. Later the divine right of the people came in through the same channel. God sanctioned royalty as a convenience to the people—kings by divine right of the people. Thus the underlying concept of God and of the principles of Christianity went on and on, continuously interwoven with the secular theories.

James Bryce states that four outstanding contributions of the Gospel to democracy are discernible. These are: first, the Creator has given each individual a special divine worth; second, in the Creator's sight all souls are equal; third, the inner life or "kingdom of heaven" within the individual is supreme; and, fourth, it is the duty of God's creatures to love one another. The first of these, he says, applies to freedom of conscience or spiritual liberty, obedience to God being greater than to man; the second implies human equality or equal rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; the third has to do with purity of life and motive; and the fourth with the Christian community or brotherhood of man.

Aside from these commonly recognized influences of Christianity upon the state, there are at least two other types that must not be omitted. The first of these is the general influence which Christianity has had in giving the individual his newest place in the world of equal opportunity, and, second, its influence upon the other institutions—the family, the school, the church, industry, and the community.

When the state comes to pass its laws for the protection and nurture of the family, it does so because the family and the ideals thereof have shown the need. When the state

comes to legislate for universal education, it does so, not because it simply wants to educate, but because it recognizes what education means to a democracy and assents to the democratic practice of giving every individual an equal chance in life. When the state legislates with reference to industry, it is for the same general reason. The whole modern fabric and technique of government have changed because of the demands of these institutions upon it.

Similarly the ideals of these institutions have colored and strengthened the policies of the state in many ways, and in respect to many human activities, government itself thus being a fine complex of all the institutions, guarding their rights, nurturing their needs. The fact, therefore, of Christianity's having had much to do with present standards and forms of the family, of education, of community and neighborliness, and with Christian principles in industry and race relations, is further evidence of a very important total influence upon government.

When we come to examine the programs of the modern church and religious organizations, we face important social problems. If the church and religion, which have been so dominant in the past development of the nation, now recede, what is to be the substitute? Will it be that of Russia or Germany? If the Catholic Church is not influential in certain matters in such countries as Italy and Germany, how can other religious groups expect to continue their influences?

The picture of religious organizations was characteristic of the nation. From the earliest days, American individualism and diversity of interests and beliefs as well as the heterogeneous origins of the people had flowered in a great number of denominational organizations. By 1930, there were no less than 212 separate organizations, although less

than half of these had as many as 7,000 members each. Although in 1870 the people were ninety-nine per cent Protestant, by 1930 the Roman Catholics led with more than 19,000,000 members, followed by the Methodist Episcopal Church with nearly 4,000,000, and the Southern Baptist Church with a little more than 3,250,000. Other Protestant churches of considerable size were the Negro Baptist and the white Methodist Episcopal Church South, with more than 2,000,000 adult members each. There were about 4,000,000 Jews. Yet, all told, five out of every eight of American church members were still Protestant.

The churches had multiplied their wealth in buildings and endowments, and their membership had nearly kept pace with the population. Yet the influence of the church nowhere appeared comparable to its influence in the earlier days of the nation. The church swept into great prominence in 1919 with its powerful agitation for prohibition, and was as completely swept out in the early 1930's. The church's ratio of influence in art, in education, in politics, was less dominant than in the earlier centuries.

Thomas Jefferson had protested the mixing of church and state and the bigotry of certain religious leaders, and the nation had finally followed his admonitions with recurring bigotry and conflict varying by regions and decades.

With reference to the church in the changing America, there was evidence of a very definite move of the churches to adapt themselves to the new conditions. There was also evidence of an increasing rôle of the church in society as well as a diminishing one. And while there had been declines in religious interests, there were still, however, 44,000,000 church members or nearly as many as all the gainfully occupied of the nation. Their youth organizations had reached 6,000,000 young people, and their

property was valued at no less than $7,000,000,000. There was a gradual development toward emphasizing social aspects of religion among the churches, with considerable conflict in the twenties between the group commonly designated as fundamentalists and those designated as modernists.

The social emphasis took three main directions. One was upon the social gospel as opposed to the traditional emphasis upon dogma. Another was the emphasis placed upon social and industrial problems and upon the concepts of social justice. This emphasis was reflected in research, study and commissions, encyclicals and organized representation, as well as through the pulpit. A third was the emphasis upon social service, out of which had grown important executive organizations and national conferences on social service among both Protestants and Catholics. Among Protestants there was organized "A Church Conference of Social Work," meeting with the National Conference of Social Work "to contribute to the development of scientific methods in the social work of the Protestant churches and councils of churches in the United States." There were also fourteen Protestant bodies which maintained executive organizations for the promotion of social service. The Catholic social work was represented by a number of special organizations and particularly by the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the National Conference of Catholic Charities. The Jewish Welfare Board was an organization with somewhat similar purpose in the field of social work, and other groups were developed in the Jewish ranks.

The picture of American religion and morality would not be complete without featuring the American ethics, standards, and ideals. The old copybook exhortations in-

cluded the magnifying of truth, industry, persistence, dependability, economy, appreciation of the value of money, of hard work, the hitch-your-wagon-to-a-star exhortations, courage, ambition. There were the old standards of Sabbath observance, of religious worship, of honesty as the best policy, of conservatism, of simplicity, of inspiration. There were the old personal contact, the spoken word, the cordial personality, the inter-family relationships, personal dominance and forcefulness, and all that group of motivating forces which made America's dominant, strong-willed leaders. The sweep of bigness and technology had brought other folkways and mores necessary for survival.

Yet among the most virile and vigorous of American currents is still that of its religious bodies and of their programs for social justice and social welfare. Here is the Federal Council of Churches sending out its monthly bulletin on *Information Service*, providing one of the best current literature studies of social problems in the nation. "What," it asks, "is the position of the church on labor, on agricultural readjustment, on race, on farm tenancy, on coöperatives?" The citizen and the student may find a liberal education on the major social problems of the day here with always an excellent, selected list of readings, abstracted and with the religious interpretation often appended. So, too, in the current annual volumes of the national publishing houses, religion ranks high up toward the top.

We have referred to the increasing emphasis upon the social gospel, and this trend is measurable both in the literature and in the organizations at work for world unity and fellowship. In their symposium on *The Church at Work in the Modern World*, eight authors have attempted to give attention to the operation of Christianity as a total move-

ment in contemporary culture. They point out that in the presence of the profound changes of modern life, the church is under the necessity of redefining its function and method of work. "It is attempting to carry on its work in the modern world with an ideology, techniques, and social arrangements that grew out of past cultural situations but which no longer correspond to the realities of the present scene. In reconstructing its program the church cannot, therefore, appeal to precedent, but must rely upon an empirical, experimental, and creative facing of the facts of the present changing social situation."

Of the trends in the Protestant Church which they note, the following bear upon our study of social problems, namely, *a new conception of religion, the church as a social institution, the concept of a unified parish, an appeal to a wider range of interests, toward a greater corporateness, the social outlook of the church,* and *the church's relation to other institutions.*

So, too, the new textbooks on social problems recommended by the Catholic Church for college and university study, the encyclicals of the Pope, and the special utterances on modern world crises are symbolic of the challenge to the church which is being felt throughout the civilized world. Not only is the church looking toward world peace and fellowship, but also toward the implementing of religion in the better ordering of world affairs. How these ends are being sought will constitute the theme for the the special student who may wish both to examine many facts and to inquire into the future of great religious movements which may appear.

For the student of the American scene and especially of social problems there is increasing need to look at religion from the viewpoint of society and social change and at the

church as a social institution. There is an increasing tendency to relate the church to reality, as, for instance, to ask whether there is direct correlation between a city with the highest ratio of church buildings and membership which also has the highest rate of crime and pathology.

But there is also the contrariwise question as to whether, after all, the church should be held responsible for what the other institutions ought to do. There are those who question the efficiency of trying to make the minister a specialist in sociology, agriculture, industry, and economics, and the church people administrators of social policy. After all the rôle of religion may still be different, and there are many questions to be anwered here.

Even so the student of society may well profit by an inquiry into the sociological measuring of religion, both for what he will learn and for what he may contribute to the all too superficial study of the problem. Religion is still the most powerful of the folkways. In his *New Frontiers of Religion*, Arthur L. Swift, Jr. defines the sociology of religion as "the scientific study of the origins of religion as a social institution, its development, the varying forms it has assumed and the functions it has fulfilled with special reference to the scope and meaning of these functions in themselves and in relation to the functioning of other contemporary social institutions. In other words, it is an effort to find out what in fact are the tangible social characteristics of those forms of organization which are called religious, how variously they began and grew and what differences they have made and are making in the social structure of which they are a very real part."

In this framework of the *New Frontiers of Religion*, Professor Swift emphasizes the church as the product of social change, even as we have continuously had to relate

most of our problems to this elemental factor and as the Committee on *Recent Social Trends* envisaged all problems as primarily the product of change. Yet he also points out the importance of the church as the cause of social change in the state and in the world at large, and especially on some of the "new frontiers" of the church in education, child education, and psychology.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 21: THE CHURCH AND RELIGION

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are the major essentials of religion? Write a definition of religion.
2. What are the principal differences?
3. What are the major objectives of the church?
4. What has been the relation of the church to education in the United States? Are some of the weaknesses attributed to the church?
5. What is meant by the "social creed" of the churches?
6. What is meant by ethics? Describe and illustrate.
7. What values can be obtained from active church membership?
8. What efforts are being made to adapt the church to social change?
9. What are the advantages of religious fellowship?
10. What are some of the attitudes of the modern church leaders toward (a) the Social Security Act, (b) labor organizations, and (c) coöperatives?
11. What responsibility should the church assume in regard to relief problems in the local community?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How is the church recruiting and holding its youth?
2. How is the church contributing toward community leadership?
3. How is religion an individual matter? Are there certain social factors involved? John Adams answered this question. See if you can find his answer.
4. How can the Church justify its sanction of war? Under what circumstances?
5. How may the church promote the fundamental tenets of democracy?
6. How can the church assist in alleviating suffering and promote social justice?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effect or Result*

1. Why is religion a social problem?
2. Why are so many books published dealing with religion?
3. Why would you consider the ministry as a vocation?
4. Why did President Franklin D. Roosevelt stress religious freedom as one of the three major world problems at stake in contemporary conflict? Is this a fair appraisal? If so, has it always been true or is it more recently accentuated in the development of European situations?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. List the essential features of the following religions—Brahmanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Christianity. Note outstanding likenesses and differences.
2. Study the principal religions in the United States—number, growth, location, and leaders.
3. Make a study of the sects and denominations in the United States—classify according to differences in form and function.
4. Statistically report on the total number of churches and church population in the United States, the amount of property and wealth they have. Break down this material for four or five of the major denominations.

5. Which denominations seem to be increasing? Which decreasing?

6. Describe the church and its work in community organization.

7. Report on the work of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Note especially its efforts in social problems.

8. Similarly report on the work of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and that of the Central Conference of Jewish Rabbis.

9. To what extent is consolidation of churches taking place (*a*) within a denomination, as, for example, Methodist, and (*b*) with different denominations?

10. Locate on a map the churches in the community or county —name, denomination, number of members.

11. Make a chart to compare and contrast the social creeds and beliefs of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths.

12. Name ten cases of social injustice and discuss the stand taken in each case by any church connected with it.

13. What advantages are there in a state church—such as the Church of England? What disadvantages?

14. Obtain some church literature from ministers of the community—report on general contents to the class.

15. Present a picture of youth religious organizations in the United States, such as B. Y. P. U., Christian Endeavor, Y. M. C. A., Y. M. H. A., Y. W. C. A., Knights of Columbus, and so on.

16. Report on symbolism in church architecture.

17. See if you can find what connection there was between the religious life of the Greeks and their ethical life.

18. Find a statement indicating the connection between religion and good citizenship today.

19. See if you can find a description of any civilization that had no religion whatever.

20. Are small rural congregations on the increase or decrease? Give evidence in support of your opinion and suggest cause.

21. Make a free-hand zone map of your city and indicate the most recently constructed church buildings. In what zone are they located?

B. *To Plan*

1. Plan ways of creating a better understanding of the different religions in the world.
2. Organize a program whereby closer ties of unity may develop between different denominations.
3. Suggest ways for the church to enrich its social contributions to unequal places in the democracy.
4. Plan a coördinated program of the churches with the community.
5. Plan a coördinated program of the church with other social institutions.
6. Organize joint discussion groups and open forums in the churches.
7. Formulate a dynamic program of activity for the ministerial association.
8. Suggest ways of interesting youth in the ministry as a vocation.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

divisive	mores	secular
modernists	sanctions	symposium
fundamentalists	encyclicals	coöperatives

B. *Selected Readings and References*

In our general source materials we called attention to *Information Service*, published by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. To indicate the wide range of information on social problems, given during the year 1938 in some forty issues, the following main headings are tabulated:

Advertising	Courts
Agriculture and Rural Life	Credit Unions
Armaments	Crime and Criminals
Banks and Banking	Democracy

Business Capitalism
Censorship
Child Labor and Child Welfare
China
Church and Social Problems
Church and State
Church Unity
Civil Liberty
Coffee
Conferences
Constitution
Coöperatives
Cost of Living
International Relations
Japan
League for Industrial Democracy
Liquor
Militarism
Monographs
Narcotics
Nova Scotia
Peace
Philosophy
Politics and Government
Prisons
Profit-sharing
Public Affairs Committee
Public Opinion
Public Works
Publishing
Race Relations
Radio
Recovery
Divorce
Economics
Education
Employment
Family
Far East
Finance
Gambling
Health and Hygiene
Housing
Income
Industry and Industrial Relations
Insurance
Refugees
Relief
Religion and Health
Religion and Religious Education
Research
Science
Social Action
Social Security
Sociology and Social Work
Stewardship
Strikes
Supreme Court
Graham Taylor
Taxation
Tours
Unemployment
Wages and Hours
War
Women in Industry
Youth

The books listed on the following page contain important discussion of the church and religion.

BOWER, WILLIAM CLAYTON (ed.). *The Church at Work in the Modern World.* The University of Chicago Press, 1935.

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Unit VIII

Testing Grounds for the People

TOPIC 22: THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD OUTLOOK

IN THE previous topic we began our discussion of the church and religion by quotations from and references to the Christmas addresses of the President of the United States and the Pope in Vatican City, Italy, emphasizing the international character of Christianity in its appeal for world peace. In the President's efforts toward international peace he appointed Myron C. Taylor as personal representative to the Vatican; and invited Dr. George A. Buttrick, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and Rabbi Cyrus Adler, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America to join him in bringing the religious forces of the world to work for world peace. Rabbi Adler replied that "it is a noble deed to bring the forces of religion together."

In expressing his appreciation of President Roosevelt's move, the Pope said, "It is a Christmas message which could not have been more welcome to us because it is a powerful contribution for achievement of a just and durable peace and alleviation of the sufferings of war." He then proposed five points for international efforts. These points are listed on the next page.

1. Guarantee every nation—"big, little, powerful or weak"—the right to life and independence.
2. Liberate the world from the "slavery of armaments."
3. Correct the faults and ineffectiveness of "international" organizations created to solve peacefully the world's problems.
4. Comply with "the needs and just demands of nations, peoples and ethnical minorities."
5. Provide observance by statesmen and peoples of Christian principles.

All this is symbolic of the new world of international situations. These movements follow previous efforts and policies of the United States, featuring the "good-neighbor" policy toward all of our American neighbors to the south. All these problems and issues bring up again and again the earlier American policies of keeping out of foreign entanglements. They also bring vividly home to us the great changes that have been wrought in the world through science, technology, and communication. And they raise many questions as to how America can remain apart and yet help the world situation.

In our studies of Americanisms and of democracy we must always try to see this nation in all its fundamental backgrounds and ideals. But we must also try to understand the nation in relation to a world that is also a part of us as well as apart from us, even as we are a part of the larger society.

There are many ways in which we can study this world outlook in relation to American democracy. We may glimpse our present situation in relation to the rest of the world. We may think of America as a part of world society, and, by observing what is happening in the world at large, we may forecast what is likely to happen here. Also, in the search for a better America through democracy, we may

be able to understand what is wrong with modern society and from these observations try to work out a more nearly balanced situation. And we must try to see how America may develop the good society in the midst of this threatening world chaos.

One way of inquiring into the world setting is to ask questions of our European friends and refugees. Within recent years many European scholars have turned toward America with whatever hope they have envisaged through the gloom of war and the threat of chaos in European civilization. "If," they seem to say, "civilization and democracy can be saved, America must do the job." This is one way of looking at American social problems in a world setting.

It does more than this, however, in that it indicates the inseparable relationships that exist between the American nation and the world at large. It emphasizes again our constant reiteration of the fact that, although our laboratory for study is the American scene, it is not possible to understand American social problems without knowing something of their backgrounds in world society. And it is no longer possible to "chart the course of empire" in isolation and separateness from the rest of the world.

This emphasis upon the world outlook, moreover, goes still further and points out the need for all study and planning to conform to sound principles of social theory on the basis of world society today, and to seek enduring stability in terms of world relationships and of balance and equilibrium between and among many conflicting forces.

Thus, we picture American social problems always, in so far as may be possible, in the threefold setting: first, of the geography and culture of an American continent; second, in the setting of the world of nations; and, third, in

the setting of contemporary society in the newer and bigger world of technology.

We have already examined the American picture somewhat in detail in relation to its own national setting. We come now to look a little further into its setting in the technology of the contemporary world and to ask questions as to how this America in this contemporary world differs from other Americas of other periods; and subsequently we come to ask fundamental questions about an enduring equilibrium to be achieved in the new era.

Our studies seem to point clearly to a sort of sixfold characterization of the present period as being distinctive from other periods and, therefore, basic to all our problems.

First, there is the sheer distance between the old and the new, chasm of contrast between the swift-moving drama of current western civilization and the slow journeyings of mankind toward his earlier cultures.

Second, there is the physical bigness, the sheer mass spectacle of civilization in the modern world as yet unmeasured.

Third, not only speed, bigness, and complexity, but also technology and change are the new masters dominating the scene as they have never done before.

Fourth, there is, therefore, a chasm of distance between modern artificial society and supertechnology, on the one hand, and the capacity of the people and their institutions to adapt and absorb, on the other, which appears to be greater than ever before in the history of human culture.

Fifth, in spite of this unprecedented distance between the folk and technological progress in the present transitional society, the articulation and power of the masses are such as heretofore have not been recorded.

There is, in the sixth place, therefore, widespread con-

fusion bordering on despair, due to lack of focus on faith and motivation, such as has not been apparent in previous periods.

More specifically, the technological backgrounds from which many of our social problems arise may be approached by stating that the complaint is frankly against the dominance of technology and bigness over human welfare and social evolution. We are searching for some type of balanced economy which is also primarily a "culture"; an economy will serve as a medium for the continuing sweep of science and technology, which in turn can be made to serve, rather than exploit, mankind. Thus, we come to conclude that we must ascertain what are the settings of contemporary society which lead to *imbalance*. What are these basic factors in modern society and in the nation in particular which indicate such complexity and difficulty as to make imperative a new American way of seeking *balance* and *equilibrium* in a demoralized economy? For it seems clear that the chief points of tension are found in the *imbalance* and near chaos of the present order and in the need for certain types of equilibrium.

First, a new equilibrium between individualism and coöperative effort, between variation and standardization.

Second, balance between legislation and education, between coercive procedures and voluntary coöperation.

Third, equilibrium between the state and other social institutions of a free people. To what extent is the state, with its increasingly dominant rôle, to be supreme over industry, for instance? To what extent shall the state be supreme over education, religion, family life, and personal habits of the people?

Fourth, the balance and margin between nation and states, between federal aggregates and power and regional autonomies.

Fifth, a new equilibrium between mass rule and representative government, between geographic and occupational representation, between minority propaganda and majority rights.
Sixth, balance between centralization and decentralization.
Seventh, balance between resources and their exploitation, between production and distribution, between abundance economy and scarcity economy.
Eighth, an equilibrium between technology and humanity, machines and men.
Ninth, a new sort of balance between work and leisure.
Tenth, balance between industry and agriculture.
Eleventh, balance between agrarian culture and urban life.
Twelfth, balance between ownership and use of wealth.

In all these problems are involved the orientation and constantly changing balance between the old and the new, attitudes and values, science and morality, technology and tradition.

Now all this lack of balance and equilibrium are not only throwing out of gear the normal economic and cultural processes of the American people at home, but they have involved the nation in world affairs, which may any time shake the foundations of the whole national outlook.

As a matter of fact, this nation's participation in the World War of 1914–1918 would not and could not have happened except for the great technological achievements, which, on the one hand, involved the nations of Europe in conflict and subsequently made it possible for America to transport millions of men and resources across the Atlantic. Thus, about ninety-five per cent of the world's population were at war or broke off diplomatic relations. Over 10,000,000 men were killed, untold thousands suffered immeasurable losses, the foundations of faith, of

democracy, of Christianity were all shaken. The spectacle of 65,000,000 men using the machines of technology to destroy mankind in international warfare has since been revivified by the threat of a greater war, involving more people, more tools of death, and the new folkways of war which permit the destruction of families behind the lines. America at peace suddenly decides to arm for the protection of the whole continent, in defense against technical tools of war that do not recognize the Atlantic or Pacific as frontiers or barriers.

There are other ways in which the world outlook may be the arbiter of our programs and policies. One is the tension which has arisen over the threatened conflict between the "democratic nations" and the dictatorships. Questions flow quick and hard as to whether America must take its stand with European democracies or remain isolated. There is, therefore, because of this world outlook constant comparison between America and the European nations, their resources, their wealth, their people, their freedom, and their government. All this accentuates the realistic meaning of what is American, yet continuously affects the changing tempo of the American institutions.

The world outlook, here as elsewhere, may work both ways. That is, the nation looks abroad and studies relief, coöperatives, public welfare, and compares the American scene, sometimes to adapt European methods, but more often to turn thumbs down. On the other hand, the upheaval of European and Asiatic nations throws back upon America a steady flow of problems. People must have refuge. Markets must be replaced. Debts must be collected. Propaganda must be watched. Actual dangers must be anticipated. Liberty must be preserved.

There is another way in which the significance of the world outlook may be illustrated. Time was when Hitler's powerful drive to rebuild a great Germanic people, with his methods of force, would have constituted just another example of primitive struggle or earlier drive to build a race or a nation. If it had succeeded or if it had failed, the record would have become a part of history and the mightiest would have prevailed.

Today world interrelationships are such that there can be no isolated issue of mere race struggle or national expansion, because ruthless power and purge run contrary to the *mores* of much of the rest of the world. Not only this, but the rest of the world, owing to technology, can interfere. This interference, therefore, is quite likely to extend its influence to all nations and, therefore, to American policy.

Another way to look at America in its world setting is to study its history. It is easy to see the earlier idea of national interest, as Beard calls it, and the earlier isolationist period. Then came expansion and empire and wars. Then the World War came, and peace, and the pendulum swung back and forth in contradiction, now for isolation and peace, now for international union and peace, now for armaments to match the European nations, and so on and on.

In all of this there are ever present the seemingly simple facts of profound significance, in which American economy must surely change the world landscape. If the American people constituting a tenth and less of all the people, consume half of the world's manufactured commodities or resources in certain major fields, then America's world outlook is going to be of paramount importance.

Many other aspects of the world outlook may be cata-

logued in the framework and the studies of the League of Nations, ranging from child welfare and the requisite quantities of milk consumption to the technical problems of trade agreements and war policies. The whole catalog of international agreements and of the rapidly changing continental geography may well serve as the frame of reference for a separate study of America's world outlook. So, too, the trends to unity and coöperation between the two Americas represent another important factor in the world outlook of the United States of America. Indeed, the catalog of world problems and situations is long enough and technical enough to constitute a very special field of study.

Let us, therefore, look at a few representative and fundamental situations through which the world outlook of American social problems may be clearly reflected. Perhaps we may best begin with certain socio-economic international relationships which are everywhere accepted as key problems. Thus it is clear, that in spite of the appeal for economic nationalism, for "America self-contained," the American economy of the 1930's has been interrelated with economies of other nations in most of their fundamental aspects. This is true of agriculture, as witness the decline of foreign consumption of American cotton and its powerful effects not only upon the South but upon the nation as a whole.

There are many other similar commodities—wheat, corn, livestock, fruits—which reflect dilemmas of what to substitute for foreign markets, or how to regain those markets, or what to do for the farmer whose whole welfare and efficiency are affected. In the case of cotton, for instance, the whole cultural economy of the South is likely to be transformed, and what is to hinder this changing economy

from throwing out of balance the dairy or hay or wheat economy of the other regions and affecting the whole fabric of American culture?

This is true likewise of our manufacturing, as may be illustrated again in scores of instances. The United States in the 1930's, contrary to Thomas Jefferson's admonition to leave the factories to Europe, has built a national total production plant of extraordinary capacity output for raw materials, for manufactures, and for technical services. Now any international situation which restricts trade, which restricts production, which restricts general economic activity, will again restrict the abundance economy of consumption for production. This means not only economic chaos but cultural deterioration, lower standards of living, lack of opportunity, and social maladjustment.

Or again, suppose we look at some of the principal commodities upon which American prosperity so much depends and compare the ratio of exports to domestic consumption to get a partial picture of what is involved. Thus, to select a small number which affect the economy of a single region, we note that an average of more than a third of certain commodities is exported: nearly forty-five per cent of phosphate rock, nearly fifty per cent of gum rosin and turpentine, over forty per cent of cotton, nearly forty per cent of tobacco leaf, nearly forty per cent of lubricating grease, and nearly a third of lubricating oil.

Another major point of contact in the world outlook is that of immigration. The present generation forgets or perhaps has never envisioned the picture of a million immigrants pouring into the land of the melting pot in a single year. Now manifestly the other extreme of a very small number being admitted is a policy resulting from certain emerging problems. Professor Giddings used to

say that, regardless of what was right or wrong, best or worst, the nation had to choose between large streams of foreigners, implying lack of adaptation and a less democratic government, or fewer immigrants and a greater unity and democracy.

Now with world upheaval, the nation is again faced with a plea for opening its doors to refugees from various parts of the world. This situation manifestly is not a domestic problem but involves the whole European situation in which the nationalities are often classified as "The Haves," "The Have-nots" and "The Powers." Thus Werner P. Friederich arranged his *Political Problems in Present-Day Europe* under these categories, listing "The Haves" as France, England, and Russia; the "Have-nots" as Germany and Italy; "The Powers" as the Little Entente, the Balkan Entente, Poland and the Balkan States, Albania, Hungary, Ireland, Spain and Portugal; and "The Spectators" as Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries. Around the changing cultural, political, and geographic landscapes of Europe revolves many a problem of American policy.

This suggests again the problem which we have emphasized over and over again, namely, the essential values of comparative political and economic systems now being urged upon the nations and now in coöperative struggle for dominance or survival. We have pointed out how for the first time American democracy must actually compete now with general theories of socialism and communism, with the specific communistic socialism of the Soviet Union, with the nazism of Germany and the fascism of Italy and with the emerging consumers' coöperative movement, much of which had its momentum overseas.

One of the most illuminating pictures of the United

States in the world setting has been presented by M. E. Tracy in a vivid technique of four parallel columns for Italy, Germany, Russia, and the United States in *Our Country, Our People, and Theirs.* Challenging the United States to survey its problems in the world setting, he compares area and resources, population, agriculture, mining and manufacture, labor, business and trade, finance, living conditions, transportation and communication, education, culture, recreation, the family, health, government, defense, law enforcement, crime and penology, and human rights. He concludes that the study of these situations should enable the people to answer the supreme questions of the hour. Specifically Tracy points out:

This is not the first time in which democratic people have been challenged to stand by their principles under great strain. From the beginning, democratic philosophy has been ridiculed and sneered at as impractical and inefficient. Every so often, some group has risen to question its workability, not only on the outside, but within those countries where it had been adopted. Every so often it has been called upon to defend itself, not only against propaganda, but sometimes against physical assault. The Monroe Doctrine, for instance, was established to prevent autocracy from recapturing Latin America, and to give the people of Latin America an opportunity to develop and perfect democratic institutions without interference from abroad. We cannot hope to preserve democracy by adopting an easy-going passive attitude toward those who would destroy it. Neither can we hope to preserve it by flying into an excess of passion and pursuing policies contrary to the basic principles on which it rests. It must be preserved as it is, or it will not be worth preserving. And that includes those fundamental rights which represent its real foundation.

The task requires patience and forbearance. It requires a steadfastness of faith which refuses to be narrow and intolerant for the sake of expediency. It requires the maintenance of free discussion and free expression, no matter how disagreeable or irksome

they may appear. It requires a consistent refusal to invoke repressive measures and discriminatory laws, no matter what the temptation. Such measures and such laws only weaken democracy by giving its critics a chance to say that it cannot take its own medicine.

There is, of course, in the world outlook, in addition to the European scene, the two other great areas of world contact, namely, the kaleidoscopic picture of the Far East and the changing scene in the Americas. Thus the American Council of Pacific Relations held seven conferences in the United States in which the testimony of three hundred participants pointed to "a great need for arousing American public opinion to a clearer appreciation of new conditions and to careful weighing of the suggestion whether measures of a kind not envisaged in our traditional Far Eastern policy may be necessary to promote the long range interests of the United States in the Far East."

Concerning the unity of the two Americas in a solid front against trends toward totalitarianism, Secretary Cordell Hull's utterances at Lima in December of 1938, as reported in the current Associated Press dispatches, state some of the problems. He declared that American nations were

> . . . keenly aware of the threat to their principles and institutions which has arisen elsewhere in nations holding alien ideas which they seek to impose by force or extend by deception. Unless I mistake the prevailing attitude here, the American nations are determined to defend these institutions and principles of their own choice. . . . In our measurement of and attitude toward contemporary affairs and future prospects there are exhibited broader visions and broader views than sometimes prevailed in the past. I sense much less rivalry, whether between countries or individuals, than in previous conferences.

Manifestly, we must not forget the technical problems of war and peace, of trade agreements and compacts, of the League of Nations, and of many other organizations and agencies devoted to the promotion of a world community of nations as one of the ends of the adequate society to be sought in the long run.

Finally, the world outlook is reflected in many of the major questions which the student and citizen are trying to answer. Here are a score of problems which appear to be standard "world problems" even as we attack them in the American setting:

The fear and prospect of war.
Racial or ethnic group discrimination as exemplified in the situation of the Jews abroad.
The maldistribution of wealth, income, opportunity.
The problem of democratic survival from the attack of the totalitarian states.
Maldistribution of power or the crisis of power in the world.
The need for equalization of opportunities between races and classes.
The crisis of capital versus labor.
The propaganda menace.
The problem of land.
The problem of freedom versus security.
The need for reconstruction of educational functions and methods in the United States.
The problem of qualitative and quantitative distribution of population.
The rising tide of unemployment.
The need for equilibrium between technology and human culture.
The need for measures of progress instead of regression.
The predicament of minority groups in the world today.
The problem of the margin between capitalism and socialism.
The problem of a revivification of or a substitute for Christianity in western civilization.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 22: THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD OUTLOOK

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are the (*a*) benefits and (*b*) dangers of nationalism?
2. What was the purpose of the Monroe Doctrine and how well has it succeeded? How is it regarded today?
3. What policy should the United States adopt toward the following: (*a*) Germany's treatment of the Jew, (*b*) Italy's aggressive land policy, (*c*) the so-called "encirclement" policy of England and France, (*d*) the Chinese-Japanese conflict, (*e*) Russia's activity in the Baltic States, and (*f*) freedom of the seas in time of war.
4. What is economic nationalism? Note its methods.
5. What is economic imperialism? Note its methods.
6. What do tariff barriers have to do with war?
7. What is meant by "a sphere of influence"? Give examples. How is that related to a "colonial policy"?
8. What is meant by "self-determination"?
9. What justification is there for dictatorship? When?
10. What circumstances would justify war?
11. What is "Jingoism"?
12. To what extent are fascism, nazism, and communism extreme forms of nationalism? How are they alike? How are they different?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How is world economy related to war?
2. How do race, language, religion, customs, traditions, and national laws affect international relations?
3. How was the original isolation policy of the United States inconsistent? Why was it abandoned?

4. What was the foreign policy of the United States about 1900?

5. How would you describe the foreign policy of the United States today?

6. How would the United States, England, or France act if they were in the position of Germany?

7. What determines the foreign policy of a nation?

8. How far should attempt be made to arbitrate, appease, negotiate, or conciliate international relations before going to war?

9. How should international differences be adjusted?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why are some of the staunchest supporters of war found among church members and in the schools in contrast to the ideals of Christianity and social education?

2. Why is the United States unpopular in many parts of the world?

3. Why is Germany criticized for her present aggressive movements in Europe?

4. Why should any nation be unfriendly with another simply because they possess different forms of government?

5. Should the United States have a popular referendum before declaring war? Discuss.

6. Why is the draft system considered a democratic method in time of war?

7. Why is it that Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden have been prosperous?

8. Why do Germany and Italy need colonies? Discuss.

9. Why did Germany establish a system of international barter? Discuss the economic factors of the procedure. What is "block currency"?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. From the national origins of the people of the United States, list nations from which we obtained our population, give numbers and percentages and locate their centers of residence.

2. Make bar graphs of foreign loans in the United States since 1790.

3. What are some of the modern agencies for promoting international good will? Briefly present programs. Note especially: National Peace Conference, 8 West 40 Street, New York City; League of Nations; National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.; The Foreign Policy Association, 8 West 40 Street, New York City; The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117 Street, New York City; International Labor Organization; World Peaceways. Also obtain their materials, pamphlets, and books.

4. Give an account of the formation of the League of Nations —its activities, its decline, its possible future.

5. What has it accomplished? Why has it not accomplished more?

6. Write an article on the waste of war.

7. List ten of the chief methods used during the Great War to inflame the people against the enemy.

8. What are some of the obstacles in the way of world peace?

9. Outline a practical course on war and peace for a community club.

10. Review the treaty of Versailles. Do you think it was a just treaty? In what ways is it responsible for present-day European problems?

11. Review the Kellogg Peace Pact. What was its weakness?

12. What are the fundamental issues involved in the Chinese-Japanese conflict at present? In what way are we concerned?

13. What is the "open-door policy"? How was it established?

14. Describe the "good-neighbor" policy of the United States. Illustrate its worth.

15. Report on the neutrality plan of the United States in former years and at present.

16. Ask the State Department in Washington to send you material on the trade-agreements program. Analyze this plan as a contribution to world peace.

17. Debate the question of the government ownership of munitions plants.

18. By chart show the costs of war in money, in property, in men dead and wounded. Why is this an inaccurate picture?

19. Report on some of the accomplishments of the League of

Nations. Should we say that the idea is impossible? Has it failed?

20. Give reasons why the United States did not join the League and tell why Germany, Brazil, Italy, and Japan withdrew from it.

21. Describe the World Court and its work. Find what has been the attitude of United States toward it.

B. *To Plan*

1. Plan some form of international agreement that would insure peaceful settlement of individual problems.

2. Plan lecture series that would bring to the attention of people the status of foreign countries and create better understanding of their problems.

3. Sponsor an open-forum discussion on the foreign policy of the United States government.

4. Have an open forum on the causes of war—how they may be ameliorated or eliminated.

5. Divide the nations of the world into Have's and Have-not's. Explain classification and suggest ways to bring about balance.

6. Suggest and justify changes in our neutrality law, or explain why you think no change should be made.

7. Draw a cartoon depicting a critical attitude toward war.

8. Appoint a commission within the class to arbitrate existing international problems.

9. Sponsor a vigorous campaign to enrich the democratic process as the best form of government. Be fair. Recognize the problems of democracy. Compare this form of government with other forms.

10. Plan a world economic conference program of discussions and proposals.

11. Write a world brotherhood code—the essential factors that should guide all international relations.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

penology
autonomies
orientation
articulation
regression

B. *Selected Readings and References*

In this field current discussion of the late 1930's are so much concentrated upon international affairs that the student might also accept this as the chief problem. Selections of references, therefore, may be made at any length desired. In this chapter we tend to feature references on war and peace as reflecting, at the present time, the most important question about the world outlook.

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TOPIC 23: PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

THE HEART of the problem of American democracy is found in the difficult task of guaranteeing to every individual and group the opportunity which we have written into the "American Dream." This is what we have called "making democracy effective in the unequal places," because it is relatively easy for opportunity to come to those whose economic and social status makes them free to work out their own plans. Because in the modern world of complex industrial and urban society with millions of people in the new order seeking increased opportunity, our problem is so difficult, we have called it one of the *testing grounds* for the people. And because the government in a democracy seeks more and more to afford full services to the people, we have termed *public welfare* the social work of government—the techniques for making this democracy effective in the unequal places.

Here, again, we come face to face with great changes in the nation. In the old days the welfare problem was one for the local community, which was small enough for all the people to know one another. It was the American policy of self-help and neighborliness, of charity and friendliness. But now we have a much more difficult problem.

The earlier American provisions for the general welfare and the public weal have long since been supplemented by the more dynamic demands of technical public welfare and social work, American style. From general assumptions of mutual aid and philanthropy, the nation has evolved its several stages of "social-welfare" ideals—first to a great national ideal and organization for philanthropy

and "charity," then to the dual system of private and public aid, and now to the increasing dominance of social security through public assistance, relief, and public welfare organizations of state, city, and county.

Such a trend, however, represents more than change; it is symbolic of the cumulative problems which contemporary society finds in its catalog of "musts" and represents a sort of summary of all our American problems. In the trend also may be reflected the ever-increasing rôle of government in all matters relating to human readjustments in a world of industry and technology.

To illustrate the increasing participation of government in social services, we need only to refer to the fact that, during the recent depression, relief was the biggest business of the United States and this relief was administered and in many cases is still being administered through numerous agencies, such as the following:

The Public Works Administration, through which much employment in construction work has been furnished and aid given and the buying of producers' goods insured.

The Work Projects Administration, through which much general employment and the distribution of commodities have been provided for.

The Farm Security Administration, through which assistance has been rendered to farm folk.

The various aspects and units of the original Agricultural Adjustment Act, through which relief was given to farm prices and to a weakened agriculture.

The National Youth Administration, through which unemployed youth has received assistance and guidance.

The Social Security Act, through which assistance has been rendered to the aged, to the blind, to mothers and

children, and to the needy; and through which unemployment insurance may be provided.

The various farm and home loan administrations through which relief from foreclosure may be provided.

The Federal Writers' Project, through which relief may be rendered to authors and other literary folk.

There were many others and within each of these many subdivisions which the student will want to look up and explore. All of this, together with the vast public assistance program which we call *Public Welfare* or the *Social Work Part of Government* has grown out of *first*, the social work movement in the nation, and *second*, the cumulative problems of a big nation and the depression. We must look into each of these.

In the past, up to 1920, the American social-work movement was dominated by private or voluntary social work. Miss Sydnor Walker, in her chapter in *Recent Social Trends*, has characterized social work as "primarily for the benefit of those individuals who are economically unable to pay for the services required for their social well-being" and as "the channel for direct efforts to mitigate the consequences of social living which are unfortunate in their effect upon certain groups and certain individuals."

Social welfare is the larger term which has developed to cover all these services. Social welfare may be characterized in three ways to illustrate the need and the problem. The *first* of these is amelioration or improving the lot of mankind, including relief and prevention.

In the *second* place, social welfare is characterized by its emphasis upon deficiency, primarily social deficiency, but involving the physically handicapped as well. That is, social-welfare services are directed towards the situations

and needs of those who require help and cannot supply it themselves. Such deficiency may be manifested in various physical, mental, and behavior handicaps; and it may apply alike to the individual, to the family or to the neighborhood group. Social welfare emphasizes the prevention of future social deficiencies as well as the care and cure of existing ones.

In the *third* place, this technical social-welfare function implies supplementary help, or effort, or resources, or service of some sort. This may be supplementary to the resources of the individual or the family or the community. The family may need help to maintain a standard, the individual may need help in readjustment, the community may need help in a crisis. This procedure may involve special aid or resources given by an agency or society or institution to any individual or class whose ordinary personal or institutional regimen is inadequate for the desired standards of living or conduct.

Now it must be clear that this helping hand of the government and the county to supply the deficiencies and supplement resources adequate to give opportunity to individual or family or group, is a clear function of democracy. The question then turns out to be how to do the job. This in turn is a problem, *first*, of analyzing the kinds of social services needed, and *second*, of utilizing the best agencies for the work. Already we have catalogued some of the needs of the community and suggested a threefold division of agencies, namely, those which feature physical and material development; those which feature education and character building; and those which feature social work. Chapin and Queen in their study of *Social Work in the Depression*, published by the Social Science Research Council, give the following classifications:

1. The larger field of *Case Work* includes:
   - Family welfare
   - Children's aid and protective work
   - Medical social work
   - Psychiatric social work
   - Visiting teaching
   - Vocational guidance and personnel work
   - Probation and parole
   - Protective work for adults
2. The general field of *Group Work* includes:
   - Supervision of local groups using social centers
   - Direction of units of national program agencies
   - Supervision of play
   - Informal education
   - Leadership in neighborhood activities
3. The general field of *Institutional Care* includes:
   - Children
   - Delinquents
   - Convalescents
   - Aged
   - Handicapped
4. *Social Planning and Program Promotion* includes:
   - Research
   - Publicity
   - Coördination
   - Legislation
   - Financing
5. *Administrative Work* includes:
   - General direction of any of the above
   - Employment service
   - Pensions
   - Social insurance

In their work Chapin and Queen gave samplings of agencies through which the foregoing types of services are rendered. In addition to public agencies in all fields the following are listed:

1. *Case Work*—family welfare societies, chapters of the American Red Cross, Catholic Charities, Jewish social service bureaus, International Institutes of the Y.W.C.A., children's aid societies, boards of children's guardians, hospitals, dispensaries, clinics, school systems, juvenile courts, criminal courts, courts of domestic relations, societies for the protection of girls, immigrants, travelers.
2. *Group Work*—social settlements, young men's and young women's Christian and Hebrew associations, Boy and Girl Scouts, churches, schools, park systems.
3. *Institutional Work*—orphanages, special schools, detention homes, prisons, reformatories, homes for aged, convalescents, and various sorts of handicapped folk.
4. *Social Planning and Program Promotion*—councils of social agencies, community chests, boards of public welfare, urban leagues, public health departments and associations, national network agencies, state and national conferences of social work.
5. *Administrative Work*—all of the foregoing, plus state departments of public welfare, employment bureaus, and all offices having to do with the federal security program.

In her 1939 book on *Your Community* Miss Joanna Colcord studies public-welfare and social-work problems under several special headings. In addition to *provisions for the handicapped*, including the mentally handicapped and the physically handicapped, and *provisions for health care*, she features *public* assistance, special provisions for family welfare, and special provisions for child welfare.

Under the larger theme of public assistance she considers *general public assistance, unemployment assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, old-age assistance, aid to farmers, aid to veterans, aid to transients and homeless*, as well as the broader field of *institutional care*. The special provisions for family welfare include the whole range of *family finances*, including *standards of living*, home owner-

ship and the like; problems of *marriage and divorce*, the *family court* and others. So, too, in the field of child care, the *juvenile court, protective organizations, foster-family care, day nurseries, institutional care.*

Few of the current trends are more fundamentally related to the development of America's social policy than those which we are discussing under the technical term of *public welfare.* As a special technique of government, public welfare comprehends the technical social welfare functions and services of local, state, and federal government and is a specialized extension of the social-work field and technique formerly comprehended in American philanthropy.

It not only has its roots deep in the American heritage, but our whole quest for social justice, past and present, is vitally concerned with the philosophy and organization of modern public welfare. The underlying principles and the actual practice of democracy are involved. Public welfare administration is tied in closely with the structure of governmental finance; its technique is inseparably bound up with social amelioration and social control.

The rights of the individual and the sovereignty of the state are involved, as are also the marginal points between coöperative enterprises found in voluntary community social work, on the one hand, and governmental assistance, control, and supervision, on the other. This ratio of coöperative effort is of the greatest importance in the evolution of the economic, political, and social organization of society. It involves also the technology of modern business and economics as well as the newer movements toward economic and social planning. And public welfare, as a technique of modern democratic government, is being challenged to meet the impact, on the one hand, of sweeping changes brought about by science and invention, and, on the other

hand, of enthusiastic advocates of rapid changes in social and political institutions. It is, therefore, concerned with the theoretical aspects of American institutions and with the solution of many of her problems.

How public welfare came to be what it is constitutes one of the most interesting stories of the last half century; and especially vivid have been the developments of recent years. Both the gradual changes and the more recent developments are fundamentally related to our whole civic life, and they are to a great extent the logical result of cumulative forces. A world of science and invention, being continuously and breathlessly transformed by the quantity application of this same science and invention, has resulted not only in remaking the physical world, but also in changing and extending the world of social contacts and relationships. The necessary readjustments, therefore, extended throughout the range of human endeavor—social attitudes and philosophy, social practice and social organization, social legislation, national and international relations, to which must be added the more intimately routine tasks of everyday life and work, and the manner of recreational and cultural living. The results of these changes and readjustments have been everywhere apparent.

There has been the continuous general social evolution from old ways to new.

There has been the greatly increased aggregate of social activity and the multiplication of social hazards.

The obligation of society to provide increasingly for uniformity in the equality of opportunity has been an immediate need.

There have been labor and family readjustments incident to the sweep of modern technology, and many other imperative institutional readjustments.

And there have been shifting cycles of economic and social emergency, everywhere challenging the student and the expert to reconsider anew many old issues and to examine new ones as well.

A natural product of these forces, therefore, has been an increasing emphasis upon a social welfare which should be attained through social science and social research, and the application and utilization in the enrichment of life and in the better ordering of society.

This increasing emphasis upon social welfare, however, was also the result of cumulative forces over a considerable period of time. It is true that rapid changes and economic depression had accentuated the demand for stocktaking and had challenged the world of leadership to show cause why it should not explain the current situations and point the way to permanent adjustments. Nevertheless, this swelling tide of social inquiry had risen steadily with each recurring season of national development. The growth of democracy witnessed fundamental changes in the underlying philosophy of social welfare in democratic government. This grew up alongside the phenomenal development of public education, which itself at one time had been considered charity. Other tides of influences swept on:

The growth of higher education, of professional schools, of adult education.

The wide distribution of knowledge through the greatly increased publication of books and periodicals and through radio education.

The influence of communication and mobility of the people as it affected interstate and intercommunity problems. And there has been the growth of a leisure class.

The increased leisure time for many others who do not belong to the leisure class.

The great increase and storing up of surplus wealth incident to a rapidly developing nation.

All these developments were conditioned somewhat by the aftermath of the great war; by various economic and social conflicts following in the new period; by the rapid extension of special techniques into the social field as well as into the industrial and commercial world.

Among other gradual developments were various minor changes in economic organization and the use of invested capital, which focussed the attention of the public upon social values and especially upon social welfare and its attainment with a minimum of costs of government:

The shift to the cities and the problems incident to changing land utilization.

The changing rôle of labor and labor groups.

Tremendous changes in the field of medicine and public health.

Sweeping changes in public administration and the extension of governmental function, with accompanying increases in expenditures.

Radical shifts in the whole field of law and jurisprudence.

A swelling tide of social legislation.

The rapid rise of specialization in various fields of government and public endeavor.

And great strides in professional social work and the extension of philanthropy.

Nor was this increasing emphasis upon social welfare limited to the professional social worker, the technical expert in government, the student in the classroom, or the scholar in social science.

The churches were making social welfare a part of the gospel.

The women's clubs were studying it.

Advertising agencies were capitalizing the ideals involved in the term.

It was constantly recurring as a feature in periodical literature.

The politicians were asking about its meaning.

The newspapers were writing about it.

The distinguished editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature* in 1930 was setting forth the dictum that the characteristic feature of the present era may well be its emphasis on social welfare—"the great American promise," the "buffer device which ameliorates the inevitable maladjustments of our economic system."

The student, in his ever-constant attention to American democracy, will want to look finally at the trends and types of change and progress which have been made in both private social work and public work or public social work since 1900 and even since 1930. Dr. Walker summarizes the major developments of social work in the first third of this century somewhat as follows, on pages 1221–1223 of *Recent Social Trends:*

1. During the first third of this century there was a marked increase in private social welfare activities (a greater increase in public welfare activities since 1933).
2. The development of individualized treatment of maladjustment—social case work—has been of primary importance in shaping the methods and objectives of private social agencies.
3. Emphasis upon prevention of poverty and degeneracy has characterized social work during the last quarter century.
4. Social legislation, surveys and investigations, and the development of activities of preventive and constructive nature have been promoted by social work.
5. Since 1915 there has been a definite trend toward a higher

standard of relief for dependent families and individuals.

6. There has been a marked emphasis upon the psychiatric approach to all social maladjustment.
7. The coördinating and systematizing of social work activities since 1915 constitutes a major trend.
8. The effort of social workers to obtain professional status has been constant during the past twenty years.
9. The growth of professional schools, of research by social work organizations, and of publications has been especially notable within the period since 1920.
10. The development of social work has proceeded very unevenly in the United States as a whole.
11. The trend which is most important in marking the probable future developments in social welfare is the absorption of activities as a part of public administration in increasing number and at accelerated rate.
12. During the past years, the administration of relief-giving has become decidedly more a function of public than of private agencies.
13. The privately supported social agency, however, should continue to have an important place in American life, since it can supplement public welfare work successfully.

A similar summary of trends in public welfare is given by Howard W. Odum on pages 1224–1225 of *Recent Social Trends:*

1. Public welfare has assumed a definite and technical meaning, definitive of its function and service in current political and social organization.
2. Underlying concepts and philisophy have undergone revision away from the old condescending charity and philanthropy to the newer ideals of democratic service.
3. As to its general work, techniques and methods, the trend of public welfare is toward the adoption of the standards of professional social work, of which it is a special extension and adaptation.
4. In public-welfare administration, the movement has been

toward the adoption of the general standards of public administration.

5. With regard to its official status, public welfare has developed from an incidental, haphazard, irregular activity to a regular, full fledged "standard" function of government, tending more and more to become integrated into the governmental structure.
6. As to its relation to all social welfare services, there has developed an increasing emphasis upon public welfare as contrasted with private social work.
7. Public welfare, therefore, has tended to assume an increasingly large rôle in the organic life of the United States.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 23: PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are the new concepts of public welfare and social work?
2. What are the democratic implications of the nation's social responsibility to those in need?
3. What rôle should the federal government assume in public welfare?
4. What leadership should the state contribute in this field?
5. What are the relations of public welfare and social work to social control?
6. What are the advantages of public-welfare programs as against work of private agencies?
7. What are the dangers of unscientific methods in social work? Illustrate.
8. What are some of the dangers involved in too rapid development of social work?

9. What are the chief obstacles in the way of public welfare in the state?

10. What can be done to ameliorate or eliminate the need for relief? Offer many suggestions.

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How does the program of public welfare sponsored by government differ from programs sponsored by private agencies?

2. How can the community function most efficiently in this field?

3. How may the school aid?

4. Should the church change its policy? Note its former leadership and its present-day trends.

5. How much are the local, state, regional, and federal governments spending for relief? Offer facts.

6. How is this money obtained?

7. How is it distributed?

8. How may philanthropy administer and serve today in matters of relief and need?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why is the old plan of "charity" not satisfactory as a plan of social work today?

2. Why is trained leadership essential?

3. Why has the emphasis changed so rapidly? Note activities of the New Deal?

4. Why should relief be financed through a tax system rather than by philanthropy?

5. Why is "case work" so essential in effective social work?

6. Why is prevention constantly receiving more and more attention in this field?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Briefly describe the early methods of administering to the needy here in the United States.

2. List the factors and explain each that tended to create the modern social work and public welfare movement.

3. Report on private relief, giving the name of the organization, field of relief and program of activity.

4. Bring to the class a complete account of the organization of the state department of public welfare.

5. Also a full account of its activities.

6. Describe the organization and program of the county welfare department.

7. What is the Social Security Act? Give its divisions. Indicate the extent to which your state is participating and sharing in its benefits.

8. Evaluate the Work Projects Administration as a social welfare program.

9. Evaluate the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps as a social welfare program.

10. List other agencies and activities sponsored by the federal government in this field.

11. Evaluate the work of the fraternal orders, such as the Masons, Elks, Odd Fellows, church groups, and others.

12. What is the scope of the National Conference of Social Work?

13. Give various concepts of the field and rôle of social work.

14. Trace briefly the development of scientific methods in social work.

15. Make a case for the needs for social work in rural areas.

16. How are we meeting the needs for trained leadership? What is being done in your state? How are the universities and colleges responding?

17. List all agencies, clubs, and programs for social work in the local community.

18. Outline the work of a local community chest.

19. Poll the class as to attitudes about public welfare. Whose responsibility? How far should we go? What of social work as a vocational opportunity and the like?

B. *To Plan*

1. Plan a code of social relations that would greatly ameliorate or eliminate the need for social welfare.

2. Plan a preventive program along all these lines.

3. Suggest ways of creating proper attitudes regarding matters of social responsibility.

4. Make suggestions whereby the federal government can better enter this field.

5. Make suggestions whereby the state can enhance its offerings to people in the unequal places.

6. Plan a regional concept of public welfare in its many aspects.

7. Draw up standards necessary for a good social worker.

8. Make a plan showing necessary courses of study in preparation for social work.

9. Choose a local committee who will survey local needs and work out a local program.

10. Give definite suggestions whereby the school can function to prevent the need for social welfare in the future—proper attitudes, and action.

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

mitigate
social emergency

B. *Selected Readings and References*

The fundamental societal problem involved in public welfare, social welfare, and welfare is not one of relief or charity or corrections, but it is essentially that of opportunity in a democratic society. That is, it is no more charity to see that the citizen has equal opportunity for health, wealth, and normalcy than to provide for education, which is considered a tenet of democracy. An important study here is to catalog the areas of modern society and give illustrations of how this principle is fundamental in problems of security, employment, and income.

In *Recent Social Trends*, these aspects of modern society were featured especially in Chapter XXIII on "Privately Supported Social Work" by Sydnor H. Walker and Chapter XXIV on "Public Welfare Activities" by Howard W. Odum. Corollary studies are found in Harry H. Moore's Chapter XXI on "Health and Medical

Practice" and in Chapter XXII on "Crime and Punishment" by Edwin H. Sutherland and C. E. Gehlke.

Fundamental questions arise, of course, as to the extent to which government can tend to guarantee these services to all the people in any way commensurate with its similar guarantee of education. There are scores of current publications of the more fugitive sort, especially coming from government agencies and social work agencies, which will repay the student who wishes to specialize.

Other than the chapters in *Recent Social Trends*, the books listed below tend to feature the newer aspects of security.

ARMSTRONG, LOUISE V. *We Too Are the People.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938.

BURNS, ARTHUR E., and WILLIAMS, EDWARD A. *A Survey of Relief and Security Programs.* Works Progress Administration, May, 1938.

DAVIS, MICHAEL M. *Public Medical Services: A Survey of Tax-Supported Medical Care in the United States.* University of Chicago Press, 1937.

FEDER, LEAH H. *Unemployment Relief in Periods of Depression: A Study of Measures Adopted in Certain American Cities, 1857–1922.* Russell Sage Foundation, 1936.

GEDDES, ANNA E. *Trends in Relief Expenditures 1910–1935.* Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph X, 1937.

HOPKINS, HARRY L. *Spending To Save.* W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1936.

KURTZ, RUSSELL H. (ed.). *The Public Assistance Worker.* Russell Sage Foundation, 1938.

LANE, MARIE DRESDEN, and STEEGMULLER, FRANCIS. *America On Relief.* Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938.

Public Welfare in Transition. Annual report of Department of Public Welfare. The Devinne-Brown Corporation, 1937.

Recent Social Trends in the United States. Chapters XXIII and XXIV.

Social Security in the United States, 1938. American Association for Social Security, Inc., 1938.

STEVENSON, MARIETTA (with the assistance of other members of

the staff). *Public Welfare Administration.* The Macmillan Company, 1938.

STEWART, MAXWELL S. (in coöperation with Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council) *Security or the Dole.* Public Affairs Committee, 1936.

WHITE, LEONARD. *Trends in Public Administration.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934.

TOPIC 24: SOCIAL TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL PLANNING

THROUGHOUT THIS book we have had to emphasize the influence of science, invention, and technology upon our modern world. One of our first topics was devoted entirely to this theme and in most of the other topics we have called attention to the great changes that have taken place in each of several phases of American life.

We have also called attention to the great contributions of science to society, and we have enumerated some of the gains that have been made. We have then catalogued some of the complaints against science, because it sweeps our human society along too fast for mankind to keep up. We have quoted some of the opinions of distinguished scholars and leaders, and we have asked many questions as to how the gains of science may be conserved alongside the conservation of the people and of human and spiritual values as well as material values.

We have also used the terms "technology" and "technological" a great deal, and we have quoted a great many people as saying that the present is an age of technology. By technology we mean *science, invention, machines, organization, management, skills,* and the resulting cumulative procedures which have transformed the physical world about us.

In general, it is believed that all of this science and technology would be accounted great gain to society if it could match physical science with social science, mechanical invention with social invention; and engineering with social planning. Thus, we come to use the terms science, invention, engineering with the added meaning of "social" and

thus propose new frontiers in which the physical sciences and the social sciences may for the first time join hands in the better ordering of society in the modern complex world. How much of this can be done must depend upon how well the youth of this generation are educated, how patriotic they are in the new sense of loyalty to mankind and his well-being, and how well they can then advance the ways and means by which the social sciences can function.

By the social sciences we mean economics, sociology, political science, history, statistics, anthropology, social psychology, social biology, social ethics, jurisprudence or social law, and sometimes education as it attempts to study and promote the development of men through accepted scientific methods. In general, these are the basic social sciences comparable to physics, mathematics, astronomy, biology, and chemistry in the physical sciences.

But as is the case with the physical sciences, there are many other sciences which grow out of these basic sciences that are commonly called applied sciences. Thus, in the physical sciences there are more than forty such special applications, such as aeronautics, engineering, soil science, eugenics, ecology, medicine, sanitation, and the others. It is through these that the discoveries of science are made effective.

So in the social sciences there are increasingly new reaches in the application of science to society in such great fields as social work, public administration, education, psychiatry and clinical services, public health and public-welfare services, commerce and industry, public accounting and budgeting, and many others.

Now it is interesting to note how mankind has been inclined to study all things else before he has studied himself, his own society and welfare. This is one reason that the

social sciences have lagged behind the physical sciences. This is one reason why it is so difficult to get the public interested in the social sciences. Because of their newness the social sciences have not for long had trained leaders and scholars. There are other reasons why people are afraid of the social sciences, as, for example, they apparently conflict with much tradition and with much classical education.

In our studies of American social problems we are at once confronted with the difficulties of presenting new ways of doing things and, in particular, with the prejudices against studying and planning for human welfare as we plan for economic development. We are reminded over and over again that we should not contemplate such terms as social technology and social planning, although there is unanimity of opinion that technology and planning in the physical world constitute the factors which dominate the modern world. The student of social problems, therefore, and the public at large must both examine these fears and having analyzed them must become so realistic in study and work as to overcome the superficial objections to fundamental concepts. If possible, these concepts should be interpreted, tested, made part and parcel of the democratic folkways.

Now the logical premise upon which social technology and social planning are based is simply that survival and progress are to a great extent dependent upon society's ability *to match physical technology with social technology.* The composite result of this effort is social planning itself. We have catalogued many of the achievements of science and technology in the modern world and have called attention to their effects upon nearly all of our contemporary society. We have also presented certain critical questions which emerge from the impact of technology upon our culture. It seems generally agreed that this influence is such

as to constitute one of the supreme testing grounds for the people in their struggle for mastery of the new frontiers.

We are, therefore, projecting our planning hypotheses on the same threefold assumption which runs throughout the volume, namely:

First, that there is at the present time a general crisis in modern society, resulting from a changing civilization, the world over, and in particular a changing western culture.

Second, that there is at the present time a conflict in the more specific realm of free institutions such as nations have not faced for several centuries.

Third, that there are still emergencies and crises in the United States such as will continue for some time to test the endurance of American institutions.

The assumption seems justified, therefore, that in the next period of development in American culture there will be an increasing emphasis, in both social study and social action, upon the concept and techniques of social planning. Social planning, however, will first of all be projected on the basis of a continuing American democracy. If democracy can be made to endure, what will it take? Is it possible to provide this balance wheel to avoid dictatorship either of the individual or of the mass? Such social planning will comprehend a working equilibrium in the whole culture process. It will feature a series of priority schedules, in contradistinction to a mere social *plan* or planned economic order constituted as a single project with the sovereign power to execute. (We are proposing no utopia to be set up and enforced by one school of philosophy. We are merely recommending replacing self-appointed "fault-finding" boards by democratically constituted "answer-finding" boards.) It will utilize the full capacity of social

engineering, competent not only to build new structures for the nation, but to carry, in the meantime, the traffic of all the institutions in a transitional society. It will provide for orientation, spontaneity, flexibility within these institutions.

We have already emphasized the strong prejudices against social planning, and in our discussion of democracy and government we have pointed out the dangers which threaten the nation if this balance wheel of national and regional planning is not utilized. Yet it must be clear that it is not easy to demonstrate to a skeptical world either the values of planning or the dangers in not planning. Nor are skepticism and objections merely straw men set up by alarmists and emotionalists, but they represent the actualities of a great American public composed of common man and professional folk, of individuals and organizations.

It is important, therefore, to project the social planning concept and technique not only upon the very foundations of the present emergency but upon the framework of American institutions. American social planning, while specifying an ordered society with more and more controlled processes, nevertheless calls for coöperative and coördinated design *of, for, and by all institutions and all regions rather than by government alone through centralized autocracy.* It is an extension of the first great American experiment in social planning, namely, the Constitution of the United States.

And while there will be a continuous increasing rôle of government in both range and function, the definitive American society will continue to be one in which democracy is sought through the better ordering and the coördinated specifications of all institutional forces—government, education, industry, religion and social values, the family, voluntary community effort.

By the same token, mere economic planning will not suffice for a nation whose dilemmas are also cultural and whose civilization seeks to provide a richer cultural heritage for a free people. Social planning will be radical in the sense that it goes to the roots of things; in the sense in which Professor Giddings used to explain: "We need more of that kind of radicalism that is many-sided, not one-sided; that strikes deep and is not content to grow on the surface only; a radicalism which includes complete intellectual honesty, a courage that will not be stampeded, and a sincere desire to use the social engineering way of doing things instead of the smashing easy way."

Social planning in America will be just as American or un-American as the genius, ability, and motivation of its social scientists and leaders make it, in their staunch efforts to conserve as much as possible of the Jeffersonian democracy of the simple rural culture and, at the same time, to build toward a still greater democracy for the vast, complex, urban, and industrial America of the future.

We have tried to illustrate the distinctive but realistic nature of planning with certain examples of regional-national efforts made during the early 1930's. We may illustrate further by certain programs for agricultural and rural reconstruction in the Southeast, where there is ample factual evidence to show the practical features of the sort of planning which emerges from the present study. We select, for example, diversification of crops and livestock farming, soil-erosion work, and rural electrification. For many years the land-grant colleges and their extension divisions have promoted these and other improved methods and practices through general education, through the classroom, and through extension demonstration. The results have been notable in the upraising of standards. Yet, propor-

tionately, the quantitative results have been extraordinarily small as compared to the need and the total possibilities. And in the decade from 1919–1929, livestock actually decreased in practically all the Southeastern States.

Then came that particular part of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration which provided specific ways in which the farmer could profitably retire parts of his land from cotton culture and, instead, grow feed crops to be utilized on his own farm. Two things have happened. One is that between 1930 and 1935 every state has increased its livestock and feed crops and large numbers of the farmers are so much pleased with the change that they propose to continue such diversification.

If we may assume that the figures from the farm census, showing increases from 1930 to 1935, actually measure effectiveness of technical planning, the results are convincing. In increase of all cattle and all hay and sorghum for forage, the cotton states range from twenty-five to more than forty per cent. Thus, South Carolina increased its acres in hay from 217,441 to 668,426 and its tons of hay from 168,456 to 420,431. Its cattle increase was from 235,163 in 1930 to 385,179 in 1935. Alabama increased its acreage of hay from 464,696 to 906,286 and its tonnage from 364,853 to 657,603. The increase for its cattle was from 681,298 to 1,125,208. North Carolina's increase in hay acreage was from 552,976 to 1,009,344 acres and in cattle from 467,012 to 684,266 head. Louisiana's increase in hay acreage was from 163,668 to 351,876 and in cattle from 618,503 to 1,081,697 head. On the contrary, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia, where no program was in force, show very little increase. Manifestly, the permanent results will depend upon a longer-time continuance of these practices, which, in turn, will depend upon similar tech-

nical ways of balancing production and consumption through home consumption and adjusted markets.

A similar measure of soil-erosion transformation work is found in accomplishments of the actual number of counties which utilize soil erosion technical units in the remaking of millions of farm acres, and in the prospects of many other counties where the trend is toward the ultimate terracing of nearly all farms. Rural electrification, too, is progressing through actual units of construction provided according to definite specifications and arrangements which insure extension into new areas.

Thus, the increase in land values, the increase in income and subsistence production, hand in hand with the increase of the attractiveness and profitableness of farm life, are attained as visible ends of technical planning—actual ends for which the general education programs can only set the ideals. Similar achievements are desirable in forestry, in flood control, in coöperative arrangements, in home ownership, and in the higher brackets of education and community organization.

The range and functions of social planning may be further illustrated by citing some of the different functional levels of planning. That is, the nature of planning organization and work will depend upon what the planning is for, on the one hand, and the level of administrative planning, on the other. Let us look first at the general functional levels.

And let us begin with *water planning*, to which so much attention has recently been given because of floods, drouth, navigation, and power. First, then, in the general framework of water planning would be *rivers*. Within this framework again are *flood control, soil surface preservation, power, navigation, provisions for fish and waterfowl, pollu-*

tion problems, irrigation, recreation, and *water supply.* Apparently, many of these functions are combined. Certainly, for instance, the great technology which carries water hundreds of miles from the Colorado River to Los Angeles involves water supply, irrigation, farming, recreation, and can be utilized satisfactorily only through planning.

In each of these subdivisions of physical functional planning, it must be clear that there will be required science, skill, technology, organization, management, and that *specifications* and facts will be of the essence of the job. Things do not "just happen" in so great a project. So, too, the other aspects of water planning provide still more illustrations, such as the planning and utilization of lakes, seacoasts and shores with their corollaries of sea boats and climate, resorts and recreation.

Another level of physical planning is that of *land planning,* with of course *land use* and *conservation* as prominent functions. Here are involved not only technical matters of rural and urban zoning, but also of good and poor lands and the problems of moving people from poor land to good land. Involved also are the great problems of soil erosion and waste, of diversification of crops, of forestry and its use and abuse, of parks and playgrounds and recreation, and of wild life conservation through new uses of poor lands.

A third level of physical planning might well be that of *minerology,* including coal and gas, oil and gas, metals and the other hundreds of lesser minerals, such as we have discussed in earlier portions of this book. Here, of course, again, the motivation of conservation as well as of utilization is important alongside the availability of resources of power for the people at reasonable costs.

Again, there is another major functional level of planning in the field of *communication* and *transportation* which

challenges the best of the combined forces of technology and social organization. New highways and byways of a nation, continent-crossing and recrossing avenues for the people, for trailer and truck, scenic highway and freight ways in competition with the railroads, constitute epic builders of the frontier domains of America. The extraordinary quantitative picture of automobiles and trucks, of buses and trailers we have already presented; yet the increasing complications of local, state, interstate, regional and national problems require more study and planning than has yet been attempted.

So, too, with special agencies of communication, the radio, telegraph, telephone, and television—already the immensity and complexity of the problem are taxing the capacities of present arrangements. More than these, there are still other problems of free speech, of censorship, of publishers' agreements, and of various aspects of the regulation of public utilities.

Then there is *economic planning*, often considered synonymous with all planning. But even within the framework of a democracy there can be no gainsaying the necessity for more planning than we now have. Planning for prosperity is a standard objective. Planning for balanced economy is another. Planning for balance between production and consumption, between scarcity and abundance, represents another important phase. Again, modifications of capitalistic competition and coöperative society are fundamental aspects. Planned money, taxation, hours and wages regulation, truce between capital and labor, truce between business and government—these and many other aspects are self-evident areas for economic planning.

There is then, finally, to cite one more larger functional level, *cultural and social planning* proper, in which are in-

volved population policies, social security, public welfare and public health, public education and public libraries, the plight of marginal folk, race and ethnic problems, and a host of others commonly neglected.

Now it must be clear that social planning on these functional levels will require social planning on another level, namely, governmental and administrative. These levels correspond to the structural organization of American life and will comprehend the following levels of approach: *national planning, regional planning, state planning, county planning, metropolitan and urban planning, rural planning, community and neighborhood planning.* These approaches will ensure the maintaining of the fundamental principles of American democracy, in that each unit will find representation and the chance to work and utilize its resources.

It is on these levels of administrative planning that we must come to seek practical organization and support for realistic planning in all the functional levels of American social problems.

And we begin, of course, with the national level, which must contemplate the planning not only for physical resources but for the whole policy of human relations, which we have been summarizing in terms of social problems. And in addition to the very imminent and practical need for getting things done, this planning business rests on certain fundamental theoretical aspects.

For instance, one of the most frequent questions being asked by the public is whether "the democracies" can survive the totalitarian threats of contemporary society. The answer, in terms of this chapter, would be to the effect that if they can survive it will be possible through some new balance wheel to bring about equilibrium between and among the conflicting forces. In the United States, there

would be needed such a balance wheel between the executive and the judicial levels of government, between the judicial and the legislative, between the federal centralization and the states, between Washington and the people. Such a balance wheel, the assumption of this topic is, would be found in a national planning board duly constituted by the people and working through the due channels of government rather than solely on the instructions of the executive branch. Our assumptions would go further and provide that there would be, then, working with such a national planning council, still other councils, state, regional, urban, county, as needs and activities made advisable. For the national planning board, the following general specifications would seem to be appropriate within the American framework and system. Legislation creating the board as recommended by the President would be passed regularly by Congress, and hence would reflect a referendum to the people. The board would be entirely expert and advisory, with no executive or administrative power, and would report directly to the President. It might well consist of seven members, of whom three would be full-time experts chosen from the fields of social science, engineering, and public affairs, with salaries adequate to secure the ablest specialists in the field. The other four members would be selected from the nation at large in the general fields of politics, the press, agriculture, and industry, and would receive only a *per diem*. An adequate staff would be provided, including executive assistants and associates, research specialists, draftsmen, and secretaries.

The functions of such a board would in general be threefold. The first would be to act in the service of the President and of the Congress and provide information, facts, planning programs in special projects initiated by the Presi-

dent or Congress. The second function would be to carry on a continuous social inventory of the nation, somewhat after the manner of *Recent Social Trends*, so that there would be an authentic research-planning group working all the time, not only in designing and planning research, but in utilization of the vast research agencies and statistics of the present federal organizations and departments. The third function would be to make contacts and to coöperate with the regions and states, and to carry on adult education and promotion and continuous referendum and publicity to the people. Some members of the planning board would continuously be sensing the various situations in the different states and regions, as well as interpreting the nation to the President and Congress to the nation. It would be understood that research and plans would result in recommendation, action upon which would, however, always come through the regular administrative, judicial, or legislative function of government, and through the several regional and state agencies within which they were appropriate.

In this third function of promoting regional planning and coöperating with state and regional agencies, the national planning board should have available a moderate amount of funds for allocation to the state and regional planning boards in accordance with definite and common sense coöperative arrangements within each of these. Although the suggestion is clearly "academic," such a planning board might well save the nation a great deal of money in so far as it would be competent to undertake the research and investigation now provided for in the scores and scores of congressional investigating committees and of isolated, overlapping, and duplicating research agencies within the nation. Here would be a way better to implement the work

and training of the expert in government without turning the work of the government over to scientists and students.

The second type of planning board in logical order is the state planning board, the general specifications and functions of which would, in analogous measure, tend to follow the general provisions set forth in the national planning board, except that all members of the state planning board would be voluntary and non-salaried. Each state planning board would, however, have in miniature an expert staff consisting of an executive official, research and planning associates and assistants, draftsmen, and secretarial staff. The state board would be official in the sense that it was constituted by an act of the Legislature, subject to the governor's office, and with minimum appropriation for organization and for matching moneys with the national planning board. In general, the number of members should be the same as for the national, namely, seven, of whom not more than four should ever coincide with the official departmental heads of state government.

The functions of the state planning board would again tend to have the same threefold objectives as the national planning board; that is, its first function would be to assist the governor in the work of planning and directing his state program. The second function would be to carry on a continuous program of study and planning for the state itself. The third would be to coöperate with city and county planning boards within the state, and with regional and federal planning boards outside the state.

The third major type of planning board is the regional planning board, which should be less formal and less active than the national and state planning boards. In general, the desired objectives could be attained by the division of the nation into a minimum-maximum number of major

regions which combine the largest possible degree of homogeneity, measured by the largest possible number of economic, cultural, administrative, and functional indices, for the largest possible number of objectives. These areal divisions having been determined, the major regional planning boards might well be constituted as follows: one ex-officio member from each state planning board; one representative from the national planning board; two representatives from the region at large; and one ex-officio representative from each of the specialized, technical, subregional planning groups already at work in the region, such as, for instance, the TVA or special river-valley or interstate compact groups.

Thus, to illustrate from three of the six divisions of the nation, utilized in this volume, the *Southeast Planning Board* would consist of eleven ex-officio members from the states, one member of the national planning board, two members at large, and one member ex-officio from the Tennessee Valley Authority, and if and when progress is made on other special subregional planning groups, such as the Lower Mississippi, an ex-officio member from this group. The *Northeastern Planning Board* would be chosen similarly with a special ex-officio member from the present New England Planning Board. The *Far Western* group would consist of four ex-officio members, two at large, one from the federal government, and one each probably from the Columbian Basin and Los Angeles County Planning Board, or other similar planning groups.

Such an arrangement would be flexible enough to allow adequate coöperation with the proposed seven river-valley authorities and would not conflict with them. It would also give an adequate number of members to insure a satisfactory quorum, would give ample subgeographic rep-

resentation, and would give adequate provisions for coördinating the work and keeping a clearinghouse of regional information. The function of the regional planning board would thus be even more advisory and general than the others, still following the general threefold objectives; that is, it would first of all focus upon its regional problems and planning, serving particularly as a buffer between the national planning board and the state planning board. In the second place, it would seek to keep continuously a preview of facts and situations and a preview of trends in the region with a view to coördinating the works of the states with that of the nation. In the third place, it would have the peculiar task of coöperating with state and subregional planning boards. For such a function, the staff of the regional planning board would be relatively small, including a permanent executive official and a minimum staff of research and planning associates. Such a planning board would be primarily one of coördination and would meet perhaps not more than twice a year. Under its auspices, however, might be held various regional conferences and subregional group conferences for coördination of the many state and national and district advisory efforts.

Although these three major types of planning boards form the backbone of the national-regional planning procedure, it is assumed that cities, counties, and districts in each individual state would provide for such planning boards and services as either the local, state, or regional associations might promote or encourage. The provisions of national and city planning boards are being more or less standardized, so that the best that can be done is to select continuously the most satisfactory type of board and procedure. The other two types of planning boards would natu-

rally be combined; that is, instead of arbitrarily assuming and attempting to provide for a county planning board for each county, manifestly the most effective plan would be to set up a series of contiguous counties with which to comprehend the problems and programs of particular areas of the state and to join forces in a special program of research and planning over a period of six to twelve years. Such a program would comprehend the maximum advantages which coördination of federal, state, local, or official and voluntary educational planning programs could provide. Such a program would constitute experimentation and exploration from which ultimately the best results and plans for each county might be obtained. At the same time, it would pool resources to the best possible advantage.

Now, of course, we all know that we must not expect too much, too soon, of such proposals. Yet they are of the essence of matching the physical technology with social vision and skills, and these definite suggestions constitute the basis for enumerating and solving some of the major social problems. They represent concrete and realistic answers to some of our questions. They conform to the structure of American democracy and they look to the welfare of all the people. There appear no objections to such an extension of the American system, except that "it won't work" or "it can't be done." One answer is, that neither has democracy or fascism or Christianity or education or marriage "worked." Nor has any one of them completely failed. Another answer is that exploration and study of these practical workable ways of doing things will result either in their development and use or in the discovery of better ways—which, after all, is the objective of the student of social problems.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 24: SOCIAL TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL PLANNING

I. For the Open Forum

A. *Problems Dealing with Cause or Reason*

1. What are the larger objectives of social planning?
2. What is regional planning? What is it *not?*
3. What factors have given rise to the recent emphasis upon social planning?
4. What is the relation of community organization to social planning?
5. What are the material and social obstacles generally in the way of community planning?
6. What efforts have been made in the community, town, or city toward social planning?
7. What obstacles arise as we think in terms of long-time social planning?
8. What is social control? Illustrate. Has it proved successful?
9. To what extent is control necessary in planning?
10. What distinguishes between static and dynamic public opinion?
11. What are the chief agencies in molding public opinion?

B. *Problems Dealing with Manner or Method*

1. How do "social planning" and "social control" differ? Illustrate.
2. How can we plan democratic living?
3. How does the idea of planning interfere with the essential concepts of democracy?
4. How can we plan population as to quality? Discuss and indicate ways.
5. How are immigrants coming into this country? Give es-

sentials of the plan. Does it work? Is this good evidence of planning?

6. How might plans for the following be made: (*a*) family life, (*b*) physical growth, (*c*) community organization, (*d*) recreation and (*e*) education.

7. How is education a sufficient safe guard for a democracy? Explain.

8. How is freedom of speech, press, and assembly a safety valve that protects society?

9. How could pressure groups exist in a totalitarian state? Why do they flourish in a democracy? Wherein do they constitute a threat to government by the majority? Wherein are they beneficial?

C. *Problems Dealing with Effects or Results*

1. Why is it important to plan for a city in the early stages of its development?

2. Why is it difficult to plan ahead?

3. Why is it difficult to plan national policy?

4. Why is public opinion easily exploited by selfish interests?

5. If social planning has worked in other countries, why can it not be successful here and elsewhere?

6. Why are dictatorship and regimentation not necessary in social planning?

7. Why do people object to having certain aspects of life planned? When do they object? When not?

8. Why is it important to know what is propaganda and what is non-propaganda? How can you distinguish between them?

9. Why is the federal government justified in employing publicity experts? Defend the answer.

10. Is it necessary to understand social trends in order to effectively plan for the future?

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire, Discover, and Plan*

1. Chart the plans for (*a*) a house, (*b*) a playground, and (*c*) a community center. What determined the procedure and choice?

2. Investigate the plans that a business concern makes.

3. To what extent can a farmer plan? List some important procedures.

4. Give examples of zoning in cities.

5. Report on the work of the State Planning Board. Why has it emphasized planning of natural resources rather than social planning?

6. What is being done in the state that you can classify as social planning? Evaluate.

7. Describe some planned communities—like Radburn, New Jersey, Ducktown, Tennessee, the T.V.A. project and others—stress values and limitations.

8. Study the Swedish system of farming—evaluate.

9. List other trends and practices of social planning in the Scandinavian countries.

10. What social planning is going on under Nazism in Germany? Has it proved successful? Analyze.

11. What plans are practiced in Fascist states, especially Italy? Evaluate results up to this time.

12. How has communism in Russia utilized social planning? Illustrate and evaluate.

13. Have we any proof as to the possibilities of social planning? Analyze (*a*) the immigrant laws, (*b*) regulation of wages and hours, (*c*) restricted agriculture, (*d*) compulsory education, (*e*) socialized hospitalization, (*f*) zoning laws, and (*g*) Social Security Act.

14. Has social planning worked in a democracy? To what extent successfully? What are failures? How may failures be eliminated?

15. Present the next steps in social planning for (*a*) your community, (*b*) the state, (*c*) the nation, (*d*) international relations.

16. Outline the garden-city movement. Survey an industrial town and plan a program for better planning and better adoption to social well-being.

17. Work out a plan for improvement of a business section of a well-established city.

18. Plan a world brotherhood. What concepts determined choices and procedure?

III. For Continued Growth

A. *Word Study and Vocabulary Building*

ex-officio — *per diem*
priority schedules — contiguous
subregional planning — areal divisions
subgeographic representation

B. *Selected Readings and References*

One way of emphasizing the larger societal problem of social planning is to point out that in the attempt of modern students and statesmen to match physical technology with social technology, scientific inventions with social inventions, the concept of social planning comes nearer comprehending all of these than does any other concept. Social Planning is in this sense the answer to the demand for order and stability and for balance and equilibrium in a world in which chaos and instability are likely to result from the undesigned society.

The student must, therefore, work out very clear definitions and concepts of social planning as opposed to specialized economic planning or utopias or isms, and must seek to identify them with a realistic direction of society.

In *Recent Social Trends*, the objectives of the study limited it, in general, to the statement of facts and their projection into the future. This was true both because the President's Committee sought to stay as near as possible within the range of fact and scientific precision and because President Hoover had suggested that planning for the future and reorganization of government would be a separate and second undertaking. It is a fascinating question as to what would have happened if the social engineer, Hoover, had had opportunity to try these plans, had the depression not swept down upon the nation. The analogy is somewhat the same as it was when Woodrow Wilson had planned a great program of domestic reform, which was interrupted almost entirely by the war.

It would seem, however, that the authors of *Recent Social Trends* should have been willing to project the basis upon which social planning might be successful, and that they might have indicated areas, organization, and types of personnel.

It is suggested that the student work out one or more types of national, regional, state, city, and county planning which would feature the total social and cultural aspects of the nation, as well as the economic and engineering aspects.

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Review

American Dilemma and Promise

IN LOOKING back over our previews and studies of American social problems as they underlie the ongoings of our American democracy, it is well for us to consider certain assumptions and premises and to see whether they are basic to all our conclusions and give background to the whole picture. Suppose we explore some of these premises in the form of questions. For instance, here is one series:

Is it true that, in the midst of all the extraordinary developments and dilemmas of modern civilization, this is a great day to be living; a great world to be living in?

Is it true that the United States today appears to offer the greatest of all opportunities and obligations in the modern world?

Is it true that in this sense America is synonymous with the future of western civilization, and, in particular, of democracy?

Is it true that social progress consists in the continuity of human development into a superior mankind through a more adequate society?

Is it true that democracy appears to be the only known societal sovereign arrangement through which these ends can be guaranteed?

Is it true that, with all its deficiencies and limitations, America more nearly than any other nation exemplifies the

nearest approximation to democracy in both theory and organization?

Is it true, therefore, that the supreme task of the nation is to explore and develop this American democracy anew, making America again the hope of world democracy?

Again, is it true that a great part of the essence of Americanism is found in the development, utilization and conservation of the superabundant natural resources of this continent?

Is it true that another great part of Americanism is found in the promise and prospects of the American people, the living reality of the old and the new America?

Is it true that still another great part is found in the history, the ideals, and the institutions of the nation?

Is it true that the past developments, the world crises, the recent American depression, and the sweep of science and technology have challenged America as she has not hitherto been challenged?

Is it true, therefore, that the chief tasks and opportunities and obligations are to study and master the situation in order to achieve substantial success?

Still again, is it true that in the American Constitution and in the American institutions we have the framework essential to such mastery?

Is it true that in our great educational system, in the new reaches of social science and leadership, and in the promise of American youth, there is every needed resource?

And still again, is it true, that any demand for a quick, easy, do-nothing solution of our problems is unreasonable? That there is no royal road to recovery, no simple path to reconstruction? That for the realistic tasks ahead there is no American cult of perfection? But that we must approach our task in the scientific and patriotic way by asking

and answering many more questions than we have been accustomed to ask? Are the following questions, more specific than the ones we have asked above, the most important questions concerning next steps in the performance of the task:

Is it true that the United States has ample natural resources and wealth to meet all the needs of all the people now and for many generations to come?

Is it true that in the wealth of American technology there is to be found ample technical organization and managerial skill to derive from these resources sufficient goods and services to provide all the people not only with the bare necessities of life, but also with abundant comfort, convenience, leisure, and high standards of living?

Is it true in reality, however, that millions of Americans are not only without these comforts, conveniences, and luxuries, but also without the essentials for adequate survival of body, mind, and morale in spite of the great abundance of technical skill and natural wealth?

Is it true also that the nation still possesses money and abounds in wealth enough to make possible the utilization of this technology and natural wealth in order to turn production capacity into adequate channels of distribution and consumption?

Is it possible to gear together economic and cultural elements and to classify the principal factors which have been responsible for the dilemmas of the 1930's?

Would it be possible for the nation then to concentrate upon the fundamental differences in the next period of development and to chart a course away from the dangers in any combination of old policies and procedure which are manifestly inadequate?

Is it likely that the changes which are everywhere recog-

nized as imperative and imminent must be worked out through the renewal of American democracy?

Is it true that the nation still believes essentially in the American dictum that with united effort any achievement is possible?

Can this effort in the United States take the form of social planning, American style? In addition to the specific requisites of American social planning, already presented, there are certain recapitulatory specifications which have to be met if adequate results are to be achieved in the American picture.

It is assumed, of course, that the needs will be met for developing the nation's great resources and for such adequate and equitable distribution of the essential goods of life and labor as will insure a greater balance and equilibrium in society. The specifications will provide amply for the continued development of science and technology; they will go further than has yet been attempted in drawing up workable programs which will insure social science and social invention a more effective matching of physical science and invention and a closer coördination of the physical and the social sciences.

But social planning, to be effective in any abiding order, must go further and base its specifications upon capacities and human factors inherent in the people. There must be harnessed the great organic and resurging energy of the folk society, the common man, the whole people, who are yet, as they have always been, the seed bed of nations and the dynamics of changing cultures. Always the resistless tide of the people constitutes the definitive balance of power. To ignore such power is to invite disaster.

On the other hand, the specifications of social planning will not fail to take into consideration the limitations and

capacities, the culture complexes, biological backgrounds, and the geographic environments of the people who constitute the mass energy of the nation. In these factors will be found the safeguards of scientific social planning—specifications of sheer reality of fact and relationship, of social technology, which, after all, is nothing more or less than technical and practical ways of attaining social ends.

Thus promise and prospect are measured largely in terms which recapitulate the problems arising from the physical and cultural backgrounds of the people and their institutions, and the supreme testing of the people in the midst of all these complicated and changing factors. If anything else is to be added, it will appear perhaps only as variation or extra emphasis. Thus, for instance:

A high motivation toward next steps.
A really scientific knowledge of the situation.
An uncompromising allegiance to the framework of American civilization.
A more realistic understanding and implication of regional factors and problems.
A practical approach to the reintegration of agrarian culture in American life.
A search for a better-balanced economy.
And back again and again to the conservation and development of our resources and the training and development of all the people.

If we seek to summarize the promise and prospect of the America of tomorrow within the framework of dilemma and challenge, there appear to be three main levels of approach.

The *first*, of course, is the general theme, in the grand manner, which we have so often emphasized, namely, the *continuity and unity of development* of the United States through a fine equilibrium of geographic, cultural, and

historical factors, in which will be found the testing grounds for American democracy and also, according to most observers, the hope of Western civilization.

The *second* main level of approach is to be found in the problem, again, in the grand manner, of adapting and constantly *readjusting the people and their institutions to the living geography and resources* of the American continent and of *securing liberty and freedom* in the attainment of these ends.

Third, within the framework of each of these larger prospects are the *specific and concrete problems* that constitute the component units which go into the making of the whole fabric of our civilization. These are the "problems" that cry out for more tangible "solutions." Without effective work in providing actual, technical ways of meeting these problems, it will not be possible to attain the essential promise of the New America now everywhere so much sought and in many quarters believed to be immediately attainable.

Now the tasks before us are no less important, the need for courage and heroism no less marked, than in war; but it is more difficult to achieve the new order in peace without the war-time compulsory measures. Our course should not be, but it is, more difficult to chart.

Peace-time victories are harder to achieve.
There is less of glamor and show.
There is less of heroic talk and romance.
The ends in view appear less tangible and material.
The dangers and rewards seem more commonplace.
Emergencies seem ever possible to put off.
The impending crisis is less visible.
There is no dictatorship of government.
No compulsion of public opinion to drive us on.
There is not the keen conscience of patriotism manifest

toward the great social principles and ideals of peacetimes that there is toward physical combat in times of war.
There is not the same scrutiny and safeguarding of the public weal against selfish interests, foolish plans, and drifting in peacetimes that there is when the nation is at war.
There are not so adequately integrated and organized social forces and agencies as become the fruits of war.
And there is less agreement as to objectives and techniques concerning the realities and nature of crisis and emergency.
There is the ever-present twofold obstacle of a lack of equipped personnel and leadership.
Yet these obstacles and deficiencies provide exactly the obligation and the opportunity for great achievement. Everywhere in the picture appear great moments, magnificent vitality, limitless resources, and the sweep of time and technology upon a new and greater American epoch.
Here are resources, opportunity, enthusiasm, and patriotism enough to entertain and keep busy the great hosts of American people of whatever sort.
Bigness and speed enough for the 100 per-cent American.
Ideals and thrills enough for ambitious and fiery youth.
Beauty and light enough for all the idealists and dreamers.
New opportunities for the American woman.
Hardships enough for the new pioneers.
Battles a-plenty for the fighters.
Crises enough for peace lovers.
Research enough for the scientist.
Teaching enough for school folk.
Preaching enough for church.
Legislation enough for law.
Work enough for labor.
Investment enough for capital.
Production enough for machines.
Distribution and use enough for consumers.

And so on and on into the further reaches of a great American democracy anew, each opportunity and each task repeated in each great region of the nation. What is it that

will speedily bring America to full motivation and capacity for such united action as will provide for the new mastery? What is it that will impel the nation's leaders to design and follow such new and adequate steps as will bring this next act of its drama to happy ending? Is it crisis and disaster? Or concerted will and purpose? Or science and knowledge and leadership? Or is it all of these and something more, intangible and powerful, which can inspire all of the people in all of the regions to united action?

THE WORKSHELF

THE AMERICAN PICTURE

A. *The Work-kit*

There are books and materials that interpret and enrich the text content. The Work-kit contains those that might be considered most interesting and important. Have the School Library obtain as many of these aids as possible. All of the references are helpful both to the student and to the teacher.

1. *Recent Social Trends in the United States*

The report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (Hoover Administration). A comprehensive study by eminent social scientists. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933.

2. *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*

Fifteen volumes which include all of the important topics in politics, economics, law, anthropology, sociology, and social work. A synopsis of progress in the various fields of the social sciences with facts and principles of these fields—a center of authoritative knowledge for the creation of a sound and informed public opinion on the major questions which lie at the foundation of social progress and world development. The Macmillan Company, 1930.

3. *Social Forces*

The official organ of the Southern Sociological Society published four times a year under the editorship of Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina. There are articles on general subjects of sociological interest, special fields of research and excellent book reviews. The University of North Carolina Press.

4. *The Survey and Survey Graphic*

The first issued twice a month and the latter monthly. Of direct interest to Social Workers. Survey Associates Inc., 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.

5. *American Regionalism*

Since the text stresses regionalism this volume should prove of special value to the teacher. Written by Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore. Henry Holt and Company, 1938.

6. *Public Affairs Pamphlets*

A series of short, condensed, and practical pamphlets issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 8 West 40 Street, New York City, excellent for classroom project use. They sell for ten cents each. The titles published and available as of January, 1940, include:

Income and Economic Progress
Security or the Dole?
Credit for Consumers
The South's Place in the Nation
The Supreme Court and the Constitution
This Question of Relief
Restless Americans
Doctors, Dollars, and Disease
Farmers without Land
Colonies, Trade and Prosperity
Saving Our Soil
Why Women Work
How We Spend Our Money
Can America Build Houses?
Your Income and Mine
Youth in the World of Today
Industrial Price Policies
Machines and Tomorrow's World
How Good Are Our Colleges?
Who Can Afford Health?
Our Taxes—and What They Buy

America and the Refugees
Schools for Tomorrow's Citizens
Toward a Healthy America
Coöperatives in the U. S.
This Problem of Food
What Makes Crime?
Jobs After Forty
Debts—Good or Bad?
State Trade Walls
The Fight on Cancer
Loan Sharks

7. *Headline Books*

Another series intended for popular education is published by the Foreign Policy Association of New York. Volumes up to 1940 include the following:

War Tomorrow—Will We Keep Out?
Made in U. S. A.
Peace in Party Platforms
Clash in the Pacific
War Drums and Peace Plans
America Contradicts Herself
Coöperatives
10 Billions for Defense—of What?
As Latin America Sees It
Changing Governments in Europe
Machines and Peace
Dictatorship

8. *Social Problems*

(*a*) Depression Pioneers, (*b*) Rural Youth, and (c) Rural Relief and Recovery. A series of studies issued by the Work Projects Administration. Others are to follow. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939.

9. *Statistical Abstract of the Census*

It is not necessary to have a complete set of the Census; this volume is satisfactory. The 1930 volume is available, and the 1940 volume should be out by 1942.

10. *Yearbooks of the National Council for Social Studies*

These books contain much valuable material designed to aid teachers in their task of improving instructional materials and procedures in the social studies. 18 Lawrence Hall, Kirkland Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

11. *The World Almanac*

The latest edition.

12. It is possible to collect reports, materials, proceedings, and studies from various federal, regional, state, county, and municipal departments, bureaus, and commissions. Of special value are those from the departments of Commerce, Labor, Agriculture, and Interior of the Federal Government.

B. *Supplementary Texts*

In recent years a number of texts have been published for this field. The list includes most of those of a parallel nature. The teacher and student will find them invaluable as supplementary material. If it is impossible to purchase all of them for the library, then at least two or three of the latest copyright period should be selected.

ATKINS, W. E., and WUBNIG, ARTHUR. *Our Economic World.* Harper, 1934.

BOGARDUS, E. S., and LEWIS, R. H. *Social Life and Personality.* Silver Burdett Company, 1938.

COLE, W. E., and MONTGOMERY, CHARLES S. *Sociology for Schools.* Allyn and Bacon, 1936.

ELDRIDGE, SEBA, and CLARK, CARROLL D. *Major Problems of Democracy.* D. Appleton-Century, 1928.

ELLIOTT, MABEL A., MERRILL, FRANCIS E., and WRIGHT, D. S. and C. O., *Our Dynamic Society.* Harper and Brothers, 1935.

ELLWOOD, CHARLES A. *Social Problems and Sociology.* American Book Company, 1935.

FINNEY, ROSS L., and MILLS, M. C. *Elementary Sociology.* Sanborn, 1935.

FORMAN, S. E. *The American Democracy.* Appleton-Century, 1930.

GAVIAN, RUTH M. *Society Faces the Future.* D. C. Heath and Company, 1938.

GAVIAN, RUTH M., GRAY, A. A., and GROVES, E. R. *Our Changing Social Order.* D. C. Heath, 1934.

GROVES, E. R., SKINNER, EDNA L., and SWENSON, SADIE J. *The Family and Its Relationships.* Lippincott, 1932.

JONES, J. C., and VANDENBOSCH, AMRY. *Readings in Citizenship.* Macmillan, 1932.

KINNEMAN, J. A., BROWNE, R. G., and ELLWOOD, R. S. *The American Citizen.* Harper, 1936.

KINNEMAN, J. A., and ELLWOOD, R. S. *Living with Others.* Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939.

LANDIS, PAUL H., and LANDIS, JUDSON T. *Social Living.* Ginn, 1938.

LUMLEY, F. E., and BODE, B. H. *Ourselves and the World.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1931.

PAUSTIAN, PAUL W., and PAUSTIAN, ERWIN C. *An Elementary Sociology.* Lucas Brothers, 1937.

QUINN, JAMES A. *The Social World.* Lippincott, 1937.

ROSS, E. A. *Civic Sociology.* World Book Company, 1937.

ROSS, E. A. and MCCAULL, M. E. *Readings in Civic Sociology.* World Book Company, 1927.

SHIDELER, E. H. *Group Life and Social Problems.* Holt, 1929.

STEINBERG, SAMUEL, and LAMM, LUCIAN. *Our Changing Government.* Lippincott, 1936.

WALKER, E. E., BEACH, W. G., and JAMISON, O. G. *American Democracy and Social Change.* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938.

WALLIS, GRACE A., and WALLIS, WILSON D. *Our Social World.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933.

WIESE, MILDRED J., and RETICKER, RUTH. *The Modern Worker.* Macmillan, 1930.

WILLIAMSON, T. R., and WESLEY, E. B. *Principles of Social Science.* Heath, 1932.

YOUNG, J. S., and WRIGHT, ELIZABETH Y. *Unified American Government.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933.

BOOK II

THE SOUTHERN PICTURE

Preview

Southern Portraiture in the National Picture

UNIT IX

THIS BOOK attempts to study *American Democracy Anew* by looking at the whole picture of the nation. This means, however, that we must also look at each of the great regions and, within these regions, each state, because America is a great federation of states, and these states, historically, geographically, and culturally, as we have shown, tend to group themselves into regions of relative homogeneity. Thus, the American nation cannot be understood and developed apart from its great regions any more than can the regions be understood and developed except as constituent, component parts of the nation.

We study, therefore, America in the two major divisions: first, the total American picture; and, second, the regional portraiture in the national scene. Within the framework of our American picture, you remember, we studied our problems under several main subdivisions: first, the *physical and cultural backgrounds;* second, the *people;* third, the *institutions* of the people; and, fourth, the *testing grounds* for the people. So, too, when we come to picture a particular region of the nation, we study these same fundamental aspects, so that our problems are examined close to home, as the saying is, and with practical applications.

Keeping in mind this organic unity of the American nation, we seek to understand our American society; our regional society; our state society; and our community or local society. We select, therefore, for more complete and practical study and application the particular region in which we live and work. This becomes, then, "an approach to living and learning" through the examination of our own environment.

First, we shall explore the southern regions in all their richness and variety and their place in the total nation. At the same time, however, in comparing the South with other regions, we learn more about both the South and the nation.

The southern regions—the Southeast and the Southwest—may be designated as "the South." The *South* is probably most frequently discussed and designated as the American region which exemplifies the regional workshop best. This is true historically and culturally, and within recent years students in the South have studied it more exhaustively than have the students of other regions. The President of the United States has called the South the nation's economic problem number one.

The story of the South with its changing cultures has provided many of the most dramatic episodes in our American history. Its backgrounds and experiences comprehend all the basic elements in the architecture of our American civilization. How the Southern States came to be what they are, through their earlier territorial expansion, their growth and distribution of the population, through the great range and variety of resources, and through the later development into a peculiar cultural region, constitutes one of the most dramatic stories of modern civilization. We shall, therefore, want not only to see its part in the national

picture, but to understand its resources, its problems, its strength, and its weaknesses.

The student will note in our regional map on page 49 that the Southeast includes eleven great states, comprising nearly a fifth of the nation's area and a little more than a fifth of its people; while the Southwest has about the same area but less than a tenth of the population. The Southeastern States are Virginia and the two Carolinas; Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi; Louisiana and Arkansas bordering beyond the Mississippi; and Tennessee and Kentucky of the blue-grass South. Let us look briefly, first, at the Southeast, and test it and, later, the Southwest, in terms of its essential American character.

As a matter of common characterization within the region itself, the Southeast or "the Old South" is usually and unqualifiedly called the most American part of the nation. By this is meant, of course, that part of the nation which, holding on to its historical priority of the thirteen original colonies and the traditions of the early settlers, still retains, since the turn of the twentieth century, more of the early Americanisms than any other region. These Americanisms are usually interpreted to mean the largest ratio of native whites of native parents from original upper European stocks; a small foreign population; the largest ratio of Protestants in religion; the greatest number agrarian in culture, simple in living in rural isolated life, and so retarded in certain aspects of culture as to rank about where most of the nation ranked before the turn of the century.

Without doubt the Old South provided for the nation much ideology and leadership, and the statesmen who gave form and content to the political philosophy and practice of the nation, such as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Calhoun; and of later popular democratic types,

such as Andrew Jackson and Andrew Johnson. Jefferson was and is American in both the realistic and the symbolic sense that he held every important political office that his own state, as well as the nation, could give him; penned the Declaration of Independence; outlined the American land system; organized, to a great extent, the Democratic Party, set up new standards of liberalism and freedom from church domination; formulated the doctrine of agrarian democracy; laid the foundations for a great state university; negotiated the Louisiana Purchase; and experimented widely in scientific agriculture and architecture.

Surely, the Old South was "American" in that it provided a dozen presidents of the United States, and more than fifty cabinet members. And of forty-one political scientists, important in domestic affairs before the Civil War, deemed worthy of a place in the annals of American scholarship, only fourteen were not of the South, while of those sketched as important for the development of political theory, the Southeast accounted for more than all the other states.

The Southeast is essentially an "American" region in the range and abundance of its flora and fauna, of its land and forests, of its mountains and rivers and plains, of its minerals and climate, and withal its prevailing tempo and pattern of ruthless exploitation of resources, natural and human. Its people are symbolic, too, of all those who came down from the Northeast and from the upper European borders, adventurers, free and debtors, noble and common, and of all those who started westward by way of a new Southwest. Yet it is a long way from the pioneer days to the glory that was the Old South and a long way back again, through the scarred battlefields of sectionalism to a broken and charred region, humiliated with slaves turned rulers;

and a long way to the great region of the Southwest, both old and new in the American picture.

The Southwest, with its four great states of Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico, too, is a great American Region. It is both the oldest and newest of the regions; oldest because of its early Spanish and Indian history; newest in the entrance of its states into the union. Like most of the other regions, it may also lay claim to being the "most American" of all. Surely this great "Empire" is American in

Its size and open spaces
Its symbol and reality of "the West"
Its cradle of cowboy lore
Its allegiance to the Old South
Its Spanish origins and its historical romance with Mexico
Its heroic military traditions and episodes
Its great Indian territory and traditions
Its quick-growing cities
Its "bigger and better" motivations
Its oil derricks and cattle ranges
Its cotton fields and turkey ranches
Its early American culture and "culture area."

Because "American" culture is so new in this vast region, and because Latin and Indian culture was so well embedded there before the dominant group entered, there still remain more vestiges of the "foreign" civilization than in any other portion of the nation. This situation has been perpetuated to some extent by the presence of vast numbers of "Mexicans" in the present population—people of whom many have lived within the region for many generations, who speak the Spanish language and hold dear many of the Spanish culture traits so painstakingly taught them by

patient Catholic padres, but who also retain many of the deeper feelings and more unobtrusive folkways of the Indians, who have bequeathed them a high percentage of the blood which courses through their veins. Dominant though the "American" now is, his daily contact with a Latinized culture has had its inevitable effect in his speech, his manners, his ways of doing business, as well as in the names he gives to the streets of his towns and to his children.

Here two great culture systems have met and clashed and fused and are still in process of clashing and fusing. Here the elements in that typically American situation described as the "melting pot" are clearly drawn because of the relatively small numbers of culture systems involved and because of the distinct nature of those systems. Here, in a truly cultural sense, is found and may be observed the last frontier. In these elements the Southwest is American; in the further sense of bringing into contact the two culture systems which dominate the western hemisphere and affording a testing ground and experimental field, here is an opportunity for the "America" of the north, the giant of the western political world, to observe and select cultural elements and traits which will bring this nation into closer understanding and sympathy with that older "America" of the south, Latin America, which the circumstances of geography and politics have decreed must be our closest neighbor of the future, with all the implications of that fact.

A new bulletin on *Southwestern National Monuments* describes this Southwest as:

> . . . A land of color, of amazing distance, of the romance of vanished civilizations, and of living cultures closely related to prehistory and vastly differing from the habits and mode of life of

the Anglo-Saxon and of the white man generally. Young in years, young in settlement by English-speaking peoples, the Southwest has the oldest definite records of human occupancy in the United States; and it was explored and to a certain extent settled by Spanish adventurers and missionaries long before English occupation of the eastern seaboard.

The Southwest is a land of contradictions—of high mountains, tremendous canyons, and flat deserts; of little moisture and yet of torrential downpours that leave broad rivers which for a few days usurp old roadbeds; of abandoned prehistoric ruins hundreds of years old and of modern motor camps; of lands that lie parched for rain, yet "bloom with the rose" given a little water; of primitive Indian travel afoot and on horse, yet crossed by transcontinental highways, railways, and airway routes, the latter with huge beacons that intrigue the imagination; of enormous, rainbow-hued bridges built by nature, and of man's great engineering feats in bridge building and in conquering the mighty rivers that were Nature's tools in her bridge and canyon building.

In all, it is a land of fascination, with its scenery, its traditions, and its relics of the past. Enchanted it has been called; mysterious, gorgeous, multicolored, primitive, romantic, artistic, vibrant—then adjectives fail, and the writer confesses that words cannot convey to the uninitiated the glory that is the Southwest.

We have now briefly sketched a general picture of the two great southern regions and have indicated something of their place in the nation. Further facts, pictures, and comparisons will be made as we go along in the following units, indicating the changes in the South, its people, its resources, and its institutions. What we wish to note here is the fact that the South is our region in which we live and work, and that we want to know as much about it as possible. And we want to tie in with our education and our work as much as possible of our actual experience and environment.

Thus, in each of the main aspects of our study we find

that our problems in the region are slightly different, and often very much different, from the same problems in other regions of the nation. We have a people with a biracial culture; farming with a different land and climate and market; education with an abundance of youth; economics with most of the people rural. All of these situations afford as fine an opportunity to study and learn the great facts of importance about us and to understand more of American nature, of American people, of American democracy.

Unit IX

Southern Portraiture in the National Picture

TOPIC 25: SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND A CHANGING SOUTH

IN MANY ways the South has changed more within the last fifty years than has the rest of the nation. In other ways the South has remained more nearly the same than other regions of the country, except perhaps New England. For the South is still "the South" both to its own people and to other regions of the country. This is illustrated by the phrase used by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1938, characterizing the South as "the nation's economic problem No. 1," and by the reaction to this statement both in the Southern States and in many other parts of the country as well.

One of the most important and indisputable changes about the South is that there is no longer in the United States any single entity which may be designated as "the South." More authentically, there is a Southeast and a Southwest, comparable to four other major regions designated as the Northeast, the Northwest, the Middle States, and the Far West. The old custom of massing together, for aggregate quantitative effects, a large group of "southern" states, including Missouri, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Texas, and the specialized urban District of

Columbia is not only inaccurate but detrimental to genuine regional analysis and planning.

It is, therefore, neither possible nor desirable to present a single authentic picture of "the South" any more than it is of "the North" or "the East" or "the West," not only because of the magnitude and diversity of the regions but also because of the dynamics of the emerging Southwestern Region, comprising Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona, which will require separate analysis and interpretation no less critical and comprehensive than that for the Southeast.

Both the Southeast and the Southwest have also changed phenomenally in their growth and development. Since 1900, for instance, there has been a larger ratio of increase in wealth here than in the United States as a whole.

A larger increase in certain types of industrial development than in the United States as a whole.
A larger increase in the development of roads, water power, and many public utilities.
A larger ratio of increase in expenditures and enrollment in public education and in institutions of higher learning.
With by and large a remarkable development in all aspects of economic and institutional growth.

In educational development, for instance, a state such as North Carolina spends more money for Negro education in 1940 than it did for all education in 1900. North Carolina was one of the first states to set up a fifty-million-dollar road building program and has ranked from year to year from third to fifth in its contribution to the federal government through internal revenue taxes. Although a rural region, the trend toward the city has been greater in both the Southeast and the Southwest since 1920 than in the nation as a whole.

On the other hand, the South has not kept pace with the rest of the nation in science, skills, technology, so that its farms and its factories are not so much advanced as those in the urban-industrial Northeast and Middle States. If we use Stuart Chase's six fundamental factors in production as a measuring rod, the Southeast excels in the first, namely, *natural resources* available, but lags in the other five; namely, the *use of inanimate energy*, the *use of skilled labor*, the *employment of technical management*, the presence of an *adequate culture heritage of technical arts*, and the *production plant itself*.

Or if another general type of comparative measures be sought, the South excels in two of the five major sources of wealth, as we have sought to group them, and lags in three. That is, it excels in the superabundance of its *natural resources* and *its human resources*, and lags in the measure of its *technological wealth*, its *artificial wealth*, including its industries, and its *institutional modes of life and culture*. This means that in all aspects of its potential resources it reflects the technological lag. For it does not afford the technical institutions for the development and use of its human resources any more than it does for its physical resources.

If we wish to note what changes science and technology might have made in the South or may soon work out, we may look at agriculture, for instance, in which it has multiplied the work capacity of a man many fold and has made possible some accomplishments which no number of men could do.

A monster tractor driven by one man could pull enough deep-furrow grain drills to seed more than 300 acres in one day.

One man riding the newest corn cultivator could "plow" from thirty to sixty-five acres a day.

The proposed cotton picker, when perfected, would do the work of from sixteen to forty-eight hand pickers.

The tractor-drawn combine machinery harvests the wheat in the fields by the hundreds of bushels.

These pictures are in brilliant contrast to the earlier pictures of a single man swinging the old "cradle," sweeping in with his fingers the gathered grain, piling it on the ground in small "hands" to be garnered later and tied by hand in bundles, these bundles to be shocked and later hauled by wagon to some central place where the day's threshing was to be done. Indeed, few American episodes have been more dramatic than the evolution of the harvester from McCormick's first efforts to the latest supermodel machine at the latest World's Fair. Scarcely less revolutionary is the transportation of farm products by truck and fast-moving refrigerator trains, representative of technology's transformation of agriculture, markets, and consumption habits.

There are many who see in the future a new agrarian culture made possible by still greater progress in technology, through which cheap light, power, heat, water, and transportation services would make possible a new type of rural comfort and culture. New inventions and skill would reduce the cost of equipment, such as electric ranges, electric refrigerators, and household conveniences, to such an extent that they would be available for the common man on a small self-sufficing farm, or in small groups clustered around plants of decentralized industry. This indeed is a new picture and a fascinating one to anticipate in contrast to that other devastating prospect of the farmer who is to

be made peasant by a great sweep of mechanized agriculture, of overproduction, and poor markets.

Science, invention, technology, are also mightily at work upon the other natural resources and their utilization. In forestry, in lumber industries, in mining and mineral processing; in the transformation of great quantities of crude resources into materials for the building of roads and bridges; in the development of large areas for recreation, hunting, fishing—the nation's measure of wealth has been largely a measure of its technology. Perhaps still more vivid has been technology's multiplication of products from all and sundry natural resources. There have been a hundred products from the lowly sweet potato—sugar and meal and beverage and glue; other hundreds of products from peanuts and cotton, wood pulp and cornstalks, clay and rosin, cotton stalks and new fibers, and a long catalog of farm "chemurgic."

The picture of technology at work, furthermore, is far more inclusive than merely an inventory of science, discoveries, machines, and ways of spending money and time. It goes further to comprehend the whole scheme of scientific management in the uses of invested capital, which in turn multiplies the ways and means for the practical application of science. It includes also new research into the best ways of speeding up industry to supply the world with comforts, luxuries, necessities, and the best ways of encouraging consumption.

Management no less than discovery has become a part of the technological equipment of the nation. Indeed, the common definition of management is that it is an art or science or technique of organizing and directing human effort, applied to control the forces and to utilize the ma-

terials of nature for the benefit of mankind. Management at its best is intended to promote the optimum utilization of productive resources; in practice it often becomes, as many other technologies, a form of supertechnology for competitive practices, for the multiplying of profits, a spreadout for the reduction of man power.

The startling nature of inventions and discovery and the extent of their extraordinary diffusion and application, however, do not alone constitute the main picture, which is that of a world of invention transforming at breathtaking speed the whole life and culture of the people. The quantitative achievement of science and technology, with their brilliant discoveries and inventions, represents only one side of the picture. On the other side is to be viewed the picture of what the future is likely to hold in store. Culture is to be remade, regions replanned through the new technology of power. For this technology it is often claimed that it can do for the community all that it wants done—raise standards of living, give the people new work and new play, end drudgery, banish noise and smoke, and contribute much to the enrichment of a universal culture.

Another general background upon which to view the picture of the Southeast and its technological development may be found in the rapid development of technological changes in industry and industrial inventions which appear of especial importance to the region. Among these are:

The continuing increase of automative power which will release large quantities of food crops, formerly fed to work animals, for human consumption.

Additional technologies in the processing of food and feed stuffs may have a similar effect.

So, also, the development of hydrogenization for the

making available of more fats from vegetable oil and the organized movement for the production of such products.

The continuing development of rayon as a substitute for cotton, the further development of new fibers from plants now under experiment or likely to become available, will make many important changes necessary.

Another major development is that of paper making from new wood and of various other new products from wood industry.

The movement for quantitative production of fabricated houses and the discovery and development of important minerals which may take the place of iron and steel may be of great significance.

The possibilities for technological strides in air-conditioning processes for homes and offices is usually listed as a field for possible revolutionary development, especially in the southern regions.

These developments, together with any others that may come in the changing situation with reference to centralized or decentralized industry or to the relative importance of large bodies of capital for large integrated plants and expensive machinery as opposed to smaller units, are sufficient to provide a checking background for technology in the Southeast.

Perhaps most of these general considerations apply to both the Southeast and the Southwest. In general, however, technology, in the form of machine farming, has been more dominant in the Southwest than in the Southeast. This means, for instance, that in cotton culture, the Southwest has a great advantage over the Southeast and that, therefore, the Southeast will have to re-examine its "cotton economy" or single-crop cash system of farming. It means

also that the South's farm tenant system will change rapidly as mechanical farming makes possible more work with fewer workers.

Some of these factors will be studied in the various questions asked and topics presented. But in nearly all aspects of the life and work of the South at present we return again and again to the fact that there is need of more skill, science, management, engineering, and training, for us to develop our resources and translate them into abundance for the people.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 25: SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND A CHANGING SOUTH

In many ways the South has changed more within the last fifty years than has the rest of the nation.

In other ways the South has remained more nearly the same than have other regions.

The South is definitely moving forward.

I. For the Open Forum

The list of statements that follow are found in the text and in *Southern Regions of the United States* by Howard W. Odum. Consider each statement in the light of these three questions:

(a) What are the facts about each statement and what do the facts mean? Cite specific instances.

(b) How can the facts be interpreted and molded into effective plans?

(c) What results might be expected?

1. It is important to point toward greater realization of the inherent capacities of the Southern Regions.

2. There is a continuously more effective reintegration of the

Southern Regions into the national picture and thereby toward a larger regional contribution to national culture and unity.

3. A clear recognition of the historical and theoretical significance of the regions and of the power of the folk—regional society in modern culture—is basic.

4. There must be reality to the Southern picture—the facing of absolute facts rather than defense explanations of how things have come to be as they are.

5. Tradition, opinion, conflict, arrangements of local stateways and folkways, which constitute a part of the picture, are not measurable in terms of units that can be counted.

6. The Southern Region is a laboratory for regional research and for experimentation in social planning—an admirable unit for inventory and work in national reconstruction.

7. There is no longer in the United States any single entity which may be designated as "the South." More authentically, there is a Southeast and a Southwest comparable to four other major regions designated as the Northeast, the Northwest, the Middle States, and the Far West.

8. There is the working hypothesis of the relatively clear-cut differentiation between the older Southeast and the emerging Southwest, a new empire in itself.

9. Tested by criteria, it is clear that so large and traditional a "South" is no longer a reality either in the spirit or in the measure of the regions.

10. The South contains a folk-regional culture of distinctive features, including many special problems, a long catalog of crises, handicaps, and deficiencies, and a number of quality characterizations commonly assumed to be superior.

11. The most dramatic and tragic group of crises is that centering upon secession, war, and reconstruction.

12. Sectionalism itself has constituted a continuous major crisis.

13. A special group of related crises center upon cotton and its evolving economy. . . . There was and is the crisis of the agrarian struggle for survival against the overwhelming handicaps of poverty, inefficiency, and the aftermath of the plantation system; and the later rise and sweep of the industrial movement and its creation of new classes and labor relations.

14. There is the like-mindedness of the region in the politics of the "Solid South," in the protestant religion, in matters of social culture and conflicts, and in state and sectional patriotism.

15. The Southeast is rich in all resources, physical and human, essential to the development of the highest culture.

16. The region does not afford adequate facilities for the development and utilization of either its physical or its human wealth.

17. In reality the Southern Regions are deficiency areas in contrast to their abundant potentialities.

18. The rapid rate of urbanization and the extensive migration (especially of Negroes from farms) has resulted in unplanned towns, in low standards of housing, and in inadequate community organization.

19. A special problem exists in the large ratio of cash-crop farming and its related dilemmas.

20. The Southern Region is especially bound up with international relations due to the large exports of cotton and tobacco and the dominance of these crops in Southern agriculture.

21. Of special urgency are the problems of deficiency of institutions and tools of science, education, organization and management.

22. The key to the Southeast is the agrarian South, old and new. Inherent in its dynamic part in the region's past and future are the meanings and implications of agrarian culture.

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Arrange an exhibit of clothing, letters, furniture, books, papers, and other items of the South as it was (*a*) seventy-five years ago, (*b*) about fifty years ago. List the changes and find characteristic exhibits to illustrate them.

2. How many of the old Southern homes which have been popularized in stories and motion pictures can you find in your locality? What is their present state of repair? Are descendants of original families still living in them?

3. Interview your parents to find out in what ways your community has changed in the past twenty-five years.

4. From your study of American history, list the national leaders of Southern origin and indicate their relative importance to the nation. What has been the trend since the Civil War? Why?

5. Draw a map of the states of the Southern Regions. Color those states which are most typical of the South, those bordering, and those least typical.

6. List the most important indices used to determine similarities and dissimilarities between states. Why were these indices used?

7. List five types of wealth, noting the ones in which the Southeast is rich and the ones in which it is deficient. Do the same for the Southwest. What are the present trends?

8. From a study of the United States Census, show the urban trends in the South and draw some conclusions as to the effect on the future population.

9. Study Department of Agriculture pamphlets and show the change in Southern agriculture from 1900 to the present time. Give some percentages and definite facts.

10. Visit a few farms in your neighborhood. Find out what differences there are in the crops grown now and those grown forty years ago.

11. Interview some influential person in your community on the topic of changing problems in the community. Report your findings to the class.

12. List a few of the most important factors that cause farming in the Southeast to rank lower than farming in other regions. Is the farming in the Southwest improving?

13. List a few of the most important factors which have caused industry to develop more slowly in the Southern Regions than in other regions. Is the rate of industrial development increasing in the Southeast and Southwest?

14. Give a few facts about the South in the building of the nation: (*a*) the period of settlement and colonization; (*b*) the contribution at the time of the American Revolution; and (*c*) factors involved in the Civil War.

15. Briefly trace the effects of the Reconstruction period on the South.

16. Indicate how the South is getting away from its sectionalism

as the different regions are becoming more dependent on each other.

17. Briefly trace the trends away from a one-crop system toward a balanced agriculture in the South.

18. Show the effect of federal subsidies, such as rehabilitation, Farm Security Administration, and the AAA, on the economic status of the sharecropper or small landowner.

19. Present statistics showing definite changes in the population of the South.

20. Indicate definite advances made in educational opportunities. Compare and contrast these with facts from other regions.

21. Why is the South called "The nation's number-one economic problem"? List points in explaining your answer.

B. *To Plan*

1. How may a more realistic facing of facts be brought about in the Southern Regions?

2. Suggest ways of changing some of the attitudes that hinder progress in the South.

3. Outline a pageant showing the principal changes that have occurred in your community from its early history to the present time.

4. Suggest ways of enriching the agricultural life of the region.

5. Suggest ways of bringing about needed changes in the educational systems of most of the southern states.

6. Design a program to create better relations between urban and rural areas.

7. Suggest ways to have the "best" that is in the South recognized by other regions.

8. Suggest ways by which the handicaps of the South can be ameliorated or eliminated.

9. In the light of present-day trends, what are the outstanding changes needed in your community?

10. Plan a program designed to bring the South forward. Offer an outlined program on the topic *Next Steps in the Southern Regions.*

11. Plan a list of challenges and needs of the region—some of the problems that need readjustment and new adaptation.

12. What is needed to arouse the South to a full recognition of its potential values and hasten the time when it can reap full benefits from them?

13. Make a list of all of the places of interest in your community that would appeal to tourists. Plan a folder that would be appropriate for advertising to tourists. Get an estimate from the state department as to how much your state receives from tourists each year.

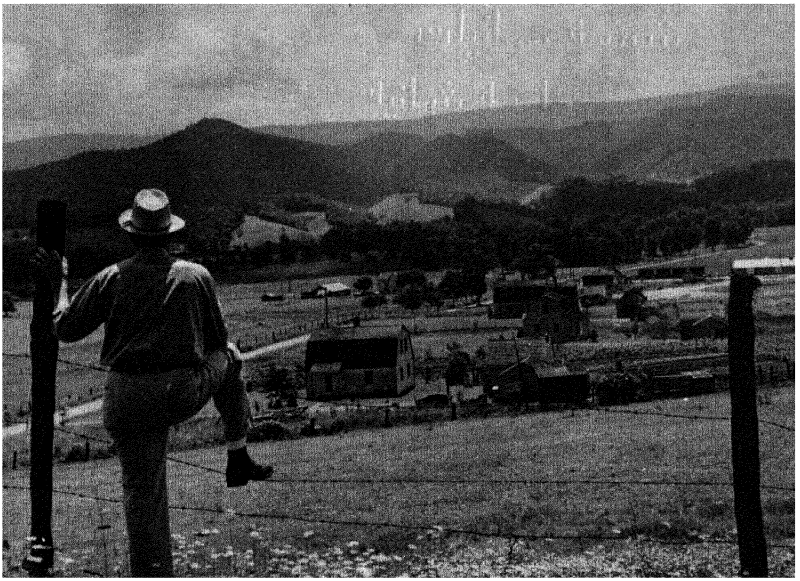
TOPIC 26: A FAVORED REGION OF RESOURCES

In our earlier studies of resources, we pointed out the fact that the existence of abundant natural resources alone will not make possible a great civilization and a rich culture. Necessary also are their development, wise utilization, and conservation.

We have also pointed out the fact that the South has a superabundance of natural wealth, but because it has not had skills, science, and technology applied adequately to the development of these resources, and because much of natural wealth has been wasted, the South is poor in capital wealth, or money. And because the South is poor, it cannot develop its institutions and, therefore, its human wealth. We must, consequently, study first the potential natural wealth of the Southern Regions, then the degree of development and utilization, and finally the waste involved. We may then point toward new ways of developing and conserving this great wealth of the regions.

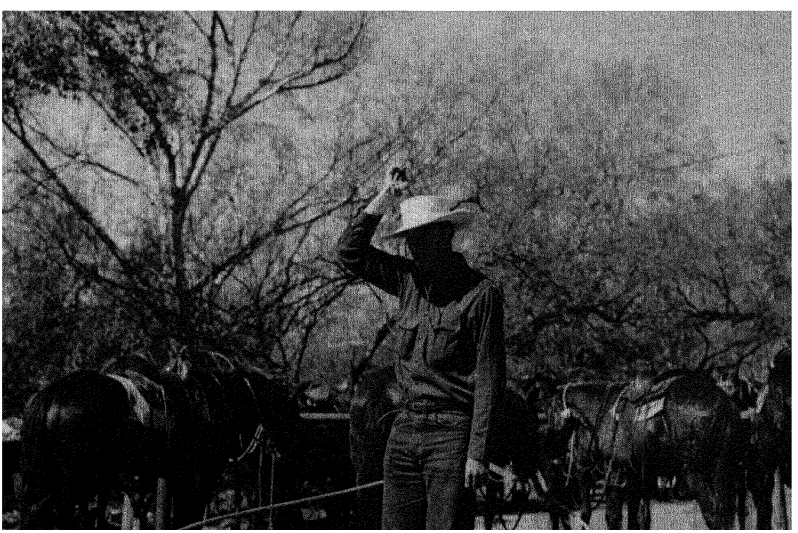
Let us look first at the Southeast, with its great store of natural resources. This superabundance of well-nigh limitless sources of natural wealth is measured by great range and variety:

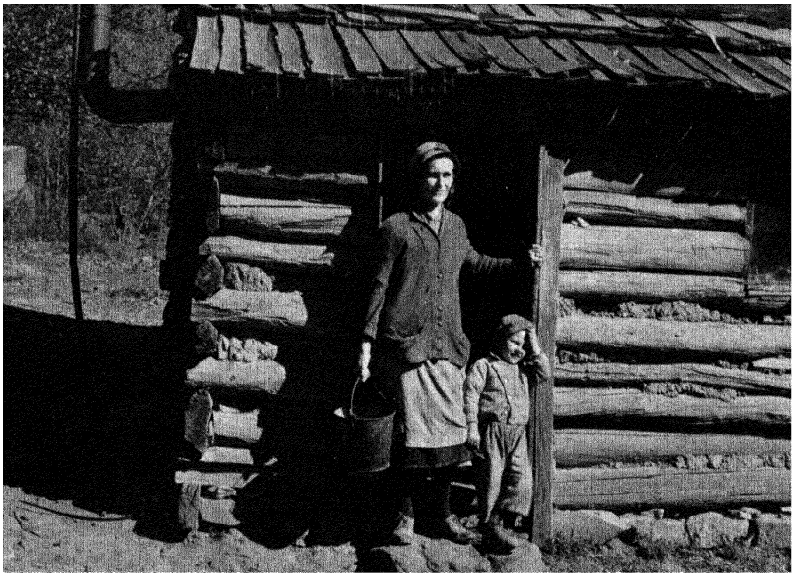
Rainfall and rivers.
Climate and growing seasons.
Land and forests.
Minerals and mines.
Lumber and stones of fabulous quality and quantity for the fabrication of great buildings.
Energy and power, dominant or surging from oil and gas and electricity.
Sea-water minerals and tidal power.



Top, Farm Security Administration, Photograph by Vachon; bottom, American Airlines, Inc.

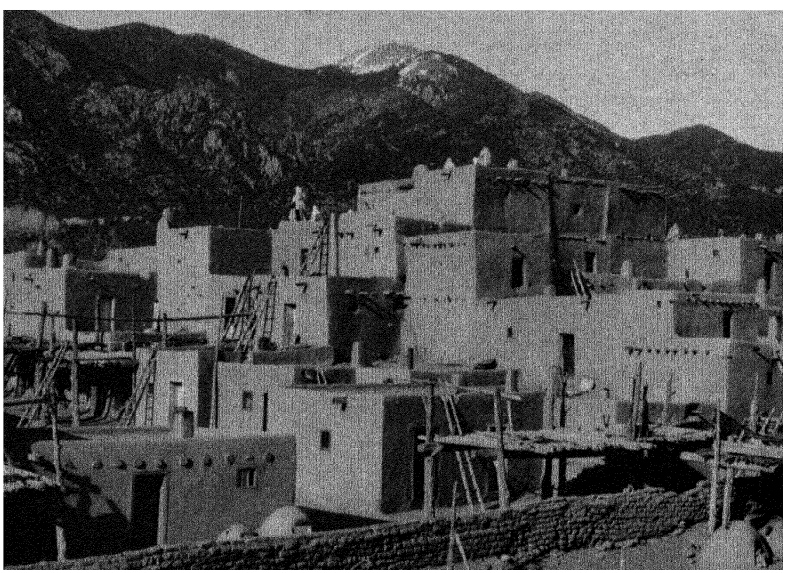
Southern Portraiture: Two of the many characters in the Southern Picture are this farmer surveying his homestead and the Southwestern cowboy swinging his lariat.

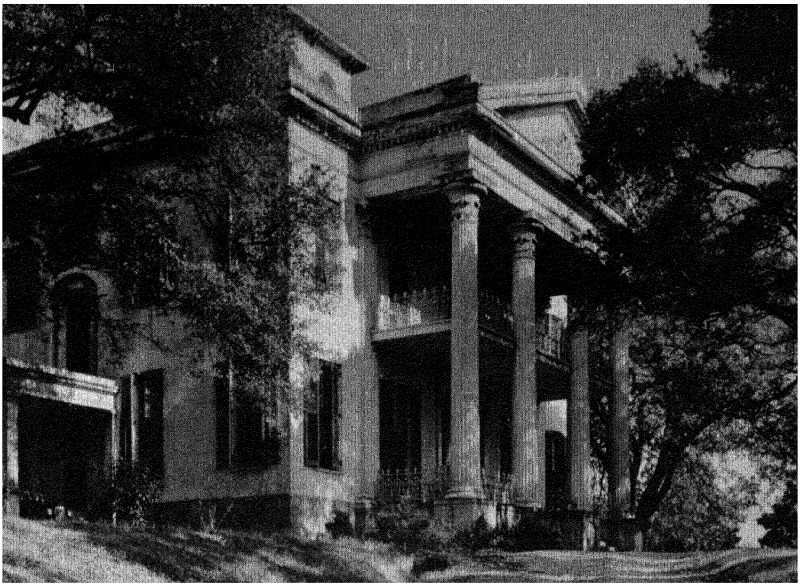




Top, Farm Security Administration, Photograph by Rothstein; bottom, H. Armstrong Roberts

A mother and child in the Blue Ridge Mountains face their future; and in New Mexico Indian cliff dwellers preserve a fragment of an earlier civilization.

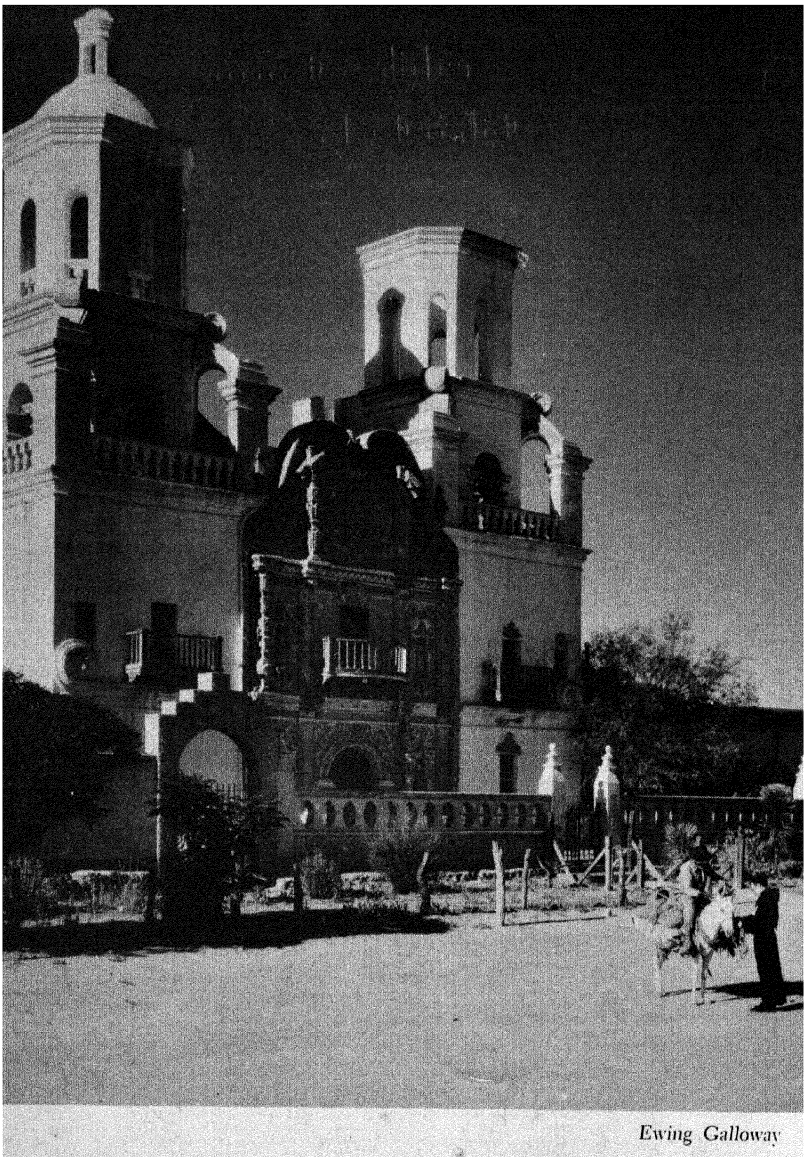




Top and bottom, Ewing Galloway

There were great white mansions on hilltops, and there still are some of these mansions, and villages near-by.





Spanish culture lives in the Southwest in such places as this Franciscan Mission in Arizona.

Iodine and phosphorous and nitrogen wealth.
Chemical resources from pine and vegetable, cotton and corn.
Parks and playgrounds, mountain and seashore, summer and winter resorts, play places of a nation.
Nature reserves and sanctuaries for wild life.
Flora extraordinary, grasses and cultivated plants to feed man and animal and land.
Fauna of the woods and fields, millions of game, for commerce and recreation.
Domesticated animals on farm and grazing lands.
And many other tangibles and intangibles of geography's situation, relief, and area.

If the enumeration of the superabundance of natural resources begin with oceans and rivers and rainfall, and if to abundant waters be added long, frostless growing seasons and soil of variety and richness, there will be projected boldly the basic vein of natural resources stretching across and throughout this Southeastern Region of eleven states, no one of which is outside the range of superior advantage.

In the measure of its rainfall the whole of the Southeast lies within the bounds of that magic area which measures more than forty inches average annual precipitation. Of the twenty-seven per cent of the nation's total land area with a precipitation of forty or more inches, the Southeast's own part is nearly two-thirds. Again, of the fifty-five per cent of the nation's area in which a frostless growing season of six months or more is available, the Southeast itself has nearly a third, while the Southeast and the Southwest together aggregate more than two-thirds of the total.

Yet the first of all American resources is that of land, the source and power of all the Jeffersonian dream of the greater domain and democracy. This has been especially true of the Southern agrarian culture. The heart of the Southerner has been in his land, the early richness of which,

like the prodigality of his rainfall and climate, he has nonchalantly taken for granted. This measure of land resources in the Southeast is reflected in its nearly 325,000,000 acres of the nation's 1,900,000,000; such southern land expanse alone comprehending an area many times greater than all of Jefferson's early America. In other measures of general land area the Southeast constitutes in itself an empire of more than 500,000 square miles, or slightly more than seventeen per cent of the nation's total, as compared with the Southwest's slightly more than nineteen per cent, the two southern regions aggregating more than a third of America's vast domain.

Of the more than 6,250,000 farms in the United States in 1930, the Southeast had more than 2,380,000, or nearly forty per cent. Its acres in farms formed a lesser ratio with 170,507,839, of which the total crop land was a little more than 70,000,000; the total pasture land nearly 45,000,000; woodland not used as pasture, 41,000,000; and all other land in farms, a little more than 11,500,000 acres. The map picture of the land uses of the Southeast shows practically the entire region classified as featuring the highest multiple land use; namely, "crop land, grazing-hay land, forest."

"The richest forest lands in the world," so geographers have described America's heritage, and of this vast area the Southeast has excelled in many ways. "The Southeastern States," wrote A. N. Polk as late as 1932, "represent the most interesting of all regional forestry possibilities. Here are the great areas of long leaf and short leaf pine with a growing season of almost twelve months a year." Of the total commercial forest area, the Southeastern Region contains 198,000,000 acres, or about forty per cent; and thirty per cent of the saw-timber area and fifteen per cent of the old-growth, or virgin, area. At present the Southeastern

Region contains seventy-eight billion board feet, or forty-three per cent of the hardwood or saw-timber size, and 121 billion, or eight per cent, of the softwood. Ninety-eight per cent of the 118 billion feet of southern yellow pine is in the Southeast. Practically all of the hardwood saw-timber is in the East, and about forty-three per cent of it is in the Southeast. The region has thirty-three billion feet of old-growth hardwood, comprising the only large reserve of old-growth hardwood timber left in the United States.

Like the rest of the nation, the South has begun to reckon its resources in national forests and playgrounds and in the conservation and development of field and stream for the enrichment and recreation of its people. There is an increasing recognition of the new resources in the out-of-doors, a sort of back-to-nature movement, with the emphasis upon recreation, leisure time, physical reconstruction, picturesque and historical heritage. Parks and playgrounds, national, state, municipal, have multiplied a hundredfold; national forests and bird sanctuaries have become a public interest; and a thousand organizations attend to the promotion and educational features of the new good life. Here is scenic beauty unparalleled, a picture unsurpassed. Yet the Southeastern picture is one of potentiality to be realized, although in the wealth of physical resources for summer and winter resorts, the Southeast in coming into its own. Its thousands of coast and interior resorts contribute to one of the most colorful of all American pictures.

Superabundance and variety again characterize the Southeast in its wealth of game and fish. Millions of dollars in values and potential values are represented in a single state with an annual output of six million furs from twenty thousand trappers; and a ten-million-dollar value in southern bobwhites, each type of game being supplemented by an

extraordinary expansion of game reserves, large and small, public and private. Extraordinary resources abound again in fishing in the waters of the Atlantic and the Gulf, in sounds and lakes, in rivers and bayous, in mountain streams and flat-land marshes. Some of the Carolina Atlantic coast sounds possess resources exceeding any known similar regions, while Florida has, for another example, a clam bed forty miles in length. Here is abundance in shrimp and shad, oysters and clam, mullet and mackerel, menhaden and sponge, mountain trout and bream, black bass and bluefish, catfish and eel, pickerel and pike, suckers and perch, frogs' legs and turtle. The actual measure of the region's commercial fisheries in terms of 1929 values showed the Southeast with a little more than a fifth of the nation's total.

Once again the resources of nature are represented in the increasing number of plant nurseries, in the value of their equipment and in the sale of their products, as well as in the south-wide sweeping movement of garden clubs. Of the more than seven thousand establishments reporting upon the value of equipment and sale of stocks, the Southeast had in 1929 approximately one-fifth. The Southeast's 1,431 in 1929 was an increase from 693 in 1919, or more than 100 per cent as compared with the increase for the whole nation from 4,040 to 7,207. An indication of the basic possibilities may be seen in the case of Florida, which had but 133 nurseries in 1920, yet had more than 530 in 1932. A part of this picture belongs to the inventory of wealth and agriculture, but it is also a part of the natural plant capacity of the region, a fact which is further abundantly illustrated in the extraordinary number and variety of fruit trees, nut-bearing trees, berries, vegetables, and grasses as yet uninventoried.

In the regional picture of natural abundance there must necessarily appear in magnified rôle those other special

blocks of resources essential to the flowering of a culture of the first order; namely, minerals and power. Here are minerals of inanimate energy, minerals of fabrication and construction, minerals of life-giving and esthetic qualities. Here are multiplied varieties of minerals as yet scarcely developed at all; more than three hundred, big and little, important and incidental, catalog again of extraordinary richness and variety. And with them all are twin resources of fuel and water power of such regional excellence as exists in no other region of the country. Thus again we see one group of resources combining admirably with another.

Another example of abundant resources available for the strengthening of a regional economy for industrial development, for reconstruction of agriculture, and for the enrichment of agrarian life is the water-power capacity in the Southeast, which appears ample for all purposes without drawing upon outside forces. Abundant evidence indicates, for instance, that the Appalachian subregions of the Southeast are more favored than any other part of the United States in having a topography adapted to the construction of dams, and a relatively high rainfall well distributed throughout the year. The result is that both large fall and high stream flow make water-power development particularly attractive. Alongside this is also the abundance of granite and sand suitable to the construction of dams. Moreover, the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama are among the upper quartile of all states of the nation, ranking third, fourth, sixth, and ninth, in developed water power. It seems easily demonstrable that the Southeast alone could provide in plant capacity the full 16,000,000 horsepower developed water power which was the whole nation's output around 1930.

Turning next to coal, reputed to do two-thirds of the

work of the nation, and ranking first in fuel energy resources, we find that the Southeast not only affords a fifth of the nation's soft coal, but has an even higher ratio of quality than of quantity in the nation's reserves. Of the world's reserves, estimated at the long, long count of 8,154,322,500,000 short tons, the portion of the United States is no less than 4,231,352,000,000, or a little more than half of the total. The Southeast's possible reserves might represent nearly a tenth of this. Such are the stupendous reserve resources that it is estimated that at the rate of consumption of the 1930's there is coal enough to last the region hundreds, if not thousands, of years. Thus it has been estimated that less than two per cent of the total southeastern coal seams have been tapped.

The Southeast not only affords immeasurable resources of energy and fuel through power and coal, but it could afford also the perfect setting for great buildings, for beautiful homes, as well as for roads and bridges, reservoirs and dams. Here again is abundance of steel and stone, marble and granite, concrete, and metals. Iron and steel, king of fabricated structures, and basic to modern civilization, appear in abundance in the picture. Of the world's requirement of about 100,000,000 tons of steel a year, the United States furnishes a little more than half. Of the 58,000,000 tons of iron ore mined in 1930 in the United States, the Southeast produced 5,800,000; and of the 30,000,000 tons of pig iron production, the Southeast produced nearly a tenth.

More immediate for the building industry, however, is the regional abundance of limestone, granite, sandstone, basalt, slate, marble, of which the Southeast has important supplies and reserves. In the production of limestone, Virginia, Alabama, Kentucky, and Tennessee rank in the

upper quartile. In granite, North Carolina by 1929 was second, South Carolina third, Virginia fourth, and Georgia sixth. In marble, Tennessee had replaced Vermont in first place, while Georgia and Alabama followed in close succession. In 1919 the Southeastern States accounted for thirty-seven per cent of the total marble production, and by 1929 they had increased to sixty-one per cent.

Other samplings of minerals in the region will indicate the region's capacity to match its geographical endowment further with the tools necessary for the highest type of industry and culture. Copper and manganese and bauxite and all manner of domestic clay, sand and gravel, cement and lime, continue the list available for the reconstruction of the region's building standards. Most of the world's soapstone comes from Virginia. There are 350,000,000 long tons of phosphate deposits in five Southeastern States, while Florida and Tennessee actually produce ninety-eight per cent of all the phosphate in the nation. Texas produces approximately eighty-five per cent of the world's supply of sulphur and 99.9 per cent of the nation's supply, while Georgia and Tennessee furnish forty-three per cent of the nation's barite.

In three other major groups of mineral resources, superabundance must be measured in special relationship to other factors. In the case of petroleum and natural gas, the catalog must be made in connection with the Southwest, which with Louisiana, produces more than sixty-five per cent of the nation's more than 696,000,000 barrels of petroleum, and more than fifty per cent of its nearly 2,000,000,000,000 cubic feet of natural gas. This stupendous capacity constitutes a separate inventory of the total development of the Southern Regions in relation to the whole Mississippi Valley and the Tennessee Valley subregions.

The other great reserve power not summarized here is found in the abundant chemical resources of the region, a part of which belongs to technological equipment and a part to nature's endowment. If we omit the undeveloped possibilities of pine products in paper and rayon and cellulose, estimated at a possible two-billion-dollar output, the units in which the Southeast excels would include 100 per cent of naval stores; more than ninety-five per cent of cottonseed products of great richness and variety; three-fourths of carbon black; more than two-thirds of fertilizer; nearly two-thirds of rayon; about a fourth of lime; and a large ratio of clay products. Of other chemical resources a large number, such as phosphates and sulphur, pyrites and salt, rayon and pulp, paints and papers will be dependent upon mineral resources; and another large number will depend almost entirely for their uses upon the adequate development through technology of all natural resources and of industry.

Now turning to the Southwest, we recall many of the characteristics which we have already enumerated in our unit on regional problems and in our preview to Unit IX. We shall be able to ask many other questions about the Southwest in our Workshop. We may now examine briefly a general picture as presented by Raymond D. Thomas of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. We find that even the urban centers of the Southwest are distinctly regional in their foundations and development. Like the general region from which they draw their strength, they are of comparatively recent development. The urban area along the Texas Gulf Coast, the Houston-Galveston-Beaumont district, has had a phenomenal growth during the past quarter of a century. The

principal economic bases of this district are petroleum production and refining, cotton compresses, and foreign shipping. The San Antonio-Austin area is growing to an important position as a distributing point and resort center. The Dallas-Fort Worth district is a strong urban center with meat packing, general merchandise distribution, and manufacturing as the principal sources of economic support. El Paso on the Mexican border in west Texas is a distribution point for a broad area and an important center of contact for overland trade with Mexico across the Rio Grande. The urban life of Oklahoma is concentrating in Tulsa, the "Oil Capital of the World," and in Oklahoma City, the state capital and a rapidly growing center of manufacturing and wholesale distribution. In New Mexico the flow is toward the Albuquerque-Santa Fe district, and in Arizona principally toward Phoenix. . . . The Southwest is rapidly developing its own ports. The rise to first rank importance of Beaumont, Port Arthur, Houston, Galveston, and Texas City as shipping ports is one of the interesting new aspects of the developing foreign trade of the Southwest. These ports are among the nation's chief outlets for the shipping of cotton, grains, and petroleum. The traffic through the Houston harbor alone amounted in 1930 to more than five hundred million dollars.

The richness and variety of the agricultural Southwest is indicated by both the catalog of its products and the classification of its special areas. So also the variety of temperature and rainfall, together with topography and soil, gives opportunity for small-scale self-sufficiency farming, mixed farming, large-scale cotton farming, hard winter wheat farming, cattle and sheep ranching, irrigation farming for fruits and vegetables, specialized farming with such drought-

resisting crops as sorghum and kaffir, and special vegetable crops, such as white potatoes, and watermelons. And one county boasts of growing more spinach than any similar area in the world.

Agriculturally, the most important single crop of the region is cotton, the production of which, in Texas and Oklahoma, reaches thirty-eight per cent of the nation's total. Aside from cotton, the varieties of soil and climatic differences lead to a great number of variations in agricultural pursuits. In the Ozarks of Oklahoma small self-sufficient farms are common while large-scale cotton and winter wheat production have developed in parts of Texas and Oklahoma. Irrigation for the production of fruit, vegetables, and small grains is common in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas and in various valleys of New Mexico and Arizona. Dry farming around the 100th meridian region has made some success with drought-resisting crops, as kaffir and grain sorghums.

There are quite a number of specialized areas of crop production. White potatoes are produced commercially in the Arkansas River Valley near Muskogee in Oklahoma. Broom corn yields abundantly in Garvin, Grady, McClain counties in southwestern Oklahoma, also in smaller districts in northwest Oklahoma, and in the tier of counties in New Mexico along the northern half of the eastern boundary of that state and in Bee County in southern Texas. In Wilson and Atascosa counties in southern Texas, in Parker and Wise counties in north-central Texas, in Grady County in Oklahoma, and in Willacy County on the lower Texas Gulf coast are important commercial watermelon districts.

Other small crop areas include pecans in Bryan County in the lower Oklahoma Red River Valley and in Comanche and Eastland counties in central Texas; blackberries in

Tarrant County in north-central Texas; strawberries in the northern Ozark district in Oklahoma, in Atascosa County in southern Texas, and in the Houston district on the Gulf coast. Tomatoes are produced commercially near Tyler; fifty per cent of the world's pecan tonnage comes from Texas, while in another region near Tyler almost one-third of the world's commercial roses are grown. An important strawberry and spinach region is found in the Rio Grande Valley. The cattle industry is still of importance. New Mexico, ranking first among the states in this industry, derives 30.5 per cent of its gross income from beef cattle; Arizona, ranking fifth, derives sixteen per cent of its income from beef cattle; while Texas and Oklahoma derive 7.0 and 8.0 per cent respectively of their gross incomes from cattle.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 26: A FAVORED REGION OF RESOURCES

An inventory of the natural wealth of the South, if adequate, must be in terms of enormous aggregates as it relates to range and quantity and in terms of superlatives as it relates to quality and possibilities. The picture shows capacity for utilization and actualities of waste.

I. For the Open Forum

Here is a list of statements taken from the text and *Southern Regions of the United States*. The statements indicate favorable aspects of the regions. Consider each statement in the light of the following questions:

(*a*) What are the facts of each statement and what do these facts mean? Cite specific instances.

(*b*) How can they be utilized for the further enrichment of the Region?

A Favored Region

1. In the measure of its rainfall the Southeast lies within the bounds of that magic area which measures more than forty inches average annual precipitation.

2. The heart of the Southerner has been in his land.

3. The region features the highest multiple land use; namely, "crop land, grazing-hay land, and forest."

4. The Southeastern States represent the most interesting of all regional forestry possibilities.

5. Like the rest of the nation, the South has begun to reckon its resources in national forests and playgrounds and in the enrichment and recreation of its people.

6. Superabundance and variety characterize the region in its wealth of game and fish.

7. Favorable to the South is the increasing interest in and number of plant nurseries, in the value of their equipment and in the sale of their products, as well as in the Southwide sweeping movement of garden clubs.

8. Here are multiplied varieties of minerals as yet scarcely developed, big and little, important and incidental, a catalog of extraordinary richness and variety.

9. The water-power capacity appears ample for all purposes without drawing upon outside forces.

10. There is coal enough to last the region hundreds, if not thousands, of years.

11. The region affords the perfect setting for great buildings, for beautiful homes, as well as for roads and bridges, reservoirs and dams.

12. Here is abundance of steel and stone, marble and granite, concrete, and metals.

13. There is regional abundance of limestone, granite, sandstone, basalt, slate, and marble.

14. Copper, manganese, bauxite and all manner of domestic clay, sand and gravel, cement and lime continue the list of materials available for the region's building standards.

15. There is an abundance of petroleum and natural gas.

16. There are undeveloped possibilities of pine products in paper and rayon and cellulose.

17. Naval stores, cottonseed products, carbon black, fertilizer, lime and clay products, are of great richness and variety.

18. There are many other minor resources to be developed.

Deficiency and Waste

Impressive alongside the extraordinary regional potentialities in natural resources is a similar catalog of products of technological lag and economic and social waste. Consider each of the statements that follow by asking this question: Why should there be this waste and how can it be eliminated?

1. A first measure of waste and related deficiencies in technology may be applied to the basic resources of land and climate.

2. There are the uncounted millions of acres of eroded land threatening to make the region impotent for a rich agrarian culture and incapable of supporting industrial and commercial activities.

3. There are millions of acres of bottom land that have been affected by the filling of stream beds and consequent overflow and other acres that have been handicapped by sand and gravel from the hillsides.

4. There are immeasurable losses through soil drainage and depletion due to the single-crop system.

5. Lowest per capita farm income, lowest income per worker, the lowest return per unit of horsepower, and other examples of "lowest" occur unnecessarily in the region.

6. There has been a decrease, in the last decade, in the number of most kinds of livestock.

7. The region has a low ratio of pasture land.

8. Other measures of technology and deficiencies will be found in the percentage of farms lacking modern tools and conveniences; in the neglect of farm tools and animals; in harvesting and processing of commodities; and in the conservation of perishable produce and marketing of crops.

9. Two major deficiencies are found in the fields of farm management and coöperative activities.

10. The list must include the basic consumption of producer's goods—of rural homes and farm buildings unpainted and out of repair and below any adequate standards of culture.

11. There is a lag in finance, science, institutional leadership,

and in the human-use aspects of industrial technology basic to optimum development in the region.

12. Income and wages rank uniformly from thirty to fifty per cent below the national level.

13. A major deficiency is the lack of invested capital and surplus wealth to develop requisite industry.

14. A part of the region's deficiency in organization and personnel is due to migration.

15. The region ranks in the lowest quartile of nearly all indices of health and education, of government and public welfare, and of the multiple cultural equipment of the people.

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. Draw a series of maps, showing the major organic resources of the South.

2. Draw a series of maps, showing the major inorganic resources of the South.

3. Make a bar graph comparing some of the outstanding resources of the region with those of other regions.

4. Name and locate the climate belts of the region.

5. Make a list of the natural resources to be found in the region. Give their quantity, capacity, uses, and other possible characteristics.

6. Have a panel discussion on the statement: "Abundant natural resources have been influential in forming the present cultural level of the South."

7. Write a paper on "Regionalism and Reconstruction of the South."

8. Arrange a visit to the Department of Agriculture and Conservation in your state. Report your findings to the class.

9. Select an eroded area in your community and organize a group to conduct experiments in soil-erosion control.

10. Devise and conduct an experiment to show what the effect of cover crops is upon the fertility of the soil.

11. Devise and conduct an experiment to determine what the effect of fertilizer is upon the soil.

12. Build a model of one of the TVA dams. Study the TVA and its potential opportunities.

13. From information, with which your county agent can supply you, construct a soil map of your community.

14. Catalog the various types of trees to be found within a radius of one mile of your community center. Describe their possible use, aesthetic or commercial.

15. Find out about the mineral resources of your state: their uses, output, and potential capacity.

16. Find out the laws of your state in regard to hunting and fishing.

17. Describe any bird or animal sanctuaries found in the state.

18. What does your community use primarily for fuel? From what source does it come?

19. Compare rainfall and growing season of the South with those of other regions.

20. Compare the number of crops that may be raised on one small farm in the South with those in another region.

21. Show approximately what percentage of the supply of coal, iron, lumber, cotton, potential water power, marble, and phosphate of the United States is found in the South.

22. List products that you come in contact with in everyday life which were either manufactured in the South or in which the original raw material came from the South.

23. The three factors of production which are most necessary to support a prosperous industry are land, labor, and capital. In your own area evaluate the position of each of these factors. Which is most plentiful and which is scarcest? How does this affect the type of industry?

24. Report on exploitation of timber reforestation in the regions.

25. Give facts about soil erosion in the region.

26. Ask a hardware-store owner how much the freight rate is per hundred pounds on shipments from various points outside the region and also for shipments of the same type of material from points within the region. Why the difference in rates?

B. *To Plan*

1. What resources in the region need planning? Present as complete a picture as possible.

2. What are some of the resources not developed? Plan their development.

3. Plan better use of the resources in the region.

4. Suggest ways of utilizing the potential water power of the South.

5. Suggest ways in which a local area with excellent climate can benefit therefrom.

6. In terms of dollars and cents, show the value of the natural resources to your state. How can this amount be increased?

7. What should be the methods and the means of preventing destructive erosion throughout the region.

8. Suggest possible uses of the millions of acres classed as submarginal lands.

9. Study plans of your State Planning Board. Suggest next steps.

10. Formulate a program whereby regional planning may be of benefit to both the region and the nation.

11. Plan ways of conserving the wild life of the state.

12. Develop a plan to rebuild the run-down areas of the region.

13. Suggest additional state parks, game preserves, and playgrounds for the people of the region.

14. Plan ahead a long-range program to utilize the natural resources of the region.

TOPIC 27: THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE

IN OUR preview to Units III, IV, and V we emphasized the fact that the people themselves are the supreme reality in all society. The people *are* society. The people determine what sort of society we have. It is for the people and their institutions and welfare that we develop our resources and enrich our land.

Also, we pointed out that unless there is the good society and developed resources, strong institutions and good government, the people themselves cannot have opportunity. It was one of the earlier American principles that the education of all the people would insure democracy of opportunity at the same time that it would train the people to be capable of democratic government. The people, therefore, are both the *creators* and *creatures* of our American democracy.

There was another way in which we examined the rôle of the people in the development of civilization. That is, we estimated that there are two major sources of wealth upon which to build society: first, physical wealth or natural resources; and, second, natural wealth or human resources. We estimated also that for the development of our natural resources we must have two subsidiary types of wealth, namely, science, skill, and technology, on the one hand, and capital wealth or money, on the other. Then for the development of our human wealth we need strong institutions or institutional wealth. We repeat these points here because of their bearing upon our study of the southern people.

For the South in its basic resources excels in both its natural wealth and its human wealth, so that our problem is

to develop and to conserve both. We have pointed out the facts that unfortunately in the South we have not in the past developed adequately our natural or human wealth, and we have tended to *waste* both land and people.

Now the basis upon which we assume that the South excels in human wealth to be developed and conserved is found in the fact that the South's population is large and tends to reproduce itself more rapidly than that of any other region. This is true of both white and black. Furthermore, it has excellent basic stocks, both white and black. Yet this biracial civilization with two distinct races living side by side gives rise to difficult problems that no other region has in such marked degree. We must, therefore, study the people of the South, *first*, as to numbers, ages, and general composition, and, *second*, with reference to some of the special problems of race, of farming, of industry, of standards of living, and of quality of the people.

Looking at the southern regions, we find that the Southeast with its eleven states and the Southwest with four, had in 1930 nearly 35,000,000 people. The Southeast had 25,550,898, and the Southwest 9,079,645. This was about thirty per cent of the people of the nation as a whole. In the Southeast, nearly eight million, or thirty per cent, are Negroes, while in the Southwest only about a million or eleven per cent are Negroes. In the Southwest also are a great many Mexicans, perhaps nearly a million in all. There were, in 1930, 864,548 Mexican. Their presence gives an added special problem of race relations and economic conditions to the Southwest.

Let us look at the general picture of the southern people; first, at the people in the Southeast in relation to those in other regions and to the rest of the nation and then at the

people in the Southwest as they differ from those in the Southeast.

Of the total United States' population, the Southeast has the smallest ratio of native white of any region. These percentages, in 1930, were: the Southeast, 68.6; the Southwest, 74.8; the Far West, 77; the Northwest, 87; the Middle States, 75; the Northeast, 73. Nearly all the white population in the Southeast, however, is native born, the Carolinas recording less than one-half of one per cent of foreign born. Almost the same ratios apply to the foreign born, the Southeastern States continuing to show the smallest ratio of foreign-born folk with a consistent decrease even in this small number.

Thus all the Southeastern States, except Virginia, Louisiana, and Florida, still show less than one per cent of foreign-born population. These states contrast with such states as New York, with 26.3 per cent of foreign born; Rhode Island with 25.3; Massachusetts, 25.1; Connecticut, 24.3; New Jersey, 22. During the last decade there was a decrease in foreign-born population in the following states: Virginia, 5.8 per cent; South Carolina, 8.2; Georgia, 13.9; Kentucky, 28.9; Tennessee, 15.4; Alabama, 10.8; Missouri, 11.1; Arkansas, 26.2.

Of this white population, further, at least 4,000,000 abide in the hill country of the Southern Appalachians—4,900,000 in all the Southern Appalachians including West Virginia and the western fringe. These millions live in what was the original gateway to the west; they continue a gateway between the past and the future; and they constitute one of several blocks of the population of the Southeast, blocks which give evidence that, just as there is no longer a "South," so the blanket classification "Southern

people," no longer constitutes an authentic characterization.

Even within the restricted Southern Appalachian Region of some 200 counties in six states, with an area of a half hundred million acres, there is considerable diversity of people and culture. Another distinctive block of white folk of the Southeast outside of the Appalachian Highlands is formed by the four million and more farm tenants already catalogued as elemental factors in the agrarian South.

Yet an increasing number of Southern people live in urban communities. In 1930 the Southeast had nearly as many of its people residing in cities as there were total Negroes in the population. These nearly eight million urban folk, constituting nearly thirty per cent, have grown quickly since the turn of the century from two and three-quarter millions, or fifteen per cent of the total at that time. Florida, with 51.7 per cent, Louisiana with 39.7 per cent, and Tennessee with 34.3, are the only states with as many as a third of the people living in the cities. This is in contrast to such states as Rhode Island with 92.4 per cent and Massachusetts with 90.2. New York's 83.6 is almost the exact ratio which Mississippi has of rural population.

On the other hand, the percentage increase of urban population in the Southeast from 1920 to 1930 was greater than for the nation, being respectively 39.6 for the last decade and 175.9 since 1900, as compared to 26.9 and 126.9 for the nation as a whole. After the Far West and the Southwest, the Southeast had the largest ratio of urban increase. Of the Southern people in cities, two and a half million, or a little over a third, live in cities of 100,000 or more. Such cities increased in the Southeast from three in 1900 to thirteen in 1930—an increase of 333 per

cent as compared with the other regions: Northeast, ninety-four per cent; Middle States, ninety-two; Northwest, 150; Far West, 400. In the Southwest there were seven cities of 100,000 or more population in 1930 whereas there had been none in 1900. The Southeast by 1930 had developed sixteen metropolitan districts with an aggregate population of 3,708,182, or about half of all its urban population.

The white population of the Southeast tends to reproduce at a higher rate and has a larger ratio of children and young people than any other region. The ratio is much larger than for the nation as a whole and nearly twice as high as for a number of states. For instance, in the Southern States the average number of children under five years of age, per 1,000 native white women from twenty to forty-four years, is more than double the number in the State of California. California's 341 stands in stark contrast to North Carolina's 827. Connecticut's 371, Rhode Island's 363, New York's 362, and Massachusetts' 359 are more than doubled by Alabama's 786, South Carolina's 777, Mississippi's 740, and Arkansas' 798. Or to cite an index of net reproduction per generation, in which 100 represents the trend toward a stationary population, all the Southeastern States, except Florida, show an index of over 130 with four states over 150, as compared to all of the Far Western States, six of the Northeastern States, and Illinois in the Middle States, in which the index is below 100.

These states afford a superabundance of youth and a small proportion of the aged; heavy burden, on the one hand, for education, and lighter, on the other, for old-age security. Thus, with the exception of the Dakotas, Idaho, and West Virginia, no state outside of the Southern Regions records as much as forty per cent of its population un-

der nineteen years of age, and no Southeastern State, except Florida, shows a ratio as low as forty per cent. In contrast to the low states of California and Nevada with thirty and thirty-one per cent, are the Carolinas with fifty and forty-nine per cent. In ratios of people 55 years of age and over, the Carolinas again, with 7.9 and 8.4 per cent, contrast with New Hampshire and Maine, with 18.6 and 17.8 per cent respectively.

Again, the Southeastern States are below the other regions in the proportion of people in the prime of work age, from twenty to fifty-four years, at least eight of the eleven states falling within the lowest quartile. The Carolinas, with forty-one and forty-two per cent, again contrast with the high states of Nevada and California, with approximately fifty-five per cent each. Of population fifteen years of age or older who are married, the Southeast ranks high in the number of females, seven of the eleven states being in the highest quartile; but no Southeastern state ranks among the topmost twelve in the ratio of married men. This and the relatively small ratio of men between the ages of twenty and fifty-five may have its relation to the large migration of people from the Southeastern States.

The people of the Southeastern States continue to replenish the other regions. The birth rate of all the Southeastern States except Florida and Tennessee is over twenty per 1,000 population, while the only states outside of the Southern Regions that rank so high are Utah, West Virginia, North Dakota, and Michigan. North Carolina, Alabama, New Mexico, and Utah are the four with a birth rate of twenty-four or more per thousand; while the four states of the Far West are the only ones with a ratio below fifteen per thousand. In excess of births over deaths the Southeast outranks any other, with an index of 9.5 compared to

8.1 for the Southwest; 6.1 for the Northeast; 6.4 for the Middle States; 8.9 for the Northwest; and 3.1 for the Far West. More than 3,500,000 of those born in the Southeast moved to states outside the region between 1900 and 1930.

Of the twenty-five million people in the Southeast, nearly ten million are at work in the gainful occupations. This number constitutes 49.6 per cent as compared with the nation's ratio of 49.4 per cent of all its people gainfully occupied. Nearly four and a quarter million are in agriculture; nearly two million in manufacturing; a million and a quarter in trade and transportation; another million in domestic and personal service. As compared with the nation, the Southeast has a larger ratio in agriculture—43.5 per cent compared with 21.4 per cent; a little higher ratio in forestry and fishing, with 0.8 per cent and 0.5 per cent respectively. In all other occupations there is a lower ratio; manufacturing 19.6 and 29.0; professional service, 4.5 and 10.1; clerical occupations, 3.8 and 8.2; or to group all the distributive and social service occupations, 34.7 per cent of the Southeastern workers compare with 47.2 per cent of the workers of the nation.

Relatively more children and women work in the Southeast than in the nation at large. Of children, 18.8 per cent, or nearly a million, are at work in the Southeast as compared with 11.3 per cent for the nation and lesser ratios for other regions: the Far West, 5.1; the Northwest, 7.2; the Middle States, 7.7; the Northeast, 10.4; and the Southwest, 11.2. The largest percentage of children from ten to seventeen years of age employed is in Mississippi, which has thirty per cent; South Carolina has twenty-six per cent; and Alabama twenty-four per cent. Of these children, nearly three-fourths are engaged in agricultural work; a little over

eleven per cent are in industry; and about fourteen per cent are engaged in distributive and social services. This is in contrast to the Northeastern Region with forty-one per cent of all children gainfully occupied in manufacturing and mechanical services, and forty-eight per cent in distributive and social.

The Southeast contrasts with other regions also in that thirty per cent of its women workers are on the farm, as compared with less than one per cent in the Northeast, 2.4 per cent in the Middle States, 2.5 in the Far West, 5.1 in the Northwest, and 16.1 in the Southwest. Compared with the Southeast's 37 per cent of women occupied with distributive and social services are the Far West's 87.2, the Northwest's 88.4, the Middle States' 80.6, the Southwest's 76.8, and the Northeast's 76.8. The Southeast, however, does not have so high a ratio of total women employed as do the Northeast and Far West. The states with the highest percentages are South Carolina with 31.2 per cent, Rhode Island with 30.4, and Mississippi with 30.3. Then follow Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Georgia.

Of all the "Southern people" nearly 8,000,000, or thirty per cent, are Negroes. No Southeastern state except Kentucky and Tennessee has fewer than a fourth of its population Negroes, while Mississippi has half, and four other states, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina, have more than a third. There are another four million Negroes in the nation outside of the Southeast, or approximately as many as were all the people of the nation in Jefferson's day. Of these a million are in the Southwest, a million and a half in the Northeast, a little more than a million in the Middle States, and a hundred thousand each in the Northwest and the Far West.

The changing landscape of the nation with reference to its Negro population represents an extraordinary spectacle of cultural evolution. The Negro assumes an increasingly important place in spite of the fact that in the Southeast every one of the eleven states showed a substantial decrease in the ratio of Negroes to the total population; a percentage of Negro increase considerably below that of the white population; and an absolute decrease in the Negro population itself in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky.

On the other hand, there was a notable increase both in the percentage of the Negro population itself and in their ratio to the total in many of the states outside of the South, especially of the Northeast and Middle States. Thus, in Michigan there was an increase in Negro population of 182 per cent; in Wisconsin, 106 per cent; in Illinois, eighty per cent; in Ohio, sixty per cent; in New York, 108 per cent. In some of the eastern and western cities the increase was three or four times as great as the increase in Southern cities. High cities in the Middle States include four with an increase of more than 200 per cent. In the Far West four California cities showed an increase of more than 100 per cent. On the other hand, no Southeastern city except Chattanooga and Miami reported as much as a seventy-five per cent increase, while Richmond showed an actual decrease of a little more than one per cent. Yet, like the white urban increase, the Negro population in Southeastern cities as a whole increased more rapidly than the rural.

The Southwest differs from the Southeast in its historical backgrounds; in the smaller ratio of Negroes to the total population; in the large number of Mexicans; in its Indian population; in the differences between its tenant people and those of the Southeast. Also, some of the indices of standards of living, of occupations and of education differ.

In both the Southeast and the Northeast, rural people predominate; there is a large ratio of children and young people in the total population; the regions are similar in the rapid rate of increase, and, therefore, in the capacity to reproduce the population for urban centers. The Southwest differs from the Southeast in that it has been the beneficiary of large segments of migrations, whereas the Southeast has sent out into the nation nearly four million of its people since 1900. We shall study something more about the people in our final review of the promise and prospect of the South.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 27: THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE

Center and symbol of all the region's culture and capacity are its more than twenty million vibrant folk, twenty per cent of the nation's human wealth.

I. For the Open Forum

Here are some more statements from the text and from *Southern Regions of the United States*. Consider each statement by means of these questions:

(*a*) What are the facts about each statement and what do the facts mean? Cite specific instances.

(*b*) How can they be interpreted and utilized to enrich further the quality of the Southern folk?

(*c*) What results might be expected?

1. These folk reflect great contrasts and heterogeneity as well as similarities and homogeneity.

2. Not susceptible to clear-cut objective measurement are the regional folkways of the people, their like-mindedness, and their regional conditioning.

3. The real measure of this human wealth is determined not only by the number, but by the kind of folk they are; by the number and kind of their increase, decrease, and mobility; by their ethnic composition; and by the cumulative character of their institutions and culture.

4. Of all these "Southern people," nearly eight million or thirty per cent are Negroes.

5. The Negro assumes an increasingly important place.

6. Of the total population, the Southeast has the smallest ratio of native white of all regions.

7. An increasing number of southern people live in urban communities.

8. The birth rate of the Southeast is higher and there is a larger ratio of children and young people than in any other region.

9. The Southeastern States afford a superabundance of youth and a small proportion of the aged—a heavy burden, on the one hand, for education, and a lighter burden, on the other, for old age security.

10. The people of the South continue to replenish the other regions with human wealth.

11. Of the twenty-five million people, nearly ten million are at work in the gainful occupations.

12. As compared with the nation, the Southeast has a larger ratio in domestic and personal service.

13. Relatively more children and women work in the Southeast than in the nation at large.

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. What is the composition of the population in the Southern Regions—number, age groupings, sex, race and nativity?

2. Compare each classification with other regions and make a bar graph indicating ratios.

3. Inquire into the birth rates of the regions. Compare them. Note the rates of the states in the Southern Region.

4. Inquire into the death rates of the regions. Compare them. Note the rates of the states in the Southern Regions.

5. Offer a statistical picture of Negro population within and without the region.

6. On a spot map locate the Negro population in the United States.

7. Give some instances and illustrate the quality of natural vigor and vitality inherent in the stock of the population of the South. Why is this true?

8. Indicate the age ratios in the population, especially the (*a*) youth and (*b*) old age classifications.

9. Present a picture of child labor in the region.

10. Offer facts indicating the number of women gainfully employed in the South. Classify according to type of work.

11. Why has there been a migration of Negroes? Where have they gone? Discover some specific instances upon which to base your answer.

12. Compare the nationality origins of the people of the Southeast and the Southwest. What are the principal nationalities?

13. By a chart indicate the urbanization of life in the region. Numbers, percentages, and number of cities in population classification.

14. Write a paper on the status of the Indian in the Southern Regions.

15. Report on the work of the following organizations in the region: (*a*) Interracial Commission; (*b*) Rosenwald Fund; (*c*) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

16. Report on the progress of the women of the South in the fields of: (*a*) higher education; (*b*) the professions; and (*c*) art and music.

17. Explore the composition of the rural population in the region.

18. Chart the distribution of the old-age groups in the South.

19. What is your state doing for the institutionalization of its handicapped?

20. Visit one or more institutions serving the handicapped. Report the visit to the class.

21. What is the ratio of the foreign-born stock in the total population of the region? Where did they come from? Locate outstanding settlements.

22. What are some of the facts about Southern youth?

23. What are some of the contrasts to be found in the people of the South (heterogeneity)? and what are some of the similarities (homogeneity)?

B. *To Plan*

1. Suggest programs, of a long-range nature, to develop the backward population of the Region along all lines.

2. Suggest immediate steps necessary to advance the people toward better opportunities and achievements.

3. Plan programs designed to bring about better race relations.

4. How can the work of interracial commissions be enriched?

5. Offer suggestions to bring the full advantages of federal programs to the Southern Regions.

6. Plan ways of promoting better housing in the region, especially in the rural area.

7. Suggest ways of keeping rural folk in rural areas for regional benefits.

8. How can better recreational advantages be promoted throughout the region?

9. Formulate a program to give farm youth of the Region a better sense of security.

10. Propose a plan for a Regional Child Welfare Council.

11. Suggest ways of promoting a regional health program.

12. How can the South reap the greatest benefits from its potential leadership?

13. How can illiteracy, which is highest in this region, be eliminated?

14. How is the South reacting to the migration of its youth to other regions?

15. How is the Region handling the problems of its (a) dependents, (b) defectives, and (c) delinquents?

16. Secure newspapers from cities outside the Southern Region. Make a list of comparative prices of commodities in each region.

TOPIC 28: REGIONAL CULTURE AND INSTITUTIONS

THE CULTURE of the Old South has been romanticized and criticized more than that of any other part of the nation. As a matter of fact, of course, there has never been one South, but many Souths. There was the Old South and there is the New South. There was the aristocracy of the Old South and also the great middle class and poorer people. Even the picture of the aristocratic South was twofold—one in literature and one in life. One way of looking at the culture of the South is to look at this romantic side.

Another way is to look at the more realistic side of the South by counting its people, its wealth, its farms, its homes and schools, and checking up on its standards of income, of education, of industry, and all the others. And always we come back and check up on the great possibilities of the South if its physical and human resources are developed.

We have already pointed out something of the character of both the Southeast and Southwest. We may now look at some of the more detailed aspects of culture and institutions.

First, there were the "old golden pages of history." In *An American Epoch*, we have given some pictures as follows: Gallant figures on black horses and white . . . and crude, simple folk, sore with the footfall of time, passing across an epoch which was to be destroyed by physical and cultural conflagration and to rise up again in another American Epoch strangely different and vivid and powerful. Cultures in the making, social processes at work, portraiture

descriptive of how civilizations grow. All the South's yesterdays, with their brilliant episodes and with their sordid pictures receding, giving way to the South's tomorrows, through a sweeping American development reminiscent of universal culture.

Both the old and the new culture abounded in sharp contrasts and logical paradoxes. There were many Souths yet *the* South. It was preëminently national in backgrounds, yet provincial in its processes. There were remnants of European culture framed in intolerant Americanism. There were romance, beauty, glamor, gayety, comedy, gentleness, and there were sordidness, ugliness, dullness, sorrow, tragedy, cruelty. There were wealth, culture, education, generosity, chivalry, manners, courage, nobility, and there were poverty, crudeness, ignorance, narrowness, brutality, cowardice, depravity. The South was American and un-American, righteous and wicked, Christian and barbaric. It was a South getting better, a South getting worse. It was strong and it was weak, it was white and it was black, it was rich and it was poor. There were great white mansions on hilltops among the trees, and there were unpainted houses perched on pillars along hillside gullies or lowland marshes. From high estate came low attainment, and from the dark places came flashing gleams of noble personality. There were strong men and women vibrant with the spontaneity of living, and there were pale, tired folk, full of the dullness of life.

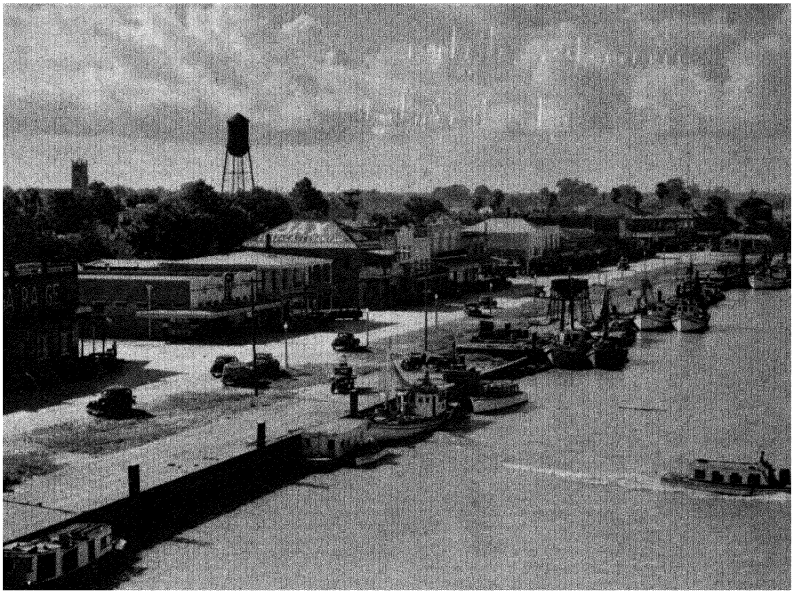
A big house on a hill by the river side or set far back from the road in the midst of great trees, white-framed with big columns or white-columned brick structures laid "in Flemish bond of alternately glazed black leaders and dull pink broadsides which give the walls solidity, distinc-

tion and a rich beauty"—such were the plantation houses; while the colonial homes in the towns and cities had their marked characteristics scarcely less distinguished.

They stood back from the streets surrounded by heavily scented gardens, almost hidden by the semitropical sweet gum and the magnolia; here and there, although it was a little far to the north, grew a camphor tree. Over the small porticos of the older houses the sweet-scented honeysuckle ran uncut, wild; and the wide double galleries of the later dwellings, built in the recent spacious times, gleamed white through the great catalpa trees now coming into leaf. Voices, disembodied in the still air, floated into the street, as if the houses themselves had spoken.

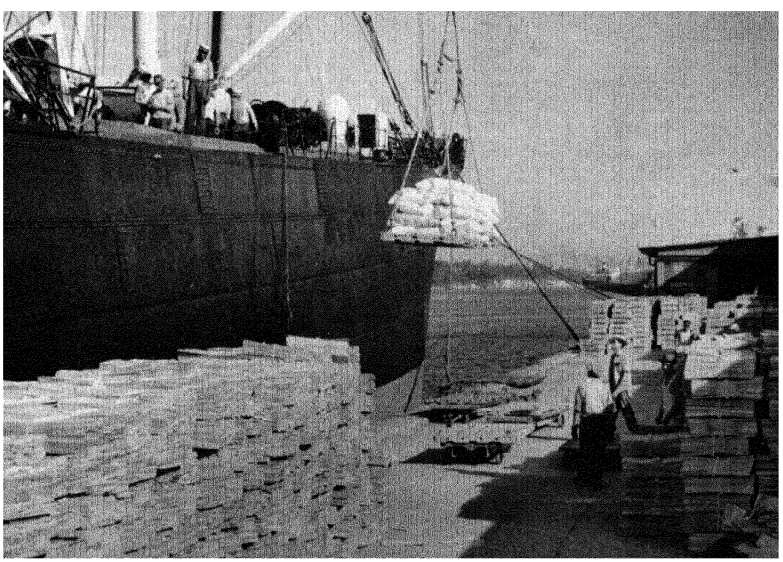
The manner of building and the interior of the great houses were equally distinctive. Some of the rooms were more than twenty-four feet high, majestic in roominess; many sixteen feet high and paneled to the ceiling. The reception-rooms carried heavy cornices over walls entirely paneled, and the carved doorways and mantels were distinctive even for colonial houses. There were collections of books, plate, furniture and portraits and pictures representative of an accumulation of many generations. Beautiful furniture and appointments with all the promise of priceless inheritance, and antiques the mere listing of which would require great catalogs compiled with rare skill and portraiture.

The pictures of the Southern men and women in these homes, and the plantation pattern of life which they led, have been painted many times, finished and framed more often in the romantic colors and setting of the past than set in realistic perspective. Nevertheless, whatever else they were, they were reflections of glory and grandeur, vivid, beautiful, and distinctive. In these pictures one sees Southern men and Southern women as the perfect flowering of



Top and bottom, Ewing Galloway

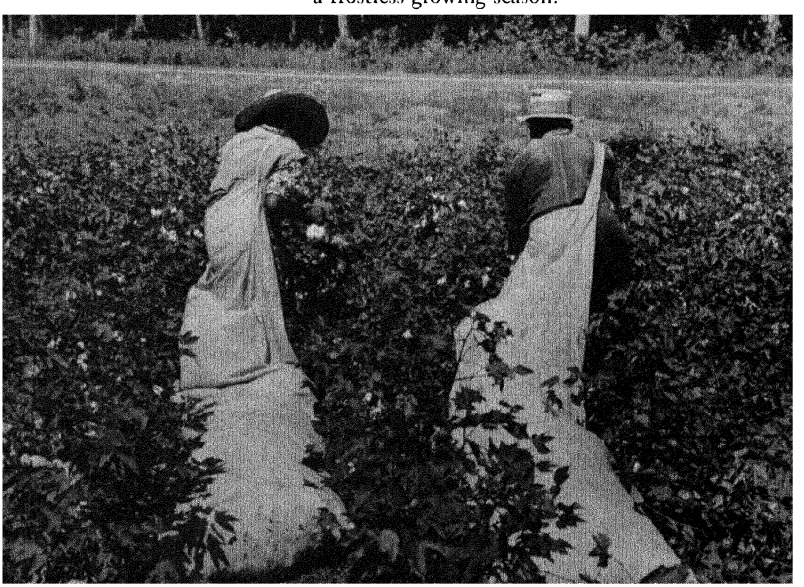
A favored region of resources: a fleet of shrimp-fishing vessels is docked at Morgan City, Louisiana; and a freighter loads shingles at a wharf in Houston.

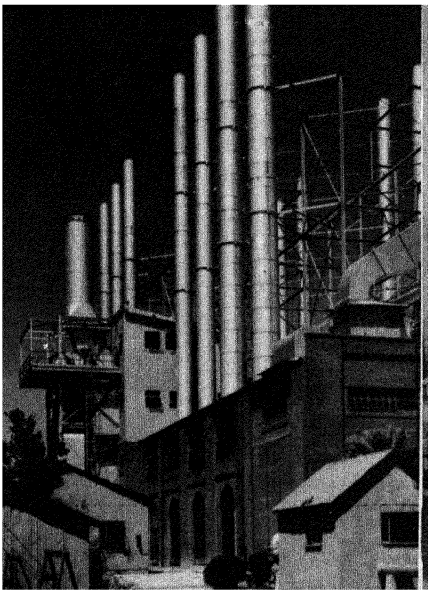


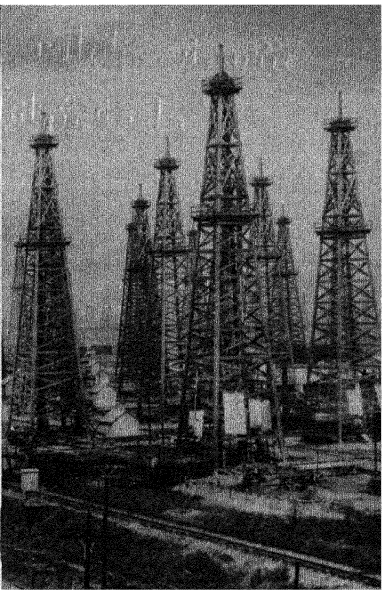


Top, Ewing Galloway; bottom, Farm Security Administration, Photograph by Lee

From tobacco and cotton fields workers of the South harvest crops after a frostless growing season.

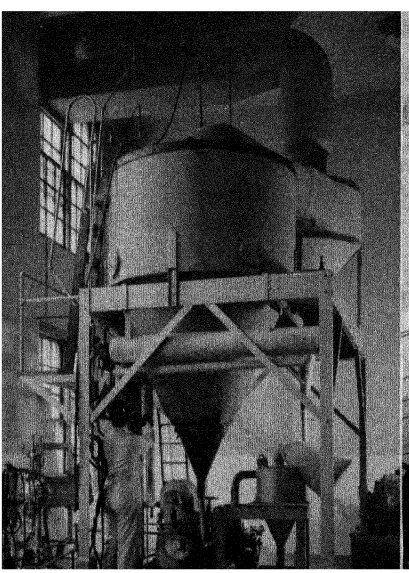


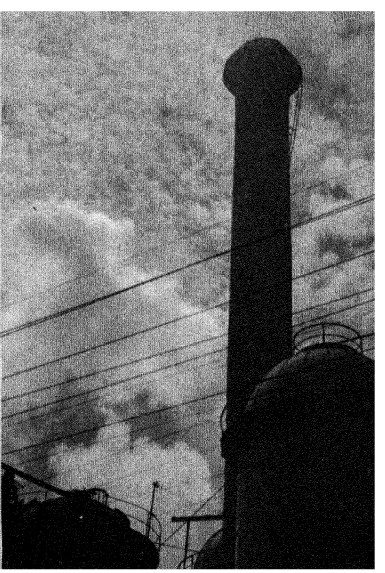




Photographs by Ewing Galloway

Technology and resources have produced the power plant and the oil derricks shown above; the milk dryer, used for making powdered milk, and the blast furnaces shown below.

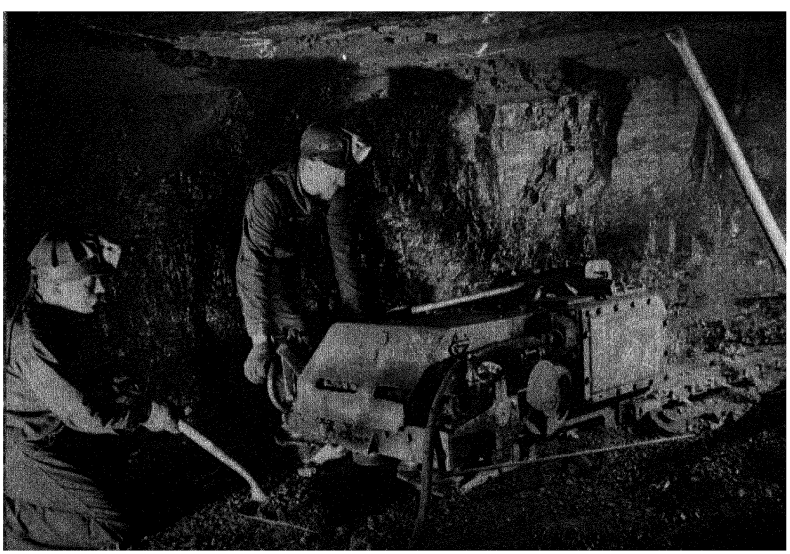






Top left, Farm Security Administration, Photograph by Mydans; top right and bottom, Ewing Galloway

Rich in natural resources and in human resources, the South is developing increasing skill, science, and technological wealth.



American personality, and the plantation life as the best of American culture. Even a Walter Hines Page with his keen criticism of Southern deficiencies, could see the romance and virtue of the big house in the midst of the groves and the hundreds of surrounding acres, burdened with crops white for the harvest by Negroes, musical in the rendering of old spirituals, cheerful in song and story, polite, gracious, artistic beyond measure. The number of these slaves varied from small units of twenty-five to thirty, ranging through a common measure of from one to three hundred, to the super-master with more than two thousand doing his bidding. And of course "moonlight, the songs of the Negroes in the distance, the flitting forms of beautiful maidens clad in ruffled skirts, their hair falling about their shoulders in ringlets, handsome, brilliant cavaliers bending over their hands, old gentlemen in black garments and black stocks walking with stately, meditative tread, white-haired matrons smiling indulgently upon the benignant scene, Negro mammies, coaches-and-four and coats of arms. . . ."

And around the place were the hounds and horses, the turkeys, chickens and guineas, Negro children and white children, uncles and aunties, and middle-age Negro folks with varied rank and abundant pride. There were the elegant house servants, coachmen, butlers dressed in broadcloth, and women servants so well dressed that Solomon in all his glory might find a new proverb, and so numerous that often, like the lilies of the field, they toiled not, neither did they spin. Thus, at Nomini Hall there were carpenters, joiners, gardeners, postilions, "a bricklayer, a blacksmith, a miller, a tanner, a shoemaker, a hatter, a sailor, a butcher, a cook, a waiter and a scullion among the men; and among the women three housemaids, two seamstresses,

two spinsters, a dairymaid, a laundress, and a nursemaid."

About the big house and the cabins were old-fashioned flowers—zinnias, dahlias, hollyhocks, prince feathers, honeysuckles, rambling roses, rose of Sharon, and, still farther out, orchards and gardens and pastures. Variations of all these and other details were considerable according to whether the big house was near the river with its own boat landing, or in the midst of the countryside estate, or on some Milledge Avenue in an old town.

There have been many stories about the old gentleman in the big house and many pictures presenting him as a type but even so, like the plantations and plantation life, there was great variety, in the midst of what might nevertheless lend itself to typical portraiture. The old Southerner was a gentleman and an aristocrat, whose character could be told at a glance by the measured dignity of his walking or riding or by the carriage in which he rode. His dress, as his manner, was distinctive, with perhaps a gold-headed cane, a great watch and chain of Geneva gold, the monogrammed prismic seal, the manner of his toying with chain and seal being, like the motions of a lady's fan, visible signs of the gentleman. He was proud, austere, impetuous, eloquent, and sometimes over-irascible, loquacious of tongue and pen, such that he appeared domineering to many northerners and to many a common man in the South. As man of leisure, politician, squire, or manager of a plantation, or whatnot, there was a varied story; now pleasure-hunting the fox, raccoon, wolf, rabbit, quail; now visiting neighbors and arguing; now discussing philosophy and literature; and also, now fighting, according to his code of honor.

Leading lady, no less distinctive in her way, was the Southern woman, grown from girlhood, full of larks and

pranks and penchant for pleasures, into serious, gracious woman competent to meet the tremendous demands upon her body and soul; mother of old statesmen and soldiers, who led in the revolt against England, in the making of the new government, and later in the defense of the Old South. Such women were beautiful, gracious, commanding, setting new standards of their own, filling new books of romance for a new world to learn. They were remarkable for perfection in mastery and service, creating and guiding their own large families, and taking charge of and dividing fortunes with sundry subsidiary families of Negro folks all around them. But perhaps the Southern woman of all classes best reflected her glory through fortitude and heroic devotion during the War and Reconstruction.

What if the Daughters of the Confederacy have overportrayed the Southern woman? Was she not, they prove, "the magnolia grandiflora of a race of Cavaliers?"

> She inherited beauty—not alone of the kind which attaches to person, though in superlative degree she possessed that—but beauty of mind, beauty of soul, beauty of character. These combined to lift her attractions to a higher power and to give her the exquisite charm of loveliness. Hers were the Spartan traits of an Old South—endurance, courage, fortitude, superiority of mind—traits which compelled respect even from strangers, which inspired reverence in her children and loyalty in her slaves, and which secured for her the good-will of her neighbors. But she also possessed the strength which is born of prayer, the tranquil calm which comes from faith, and the serene smile, whose divine source is love. Whether in a pillared mansion or in a lowly cot, whether at home or abroad, whether in dispensing hospitality to her equals or in bestowing favor upon her dependents, she was everywhere and always a queen; and whatever she said or did, bore the baronial hall-mark of the old manor and told of the gentle molds of ancestry from which she sprang.

And not the least of all the pictures were those distinguished characters, the old slaves. These were not merely the sentimental "uncles" and "aunties" and "mammies," but men and women all, as distinctive characters as ever the South produced. They were able, charming, artistic, proud, so skillful and powerful in adaptation as to defy description and measurement by any art or science yet devised. Frankness everywhere compels the admission that here was a type the passing of which must always seem a tragedy of lost personalities in exchange for the greater gain of human freedom.

Something of the beautiful loyalty in them which guarded the women and children with such zeal while husbands and fathers were fighting far away persisted in the early days of their freedom. Old slaves, with fruit and gobblers and game, would sneak into the house with an instinctive sense of delicacy and leave them in the depleted larder surreptitiously.

This glory that was the South was then of one pattern yet of many parts. The Kentucky glory differed from that of Virginia, the Virginia from that of Tennessee, and there was none like that of Charleston or New Orleans. The southern poetry of Edgar Allan Poe or Sidney Lanier was different from the oratory of John C. Calhoun or Henry Clay. Southern politics was different from southern philosophy. Southern statesmanship of a silver-tongued Benjamin Hill, a fire-eating Robert Toombs, was different from the force and drive of an Andrew Johnson or the skill and artistry of a Henry Grady. And thus one star differed from another star whether it was Washington, Madison, Patrick Henry, Marshall, the Harrisons, the Lees and the other Virginians; Graham, Macon, Davie, Benton, Badger, of North Carolina; Calhoun, Hayne, Laurens, Legaré, Lowndes, Pinckney and the others from South Carolina;

or Campbell, Jackson, Polk, White, of Tennessee; Houston of Texas; King of Alabama; Cobb, Forsyth, Stephens, Toombs, of Georgia; Bibb, Breckenridge, Henry Clay, Guyot, Johnson, of Kentucky; Livingston, Slidell, Taylor, of Louisiana; Prentiss or Walker of Mississippi.

There were "giants" in the pictures of those days. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, James Madison were giants, as everyone admits; and the South in their day dominated the nation. Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay were no weaklings, either; such men do not spring from a degenerate race. In moral stature and military genius Robert E. Lee overtops George Washington himself, although Lee had not the statesmanship that secures Washington his primacy. And Stonewall Jackson, the two Johnstons, Longstreet, Beauregard, Stuart, Early, and Forrest were such soldiers as delight the heart of the romancer and flutter the maiden pride of any nation. Tardy justice now begins to admit that Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens also were "men of genius"; and many others. And "before the war" there were times when the sons of the South enrolled in its colleges were more than all the sons of New England; and its college endowments were more than all of the region of the "Big Three" and their lesser satellites. And in later years there were times when the ratio of southern students, the influence and cordial relations of Yale and Princeton and Harvard, were greater than at any time within the three quarters of a century to follow the war.

Much of the glory that was the South and of the grandeur that was *not* was found in the experiences of the millions of middle folk not commonly recorded in the annals of the heroic or in the stories of submerged groups. Much that went on in the South "was too completely tragic to furnish

material for theatrical tragedy, far too high in spirit for written romance which crawls along the beaten paths of life, too stark for poetry." Indeed the culture of the Old South and of the New was found exclusively neither in the romanticism of its aristocratic gentry nor in the tragedy and comedy of the much described poor whites, but in the living drama of its common folks.

Pictures of Lee's army, the best fighting units of the whole Confederacy, reflected the complex structure of the Old South. Scions of aristocratic houses marching alongside conscripts from countryside, backwoods and mountain coves, fighting a common battle, reflected much of the glory of the common man, "their beards unkempt, their uniforms torn and patched with clumsy hands, their feet upon the ground, devoted men, ironsides after the fashion of Cromwell's army two hundred years before, their commander second only to God himself." So they marched and fought during the war; so also they marched sadly back—common men but with heroism a sort of commonplace virtue within them . . . armless sleeves, . . . crutches, ragged, gray uniforms, in battered hats and caps, . . . remnants of flags, . . . relics of a brave army, . . . wrecks of men, . . . common men who had borne the physical burden of a nation for its error slavery, . . . plain countrymen . . . blameless victims of a sectional wrath. Nevertheless, a part of their story was found in the fact that they "had miraculously survived and crawled to barren homes from the clash and slaughter and from starvation and such deadly vain endeavor as no other men have ever known and lived . . ."

And back home they had been the backbone of the Old South even as they must be for the New. Thousands of them . . . "humdrum, but honest, pious, substantial and

numerous . . . no pretense to spectacular living . . . not given to ancestor worship . . . not aristocratic in political view . . . not aristocratic even in the religious preference . . . moderate landholdings . . . few slaves . . . small planters . . . a great element of society, its solidity if not its ornamentation, with which the glamorous plantation legend failed to make connection. Such an inaccuracy is not a casual one; it is not meaningless; it is basic." Here, then, was the picture of one type of common man of the South, the small planter:

> Living in a modest home, tilling a hundred or so acres of soil, earning by the sweat of his brow and a very little Ethiopian perspiration a none-too-luxurious living, courteous, hospitable, withal simple, frolicking in mild fashion on rare occasions, voting for Jefferson and those he felt the followers in spirit of the great democrat, genuinely but not painfully pious, after a Methodist, Baptist, or Presbyterian fashion, raising—not rearing—a family of children, and sleeping at last with his fathers.

The mosaic of the Old South was made up of non-slaveholders and the small slaveholders scattered everywhere, as well as of the larger owners. At least three-fourths of the white population had no proprietary interest in the Negro. In the cotton counties of the Mississippi delta non-slave owners were to be found largely as overseers and perhaps woodcutters to supply the steamboats with fuel. On the other hand:

> In the mountains, in some parts of the pine barrens, and on the borders north and west, they comprised nearly all the population. Everywhere else they dwelt as neighbors of the planters and of well-to-do townsmen. Their standards of comfort and propriety, their manners and morals, varied with the vicinage, with health and wealth, with education and opportunity, and with individual proclivities and predilections. Joseph E. Brown, war-time gover-

nor of Georgia, emerged from a mountain farm with a yoke of oxen as pay for schooling; a contemporary as governor of Virginia, had begun adult life as a carpenter; C. G. Meminger, Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, was an orphanage boy; and Andrew Johnson a tailor's apprentice, illiterate until a wife took him in hand. These and their fellow millions cannot be lumped as "poor whites."

If we turn from the Old South and look at the New, we find a more realistic picture. As a matter of fact, the New South is far superior in achievements to the Old South. Yet the present culture is one of cumulative results of the Old South, the War between the States, the reconstruction, and many other "handicaps." Some of the southern handicaps and crises have been:

Secession and war
After-war reconstruction
Race conflict and tragedy
Turbulent politics
Sectionalism and bitterness
Cotton economy, with its earlier slavery and its later tenancy
Soil erosion and poor lands
Deficiencies in money, training, leaders, standards of living
Deficiencies in public funds for the support of institutions

Some of the regional-culture problems reflect composite products; others indicate more specific developments; and still others appear synonymous with deficiency. For instance, the Southeast is rich in all resources, physical and human, essential to the development of the highest culture. It does not, however, afford adequate facilities—science, invention, management, organization, technology—for the development and utilization of either its physical or its human wealth. Moreover, there is a large and unnecessary measure of waste, actual and potential, of both natural and

human resources. In reality, therefore, the Southern Regions are deficiency areas in contrast to their abundance potentialities. This chasm between abundance possibilities and deficiency actualities lies at the heart of the Southern problems, and, alongside certain uniform conditions, is in contrast to much of the national picture of actual abundance economy functioning in scarcity of use.

Inherent in the glory that was the traditional South were qualities often estimated to be the most distinctive and glamorous in the American picture: a way of living, zestful and colorful; a humanism over and above the basic puritanism of the early fathers; a setting of classical architecture, classical libraries, elegant furnishing, in the midst of groves and gardens and feudal settlements; dignity, polish, respect for form and amenities, pride of family, hospitality with merriment and conviviality abounding.

Among the basic factors capable of contributing to excellence, therefore, are certain cumulative composite qualities of the Southern people and their culture: a certain heritage abounding in the concepts and experience of good living, strong loyalties, spiritual energy, personal distinctions, and strong individuality; a certain distinctiveness in manners and customs; a certain poignancy and power of cultural tradition, with the promise of considerable distinctive achievement in many avenues of individual and institutional endeavor; evidences of capacity for romantic realism; a certain reserve of social resources as well as of physical wealth; a certain youthful buoyancy and stirring which gives promise of new reaches in economic achievement, creative effort, in the utilization of a certain sort of institutional genius for politics, religion, education, literature, and social science; a certain power arising from the abundance of reserve in human and physical resources,

coupled with the first fruits of beginning accomplishments and a growing faith and confidence; a better preparation for larger gains in the future; and a certain drawing power for the rest of the country.

In addition to the differences between the Southeast and the Southwest already discussed, we may give finally a general picture as presented by Raymond Thomas, and quoted in *Southern Regions of the United States*. He points out that the uniformities of the Gulf Southwest go back to a very old Indian civilization in the broad southwestern country. Particularly in New Mexico and Arizona there still remain concrete results of the blending processes between the old Indian and early Spanish civilizations which have continued since the sixteenth century. Little evidence of this Indian-Spanish influence is to be discovered in Oklahoma and Texas. The "push" of American settlers into the Southwest came with the southwestward and westward trends of migration after 1825. The westward migration from the Old South penetrated first into the Texas area, which became one of the states of the Federal Union in 1845, and the present boundaries of which were determined soon after the close of the Mexican War in 1848. The retarded development of the Southwest is evidenced in the late admission into the Union of Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona. With the admission of Oklahoma in 1907 and both Arizona and New Mexico in 1912, the whole Southwest country came within the fold of states.

Excepting limited community areas in eastern Texas and the old Spanish settlements in the New Mexico-Arizona region, the Gulf Southwest is historically young, yet in the stage of cultural infancy. Long after the culture of the Old South had matured, the Southwest Region was a wild country. The industrial revolution in the United States

which came after the Civil War met resistance to change in the conservative and more or less tradition-bound Old South. But the emerging culture of the Southwest was receptive to the new social, political, and economic spirit which came with the industrialization movement after 1875.

The difference between the two Southern regions cannot be mistaken by anyone who travels today through the Southwest country. Traveling westward from the eastern boundaries of Oklahoma and Texas, one moves gradually into the vast open spaces. Unending stretches of prairies and plains reach toward the horizon. Signs of the "cattle country" era still remain. The ranching areas still afford scenes of thousands of grazing cattle. Large areas of "desert country" are included in the Arizona-New Mexico region.

A combination of physical conditions and remains of the pioneering type in the population generates and keeps alive the adventurous spirit which is characteristically Southwestern. Louisiana joined the Union in 1812, whereas the area to the west did not become a part of the nation until 1845. Arkansas was made a state in 1836, but the wild territory to its west did not become the State of Oklahoma until 1907. Missouri on the northeastern border of Oklahoma was a state after 1821; Kansas to the north of Oklahoma was admitted in 1861. Colorado, bordering northwestern Oklahoma and immediately to the north of New Mexico (a state in 1912), was in the Union after 1876. Utah to the north of Arizona (a state in 1912) passed from territorial status to statehood in 1896, and California on the western border came into the Union in 1850. This boundary embracing the four states of the Southwest Region—Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona—separates a

relatively new cultural region from the more mature surrounding states.

THE WORKSHOP

TOPIC 28: REGIONAL CULTURE AND INSTITUTIONS

Evidence indicates that the great body of culture and the greater power of the people arise out of the new vital South. This promise of vitality and maturity, which is the critical index of the future, is further evident in the states and subregions.

I. For the Open Forum

Consider each of the following statements from the text and from *Southern Regions of the United States* by means of the three questions given below.

(*a*) What are the facts about each statement and what do the facts mean? Cite specific instances.

(*b*) How can they be utilized for the best advantage of the region?

(*c*) What results might be expected?

1. The story of the South's education, like that of its cultural development, is both complex and compound. The mixed picture abounds in contrasts and paradoxes.

2. The Region has made great strides in its educational endeavors.

3. Nevertheless, the region now ranks lowest of all the regions in most aspects of its educational equipment and work.

4. The catalog of deficiencies represents the logical product of certain distinctive regional conditions.

5. The comparative deficiency continues in financial indices.

6. Negro education, both higher and elementary, is a national, as well as a regional, problem and process.

7. The situation with references to Negro education is illustrative of the part which direction and resources from outside the Region have played in the development of the South.

8. One of the distinctive aspects of education in the Southeast has been its special education for women and its late adoption of coeducation for men and women in the institutions of higher learning.

9. The work of the agricultural colleges, and the part which federal influences have had in their development, have contributed another chapter.

10. Perhaps no deficiency in the Southeast is more marked than its lack of books and libraries and the consequent absence of reading habits.

11. Commercial education has made good progress.

12. The story of the South's politics is again reminiscent of its cultural background of conflict and crisis, while its present status can be explained only in terms of its historical-geographical setting.

13. Some of the most important factors can be summarized in relative measures as: (*a*) that of taxation; (*b*) extent to which various sources of tax monies have been tapped; and (*c*) increase of wealth and income through a balanced industry and agriculture.

14. The historical background of the political South comprehends a twofold setting: the one was the "old South" before 1850–1860; the other was the "New South" after 1860–1870.

15. The present Southern politics is in great contrast to the first period and is a logical product of the complex conditioning of the second.

16. No picture of Southern politics could be adequate without a long catalog of personalities.

17. The political philosophy of the Old South and the incidence of its later political and religious life have been responsible for much of the nature and amount of social and public services in the present Southeast.

18. Like politics, religion is closely woven in the fabric of Southern culture.

19. In its church membership, in its Protestant representation,

in its church colleges, in the position which the church holds in the community, and in its general influence upon social policy, the Southeast outranks the other regions.

20. Between the Southeast and Southwest there is a wider difference in church mores than between the Southeast and the Northeast.

21. In the field of literature and drama the Southeast has achieved an increasingly merited distinction.

22. The Southeast still reflects the frontier in its homicide and crime rates and in its mob action.

23. Within the Southeast there are many varied subdivisions for functional or commercial or administrative purposes.

24. Perhaps the most interesting and elemental inventory of the region and the nation is found in state portaitures, each constituting its own world of culture and politics.

25. The significance of state differentials and state groupings within the region is important.

26. The fabric of the general political, economic, and social life of the region is scarcely discernible except in multiples of the different states.

II. For Exploration

A. *To Inquire and Discover*

1. What are some of the folkways and mores of the region that appeared to be distinctly *southern?*

2. What institutions in the region seem to be holding fast to traditions?

3. What evidences of cultural lag can be found in any of the major social institutions of the region?

4. What institutions of the South do you consider as liberal in their activities and trends?

5. What are some of the challenges to effective democracy within the region?

6. What evidences are there to indicate a tendency toward regionalism in matters of government?

7. How may we illustrate democracy in action within the region?

8. How can the new industrial movements of the South avoid the mistakes made by industry in other regions?

9. Indicate how the church throughout the region is aiding to bring balance to unequal places.

10. Illustrate how the school functions as a community center in certain localities of the region.

11. How is the adult education movement progressing within the region?

12. Why is the South generally "solid" in its political life?

13. What is your concept of the terms "tolerance" and "intolerance"? Give illustrations of the terms as viewed from social institutions in the region.

14. Discuss voting in the local community and the state. Does your community use the voting machine? Why?

15. Describe the organization and activities of the state labor board or commission.

16. Present some of the problems of industry that appear to be distinctly regional.

17. Tabulate the school-age population in the South—totals, percentages, number in school, and school mortality. Compare the facts with those in other regions.

18. Write a brief history of public-school education in your state.

19. Picture the library facilities of the region.

20. State the predominating industrial or agricultural pursuits in the community. What additional ones might be brought there? To what advantage?

21. Read material on the plantation system in the Old South and then on the present farm tenant system, and compare the two systems in regards to the degree of exploitation and paternalism.

22. Draw a map of your community indicating on it your school, your home, the homes of friends, the library, the business center, the churches, playgrounds, and other places which you think identify your community.

23. What are the seven "fine arts"? How did architecture differ in the different regions in colonial times and why?

B. *To Plan*

1. Suggest ways of making political-party conflict more wholesome in the Southern Regions.

2. Plan ways of increasing interest in participation in the arts of citizenship throughout the South.

3. Offer suggestions to ameliorate or eliminate some of the unequal places in (*a*) education, (*b*) industry, and (*c*) health within the region.

4. How can the region better correlate agriculture and industry?

5. Devise a plan by which you can measure a community according to definite standards.

6. Make a community survey of social institutions and formulate a program to improve local conditions.

7. List the esthetic spots and the "eyesores" of the community. What can be done to improve the first and to eliminate the second?

8. Report on "safety programs" functioning within the state.

9. Plan ways of improving educational conditions within the South.

10. Plan a program that utilizes the church or the school as a community center.

11. Propose plans to eliminate illiteracy within (*a*) the community, (*b*) the state, and (*c*) the region.

12. Obtain some facts on the economic status of the *family* in the South. Interpret the findings and plan ways of improving conditions.

13. Make a collection of photographs that are characteristic of your region and its people.

The Promise and Prospect of the South

WE BEGAN our study of *American Democracy Anew* on the note of understanding society and of developing a society in which man at his best, working with nature at her best, might reflect gradual but definite social progress towards a better mankind in an adequate society.

In the study of the Southern Regions, we have followed the same general frame of reference for analyzing our problems and seeking our information. Likewise, our objectives would be the same, namely, the South at its best. In seeking this objective, we may ask certain important questions; but we must also attempt to *answer* these questions. The answers must be in terms consistent with the facilities at hand, with the framework of American democracy, and with specific next steps that may be taken. The following questions may well be made the basis of our search for the answer as to next steps, in order that the South may attain its optimum development. These realistic questions are susceptible of being answered definitely in terms of resources, skills, capacities rather than in terms of specific, stated goals. These questions are:

What is the nature of the Southern economy of the South at the present or in the very recent past?

What are attainable standards and developments of the immediate future?

What is the difference between the present economy and the desired optimum?
What resources, procedures, and facilities will be required to make up this shortage?
How may the region acquire the resources and facilities to make up this shortage?
And finally what are the best ways, the next steps, of going about obtaining these resources?

We may relate these questions in a way which may appeal to the popular motivation of the South. The questions would read something like this:

What is it that we now have?
What is it that we want?
What is the distance between what we have and what we want?
What will it take to bridge this distance?
How can we get what it takes to bridge the distance?
What is the best way to go about getting what it takes?

Now the basis upon which the answers to these questions, grounded in research, inquiry, interpretation, and strategy, will be found, is in the measurement of resources and their utilization and in the elimination of waste and its drain. This means that the answers are to be found always in a continuing, flexible development commensurate with needs, opportunities, resources, personnel, skills, and the changing national and regional situations.

Beginning with our first question as to what the South is at the present time, we review our findings in terms of resources and their utilization. That is, we have pointed out that the South excels in two and lags in three of the fundamental resources that go into the making of civilization. If this is what we now have, manifestly what we want is for the South to excel in all five of these resources.

The two resources in which the South excels are natural resources, or wealth, and human resources, or human wealth.

But, because we do not have the skill to translate these resources, the South lags in science, skill, and technology, and, therefore, the South is poor in capital wealth and cannot support its institutional wealth.

Manifestly, the answer to the second question as to what we want is to develop skill, science, and technological wealth to the point where we can translate our natural resources into capital wealth and then use this wealth for the development of institutions and people.

What, therefore, will be the immediate next steps in making it possible for the South to develop these great resources and to contribute, to the culture and wealth of the nation as well as to develop its own region?

The following next steps seem to provide the answer to our question:

First is the problem of educating the new generation of the South to sense the meaning of natural wealth and its relation to the living realities of the people and their welfare; this includes a sensing of the value of work and high standards of achievement.

Second is the problem of widening the range of occupational opportunity, through new developments, to the end that the superabundance of Southern youth may have a chance to work, and thus to develop and use our resources.

The third task is, then, actually to train and equip these youth so that they may function adequately and in competition with workers everywhere.

The fourth task is to acquire more initial capital wealth for investment, to the end that a reasonable leverage of new and expanded industry suited to the region may lift our

economy to at least the beginnings of adequacy and a fair chance.

Three or four corollaries to these also appear as next steps. Since the South is essentially a region of agriculture, and since large increases of ratios of agricultural workers to needs do not appear likely, and since, also, its climate is of special importance, we must have specialized programs of science and technology to develop greater uses for farm products and new types of processing and manufacturing with which to supplement deficiencies.

Since, also, the region has been handicapped by so many differentials in the nation, there must be special programs to eliminate as many as possible of these handicaps, such as freight rates, tariffs and credits.

Moreover, it is clear that there must be a specialized program for the increase of home consumption of home agricultural commodities, since it is in this field that deficiencies seem to handicap our culture.

Finally, since the South is producing an overabundance of youth in the midst of an underabundance of opportunity, there must be specialized programs relating to migration and economic opportunity, both within and without the region and a broader training that looks not only to Southern work but to extension to other and changing fields.

There is yet one other assumption that must be made with reference to next steps, and that is that we must move with relative swiftness. That is, we must look at these next steps in the light of what is to be done by 1950. This is true not only because it seems clear that if the South has not reshaped its economy by that time, there will be irretrievable loss both to the South and to the nation; but also because major needs and procedures appropriate within this

period may be outmoded beyond the turn of the century and opportunity will be lost; and, of course, because this great decade 1940–1950 would be the shortest possible time period for the first reaches of a long-time development.

Now let us look briefly at some of these general next steps before we turn to the more specific comparison of the South with the nation in the several branches of economy. First, what of the education and motivation of the young people of the South, and, at the same time, the adult population of the region, in the meaning and significance and importance of work, of high standards of living, of housing, of skill; in the training of the emotions; in the meaning of the nature and value of natural resources, of land and water, and flora and fauna, and all that long catalog of natural wealth in which the South excels? This is a field in which, strangely and unbelievably, there is almost an absence of major programs of education and practice. Its absence leaves millions of youth without any sense of the power and glory of a great region, whose wealth may be developed and made synonymous with welfare. While this is to some degree a plain problem of ignorance and incompetence, it is apparently the result of neglect and default rather than of intention. This is a problem primarily for the common and secondary schools, but one in which the universities and colleges and state departments of education must coöperate.

The next problem is one perhaps more difficult, and one that must be developed at the same time and in coördination with the first. This is the problem of setting up a new and expanded framework of occupational opportunity in the South and insuring for industry, commerce, agriculture, professions, social and distributive services, provisions ade-

quate to support the education and motivation of the schools towards a new realism of work and standards, of wealth and welfare. We have enumerated types of such expanding opportunities in new large industries, such as may come from the development of forestry, paper pulp industries, in new reaches in home building programs, new industries in air-cooling techniques, development of steel industries competent to give the South its millions of rods of adequate fencing, the expansion of the South's special industries in food and feed processes, refrigeration, development of farm and commercial products from fibers, a partial supplementing of its millions of units of deficit in dairy and poultry products, and the whole extraordinary developing field of science in the service of agriculture.

The range of the practical possibilities here could be illustrated in hundreds of ways. One is to recall Secretary Wallace's statement that he had driven many hundreds of miles throughout most of the Southern States, and rarely, if ever, had he seen a decent fence; or again to envisage the astronomical figures necessary for even an approximation to the building and reconstruction of Southern rural homes; or of the almost astronomical number of units of cotton manufacture needed to give the millions of farms and farm tenants adequate margin in living and comfort with clothes and home equipment; as well as similar unmet needs for equipment on the farm and in village through rural electrification, various types of coöperative endeavor, and the extension and expansion of better management and practices.

It is a matured conclusion from years and years of study and social research that the development of such expanded programs of opportunity is the first essential if the South is to reward the quest of its youth for bread with bread instead

of stones; with fish, instead of a serpent. This is a task for the upper brackets of education and science, for the universities and colleges and research agencies; for the state and city educational departments, for coöperative industrial and commercial research, and above all, a task requiring a certain boldness and adventure in the investment of capital, in faith in the outcome, and in coöperative regional planning.

The next task follows naturally in the wake of these others, namely, the actual training of the youth of the South in terms of skills, of vocational education, of guidance; the increase and realistic application of science and of the work of scientific laboratories of social science and educational leadership; and, above all, a revivification of the development of agrarian culture in the South. This is a joint program between and among all institutions of education and leadership, beginning with the public schools and extending through the higher brackets of universities, technical schools, agricultural colleges, and of state, county, and city administrative systems.

We come finally to point to ways of acquiring resources and capacities for such achievement as we have indicated. And the first essential for each and every objective is more wealth. We suggest five sources from which this wealth may be available. This first, of course, is through an improved agriculture and industry, such as are seen now emerging; through increased income, better lands and greater values, new and old industries working more effectively. This is the normal, gradually evolving task of the South.

A second source is through an increased investment of Southerners of their funds in southern projects and industry

in contradistinction to the prevailing procedure of outside investments. This implies, of course, the obligation of the South to make such investments secure and profitable.

A third source may be in the similar inducement of Northern and Western capital to invest in the South. This implies a twofold obligation. One is the same as for Southern capital, namely, making in the South a culture and an economy calculated to insure stability and safety of investments. The other has to do with the hazards of absentee ownership and control of farms, industries, and workers.

A fourth source of great importance is found in federal funds for coöperative public works and public services and for equalizing opportunity and seeking parity in agriculture. It should be emphasized, of course, that the issue of federal equalization is a national one, applying to all regions and by no means to the South alone, although the South would apparently be a large beneficiary. And further, it should be emphasized that the issue is not a new one, since the practice is well established in such avenues as agriculture, road building, public health, social security, federal relief, Public Works Administration, Work Projects Administration, and many other activities of the Federal Government.

Let us look at this fourth source from the national viewpoint. The South, being a creditor region, sends most of its money elsewhere, and the surplus wealth of the nation is in nowise available within the home border of the Southern States. The South is poor, and partly for this reason. But the South does contribute millions of dollars to the rest of the nation, not only in its trade but also in its internal revenue payments to the Federal Government, one single state, for instance, paying more than twenty times what it gets back. But more than this, the South furnishes to the na-

tion millions of workers and replacement people for the cities and for industry and commerce and the professions. The South must educate these people, and even their inadequate education is an expensive proposition, so that the total cost and value of these people reaches into billions of dollars.

The South since 1900 has contributed nearly four million people to the other regions of the nation, and these people have not only carried with them their education and some of their heritage, but they have worked for the rest of the nation during the time of their highest productivity. Thus, the cost is not only in their equipment, but in what they take away from the South and what they might contribute to the development of the region had they remained. The nation, therefore, from any point of view, owes something more to the region.

From still another viewpoint, the problem is preëminently a national one. It is generally agreed among all population experts that the South will continue to be the seed bed of the nation's population and will provide the surplus people for many years to come. To this extent, therefore, the character of the people of the nation will depend upon the character of the people of the South. In the present economy it is not possible for the South to provide facilities equal to those of the rest of the nation, and, therefore, to give equal educational opportunity to all of its children. This problem, therefore, is not merely one of democracy and equal opportunity as a national philosophy, for the lack of such an equal opportunity penalizes the whole nation through the media of these interstate migrations.

The fifth source of additional wealth is found in the grants and endowments which the national foundations

may make to scientific research, to university leadership, and to experimental efforts within the areas basic to the balanced economy.

Now the most important contributions here would appear to be in the strengthening of university and research centers, which is our next task, since the evidence seems overwhelming that there can be no adequate culture in the South without the reconstruction of its agriculture and that, if the regions would support adequately the institutions and tools of science and learning, the future of its economics and government would be safe. This assumes a trained leadership and research programs adequate to evolve policies for such fundamentals as population and social-industrial relationships.

Another task appears to be in the nature of a corollary to the strengthening of centers of science and research and training of leadership—namely, new reaches in the coöperation and coördination of physical sciences with the social sciences to the end that a great civilization may develop in harmony with its natural and cultural heritage. In the South, there is apparent everywhere extraordinary opportunity for this sort of scientific achievement because of the new momentum which the South is attaining in the development of its physical sciences and in the implementation of its social sciences.

Within the field of the physical sciences, opportunities are extraordinary. What chemistry and bio-chemistry can do toward the development and utilization of the superabundance of resources in the South is literally immeasurable. The catalog will extend all the way from the wise range of farm chemurgic possibilities to that of the discovery of new processes for peculiarly appropriate regional industries; and especially in the field of diet and the utiliza-

tion of the South's great climate, the opportunities appear almost unlimited.

There are many other fields, such as plant genetics and the extraordinary potential for the discovery and adaptation of new plants through line breeding of seeds and flora in general to make the South a sort of garden spot of the world. Still more particularly the South would appear to afford perhaps the best field for plant and animal ecology that could be found in the nation, the emphasis being not merely on the technical studies and methodological approaches to scientific classification, but especially in answer to the question: What is the optimum adaptation of land and plants and animals in the development of a great region? What is the best that can be done and should be done under given conditions in different regions and in different subregions?

THE WORKSHOP

THE PROMISE AND PROSPECT OF THE SOUTH

The facts that have been presented in the topics of this unit are adequate for a fair analysis of the Southern Regions. The effort has been made to present a balanced picture of basic facts. From these facts it seems possible to focus upon strategic factors in terms of what is to be done.

I. For the Open Forum

The statements below are from the text and from *Southern Regions of the United States*. Consider each statement by means of these three questions:

(a) What are the facts and what do the facts mean? Cite specific instances.

(*b*) What plans can be proposed to advance the regions? How can they be put into action?

(c) What results might be expected?

1. The first general conclusion is that the task of planning the "way on" for the region is an extraordinarily difficult one, but that all the elements necessary for success are present, provided that they can be focused in the right ways and combinations.

2. There is ample evidence to warrant the conclusion that unless there is a definite change in regional economy, there will be retrogression in agriculture, in industry, and in general culture and institutions.

3. Another general conclusion is that regional reconstruction can be successfully achieved only in relation to national integration and interregional adjustments.

4. By the same token, national social planning must be based upon regional analysis and functioning, giving logical values to regional differentials and distributions.

5. It is assumed that, both because of basic needs and trends and because of the fact that all states are now setting up state planning boards, in coöperation with federal agencies, increasing emphasis will be placed upon *social planning*.

6. It is assumed, further, that social planning so applied to the region will be gradual, coöperative, and flexible in its program.

7. The objectives envisage no utopias or quick-magic changes, yet they do look toward rehabilitation of the people.

8. It means a goal ahead, definitely to be achieved through gradual growth and through intelligence and skill.

9. Requiring a certain boldness and magnitude, the task is a step-by-step procedure adapted to flexible democracy.

10. Gradual progress will be made through state and national planning boards and through general promotion and educational work.

11. While continuous emphasis must be placed upon state planning, a regional planning board can contribute wisely to many special aspects and to the general regional development.

12. Three essential requirements stand out, on the part of the South. One requirement is for a more realistic facing of facts than has yet been attained. Another is for a greater unity of

effort, and a third is for an intelligent willingness to pay the price of progress.

13. On the part of the nation at large there also appear three essential requirements. One is for the recognition of logical, inevitable changes in the South's culture. Another is for understanding of the size and the time quality of the problem, and the third is for wiser counsel.

14. An elemental objective is a substantial increase of values and wealth.

15. There is need for a realistic program of inquiry and action, which would comprehend the whole problem of land use and planning and optimum programs for agricultural production in relation to population, to industry, and to the total capacity of the region, including its interregional relations and its foreign markets.

16. A comprehensive view of the crisis now in prospect, due to the diminishing ratio of cotton in the total regional economy of the future, is essential. The problem may be stated in a sequence of factors.

17. The size of the problem, the questions with which change must be made, and the emerging next steps characterize the situation.

18. The key to this regional reconstruction appears to be a straightaway planning for definite changes along numerous lines.

19. Of special importance is a strategy which will take advantage of the southern differentials in favor of many special crops.

20. A revitalized economy would mold a new setting for an extraordinary expansion of new, smaller industries and markets at least for a period of years.

21. Further evidence of the opportunity for expanded production and consumption is found in the catalog of manufacturing establishments in the region.

22. Along with this reconstruction of agriculture, industry, and markets must go coördinate efforts for the development and training of the people for better work and better pay.

23. Planning strategy in the field of cultural relations appears to require two major approaches. One relates to the population and one to cultural institutions.

24. A number of requisites appear to be basic to next steps. The first is further research; the second is to project actual experimentation to selected areas; and the third is to work out increasingly effective plans.

25. These general requirements apply to both specific and general comprehensive programs, which may be expanded to provide for as many fields of effort, and projected in as many ways and time periods, as may be best suited for each state.

26. Toward the attainment of these ends there must, of course, be practical ways and means, and a clear recognition of the limitations of all planning programs and the necessity for relativity of both arrangements and results.

II. For Exploration

1. Report on the work of the State Planning Board.

2. Present the next steps in social planning for (*a*) the community, (*b*) the state, and (*c*) the region.

3. To what extent can a farmer plan. Indicate this in as many ways as possible.

4. Give examples of zoning in some of the cities of the region. Suggest needs along this line.

5. List the opportunities within the South that make it a good testing ground for regionalism.

6. Briefly trace the development of public welfare in (*a*) the region and (*b*) in your state.

7. To what extent can planning check social waste? Give specific illustrations.

8. What is the relation of community organization to social planning? Illustrate.

9. How far is "control" necessary in efficient regional planning?

10. Outline the requirements for regional-national reconstruction in the South.

11. Draw up a blueprint for a planned community. In what respects, if any, does your community show the results of social planning?

12. If possible, visit the TVA. If impossible, then read about it. Make a survey of the work being done there from the standpoint

of social and physical engineering. How is the TVA a testing ground for regionalism and democracy?

13. Draw up a time-plan for regional development in the South and list advantages of your plan.

14. Make a survey within the region covering the main programs of planning, sponsored by the federal government.

15. Outline the organization of (a) a national planning board, (b) a regional planning board, (c) a state planning board, (d) a city or subregional planning board.

16. Through the medium of interviews with several farmers, determine their attitudes toward a coöperative movement among them for the purpose of selling their products.

17. Are there any examples of subregional planning in your state? Have the plans met with success? Discuss.

18. Imagine yourself as a member of the Regional Planning Board for the South. Indicate the factors that you would take into consideration. Where would you place greatest emphasis?

19. Study the publications of your State Planning Board. Which of these publications seem to have regional implications?

20. Construct a chart showing the interrelated functions of the federal, regional, state, and municipal planning boards.

21. Thinking in terms of a long-time program, outline plans for the advancement of the South in various fields of interests.

THE WORKSHELF

SOUTHERN PORTRAITURE IN THE NATIONAL PICTURE

1. *Southern Regions of the United States*

A realistic and comprehensive picture of Southern regional culture. More than 700 varied indices and some 600 maps, charts, and tables. Presents the facts for the understanding of the region and the planning of next steps. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina Press, 1936.

2. *Manual for Southern Regions*

An accompaniment and an aid to the study of *Southern Regions.* Features aims for the student, reading material for study, definitions and general guidance, questions, topics, and suggestions. Lee M. Brooks and others. University of North Carolina Press, 1937.

3. *Human Geography of the South*

A volume devoted to the test of human adequacy to master the resources of the South and to develop thereon a distinctive and competent culture. Backgrounds, regions and resources, human relations of climate, prospect and retrospect, form the major divisions of the work. Rupert B. Vance, The University of North Carolina Press, 1932.

4. *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*

Prepared for the President by The National Emergency Council. A condensed picture of problems and needs of the South. Pamphlet form. Government Printing Office, 1938.

5. *God's Valley: People and Power Along the Tennessee River*

A volume devoted to the story of the Tennessee Valley before, during, and after the development of the program of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Willson Whitman. Viking Press, 1939.

6. *The Coming of Industry to the South*

A volume of *The Annals* designed to show the scope of industrial development in the South and some of its consequences. It analyzes many of the problems that have arisen as the region has changed from a predominantly agricultural to an agricultural and industrial society. Describes many adjustments that are under way, obstacles that limit progress, and suggests necessary steps for progressive adaptation. Edited by William J. Carson. *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1931.

7. *The Great Southwest*

A sweeping picture of the Southwest from the early days of Spanish settlement up to the present time. C. O. Borg. Fine Arts Press, 1936.

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WOOFTER, T. J., JR. *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation.* U. S. Government Printing Office, 1936.

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Other Sources

Papers of the Southern Policy Group.

Books, pamphlets, and materials from the various State Planning Boards of the region.

Printed material from the numerous state departments, bureaus, and commissions.

Reports of federal agencies with special reference to the region.

There are numerous organizations in the Southern Regions affiliated with national groups or serving a Southern constituency. Mention might be made of groups like the Southern Sociological Society, The Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council, The Southeastern Council, The Social Policy Group, The Southern Economic Society, The Southern Psychologic and Philosophic Society, The Southern Political Science Association, Southern States Industrial Council, and other similar groups in the field of social relations.

APPENDIX

Glossary of Terms

As the text has stated, certain terms are needed as tools in the study of the social sciences, just as such terms as "polynomial," "molecule," and "appositive" are tools for understanding mathematics, physics, and grammar, respectively. The words in this Glossary represent the tool words for studying *American Democracy Anew*.

It is difficult to define exactly terms used to explain the changing phenomena of life in our society. It is better, usually, to characterize, to give attributes, and to illustrate. The following words and phrases have, therefore, been characterized rather than rigidly defined.

Adaptation. Successful adjustment to environment. In biology adaptation is an index of survival.

Adolescence. The period between childhood and later youth. It is called the "difficult age" for young folk.

Agglomerations (urban and metropolitan). The mixed products of modern city culture and people.

Aggregate. Total. Aggregate income as opposed to average income.

Agrarian economy. Opposed to industrial economy. A culture based primarily upon agriculture.

Agrarian society. A society based upon agriculture. Agrarianism sometimes becomes almost a cult; opposed to industrialism.

Amelioration (ȧ·mēl'yō·rā'shŭn). Improving the lot of people. Social security is one form.

Americana (ȧ·mĕr'ĭ·kā'nȧ). Chief traits or examples of "Americanism" —of that which is "American."

Anthropogeography (ăn'thrō·pō·gē·ŏg'rȧ·fĭ). The study of geography with special emphasis upon man.

Anthropologists. The specialists who study man. The sociologist studies the society of man.

Arbiter (är'bĭ·tẽr). Judge.

Arbitrarily. Without special standards. We speak of a judgment as being arbitrary when it does not consider ample details.

Archetype (är'kē·tīp). Super-type.

Areal (ā'rē·ăl) **divisions.** Divisions determined primarily on the basis of area or geography.

Articulate (är·tĭk'ū·lāt). Expressive. In speech "to articulate" (är·tĭk'ū·lāt) is to enunciate clearly.

Articulation. Free and realistic expression.

Assimilating. Becoming identified in fundamental processes. The immigrant should become assimilated into American life.

Autonomies. Self-determination and control. Often applied to small nations or regions.

Biracial (bī·rā'shăl). Of two races as an organic part, living together. In the South, white and Negro culture is biracial.

Business criteria. Judgments based on business standards or indices of conditions in business.

Buying power. The capacity of a people or nation to purchase goods. "Purchasing power" is more often used.

Centralization. Process of gathering into or about a center. Used to describe the concentration of power in the general government.

Chemurgic (kĕm'ûr·jĭk). Science in the service of a cause.

Clan. Smaller than the tribe, a group of families or small kinship units.

Cohesiveness (of family life). The essence of keeping together. The rural family has greater opportunity for cohesiveness.

Communism. The political philosophy and government which features the overthrow of the capitalistic system, and urges class representation instead of geographical.

Concentrations. Groups or quantities focusing upon one point. We speak of the concentration of wealth in New York.

Concept. Basic idea as opposed to definition. The concept of God is universal.

Conditioning. Affecting habits and behavior through organic processes. The psychologists use the term for early childhood influences.

Congenital defectives. Those born defective. This is opposed to deficiencies by accident at birth or later.

Contiguous. Connecting or touching. A subregion is usually composed of certain counties or areas, all continuous and each contiguous to one another in the area.

Coöperatives. Organizations or agencies functioning through coöperation of its members. A farmers' mutual exchange is an example.

Corporate wealth. Wealth owned by incorporated concerns and combinations as opposed to individual wealth.

Covenants (sovereign). Agreements duly sanctioned by groups. The Mayflower Compact was a covenant for the better ordering of society.

Cover crops. Sown crops. In contrast to "row crops," through the cultivation of which erosion of soil is accelerated. Winter oats or Canadian field peas sowed to prevent wasting and leaching of land.

Credit economy. Economic order encouraging borrowing as contrasted to taxation for public income.

Creditor nation. The nation which lends or which sells more than it buys. Before the World War the United States was a debtor nation. Afterwards the European nations owed us billions of dollars.

Cultural lag. Institutions and social behavior do not keep pace with material development. This is a term used first by Professor W. F. Ogburn in his book *Social Change*.

Cultural parity. Equality in cultural aspects of society. It might be used to emphasize the need for social as well as physical planning.

Cultural patterns. The anthropologist's measure of culture traits. The term was first used by Clark Wissler in studies of the American Indian.

Curriculum. Course of study for schools, such as social studies, the physical sciences, the humanities.

Cycles (economic). The tendency of the economic order to run in periods of depression and recovery.

Decadent. Tending toward decay rather than growth. We speak of the later culture of the Spanish Empire as decadent.

Decentralization. Redistribution into smaller or different areal units. We refer to the decentralization of industry or to the establishment of branches in different regions.

Delinquency. Departure from required standards. This usually refers to criminal tendencies in youth.

Demagogues (dĕm'ȧ-gŏgz). False and insincere leaders of the people. Huey Long was called a demagogue.

Deviate (dē'vĭ-ȧt) (noun). A type or unit differing from the average or usual type. The genius is a deviate from the common man.

Dictum. Conclusion or premise stated for the purpose of emphasis.

Differentials. Measures of difference. Differences in rates of pay make a good illustration.

Divisive (dĭ-vī'sĭv). Tending to rend asunder or break up. The race question in the South has been a unifying factor in general politics, but divisive as between North and South.

Dogma. Positive opinion. Often used to describe religious and philosophical beliefs.

Dynamic. Moving or powerful as opposed to static or inactive.

Economic nationalism. National self-sufficiency. Germany and Italy are the best recent examples.

Emancipation. The process of being freed from restricting conditions.

Encyclicals (ĕn·sĭk'lĭ·kălz). The official edicts of the pope. Notable pronouncements recently on world peace.

Entrepreneurs (än'trĕ·prĕ·nûrz'). The owner-managers in an economic undertaking. This is a technical economic term describing those who put up the money and manage an industry.

Environment. Total surroundings, both physical and cultural. The environment is often contrasted with heredity.

EPIC. The name of Upton Sinclair's utopian movement. The letters stand for "End Poverty in California."

Epitomized (ĕ·pĭt'ō·mīzd). Summarized.

Eroded lands. Lands gullied and wasted from loss and bleaching of soils by weather. Two kinds of erosion come from rains and from winds.

Esthetic (ĕs·thĕt'ĭk). Pertaining to the beautiful. Art, literature, music appreciation would be in the field of esthetic interests.

Ethnic (ĕth'nĭk). Of blood kinship. *Ethnic* society is set over against *civil* society.

Eugenics (ū·jĕn'iks). The science of better breeding or biological well-being. Eugenics looks positively toward a better race of men.

Evolution. Gradual growth and development through organic laws.

Exclusive function. Having only one function or belonging to one agency only.

Ex-officio (ĕks ō·fish'ĭ·ō). By reason of office held. The president of a group is often ex-officio member of the executive committee.

Extraregional. From without the region. The Wisconsin oleomargarine tax is an extraregional factor in the sale of cotton and dairy products in the South.

Farm-demonstration agent. County farm agent under the joint auspices of the state college of agriculture and the state-federal extension service. His function is to promote better farming and rural life.

Fascism (făsh'ĭz'm). The philosophy and government of Italy and Germany which feature the totalitarian state.

Fiscal year. The year in which financial accountings are kept. Most fiscal years are from July 1st to June 30th.

Folk culture. The ways of the folk as opposed to civilization. A special phase is folklore.

Folkways. A term for habits of the individual and customs of the group which arise to meet survival needs. The term was used first by William Graham Sumner of Yale.

Fundamentalists. Holding to the literal belief in the Bible. Used in other fields with the meaning of "conservatives."

Generic (jĕ·nĕr'ik). Applying to universal and organic traits rather than to local and specific.

Genesis (jĕn'ē·sĭs). Origin and beginnings. We often associate genesis with initiative.

Genetics (jē·nĕt'ĭks). The science of heredity. Genetics studies all phases of the hereditary background.

Gens (jĕnz). Another name for a clan.

Genus Americanus (jē'nŭs ȧ·mĕr'ĭ·kā'nŭs). The American type, like *genus homo*, the species of man.

Geographic historiographer (hĭs·tō'rĭ·ŏg'rȧ·fĕr). The historian who writes history from the viewpoint of geography; similar to the anthropologist who emphasizes geography.

Guidance. Direction through special standards or purposes. Vocational guidance is a common illustration.

Heterogeneity (hĕt'ĕr·ō·jē·nē'ĭ·tĭ). The trait of unlikeness. New York with forty or more language nationalities has a heterogeneous population.

Hinterland. The outer borders of a region. The newspaper circulates in the hinterlands of metropolitan areas.

Homogeneity (hō'mō·jē·nē'ĭ·tĭ). The trait of likeness. The Southeast reflects homogeneity of white people; the Northeast, heterogeneity.

Human geography. Geography studied from the viewpoint of people and society rather than of physical and economic factors.

Humanism. Both a literary and philosophical doctrine of cultural development. Opposed to technocracy or industrialism.

Hybrid culture. Mixed cultures. A hybrid grows from mixtures.

Hygiene (social). Relating to (social) health. Social hygiene in the past has usually referred to health and morals.

Hypothesis. Premise or assumption upon which to base conclusions.

Ideologies (ī'dē·ŏl'ō·jĭz). Ideas tending to form themselves into ideals or systems of thought.

Imbalance. Lack of balance and equilibrium. An example is imbalance between agriculture and industry.

Implementation. The testing or putting into effect of theories or findings. A new word much used to indicate next steps following research and study.

Incidence (ĭn'sĭ·dĕns). That which happens unforeseen or unpredictable.

Increment (ĭn'krē·mĕnt). Addition and increase. That which is extra.

Indices of standards of living. Ways of measuring standards or planes of living. Economic income and home equipment are examples.

Individuation. Contrasted with socialization. Giving preference to the development and strengthening of the individual.

Industrial society. Opposed to agricultural society. Emphasizes labor as opposed to agriculture.

Inertia (social). Lack of action. Inertia is often ascribed as the cause of failure or progress.

Integration. The process of unifying or making one. We refer to regionalism as a means of national integration.

Intensive or extensive farming. Quality farming on small areas, or quantity production in commercial farming.

Interracial. Between races, as between white and Negro. The Commission on Interracial Coöperation works for better relations between whites and Negroes.

Investiture. Act of giving possession, of citizenship, for example.

Laissez-faire (lĕ'sā' fâr'). The theory that government should not interfere in economic processes. The "do nothing" doctrine.

Land base. Relation to land.

Land utilization. Ways of using land. Planning for redivision according to farming, forestry, towns, and so forth.

Lockouts. Refusal of employer to allow return of laborers. This is an old tool employed by employers.

Maladjustment. Badly adjusted to environment. The maladjusted are usually considered "problem" individuals.

Marital (măr'ĭ·tăl) **status.** This term used to classify individuals as to whether married, single, widowed, divorced.

Mechanism (habit). The psychological term for facility or pattern of behavior.

Mechanistic (mĕk·ȧ·nĭs'tĭk) **order.** Following the rule of the machine and technology. Modern standardization of styles and procedures may be used to illustrate.

Mechanization. Moulded to the machine; standardized by machines. We speak of the mechanization of modern industry.

Media of control. Agencies or means of control.

Median income. The income common to the middle group as opposed to the average or the mode (most common).

Megalopolitan (mĕg'a·lŏ·pŏl'ĭ·tăn). Relating to the super-city. Modern industrial society tends toward the megalopolitan.

Messianic (mĕs'ĭ·ăn'ĭk). Relating to a messiah. One with a messianic complex believes he must save the world.

Methodology (scientific). The scientific ways of research and study. The science of method.

Metropolitan. Relating to city centers. In general, it refers to large groupings of people around the city.

Mitigate. To soften or lighten.

Mixed farming. In contrast to single crop or money-crop farming, such as cotton or wheat or tobacco. "Diversified farming" is more often used.

Modernists. As opposed to fundamentalists. May apply to literature or economics as well as religion.

Morbidity. Sickness. The rate of morbidity in colds, typhoid or other types is a common use.

Mores (mō'rēz). The *folkways* which have been sanctioned and approved after long trial. This is a concept of Professor Sumner of Yale.

Motivation. Purpose or determination. A pedagogical term also denoting high stimulation.

Multicultured. Of many types of culture. California would make a good illustration.

National economy. Type of economic order and culture prevailing in a given nation.

Nationalities. Distinguished from races and ethnic groups. Peoples belonging to or composing specific nations.

Natural environment. Geographic and physical surroundings. Natural resources is a special phase.

Natural resources. Potential wealth from land, minerals, forests, flora, fauna, climate.

NRA. National Recovery Administration. A unit in the New Deal organization.

Objective service. This refers to services not relating primarily to self-interest or subjective interests.

Orientation. Adjustment to new environment. Freshman orientation courses in college are good examples.

Orthopedic (ôr·thō·pē'dĭk). Pertaining to corrections of child deficiencies. An orthopedic hospital is one for crippled children.

Outdoor relief. Assistance rendered outside of institutions. Poor relief was the term originally used.

Panaceas (păn'ā·sē'āz). Cure-alls. Thus, old age relief would solve all the troubles of old people.

Paradox. Contrast and opposite. We speak of the paradox of a Christian people burning a camp of Indian women and children.

Pathological. Not normal. Poverty, vice, crime are classified as phases of social pathology.

Pedagogical (pĕd'ā·gŏj'ĭ·kăl) **device.** Technical ways of teaching. The *unit* method of teaching as illustrated in this book.

Pediatrists (pē'dĭ·ăt'rĭsts). The specialists who study child hygiene and diseases. In a conference on child welfare, the pediatrist is a specialist.

Penology (pē·nŏl'ŏ·jĭ). The science of crime and punishment. Criminology is sometimes used.

Per diem (pĕr dī'ĕm). So much per day. Usually a rate of pay by the day as opposed to month or piece work.

Philanthropy (fĭ·lăn'thrŏ·pĭ). The art of helping. The philanthropist is usually described as one who gives money without expecting personal returns.

Phratry (frā'trĭ). A subdivision of a tribe.

Physical environment. Used interchangeably with natural environment as opposed to social or cultural.

Planned society. Opposed to the *laissez-faire* or "do nothing" policy on the part of the government.

Population policy. Procedures adopted by government or other institutions with reference to the increase and migration of people. The new immigration laws reflect a population policy.

Potentials of civilization. Elements necessary to build civilization. Resources and technology are jointly necessary for a rich culture.

Pragmatic. Practical or applied. The pragmatic viewpoint is often referred to as implying practical gain.

Primary occupations. Farming, fishing, lumbering, hunting, mining—all based on natural resources as opposed to secondary occupations.

Priority schedules. Arrangements whereby each item is attended to in its proper order. The New York World's Fair was built upon such schedules.

Psychiatry (sī·kī'ă·trĭ). The application of psychology to the study and guidance of behavior. This is now a profession.

Quantity production. Wholesale production in large quantities as opposed to smaller or individual output.

Quartile (kwôr'tĭl). The fourth measure of an entity. Upper quartile means in the top fourth.

Racial. Belonging to a given race. In America, racial groups would be contrasted with national groups—Negro, Indian, Chinese as contrasted with English, German, Italian.

Radically. Extremely different from the usual. Radical means literally "by the roots."

Recapitulated. Summarized. To restate and review by topics is to recapitulate.

Reclaiming of slums. Housing programs to raise standards of living, health, and recreation in the slums.

Recrudescence (rē·krōō·dĕs'ĕns). Revival or rekindling. We speak of the recrudescence of mobs.

Regimen (rĕj'ĭ·mĕn). Order or system required. Health hygiene and regimen are often used together.

Regimentation. Forced uniformity of action or pattern. We refer to the regimentation of Nazi Germany.

Regional initiative. First steps taken by the region rather than the nation. Regional planning would precede national planning.

Regression. Going backward instead of forward. Retrogression.

Rehabilitation. Restatement of people in homes and work. The Rehabilitation Corporation was for helping farm tenants with no place to live.

Rural. Relating to the open country as opposed to urban. Pertaining to those who live in the country.

Ruralize. To make similar to the country. The country features family life more than the city.

Sanctions (noun). Authoritative compulsions and permits, such as are promoted in treaties between nations.

Secondary occupations. Manufacturing, professions, etc., based upon processing, distribution, and utilization of resources.

Sectionalism. Geographic regions based upon cultural separateness and selfish interests. Sectionalism was the basis of the War between the States.

Secular. Opposed to religious. The state contrasted with church.

Sensatory (sĕn'sȧ·tô·rĭ) **influences.** Relating to the modern "sensate" material culture. Professor Sorokin characterizes the modern world as one of *sensate* culture.

Sesame (open sesame) (sĕs'ȧ·mē). Password for opening a door or securing access to something.

Single crop. Cotton and tobacco in parts of the South; wheat in the northwest.

Sit-down strikes. Concerted occupancy by workers of plants. The sit-down strike by C.I.O. in the automobile industries in recent years was notorious.

Slow-down strikes. Concerted action to produce less. A group may agree on procedures to hold up production.

Social emergency. Crisis in matters of economic and social conditions. Migrating laborers in the Far West constitute a social emergency.

Socialism. The political philosophy and form of government which features the public ownership of the main utilities. There are varying forms and types advocated, such as Christian socialism, Marxian socialism, and others.

Social momentum. Motivation or "push." War might give considerable momentum to patriotic movements.

Social planning. Design for a better ordering of society through co-

operation and technical skills over a long-period of time; contrasted with economic planning or physical-resources planning.

Societal (sō·sī'ē·tăl). Relating to the long-time, world-wide facts of society. The race problem is a societal problem.

Speculative production. Production based upon the idea of probable profits; or based upon guesses.

Standardization. The process of reducing all to the same measure. The chain store tends to standardize certain services.

State (distinguished from government). The form of government as an institution.

Stateways. The formal, legal, organized ways of a people to meet needs. They grow out of the *folkways* and *mores*.

Stationary population. A population whose natural increase and immigration do not exceed its death rate. It is predicted that in the United States the population will be stationary in three or four decades.

Status (stā'tŭs). Standing or rating; marital status classifies the individual according to whether married, single, divorced, widowed.

Stereotyped patterns. Colorless and much used types. Not original.

Stimuli (stĭm'ū·lī). Forces that excite, motivate, or start action. Heat, cold, food are basic physical stimuli.

Stretch-out. The increasing use of new methods and machines to reduce the number of workers or to obtain more work from the individual. This has been the basis of many strikes.

Subgeographic representation. In the United States, legislatures elected by counties, districts, states.

Subjective unit. Measure of self-evaluation.

Submarginal lands. Lands below a fertility or usable standard which would be profitable.

Subregion. A smaller division of a defined region.

Subregional planning. Planning for smaller subdivisions. Appalachian America is a subregion of the nation.

Subsistence farming. Farming for a living rather than for profit.

Suburban. Relating to the fringes or outer borders of the city. Suburban property is property usually just outside the city limits.

Supercorporate control. Influence or invisible government by corporations. It is estimated that nearly half of the corporate wealth in the United States is owned by 200 corporations.

Sweatshops. Home work or group work under conditions of bad hygiene or exploitation. The sweatshop has abounded in clothing industries in the cities.

Symposium. A unified series of discussions on the same subject.

Synthetic. A composite product from different elements. In sociology, synthesis refers to bringing together findings from many sources.

Technique. A way of doing something. The word is loosely or overused to indicate *technical* or specialized tools.

Technocracy. The economy or science of measuring society in terms of technical units, such as power. This was a special movement of the early 30's sponsored by Howard Scott.

Technology (tĕk·nŏl'ŏ·jĭ). The dominant influence of science, invention, machines, management. We say this is an age of technology.

Tenant farmers. Those who rent the land; non-owners. They may be share-croppers.

Tenet (tĕn'ĕt). Theory or dogma. The term implies belief or conviction.

Topography (tō·pŏg'rȧ·fĭ). Relating to position and situation. The topography of mountain folk tends to isolation.

Totalitarian. Dominating all aspects of life. Used of states such as Germany and Italy.

Tribe. A confederation or group of people occupying a given area, as the Iroquois of New York.

"Unmeticulous" (ŭn·mĕ·tĭk'ū·lŭs). Slipshod or careless. "Meticulous" is more often used, in the positive sense.

Urban. Pertaining to the city as contrasted with rural. In the United States Census, places having a population of 2500 or more.

Urbanize. To make similar to the city. Conveniences in rural life are usually characterized as urbanizing the country.

Utopias (ū·tŏ'pĭ·ȧz). Perfect societies. Mankind has always sought some perfect land or order—a heaven on earth.

Well-synchronized. Well timed with other units. A Red Cross roll call during a flood disaster.

Americanisms

In our previous units of study we have emphasized the fact that democracy and government are in the United States somewhat synonymous. Thus democracy is the key "Americanism." By "Americanism" we mean a custom of thought or action, an attitude, or a belief which is peculiar to Americans. Democracy, we have pointed out, is a philosophy of equal opportunity, a form of government of, for, and by the people; and it is also a societal arrangement or social order calculated best to promote a superior mankind through human development and human welfare.

We have also pointed out that true and realistic Americanisms center in three major aspects of American life. First are our geography and our lands and resources—the base upon which the United States and its wealth have been developed. The second group of Americanisms center in the American people in all of their variety and richness of experience and backgrounds. The third group of Americanisms will be found in the history, culture, and institutions that are distinctive because of America and American democracy. Other standard Americanisms are typified in freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of worship, trial by jury, freedom in the home, and the like.

The following samplings of Americanisms are offered, not as a comprehensive catalog, but as illustrations of the threads which go into the making of the American fabric of democracy. These samplings are from a catalog of several hundred pages prepared by Lee Coleman, at the present in the form of an unpublished manuscript. It is the outgrowth of a number of years inquiry into the meaning of Americanism and democracy, made at the Institute for Research in Social Science, at the University of North Carolina.

Activity and agitation—their ceaselessness. "They [the Americans] are a busy people. I have already observed that the leisured class is relatively small, is in fact confined to a few Eastern cities. The citizen has little time to think about political problems.

"The sense that there is no time to spare haunts an American even when he might find the time, and would do best for himself by finding it."—James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, II, pp. 291–292 (1910).

"This perpetual change which goes on in the United States, these frequent vicissitudes of fortune, accompanied by such unforeseen

fluctuations in private and public wealth, serve to keep the minds of the citizens in a perpetual state of feverish agitation, which admirably invigorates their exertions, and keeps them in a state of excitement above the ordinary level of mankind. The whole life of an American is passed like a game of chance, a revolutionary crisis, or a battle. As the same causes are continually in operation throughout the country, they ultimately impart an irresistible impulse to the national character."—Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America*, I, pp. 432–433 (1835).

Adaptability. Our great men have qualities expressing "unusual adaptability."—Frank Ernest Hill, *What Is American?*, p. 183 (1933).

"Those generations [of the past in America] . . . were remarkably adaptable to hardship, remarkably flexible when changes occurred."—Gilbert Seldes, *Mainland*, p. 253 (1936).

Ambition, universality and mediocrity of. "The first thing which strikes a traveler in the United States is the innumerable multitude of those who seek to throw off their original condition; and the second is the rarity of lofty ambition to be observed in the midst of the universally ambitious stir of society. No Americans are devoid of a yearning desire to rise; but hardly any appear to entertain hopes of great magnitude, or to drive at very lofty aims."—Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America*, II, p. 254 (1840).

Anglo-Saxon stock, fact of origin and present pride in. ". . . the Americans as a whole pride themselves on their original stock, which was Anglo-Saxon and inherently Protestant.

". . . They are trying to maintain their unity of spirit by insisting impatiently that their center of gravity still lies in the Anglo-Saxon and Puritan stock."—André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age*, p. 3 (1927).

Antimilitaristic foreign policy. "American foreign policy has always been antimilitarist . . . political America is a civilian country, where there is no place for militarism: American policy is peace-loving, but it is in no sense a policy which is on principle opposed to the display of force."—M. J. Bonn, *The American Adventure*, p. 152 (1934).

Arbitration, settling international disputes by means of. "The United States have deliberately pursued a policy of settling international conflicts by arbitration and international courts, and not by force of arms. . . ." This practice was begun as early as 1794 by Franklin and Hamilton.—M. J. Bonn, *The American Adventure*, pp. 124–125 (1934).

Art, European influence in—desire for imported art. "America's passion for art importations and the American artist's nostalgia for countries other than his own have been unfortunate features of the American art development.

"Wherever one turns . . . the fact cannot be faced down that American art was transplanted from Europe and has developed under direct European influence."—Holger Cahill, "American Art Today," in Fred J. Ringel, editor, *America As Americans See It*, pp. 245–246 (1932).

Association, informal, as a means of action rather than government. "One of the things that impressed all early travelers in the United States was the capacity for extra-legal, voluntary association . . . This power of the newly arrived pioneers to join together for a common end without the intervention of governmental institutions was one of their marked characteristics. . . . It is well to emphasize this American trait, because in a modified way it has come to be one of the most characteristic and important features of the United States of today. America does through informal association and understandings on the part of the people many of the things which in the Old World are and can be done only by governmental intervention and compulsion."—Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, p. 342 (1921).

Business: its precedence over politics and religion. "The Americans do not want to rule their fellow-men; they want to make money out of them."—M. J. Bonn, *The American Adventure*, pp. 153–154 (1934).

"As the best energies of the Americans are absorbed by production, politics can never be more than a secondary interest."—André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age*, p. 239 (1927).

"They are a busy people. I have already observed that the leisured class is relatively small, is in fact confined to a few Eastern cities. The citizen has little time to think about political problems . . . business matters so occupy the mind of the financial and commercial classes . . . that political questions are apt, except at critical moments, to fall into the background."—James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, II, p. 291 (1910).

Chance-taking. "The American had always been 'taking a chance.' The most serious of the religious leaders of the Pilgrims and Puritans had taken a great chance when they left comfortable Holland and England for the black wilderness. Every trial of new sites for settlement had always been a chance. Every one of the many million immigrants . . . had taken a tremendous chance. . . . Yet, somehow, it seemed that ninety-nine times out of a hundred the dice had fallen right. Taking a chance had got into the blood of the American. . . ."—James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America*, p. 187 (1932).

Change, "in process," formative character. ". . . The European . . . knew that nothing final could be said of America because

it was American, and therefore its essence was movement and change. . . ."—Gilbert Seldes, *Mainland*, p. 123 (1936).

Children, special interest in the welfare of. "It has been a tradition among us to care about what happens to our children. The establishment of public schools and their increasing development has been one, but only one, evidence of the belief that a democracy for adults does not function properly unless there be genuine opportunity for the young."—H. A. Overstreet, *A Declaration of Interdependence*, p. 44 (1937).

Class and class-consciousness, absence of. "All this clatter of class and class hate should end. . . . This is a classless country. If we hold to our unique American ideal of equal opportunity there can never be classes or masses in our country. . . . There is no employing class, no working class, no farming class."—Herbert Hoover, quoted in Ray Lyman Wilbur and Arthur Massick Hyde, *The Hoover Policies*, p. 33 (1936).

Self-reliance and independence "make forever impossible the establishment of any fixed and permanent social and economic classes in America. Almost without exception the men who today occupy the most conspicuous positions in the United States have worked their way up, by their own ability, from humble beginnings. . . ." —Nicholas Murray Butler, *The American As He Is*, pp. 37–38 (1908).

Climate, extremes, changeability and contrasts of. ". . . For the most part throughout the continent the climate seems always to have been one which tended to produce a high nervous tension in the living beings subjected to it, even the savages, not only from its sudden changes, but from some quality which we do not know. In every way the land was one of strong contrasts rather than softly graded tones, a land of dazzling light and sharp shadows, of drought and overwhelming flood, of sunshine and appalling storm."—James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America*, pp. 5–6 (1932).

Comfort, emphasis on. The average American "will ask for a comfortable physical life—giving to his physical well-being what a European would consider undue emphasis. . . ."—Frank Ernest Hill, *What Is American?*, p. 185 (1933).

"Americans, one had heard, were lovers and creators of comfort. . . ."—William Aylott Orton, *America in Search of Culture*, p. 16 (1933).

"The store set by comfort in America brings to mind the pioneer. Having spent his day and his life at grips with an uncomfortable world, he lapses at the twilight of violence into as violent a lust for ease."—Waldo Frank, *The Rediscovery of America*, p. 106 (1929).

Commercial buildings, emphasis on, rather than cathedrals. "It is characteristic of the nation that instead of concentrating her artistic genius on great mansions or of lavishing the wealth and design of several generations on mighty cathedrals, she has used her resources to create great commercial buildings."—Philip N. Youtz, *American Life in Architecture*, p. 11 (1932).

Common man, belief in and glorification of. "If America has stood for anything unique in the history of the world, it has been for the American dream, the belief in the common man and the insistence upon his having, as far as possible, equal opportunity in every way with the rich one.

". . . In spite of the vast changes due to following Hamilton in our business life, America even yet clings to the Jeffersonian belief in the common man. This is still an axiom with millions of Americans. . . ."—James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America*, pp. 135–137 (1932).

"The United States, rich with the record of high human purposes, and of faith in the destiny of the common man under freedom . . ."—Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, p. 336 (1921).

Common man, glorification of the common sense of. "Early American humor is a glorification of the common sense of the common man and is directed against all pretensions of the superior."—Gilbert Seldes, "American Humor," in Fred J. Ringel, editor, *America As Americans See It*, p. 342 (1932).

Common weal, exertions for. "In no country in the world do the citizens make such exertions for the common weal; and I am acquainted with no people which has established schools as numerous and as efficacious, places of public worship better suited to the wants of the inhabitants, or roads kept in better repair. In the United States the interests of the country are everywhere kept in view; they are an object of solicitude to the people of the whole union, and every citizen is as warmly attached to them as if they were his own." —A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I, pp. 90–92 (1835).

Communism and fascism, dislike of and hostility toward. "It makes no difference if the [American] people are or are not fair to the Communists, the prejudice against them is real, and they (the people), as a whole, will have no truck with the Communist Party or its connections in the long run . . . Not for nothing did Roosevelt forthrightly denounce all Communistic support—he knew his people . . ."—Louis Adamic, *My America*, p. 525 (1938).

"Over one hundred and fifty years of political and social independence, even granting all the errors and absurdities that accompanied it, has produced a certain *temper* in the American people—

and that temper is fundamentally hostile to both the Communist and the Fascist conceptions of life."—Harold E. Stearns, *America: A Reappraisal*, p. 111 (1937).

Competition and the competitive spirit. ". . . In numerous ways the American school, like American society, stimulates the competitive rather that the collective impulses. . . . "—George S. Counts, *The American Road to Culture*, p. 74 (1930).

Constitution, reverence for. ". . . Reverence for the Constitution has become so potent a conservative influence, that no proposal of fundamental change seems likely to be entertained. And this reverence is itself one of the most wholesome and hopeful elements in the character of the American people."—James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, I, p. 311 (1910).

Country town. "The country town is one of the great American institutions; perhaps the greatest, in the sense that it has had and continues to have a greater part than any other in shaping public sentiment and giving character to American culture."—Thorstein Veblen, quoted in R. L. Duffus, "The Small Town," in Harold E. Stearns, editor, *America Now*, p. 387 (1923).

Declaration of Independence—its principles and spirit. "There is ample evidence that the Declaration was not only Jeffersonianism, but true Americanism. The very fact that its sentiments were so widely shared, gave rise, in later years, to numerous controversies over its authorship. . . ."—Alfred J. Snyder, *America's Purpose*, p. 52 (1937).

"Democracy," and belief and faith in it. " 'Democracy' is that order in the state which permits each individual to put forth his utmost effort. It is this original Anglo-Saxon impulse which finds expression in the early colonial life of America, and which gives form alike to the Mayflower compact of 1620, to the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms of 1775, to the Declaration of Independence of 1776, to the ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory of 1787, and finally to the Constitution of the United States itself."—Nicholas Murray Butler, *The American As He Is*, p. 5 (1908).

Diversity, cultural. "The speech and gait of the Vermonter, the drawl and the peculiar time-sense of the cotton country, and cadence of the Creole tongue, the style of cowboy dress and cowboy manners . . . such things fit into, symbolize, their physical environments in a way that is not accidental, not artificial. . . ."—William Aylott Orton, *America in Search of Culture*, p. 35 (1933).

Education, conception of as a progressive and enlightening force in society—a creative political force. "The conception of education which has generally prevailed in America—the conception of educa-

tion as a progressive and enlightening force in society."—George S. Counts, *The Prospects of American Democracy*, p. 291 (1938).

Education, decentralization of. ". . . Education in the United States remains today essentially a function of the forty-eight separate commonwealths. With this general principle the American people are in relatively complete agreement."—George S. Counts, *The American Road to Culture*, p. 43 (1930).

Education, enthusiasm for. Americans "display an extraordinary enthusiasm for education. They have created an educational system which in point of quantity and physical equipment is without parallel. They have made a heavier investment in education than any other society, past or present. . . ."—William Aylott Orton, *America in Search of Culture*, p. 265 (1933).

Equality of all, belief in as a fact and a right. "American democracy is . . . permeated to the core by the conviction of the equality of all men and the right of every individual to be 'free and independent.' "—M. J. Bonn, *The American Adventure*, p. 111 (1934).

"It was this persistence of the natural-rights philosophy in America that kept vital and ready for each need the doctrine of equality. It was now affirmed in political, now in metaphysical, now in theological terminology."—T. V. Smith, *The American Philosophy of Equality*, pp. 41–43 (1927).

Equal right to life, belief in "Economic Democracy." "The declaration of an 'equal right to life' is the economic phase of America's purpose. It is a promise that our government will establish an economic democracy, as a necessary counterpart to our political democracy."—Alfred J. Snyder, *America's Purpose*, p. 225 (1937).

The above samplings of Americanisms, arranged for cross reference, in alphabetical citation, are adequate to indicate the great reserve materials here. All told, Mr. Coleman has listed several thousand items and quotations which make up the rich fabric of this American culture. From new readings and selection of books, the student can find fascinating tasks ahead.

The Working Tools of Democracy

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Preview Discussion: There are many notable features in the Declaration of Independence. It is the classical introduction to the American Constitution, which is everywhere admitted to be the greatest instrument and tool for the attainment of democratic ideals and ends. Of special importance are the following points of emphasis in the Declaration:

The organic rights of the individual are everywhere assumed to be inherent in the social order as well as in the natural order.

Emphasis is placed upon the people instead of upon the "system" of government or the "ism" of organization.

This emphasis upon the individual has two great elemental values. The first one is that it recognizes the inherent moral and spiritual worth of every person. The second one is that in developing the individual from generation to generation it carries on the great achievements of human development as opposed to mere biological or material progress.

The Declaration is firmly grounded in the experience of the race.

The Declaration enumerates one after another of the basic reasons why the new world must challenge the old order.

The Declaration is bold, frank, and sincere. It mentions facts and it is specific.

The Declaration recognizes the deep indebtedness of society to the past, but also its obligation to go forward.

The Declaration reflects a fine sense of maturity, of justice and fairness to all men in all situations.

The Declaration is such literature as to reveal new eloquence and new meanings every time it is read.

The text of the Declaration follows.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776,

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies.

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

NOTE: The remaining signatures are omitted.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Preview Discussion: There are many ways of renewing our acquaintance with the Constitution of the United States, by which we may recognize anew its reality, its extraordinary timeliness, and its universal soundness. We may look briefly at some of these new approaches.

In the first place, the Constitution represents a definite, technical, workable way by which the people can actually guarantee many of the opportunities and privileges vouchsafed in the Declaration and in the backgrounds of America's founding.

So long as we merely stated principles and ideals of philosophy, made eloquent speeches about liberty, or wrote poems and books about freedom, no matter how important and how good these were, there was still no way whereby the ends of democracy could be attained.

The Constitution says in substance that for the Nation, for each state, and for each community, here is a way whereby you may guarantee in your place and your region the attainment of these ideals if you will attend faithfully to the principles and processes implied in the Constitution.

The Constitution is the first planning document of such proportions and far-reaching significance on record.

The Constitution represents a social planning instrument not only of, for, and by the people, but of, for, and by all the institutions of the people.

Freedom of speech and freedom of education and research are assumed and guaranteed. This represents the institution of education.

Freedom of worship, of aspiration, and the rights of the dreamer are provided for. This is reflected also in the institution of the church and religion.

Freedom to work and to achieve are provided for. This is the institution of industry and work.

The right to speak, to be heard, to vote, the right of minority groups—all these are provided, and this represents the institution of the state and government.

Protection from exploitation, the opposition to closed classes, and open democracy are represented in the institution we call the community and association.

The promise that every man's home is his castle, protection from unwarranted search and unfairness, services to the family, to moth-

ers, to children—all of these reflect the great institution of the home and the family.

Thus, article by article, amendment by amendment, the Constitution is a tool for what we have called organic democracy in the protection of health and growth, family relationships, and race relations of the people; alongside educational democracy, political democracy, religious democracy, industrial democracy, and social democracy.

Thus, the Constitution represents the whole man and all interests of the people, and provides plans, ways, and tools through American institutions for protecting, conserving, and promoting human welfare.

Another great characteristic of the Constitution is its flexibility, guaranteeing that it is an instrument of progress and adaptation in a world of change. This flexibility is shown in its provisions for amendments and in the amendments themselves.

Let us examine the Articles, one by one, and see how wisely they look forward to the protection of the individual and the minority group; to prevent the nation from becoming totalitarian or autocratic; and to provide for the distinctive American institutions. After re-examining the Constitution, we shall then turn immediately to many questions which arise in our effort to adapt and apply the Constitution to such modern changing situations as our text has discussed.

The text of the Constitution follows.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.

1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2.

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the

Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

2. No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

SECTION 3.

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

3. No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States

6. The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

7. Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION 4.

1. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SECTION 5.

1. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

3. Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the Journal.

4. Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6.

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their At-

tendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION 7.

1. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

2. Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

3. Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a bill.

SECTION 8.

The Congress shall have Power

1. To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow Money on the Credit of the United States;

3. To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

4. To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

6. To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

7. To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

8. To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

9. To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

10. To define and Punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

11. To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

12. To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

13. To provide and maintain a Navy;

14. To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

18. To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9.

1. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or Duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

2. The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

3. No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

4. No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

6. No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

7. No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

8. No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10.

1. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

2. No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of Delay.

ARTICLE II.

Section 1.

1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

2. Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice-President.

4. The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

6. In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a

Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that "I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, "and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the "Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2.

1. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

2. He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

3. The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION 3.

1. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION 4.

1. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1.

1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

SECTION 2.

1. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

2. In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as Congress shall make.

3. The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION 3.

1. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

2. The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1.

1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the

Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION 2.

1. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

3. No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

SECTION 3.

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4.

1. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V.

1. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand

eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

1. The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. *In Witness* whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G:o WASHINGTON—

Presidt, and Deputy from Virginia

NOTE: The remaining signatures are omitted.

Articles in Addition to, and Amendment of, the Constitution.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or in public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such a number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

Section 1.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

Section 1.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2.

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3.

No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4.

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5.

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

Section 1.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2.

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI.

Section 1.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.

Section 1.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

Section 2.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

Section 3.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Section 1.

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2.

The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3.

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX.

Section 1.

The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Section 2.

Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provision of this article.

ARTICLE XX.

Section 1.

The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such

meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3.

If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice-President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice-President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

Section 4.

The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5.

Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article (Oct., 1933).

Section 6.

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

ARTICLE XXI.

Section 1.

The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2.

The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3.

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States,

as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Our questions about the Constitution not only help us to review the backgrounds of Americanism and the comprehensiveness of our problems, but they enable us to see how important it is to look at modern situations maturely and carefully in the light of what has gone before and in the light of the changing times. If we can work out a fine balance and harmony here, we can go a long way towards the gradual, sure, and peaceful adjustment of our difficulties.

Here are some questions and comments that are appropriate at the present time.

A great many questions have been raised in recent years about the powers and duties of the federal government in relation to industry, work, agriculture, transportation, and public utilities. Study Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution with a view to understanding the obligations and the limits of the federal government in such activities as these:

The Tennessee Valley Authority
The operation of railroads
The construction of dams and reservoirs for public service
The lending of money for farm and home ownership

From an examination of Section 3 of Article II, would you say that the nation is not only authorized but instructed to provide some such agency as the National Planning Board in order that the President may give Congress adequate information and recommend adequate measures?

From an examination of Section 1 of Article III, what basis do you find, if any, for the many discussions of the Supreme Court during the last few years?

Within recent years there have been a good many complaints about barriers to state trade, in which many of the states are inclined to pass laws discriminating against products from other states. Is this against the constitutional requirement that the State cannot regulate imports and exports? See Section 2 of Article IV.

From Section 3 of Article III, what would constitute "treason" in the realm of the advocates of the communistic overthrow of the United States Government?

Read Section 4 of Article IV and ascertain to what extent the

old Huey Long movement might have become unconstitutional.

The first ten amendments, that is Articles I–X, "in Addition to, and Amendment of, the Constitution," are called "The Bill of Rights." In simple language, what constitutes this Bill? What basic historical factors, applying to the experience of the colonists in founding America, probably led to the enactment of Amendment VII?

Professor Giddings had a way of saying that the most important question we could ask in any problem is "What else will happen or is likely to happen if we do thus and so?" How would this apply to the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments?

What is the nature of the proposed Federal Anti-lynching Law and to what extent is it claimed to be constitutional or unconstitutional?

Does the poll tax requirement violate Section 1 of the Fifteenth Amendment?

Do you note any difference between the amendments to the Constitution and the original Articles in the sense that the amendments sometimes appear to have grown out of moral or emergency issues?

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