THE BOOK WAS DRENCHED

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_164794

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

Longmans' Social Science Series

General Editor

ERNEST R. GROVES

Research Professor of Social Science in the University of North Carolina

---

Social Problems and Education. *By* ERNEST R. GROVES.

The Child and Society. *By* PHYLLIS BLANCHARD, *Psychologist, Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic.*

Culture and Social Progress. *By* JOSEPH KIRK FOLSOM, *Professor of Economics and Sociology, Sweet Briar College.*

An Introduction to Sociology. *By* ERNEST R. GROVES.

IN PREPARATION

Rural Sociology. *By* AUGUSTUS W. HAYES, *Professor of Sociology, Marshall College.*

Urban Sociology. *By* NILES CARPENTER, *Professor of Sociology, University of Buffalo.*

Poverty. *By* ROBERT KELSO, *Executive Secretary, Boston Council of Social Agencies.*

Social Psychology. *By* E. T. KREUGER, *Associate Professor of Sociology, and* WALTER C. RECKLESS, *Assistant Professor of Sociology, both of Vanderbilt University.*

Educational Sociology. *By* DANIEL KULP, II, *Assistant Professor of Education, Teachers College.*

Social Evolution. *By* DONALD C. BABCOCK, *Professor of History and Political Science, University of New Hampshire.*

Race and Population Problems. *By* HANNIBAL G. DUNCAN, *Associate Professor of Social Science, University of North Carolina.*

Longmans' Social Science Series

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

BY

ERNEST R. GROVES

RESEARCH PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

NEW YORK · LONDON · TORONTO

1928

GROVES

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

COPYRIGHT · 1928

BY LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

MADE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

In the writing of this book the endeavor has been to make it introductory both in form and content and to keep it within the field that properly belongs to the science of sociology. It is assumed that students qualified to enter upon the study of sociology get most satisfaction and value from a concise presentation that has concreteness without bulk. Influenced by the author's fifteen years' experience in teaching classes of beginners in the subject, the book aims to give the student a clear and appealing start in sociology.

The book is committed to the functional interpretation of social experience since the static is hopelessly alien to the facts of human conduct and therefore out of accord with the attitude now taken by the other sciences that deal with man's behavior. This basic emphasis explains the frequent use made in the book of the social experience of the child and the savage. The first reveals the socializing process as it occurs in the life of the growing personality, that with advancing years is taking on the cultural possessions of adults, while the second presents a social experience that is relatively simple and, in contrast with our own, elemental in form. It is remarkable that so little use has been made by the sociologists in their introductory courses of the social development of the child as an illustration of the way in which society forms the individual and perpetuates itself by the transmission of culture through the association of parent and teacher with the child.

It is needless, perhaps, to say of a text that it draws its material from many sources. In such matters as the history

of social thought and in the use of much terminology which has become a common possession of sociologists, the recognition that should be given will be self-evident throughout the text. The more important of this indebtedness is expressed by the references that appear in the text.

Although this book is written primarily as a text for college and normal school students, the interests of that large class of readers, happily ever increasing, who seek acquaintance with current sociological thinking has not been forgotten. The general reader is advised to skip that portion of Chapter II which concerns itself with methods of studying sociology.

I wish to acknowledge the helpful suggestions I have received from Albert Morris of Boston University, Harold D. Meyer, Howard W. Odum, Katherine Jocher and Lee M. Brooks of the University of North Carolina, and especially from Phyllis M. Blanchard of the All-Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, and Gladys Hoagland Groves. I wish also to express my appreciation of the assistance of Edna F. Slaney, Louise Pearson and Ina V. Young in their typing of the manuscript.

E. R. G.

CONTENTS

PART I: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Science of Sociology	1
II.	How to Study Social Experience	8

PART II: MAN AND HIS SOCIAL EQUIPMENT

III.	People in Contact	22
IV.	The Human Equipment	42
V.	The Development of Personality	60
VI.	The Social Expressions of Personality	75
VII.	The Influence of Physical Nature	88
VIII.	Human Differences. Races; Personality Variations	102

PART III: MAN AND HIS SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

IX.	The Basis of Social Experience. Contact; Interaction	116
X.	The Means of Social Experience. Communication	128
XI	Forms of Social Experience. Conflict; Coöperation	144
XII.	Primitive Social Experience. Physical Interests	160
XIII.	Primitive Social Experience. Psychic Interests	176
XIV.	Primitive Control and the Transmission of Culture	190

PART IV: MAN AND HIS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER		PAGE
XV.	The Family and Domestic Experience	205
XVI.	Property and Economic Experience	225
XVII.	The State and Political Experience	242
XVIII.	Religious Experience and the Church	258

PART V: MAN AND HIS SOCIAL FAILURES

XIX.	Forms of Social Problems	273
XX.	The Causes of Social Problems	298
XXI.	Social Problems and Public Policy	313
XXII.	Criticism and Defense of Philanthropy	330
XXIII.	The Prevention of Social Failure	344
XXIV.	The History of American Philanthropy and Public Welfare	358

PART VI: MAN AND HIS SOCIAL RESOURCES

XXV.	The Social Significance of Play	374
XXVI.	The Social Significance of Art	396
XXVII.	The Social Significance of Science	415
XXVIII.	The Social Significance of Education	429
XXIX.	Social Adequacy and Social Progress	444

PART VII: THE DEVELOPMENT AND FIELD OF SOCIOLOGY

XXX.	The Evolution of Social Thinking	457
XXXI.	The Divisions of Society	479
	Appendix	489
	Author Index	558
	Subject Index	560

AN INTRODUCTION TO
SOCIOLOGY

PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE APPROACH TO SOCIOLOGY

Importance of start.—Anyone who begins an unfamiliar branch of study, to get the greatest benefit from his undertaking, needs to start right. Early mistakes in the formation of any habit are the most difficult to correct, and, although starting a new intellectual interest is not always recognized as the development of a habit, the reader and the student who enter upon the study of sociology are commencing what soon becomes a characteristic way of reacting to life.

Since the beginner in sociology is contracting to make an investment of time, it is well for him at the outset to have a clear idea as to what he is studying and for what purpose. The answer, briefly stated, is that he is endeavoring to understand in a new and more satisfactory way certain aspects of human experience which necessarily have had and must have value for him personally.

It is expedient also that he should take stock of the resources he brings to the undertaking. The average person who starts the study of sociology already has, at least in a

vague form, an idea of the subject matter of the science, or he may have a mistaken belief concerning it. The term sociology, itself, suggests what it treats. One does not need to go far afield from his everyday life in searching for the material which the sociologist attempts to understand. Social experience is present wherever people mix together. The notions of the beginner as to the content and value of the study are necessarily hazy. Perhaps the subject has been chosen because of a previous tasting. A book or article treating a definite sociological interest has made an appeal. Perhaps the motive originated from listening to an address on a sociological problem. Frequently the student has been led to begin the study by the recommendation of a friend who found it worth while. On the other hand, for some, the subject is required by college authorities and is accepted by the student as a matter of course or with a degree of protest; if he permits himself to develop resentment because the study is compulsory, he hinders himself from getting the most profit out of his work.

Opportunity of the student.—The best point of view to assume in beginning the study of sociology is that it represents for the student an opportunity. No outside authority, skill or technic on the part of the teacher, required readings or the necessity of passing an examination at the end of the course can make an introduction to sociology permanently valuable. The student himself has the final decision whether the study shall be largely time-consuming or credit-giving or a source of substantial intellectual profit.

The study of sociology offers a stimulus which can be for any individual an intellectual and moral asset. Although sociology is a science, it deals with human values. It should broaden, deepen and make more pleasurable one's social relationships and strengthen the desire of the right-minded or, in sociological terminology, *the well-socialized,* to deal understandingly, helpfully and justly with their fellows.

Point of view of the text.—At the very opening of his work the student naturally and rightly asks that the text give him a clear, even if brief, statement of the ground it covers and the viewpoint it assumes.

It is well for the reader to know that he will find in this book many definitions of sociology. This is the result of the effort made to emphasize the dynamic character of the subject matter of the science. The various descriptions of sociological material come from the endeavor to make forceful the particular aspect of social behavior that is being studied. A fixed and final definition would be misleading, giving as it would to many readers the notion that a verbal formula can be made to cover satisfactorily all the elements that appear when human behavior in its social expressions is analyzed. Nothing can carry one so far from the facts as any suggestion that sociology deals with something static. Sociology is concerned with a particular form of life. To force upon the student any rigid concept at the beginning of his work tends to mummify rather than to reveal the living thing he seeks to know.

The main viewpoint of the text appears again and again in various forms, and this underlying conception is that sociology is the study of the social experiences of the personality in its relation to environment. From time to time as the student pursues his course he may wisely attempt to state this idea of personality and social adjustments in his own words. The main thing is to realize that understanding rather than definition is desirable when one attempts to interpret the social experience of men and women.

The ground covered.—Although in this text sociology is related to contemporary needs, it would be an error to suppose that the science treats only the social experiences with which we are in our time familiar. There are, as we shall later see, divisions of sociology that concentrate upon various parts of present-day social experience. In this book much is

made of the simpler social experiences of those men and women whom we are in the habit of calling savages, since contemporary society can only be understood when related to its primitive background. The child also is given attention, for what we call society is always in the process of being made, and the method by which it is constructed is largely the passing of influences from elders to children.

The text ties to no particular theory, for it is not a system of sociology but an introduction. It aims to give the student as fair a start as possible, unencumbered with the limitations that a commitment to any special school of sociological thinking would necessarily enforce. No effort, however, is made to conceal the fact that here, as so often happens in science, there are conflicting explanations of the meaning of the material studied.

The first task is to discover how social experience originates and what the human personality is, which expresses itself in the relationships that we call social. In this connection it is necessary to investigate the effects of physical nature upon social conduct and the importance of the differences between people, due to variations in race and individual inheritance.

The content of social experience and its organization in what are known as social institutions are next treated. This brings the student face to face with the need of evaluating the prevailing civilization and understanding its failures, that the promise of more wholesome social conditions may be found. The investigation of social problems leads to the analysis of the resources now available for greater social satisfaction and for progress.

The student, before he completes his introductory course, is given an opportunity to become familiar with the efforts made in the past to understand social experience and the parts played by the chief thinkers and investigators in the development of the science. The student is given also a

description of the different fields that have appeared with the growth of sociology, and the present trends of the science.

At the back of the text, where it will not intrude upon the reader, are questions, problems and references for the use of the student who seeks practice in thinking sociologically for himself.

Sociology and human values.—What we call society is something that has developed out of human experience as a means of giving man a superior chance of survival, an easier life and a greater quantity of satisfactions than he could obtain if it were possible for him to live in isolation. Society is a means of escaping the tyranny of brute strength by an organization of human resources which makes possible a life of higher values than man as a mere animal can attain. Because of the importance of these values which man has won through association, a science has developed that undertakes by clear and calm thinking to know what has happened in the past and why and how the knowledge we gain of human association can be made an advantage for the future and an assistance in conserving the advantages man has already secured. This science is, to use a significant term of Professor Giddings', a study of the *conditions of adequacy* in dealing with the demands that living with his fellows puts upon man. The human intellect provides the motives and it must furnish the means for superior adjustment or the special endowment of man fails to bring to the struggle for survival and improvement its peculiar resources.

Publicity.—Sociology cannot be an intellectual luxury for contemplation or the exercise of wits. It originates in serious purpose and unless it is linked with life it becomes thin, largely verbal in content. The sociologist accepts, with other scientists, the obligation of bringing the work of his science near to the needs of men and women. This means that sociology as a science must assume the responsibility for effective publicity or by hiding its findings fail to execute a part of

its task. It is fortunate that there has been in recent years a quickening of all sciences with regard to the obligation of specialists to put in understandable form and, if possible, in attractive expression the information they gather which concerns human welfare. No science has a larger duty in its extension service than has sociology, and through its popular contribution is revealed the scientist's genuine desire to broadcast the information he has gathered and which he considers important for human welfare.

The spread of interest.—Interest in sociological problems has in recent years increased rapidly. The amount of sociological instruction offered in our colleges and universities, and very recently in our normal schools, attests to the widespread and increasing interest in the science that deals with people in their relationships. In papers and magazines sociological discussions occupy a large place and at present the interest is still growing. In the churches of all denominations and faiths there is also a more serious appreciation of the importance of social problems and a far greater understanding of the value of the science than was true in this country even ten years ago.

One who looks over the volumes appearing on the counter of the bookseller realizes the large expression sociological interests are obtaining from the publisher. In quantity the sale of such books compares favorably with that of any other type of writing except novels. The theater now, as has always been true, shows evidences of the human impulse to think and feel with regard to social situations if they are expressed by characters that portray experience not too far away from the observers' life to be recognized as natural.

This interest promises much for both the growth and utilization of sociological science. If sociology is to have a fair chance to meet expectations it must bring its information to public attention, emphasizing its seeking of human welfare, not by passion or vague strivings but by a laborious searching

out of truth through patient investigation. But it is likely brings to his task not the faith of the mystic nor its clue as dence of the dreamer, but the serious commitment of the scientist who promises only that he will do his utmost to discover the facts and report them without bias to those who seek his information.

CHAPTER II

HOW TO STUDY SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

Sociology.—It is important that the student leave his first course in sociology with a clear understanding of the meaning of sociological research. He cannot have a fair idea of the meaning of the science unless he knows how it is being built. If he asks whence it comes the answer need not be ambiguous. It comes from the living together of people, for where association is, there is the material which sociology attempts to organize. The student must not conceive of the science solely from what he reads. If he wishes familiarity with the source of sociology he has to turn his attention to persons. In so far as he attempts to extract objective facts from the social experience he finds about him, he has undertaken the task of the sociologist.

However skillful and accurate he may prove himself in his efforts, he must recognize the limitations of personal contact, since ordinarily the facts he can obtain from personal investigation are too few to build up reliable generalizations. Even though this limitation must be fully recognized, it is of the greatest value that the student should have some experience in making a sociological study. He finds his resources near at hand in family, friendships, industries, newspapers, churches, societies and all sorts of group conduct which he can utilize for investigation. It is the tyranny of dogmatism when he leaves his course with confirmed confidence in a cut-and-dried system, subjectively constructed, which he continues to use as a means of interpreting social experience. The system may be made to work and it may give him a clue

to an understanding of human relationships, but it is likely to act by an unconscious coloring of facts so that its clue as often proves misleading as trustworthy.

The use of books and periodicals.—No scientific investigator embarks upon a study without learning all that can be discovered from the thinking and research of others along lines that promise to be helpful. The student introducing himself to sociology must not, because of his interest in personal observation, discount the advantage of becoming familiar with the literature on the subject. Even in the elementary course which starts him in sociological thinking he must have opportunity to become familiar with various authors, their points of view and the value of their contributions. The field is extensive but he should seek considerable knowledge of one part of it and an acquaintance with the entire field. The readings that are usually required or suggested are indispensable if the course of study is to have profit. The interested student will seldom be content with the minimum requirements of the instructor but will soon discover an interest which will lead him far afield and yield fruits of greatest value.

Andrew White, first president of Cornell, tells of a special study to which he was attracted by his readings, which then promised no practical value for him in his professional career. There came a time when this early investigation made him equal to the full use of a splendid opportunity which greatly enhanced his reputation. Any knowledge that the student gathers for himself from the sociological field not only does its due part in building up a substantial education but is almost sure to prove useful, in whatever career he functions, since problems of human association concern everyone who deals with people.

It is especially important that the student recognize early the value of periodical literature. The cost of publishing books and the American method of printing them usually from

plates forbids authors the continuous revision which they would desire to keep their books abreast of the advances of the science. Moreover, material of greatest value to the student of sociology often cannot be profitably published in book form on account of its narrow appeal. The commercial element in the publishing of books, except in cases where they represent a subsidized product, not only influences their form and manner of presentation, but the publisher's need of thinking of profit becomes a selecting influence in his choice of manuscripts.

The student will especially value a periodical since it is not only timely but representative of the movement of the science. It is well for him to pursue definite subjects such as leisure, crime, social progress, as he commonly does, but he will also find much satisfaction in choosing certain authors and following their thinking even though it be expressed on various topics.

At present most of the technical sociological literature that is found in periodicals of this country appears in the *American Journal of Sociology, Social Forces,* and *Sociology and Social Research.* Although these magazines have a common interest, all three have individuality and it is only the careless student that will read an article and not notice the periodical from which it is taken. It is surprising to find students who are willing to spend hours reading an assignment without even noticing the name of the author. Of course they lose a part of the value of the reading and are unable to recognize the author at a later time if they happen upon something else he has written. The three sociological journals are published in widely separated sections of the country, but only to a limited extent does this influence their choice of material. Discussion of general sociological literature will be found in the last chapter of this book.

The student often feels, as does his instructor, that the time spent in reading assignments has been largely wasted.

This is usually a consequence of careless methods of reading and the failure to think as one reads. It is often most profitable to read the entire article through before taking notes if one is trying either to prepare for a report to the class or if information regarding the author's position is to be permanently recorded. If the notes are taken down as one reads they are generally carelessly selected, represent a disjointed summary, and, because they are not cemented by thought on the part of the student, do not hold together, but even their meaning is sometimes forgotten within a few hours after they have been taken. The student who, before he starts reading, asks himself what he already knows on the subject and what he thinks about it, and who from time to time asks questions of a critical character suggested by his readings, seldom fails to find his assignment interesting, profitable and easy to use at a later time.

There are foreign periodicals devoted to sociological literature, exhibiting a national point of view different from ours, which will be sought out if available by the serious student who wishes to make the best use of his opportunity to start the study of sociology. The student also must not forget the value of reports of organizations and special publications. Since these are often found in paper covers there is a surprising lack of appreciation of their value. Frequently it is in such material that the specialist finds information of the greatest importance in original investigation. The student should at least come to know the character of such publications.

There is also need, if the equipment is to be adequate for the beginner, that he become familiar with such bibliographies as appear in the current numbers of the sociological magazines, for even advanced students who have had the opportunities of college training but who have not yet specialized in a subject often come to the instructor asking him to suggest material for the topics that the student has

chosen to investigate. He should not seek help until he has at least done his best to find the material for himself, since it is true that what one gets from the efforts of another does not give one full value.

Discussion.—It is a gain to the student if the class be small enough so that discussion is not difficult. If he is so fortunate as to have the advantage of this method, he must, to get the greatest value from his opportunity, contribute his share to the class enterprise. The discussion method not only provides an unusually profitable means of advancing sociological knowledge, but it is also a practice that prepares the student to make best use of his talents in later life.

It often happens that some students, self-assertive and fond of listening to their own voices, take too large a part in the discussion; the best way of preventing this is for each student to determine to do his part since the instructor will wisely insist upon giving each person his fair share of time and thus the merely talkative person will be restrained. Students sometimes get the notion when the discussion method is used that they can impress the instructor and influence their mark just by talking. They forget that the teacher is a specialist in his subject and quick to detect an individual who talks beyond his thinking. He who enters a discussion without serious study and with a small capital of thought soon uncovers the thinness of his equipment, and what the rest of the class resent it is reasonable to suppose the instructor has been the first to recognize.

The student who wishes to get the most profit from class discussion in the field of sociology should take it for granted that his preparation must be more extensive and his thinking greater than that required by the conventional lecture course with its assigned readings.

Before entering upon the discussion each class member needs to have a clear understanding of the nature of the

problem which has been brought up for study. It sometimes occurs that after a discussion has proceeded for some length of time it appears that the point at issue has been misunderstood from the start by some and this has led the discussion astray, muddling the topic and wasting time. The student needs to realize that the instructor cannot too rigorously guide the discussion without so much interference as to prevent natural response to the topic presented. He wisely prefers to have the class discover its own false trails when it is tempted to go far afield in its development of the matter under thought.

Some guidance must be given, especially at the beginning, in the use of the discussion method, and the skill of the instructor who is actually a leader of thought shows itself in directing the discussion without dominating it or making it seem forced and formal. The method fails unless it brings about a natural and lively exchange of thinking by means of which the deeper meanings of the topic under discussion come to the surface and the class collects by intellectual coöperation the information available and necessary for the drawing of conclusions. The moment class discussion turns into a debate, it is robbed of its power to help the class think and degenerates into mere competition for purposes of vanity.

Making reports.—Even in the largest class an opportunity may be found for brief reports and their presentation to the class. Since the student must educate himself through self-expression if he is to have intellectual substance, special studies, and when feasible their presentation briefly to the class, open for the student opportunity to give as well as to receive.

In making a report it is well first of all to take stock of the sociological information already gained by previous study that throws light upon the subject chosen. The next step is to become familiar with the sources of information and to evaluate their differences of worth. For most students an

outline of procedure is imperative if the presentation is to be orderly, concise and clear, and in good proportion. This outline should not be made prematurely nor should it slavishly imitate the line of thought of one of the authors that have been studied. Even if the same material must be made use of, there can at least be novelty in most cases in the organization of the thought.

It is the experience of most instructors that reports are likely to be too long because of the student's lack of discrimination in the use of material. The illustrations have too much detail and minor matters are given undue importance. Although technical terms necessarily have to be used if there is to be any exactness in the presentation, the student should struggle to acquire a simple and clear manner of statement. In these days when handwriting is commonly so difficult to read, the report, if it is to go to the instructor, ought if possible to be typewritten and put in good manuscript form.

The spoken report.—The report is made more worth while if in full or summarized form it is given to the class. It is true that students are impatient with uninteresting, careless reports and sometimes too intolerant to realize that their attitude is not giving a just chance to a colleague to do his best. Many a time it is the lack of thought and effort in delivering the report which causes it to be unsympathetically received. The student's task is not merely to have something worth saying, it is also his business to say it in an interesting manner. If he cannot be heard or if he speaks too rapidly, or if he reads apologetically, his presentation cannot be successful. Even carelessness in the arrangement of his paper has defeated many a student who has spent hours in preparing his report with care, desiring to do justice to the topic assigned. Surely no one should attempt to read a report to a class unless he has first read it aloud to himself and become familiar with it as a form of oral presentation.

The most interesting reports are spoken from notes that

are outlined, rather than read. If one is willing to undertake this more difficult way of reporting to the class he must plan his development with care and gladly accept the instructor's decision if he is told that he has taken all the time that can be given even though his report is not finished. It is a vicious practice to lengthen out thought, but the habit is so common that most students should assume that they are liable to this fault and accept criticism if they fail to guard themselves against verbosity. In his report the student should always make clear the sources of his information and give to his fellow-workers his bibliography if he has done extended reading. To save time the list of books and articles read can be printed on the blackboard before the class meets, that each student may copy it as a permanent record.

Statistics.—One of the important sources of reliable information regarding social experience is statistics. This method of acquiring facts is so important that the student who plans to continue sociological study in the graduate school needs to equip himself with the science of statistics even though he does not plan to make that his specialty. Quetelet is given credit for having been the founder of statistical science. He made use of a counting method like that now used in the census and also attempted to trace causation by the gathering of statistical evidence, and tried to establish principles by which reliable statistical information could be gathered.

Although it is not true that no use was made of statistical methods before Quetelet he deserves the title of founder of the science of statistics since his contribution was so influential in establishing this important means of gathering social knowledge. He did much to bring about the founding of the Bureau of Statistics in Belgium, his native country, and of the Royal Statistical Society of London, and eventually several nations were led to develop uniformity in their manner of making enumeration. Later LePlay in France extended

the use of statistics in getting information regarding family budgets and family situations. Statistics have now come to hold a foremost place as a source from which the sociologist draws material for his science, and as a tool for its development.

Some familiarity with statistical devices and dangers is helpful to the student in his interpretation of data. References to percentile, median, mean, correlation, and other such terms are met frequently in reading, and a general knowledge of what they represent is necessary for a clear understanding of the matter thus described. Statistical method and results are reliable in proportion as they embrace all possible factors and phases of a given situation. For example, the number of divorces in North Carolina would make a false impression if one failed to realize that many South Carolinians have contributed to the total. Statistics as a tool must be used cautiously and critically lest partial truths be accepted as whole truths merely because the former seem to have the support of evidence in numerical form.

History.—History is another source of information for the sociologist. The historical method was largely used by Spencer in his effort to get at the beginning of social experience. He was not by any means the first to attempt an historical discussion of social facts for even Aristotle realized the importance of a comparison of various types of societies to get principles of causation. Historical research calls for an objective attitude and unless this is maintained, the effort to gather sociological information by historical comparison fails.

Observation.—A third source of sociological fact is personal observation. Here it is necessary to have many cases of the same social experience examined, to give the observation any degree of authority. It is difficult for any individual to have cases enough in his own personal observation to establish reliable facts. Charles Booth in his elaborate study

of the London poor spent an immense amount of time in personal visitation that he might gather the material he sought. Observations must not only be sufficient in number to give them significance but they must be freed from the bias of the observer who in his interpretation is likely to read into the facts what he expects to find or what he wishes to prove. It is also true that where the observation has to do with social behavior it is especially difficult to get at causes of conduct which come out of personality itself. Even though the observer be trained in both psychology and sociology, he realizes how cautious he has to be in the analysis of the personality aspects of social conduct and recognizes the difficulty of his escaping from subjective interpretation as he tries to see into the causes of behavior.

Not only must information be gathered but it must be classified, and the discovery of means by which social facts can be put together under suitable concepts constitutes another way in which sociology functions. Without classification even knowledge cannot be coherent and usable.

The logic of sociology.—The science of sociology does not, of course, possess any special thought process by which it can be constructed. Its logic is that of the other sciences, adapted, as all thinking has to be, to the special type of phenomena it tries to study. The student of sociology needs to be familiar with the laws of inductive and deductive logic and to realize the problem confronting the intellect when it tries to establish truth, whether it be in the field of social experience or in some other line of investigation. Sociology is now attempting to become an inductive science and to escape from philosophic deductions. Although both types of thinking appear in sociological literature, the student should at least appreciate the distinction between them.

The beginner in the study of sociology will find it profitable to read as much as possible from the following:

I

Introductory Texts

It is necessary to have a reading knowledge of several different works, for no one book can be expected to deal exhaustively with the material that belongs to the science of sociology.

Beach, W. G., "An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems."
Bogardus, E. S., "Introduction to Sociology."
Bushee, F. A., "Principles of Sociology."
Case, C. M., "Outlines of Introductory Sociology."
Davis, J. and Others, "Introduction to Sociology."
Findlay, J. J., "An Introduction to Sociology."
Hart, H., "The Science of Social Relations."
Hayes, E. C., "An Introduction to Sociology."
Park, R. E. and Burgess, E. W., "Introduction to the Science of Sociology."
Wallis, W. D., "An Introduction to Sociology."

II

Scholars, Reformers, and Social Workers

The student by reading from this list will come to know some of the most influential thinkers and practical workers in the field of sociology.

Addams, J., "Twenty Years at Hull House."
Barnett, Mrs. S. A., "Canon Barnett."
Brockway, Z. R., "Fifty Years of Prison Service."
Cope, E. P., "Lester F. Ward."
Hammond, J. L. and B., "Lord Shaftesbury."
Maurice, C. E., "Life of Octavia Hill as told in Her Letters."
Odum, H. W., ed., "American Masters of Social Science."
Podmore, F., "Robert Owen."
Starr, H. E., "William Graham Sumner."
Wald, L. D., "The House on Henry Street."

III

Studies of Savage Society

It is impossible for the student to make much headway in his study of sociology unless he has an appreciation of the social experiences of primitive peoples.

Boas, F., "The Mind of Primitive Man."
Basden, G. T., "Among the Ibos of Nigeria."
Goldenweiser, A. A., "Early Civilization."
Lévy-Bruhl, L., "Primitive Mentality."
Lowie, R. H., "Primitive Society."
Malinowski, B., "Argonauts of the Western Pacific."
Rivers, W. H. R., "The Todas."
Roscoe, J., "The Baganda Their Customs and Beliefs."
Skeat, W. W. and Blagden, C. O., "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula."
Spencer, B. and Gillen, F. J., "The Native Tribes of Central Australia."
Thomas, W. I., "Source Book for Social Origins."
Tozzer, A. M., "Social Origins and Social Continuities."
Williamson, R. W., "The Ways of the South Sea Savage."
Wissler, C., "Man and Culture."
——— "The American Indian."

IV

Child Development

Since this text frequently discusses the social experience of childhood it will prove an advantage to those students who are not already familiar with modern child study to read some of these recent books that treat the development and social problems of children.

Blanchard, P., "The Adolescent Girl."
——— "The Child and Society."

BLANTON, S. and M. G., "Child Guidance."
CLEVELAND, E., "Training the Toddler."
GESELL, A., "The Mental Growth of the Pre-School Child."
GROVES, E. R., "Personality and Social Adjustment."
GROVES, E. R. and G. H., "Wholesome Childhood."
MILLER, H. C., "The New Psychology and the Parent."
NORSWORTHY, N. and WHITLEY, M. T., "The Psychology of Childhood."
RICHARDSON, F. H., "Parenthood and the Newer Psychology."
THOM, D. A., "Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child."
WHITE, W. A., "The Mental Hygiene of Childhood."
WICKES, F. G., "The Inner World of Childhood."
WILE, I. S., "The Challenge of Childhood."

V

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Each of these books gives the reader an introduction to the contemporary social problems of this country.

ELLWOOD, C. A., "Sociology and Modern Social Problems."
GROVES, E. R., "Social Problems and Education."
ODUM, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance."
PARSONS, P. A., "Introduction to Modern Social Problems."
QUEEN, S. A. and MANN, D. M., "Social Pathology."

VI

PERIODICALS

The student needs to make constant use of the following periodicals since they are the sources of most of the articles referred to in the text.

The American Journal of Sociology
Social Forces
Formerly the *Journal of Social Forces*

Sociology and Social Research
Formerly the *Journal of Applied Sociology*
Sociological Review
The Survey
Mental Hygiene
Journal of Social Hygiene
The Family
American Anthropologist
The Scientific Monthly
The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology
The Psychoanalytic Review
The Journal of Educational Sociology
Publications of the American Sociological Society

PART II

MAN AND HIS SOCIAL EQUIPMENT

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE IN CONTACT

Social experience.—Sociology is the science that studies people in their living together. It is interested in persons not as isolated individuals but as human beings who share a common experience. This experience, which constitutes what we call social life and which becomes so much a part of each personality that no individual can be understood apart from it, comprises the province of science whose investigation sociology has assumed as its task. This living of people in contact, an association born of human need and desire, sociology attempts to analyze and understand.

Social experience cannot properly be thought of as something impersonal which has existence apart from man, nor can man rightly be thought of as a being outside social contact. *Society* is a word we use in our ordinary conversation to generalize man's social experiences, but the student who desires to study it must first recognize that it exists only as an experience of the persons who, living in contact, have enough of common interest to react upon one another. It follows that society is not something imposed upon human nature but a necessary relationship that comes about when normal human individuals are brought together. The most satisfactory way of conceiving the field that sociology takes over for scientific exploration is to think of it as the study

of human activities from the aspect of relationship; just as physiology deals with man's activities from the body aspect, and economics from the wealth-getting aspect, so sociology attempts to interpret that part of human experience which results from the association of man with man.

Society is fundamentally a specialized form of human activity. True it is that some thinkers in the past have so personified the idea of society as to make it seem something that has existence apart from the people who compose it. Useful as is the word *society* for the student of social phenomena as a means of generalizing the social aspect of human experience, he must beware of being misled by it into mere speculation. The science of sociology is a study of man himself as he lives with his fellows, and of the culture that has resulted from this association of people.

Culture a social possession.—What the anthropologist calls *culture* has great significance for the sociologist. Culture is a product of human association and represents to the group of people that maintain it a social possession. When we speak of the culture of a group we mean the ways of living and thinking that are characteristic of the people who share a common social experience. The culture of the group becomes the background which colors the individual life of each member of the group. Culture is thus the product of social heritage. It passes on from generation to generation and also from group to group.

In the use of the word, culture, we do not mean to appraise the quality of the social traits of the group as we do when we speak of civilized and uncivilized peoples, for, in its content, culture includes without regard to value all the possessions that may be said to belong to the group as a whole. Inventions, language and beliefs are good illustrations of the content of culture. Although each group or class of people is distinguishable by its characteristic cultural traits, any product of social experience, once it becomes incorporated in

the culture of a particular society, is easily taken over by other peoples who through contact come to know of it and who discover or assume its advantage.

Man and his social life develop together.—It is not in accord with the facts of human existence, as the anthropologist knows them, to assume that when man had reached a certain level of mentality he invented society and began to produce culture. On the contrary the development of culture was an essential part of the evolution of man himself. To attempt to trace the advancement of man as distinct from his social experience is to undertake an impossible task and one that leads to a complete misunderstanding of both man and culture. In the evolution of man even physical structure has been influenced by culture.[1]

It is in the mental and social life of a group of people that we find the clearest and largest influence of culture, which, coming from the past, is a determining factor in the present life of the people. The influence of the culture that exists at a definite time and place is so great, and the thinking and acting of each person is so in accord with the cultural traits, that group behavior tends always to run the risk of being better adapted to past habits than to present needs. Thus it is that the transmission of culture from generation to generation maintains the continuity of society while at the same time, by tending to make social reactions automatic, it encourages that static attitude of mind which hampers progress.

When books were scarce and the ability to read limited to a few, the art of reading aloud had social value; as books became cheap and the technic of reading was almost universally acquired, there was no longer any point to reading aloud, save incidentally and on rare occasions. But the schools continued for several generations their emphasis on skill in reading aloud instead of concentrating on building up habits of

[1] Wallis, W. D., "An Introduction to Anthropology," p. 1.

silent reading for one's own pleasure, with the result that the book-loving public represents almost as small a fraction of our population as in the days when few had the mechanical ability to read. The continuance of the old cultural habit gave stability to the school curriculum, but checked the taking of advanced steps that might have got more benefit from the new social tools which made books everywhere available.

Influence of social life upon man.—The significance of culture as a determining influence upon the life of man complicates and distinguishes the group life of humans as compared with animals. In the social life of animals instinct has a large place, while the dominating influence of culture pushes man's instinctive equipment for life into the background. Because of this man's social behavior represents primarily the habits that have grown up through group experience, and such instincts as he does possess are checked, delayed, sublimated and refined by the prevailing culture.

When a child is born he enters a society already under the control of the social habits that express its particular culture, and whatever the character of the original equipment of impulses and instincts which he brings into his life-setting, he comes at once under the power of a social environment which begins the process of making him conform to the characteristic culture.[2] At the cradle of the child stands the mother, saturated with the social qualities which she has accumulated from her group contacts, and she starts at once her social mission of leading the newly born into conformity with the established culture. As his personality develops, the social environment which presses upon him from every side molds it according to the types of behavior approved by the group. As a consequence both the life of the group and that of the individual is primarily a social product, derived from established ways of thinking and acting, transmitted by contact and established by association.

[2] Bernard, L. L., "Introduction to Social Psychology," p. 117.

Need of social adaptation.—Although it adds to human happiness to accumulate and transmit social experience in the form of culture, since this gives each group the advantage of past experience, nevertheless, if the transmission of culture were perfect and its dominance at any time complete, society would become static, so that both the group and the individual would become unable to make adjustment to new social demands. Fortunately there are conditions inherent in human association which prevent the stagnation of society, so that the least progressive group is only relatively static. In a later discussion we shall be concerned with these human characteristics that make static social life impossible.

It is necessary, however, at the very beginning of the study of sociology that the student see the difficulty of maintaining a social adjustment that is adequate to the needs of the particular group. In earlier stages of society, when human achievements were more limited and the social processes less conscious, the adjustment was, as we shall see in our survey of primitive society, largely of a hit-or-miss character, wasteful at best of human energy and frequently detrimental to the welfare of the group. In our time the complicated character of social experience, the discordant elements in our culture, of which we have become more commonly conscious, and the rapid changing of our environment through inventions and discoveries lead us in greater measure to realize our failures of social adjustment and to attempt better adaptation.

Even in the modern world the great majority of people conceive of social adjustment as something that can be improved only by individuals' acting more in accord with the culture to which they are accustomed or by the group's activities being changed at the one place where personal experience forces these critics to realize the need of new and improved adjustment. It happens therefore that even when social problems are generally recognized as existing, because of failures

in group behavior, many think that the trouble has come from a departure from conventional social habits, while others, having a more vital contact with social maladjustment at some particular point, are eager to see changed habits at their focus of interest but elsewhere join with the first group in demanding that society continue in accord with the traditions and practices of the past.

This is often noticed in regard to the fluctuating demands of modern women; masculine observers of feminine restlessness are apt to feel that the only trouble with women today is that they do not keep to the ways of their mothers and grandmothers, while some of the women who are uneasy in their new-found liberty cry for equality of opportunity at the point where their desires press, at the same time trying to insist that men continue to give them the special privileges accorded their more hampered foremothers.

It is because human nature shies at new social adaptation that the origin of the science of sociology is so recent. Much farther back in human thinking than we find the name "sociology" or the organization of its viewpoint, there existed thinkers who were critical of the prevailing social traditions and habits and were sociological in their attitude. Although Auguste Comte is credited with having staked out the territory of the science of sociology, in the early part of the nineteenth century, there were many contributors to the history of social thought before his time.[3] From the time of Comte the field of the science is recognized with increasing clearness. Before the province of sociology became definite, social thinking appeared chiefly in philosophic speculations or in practical codes of conduct.

The delegation of the analysis and criticism of social experience to those who attempt to deal with their subject matter by the methods and in the spirit of the scientist represented a fundamental change in social thinking. This idea of

[3] Bogardus, E. S., "History of Social Thought," chs. 1–12.

a scientific study of social experience injected a new element into social culture itself. It encouraged the critical examination of social experience by those who were able through study to detach themselves from the prevailing culture and to realize in some degree the need of better adaptation. In this way the idea of a scientific attitude toward social facts as represented by sociology was incorporated in the culture of modern life and transmitted as an intellectual possession of present civilization.

In a field of study so complicated as that which sociology has taken over, where experimentation is rare and the tracing of causal law difficult, with the consequence that interpretation of facts is easily colored by personal bias, this assignment of the task of scientific interpretation of social experience proved easier to make than to execute. Nevertheless, in spite of a progress slow in comparison with what Comte thought could be quickly achieved in this field, sociology has contributed measurably to social experience by its insistence that in this realm, as in every other, the way to improvement must be directed by such knowledge as the scientist can obtain by working one of the most perplexing fields of human investigation.

The task of sociology.—Although the study of social experience originated, as did the study of man's body-life, from the recognition of practical needs, sociology has become more than the attempt to find solutions for perplexing social problems. In a life so complex as that which we now live, social phenomena would attract attention and be studied even if men and women did not expect to gather information that would help build a society better adapted to human demands. The investigation of social phenomena, for the special purpose of achieving better social adjustment, has become a division of the science and is commonly called *applied sociology*, or *social pathology*.

Now that man has achieved considerable control over his

physical environment, so that his needs for survival are easily and adequately met, and leisure is more abundantly provided, his social interests have been correspondingly magnified. Much of his thought centers today not about nature, but upon his relationships with his fellows. Except when unusual circumstances prevail, as when a group suffers from earthquake, flood, war, pestilence or some other extraordinary calamity, the satisfying of the human need for food, clothing and shelter is by the great majority taken as a matter of course. Not so with reference to the social needs; of these they are conscious. They constantly compare their opportunities with those of others about them who are more favored. They crave distinction and abhor feelings of inferiority. They are attracted or repelled by their associates in myriad ways constantly throughout the common happenings of every day. Attention is drawn to experiences that are essentially social, and each individual to a lesser or greater extent recognizes social values that he desires but has not yet achieved. In an atmosphere of life permeated with social interests it is inevitable that the impulse to investigate man himself, an attainment of social evolution, should emerge within the realm of human social experience.

In whatever division of the field of sociology the scientist works, and whatever his motive, the mere fact that he is interested in the conditions and values of human association bears testimony to the need of every branch of science recognizing its obligation to human welfare. It would be most mischievous if the sociologist in any way attempted to meddle with workers in other fields of science, but the development of sociology has necessarily kept in the foreground the responsibility of all science for the well-being of man.

Sociology has accepted the task not only of dealing with specific social problems that are troublesome to man and of gaining some understanding of the experiences which, growing out of human contact, man finds so fascinating, but also of

insisting that science, art and all practical activities appreciate their social function and obligation, and contribute to social well-being. Sociology stresses the purpose of the institutions, organizations and enterprises that man has developed to conserve human values.

Without forgetting the fundamental importance of the emotional aspects of human behavior, and recognizing the social significance of inspiration, it is nevertheless evident that with the development of sociology there comes a lessening of the use of exhortation as a means of advancing social welfare, and a concentration upon the finding and using of knowledge as the most effective method of improving social life. Preachments point the way to desirable goals, but it is the business of sociology as a science not only to determine objectives of social behavior, but also to reveal how their attainment is hampered and in what ways, if any, it may be more successfully achieved.

Different conceptions of society.—There have been various conceptions of society and each has developed its corresponding type of sociology. Society has been thought of by many as an intellectual product, an invention of the reasoning powers of man for the purpose of making his earthly existence more tolerable. Lester Ward, for example, has said, "Man is not naturally a social being. Human society is purely a product of his reason."[4] Some who have held to this view have maintained that society has been organized as a rational method of getting the greatest good for all, while others look upon society as primarily an exploiting organization established by a few for their own advantage at the expense of the rest.

Some writers have believed that society is a natural consequence of the social nature of man, based upon human instincts. Thus society would be a more advanced and complex expression of the relationship that we find in simple form

[4] Dealey, J. Q., and Ward, F. G., "A Text Book of Sociology," p. 1.

in the packs and herds of some of the higher animals and insects. Another popular conception of society has been based upon the analogies that have been drawn between biological organisms and human association. This way of conceiving society has been popular from the days of Herbert Spencer until the present, and, since there are most striking resemblances between human relationships and physical organisms, it is natural enough that such a theory of society should be advanced.[5]

The difficulty with all three of these theories is that they attract attention away from the social experience which is the real substance of sociological investigation to the abstract society, which, by the process of detachment, becomes a sort of human entity. When we turn from the concept that generalizes human social experience to the activities themselves, it becomes at once evident that what we need to understand is not the workings of an instrument which reason has constructed or a mechanism of control that has come forth from instincts, or a peculiar sort of organism that in some respects resembles the characteristic behavior of protoplasm, but individual men and women maintaining and responding to social relationships. The progress psychology has made in recent years in disclosing how men act forbids the scientist's thinking of society as a product of man's reason, or the expression of his instincts, or an organization that parallels his life of flesh and blood.

We cannot deal with something man has manufactured which has independent existence. We must concern ourselves with the social activities of man. Society and culture are but words that signify certain ways of thinking about man's activities as they are carried on in contact. It is therefore the interpretation of these activities when they concern group relationships that the sociologist accepts as his field for investigation. Society is not reason nor instinct nor a peculiar

[5] Patten, W., "The Grand Strategy of Evolution," Part IV.

kind of organism, but a definite aspect of the expression of human nature, and the constituents of this human nature must be accepted as presented by the psychologists.

Where are the facts?—If the sociologist studies human activities from the social viewpoint, it is not difficult to decide where he must get his facts. They must be obtained from the social experiences of persons. The sociologist is not like that chemist who specializes in analysis of rare earths; he does not gather his data from specialized fields of endeavor. Where people are, there are found the phenomena he studies. The sociologist, like the doctor, is nearly always in the presence of material to be studied. Newton, attracted by the fall of an apple in his orchard, formulated, after an exacting investigation, a fundamental law of nature. The sociologist finds in occurrences that are so commonplace as to attract little attention compelling invitations for patient research, leading to the discovery of important facts.

The fact that sociological material lies close at hand, so that the day's experience constitutes a sociological laboratory, makes sociology from one point of view a field of study that does not seem to the student difficult. The very commonplace character of sociological material constitutes a difficulty of another kind. The student often finds it hard to think in a new way concerning things with which he is so familiar. He is also troubled at times by the fact that this science, like the others dealing with human experience, lacks the precision which the beginner in a material science appreciates so strongly.

It is the very abundance of his material for study that makes the task of the sociologist so difficult. If, however, he withdraws his attention from people as interacting individuals and simplifies his undertaking by making deductions regarding the social behavior of men as pleases him, he withdraws from the field of science and degenerates into an armchair philosopher content to let the creations of his own fancy

and of others like-minded with himself replace the objective facts.

It is imperative, therefore, that the student beginning the study of sociology realize that he is starting an undertaking that makes it necessary for him to observe the behavior of people. If he is to get benefit from the study, that is, if he is to have any inkling as to what sociology actually is, he cannot stand aloof from his associates, nor become so much attached to them in their group expressions that he cannot isolate their behavior as material for interpretation. Many of the human happenings in the social realm can be mathematically formulated and by this process made to yield statistical knowledge. To some extent, especially in dealing with children, experimentation may be carried on until facts are established. As a rule, however, experimentation in such a field is impossible and the personality differences of individuals are so great that even the laboratory work with children seldom has the advantage of the control experiment so useful in verifying the findings of biological science. Occasionally the sociologist has to satisfy himself with descriptions of carefully observed situations but without well-demonstrated explanation.

The student introduced to the subject by one text, especially when its presentation of the subject matter builds up an atmosphere of finality, is likely to feel that the science of sociology has already accomplished its task, while the student who has a less dogmatic introduction to the subject and becomes familiar with the presentations of various texts runs risk of over-emphasizing the differences and not realizing the progress this science has already made.

It also must be remembered that all the facts are not gathered by sociologists at first hand, but many are contributions made by other scientists who gather material pertinent to the sociologist. Emphasis has already been laid upon the contributions of psychology to the sociologist. Economics,

history, biology, psychiatry are other sources that contribute to sociological material. Wherever collective human behavior is studied, there develop data that have sociological significance. The sociologist cannot therefore be satisfied by merely observing group life as he sees it. He must become a serious student of the contributions made by others who in specialized fields have investigated human nature as it expresses itself in social activities.

The *social survey* is a study of a community organization of social interest for the purpose of gathering information of a reliable character in order to get a better insight into some definite sociological situation. The survey includes the observing, classifying and organization of sociological data. One of the earliest surveys, Charles Booth's investigation of London poverty, under the title of "Life and Labor of the People of London," is a notable representation of a comprehensive and trustworthy investigation. Social surveys of various sorts, especially in the rural field, are constantly being made and from this source comes information of great value to the student of society.

From case studies information of value is also produced. The practical social worker finds it necessary in social service to diagnose the individual whom he tries to help, so as to have reliable data regarding the situation and character of the seeker of assistance. From experience it has been found most wasteful to try to help individuals in difficult social situations without study of their personality, social environment and opportunities. These case studies frequently go into great detail and cover a long period of time in the career of persons who have been badly adjusted to life, and therefore furnish material which provides for the sociologist original sources of marked significance for investigation.

From whatever sources the sociologist draws his data, his material is of value only so far as it represents social experiences of groups or individuals. Having chosen to study

human activities from the social aspect he must seek data that ultimately issue from the concrete life of men and women.

The problem of prejudices.—Sociology deals with matters regarding which every person has some knowledge and in which the normal individual is of necessity interested. Because of this the student often finds himself attempting to look in a new way at some sociological fact concerning which he already has a well-established judgment. This discovery of the previous occupation of the field by opinion and prejudice is similar to the experience of a beginner in other lines of study, but in no study is the difficulty quite so great as in that of sociology. Social life is so much a part of each individual's interests, and social judgments so necessary, that no mature person can escape building convictions and formulating ideas regarding social activities of men and women long before he undertakes seriously the study of social phenomena. The process starts in youth. The little child, both from instruction and from his own inductions, comes to have some well-settled social judgments that have to do with matters of importance to the sociologist.

As a result the student of sociology is to a large extent asked to re-examine his stock of social principles, beliefs and attitudes for the purpose of reorganizing his material on the basis of science. It is too much to expect that each individual can do this easily, or that any person rids himself completely of his earlier conclusions. It is also true that organizations and enterprises are linked up with erroneous ideas regarding social life. They, too, resist the effort to deal with social facts impartially, in the same manner that the individual finds his prejudices obtained in childhood pushing themselves in front of the experience he is trying to observe and scientifically understand.

Although nothing is more commonplace than strongly held opinions regarding the social activities of human beings, a great majority of people have never viewed impartially the

basis of their opinions nor even realized that social life has to be studied in the same scientific spirit as the growth of plants or the behavior of animals. Of course this situation increases the value of the study and gives greater reason for the popularizing of its findings.

It would be easier perhaps, both for the instructor and the student, if the material treated in sociology were not so commonplace. Normal, everyday social experience is certainly the most important thing for the sociologist to understand. Spectacular and exceptional phenomena cannot have for the students of society a significance equal to that of the occurrences most frequent and characteristic of human nature. In the end, however, the student of social experience finds fascination in dealing critically with those aspects of man's life concerning which, on account of personal interest, he was led to form opinions long before he was ready for scientific study.

Present need of social information.—There never was a time when the scientific study of social experience was more imperative in order that social questions may be dealt with on some other basis than tradition or prejudice. This is not because social life today is inferior to that of yesterday but rather on account of the progress man is making along his other lines of interest. The extraordinary rapidity with which modern science in the physical realm has advanced during the last century and the large contributions it is making to the material life of man give a new importance to the problems that have to do with the improvement of man's social experience.

The vast resources of modern life become a menace if human nature is not equal to the control and wise utilization of its inventions and discoveries. Illustrative of this are the inventions available for use in war that have reached a stage in their power to destroy life which convinces many thoughtful people that unless man learns to curb his propensity for fighting, civilization itself will be destroyed.

The sciences that minister to man's physical needs eventually set themselves free from prejudice and as a consequence they now have reached the point of development where their technic in dealing with problems of research has met with extraordinary success and prophesies even more remarkable achievement. The lag that retards human progress and diminishes happiness is primarily found in the social realm. If people are to prosper in their social relationships they must learn to think about the facts that concern social life, in the way they are increasingly thinking about matters that have to do with their physical well-being. This means that they must come to see the advantage of taking a scientific attitude in the interpretation of their social experience.

If it be true, as often has been said, that human nature finds nothing more difficult than those experiences which we call social, it is primarily because at this point men show less intelligence and have less knowledge to help than in their other activities. Social superstition is no more effective in dealing with interests supremely important to man than are erroneous beliefs in dealing with physical nature. In every other sphere of human undertakings man has already learned the superiority of impartial, systematic, scientific investigation, and there is now evidence at every hand that problems of social adjustment are becoming vexing to a degree that makes recourse to science as the necessary means of obtaining a more satisfactory society inevitable.

In spite of the utility of sociology there is still a misunderstanding of its nature and in some quarters fear and hostility regarding its progress. Even now among intelligent people sociology and socialism are sometimes connected as if they had the same meaning. On its editorial page recently a metropolitan newspaper, in speaking of a teacher of sociology, added the statement, "Which is practically the same thing as socialism." As a matter of fact there is no relation between the two, one being the science that tries to get at the facts of

social experience, while the other is a special political theory advocated by those who think that a new form of government will solve all the ills arising in politics and industry.

Sociology is a science that looks critically at the existing circumstances of social experience, and this is resented by those who dread change or who have personal interest in the perpetuation of conditions which are socially detrimental but to them personally a source of profit or advantage. Sociology also looks forward and tries to construct ideals of normal social life that react as criticism upon the faults of present society. This also meets with suspicion from those who do not see that it is merely an intelligent method of trying to advance social welfare and that such ideals are necessarily formed most safely by people who feel the responsibility of science and who have carefully surveyed the particular field represented, thereby curbing their imagination and lessening the risk of their building up ideas of society that are unworkable or even contrary to public policy.

The sociologist is, by training, least of all men a revolutionist in impulse as he thinks about the problems of society. He realizes the slow movement of social improvement and the menace of sudden change, particularly when it is driven by emotion and attempts nothing constructive but fixes its attention on breaking down the prevailing products of social experience.

People living in the critical atmosphere of modern life are irresistibly driven to the examination of all the factors that influence their happiness, and the social element of life cannot by any means be protected from discussion and serious inspection. The effort to keep social experience out of the hands of science, in so far as such a policy of protection succeeds, merely turns the investigating of social phenomena over to those who have little sense of responsibility, limited training in the use of scientific technic for the establishment of truth, and often over-abundant emotions and love of social conflict.

Sociology is by its nature a conserving science. It is some-
ıes true that the sociologist, as an individual, fails to main-
n the sanity and fairness of judgment which his science
nands, but such a failure reveals personal unsoundness for
ask assumed by an individual rather than evidence of the
ks of the science itself. This distinction is recognized by
practical man as one that needs to be made in every line
science.

The readjustment of the student.—In beginning any sci-
e the student always faces the necessity for a readjustment
his thought. Many things he has taken for granted he now
s to be founded upon flimsy opinion, and new facts of
ich he was not aware become to him impressive and illu-
ıating as he tries to enter for the first time a special line
knowledge.

This is true of the student who starts sociology, but not
re true than in other departments of science, except as he
ngs to his study a greater quantity of preconceived ideas
l is led to make the acquaintance of more facts which con-
dict what he had previously supposed to be true. His
djustment is not only in his thinking, but to some extent
new information reacts upon himself. It leads him to
w differently his own life as well as society itself. This
ıerience comes to the minister, the lawyer, the physician
l to any person who is studying along a line that has per-
al significance and that, by giving him new information,
kes him reconstruct notions that have had a part in shaping
personality with reference to religious experience, laws
l courts, or matters of personal hygiene.

Anyone who for the first time seriously begins the study
science is obliged to take a somewhat different attitude
'ard his subject matter than he has been taking or his
dy would represent no gain. In the social field the slow
elopment of science and the impossibility of waiting until
ience could be established before forming ideas regarding

social experience has developed a body of opinion which, even when it is not contrary to the teaching of science, has to be thought of from a new angle by the student who is taking a scientific attitude. No science has greater resources to enrich the person who pursues it, by the strengthening of ideas, increase of good-will and appreciation of the moral and spiritual values of life, than has the science of sociology.

The study of sociology brings the student new information. No individual, however fortunate he has been in opportunity for extensive travel or wide reading, can from his own personal experience gather the information necessary to construct a scientific attitude toward society. Sociology not only uses material from the entire realm of contemporary social experience, but it also collects from the past, even attempting to infer the facts regarding prehistoric man's social behavior.

Valuable as actual knowledge proves to be in the realm of social experience, no student can make his course profitable by merely acquiring new information. The best result comes from his pondering the information he gathers. In no study has the thinking of the student a larger significance in determining the permanent value of his work than in sociology. It is important that the beginner think over the ideas that are new, and perhaps conflict with the opinions he has previously held. The fact that sociology shows the student the risk of prejudice in the interpretation of social experience is one of its most worthwhile results. Human nature is easily tempted to take an emotional attitude with reference to the questions that arise in the field of social relationships, but there is no place where bias proves more dangerous than in these problems. The student needs to think not merely to detect his prejudices but more especially because the deeper meaning of the facts he handles cannot appear unless he discovers it by doing some thinking himself.

Sociology and leadership.—The study of sociology is particularly important to those who aspire to social leadership.

The doctor, lawyer, minister, teacher and business man, in so far as they become successful in their chosen fields of activity, have opportunity to influence social life. With the best of intentions, unless they are familiar with the history and principles of social experience, they are ill prepared to assume the responsibilities of leadership. Since human nature is proverbially in the habit of settling down to comfortable ways with advancing years, it becomes the obligation of education, as a preparation of young life for constructive public service, to establish firmly in the growing mind the idea of a progressive society. From such teaching should come a leadership eager to know the facts that concern man's social experience, and sympathetic, as a result of early training, toward movements in community, state and nation that make for more wholesome social conditions.

When education produces a more social-minded leadership, social progress will be less often retarded by a division among the social leaders which makes each step in advance a process of conflict and conquest rather than intelligent coöperation. It is never to be expected that human society will be led forward with no struggles and antagonisms in the ranks of the leaders, but to the degree that those having social influence acquire the attitude of the scientist in dealing with social experience, progress through violence will be replaced by advancement by means of deliberation and design.

CHAPTER IV

THE HUMAN EQUIPMENT

The human organism and its environment.—Since sociology deals with man as an individual who reacts to complicated social situations, it is necessary at the beginning of the study to recognize that fundamentally the human being is an organism so constituted as to be able to maintain elaborate relationships with its environment. Because of the complexity of his endowment, especially in the nervous system, man is able to adapt himself with a richness of adjustment not possible to other organisms. Moreover, the human organism has an inherent capacity for greater variation and educability than that possessed by the others.

In the past, nevertheless, there has been a disposition to draw false distinctions between man and lower animals as a result of the static view of man's mind that has prevailed until recently, and to regard man's organism as unique in function. Recent advances in the science of psychology have made imperative the dynamic attitude in the understanding of man's behavior, including what are commonly called the mental processes. As a consequence the only adequate conception of man is one that regards his personality as an operating mechanism which receives stimulations and transmits responses. The sharp separation between mind and body is replaced by an interpretation that does justice to the unity of the human personality. It is the individual as a whole that is the adjusting mechanism, and the rôle played by the cortex, although more commanding, is not isolated from that held by the other parts of the organism.

It is a convenience to the student to regard the human organism as operating upon three levels, provided that he keep in mind always that this merely permits the investigator to regard human behavior from three aspects, the physical, mental and social. These levels must not be conceived of as differences due to structure, but merely as distinctions of activity in accord with the dynamic viewpoint of the human organism. For example, a person may have his blood so poisoned by typhoid infection in the intestines that when it goes to the cortex it gives him the insane ideas of a maniac, and as a result he may attempt to kill his nurse. In such a case the chemical situation at the physiological level produces on the psychic level erroneous ideas which lead to social behavior that in the case of a responsible person would be regarded as criminal.

The levels must not be thought of as higher or lower in the sense that one supersedes the other, but all three are to be regarded as ways by which the acting organism is able to adapt itself to a complex environment. The attempt of the organism to meet the demands put upon it at any one of the three levels both is influenced by and influences the activities that are taking place at the other levels. One is tempted by this interpretation of the organism's activities from three aspects to conceive of the processes as divided in three distinct types of function, maintaining such an independence that the organism is thought of as sliced in three parts. For this reason too much stress cannot be put upon the fact that the organism, although at any moment of time receiving countless numbers of stimulations and making innumerable responses, is always endeavoring to react as a unity to environmental contacts.

Man's peculiarities.—Although the similarity in the structure and physical processes of man and animals is obvious, it is equally clear that man has his own peculiar equipment as a responding organism, and that his endowment gives him

in comparison with the animal great advantages. Without forgetting the continuity of structure which man's body demonstrates when compared with that of other animals, the question has to be asked: What is distinctive of man from the point of view of behavior-equipment in the meeting of environmental needs?

The moment the question, "What is the human equipment for life?" is asked, it becomes at once plain that the answer cannot be discovered by the analysis of the behavior of modern men and women. The effects of social experience on present human conduct are too compelling to make it possible to separate with the certainty we need for such an investigation those elements in human behavior that are clearly the products of man's original nature from those that have resulted from social achievement.

Likewise it is impossible to work backward and discover man's original nature prior to the time of the accumulation and transmission of culture when past experience came to have a contributing influence upon human conduct. A study of primitive savages will not yield us what we wish to discover, since, however simple their life, they represent a stage of experience far beyond that which would uncover the human equipment unmodified by the transmission of culture. We therefore seek in the infant the information we desire. Even here, however, almost from birth, social culture begins to modify conduct, so at present we have to be content with the meager insight we get from observing the behavior of young infants. We find stimulus-response mechanisms that persist unchanged from infancy throughout life. The blinking of the eye when an object approaches it is such a mechanism. Our study reveals how largely even the early responses of children, brought forth by environmental contact, are subject to modification as a result of social influence.

What we do find is a nervous system that has a richness and a capacity for growth which give to man a distinctive

character in his ability to receive stimuli and transmit responses, thus providing him with the opportunity of making complex adjustments to his environment. Although the resources furnished by his structure, as expressed in motor activity, are similar to those of the higher animals, the superiority of his nervous system enables him to make more highly organized adaptations. Though the manner of his body control is the same, the possibilities of more complicated adjustment furnish him with an immense superiority.

One advantage that man has over other animals is his erect position. Since this enables him to make rapid changes of position and to assume various postures, it establishes him in a place of vantage with his repertory of possible reactions. Another resource which is exclusively man's is the hand with its richness of flexibility and its superior thumb. Anthropologists assert that it was the erect position which permitted the development of a hand allowing such multifarious manipulation.[1] The erect position and the flexible hand have been related by anthropologists to the increased development of the nervous system which finally resulted in a cortex with the capacity of growth and expression which we now regard as characteristic of man.

This development of brain furnished man the opportunity to make vocal responses quite different from those of the animals closely allied to him by structure. Out of this attainment came human speech, which has had incalculable influence upon man's conduct, for it enables him to receive stimulations and make responses that would otherwise be impossible. Without this power of communication through speech, man as an organism would be greatly restricted in his reactions and the intimacy of contact which permits a rich social life would be denied, preventing his present cultural achievement.

Man's upright posture, his increased cortex, his power to make free use of his fingers and thumb, and his ability to

[1] Munro, R., "Paleolithic Man," p. 15.

communicate his ideas to others and to receive from them so as to profit by their experience led to the use of tools, which increased his skill and gave him, through more efficient manipulation, a fulness of experience denied the animals nearest to him in structure. As soon as man took to tool-using he attained a position of preëminence which opened up a line of progress in achievement without which social culture as we now know it would have been impossible. Whenever man has discovered a new tool or mechanical principle, he has originated a distinct line of cultural evolution. Some of our commonplace tools and machinery are the final products of thousands of years of development. Likewise the finding of a new mechanical principle or a novel method of utilizing energy leads to a multitude of applications of the new resource in advancing man's conquest of nature.

The purpose of man's activities.—Before we proceed to a detailed analysis of man's equipment as a reacting organism, we must recognize the purpose of this equipment. The function of the organism can be simply stated as the adapting of the individual to his environment. The more complex the organism is, the greater its capacity for receiving and transmitting stimulations, the more delicate and numerous are the processes of adaptation. This means that man keeps in contact with an environment of countless complexities and maintains sensitivity to a mass of stimulations immensely beyond the experience of other animals.

The central place in this complex process of adaptation is held by the nervous system, which has as its primary function the integration of man's behavior, the bringing into coördination of the numerous activities which are each responsible for a portion of a complicated reaction, so as to enable him to adjust more adequately to his circumstances. Although a complicated series of activities may be set up instantly when a man finds himself in the presence of a dangerous animal, the effectiveness of his behavior depends upon the ability of

the nervous system to make the organism function as a whole so that each separate reaction may contribute to the effort of the individual to escape from danger.

The purpose of man therefore as a reacting organism is not different from that of other organisms. His distinctive quality lies in the multiplicity of his resources for reaction and the complexity of his contact with environment. Because of his superior equipment he receives a greater wealth of stimulation and makes in return more responses, and responses of a more complex character.

The element of feeling.—In its adjustment to the environment the human organism is not indifferent to its own processes. Report is made to consciousness in terms of feeling as the organism changes under the impact of environmental pressure or attempts to procure good adjustment by its responses. Thus the organism has the advantage of the feeling element which encourages or inhibits activities. In more simple forms of life the experience of feeling leads the organism to continue desirable activities and to check those that are unfavorable, but in human conduct, which is so largely social in its significance, feeling-tone is not a safe guide in determining the desirability of reactions.

The feeling of pleasure, however, still promotes the going on of activities that coöperate in accomplishing the designs of the person and, when the individual finds himself blocked in the attainment of his desires, displeasure follows from his sense of being checked. The noisy child next door violently beating his drum is having an orgy of pleasure from an experience which, as it comes to you, engrossed with a recitation assignment for tomorrow's class, becomes a stimulation which hampers concentration and by its increasing unpleasantness produces nervous tension until you desire to interfere with, perhaps to chastise, the youngster for his troublesome behavior; and, if this impulse also has to be inhibited, still more unpleasantness is generated until the difficulty of study

becomes so great that you escape the struggle by throwing down the book and going out to find some undertaking that can be executed with success. Although many of our activities have slight significance in feeling-reaction, it is questionable whether we are ever indifferent to the things we do or the stimulations we receive.

Random movements.—In our analysis of the human equipment as it shows itself in activity we deal at first with the random movements characteristic of young children. These incoherent and apparently purposeless movements give the organism preliminary experience which eventually issues into specific and well-organized reactions. As we watch the little child moving his hands, fingers and toes for no apparent purpose, it seems as if his movements were merely the overflow of nervous energy which was too badly controlled to be directed to its appropriate goal. Two or three years later the infant has largely eliminated these reckless, objectless movements, but not entirely; particularly when he becomes self-conscious and nervous we find him falling back to a considerable amount of random activity.

Even the adult under special emotional stress shows his intensity of feeling and self-consciousness by slight, twitching movements which have no value other than that of revealing to the observer his inner state of mind. Sometimes these movements without definite purpose become partly incorporated in a habit pattern so that the individual in order to do a definite, complicated act must also execute unnecessary movements that have come to have for him an indispensable place in the series of consecutive acts. A girl cutting out a dress may unconsciously move her jaws in rhythm with the scissors she is wielding. In certain nervous diseases when the organism begins to lose, especially in the cortex, its stability and power of integration, return is made to the great quantity of random movement characteristic of the infant.

If we watch the little child we soon discover that his

random movements are allied with the pleasure feeling and with attempts to satisfy his desires. If, for example, we bring before his eyes a bright red apple, as soon as it catches his attention we see at once a quantity of movements accompanied by facial expressions which we rightly interpret as signs that baby is happy. Soon, however, the infant seeks to grasp the apple. Now we have another series of uncoördinated activities, but with a different facial expression which denotes unsatisfied desire, and the baby, if he does not quickly get the apple into his hands, may burst out crying.

It is hardly fair to call these random movements purposeless, since not only do they give a preliminary training in activity which in time leads to useful habit reactions, but these hit-or-miss movements themselves to some extent accomplish what the organism desires. Thus the baby, in the midst of many unnecessary movements, eventually executes some that give him success. What he accomplishes at first as if by accident becomes after several repetitions a regular and more economical method of procedure. Little by little those things that need not be done are eliminated and in place of movement at random we see action that is purposeful. The infant therefore is not just moving, he is actually practicing and getting acquainted with his mechanism so that in time muscles and nerves may come to have good team-play with the cortex where the central authority functions.

The reflex.—Reflex movement differs from that which is random by its regularity and precision. It is, however, simple in character and unconscious as a mechanism. It has to do primarily with physiological conditions, but, as we shall see, is easily merged into more complex patterns. Because of the definiteness of the body reactions in a reflex movement the process may well be interpreted as the simplest sort of functional integration. It is, of course, the gift of inheritance but its value to the human organism is not so much what it does as an inherited mechanism as what it makes possible

in the learning process. The reflex becomes an important part of man's social equipment because it can be conditioned by experience and in this way merged in a more complex pattern of behavior.

The classic experiment of Pavlov with dogs, which first brought to clear expression the significance of the conditioned reflex, has been so many times rehearsed that it is in danger of being emotionally taboo. It is not necessary for us to go to this original experiment with dogs to get a picture of a conditioned reflex. Every infant provides innumerable opportunities for the illustration of the conditioned reflex. For example, anyone who takes care of a baby or plays with him is building up characteristic conditioned reflex behavior in the little child. The mother by feeding the baby has conditioned his hunger responses in a number of ways. If the two-weeks-old baby is crying for his milk and the mother puts him in a certain position he will cease at once even though the mother does not immediately begin to feed him. He has learned that when placed in a special position satisfaction of hunger soon follows. A month later the father may concentrate on the play activities of the child so as to build up another set of experiences accompanied by a series of conditioned reflexes of a different character. As a consequence the appearance of the mother just before feeding-time turns the child's attention from play with the father to eating, so that he may suddenly begin to cry, while the entrance of the father into the room where the child is being fed will so interrupt the process that frequently the man has to be ordered away in order that the child may not cut his meal short.

The conditioned reflex is significant not only because of its social usefulness, but also for the light it throws upon the method of learning. Much that has been thought of in the past as an inheritance is in reality the result of conditioned reflexes which have produced acquired characteristics corresponding to those of an inherited mechanism. Good teaching,

in the case of young children especially, consists chiefly in a wise use of the power of the conditioned reflex.

The child who has felt the thrill of accomplishment and recognition of his powers at school experiences a flow of pleasureable feeling whenever he enters the familiar classroom, and is expectant of new satisfactions when a recitation begins or an assignment is about to be prepared; this attitude heightens his capacity for work, since it makes him eager for what lies ahead. In more specific ways the pupil gets the benefit of an economy of effort in the learning process, by becoming so habituated to a definite sequence of facts as to have them at his tongue's end for future use, with little expenditure of effort.

If any individual will plough deeply into his personality and bring up the whims, the prejudices, the idiosyncrasies and the rationalizations that make up a large part of the furniture of his mind, he is almost sure to be surprised at the great influence his early childhood had in organizing his reflexes into conditioned responses which have the persistency and intensity of their original constituents.

The man who tries to prevent his daughter's marrying a man of slightly different religious adherence may find, if he can question his motives in an impersonal way, that his strong feeling against anyone belonging to the hated sect is due, not to repugnance for the doctrine involved, but to the fact that on his first day at school he was taunted because of his fine clothes and curly hair and finally knocked down before all the other children, by a bigger lad whom he knew only as the boy that pumped the organ at "the other church." Hating his persecutor, the little fellow detested everything connected with the older boy, including the church where he earned a weekly dime, and as nothing happened to dispel this hatred it clung to the church represented by the bully, long after the incident of the school-yard had been supposedly forgotten. Here, as nowhere else, is seen the risk the child runs from

contact with an unintelligent parent who transmits to his offspring all the mischievous products of the conditioning experiences of his own childhood.

Human instincts.—Anyone who has observed the life of animals has been impressed by the significance of instincts as they show themselves in the behavior of those animals relatively highly organized in nervous structure. The value of the instinct to the animal is evident; by means of his inherited nervous mechanism he is led under definite stimulations to perform those activity which in the life of his ancestral history represent an appropriate response. Even in the life of animals the rôle of instinct is less clear than common thought assumes, and when we attempt to interpret the instinctive life of man the difficulty is far greater. It is both easy and natural to regard habitual activities widely found among man as true instincts on the assumption that what is commonly found must be based upon an inherited mechanism.

With the progress of psychology it becomes evident that to define an instinct as it appears in man on the basis of the universality or regularity of response is unsafe. As we have already seen, with man's step forward from his lower and more animal life his activities have been accompanied by greater use of the learning process and the transmission of culture. This fact would necessarily tend to lessen for man the significance of instinct and to increase the value of habitual response.

In the past authorities as a rule have described man as having in his equipment numerous instincts so that much of his conduct had an instinctive basis similar to that of animal behavior. During the last decade these long lists of instincts have been called in question as we have gained greater knowledge of man's original nature. The observations of Watson and others in their study of young infants demonstrate that at the start at least man possesses few instincts.[2] These are rela-

[2] Watson, J. B., "Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist."

tively unimportant as compared with the great amount of habit-life he later develops. It is only in the early life of children that we can detect with certainty the presence of an instinct, for only then can we get automatic action previous to the coming of influence from the social environment which constructs habits. Later activities, though they may be as strong as instinctive trends, are open to the suspicion of having been made habitual by the influence of social contact.

In the present confusion regarding the rôle of instinct in human behavior some psychologists list over a hundred instincts while others have the number reduced to not more than twelve. Hunger, sex, and self-preservation are the instincts most strongly maintained by psychologists. The operation of these instincts is different in the life of man from that of any instinct in the animal and it is natural enough that the question has even been raised, whether or not man has any instincts in the proper use of that term. There is no reason to suppose that the instinct, even when present in man, cannot be conditioned in the same way as the reflex. This would mean that whatever man inherits as a mechanistic basis for a more complicated response than that provided by the reflex can be incorporated in a still larger series of acts, thus becoming a constituent part of what we call a behavior-pattern. From this point of view we should expect to find the relatively pure instincts only in the behavior of very little children.

It is reasonable to suppose that the influence of the environment is sufficient in the case of man to prevent the development of instincts that otherwise would appear. Likewise in the case of mental diseases that tend to structural changes, when the reaction-pattern begins to be dissolved by the degeneration of nervous substance, we should expect to see the appearance occasionally of the original instinctive elements which the personality incorporated in earlier life into the larger series of activities. In fact in psychiatric literature there are a multitude of illustrations of this retreat of person-

ality from habitual activity characteristic of the individual to the more common starting point of instinct. In such a case it is sometimes possible to follow the decay of personality so as to see the peeling off of the acquired elements as the mechanism is reduced to its original level of instinct or reflex.

Dogmatism regarding human instincts is out of the question if one endeavors to do justice to the present confusion, a result of the differences of opinion in psychological science concerning the nature of instincts. There must be further study of this problem before we can expect a consensus of opinion. The important thing for the student to realize is that, whatever be the nature of man's instinctive endowment, it, like the reflex, is primarily significant socially because of its power of being incorporated into more complicated acts than those possible to the true instinct. Hence the interpretation of behavior becomes a social problem rather than merely a question of inheritance.

Habit.—It is to habit we must turn to get insight into the most important characteristic element in man's reacting equipment. The habit, like the reflex and the instinct, represents a specific method of reacting to environmental stimulus, but one that is more complicated and better adapted to human need. Habit may contain a series of activities which represent a mechanistic chain rather than an immediate specific response to the impact of environment. Thus the habit functions in a serial development. One part, as it operates, awakens the next element in the series; a long, complicated activity thus takes place without the concentration of consciousness. Anyone who analyzes his process of dressing in the morning can get in detail an illustration of such a series of automatic activities, each part becoming a stimulus to the next.

Random movements, reflexes and instincts, all contribute to the more complex socialized mechanism which we call habit. Habit replaces in man to a large extent the more simple mechanistic reactions of reflex and instinct which enable the

animal to adjust to its environment. Since man's setting is so much more complicated, constantly changing, and composed in great measure of the cultural content which has been transmitted from the human experiences of the past, an acquirable mechanism which nevertheless can operate without consciousness, as a directing force and in a stereotyped way, becomes a necessity.

It would be erroneous, however, to suppose that we find nothing in animal life which gives intimation of the coming of the highly organized human pattern-reaction. Even animal instinctive behavior has some degree of variability so that slight changes of adjustment in the stimulus-response mechanism are provided for. The narrowness of the animal's capacity for adjusting instinctive behavior to meet new conditions appears in such cases as that of a dog who took good care of her puppies until they were moved from the back to the front piazza, when she would have nothing more to do with them until they were returned to their original pen. The animal's limited variability emphasizes the richer resources granted man by the possibility of acquiring habit-reactions which have the automatic advantage of the instinct and at the same time the broader scope of acquired activity.

Psychiatric mechanisms.—Psychiatry is the science which deals with mental diseases and abnormal behavior. The recent study of human conduct has revealed how largely abnormal behavior exaggerates characteristic reactions of the normal personality. Investigation has also disclosed to what degree pathological conduct is an excessive development of trends which had long been existent within the personality but which had not previously led to socially morbid conduct. This relationship between conduct that conforms to the social norm and that which we adjudge abnormal, and the responsibility the psychiatrist has had to assume in assisting his patients to correct their social adjustments have enabled his science to contribute measurably to the understanding of human behavior.

We need, therefore, in order to complete the picture of the human equipment, to include the understanding of conduct which comes from psychiatry. Although among psychiatrists there is no general agreement concerning many of the facts regarding human conduct, the science has developed a concept of mechanism of the greatest value to the sociologist in interpreting human behavior.

The Unconscious.—We use the word *consciousness* to signify the experience we have when we turn our attention inward. This actually is the point where interest and attention concentrate, and about it is a twilight zone of material which lies outside of the immediate awareness of the person but readily can be brought to the central point. By the unconscious, however, the psychiatrist means that accumulation of experience which is not under normal circumstances brought into consciousness and made the center of interest and attention. By psychoanalysis is meant the technic by which this reservoir of past experiences may be tapped and brought to the surface of consciousness. Hypnosis is another method by which through suggestion the unconscious may be forced to give up what it has concealed. In dealing with practical problems of human adjustment the value of this concept of the unconscious has been amply demonstrated.

Introversion, Extroversion.—The distinction between the *extrovert* and *introvert* has also proven of considerable utility in the discussion of human conduct. The introvert concentrates upon inner experience and maintains a partial contact with the outside world. The extrovert does just the opposite. He scarcely sees anything but the external world and maintains the least possible inner personality. One almost entirely turns his attention outward, while the other immerses himself in his inner life. Either tendency carried to an extreme represents unwholesome and abnormal behavior, and both types of persons excessively developed are to be found among the insane.

Normally each of us is likely to tend toward the introvertive or the extrovertive way of looking at life, and it becomes a mark of wisdom not only to discover one's characteristic attitude, but also to strengthen habits that build up the opposite type of reaction. The sociologist as an observer of human behavior finds it useful in the analysis of human reactions to recognize the introvertive-extrovertive trends.

Identification.—In the effort to understand people the principle which the psychiatrists call *identification* proves useful. One of the characteristic human methods of reaction is to consider oneself tied up with someone else or to link some trait which belongs to oneself with a similar abstraction that concerns another. A story is told of Charles Dickens bursting into tears after finishing his description of the tragic end of one of his heroes. A parent petitioned Samuel Richardson not to allow Clarissa Harlowe to die, stating that his daughter had identified herself with the character and the doctor said it would surely kill her to read of Clarissa's death. Savage life gives numberless cases of identification of a person with something that belongs to him. For example, it is frequently thought that if a person comes into possession of an article belonging to his enemy, he can, by mutilating the article, produce similar mutilation in the body of its owner. The principle of identification appears constantly in concrete character study.

In "The Return of the Native," published in 1878, Thomas Hardy shows a dweller on the heath following "a practice well known on Egdon at that date, and one that is not quite extinct at the present day," when she makes a small wax doll and dresses it to represent the young woman she believes is a witch, then jabs pins into the image and holds it in the heat of the fire till it melts, as she repeats the Lord's Prayer backwards—"The incantation usual in proceedings for obtaining unhallowed assistance against an enemy."[3]

[3] Modern Student's Library Edition, ed. Cunliffe, J. W., pp. 360–62.

Sublimation.—Sublimation is another term frequently used by the psychiatrist. It means the turning of energy from its original channel to a by-process so that the secondary activity gets the advantage of the momentum that belongs to something more primary. The man enraged at a pestiferous lad who has escaped him runs the lawn mower as if his life depended on it, in this way getting rid of the surplus energy that was ready to be poured out on the young offender. With reference to sex, the term sublimation is most used, though, as Allport suggests, the term is often wrongly applied to experiences that are not true sublimations, but merely attempts to accomplish the most satisfactory sex adjustment possible under the circumstances.[4]

During the World War an unmarried woman of about thirty, highly sexed but unattractive to men, living near a cantonment, assumed, against the wishes of her family, the self-appointed mission of giving public talks to groups of soldiers on the risks of venereal disease and their obligation to keep pure. Her people understood as she did not that she was using the unexpected opportunity provided by war conditions to give expression to her sex interests.

Projection and Introjection.—These two terms denote opposite reactions. In *introjection* part of the environment is dragged into the personality in such a way that what is external seems to be part of the make-up of the individual; while in projection it is just the other way, feelings that belong to the inner life of the person are pushed outside and made to seem external. The chronic grouch who finds fault with everybody but himself is illustrating projection; and the housewife who is made miserable by finding dust on the back of a picture or signs of wear on the floor has introjected her house into her life to such a degree that she suffers with it.

Rationalization.—By *rationalization* is meant the human temptation to disguise real motives by covering them with an

[4] Allport, F. H., "Social Psychology," p. 75.

idealistic defense. This is a method by which the ego protects itself from criticism and frequently seeks what is socially indefensible while offering explanation which would give the self credit for having the highest motives of altruism. In Swift's "Tale of the Tub" the irony of the story is produced chiefly by the use of this mechanism of rationalization on the part of his characters.

Ambivalence.—We like to think of human attitudes as being entirely consistent. Psychiatric literature, however, abounds with illustrations which show that human reactions often consist of a mixture even of opposing trends. The love-and-hate attitude so frequently found in the child is a good example of this *ambivalence.* The little child does not consistently either love or hate its parents but sometimes maintains an attitude which combines both hostility and affection. In adult character it is not an uncommon experience to find oneself both attracted and repelled by an experience which is in accord with one element of the personality while opposed to another. This double attitude has to be recognized by any serious student of human behavior.

The Wishes.—Another concept now found frequently in both psychiatric and sociological writings is that of the *wish.* By the wish we mean the dynamic, impulsive craving which permits us to recognize a fundamental desire of the human personality. The wish provides a concept which the term *instinct* formerly covered. The most serviceable catalog of the wishes thus far developed is the classification of W. I. Thomas.[5] He defines the fundamental wishes as the desire for new experience, the desire for security, the desire for response, and the desire for recognition. Under these four dynamic desires he places all the striving characteristic of human nature in its efforts to obtain satisfaction.

[5] "The Unadjusted Girl," ch. 1.

CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

The significance of personality.—The sociologist is concerned with the group-behavior of people in contact, but he has to keep in mind that he is not dealing with a mass, but with an association of persons, each having personality. His interest lies in the interplay of these people with their individual differences and general likenesses, for society becomes what it is, not as a result of the mere multiplying of units, but because of the contributions of the various personalities included in its membership.

When we analyze the meaning of personality we find that not only has it significance as a basic element of social life, but that it is itself a product manufactured by the social conditions that prevail, especially during the period of its chief development, childhood. By personality we mean that which distinguishes one individual from another and denotes the special behavior which has become characteristic. Personality is composed of differences of body and psychic equipment, including both inherited mechanisms and capacity. On this hereditary foundation of physical and intellectual variations are built, as we shall see, by the process of social contact the peculiarities that mark one person from another, which we call personality.

Desire for activity.—Personality is not made like the rolling snowball by simply adding mass to itself with the advancing years. Personalities do not expand—they grow. Behind their growth is the impulse to activity. The individual craves action because it gives him pleasure by permitting

him to satisfy his inherent impulses. Not to act means a blocking of the energy which his organism has created for discharge. It is from contact with things and with other people that the individual receives incitement to express himself in activity, and as he does so, from the day of his most aimless movements, he begins, within the limits of his inherited resources, the process of making a personality.

Very early in his career his restless activity takes on a changed meaning by the fact that he begins to develop purposes. This introduces him to a new type of conduct which is to be the chief business of his conscious acts through life. His purposeful activities start, of course, in most simple ways; perhaps he merely tries to grasp the side of his crib or cling onto his mother's finger, or to draw to his mouth his brightly colored toy. In so simple a beginning starts the life process which distinguishes man.

There are great differences in the dynamic capacity of individuals. Some have abounding resources for purposeful activity, some have quantities of energy, but inability to direct it to specific goals, while others are inherently deficient and make relatively few or feeble responses in their contacts with physical and social experience.

The development of the pre-school child.—The progress of the infant in the coördinations which provide him with the foundation of purposeful activity and the development of personality is exceedingly rapid. Superficially this may not seem so to the observer who has little understanding of how complicated even such activities as walking are in the life of the child and what vast changes in the nervous structure are required by the new movements he from time to time inaugurates.

If it were possible for us to have a complete knowledge of the structural changes as the cortex rapidly assumes control over activities previously under the authority of the nervous mechanism at lower levels, we could follow in detail

the elaboration that takes place within the brain as it makes its rapid growth. We have to get our understanding mostly by inference based on the increase of cortex substance, which reveals the quantity of new abilities that are being incorporated in the developing personality.

We can at once observe individual differences, for no two children are alike in the rate of development or in the complexity of their muscular achievements. Their new activities do not appear according to a set schedule, since already the personality is disclosing characteristics that spring from its individual inheritance and contacts which have provided it with stimulation.

Although there is no standard rate of development in the infant's progress toward personality, his advancement may be stated in general terms and is most impressive because it shows such a quantity of activity. At three months the baby is able to register stimulations from many sources and to adapt his behavior in response to them. For example, he hears sounds, so that speaking or singing can for a moment hold his interest. His eyes can follow moving articles, touch has come to mean much to him, and to the dismay of his mother nearly everything he touches finds its way to his mouth and is sucked with delight. While most of his arm and leg movements are still random, they are firmer and better coördinated than previously. He also has attained several kinds of sounds expressive of his emotions, some of which his mother has learned to interpret, thereby understanding his feelings. He is interested in people and begins to coo in recognition of members of his own household.

Rapid progress of the child.—It is amazing to see how much has taken place in the development of the child by one year. He is full of energy which he discharges constantly during his waking hours in response-activities. He probably stands alone and reveals impulses toward walking. His toys do not now go commonly to his mouth, but are manipulated

with considerable skill in movements that make use of thumb and forefinger. His memory has reached the point where he recognizes many familiar things and this memory lasts over a period of several weeks. The father who returns from his traveling is now instantly recognized, while a few months before, his return required a new introduction. The child not only notices, he also imitates. Some of his sounds prophesy the coming of speech. He is beginning also to be sensitive to the attitude of the persons about him. Besides building the basis of personality, he is to some extent revealing the characteristics that are to be his possession through life.

By two years what a change has come about! He has learned to run and walk, to undress himself, and perhaps to dress with little help. A complete catalog of his various attainments demonstrates astonishing progress in personal development. He can mark with pencils, play with dolls and toys, pile blocks and throw a ball with considerable accuracy. He not only talks, but talks incessantly. He may even speak in complete sentences with subject, verb, and occasionally adjective and adverb. As a rule he knows his own name and has learned in an elemental way the meaning of numbers. His memory has remarkably increased and he is now able to recall simple events and parts of stories frequently told him.

Socially, also, he has markedly changed. Not only does he want to be with people, but, if his impulses have been given a reasonable chance for development, he craves sympathy and affection. His reaction to persons tells us that he has already acquired a considerable degree of social personality, and henceforth through life he will largely act in harmony with his present disposition and habits. His social maturity has reached such a point that we are justified in saying that already he has achieved in rough outline a personality structure which henceforth he is to fill in, as he travels on through experience.

Without reading in too much of significance with respect

to chronological age, we can at least by two years find in the interplay of the child as a personality in contact with parents and other children a great deal of significance to the sociologist. First of all, we must recognize that the social behavior of the child is organically related to his efforts at adaptation. We select it as a specialized type of his self-expression because of its interest as a mark of social maturity.

The child now has a makeup of his own which has mainly resulted from the happenings of his childhood up to this period. Although he makes clear his desire for affection, along with it he shows strongly the spirit of independence which he must exercise if he is to have much personality of his own. We catch glimmerings of the conflict between him and his parents which from now on will become increasingly inevitable as the contrast between his purposes and social authority increases. He is in contact, however, not only with his parents, who represent authority, but with an environment which provides external forces that restrict him or deny him satisfaction, and he has begun to be conscious of this fundamental relationship which requires from him adaptation or perhaps, when possible, manipulation of environment.

The emotional life of a child necessarily looms large. Much of his future happiness is at stake as he reacts to the events of coercion and restriction which so largely make up the history of his days. Fears easily originate and are often deeply anchored in the inner life. Anger, jealousy, and various kinds of self-pride tempt the child to develop inherent weakness in his social personality. His parent or nurse is tempted to draw up a detailed indictment of the child's social behavior. He may show himself over-sensitive and shy, or he may attempt to dominate his playmates to an extraordinary degree. He frequently has a spirit of contrariness which drives his mother to distraction and brings quick attack from his older brother or sister. By this time he tends to express initiative or to be docile in his following of others. He may

show the spirit of command with younger children and abject obedience when in the company of those older. A child of three years also may become easily suspicious and generate a morbid curiosity such as Freudian literature so profusely discusses. This unmoral little creature often acts in ways that his elders characterize as lying, stealing, and behaving with cruelty.

Psycho-metric classification.—The most casual observation of children detects their differences in general intelligence. Modern child study has been greatly indebted to Alfred Binet of France, for originating a method by which the development of children can be compared and their differences standardized. The famous Binet measuring scale of intelligence was worked out by its author in 1903 in an effort to find a better method than those then in vogue for diagnosing mentally deficient children. His method of mental testing was based upon an investigation of a large number of young children. The idea of going to the child to obtain insight into the early development of intelligence had already been sponsored by G. Stanley Hall of Clark University and others. As early as 1880 Hall had studied a large number of Boston kindergarten pupils in the effort to discover their mental content at the time of starting school. Similar studies of child life developed rapidly until soon there was abundant literature. Binet's measuring scale proved a decided advantage since it gave a method of comparison between children.

Interest in the scientific study of children developed rapidly in America. Since Binet's scale was based upon observation of French school children, there were worked out in this country several revisions, more adapted to American conditions. The most widely used of these is known as the Stanford revision. This was the work of Professor Lewis A. Terman of Stanford University and, like the pioneer scale, was based upon original observation and testing of a large number of children. Terman also added the plan of getting

a ratio between the chronological age and the mental development of the child which is called the "intelligence quotient." For example, a child whose chronological age is 10, but whose mental age, according to this method of measurement, is 7, would be given an intelligence quotient of 70, or 30 points below normal. The symbol "I.Q." has come to have a large place in the science of child study.

The idea of mental measurement has been carried over into many of the activities of children and even those of adults. Many kinds of scales have been developed to test different kinds of achievement. Out of this movement tests have developed for all the important phases of school work, and to some extent the same idea of a measuring scale for general intelligence has been made use of in industry and in the colleges.

The wide use of methods of mental measurement must not deceive the student into thinking that psychology has developed tests of intelligence that measure with the accuracy of the yardstick or the balance. By using in the American army specially designed tests to measure the intelligence of the soldiers, we have obtained convincing evidence of the important influence the social environment has in determining the rating of the individual. It is as difficult in studying personality from the aspect of intelligence as from other points of view to separate that which belongs to the individual by original inheritance from that which has developed out of his resources as a result of social contact.

The socialization of a young child.—The rapid physical growth of the pre-school child puts a great strain upon his body, and as a consequence in this country nearly one-third of all deaths each year are among children less than six years of age. The child runs special hazard from accident, and this liability is now enormously increased by the automobile. Physical defects in children show themselves early and their correction when feasible needs to be made as soon as possible lest the personality increasingly suffer.

The brain of the pre-school child grows relatively faster even than the rest of his body. This makes the pre-school period the most significant in the entire history of the individual from the point of view of mental health. The foundations for morbid characteristics are easily laid during the first few years. It is during this time that unwholesome emotional attitudes arise and other trends begin that will eventually produce problem children and unhappy or badly adjusted adults.

During the first six years, when the character is so largely formed, the opportunity of directing its development is just as strategic for good construction as for evil. Social economy requires therefore that more attention be given to this period when the personality is so pliable, if educational effort is actually to function as a means of bringing a better society. Physicians, psychiatrists, and psychologists unite in their insistence upon a wiser use of this formative period when personality can be influenced by social conditions more deeply and with less effort than at any later time.

Conservation of the child.—The nursery school, which undertakes to give social training to the pre-school child and to interpret to his parents the needs of the child, is a product in this country of the new understanding of the meaning of early childhood. The Federal Children's Bureau, established as part of our government, is another indication of our growing appreciation of the importance of the first years of a child's life. The educational policy which puts emphasis on child training in home-preparation courses in home economics in our colleges and universities is another example of the changing public attitude toward the pre-school child. Such organizations as the American Child Health Association, the Child Study Association, child-habit clinics and mental hygiene clinics for children are products of the new attitude toward the child.

The kindergarten represents the orthodox school program for the conservation of young childhood. Since this institu-

tion normally gets the child when he is about four, it is evident that it does not begin its operation until the child's personality is already largely formed. If society is to give justice to the little child and enable him to make the best possible use of his resources for the development of personality, efficient child-training must in some way reach down earlier than the kindergarten period. Such a program demands the training of parents.

Integration of the school child.—As soon as the child goes to school he comes under the influences that have been organized by society consciously to direct his progress. By this time he has begun to have definite characteristics which express his personality in so far as it is already formed. In spite of the fact that the child has passed the foundation period he is still open to the influences of the school. His personality, it is true, has already been given its general outline, but its inner content must now be filled in mainly as a result of the experiences furnished by the school.

The child is still a long way from the goal of integration, the attainment of which will demonstrate his fitness to assume the social responsibilities of the fully matured adult. Conditioning his quest for integration are his interest and attention. Both of these belong normally to the child, but are characteristically intermittent. For the moment, his concentration may be even greater than that of the adult as the child attends to some interesting happening so that his mind is given completely to his experience, but this intensity is fleeting. Because of immaturity the child cannot for long keep his mind to the thing at hand. As his personality hardens into shape and becomes more complete with the passing years, his power of concentration develops and reveals with increasing clearness the limits that have been set upon his capacity by inheritance.

The pedagogue busy with the routine of everyday teaching is tempted to conceive of school education in terms of

subjects passed and curricula finished. From the social point of view education is essentially an attempt to direct the processes of the child in his movement toward integration, and its success has to depend in the case of each individual upon the measure of integration he eventually achieves. Since the testing of integration is made by social experience, the purpose of education is increasingly conceived as fundamentally a social preparation for life. It is the distinctness with which this is being seen, as we move away from the philosophy of education which made the school task exclusively intellectual, that explains the tendency of present-day education to widen and socialize the training the child receives. In former years when the school did so little to influence children socially, compared with the experiences provided the child by his everyday contacts outside of school, education could afford to be bookish, but now when a broader and more varied task is presented to the schools, both the spirit and content of education are necessarily changed.

Whatever the school attempts to do with the child during the first few years, nature decrees that the bodily growth must have right of way. Since personality rests, as we have seen, upon a physical basis, the first necessity of a good education must be conformity to the biological needs of the growing child. Integration of personality cannot be had by process of drill which endeavors to exercise the cortex without regard to the demands of the physical organism as a whole. This explains the growing interest in the health of the school child, which is now passing out of the stage of mere physical examinations and correction of defects, to a health program that makes the conservation of the body the first consideration in an educational policy which undertakes seriously the social objectives of education.

Adolescence.—With the appearance of adolescence the body changes, and growth occurs with astonishing rapidity, resulting in a quick transformation in the social behavior of

the child which both surprises and baffles the teacher and parent who have grown accustomed to dealing with the pre-adolescent. These swift changes, however, prophesy that growth will soon slow down and even stop, so that, both physically and socially, the individual will become relatively fixed.

With the onset of adolescence the personality is more freely expressed than previously and its deeper trends more strikingly revealed. Adolescence, however, is not merely a more adequate expression of personality trends; it is in itself an originating experience. Because of changes of structure the organism begins to respond differently to stimulations. New interests are created, and the attention, as a consequence, is fixed upon a new set of experiences. Attention to the opposite sex normally develops and has a dominating position as the new desires emerge.

It is evident as we watch the adolescent that the original nature of the organism is exercising a determining influence upon the seasonable expression of the personality. The period of growth is soon to come to an end, and with the maturity of the individual, nature's emphasis switches to reproduction. If behavior could be confined to the physiological level, much of the stress that now belongs to adolescence would be eliminated. There are, however, social values that must be maintained even though the individual's adjustment may temporarily become more difficult.

Society, in its effort to conserve and advance its social heritage, seeks to continue the growth process along intellectual and social lines, even if this policy, by delaying the early marriage that would otherwise often be consummated, complicates adjustment of the personality by creating two opposing lines of interests. Fortunately the checks which modern culture brings upon the individuals to prevent precocious marriage and reproduction do not in the end prove hostile to the integration of the personality. Premature set-

tling of the personality is prevented, for the purpose of integration on a much higher level even in the realm of sex.

Adolescence and life.—In no aspect of life can the distance between savage culture and that characteristic of modern man be seen so clearly as in the greater romance and affection of the latter, which have come in large measure from the sublimating and retarding of adolescent sex attraction so as to permit further growth. It is difficult, however, for formal education to accept the fact that adolescence is so fundamentally engaged with the interests that lead eventually to the choosing of a life mate. If, however, the goal of social integration for the individual is kept in mind, the prevailing interest of adolescence becomes the proper expression of the individual's need. The social adjustments demanded by this appeal of the opposite sex are of primary importance and should at this time get recognition in the training society provides for later life.

Adolescence, however, does not merely face forward, it also points backward to earlier experiences. It is because of this that in the career of the adolescent we so often discover social maladjustments that are due to conflicts of personality which had their start in the earlier years. Adolescence is both a period of fruit gathering and a final planting of what must be the adult harvest.

To add to the confusion of this period there is commonly a development of a new sense of independence and, unless curbed by social culture, the craving to break asunder from early authority and become the guardian of one's own destiny. From this come the problems of management which cause many anxious moments to teachers and relatives. Here again appears a lack of concord in two opposite interests of the individual. If he is to achieve any substance of social integration he must learn to stand on his own feet and he has a right at this time to assume a high degree of self-control. Unfortunately, it is also true that in so complex a society as

ours, his lack of experience makes it necessary that he shall still have guidance or he is likely to make mistakes in conduct which later cannot be rectified and which he always will regret.

Again the evolution of culture produces a separation in the interests of the individual. He must have freedom and he must have direction. Here, as in the problem of sex-adjustment, temporary confusion permits social integration at a higher level. The individual does not gain full freedom in adolescence, but that which is temporarily denied him he receives in fuller measure when later he attains integration on a plane forbidden to those who reach during adolescence a quick maturity.

Adolescent conflict.—When we delve down into the meaning of adolescent conflict we discover that it is a social product, the evidence of temporary maladjustment. This conflict frequently issues in unexpected forms such as stealing, lying, vice, and suicide. In whatever way it appears it reflects restlessness and unhappiness. It is the bursting out of personality traits under the stimulus of a definite social situation. Since the social circumstances are so largely the creation of adults, juvenile delinquency reveals with the accuracy of a clinical thermometer in measuring fever the state of society as young life strikes against the construction built by the elders.

A smooth passage through adolescence is hardly to be expected in the complicated conditions of present-day life, but the amount of pathological conduct to be found among adolescents must necessarily be in inverse ratio to the sanity and wholesomeness of the environment into which through pressure of years the adolescent is forced. Much of our present trouble is coming from a misplacement of values in the current thinking and acting of people. This has been wisely expressed by Dr. Van Waters in her statement: "When in adult society the emphasis is shifted from transitory economic goals and seeking for power, to the primary biological

goals of healthy childhood, juvenile delinquency will no longer be an unsolvable problem.''[1]

The adult personality.—The adult is, as we have seen, at bottom a personality that has been formed by the experiences of life out of the substance provided by inheritance. Considered as a reacting organism, man is impelled toward an integration upon the highest level of complicated reactions to the environment. It is not what is born in man or what happens to him, but the combination of heredity and environment which makes him what he is. The individual, even if he will, cannot shake off the limitations imposed upon him by the original gift nature presented him with at birth, nor free himself from the mischievous influences of his past experiences.

Not only is he in part a social product, he is also a contributor to the social situation that helps mold himself and others. In his social behavior he is, like the most simple organism, taking in stimulations and giving out responses, which in turn modify the environment from which his stimulations are received. In spite of his unrivaled attainment of power which separates him from the world of animals, he must be conceived of as fundamentally a reacting organism. Integration is his goal, a goal he never fully attains. Desire pushes him, and environment shapes him. He makes and is made by his contact with people.

Senescence.—There is a tragic fact which each individual perceives if he lives years enough to discover it, a shadow spreading over individual social achievement. There comes a time when the progress toward integration reaches its climax and the movement turns to regression from the goal. We find nowhere in nature examples of unrestricted growth. When maturity is finally reached, the end of life sets in. Senescence is not literally a return to second childhood, for it has its own characteristics, but it is certainly accompanied by

[1] Van Waters, M., "Youth in Conflict," p. 284.

decreasing vitality. It is not merely that the body ages; it is the entire man, the reacting organism, that exhibits the marks of senescence. This fact is of the utmost importance to the student of social behavior, since it is so seldom that the individual's social power reaches its maximum at the time when he attains the summit of maturity. In a simple society like that of the savage, unless recourse is had by the elders to a protective tradition or organization, such as the secret society under the dominance of old men in Australia, old age carries with it a lessening authority.

In the artificial culture of the present when power is so largely social and results from achievement which, carried on in earlier years, leaves permanent possessions and provides enormous power, whether in the form of wealth or reputation, the fading away of spontaneity of adjustment with the coming of old age may not be attended by any decrease in the power of the individual to influence society and thus operate upon the behavior of others. As a result of this situation faulty social integration on the part of the group originates, because the power to influence social behavior does not pass with the decrease in sensitiveness of those who have attained positions of authority.

At this point it is easy to detect a cause of social friction. Critics of society, from Plato to the present, call attention to this practical difficulty which results from lack of harmony between personal achievement and social control. Never was this problem stated with more fascinating pathos than by Barrie in his famous rectorial address at St. Andrew's University. In his insistence that the time has arrived for youth to demand a partnership in the running of the affairs of the world, he echoes a passionate desire which society has long been expressing, particularly as it has emerged from sufferings due to irresponsible power, but a goal it has not yet discovered any effective means of reaching.[2]

[2] Barrie, J. M., "Courage," p. 5.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL EXPRESSIONS OF PERSONALITY

Society and personality.—Personality is neither developed nor expressed in a social vacuum. Not only does the human equipment require the presence of persons to develop its resources, but society is itself a product that results from the social expression of personality. From the point of view of the satisfactions that come from human contact, society represents an extension of personality. The purpose of social culture is to increase the achievements of men and to multiply their satisfactions.

The advantage that the human personality has been given through social experience comes out clearly in the case of tools and inventions. The pigeon can outfly man but not when the latter uses an airship. The hawk has better vision but not when man is equipped with a telescope. With the radio, man picks up sounds to which the most acute of hearing among the animals are insensitive. Each of these inventions and thousands of others extend the power of man, and what he enjoys as a result of his greater control over environment is made possible by social contact which permits his achievement, once made, to be transmitted from generation to generation.

From this point of view the function of society is to give human nature more adequate means of self-expression. Each individual personality is not confined to the limit of its physical organism, but with the use of the social resources developed in the past its power is greatly magnified. More and

more each person depends for his satisfactions not upon the resources of the body, but upon those powers that he possesses because of his social situation. Thus it comes about that each person has a double interest in the products of social life. To obtain a large part of his satisfactions the individual seeks human association. In addition to this gregarious pleasure that comes from being with people the personality has to depend upon culture and social relationships for the possibility of self-expression. Personality finds through its contact with others both the motive and the means of self-expression.

The socialization of needs.—As a physical organism, man's needs are simple. He requires the satisfaction of hunger, shelter, including the protection of clothing, and, for his perpetuation, reproduction. These essential needs have all been socialized to such an extent that no one is content with merely procuring the bare necessities of physical survival. How largely the human need for nourishment has been culturized can be appreciated when one contrasts the diet of the savage with that of modern man or when one notices how the hungry animal eats in comparison with the behavior even of men who in modern society occupy the lowest scale of living.

The difference comes from the addition of psychic and social elements which enlarge the meaning of the food processes carried on by man and enrich hunger satisfaction by the addition of aesthetic values and ceremony. This extension of hunger cravings and pleasures opens up new territory for the social expression of personality. The individual who once becomes familiar with this enrichment of hunger satisfaction finds his wants going beyond those which concern only the basic needs of the body and demanding social satisfactions that have come to be for him an indispensable part of food-getting. The moment any individual is pushed back to a more meager form of hunger satisfaction than that to which he

has been accustomed, at once his personality has a sense of loss and the feeling that its expression is restricted.

What is true of hunger is likewise true in the case of shelter, clothing and sex. Under normal circumstances the attention of the individual in highly developed society is no longer confined to the physical pleasures that can be obtained from the satisfying of each of these essential needs. By this process of socializing the elemental physical needs, civilization provides opportunity for unlimited luxury. Wealth cannot increase the quantity of food needed for nourishment but it can enormously multiply the kinds of food and make more expensive the conditions under which it is served. Because the essential needs, as physical satisfactions, are inherently limited, the ambitions, human rivalries and cravings are usually concerned with the by-products of socialization.

In no realm of human activity do we find better illustration of this socialization of primary needs than in the case of sex. As compared with those of the animal the sex interests of man have become a new creation. Erotic satisfactions have been multiplied until for normal men and women the secondary values, the psychic element, condition the primary physical experience and make the latter without the former a disgust rather than a satisfaction. The extent to which human reproduction has been socialized appears when we consider how complicated sex attraction has become. This we discover when we analyze the motives and forms of passion, or when we try to evaluate the meaning for modern man of the word "love." Tied up with the expansion of the erotic interests of man are a vast number of social values ranging from literature to domestic felicity.

The observer who attempts to understand human behavior soon realizes that in this erotic realm, made possible by the socialization of sex, human cravings in great quantity are stimulated, blocked and expressed. The fact that people in their social interplay express, from the adolescent period

onward, interests related to romantic love reveals how profoundly the socialization of this elemental urge of human desire affects conduct. By this very refinement new opportunity is provided for inadequate social adjustment by adding a hazard in matrimony far greater than that possible on the level of mere physical mating, and opening up innumerable chances for bitterness and disappointment which arise because of the personality's unsatisfactory self-expression.

Adjustment difficult at social level.—The importance that social experience has come to have for personality, along with the difficulty man has in controlling himself as compared with his control of environment, has resulted in making the human problem of adjustment most severe at the social level. As a reacting organism man's first business was to live. His continued presence on the earth demanded adjustment at least adequate to his physical needs for preservation and reproduction.

With reference to these necessities man from the beginning developed thought and technic most successfully. It was in this realm also that science first obtained freedom and made its most notable conquests. Physical science had the first and best opportunity to prosper and win popular approval since the advantage of science in dealing with the world of things became apparent even to those who were fundamentally hostile to the scientist when he attempted to deal with psychic and social experience after the manner of his colleague in the physical realm.

The scientists who directed their attention to man himself thus incurred more difficulty than those who dealt with the physical realm because to a greater extent their progress encountered fixed beliefs and prejudices which, although established before the time when serious effort was made to understand human experience, were nevertheless tenaciously held. Thus it came about that although willing to make use of science men were—and to a large extent still are—hostile to the idea of applying it to themselves for the purpose of

getting knowledge that can make social adjustment both more adequate and easier to accomplish.

Man has not only been reluctant to study himself but such knowledge as he has gained meets with greater resistance under the test of actual behavior than does information obtained from the field of the material sciences when applied to physical problems. In the case of the sciences that deal with man directly there is a resistance to overcome within the personality itself because the new knowledge frequently challenges motives and desires that have become deeply entrenched within the character, while in the case of the physical sciences outside things are controlled as a means of greater satisfaction for the man who possesses the new knowledge.

As a consequence of this situation not only has material progress been more rapid than social progress, considered in its subjective aspects, but man in his attempts to express himself becomes conscious of a lesser success than he experiences at present when he deals with things. This is variously interpreted according to the philosophy of life held by the individual. To some all problems simmer down to exploitation by a few who have unjustly obtained social power from those who are denied their rights, while to others social retardation is merely evidence of unchanging laws in human personality that, from their viewpoint, offer a problem for which there is no solution.

The full significance of our social situation cannot be understood if one thinks abstractly of the present predicament; it is a concrete experience shared to some extent by each individual. Men and women in the present atmosphere of civilization feel constant need of more adequate social expression, and in their contacts with one another are forever conscious of these needs that arise through the interplay of human personalities; and to the degree that they feel themselves hampered, coerced or crushed in their aspirations, they suffer the discomfort of bad adjustment.

The double task of society.—Society, meaning as a con-

cept both the culture that man has achieved and transmits and the life of persons in contact, has in dealing with each individual a double task. First of all, for its security it must act upon the personality in such a way as to attempt to mold the inner behavior to conform to the standard practices of the period. In savage society, as we shall see later, this process of bringing each person into conformity with group behavior was an indispensable function of group life. The same task has to be assumed by modern society and to a very large extent what is called education is essentially this process of bringing the individual into conformity with what is supposed to be the welfare of the group as a whole.

In actual practice this attempt by other people to direct and modify his conduct appears often to the individual as coercion and antagonism. It is, as a matter of fact, an effort to force people to curb certain desires and develop others. Distasteful as it is to the person who in the process comes to feel that his social expression is being interfered with, it is inevitable, if social experience is to have any continuity and unifying content, since without such common substance in its behavior the social group cannot exist.

The personality is so largely a product of habits handed on as customs, or of social suggestions received through contact, that the task which society undertakes of whipping the individual into shape, however coercive it seems to the person concerned, is eventually in most cases successful. Each person is too nearly the product of the customs and traditions brought to him through his social contacts to be able to maintain nonconformity; and in the end, save for a very few people particularly gifted in strength of character and equal to superior independent conduct, and others deficient in good will or ability to control behavior, uniformity is in large measure achieved.

Society is more successful in forcing conformity than it is in providing for variation. Social experience, however,

does not represent a goal which becomes at any time final, requiring only to be transmitted and perpetuated. Since social conditions are in constant flux, society has other needs than merely to maintain past achievements. Even if there were no deliberate changes produced by human design, accidental occurrences would call for new adaptation along various lines just as, for example, the discovery of the North American continent shattered at once the prevailing complexion of European civilization.

In modern society change is inevitable, rapid and constant. If good social adjustment under such conditions is to be made there is need of encouraging individuality of adaptation as well as social conformity. This second task society has always found difficult to carry out. The group as a whole is usually under the dominance of individuals who, because of their age, social prestige or resources, are more interested in prolonging the security of the social situation to which they have become accustomed than they are in making new and favorable adaptations. Along the lines on which the physical sciences operate, new technic is more quickly and readily accepted because the habit of inertia is less strong in dealing with things than with reference to the ways of living that have come to be accustomed expressions of personality. In spite of this, unfamiliar reactions do at times appear and by their innovation finally wreck the old and inaugurate the new. For this reason social change is seldom an orderly procedure. Since society stresses uniformity and hampers originality, the pioneer and the reformer usually meet with passionate hostility and have rough traveling. Thus we have the cultural lag [1] which explains to a considerable degree the slow progress of social evolution.

There are at present influences that tend to curb man's natural conservatism with reference to social practices. The greater freedom of contact between various groups of persons

[1] Ogburn, W. F., "Social Change," p. 200.

as a result of modern communication, rapid travel and the moving about of people help to break down excessive conservatism. Since conservatism in the individual usually increases with growing age, the prevalence of young people in modern undertakings as a result of the intense competition characteristic of modern life, particularly in industry, which forces the use of individuals young enough to adapt themselves more easily to changing conditions and better able to maintain the pace, leads also to a decrease of the dominance of convention. The complexity of modern life with its multiplication of interests, by developing conflicting groups of people who clash against one another, prevents the excessive conservatism characteristic of past periods. It is also true that science, as it enters increasingly into the social realm, popularizes the idea of the danger of society's smothering individual initiative and merely passing on from generation to generation habits lacking adaptability.

It is easy for the student, especially if he be tempered by the attitudes and contacts of youth, to over-emphasize the progress that has been made in reducing cultural lag. Social change is still largely accidental and social leadership still faces backward. Society, as it puts its substance into the growing personality, has not yet learned how to preserve and encourage the tendency to variate and even those who seem most rebellious as they respond to the coercive stimulations placed upon them soon settle into the uncritical acceptance of social customs which retards progress and menaces social happiness.

Conflicting motives in self-expression.—Under the influence of a structural interpretation of human behavior which emphasized definite instincts, the conflict of the personality, as it met with social coercion and felt the momentum of its own desires, was interpreted as a struggle between opposite instinctive trends. This tended to give a false picture by making the struggle one between social and individual de-

sires. The distinction was fictitious for in both cases the individual was responding to social stimulation. It is equally true that the person, whatever his line of action, was revealing motives that could be interpreted as expressions of individual desire.

Instead of making an arbitrary division within the personality and holding each behavior tendency as instinctive, we get better insight into the actual situation of the individual seeking to conform and to variate, if we concentrate on the social objectives that are influencing his conduct. He feels impelled to social uniformity by his desire to win social esteem and become acceptable to the persons with whom he associates. His wish to have favorable relationships with those who are attempting to influence his conduct is not in character different from his desire to express himself in ways unlike the prevailing conventions, since these efforts at original reactions are based upon impulses that also have been brought forth by social contact.

The clash is not between the push of instincts but between opposing desires, each of which has been awakened by social contact. The result of such conflict becomes a part of the growing personality until eventually he responds to one of the two types of stimulations; even when his career develops into strong, independent activity, it is apt to be true that this is only along one line of his social expression. Outside the realm of a compelling interest, where he has retained his originality, he usually becomes a conformist because elsewhere his social experience has followed conventional lines and nothing peculiar has resulted from the stimulus-response activities of his personality. This explains why individuals who have been particularly fruitful in advancing society at some special point in spite of cultural lag become obstructionists in their attempt to prevent innovators working at other points from pushing forward the skirmish line of social achievement.

The scientific study of personality.—1. *Indifference.* Since the study of personality in its social expressions is of considerable value in understanding and getting on with people, and as fascinating as profitable, it is surprising that education has not made greater use of this interest. For the sociologist, especially, the effort to interpret social behavior as we find it in individual persons is essential if the dynamic point of view is to be maintained. It is surprising therefore that even the social scientists so frequently fail to establish their discussions on the foundation of social expression of personality.

2. *False Ideas of Personality.* As a result of the relative neglect of the study of personality, erroneous views have developed and are widely held even among men and women of intelligence. There was in this country during the decade 1840–1850 as a result of Gall's doctrine of phrenology, which he expounded in England during the early part of the nineteenth century, an intense interest in the idea of judging character by the shape of the skull. During its vogue itinerant "professors" reaped a fat harvest by going from town to town "reading heads." The belief in this method of character analysis was firmly held by a considerable portion of the public, including many notables, in spite of the effort of scientists to show up the falseness of its premises. In the effort to get the facts, as a result of the controversy phrenology provoked, the science of neurology discovered the significance of definite portions of the cortex in relation to certain functions of mind and body. It was found, of course, that no such correspondence of brain and skull existed as the head-readers assumed and that the brain surface revealed not the characteristic virtues and vices of personality but merely locations where such activities as speech, hearing, memory and the like received nervous control. Even successful business men have taken seriously the notion that on the basis of general appearance, shape of head, color of eyes, hair

and handwriting the characteristics of a personality could be so well interpreted as to permit an employer to choose from several candidates the one best qualified to do a particular line of work.

Persons of experience and good judgment can, it is true, often detect from the total appearance of an individual considerable information which may, in some cases, prove a good index in judging candidates for definite positions, but mere surface indications of personality are too precarious a basis for judgment to be taken seriously. When, however, we discover a personality in action we begin at once to get insight into the inner life since the moment it begins to reveal itself socially, significant information is given the observer with reference to education, social background, habits, attitudes, energy and a host of other characteristics which have real value in deciding the fitness of a person for a special undertaking.

3. *The Interplay of Personalities.* Although we are all constantly making judgments regarding other personalities, there is no place where prejudice is so likely to show itself. Every individual we meet begins at once to stimulate our own personality and to act upon us in such a way as to bring forth both favorable and unfavorable attitudes. Sometimes these responses are so deeply sunk in our personality at its earlier levels that we cannot tell whence our attitudes come. We are sensitive to the reaction, but we do not know its source. This causes us to react to the personality, not according to its actual character, but in accord with the feeling we have connected with the experience it has stimulated into social expression. As a consequence it is easy for us to be drawn toward or away from a stranger because of a reaction which his character may not at all justify.

4. *Classification of Personalities.* Various efforts have been made to classify the different types of personality. Of the various schemes for the recording of data regarding per-

sonality, one of the most serviceable and complete is that of Dr. F. L. Wells, which covers the following topics:

1. Intellectual processes.
2. Output of energy.
3. Self-assertion.
4. Adaptability.
5. General habits of work.
6. Moral sphere.
7. Reactional activities.
8. General cast of mood.
9. Attitude toward self.
10. Attitude toward others.
11. Reactions to attitude toward self and others.
12. Position toward reality.
13. Sexual sphere.
14. Balancing factors.

Each of these topics is in turn subdivided so that by tabulating reliable information regarding the characteristic reactions of the individual with reference to each trait, a detailed and useful grading of the personality's adaptations to the challenge of life is obtained.[2]

Personality and social distance.—A recent concept of value to the student of personality is that of social distance, which is used to signify the degree of contact between individuals, and the social attitudes that result from their association. In social distance the characteristics of individual personality show themselves and reveal some of the life-history that has influenced the forming of the character. Childhood happenings and later intense emotional experiences have much to do with the habits of distance expressed by the personality. In social distance the person reacts to others according to his subjective attitudes. These change with new circumstances and perhaps the "dis-

[2] "Mental Adjustment," pp. 267–270.

tant'' or reserved person in a social gathering, once ''the ice has been broken,'' becomes excessively sociable.

The effect of alcohol in breaking down barriers in personal contacts has long been recognized and this accounts in part for its vogue in social intercourse. It has appealed especially to those persons who have felt ''shut-in.''

Distance measures the influence of persons on each other in their relationships. The customs that originate from the mingling of different classes and races reveal the importance of distance as a method of control of individual conduct, and the ease with which it becomes conventional.

CHAPTER VII

THE INFLUENCE OF PHYSICAL NATURE

Physical background.—Man lives his life in contact with physical nature and is influenced by it constantly in all his social experiences and activities. Not only must he look to nature for food and water, for nourishment, for shelter, for clothing and for material out of which to make weapons for protection, he also receives from nature stimulations, through climate and altitude, for example, that influence him as a reacting organism and by their effect upon his body contribute to his behavior as a social being. The significance of the physical background of man is too apparent in the history of human civilization to be ignored by the student of man's social experience.

It is easy to see the direct influence of geographical conditions upon the life of savages. In the case of these people who live their life upon a level characterized by more meager culture than that enjoyed by civilized man we see most clearly the immediate influences of environmental conditions. Since savages have fewer of the resources that have been developed by the transmission of culture from generation to generation, they are more helpless in their contact with nature and have to live a life directly conforming to the demands put upon them by environmental situations. A considerable part of the value of social achievement comes from the fact that it relieves man from the necessity of slavishly conforming to his physical situation. The city of Los Angeles is a vivid illustration of the way modern man escapes the limitations of physical environment. Were it not for the engineering

which permits the storing and transporting of the huge water supply necessary for so large a city, situated in a region that is arid during much of the year, the population would have to be rigorously restricted.

It is perhaps natural to take either of two extreme attitudes regarding man's relation with his physical background. While looking at modern man and noticing how free he seems from the direct influences of climate and topography we may discount the seriousness of these environmental influences, by forgetting how largely social achievement conceals the effects of physical conditions and by ignoring the indirect ways in which location, in spite of cultural amelioration, still modifies conduct. Again, Los Angeles gives an illustration of the importance of physical environment even when man is not consciously adapting himself to it, for it has been the appeal of the climate of this favored city, advertised by modern methods of communication, which has led people throughout the nation and the world, in search of milder climate, to establish residence there.

Our other extreme reaction is to overstate the influence of the physical environment, not noticing how largely man, by profiting from his centuries of experience, can modify the physical conditions that surround his life.

The social significance of geography.—A study of a map of social culture, giving accurately the population centers, trade movements and commercial activities, will show at once the influence of geographic conditions, mountain ranges, rivers, lakes, harbors, ocean currents and a multitude of physical factors that influence the social culture of the various groups of people.

For example, a matter of great importance in the evolution of human society is isolation. People that are cut off from contact with their neighbors by impassable mountains become backward, inbred both physically and socially, and restricted in their social experiences to the lower levels of

culture. We have had a striking picture in our own country of this effect of isolation in the case of the mountain whites of the South. In recent years the automobile and special schools have been bringing culture into this region which for so long has been maintaining frontier conditions. As the new ways and ideas spread into this territory, in the past largely inaccessible, it becomes evident at once that the peculiarities of the people have been due not to any inferiority of mind or race, but only to their high degree of isolation.

Geographical conditions also operate upon the size of groups. This in itself has a determining effect upon the civilization maintained by a people. The traveler, as he passes over the great stretches of territory of the United States and observes the inhabitants living at the junction of great rivers, alongside safe harbors, in desert regions, within irrigated territory and at places of great elevation, constantly sees evidences of the influence of geographical situation upon the size of social groups, their commercial interests and their social culture.

The case of travel has decided significance as an influence that operates upon the social life of man. No one can be familiar with the settlement of the United States with its sectional separation which finally resulted in the war between the states, without realizing how largely the American people have been influenced in their social development by geographical conditions. It has even been suggested that the war would never have occurred if travel north and south had been as constant as it was east and west. It is at least apparent to what an extent modern methods of communication and transportation influence national unity so that even our distant Atlantic and Pacific states are brought into close relationship, whereas at the time of the Civil War the North and South represented great cultural differences as a result of both lack of contact and independent industrial development.

In early civilization, as Greece strikingly discloses, we see the advantage of situations that permit various cultural groups to react upon one another. We also see in our own country the effect that geographical conditions have in stimulating and directing the migrations of people and the subsequent effect of the mingling of different racial and national types that bring to a common center independent cultural lines of development. In such ways geographical conditions, by operating upon the physical life of man, have a large place in determining his culture.

Climate.—The effect of climate upon man has been noted for a long time. It is not difficult to detect the manner by which climate shows itself in cultural history since every individual recognizes from personal experience the effect upon himself of the change of seasons, or of moving from one climate to another. The importance of climate is so great that naturally there has been a tendency to exaggerate it. The fact, so obvious to the student of modern civilization, that the temperate zone has attained leadership in cultural achievement, has led to a determinism with respect to climate which is at least not proven, when on the basis of existing conditions a high level of civilization is dogmatized as being the exclusive result of temperature. The indirect effects of climate are constantly being offset by the advancement of science, particularly medical science, as when a definite amount of quinine is taken regularly by the inhabitants of certain parts of the United States, to prevent malaria. In discussing the social life of tropical regions it is necessary always to remember how large a part disease has had in influencing the characteristics of people. In the past malaria, yellow fever, and in our own South the hookworm disease have had quite as much to do with the conditions of civilization as climate itself.

Moisture as well as heat and cold shows its influence in the development of human culture. Food habits, particularly

among primitive people, are affected by climatic conditions; and diet itself operates upon the behavior of the human organism. One of the results of social achievement is the fact that food material is now gathered from all parts of the world, and by distribution the disadvantages of the climatic effect upon food supply are to a certain extent lessened. The material prosperity based on advanced culture permits Americans, for example, to go into all parts of the world to gather food materials that appear commonly upon the tables even of those who enjoy few of the luxuries of modern life.

Science is also making headway in discovering the kind of diet that is favorable to human activity under different climatic conditions and at varying seasons. Progress along this line demonstrates that a part of the effect of climate has been due to unsuitable or limited diet.

Soil and resources.—No one familiar with the outstanding facts of the evolution of society would neglect soil and resources in estimating the significance of the physical background upon the behavior of man. The wealth of a people, the size of the group and the economic activities carried on are all directly influenced by soil and in our time by mineral resources. We find in early history a springing up of civilization at places where food supply was especially abundant, due to favorable soil conditions. For example, the favored valleys at the Euphrates and the Nile each brought forth, early in history, peoples who enjoyed relatively high stages of culture.

In connection with soil values occurs a striking illustration of the advantage of culture as a contributing influence. The development of grain and the improvement of plants and fruit-bearing trees show that man is not merely passive in response to the influence of the earth's crust. The domestication of animals and in more recent times their improved breeding provides a food supply immensely superior in both quantity and quality to that which would naturally come,

under primitive conditions of the soil, in a particular region. The modern cow, highly bred for large production of milk and butter fat, bears testimony to the way in which culture adds to the efficiency of animal husbandry for the enrichment of man.

The character of the land and the use made of it by a definite group of people are reflected in the density of the population. The number of people now living within the borders of the United States, compared with the number occupying the same territory when the Indians held sway, and hunting rather than agriculture was the chief means of support, discloses how a superior use of land resources augments population. The same principle appears when different sections of our country with unlike land conditions are contrasted. The size of farms in New Mexico averages 800 acres, while in the Connecticut valley it is 20 acres. Allowing for the hired men living on the farms in New Mexico, who must be counted in addition to the family that manages the farm, the population is scanty in comparison with that of our two hundred people to the square mile in the river valley of New England.[1]

In estimating the effect on population of a more adequate use of agricultural land, it is necessary to include urban population dependent upon the rural sections for food and trade as well as the inhabitants of the country itself. The increase of population appears in the cities rather than on the farms, and the size of the commercial or industrial centers is made possible by the harvests gathered in the rural territory from which the city people draw their support. Frequently it is the importance of a city as a distributing market for food material grown in an adjacent district that establishes it as a population center. Spokane, Washington, is such a city.

In our time, minerals and raw material that supplies

[1] Taylor, C. C., "Rural Sociology," p. 84.

energy for productive purposes are especially significant in influencing the life of a people. This came out forcefully in the World War when it was found that modern warfare was to a large extent the clash of machinery, so that in a long-lasting conflict the people particularly favored in the resources of coal, iron ore, oil, cotton and rubber were almost certain to prevail over their opponents. The great importance that oil and various petroleum products have for modern industry also shows in the political strategy of nations. Every nation that entered the War, we are told, even Russia, sent special agents to Mexico to procure greater control of the petroleum products so necessary for the carrying on of modern warfare.

The social culture of the United States can never be understood if it is considered merely as a political or racial or educational development. A substantial cause of our present attainment and prestige comes fundamentally from the immense gifts of nature in soil, climate and mineral resources. On the other hand the recent predicament of Mexico illustrates vividly that social achievement is not absolutely determined by natural resources. It is when culture and nature act together that man reaches the highest level of civilization.

Land and American history.—The influence of the land has had such a dominant place in the history of our country that without exaggeration it can be called the motif of American civilization. It was the appeal of the rich land to be had for the taking that led to the first settlements. When the tidewater communities once became firmly established, to the westward stretched inviting tracts of unbroken land, providing for the restless and discontented an easy escape from dissatisfaction and also, for many, from debt or even from the arm of the law. Hardly were the settlements made along the fringe of coast in New England before some adventurous souls felt the challenge of the free land to the west

and pushed onward to what was then the frontier. Turner has vividly described the significance of the frontier as a fundamental influence in the growth of the nation and revealed in detail how responsible it has been for the developing of our characteristic traits as a people.

The flow of population was like the in-going waves of the sea; as soon as a territory became well-settled, from it went those desirous of pioneering conditions, and, joined by the like-minded from older communities, they established a new frontier. Distance from the original settlements and the necessity of successful adaptation to the new situation cut the ties of eastern tradition and led to original cultural traits whose influence spread backward and affected political, legal, religious, and social thinking and practices in the older settlements.

The amount and cheapness of the land led early to speculation and to stress on the importance of owning land. In some of the colonies land-ownership was a prerequisite to the privilege of voting and later, after male suffrage was made unconditional, some of the colonies required candidates for political office to own land.

The abundance of land with its consequent cheapness resulted in an agriculture that was reckless in its use of the soil resources, and farming was carried on with an eagerness for quick returns that rapidly robbed the soil of its fertility. Eventually through speculation land prices were carried to artificial levels and in the West and South the cost of farms brought about the rise of tenancy. Throughout the growth of the nation periodic waves of political and business discontent arose among the farmers, especially in the West, resulting in radical movements of various sorts and influencing considerably national politics. Our national land policy encouraged immigration from Europe, even though many of the newcomers settled in the eastern cities and seaboard towns.

Running through American history, in addition to the influence of the frontier, can be traced that of the two rival agricultural interests, cotton and grain. The invention of Whitney's cotton gin, which made the raising of short staple or upland cotton profitable throughout much of the South, gave a new impetus both to cotton growing and to slavery. The cheapness and popularity of cotton cloth, a product of textile advance in English manufacturing, gave the South an ever-increasing market for its raw material. The cotton planter made little attempt to conserve his soil and his methods in growing his crop depleted the land. As a consequence the old South by 1834 began to gather a shrinking harvest and the growing of cotton became more profitable in the new lands in the Southwest to which it spread.

Discontent appeared in the older states as cotton began to bring in less revenue and this restlessness naturally was given political expression. The plantation system as it spread into the Southwest extended and strengthened cotton culture and with it went the system of slavery. The uneconomic character of slave production in the older states was concealed by the demand for field workers in the new territory into which cotton-growing pushed and the movement for abolition in Virginia, which previously had received considerable support, was stifled by the economic situation that resulted.

The raising of grain on the cheap but fertile prairie lands of the West had never been tied up with slavery, and as this type of agriculture spread, with it went the habits of life and the sentiments characteristic of a one-race pioneering people. In this manner did the cotton and grain agricultures separate with their rival cultures and produce a division in interest and attitude that had much to do with the nation's drifting finally into war.[2]

Conquest of nature.—The phrase *conquest of nature* is common but it must not be taken literally. Man does not

[2] Harlow, R. V., "Growth of the United States," pp. 318–22.

conquer nature, man does not even fundamentally change nature. Man in working out his purposes cannot go contrary to natural law. What is meant by the term *conquest of nature* is that man, by his cultural achievement, is permitted to modify or transform what would be the direct influence of nature upon him if he were obliged to assume a more passive relationship. The savage who puts on a garment of fur is in a sense conquering climate, but only by using his wits and making his situation more favorable through his utilization of an opportunity nature provides.

Since the relationship between man, attempting to work out his own purposes, and the natural background is so often one of struggle, it is natural enough that man's increasing ability to control nature's forces in a superior way so as to win a larger and more comfortable life should be thought of as a conquest of nature. Man struggles not to overcome nature but to direct natural forces that operate upon him. The struggle brings a twofold result; not only are the circumstances of his life changed by his success, but he also is influenced by the effort of modifying his situation.

The physical conditions become a stimulus which evokes the energies of man until an environment that represents uncomfortable circumstances, if these adverse circumstances be not too hard, may cause a group of people to become particularly energetic and efficient. Such a climate is, from the social viewpoint, more favorable than one which provides food supply in such abundance that the people become lazy and lacking in forethought. Thus it is not the environment *per se* but the environment as it affects man that gives culture its distinction.

It was in the prehistoric period of time that man began his conquest of nature and made his most significant inventions and discoveries. In the beginning, the use of fire and knowledge of how it could be produced represented an advance of knowledge of far-reaching importance in the devel-

opment of human culture. The discovery that plants could be grown from seed also marked an epoch in achievement. When man first succeeded in domesticating animals, another enormous advantage came to him. The momentum of scientific discovery in our time has reached such a point that nothing startles us, and our ability to use the resources of nature easily blinds us to our actual dependence on what nature provides. Occasionally great floods, tornadoes or earthquakes disclose that man's conquest of nature is not so complete as he is wont to think.

Everywhere that civilization prevails we now have a body of people primarily attempting to get more complete understanding of natural law or to develop a better technic in the processes that aim at control of natural resources. These workers in pure science make possible our progress in material development. They are themselves a cultural product and the prosperity science enjoys at any time or place is conditioned by the social achievement permitted by the attitude of the people toward expert investigation. Even material civilization is not merely a matter of natural resources. Science, the most important of man's cultural achievements, is in itself a determining influence upon the life of a particular people.

Physical aspects of group organization.—In the very simple living of savages the individual is largely obliged to do the kind of thing his environment makes possible. If he lives where fish are plentiful he must be a fisher. If fate has thrown him into the desert he must become a nomad. In his activities to a large extent he reflects the environmental situation in which he finds himself. As man advances this becomes less and less true. It is the achievements of social culture that provide opportunity for the considerable independence man now enjoys. In this evolution social organization and group association are constantly related to the environmental conditions of a people. For example, the nomads

cannot support a large population and we find them endeavoring to keep the birth rate low, since, when they do not succeed, periodic famine punishes them for their failure.

The group that settles down and begins with success the cultivation of grain soon has a larger group life which at once leads to the development of property rights, a legal system, class distinctions and various conditions, desirable or not desirable, that mark the more complex cultural level. The relation between group life and physical environment is reciprocal; as the natural background operates to determine the size and quality of the group, so the social experience becomes a cultural resource which can be transmitted. Individuals of the group have obtained certain advantages in the struggle with nature and these are passed on. Eventually this enrichment of the social life takes some individuals from the activities that would otherwise comprise their economic life and puts them at work doing things which the group by its complexity has come to require.

For example, it is not difficult to discover the New England rural town, once prosperous agriculturally but later unable to compete against the richer soils of the west, which turned to the business of providing for the tourist and is now occupied in the summer time by a population representing all sections of our country, who respond to the season's opportunities for recreation. The beginning of the professional classes in primitive society is another illustration of the release of individuals from the ordinary activities of production. At first, man must do what his environment insists upon. Later his activities are determined by the coöperation of nature and culture.

Environment not absolute.—Although the influence of physical conditions appears unmistakably in cultural traits, environment has neither the automatic nor the exclusive control over social experience so frequently assumed by popular thinking. We find as a matter of fact different cultures in

like geographical situations. As Lowie has pointed out, the Hopi and Navajo Indians occupy in our Southwest identical environment but their cultural traits are dissimilar.[3] The same difference in culture in spite of likeness of environment holds for the Bushmen and the Hottentots of Africa.

Environment provides the physical conditions to which man must adapt his life, but it does not decide the methods which he uses. It may check variation, for obviously snow huts such as the Esquimaux make are impossible for the African Negro. In the uses made of the environmental resources we see the commanding position of culture. The same deposit of coal existed in North America when Indian culture prevailed, that later permitted the coming of our age of steel, but without a cultural preparation for its use its presence was without significance. This is the meaning of Goldenweiser's statement that culture is dynamic while physical environment is static.[4]

As social experience advances and develops new cultural traits, greater use is made of the available physical resources which in turn leads to further changes in culture. Peoples who maintain unlike cultural levels react differently to the same environment and from identical physical opportunities draw forth their distinct civilizations.

Culture, at least if in any degree complex, represents at any period of time a consolidation, for it contains both native elements that have developed within its environment and foreign ones imported from outside. By these mixtures known as complexes, traits that grew up among an alien people influence the adaptation of the group that has taken them over in the same manner as do the practices that developed out of its own physical habitat. Japan in recent years has rapidly produced a new complex composed of its

[3] Lowie, R. H., "Culture and Ethnology," pp. 49–53.

[4] Goldenweiser, A. A., "Culture and Environment," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1916, pp. 628–33.

own distinctive characteristics combined with European and American elements. This complex is not a mere imitation of outside culture, but a successful composite of native and foreign civilization. As we see it in the making it brings out clearly the way in which a culture incorporates material that is independent of its physical environment. Environment contributes largely to social adaptation but its effects are not absolute.

CHAPTER VIII

HUMAN DIFFERENCES. RACES; PERSONALITY VARIATIONS

I

RACE

Human variability.—Any group of people, as the most superficial observer recognizes, has wide variability. This appears physically with reference to all the characteristics of the human body. Even a society made up of one racial type shows, as far as the individual is concerned, a large amount of variability. In height, weight, muscular strength, hair, color of eye, or manner of speech and every other physical expression of personality we find the individuals unlike.

It is also true that any number of people living by themselves and inbreeding over a long period of time tend to develop general likenesses which come to be distinctive marks. In such a group, however, close observation discovers considerable variation. Even in the case of so-called "identical" twins it has been found that although they appear alike they do have slight variations of body structure which make it possible for them to be identified, though to the ordinary observer they seem entirely similar.

Human variability is, of course, not confined to the physical realm. In every society appear also mental differences and if the group be large enough we may recognize genius at one extreme and idiocy at the other, while between these two are average individuals who represent intervening degrees of mentality.

Meaning of race.—The word race represents the effort to

separate the groups of people who through variation and environmental circumstances come to have characteristic marks which distinguish them from others. This does not mean, as often has been supposed, that each individual in a group is typical in feature and in body with reference to all the marks that belong to that particular people. The general description of racial traits is an abstraction collected from observing a number of individuals, but from this it does not follow that each member conforms to the type in all respects, for there is a considerable variation which often makes it hard to locate the race to which a specific person rightly belongs.

Physical marks of race.—Several methods of classifying human beings into separate races have been worked out by anthropologists, based upon the physical traits of head shape, hair or skin. Of the different schemes for separating people into distinct divisions the most common and impressive has been color of skin. This has led to the threefold classification of whites, yellows and blacks, although in each division there are marked variations in color, the black ranging, for instance, from intense black to light yellow.

European races.—The anthropologist has also come to distinguish in the European peoples three separate sub-races, the Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean. Each of these has such characteristic traits as hair, color of skin, head shape, height and general body form. It must be remembered, however, that these peoples, moving about in Europe for thousands of years, have intermingled and crossbred. Not one of them represents a pure segregated type, so that it is particularly difficult to distinguish the sub-race to which an individual belongs. In the same family appear children differing in their general likeness so that one suggests the Nordic race and another the Mediterranean.

There has been an effort on the part of some writers, contrary to the teaching of anthropology, to tie up to each

of these sub-types marked differences of mental traits and then to assume that an individual having the physical marks of the Nordic or Alpine type possesses corresponding psychic characteristics. Along with this has also gone the teaching that one of the groups is mentally superior to the others. All of these discussions are fanciful since it is only in the most general terms that mental traits can be ascribed to these sub-divisions and it is largely a matter of choice what an author will emphasize as a mark of superiority to permit him by his interpretation of history to give to one of the races outstanding superiority.

Pure races.—Only racial groups that maintain through isolation their particular biological inheritance can be called pure. Such isolation is rarely found, if at all, in modern life. Certainly the European peoples have been too long intermingling to show true racial types except perhaps in a very few insulated areas. The word purity, therefore, applied to races, is always a relative term. A mixed race is one that has been formed recently by the intermingling of peoples representing more than one race. The American people represent such a mixed race, since to the United States have come representatives not only of all the sub-race types of Europe but also of the major races of Africa and Asia. Even the extremes represented by this collection of racial types have interbred so that in the mulatto, for example, occurs mixture of white and black blood.

Race differences.—We have no reason to suppose that there are no emotional or mental differences between peoples that differ widely in physical traits, as, for example, the Nordic Englishman, the African Negro and the Asiatic Chinese. It is, however, not so easy to discover the significance of such mental traits as are typical, since the intermingling of culture complicates the analysis. Individuals with marked variation in physical characteristics, living in the same locality, partake of the same cultural background

and this hides the significance of their original differences in mental characteristics. Since also there is a wide variation mentally within each race or sub-race, it is all the more difficult in dealing with the individual to detect those intellectual and emotional traits that come to him from his racial inheritance.

American immigration.—These problems of race differences are not merely academic questions for the thoughtful American. Since we have taken into our country such a diversity of individuals from Europe, Asia and Africa and are now attempting to regulate to our advantage as a nation the inflow of foreign people, it becomes necessary for us to take into account in the making up of our immigration policy all the known facts with reference to the anthropological differences between human beings.

It is clear that the effort to bring to America valuable stock includes both a racial and an individual problem. We have no reason to suppose that the races of men have equal capacity for cultural growth. On the other hand we have the best of reasons for supposing that an individual belonging to any particular race may represent a higher or a lower capacity than that which can fairly be credited to the average of that particular group of people.

It is also of the utmost importance that we recognize the difficulty of adjustment met by people of cultures widely different from our own, even though racially they may not be far distant from the American type. This question of the assimilation of peoples who, representing unlike social experiences, do not easily fall into accord with American culture as it now exists, becomes all the more pressing if such individuals are so numerous as to permit them, once they are here, to continue with little modification their former way of living and thus become a foreign settlement in the American commonwealth. The American immigration policy must therefore concern itself not merely with race but also with differ-

ences of mentality in the individuals of various nationalities, their characteristic culture and the size of the group they represent in this country.

Even when it is an advantage to mix racial and cultural traits, as has often been proved in the history of human evolution, this mixing process cannot succeed in bringing forth unity and the birth of a new racial type if the variations be so great and the introduction of new stock so continuous that no development of general likeness takes place. In the past our free policy with reference to the introduction of new stock, stimulated by our vast tract of territory open for settlement, the rapid development of industry, and our idealistic philosophy which made us eager to be the refuge of all who for one motive or another desired to migrate from Europe, led us into the predicament revealed by the World War, when a large number of our citizens were called for service before being able to speak or understand the national language.

Race mixture.—It is evident that the problem of race mixture is not one to be solved by general statements. Everything depends upon who are being mixed and the contribution that is brought by the various individuals concerned, physically, mentally, emotionally and culturally.

The Negro problem.—Various countries, in which the representatives of races extremely different in physical traits mingle, have a fundamental race problem. The United States is one of these, since Negro slaves were introduced from Africa early in our historical development and the Negro stock has multiplied so as to constitute a substantial part of our population. Since this particular race is marked by color of skin, the most spectacular and easily distinguishable racial characteristic, it is set off from the rest of the population, although sharing the same culture.

The history of the American Negro is a good example of the rapidity with which a race can assimilate a new and

dominant culture to which it has been introduced. Although the Negro, on account of his experiences in Africa and while a slave in this country, was from the beginning of his freedom handicapped in his contact with the more fortunate white Americans, his economic and social progress is encouraging to any member of the white race who realizes the seriousness in any nation of adding to the racial differences in its people a wide separation of cultural standards.

Science has no means by which to measure how much of the general cultural backwardness of the Negro in America must be charged to racial inheritance and how much to environmental experiences. In the interpretation of this relative retardation of the Negro in comparison with the culture of the white there are two extreme schools of thought—one charging the Negro's cultural lag to an inferiority entirely due to race, while the other considers his predicament altogether a matter of environment. In such a complexity there can only be a speculative opinion with reference to the proportion of racial as compared with environmental influence that appears in the history of the Negro in America.

Race friction.—There is general agreement that the intermarriage of Negroes and whites in this country is undesirable but on the other hand there is the strongest obligation resting on the whites to see that the Negro people be given every opportunity to develop economically and educationally, so that their contribution to American life may be such as to reduce the friction which is bound to ensue when representatives of races differing widely in physical characteristics and cultural attainments are forced to live together.

Reconstruction period.—Nearly all historians are agreed that after the war between the States it was most unfortunate both for the Negro and for the southern white that for a time the free Negro was permitted to dominate politically the Southern States. The policy of attempting to force upon the untrained and inexperienced Negro the responsibilities

and full political rights of a citizen of the American republic was as disastrous as anyone familiar with the facts of social differences would have expected. This mistaken policy of forcing the evolution of the Negro race was harmful not only in bringing about ill feeling between whites and blacks in the Southern States, but, by allowing an anthropological problem to become a political issue, in the end retarded the social development of the Negro people.

Economic development of the Negro.—The policy of Booker T. Washington in advocating that the Negro turn his attention to progress along economic and educational lines was fundamentally wise strategy, as racial differences are nowhere less emphasized than in the economic field. It is also true that no people whose status is distinctly inferior economically can attempt to force themselves into a political and social equality from which the prevailing culture has excluded them. Economic and educational advancement represent a slower process and one that does not appeal to the emotions of the aggressive Negroes in the same way as a more pugnacious effort to win their supposed rights against those who appear hostile. In the end, however, no race of people can escape the consequences of their general economic situation.

In so far as the Negro has turned his attention away from politics to agricultural improvement, business and general education, he has done his best to encourage racial development and to win for himself a social position which brings from his white neighbors respect and sympathy. A racial problem such as the United States now has must be vexing under the most favorable circumstances. When it becomes a matter of political or racial passion the problem is immensely complicated and the race occupying the inferior position suffers most.

II

PERSONALITY VARIATIONS

Individual differences in reaction.—Within any group the individual members respond differently to the same cultural conditions. These differences in individual reactions are as significant as racial dissimilarity although not so noticeable because they are not related to noticeable physical peculiarities, such as mark racial separation. These variations in response to stimulation are expressions of personality and are doubtless partially based on organic characteristics, especially differences in nervous structure.

It is not difficult in dealing with children, especially in school, to detect definite groupings of persons with regard to their reactions, and it behooves parents, teachers and administrators to recognize these typical variations. Adults can be classified in the same way as children but in the case of normal persons the differences do not have the distinctiveness of reaction that is evident in children. As one would expect, these peculiarities in response to stimulation show themselves in extreme form in the morbid behavior characteristic of well-defined mental diseases.

Excessive response.—A large number of persons always respond to stimulus excessively. Whatever comes to their personality receives more response than the stimulus deserves. These people who magnify normal reactions are neurotic, but they are not the only neurotic type. They show in extreme form the characteristics of the person who has *hysteria.* Hysteria, although it may produce dullness of sensitivity and little reaction, has also, as a more characteristic feature, excessive reaction to most stimulations. There may be no reaction at one point, yet if the body is touched ever so lightly at another place, screams follow.

The American as a national type has been charged with

being chronically over-stimulated. One specialist has recently said that in New York everybody is over-sensitive and lacking in sleep. The two conditions go together. The neurotic always find sleep difficult. The good sleeper is less likely to react excessively. One of the handicaps of chronic fatigue is explosive expression because the individual controls himself for a time by effort but the longer he does this the more fatigued he becomes until he can continue no longer and then all the reaction he has been concealing and keeping under restraint pours forth.

Lack of coördination is found in the type of person who reacts over-much to stimulation. One stimulus gets twice as much reaction as it should and a subsequent stimulus is robbed of what belongs to it. The individual reveals an incoherent personality. There is also a characteristic lack of judgment because the stimulus that gets too much response occupies an undeserved position in behavior and vitiates the valuation required for good discrimination. One who is always in danger of taking things too seriously necessarily lacks insight.

Deficient response.—This type attract attention in childhood at school or at play and later as adults in the ordinary occupations of life because they seem stubborn and irritating on account of their slowness in reacting. It takes an exaggerated length of time for a person in this group to get his organism moving. He is dull in apprehension because it takes him so long to see what is happening that he never catches up. By the time he gets one stimulus, several others have occurred that have made no impression. This is a shut-in type and its extreme form is illustrated by dementia praecox in its later development when even a fleeting attention and feeble response are almost impossible. There appears to be in people deficient in response a lack of vitality suggesting a physical and mental privation.

Fluctuating response.—Some of our most brilliant friends

belong to this group, which in extreme form becomes *manic-depressive* insanity. The person is part of the time almost deficient in his responses, while at other times he is so excited he cannot be controlled. He fluctuates from too much to too little response. If observed over a period of time it may be noticed that he has a definite rhythm, perhaps two weeks above the line and then a week below, or a week above the line and a month below or some other order of fluctuation marking his abnormality. Here is an exaggeration of the natural rhythm characteristic of human behavior. We all tend somewhat toward variation but this group swing up and down excessively and instead of the natural rhythm of fatigue and vigor, manifest first no response (melancholia) and then excitement (mania).

The fluctuating individual allows an overflow of vitality; he overdraws his capital. Vitality enough to last a week is perhaps used up in the early part of one day and then appears a fatigue that retards reactions and slows down the mind. Frequently good starters, these oscillating persons always fail in execution. They are not good campaigners, but ninety-day men. Because they are up and down they are especially victims of flattery. They know they ought to be at their high level and they immediately respond with great relief to anybody who makes them feel they are at their best.

Blocking of stimulus.—The statement that there are individuals who habitually block stimulus is a relative description. All stimuli are not blocked, but the characteristic of this type is that from time to time some stimulus which should be received is blocked by the personality. *Psychasthenia* represents this type in the extreme. The psychasthenic symptom appears in many different sorts of ailments, but its various expressions can be all put together in one characteristic situation; the person finds life too much for him and tries in some way to protect himself from reality.

The blocking has as its motive the guarding of the personality from difficulties by shutting out experience.

We all learn to select stimulation; for example, we turn our attention from a noise we cannot stop, like that of a pneumatic drill, until our consciousness no longer receives it. But the psychasthenic type of person does this constantly, not only when he should do it for protection from dangerous or annoying or unpleasant things, but to shut out stimulations that are unwelcome because of the demands they put upon him. Anything that comes to him is looked upon with suspicion and if it seems likely to jar his comfort, attack his philosophy of life or upset his behavior, he shuts it out and denies its existence. Underneath this attitude rests an ego that is not only large but comfortably situated for the rest of life; it has taken its seat and intends to hold the throne in peace. If the world seems troublesome and likely to invade this security it is not permitted to enter.

The ordinary methods of blocking stimulation are daydreaming, reforming and phobias. Daydreaming in the early life of the child is a play experience associated with self-deceiving but becomes to the blocker of stimulation an excessive human craving that saps mental stability so that he lives a large part of his life in fancies, shutting away reality.[1]

It would be foolish to suggest that every reformer has neurotic tendencies as the basis of his crusade, but many people who are eager to interfere with others reveal that their crusading is a type of self-defense. By attacking what they would welcome for themselves if they could set free their desires, they have the pleasure of keeping company with cravings they dare not face. Thus their reforming becomes a peculiar kind of daydreaming.

There are individuals who have become so afraid of certain persons, things or even thoughts that they develop toward them a hostility which protects from possible con-

[1] See also Green, "Psychoanalysis in the Classroom," ch. I.

tact. These persons become very sensitive to suggestions that might lead to the sort of experience of which they are afraid. One of the most troublesome expressions of psychasthenia is the effort occasionally made by its victims to protect themselves by the strategy of taking the offensive against somebody else. They use one of two methods. They may be so exhausting in their demands for sympathy that they reduce all their family and friends to a sentimental slavery, or they may tyrannize by getting power over others through fear.

Some, who have arrived at positions of authority, attack persons who are subordinate to them and by that process take attention from their own troubles. History reveals many rulers of this type who used their opportunities to exercise power and were extremely cruel in their treatment of inferiors as a means of relieving their own feelings.

Misinterpreting stimulus.—This type interferes with stimulus, changes it and incorrectly interprets it. In extreme form it shows itself in *paranoia.* This is one of the strangest of all insanities and perhaps the least understood. Even though impelled toward murder, he who suffers from this mental disease may appear, outside the one sphere of his unsound thinking, not only normal but extraordinarily keen. The jury in trials where the prisoner is supposed to be a paranoiac cannot understand a man's being so normal and still insane. Ordinary stimulations are felt and correctly recorded but certain ones are misinterpreted. The idea of persecution assumes a prominent place in the individual's reactions.

Fortunately paranoia itself is not very common but the term *paranoid tendency* now is used to describe a personality-trend of a milder sort than that symptomatic of the mental disease. If the patient is analyzed he is found to have some emotional fixation so that he distorts any suggestion which comes to him, by the springing of his complex, just as a person who has lost his hearing is liable to chronic suspicion.

One of the impulses that seem to have a large influence in bringing about this trend is *inferiority feeling.* Each of us is driven by the desire to have his ego expressed as favorably as possible. This is human. One psychiatrist, Adler, builds his whole system on this fact. Inferiority feeling undoubtedly explains a quantity of experience. Since it is normal for us to wish to be as important as possible, if we get the feeling that we have been crushed and cannot maintain ourselves with others, we develop a constant feeling of inferiority.

From such reactions develop those extremely sensitive people who take themselves over-seriously. Lord Byron said he could detect a gentleman because one who was not would glance at his lame foot; this showed how the poet felt about his deformity. Byron wrote poetry, as one would expect, that created a disturbance and got him talked about. In his personal behavior he advertised ostentatiously his vicious conduct, becoming the bad man of Europe. Later he enlisted in the Greek army with an egoistic desire to become a different sort of public character. He had to keep the stage because he wanted to hide that troublesome foot.[2] Anybody who has a serious deformity, unless he develops a wholesome character, is tempted to build up a sensitive, selfish personality.

Feelings of inferiority.—In the school and home many opportunities arise for the starting of inferiority feeling. Perhaps a childish lisp attracts attention and finally causes a sense of inferiority or the child gets the idea that in certain subjects he must always do badly and therefore is less capable than his mates. Many times he protects himself from his risk by fostering contempt for the whole school situation and putting his vitality in something else. Punishment that brings public disgrace is particularly dangerous since it so easily begins inferiority feelings.

[2] Dodd, L. W., "The Golden Complex."

When this trend occurs in children it is important that it be detected. In any ordinary class there is likely to be a considerable number of pupils who are developing inferiority of one sort or another, who think they are unjustly criticized, disliked, unpopular, have bad reputation, or are so poor that it is making a difference in the treatment they receive. The next task for the observer is to determine whether the feeling is at all substantial. Many times it is entirely imaginary. When the difficulty is found to be unreal, the sufferer must be convinced that he is misinterpreting the facts. That undertaking is not easy because he hesitates to face life squarely and test it.[3]

Those who have inferiority reactions may be surprised to find they have not been unpopular but have acted so that people thought they did not like to be with others. Sometimes, though they exaggerate their affliction in thinking of it, they have some handicap, are disliked, or have a bad family reputation yet this need not afford a basis for inferiority. Since the crux of their predicament is their reaction to it, not the situation itself, if they have the courage to meet their ordeal it may be an advantage rather than a disadvantage. Adler has recently said that inferiority feeling is often an advantage, leading to aggressiveness of a constructive character. Inferiority feelings are dangerous but not necessarily socially harmful. Frequently college students who have marked inferiority feelings, when their reaction is explained and its results made clear, face their problem frankly, gain self-control, and from their experience draw power and character.

[3] Morgan, J. B., "The Unadjusted School Child."

PART III

MAN AND HIS SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

CHAPTER IX

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL EXPERIENCE. CONTACT; INTERACTION

I

CONTACT

The meaning of social contact.—Sociology as a science is concerned with the facts of social experience. These facts, the product of the relationships of people who form a group, originate from two fundamental and complementary processes in the interplay of persons, *contact* and *interaction.* Since contact represents the simpler and primary activity, it needs first to be considered.

Contact, as used by the sociologist, has much the same meaning as that given the word in ordinary conversation. The difference is that, whereas, in our ordinary use of the word we emphasize the physical senses, especially touch, sight and hearing, the word as employed by the sociologist extends the idea of contact to include all forms of social experience. The possibilities of human communication are so great that relationship can be established without physical proximity of the persons in association. The development of civilization, particularly as expressed in traditions and conventions, has greatly expanded the possibilities of association by means of printing, writing, and even the transmission of speech over wide distances through the radio.

The essential point with reference to contact is the meeting of persons in such a way as to permit the building up of a common experience to which all, in reciprocal relationship, contribute and from which each extracts something that has social significance. Contact, therefore, is the meeting of person with person without respect to the means by which they come into relationship. Since it is axiomatic that without this association there can be no ground for social experience, it represents the basic process in social life.

Primary contacts.—Although contact can be established at a distance, face to face association has a greater richness of content because it permits sensory experience, and this on account of its fundamental significance to the individual makes the experience impressive in a way that abstract and impersonal contact cannot be. Professor Cooley has defined this more intimate form of human association as a primary contact. Its largest development is normally found in family life; hence primary contacts precede the other sort and are, in the early life of the child, the exclusive sort of association. Later the same type of experience has extended into the neighborhood and the child builds up primary relationships with his playmates and those he sees commonly about him. Necessarily, during this period when primary contact is almost if not altogether the sole form of the child's experience, his personality responds to the influences that come out of these personalities with whom he stands in intimate relationship. This explains the large social determinism the neighborhood has upon the growing child. In later life the individual has a much larger choice in deciding who shall come into a primary contact relationship with him, but the little child is at the mercy of those who happen to be near him in his formative period.

Because of its richness the primary contact experience always has a distinct character and is for most people both the most influential and the most satisfying form of human

relationship. It is the primary contact that permits the intimate response which Professor Thomas has distinguished as one of the profound desires of human nature. The vividness of experience possible to those who are endowed with a fine quality of imagination, which by training they have made creative, is able at times to build up a relationship which, in spite of the fact that it cannot enjoy the privileges of sense contact, may have a wealth of its own permitting it successfully to rival a primary contact relationship which has merely a basis of propinquity. One of the most remarkably strong and influential attachments which was essentially non-primary is represented by the reaction of Dante to Beatrice. It was indeed all the stronger because of the remoteness of the subject.

Although the primary contact represents the more primitive level of human experience, one must not interpret it as necessarily a more significant form of social experience when development permits man to escape the tyranny of the senses, at this point as elsewhere, so as to give freer play to the faculties that have been brought forth during the long period of social evolution. Primary and secondary contacts are always different in quality, but it does not follow that the first is for every individual the more satisfying or the more influential form of social experience.

Secondary experiences.—Only those living in small groups have many opportunities for primary contacts. Village life provides the best setting for a large number of these experiences. The city, because of its size, mobility, and diversity of interests, reduces to a minimum the possibility of primary contacts. The student living in a fraternity apartment in the city does not even pass the time of day with the people who live on the floor below; indeed, the country relative coming in to look up the student is surprised, when he questions an occupant of the building whom he happens to meet in the entrance hall, at the man's ignorance even of the floor

on which the fraternity has its rooms. On his way to class the student rides on a car with a number of people he has never seen before and perhaps will never see again, or if he goes at the same time every day he may see a few persons who are also fairly regular passengers on the 8:47 electric, yet even these he probably does not see elsewhere, nor does he ever speak to or of them to learn their names or anything about them other than is declared by their appearance in the circumscribed area of the trolley car. Leaving the university when his work is done, he may eat in a cafeteria or restaurant where he seldom notices twice the same fellow-patron. If he goes to the movies or theater it is rare for him to see anyone he knows unless he has gone with a friend. When he shops, the clerks know and care nothing about him save that he be a ready buyer. All this insistence on the transient and limited contacts, coupled with the great numbers of people seen doing the same thing as himself and the fact that, as long as he is not far different from the rest in dress and manner, he can do very much as he likes without exciting comment, stimulates the individual to heightened activity and a readiness for new ideas with a corresponding lessening of the habit of weighing his actions with a view to estimating "what people will think."

This is why the city has attained so much freedom, stimulation and irresponsibility as well as its limitations and restlessness. City dwellers come in contact frequently and have a casual knowledge of many individuals but they lack the intimacy of continuous relationship, even in most of their associations with friends. The difference between the two environments is vividly felt by the adult who moves from the rural or village situation to the large city or goes from a congested center to spend a length of time in the country. Even in the city home primary contacts decrease because the inmates are away from home more than is normal in the country or village. Also the members of a city family

do not have the country family's common interests, due to a scattering of their attention and to the fact that only in a limited degree can one person know what the other does in the activities of the passing days.

The distinctions between rural and city culture are to a large extent products of the difference in their proportion of primary and secondary contacts. Here is rooted the cosmopolitan character of the city as compared with the provincialism of the country. At this point also is the basic cause of the conservatism, especially in regard to ethics, of the country as compared with the city.[1] Modern communication not only stimulates the coming together of large groups, encouraging city growth, but it also makes possible the extending of urban culture so that city standards encroach upon the domain, even in rural and village territory, of attitudes built upon predominance of primary contacts. As a result, American life, without reference to geographical situation, discloses increasingly the influence of a culture which issues from associations that are for the most part secondary in contrast with primary contacts.

Social solidarity.—Although closeness of contact by perversion may bring about separation and feuds, the normal consequence of intimate contact is the construction of a feeling of common interest and likeness. The meaning of this appears when we observe the entrance of a stranger into a small community well knit together by intimate experiences of primary contact. There is a sense of suspicion, even of hostility, in the reception a stranger gets, which discloses the working of that *consciousness of kind* which Professor Giddings has made so interpretive of human reactions.

If the stranger appears different in dress, has contrary standards or is very dissimilar in conduct, even though the unusual behavior be essentially trivial, the aloofness of the natives becomes the more pronounced.

[1] See Groves, E. R., "Social Problems and Education," pp. 339, 342.

Greater familiarity may gradually break down the sense of difference until the stranger, in spite of his variations, becomes incorporated in his new community. Rural communities that depend upon tourists or summer visitors because of the economic advantage that comes from the entrance into their midst of strangers dissolve their clannishness until the feeling of difference, although not entirely removed, no longer induces a sense of hostility.

The clashing of one social group with another naturally leads to a deepening of the sense of solidarity within each group. This explains many historic illustrations of unpopular governments or administrators purposely bringing about antagonism or war between the group they represent and some other group in order to strengthen their position with their subjects. Nothing so easily covers up deficient administration and turns the attention of people from domestic problems as does the starting of a foreign war, and history is replete with illustrations of this trick by which rulers or party leaders find anchorage for their power in a tightening up of the feeling of group solidarity.

II

INTERACTION

The meaning of interaction.—As soon as people come in contact something happens. It is this product of their association which we designate as social experience. The process by which social experience comes about we call interaction; it represents a concept which is fundamental to thinking because all causal analysis is built upon the idea that the element of contact brings about changes. Personalities that do not react upon one another reveal their isolation by the very fact of their mutual indifference, for in true contact interaction would invariably occur.

Interaction must not be thought of as occurring only by contact involving physical proximity. Communication permits interaction between persons widely separated not only in space but also in time. Nothing is clearer than the effect of past experience, handed on from generation to generation, which becomes a causal influence upon the behavior of the recipient, who is often utterly unconscious of the extent to which he is under the dominance of ancestors, maintaining through social transmission of culture their contact with the living. The ancestral worship of the Chinese illustrates this to a remarkable degree.

Bodily expression of interaction.—If one sets himself to notice what takes place when two individuals meet, it is possible to detect a definite body expression that results from the process of interaction. If the individuals meeting are young and of opposite sexes their desire to make a favorable impression on each other, accompanied by the consciousness of their situation, may produce that reddening of the cheek which we call "blushing." If either of them notices that he is being observed, this area of red will extend itself and become more vivid, particularly if an effort be made to prevent the reaction. On the other hand, one may detect a milder type of reaction in that expression which we call the brightening up of the features, in which the sparkling eye has a prominent place. If the individuals are unfriendly and yet feel the force of the convention that forbids a genuine reflection of their true feelings, their countenances are likely to exhibit the conflict between the tendencies toward dislike and the effort to be polite. In spite of a forced smile there will be a certain suggestion of strain and glimmer of the eye which only half conceals their innermost reactions in the presence of each other. Nothing is more difficult to conceal than affection, for love draws forth on the face evidences of the inner feeling which cannot be mistaken. When the two bound together by love come into each other's presence, phys-

ical expressions follow that are social in origin, representing elementary forms of the interacting process.

Laughter.—Although laughter expresses various sorts of psychic attitudes, it is in all of its forms an experience born of social situations. Whether the laugher portrays a sudden transition of attitude, whose contrast gives a feeling of the incongruous, or whether it expresses a sense of triumph or is the overflow of an inhibited activity in the manner described by Freud, who explains laughter as the sudden flowing out of repressed impulses from the unconscious, the experience is always related to social stimuli. As Professor Allport states, the amount of stimulus necessary to produce laughter and the openness of the expression of laughter are conditioned by the size and situation of the group.[2]

Nearly every adult has felt the difficulty of control when, for example, in a crowded church a humorous event occurs unexpectedly. The appearance of the incident is in itself incongruous and its attack upon an atmosphere of dignity makes the impulse to laugh all the more overwhelming. Perhaps the same event in a church with a very small audience would seem much less laughable and outside the church setting would hardly draw a smile.

The inexperienced speaker who dreads the ordeal of making a public statement from the platform may be so affected by his audience, even though its individual members are friends and neighbors, that his getting up to speak, representing as it does the signal for an unusual contact, with its definite reactions, produces body changes of such intensity that he becomes conscious of his nervousness and may even lose control of his vocal organs. Such an experience brings out vividly the inevitable interaction that accompanies social situations.

Imitation.—Imitation is a definite type of reaction which comes through social contact. It has so large a social conse-

[2] Allport, F. H., "Social Psychology," p. 258.

quence, particularly in the early life of children, that it has been elevated by some social psychologists until it is defined as a process in itself. In spite of its large place in social behavior, it does not deserve separation from interaction. It is merely one of the responses that naturally come about when people are in association. Animals show a tendency for the flock or herd to follow the example of the leader who has first expressed a reflex or instinctive reaction. The behavior of one incites the others. In children it is not difficult to discover the natural tendency to imitate. Indeed much of what has in the past been considered the result of hereditary influences upon the conduct of children we now know to be the product of conditioned responses brought about by interaction in the form of imitation.

Imitation is not necessarily unconscious, though adults sometimes have clear proof of the unconscious nature of imitation, as when they find themselves copying an unpleasant mannerism that has several times struck their attention. If, however, it becomes deliberate it is nevertheless a product of interaction. The prestige of the leader incites imitation, which may be either conscious or unconscious. It is not uncommon for the adolescent to choose some character that he especially admires and attempt imitation, until in his play-acting he identifies himself with the person whom he tries to follow.

Group pressure also may produce imitative acts which are either conscious or unconscious. The fad, fashion and the current belief which spreads far and near are illustrations of the strength of the herd in developing imitative acts.

The impulse to do what others do arises so naturally when individuals are in contact and interact on one another that it is not strange that imitation has been regarded by some as an instinct. Imitation is merely a common form of interaction, the activity of one individual awakening the impulse of another to attempt the same undertaking. The signifi-

cance of the act socially is not enhanced by charging it to a fictitious instinct. Human beings could hardly interact at all if their association did not create the desire for one to do what another has already accomplished.

Suggestion.—Suggestion is similar to imitation and emphasizes the feeling attitude just as the other stresses activity. Suggestion is a form of interaction by which the individual either consciously or unconsciously responds to social stimulation so that he accepts without critical understanding or adequate evidence what those about him feel or think. It is in emotional experience particularly that suggestion shows itself.

Three types have been distinguished. In one, suggestion is the building up of inner disposition by stimulations that appeal to strong impulses in human nature. Another type of suggestion is the releasing of a habit attitude of either feeling or thought already established. This is the most common use of the term *suggestion*. We also use the word, suggestion, to denote the effort made by advertisers to intensify their appeal by connecting it with a deep-seated desire.[3]

There are great differences in the suggestibility of individuals. These variations are the product of physical inheritance and early experience, later training and habit. The hysterical type is a spectacular illustration of a personality exceedingly susceptible to suggestion. The individual may be the victim of neurotic trends which have originated from either inheritance or early childhood experience, or both. Ignorance increases the susceptibility to suggestion. Isolation, the lack of familiarity with certain types of persons, also opens the individual of limited experience to suggestions of hostility or class feeling that would not be possible if he had come in contact with those against whom his feelings are being aroused.

The susceptibility of the crowd.—A crowd is a group of

[3] See Allport, F. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 245–47.

individuals who have their attention emotionally fixed because they have temporarily laid aside their inhibitions or sense of responsibility and allowed themselves to become the victims of mass feeling. The individual members are in interaction, each stimulating the feelings of the others until an exaggerated emotional attitude results that is unnatural both in intensity and uniformity. Individuality is temporarily wiped away and in its place is a mass frenzy of which each partakes.

Naturally, under such circumstances, there is little deliberation and no tolerance. The group for the time refuses to listen to opposition, even bursts into hostility at the slightest attempt to lessen or control the outburst of feeling. Anything can happen in the crowd if one only leads the way. Leadership does not depend upon a forcible personality, insight or strength of character. The least fit, by being the most reckless, may come to have temporarily the position of authority, and persons with superior equipment for life will blindly follow into excesses of activity that in calmer moments would be for them impossible.

In the crowd it would seem as if each individual was reduced to primitive impulses and emotions. It is true that the crowd is capable of courageous as well as brutal acts, but crowd expression, whatever its quality, from the point of view of moral action is dangerous and irresponsible. It represents an orgy of stimulation in which each person empties himself of the inhibitions, defenses and processes of control which he has by hard labor acquired, and becomes for the time a mere reacting mechanism on the feeling level. Thus the crowd as a mass reaction is as pathological as hypnosis is in the case of the individual. The likenesses between the two abnormal states of interaction are many. In each state the point of contact is concentrated and fixed so that counteracting influences do not enter consciousness. Because of this concentration multiple interaction becomes impossible

as the social experience pushes forward, deepening the channel of emotion it develops.

Language.—Human contact is immensely enriched by the wealth of experience made possible through written and spoken language. It is man's command of language which elevates him so far above the limitations of time and space and permits his communications to be complex, permanent and prolific. Language, whether spoken or written, is not merely the means of passing on an experience from one person to another, it is also the most important means by which persons in contact interact on one another. Thus language makes possible the adjustment of persons who are acting upon one another as a result of their social relationship. Language permits the meeting of personality with personality so that interaction takes multitudinous forms and becomes continuous over the whole range of human association.

Even though the more subtle experiences of relationship are never adequately embodied in words, were it not for language only the very simplest kinds of experience could be conveyed and interaction would be so meager in content as to provide no substance for the building up of complicated social experience.

Thus speech not only releases the expression of human experience, it also becomes itself stimulus. Although language represents interaction, its large social significance deserves special treatment and its use as a means of social expeperience will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER X

THE MEANS OF SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

COMMUNICATION

The means of social experience.—Communication permits social expression and by so doing provides the necessary means of relationship. Intermittently, in persons who are concentrated upon a task that occupies attention fully and with great intensity, we discover a severing of the ties of contact and a closing of the avenues of approach to ordinary stimuli so that the individual acts the part of one who is self-contained. For the moment he is so buried in his work that he maintains periods of isolation during which he is but dimly, if at all, conscious of those about him. Interruption occurs, however, when stimuli powerful enough to break through his guard loosen the grip of his attention, and, if the breach is made by one of his fellows, contact is at once established and normally communication, even if only that of a glance of the eye or a movement of the lips, follows. With this expression of thought or feeling, relationship starts. Among the insane are persons so committed to the world of their false creation that they seldom mingle with others and meagerness of social experience results from their lack of communication. They are not lacking in expression, no visitor would be deceived as to that, but what they do and say may lack awareness or regard for their fellows, revealing a failure of social relationship. As in the case of the absent-minded individual, other people, by their noise or activities, may be stimulating these morbidly self-enclosed patients, but the latter do not

react socially because they are not conscious of relationship. When they become aware of their associates, efforts to communicate reveal at once the transition from self-sustained activity to social experience.

Social significance of language.—Language as it has been developed by humans provides the supreme means of communication, and, whether written or spoken, is indispensable to culture, where its social significance appears in countless ways. First of all, the social value of language is revealed in the fact that both writing and speaking become a means of vicarious experience. This permits us to get ideas at second hand. We can learn from the doings of others and in a measure escape the losses of the trial-and-error method of procedure. This assistance which language provides when one undertakes unfamiliar activities is brought out by the help gained through instruction when a new habit is being formed. Perhaps for the first time one is trying to ride horseback or drive an automobile. Words of counsel will not eliminate mistakes nor remove awkwardness, but a clear explanation of the way of carrying out the new processes, given by a person of experience, will prevent many blunders and shorten the time required for the development of the new habit. Language lessens waste in new activities by giving the beginner some of the gain acquired by the professional. In this manner culture is handed on and no generation starts learning afresh all the practices that have been acquired through previous experience.

Thus language comes to have the foremost place in education. Language also affords opportunity for social coöperation on a scale not possible to those restricted by inadequate means of communication. The intensely stimulating effect of savage work songs is an illustration on the primitive level of the value of language as a means of bringing unison and stirring the energies of individuals. The group songs of savage drama fulfill gregarions need since they make for emotional

solidarity and evoke the social satisfaction that comes from the feeling of close contact. Thus language not only becomes a stimulus to social undertaking and a source of pleasure in social contact but a profound instrument of social control. Through language tradition is transmitted, custom enforced and group culture registered. Language is not merely a vehicle of expression, it is even more a means of socialization.

It is apparent that the adaptability of a language has much to do with the direction taken by any national culture. When we contrast representative philosophic or poetic thought in German, English, Hebrew, Greek, and Chinese literature it becomes apparent that the nature of each language encourages its characteristic form of expression. Language itself represents in the contact of persons an interaction of the most complicated type, a relationship that triumphs over the limitations of time and space. Modern culture, of course, could not exist were it not for the high degree to which language-expression has now attained, and as culture advances, language, especially written language, becomes more and more important. Language, it is true, does not create thought but is indispensable to its adequate expression. Language is the currency of modern culture.

The language of the child.—The child is given at birth the equipment of vocal language. He has the muscles, nerves and vocal organs awaiting the gradual development of the brain cells in the speech area. In a sense, his cry at birth represents the beginning of his speech development, since the cry is a product of the apparatus from which, as he matures, speech will develop. The child also has the impulse to exercise his vocal organs in the same way that he uses arms and legs. The sounds he makes in the earliest months must be thought of as similar to his random movements. These sounds that appear so unintelligible at first come in time to have meaning for the mother. Many of the child's impulsive cries reflect his state of feeling. Hunger, fatigue, pain, anger and

fear are expressed by the baby of three or four months in a manner that often permits the adult to interpret what is happening to the child. The cries and sounds that proceed from the little one deserve the dignity of being considered the material of speech since the later talking of the child grows out of these early efforts.

It is interesting to find that on this elementary speech level children of all nationalities seem to be alike in the character of their impulsive utterances. Although to the observer the progress of the child in speech attainment appears slow, from the point of view of social significance it is marvellously rapid. At first comes the reflex cry which springs from the child's impulse and has no particular meaning. As soon as he becomes conscious of his environment and able to respond to its stimulation the simple reflex sounds take on greater significance. Now we are not dealing with something purely reflex, but with utterances that show the effort to respond to things outside himself. Here is evidence of the awakening of social consciousness even though it be of the most elementary form.

A little later the child discovers that his making of sounds can furnish him pleasure and he repeats over and over again the cooing and babbling which satisfy his impulse and give him practice while developing the muscles, nerves and cells which must be brought into coördination in order to make adult speech possible. Much of the child's sound-making is essentially play in spirit and yet these pleasure-giving activities are also practice that strengthens and brings to finer coördination the vocalizing apparatus upon which the child depends for his power to speak. It is easy to distinguish in the little child between cries for attention which reveal strong feeling attitudes and these playful utterances which show a sense of comfort and well-being. By six months the child has acquired a wealth of vocalization astonishing in comparison with the simple sounds of his first few days. From

now on his attainment of a means of communication is rapid and by two years the size of his vocabulary measures his social development and to a considerable extent discloses his degree of intelligence.

During this period of speech beginnings, the influence of the parent is of the largest significance in a child's progress. At no time throughout his career does the child show more clearly the conditioning process and the influences of adult stimulation. Speech correction, especially that of pronunciation, is after maturity notoriously difficult to effect and it is no uncommon experience for an adult, who has by persistent effort removed from his speech faults acquired in childhood, to fall back when excited or extremely tired to his earlier speech habits. Not only must the child pick up his words from the language he hears spoken about him, but also the amount of effort he puts forth in the acquiring of his new tools depends largely upon the interest parents take in his progress and the guidance they give him. Children have been known to make no effort to talk or increase their speech because the parents have permitted them to obtain their desires by the use of gestures and a few simple words or sounds. One child is reported not to have attempted to learn to speak since an older sister had done the necessary talking for her.

The child that is taught "baby talk" is especially handicapped from the start in speech development, since the language that he first learns he later finds that he must discard, and this discovery is frequently attended by the knowledge that he has become an object of ridicule because of the infantile character of his language.

We have every reason to suppose that the language history of the growing child plays a most significant part in the later characteristics of his personality. Without question the child introduced early to a wealth of language experience, taught to discriminate between the meanings of similar words and led to appreciate the

beauty of speech expression, has a decided advantage in the use of his inherited intelligence as compared with the child of meager and careless speech experience.[1] Mental testing, since it is so largely based upon the use of language, reveals the significance of this social difference.

Animal communication.—That animals in packs and flocks respond to danger signals expressed in definite sounds or body movements which act as signals is a matter of common knowledge. This is notably true of animals that are richly endowed in social impulses. Insects also, especially bees and ants, communicate with each other by the use of their antennae. These occurrences represent a rudimentary form of communication but not language. In the case of the apes and monkeys this development is so great that with reference to sex experience, particularly, there seems to be evidence that the animal comes close to the language experience which is the special possession of man.

Although it is no time to dogmatize regarding animal communication since a serious experimental study of the problem is just beginning, it is the consensus of opinion that animal communication whether by gestures or sounds is crude and limited when compared with human language such as we now find even among the most primitive of savages.

The handicap of the animal is not merely in his mouth, that restricts the free use of the tongue which man employs so much in getting variety and delicacy in his vocal sounds, but also in the lesser development of the necessary cortex area. Animals depend for their sounds upon the more primitive glottal reflexes and coördinations, and this laryngeal means of expressing emotion is similar to the cries of children in their early infancy. To other animals these sounds appear to convey meaning just as do the cries of the human infant to those experienced in caring for the young child. The

[1] See also Hinck, E. M., "Disability in Reading and its Relation to Personality."

hunter is much too familiar with the startled cry of the frightened bird which brings the flock to wing and sends them scurrying away.

Antiquity of language.—It is impossible to determine with any certainty from the study of fossil man the origin of language. Some authorities believe that the Piltdown fossil demonstrates power of speech. There is more convincing evidence that Neandertal man had the necessary brain area for speaking. It is difficult, however, from any skeletal examinations to determine the speaking ability of fossil representatives. A more satisfactory method of locating the time of the development of language comes from interpreting the cultural evidence. It is reasonable to suppose that man must have obtained a considerable degree of speaking ability before he arrived at the culture which discloses marked aesthetic values. By this process of deduction it is at least likely that language had made an appreciable development by the time of Magdalenian man. The study of the history of languages also leads to a supposition of great antiquity. The Chinese language, for example, has existed for so long a period within the historic era that its time of origin must have been very ancient. Since we always find culture and language together we have to assume that they coexisted from the start, each becoming enriched by man's increasing fund of social experience.

It has been suggested by one authority that the vocal sounds of our primitive ancestors sounded like the barking of the dog and that the animal originally imitated man,[2] but it is reasonable to suppose that the apes give a closer approximation to the character of early man's speaking. Expressions of pleasant and disagreeable feeling must have had a large place in the beginning of human speech. Imitation, also, although the importance of man's reproduction of the various noises he heard may easily be exaggerated, must be credited with giving to the primitive vocabulary many of its words.

[2] Klatsch, H., "The Evolution and Progress of Mankind," p. 133.

These sounds were suggested both by the habitual cries of animals and by the sounds of natural phenomena. The words *flow, ripple,* and *whiz* are good examples of the latter type of word formation. It is important to recognize the rhythm that appears in sounds both of nature and animals and the large place it still has in the language of savages.

The study of spoken or written languages, however ancient they may be, does not permit the student to retrace the steps of linguistic evolution so as to discover the origin of language. The languages of savages, also, although useful in showing thought processes and language development, are both too recent and too complex to reveal the characteristics of human language at its beginning. It is useless to seek in children knowledge of the first forms of language, for they can only show us the way in which, they, by the process of imitation, acquire the complicated language of their elders.

The appearance of human language with its characteristic power of variability and progress depended upon the possession of the necessary quantity of brain substance. At first perhaps language was purely emotive. The exclamations, whether related to experiences of pleasure, fear of danger, or used to accompany labor as a sort of work-song, came to have social meaning. The cry, because it acted as a sign to others, established a means of communication which proved of decided advantage in social contacts. Individuals could exchange symbols that represented feeling-experiences and in this manner forecast and incite the activities of their fellows. Once the social utility of the sign was discovered, opportunity was provided for the enrichment of language by accretion as it developed to keep pace with man's increasing use of it as a convenient instrument for the carrying on of social intercourse.

Gesture language.—Among savages gesture language has striking social importance. Not having the ability to write, even when by means of a messenger stick, pictographs and

other symbols they were able to communicate, they had need also of a sign language. The North American Indians, particularly those that inhabited the plains area, possessed an extensive system of gestures of great value in communicating from a distance and to strangers. The native Australians also have a gesture language which is widely used. A territory that provides extensive open spaces so that one can be seen from afar is especially favorable to the development of the gesture method of communication. Signaling by means of smoke originated and this method we find among the North American Indians. In Africa especially, and also in North America, the drum became an effective means of communicating from great distances. African travelers tell us that even when they passed rapidly through native territory by means of a fast moving steamer, the drum signals along the river bank announced their coming and their character and purpose, many miles in advance and far back into the country.

Criminals are said to have remarkable systems of communication by signs even when in solitary confinement. Kropótkin tells in his memoirs of the tapping carried on by the political prisoners in St. Petersburg in 1874, so many knocks with the foot on the floor or wall for each letter, and a simple code which divided the alphabet into five rows so that each letter was numbered according to its row and its place in the row; the tapping went on all day, carrying messages between a prisoner and his next-door neighbors as well as those above and below him, and through these immediate neighbors to men in all parts of the building. Kropótkin in this way told another prisoner the whole history of the Paris Commune though it took an entire week. In the reformed central prisons in France in 1883 a new attempt was made to enforce absolute silence, but by whispers, low voices, a word or two at a time, and bits of notes, anything happening within the prison, whether among the prisoners or administration, was at once

known to all, and even the occurrences in the village outside the prison walls and in politics in Paris were quickly made known.[3]

Among the lower grades of feebleminded persons there is considerable use of sign language which permits the individual to announce his wants, for example, by pointing to various parts of his body. Indeed, in illness, and even in a foreign country, modern man frequently falls back upon a spontaneous sort of sign language. Anyone who has been obliged during a spell of laryngitis to refrain from speech will bear testimony that an effective method of making wants known through sign language can be quickly discovered. Although one must be careful not to discount the value of sign language in primitive society, it is evident that communication of this sort is not only more laborious than speech, since it requires fixed attention and specific movements, but also that it is, because of its inherent limitations, an inadequate vehicle for the transmission of thought.

Writing.—Written language, which has so large a place in modern culture, goes back in its simple beginning to the period of Neolithic culture. In its first form it consists of attempts to portray ideas by crude pictures. The pictograph in a meager way conveyed and registered ideas somewhat as the printing press by its use of letters serves the modern reader. The new device for communication both resulted from the advancement of culture in the Neolithic period and itself became an added stimulus to social progress, revealing how intimately related are culture and language. Among savages also are found mnemonic devices, especially for remembering and conveying the idea of numbers. The Inca of Peru used a knotted cord. Another method is the making of notches in sticks. These messenger sticks, as they are called, have frequently been carried from tribe to tribe over long distances conveying the intended message to tribes scat-

[3] Kropótkin, P., "Memoirs of a Revolutionist," pp. 347, 365.

tered over a wide territory. Among the North American Indians, picture-writing was developed to a high point. As is well known, the Chinese language originated as a picture-writing method of communication. Once written communication becomes well established the natural progress leads eventually to an attempt to reproduce spoken language through signs instead of the use of pictures. When the idea of an alphabet originates, progress is accelerated and by signs that symbolize sounds the written word becomes representative of speech itself.

With the advent of an alphabet social culture takes on new aspects. Trade is no longer restricted to personal barter and business can be carried on between places widely separated. The political state, because law can be written and codified, increases to a magnitude impossible when tribes are restricted to picture-writing and sign language in their communications. Soon, through the facility for conveying thought which the alphabet permits, comes the preservation and elaboration of human experience along ethical, industrial and, finally, philosophic lines. By relieving human memory from the necessity of carrying over long periods of time complicated details held in thought by great effort, and by allowing the spoken word to become a permanent record, enormous stimulus is injected into the advancement of human culture.

Printing.—With the invention of movable type and the commercializing of the new method of communication, a unique effort in social experience starts. With the advent of the printing press literary expression is so cheapened that it can be popularized. This, in turn, emphasizes universal literacy, until today the book, magazine and newspaper occupy a foremost place in our cultural life. In these days the printing press, allied with the telephone, telegraph, radio and cable remove the handicap of time and space in man's effort to communicate with his fellows so that on the level of

thinking, contact and interaction become international and people everywhere are interested in, and react to, happenings in lands foreign and geographically distant.

Language as means of control.—Of all the devices developed by man for his advantage none proves more useful as a social instrument than language. Like the tool, it permits the extension of human control—indeed it is a sort of mental tool. It provides for the cataloging of experience, which makes possible the preservation and transmission of knowledge.

The child early in his use of language discovers its value as a means of getting his desires satisfied. As soon as he can repeat the word *ride* he can by his urgent "wide, wide," get the attention of his parent and a seat in the automobile, or again "dink, dink" brings him the glass of water he cannot reach. As his collection of words increases he turns to language more and more as a means of getting assistance from his elders. Occasionally the child has recourse to words as substitutes for experience. It is not uncommon for a child, especially if isolated through illness or by geographical situation, to create a playmate and talk to him as if he were actually present. Indeed, to the child, the fictitious character has reality even though a difference is recognized between him and ordinary flesh and blood companions.

Language and magic.—The magic power of words suggested by the fancies of children appears in maturity in the ideas of savages. There are unlucky, dangerous words, unlawful to utter because of their ominous power. Names of the dead, of demons, and at times of gods, are words that must not be spoken lest the beings referred to appear and bring harm. Frazer [4] has collected examples of this belief of savages that certain words are perilous to speak because of their magical potency.

Names are a part of the person. Sometimes the savage

[4] Frazer, J. G., "The Golden Bough," ch. 22.

hides his name lest someone knowing it obtain power over him; at other times he fears to use a name because it will put him under the spell of something or somebody that is thought of as dangerous. The Australian often keeps from general knowledge his personal name for fear that an enemy by using it may do harm to him. A Brahman child receives two names, one for common use and the other only for such ceremonies as marriage. In this way the child is protected from the risk of magic. Names of the dead, of kings and sacred persons are often taboo. A different kind of testimony to the power of words appears when the aged Esquimos take new names with the expectation of getting in this way a new lease of life. One of the strongest taboos of language is that of the Hebrew word for Jehovah, Jhvh, for which, in the reading, Adonai or Lord was substituted. It is suggested that the desire to prevent the use of the name in magic explains its being prohibited except to the authorized priest. "If anyone I do not say should blaspheme against the Lord of men and gods but should even dare to utter his name unseasonably, let him expect the penalty of death" expresses this firmly established prohibition. Philo, Vita Mosis, iii, 11.

The savage often fails to distinguish between the picture of a person and the person himself. He assumes also that magic is somehow involved in picture-making and especially in written language. Names written on bark or on the skin of animals are supposed to give the possessor power over those whose names are inscribed. Written language was early used as magical formulæ in witchcraft. The magical character of writing explains the fact that the first scribes were sorcerers. The reaction of savages to books is also based upon their idea of magic. They regard books as instruments of divination. The missionary is asked to discover from his books an event of the future. ". . . asked me one day whether Mr. Price had started on his return journey to the Mission. I told him I did not know. 'Well then,' he said, 'ask your

books, they will tell you.' " A native being told that the square objects on the table were books put his ear on one and, hearing nothing, said, "This book tells me nothing." After shaking it he tried again and then said, "Perhaps it is asleep!" Another native, when he found that a letter he had brought conveyed a message, refused to take back an answer, saying that he was afraid of its speaking on his return journey. Another messenger stuck a spear through a letter that he was carrying to prevent its speaking. The savage associates the idea of magic with the missionary's books, so much that he frequently regards the effort of an individual to learn to read as equivalent to a public confession that the latter has changed his religion.[5]

The witchery of words and their power to influence social behavior appears in our time in catchwords and slogans.[6] The phrase and caption with their suggestions appealing to prejudice or desire are devices for the control of practice or thought, in high favor among the agitators, politicians and all others who endeavor to catch the public.

Differences in language separate also by the inherent limitation of translation. Thought expressed in one language is molded by the structure of the language in which it appears and loss follows the effort to transfer it to some other language. It is easy to misinterpret what appears in a foreign tongue so as to bring about confusion or even hostility. The story of the Tower of Babel stresses the confusion and division that result from differences of speech. In military alliances the difficulty of intercommunication and the irritation resulting from the inability of fellow-soldiers of unlike speech to converse become a substantial cause of lack of sympathy and unity.

In our country the chief contribution of our public schools

[5] Lévy Bruhl, L., "Primitive Mentality," pp. 368–75.

[6] The student should read Lumley, F. E., "Slogans as a Means of Social Control," Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. 16.

to national welfare has been the establishment of a common language among children of various races and nationalities. The traveler in a foreign land has a vivid appreciation of the separation he feels from not speaking the language of the country in which he happens to be; he warms when he hears his native tongue spoken by a compatriot, and a fellowship starts even though he and the stranger may have so few mutual interests that in their homeland they would not even maintain an acquaintance.

The progress of language.—The test of a language is its adaptation to the needs of the people using it. This is the answer to the question whether languages progress toward a goal, an ideal form. Nothing stands out more clearly in history than the changing, often rapid, that languages in the past have undergone. This fluctuation of language has been especially noticeable in recent years, making a large part of the words most commonly used as slang in our free conversation quite unintelligible in a decade.

There is no iron-clad order that language must follow in its development, as was once thought by students of the evolution of language. Spoken and written language are molded by social experience and their changes are brought about by the need of adaptation to prevailing conditions. Isolation tends to preserve the forms of language. The language that travels from its place of origin is more open to variation in its new habitat. Rural peoples show conservatism in their language as in their other experiences. The city, on the other hand, tends to speed up linguistic changes.

Science, by its influence upon the ways of living, indirectly influences language. Science also adds new words from the necessity of our having a vocabulary that permits us to write and speak about new inventions and discoveries.

Language tends, as civilization moves on, to become less mystical and less concrete. The increased use of abstract terms is a product of our manner of living and thinking.

With experience flowing so rapidly and becoming so loaded with the complexities of present-day civilization, a corresponding loss of attention to detail is required, and the situation is reflected in both spoken and written language. Language is a form of social contact, and it changes as the people who use it change. Its development is directed not by linguistic laws, but by social forces.

CHAPTER XI

FORMS OF SOCIAL EXPERIENCE. CONFLICT; COÖPERATION

I

CONFLICT

The rôle of conflict.—Conflict is a fundamental element not only in human experience, but in all life. The living thing maintains its existence by struggle. Biologically, the human being, like the animal and the plant, continues life by a process of struggle which perhaps is best described by the word *conflict*. The personality as a psychic experience also in a more conscious way finds conflict necessary to establish its integrity and to accomplish its purposes. Struggle is not merely inevitable and desirable, but in its milder form, particularly when it meets with success, pleasurable. It is true that our scientific culture tends to decrease the intensity and constancy of struggle for physical existence since an easier manner of life prevails, but with this change man turns to the milder types of conflict, such as social rivalry and political or commercial competition. Competition, therefore, in various degrees of strength, constitutes one of the fundamental forms of human interaction.

There is another type of activity that belongs to life which may be denoted by the term, *coöperation*. Even in its struggle to live the organism brings about a working together of its various parts which permits it to win success under the testing of its environmental situation. In man's social experience this principle of coöperation occupies an equal rôle with

the process of conflict. The individual whose experience becomes a fierce conflict with all his fellow-associates, unending and unrelieved, is worse than the man without a country, for he is literally a human being without a society. Just as human desires drive men into conflict, one man seeking what another has, so also social experience teaches the necessity of coöperation as a means of obtaining other satisfactions equally well-grounded in human desires.

Conflict and the child.—In the growth of the child as his personality forms, the principle of conflict steadily shows itself. When the child advances toward independence and comes to have wider contact with the things and people that surround his life, his difficulty in doing what he wishes to do makes him more and more conscious of obstructions that thwart his desires. He is forced to struggle to win his way and this effort profoundly influences the substance of his mental and social development. Thinking itself becomes a means of procuring a more advantageous adjustment between inner desire and the outward circumstances that the child finds in opposition to his wishes.

As the child matures he establishes different attitudes toward opposition that comes from people and that which originates from the physical environment. Believing, as he does, that people have hostile motives for the most part when they block his satisfactions, and convinced also that a mere change of disposition on their part can remove the barriers in the way of his happiness, he develops anger and an intense self-consciousness as a result of his social struggle.

This reaction to the conflict situation shows clearly in family life, for frequently between the normal child and his parents occur dramatic expressions of the child's protest against coercion. The character and frequency of these episodes often have a determining influence upon the growing personality, of the greatest significance in determining the adult's social conduct. Two extreme tendencies are common.

One is represented by the child who does not develop his incipient independence, so thoroughly crushed is he by adult authority or smothered by the appeal his parents make to his affections. The other extreme is shown in the child who becomes so concentrated in himself as wilfully to separate from associations that block his desires. If no other opportunity is presented he can at least take refuge in daydreaming and, by the magic of fancy, decrease to a minimum those contacts with reality which he finds so troublesome.

The average child escapes either extreme, but not without passing through experiences that produce visible friction between him and his elders. The conflict of the child is, of course, not confined to the family. In his contact with playmates in the larger group of children of which he becomes a member, at school and elsewhere, various forms of struggle occur. Such experiences have so much to do with the maturing of the individual socially that spectators seldom dare to interfere even though they recognize the unnecessary tension the young child suffers when his comrades purposely attempt to hector him. These early struggles play such an important part in the development of the person that it seems a wiser policy to keep hands off lest interference should weaken the child's much needed self-discipline and confidence.

The fighting impulse.—The fighting impulse occupies so large a place in human behavior that naturally it has come to be regarded as instinctive. No one disputes the instinctive character of pugnacity among the animals. Not only do they fight by instinct, but it is obvious that they require such an instinct. Although psychology in the past has had no uncertainty regarding the fighting instinct in man and its crucial importance, it is necessary to keep in mind that the conflict experience as we now have it is too complex and too diverse to be thought of as an exhibition of conduct on the instinctive emotional level.

It is certain that the conflict experience under certain cir-

cumstances evokes man's primitive emotional response which carries all the earmarks of a true instinct, discharging in the form of anger. The conflict principle, however, extends over a greater area of experience than that which is related directly to the instinct of pugnacity. Anger-struggle represents a specific type of conflict and one which, considered from the point of view of efficiency as a method of self-maintenance under the conditions of modern society, ranks lower than the more rational methods of defense.

Thwarting the baby only a few days old brings anger-responses. Holding his head so that he cannot move it from side to side causes him to exhibit the marks of anger, a flush of blood to the face, the tightening of muscles and the screwing up of the features, accompanied by lusty wailing. Parents, in directing the socializing process as the child's personality develops, attack this instinctive exhibition and spend much effort in trying to teach the child self-control, so that he may not be at the mercy of his emotions, or they make wiser attempts to protect him from responding to stimulations that lead him into anger. Under influences that start soon and work so steadily the personality expresses less and less the behavior which flows out upon the level of an instinct-emotion reaction.

Since society for its own well-being tries so hard through home, school and church to keep the anger reaction out of the conflict experiences of life, it is hardly safe to dogmatize with respect to the differences between men and women in their pugnacious qualities. It is not difficult to demonstrate that men fight oftener than women in the cruder forms of conflict but this fact does not give a safe basis for generalization regarding the comparative strength of their pugnacious impulses. It is certainly not true that the social forces that curb expressions of anger have been applied equally to men and women. Woman's special responsibilities because of the part she plays in reproduction and the nurture of the child

have made it seem necessary to give her lesser opportunities for the fighting forms of conflict than in the past have been taken by men. Woman's love of joining vicariously in all forms of conflict and her willingness to idealize war and other types of struggle at least make it difficult to estimate her actual status with reference to pugnacity as compared with man.

For the security and happiness of the group, society has been forced to suppress pugnacious struggle in one relationship after another. No longer does custom permit the use of the duel as an acceptable way of settling grievances. This suppression has finally withdrawn all forms of combat except that of war, as contrary to the security of the state. The sphere to which woman has been assigned through the division of labor has felt this restriction caused by the pressure of social prudence more than has that of man. This, in itself, is enough to account for such differences as we find, which are actually much less than they generally seem since convention tends to exaggerate man's fighting disposition and to minimize woman's.

Class conflict in modern society.—Social advance led to much self-expression with the necessary consequence of great variations in achievement. Attainments, the result of favorable opportunity provided by inheritance, make for conflict between classes. The immense significance of competition in modern society leads special groups to consolidate their interests and to protect themselves against the encroachment of other groups also organized. A society that has become stereotyped and maintains the distinction of privileges by authoritative tradition lessens this class conflict, but at the expense of progress, while democracy, by the fact that it opens up a clearer pathway for individual advancement, stimulates the economic struggle and other expressions of personal ambition. By lessening artificial advantages, democracy also removes a considerable degree of the emotional character of

that struggle and prevents it from assuming an explosive character.

Prejudice and conflict.—Much social conflict has a fictitious basis originating from human prejudice. Although such conflict starts from mistaken notions and false feelings it is not, because of its fictitious character, socially less significant. In human conduct prejudices always have to be taken into account and regarded seriously. In social contacts prejudice arises with reference to the unfamiliar, the different, and especially that which is feared. Much of this reaction is grounded in childhood experiences, and lack of contact with differing types of persons during the early period gives favorable opportunity for prejudices to form.

It is with reference to race, especially when this involves differences of color, that prejudices are strongest. Even when they are not deliberately inculcated by those who also are victims of unreasonable attitudes, prejudices easily come about from teachings that unconsciously establish unjust attitudes and feelings. When an attack is made upon the prevailing culture, or when it is assumed that what one has been accustomed to in social experience is being undermined, antipathy naturally springs up.

The cosmopolitan trends of modern life tend to lessen the significance of prejudice as a cause of unnecessary conflict, but on the other hand the multiplicity of interests in the modern state, with the subsequent organization of groups, stimulates prejudice between the classes that are brought into competitive contact. The most effective influence in the lessening of antagonism and passion comes from education and the right sort of moral instruction.

War.—Whatever one's attitude toward modern warfare, there can be no gainsaying the past importance of warfare in the development of human society and, from the evolutionary point of view, even its necessity. Man's social history demonstrates two opposite tendencies. One leads him toward

the forming of a peaceful group-life beginning with the family as a social unit and gradually increasing in size. Within these groups, through discipline and loyalty, peace is maintained between the members, for the security of the group would be destroyed by internal conflict so serious as to lead to bloodshed. As the groups become increasingly large, and family, clan, tribe, and nation come into being, the existence of each antagonizes similar groups so that the opposite tendency of serious conflict between competing interests originates. This description must not lead one to think the movement an orderly, logical, consistent development either in the size of the groups or in their internal peacefulness. Only over long stretches of time does the general trend implied in such a statement become an accurate portrayal of actual social experience.

The causes of conflict between groups, whether they be tribes or nations, are not dissimilar to the motives that lead to milder conflict between individuals. The desire for plunder, frequently including among savages the stealing of wives from other groups; the need of land, and increasingly in modern experience a desire for prestige and the maintenance of self-respect are common causes of war. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of warfare among primitive people and, as Tozzer suggests, in the past altogether too much attention has been paid to war as the habitual occupation of primitive people.[1]

With the increase in size of the groups that carry on warfare the consequences of such struggle become correspondingly greater. Since the time of the invention of gunpowder, the mechanical ingenuity of man has notably added to the serious effects of warfare, until in our time the full harvest in social results of such an ordeal as the World War is beyond the imagination of any individual. There is also a corresponding loss in the value of warfare as a test of biological strength

[1] Tozzer, A. M., "Social Origins and Social Continuities," p. 88.

or social superiority, since modern warfare is becoming more and more a struggle in which individual valor counts little as compared with the overwhelming importance of industrial or inventive advantage. The cost of modern war has become so great that to win popular approval all such conflicts have to be interpreted to the groups fighting, not as plundering attacks like those that delighted the American Indian, but as efforts in self-defense or at least as a necessity for the maintenance of national self-respect.

It must not be forgotten that to the individual war offers a special form of social experience and here is rooted much of the appeal it still has. The individual's motive may not be conscious. Since war leads to the killing of other human beings, an act that is contrary to the ethical code previously taught in the period of peace, it forces a rationalization of motives on the part of the person who has always observed and approved the group rules against murder, but who nevertheless either wishes to fight or finds himself under the obligation of taking part in warfare. The reaction of such an individual may be catalogued as springing from a sense of duty or from pleasure. This thinking of war as a picnic sort of enterprise by no means characterizes the individual who is eager to fight as a person especially cruel or bloodthirsty, a victim of excessive fighting instinct.

Although no other social experience is parallel to that of war, the crowd also removes inhibitions and encourages rationalizing. Crowd psychology illuminates the experience of the individual who is attracted by the opportunity of warfare, but war is not satisfactorily explained by the interpretation that considers its vogue due to the opportunity it provides for man's withdrawing to his earlier and more primitive experiences.

The motives that perpetuate the desire for fighting are mixed and to a large extent unconscious. The tameness of modern life and for many the hopelessness of distinction or

marked success give warfare the significance of a new and different sort of contest from that represented by the conventional monotonous doings of everyday life. It also offers a testing of courage. It is no accident that individuals who distrust themselves are frequently the most eager to enlist at the breaking out of a war. They gain a deep-seated relief by rushing into a situation which may afford opportunity to prove themselves.

War also generally starts with glamor and offers anticipations that stir up the imagination. The reaction on the occasion of the breaking out of a war when the troops leave for the front, singing, joking and full of spirit, is most certainly not an eagerness to kill, but rather a sense of relief from ordinary occupation and a looking forward to an experience which is so pictured as to seem inviting. As the contest continues and its gruesome effects begin to appear, war becomes for many a stern necessity rather than an excursion from the routine and responsibilities of ordinary life.

It is also important to remember that some individuals, if they were given their free choice, would prefer to be rid of personal responsibility in its various forms in family life and industry and be directed by superior command. The periodic craze for war, which is in these days a product of subtle suggestion in which newspapers occupy the central rôle, is less an outburst of primitive love of combat then a return to the conditions of childhood conduct. Thus for many war represents a way of escape from the conventions and responsibilities that good society ordinarily demands of the mature.

War and diffusion of culture.—However violent in form, war is a type of interaction, and not only has culture been injected into the life of a people as a consequence of hostile clashings, but the effort to introduce culture has often caused war. The Crusader and the missionary in their deliberate effort to introduce new culture in alien groups have at times become the

occasion of military struggle even when they desired not to have recourse to force. The development of strong military systems leads naturally to an overconfidence in social superiority and willingness to take advantage of the slightest opportunity to impose the culture of the dominant nation upon weaker people. Roman history is replete with illustrations of this attitude resulting from confidence in militaristic efficiency. On the other hand, as the later history of Rome demonstrates, the culture of the conquered may be slowly brought into the life of those who on the basis of military strength are accounted victors. Whichever form the interaction takes, the social value of war as a means of diffusion of culture, especially in the primitive stages of social development, has to be recognized.

Conquest.—The ending of war with the conquest of one people by another, particularly in simple society, has generally led to a new consolidation and a larger grouping of the people. This has so often been true in the past that war has been interpreted by some as an indispensable method of forcing a new grouping, but it has to be observed that in many of these unions there comes to be no substantial unity so that the groups under the slightest pressure break apart even when the two peoples continue to form the same tribal or national organization. Lack of sympathy may prevent consolidation. Under such circumstances, even from a militaristic viewpoint, the subjected people are a risk to the safety of the larger group rather than an advantage. As social security becomes more subtle and complex, with the persistent advancement of culture, conquest becomes correspondingly difficult. This fact lessens the economic appeal of war and renders modern conquest, even from the financial point of view, a costly experiment and a doubtful speculation. Individuals may gain by the war, but not the nation itself.

Accommodation.—Conflict may end in accommodation instead of conquest. When this happens the rival forces come

into equilibrium and consolidation of interest is brought about. When conflict in social groups issues in accommodation, there results genuine assimilation. In the various conflicts that arise within a culture, especially as new ideas clash with those which are traditional, the old may not be entirely displaced but may be incorporated in the new. By this fusion is obtained accommodation of the contending elements. When the individual comes in contact with other persons and slight conflict follows, the outcome is usually accommodation rather than the final supremacy of one personality and the submission of another. In family life, for example, the principle of accommodation plays a large part and is a more wholesome settlement of the strain between parents and children, especially in adolescence, than can possibly come from the rebellion of the child or the dominance of the parent. Accommodation produes an amicable adjustment which is maintained until a new conflict arises.

II

COÖPERATION

Importance of coöperation.—The principle of coöperation is co-equal with that of conflict in the history of the development of human society. Coöperation is not so spectacular as the more dramatic forms of conflict, such as war. For this reason it has frequently received less attention in the interpretation of social experience. The very fact that it represents the more normal and usual experience enhances its social value. It is not an artificial product but the result of conscious experience and attitudes that, like conflict, spring out of intimate association and the necessity of social adjustment. Children coöperate as frequently and as naturally as they contend. Indeed under normal circumstances the predominance in their play-activities, especially as they grow

older, is held by coöperation rather than conflict. As society advances, the need and value of coöperation become more conscious and a large part of the function of education as a preparation for social life is the encouragement of the spirit of coöperation. As conflict grows milder in form, appreciation of the social meaning of coöperation steadily increases.

Coöperation among animals.—The spectacular place that struggle and conflict occupy in the animal world easily hides the fact that there is also to be found among the lower animals a degree of coöperation. This fact was neglected by those who were dominated in their interpretation of nature by the exaggeration of conflict which proceeded from the work of Darwin and Huxley. In the more balanced thinking of our time even the zoölogists have come to recognize the biological significance of coöperation. An illustration of this is the following statement of one of our foremost authorities in the science of zoölogy:

> We have seen that coöperative action is a universal attribute of nature, rhythmic in the wave-like rise and fall of its constructive impulses; and cumulative in the tidal rise of world organization its petty gains engender. It is the mainspring to the growth and being of every individual thing, the compelling creative power which everywhere underlies the phenomena of evolution and progress.[2]

Even during the vogue of social Darwinism, Peter Kropótkin, who had a first-hand knowledge of the behavior of animals in their wild state, entered protest against the exaggeration of conflict in the prevailing interpretation of the evolutionary process, by calling attention to the large place of mutual aid in the evolution of animals. Animals, of course, differ widely in their capacity to coöperate, but, as Kropótkin states, the more socialized animals such as the bee and the ant have a special advantage in their struggle for survival

[2] Patten, W., "The Grand Strategy of Evolution," p. 391.

as compared with animals of predatory and individualistic habits.

Gregariousness among animals is regarded by some psychologists as the expression of a true instinct. Whether an instinctive or acquired response, it is the expression of coöperation in an elementary form, since the herd and the flock could not exist if the individuals when together did not tend to act in concert. When the herd establishes sentinels as, for example, did the wild buffalo, coöperation of a meager sort becomes a means of group safety. Among the lower animals coöperation expresses itself both in protective and aggressive conduct although it reaches its highest form in defensive reaction.

Coöperation among savages.—Much of the social life of savages is coöperative. This appears in their food getting. Hunting parties work together with precision, all the young men of a village joining perhaps in a hunt in which each man has his definite assignment as the group beats the bush in a wide ring and gradually closes in on the animals it seeks, until they are forced into the traps already prepared; and frequently the game, when captured, becomes a collective possession which is distributed, not according to what the individual has procured, but according to a social program which emphasizes the coöperative character of the undertaking.

The clearing of lands and the carrying on of such agriculture as savage people maintain afford numerous illustrations of the principle of coöperation. Again, in the building of canoes and huts, in the dance and the religious ceremony, and in the tribal initiation, coöperation has a foremost place. Indeed it would be difficult for these peoples, placed in hard environments and possessing little in the way of tools and other mechanical resources, to support themselves if they did not learn to work together. Sometimes primitive coöperation is a product of personal choice, as when an American Indian brave invited such of his associates as were willing to embark

upon a war party. In other cases coöperation is essentially the product of group pressure exerted through tradition or religion or the secret society. Sometimes coöperation approaches a contract agreement for mutual services. Coöperation is also evoked by the authority of the leader or the priest.

Conflict as stimulus to coöperation.—It must not be forgotten that even conflict contains a stimulus that works toward coöperation. This especially appears in war as testified to by the regret one often hears expressed, that the willingness to work together, which was so evident during the World War, did not become permanent. The war-time attitude, which made it so easy for persons to join forces in every kind of community and national enterprise, was a derivative of the group's need to protect itself from attack by concerted effort. As soon as the sense of danger passed, the spirit of coöperation, which some expected and others hoped would be permanent, diminished and in every field of endeavor rivalry and competition took its place. Such excessive expression of coöperation could be called forth only by the stimulus of war, but the more habitual forms of coöperation to which we have become accustomed, and which we therefore take for granted, prevail in peace just as they do in the period of war. Were it not so, man would lose many of the privileges he enjoys in his present manner of living.

Education and coöperation.—Society has to look to education for the building up of the spirit of coöperation. Social clashing is guaranteed by the egoistic motives common to mankind. As man advances combative impulses need to be lessened rather than increased. It is otherwise with coöperation. If men are to be equal to the testing of a progressive social experience, the coöperative tendencies need to be strengthened and ability to work together be made more effective. To bring this about is a task of education that has to be started early. The spirit of coöperation cannot with much success cause an addition to personality after the formative

years have been passed. Not to special courses in civics or preachments for adults, but to the early training of the growing child do we turn if we are to encourage the coöperative trend. This habit cannot be built up by teaching alone, but practice also must be stressed, in the home, the school and the church. Coöperation as a social habit needs to be emphasized that the child may have an opportunity to learn the advantages of working with others. Appeal should not be made, as it often has been in the past, to the competitive motives that so easily pervert childish ambitions, thus bringing about a personality that enjoys conflict and fails to appreciate the value of coöperation. Instead of praising the child who gets the highest mark, we are now encouraging such developments as the "socialized recitation" and "project work," in which a group of pupils work together for a definite end.

The child should, without antipathy, become familiar with the differences between persons, for where intolerance exists coöperation becomes impossible. Education contributes less than it ought to the growth of the coöperative spirit because its policy reflects the social thinking of the present, which magnifies competition and still undervalues training for coöperation. Even in athletics, where we pride ourselves on stressing coöperation, this is markedly for the sake of success in competition with rival teams.

However slowly coöperation results from educational processes it can come in no other way. Attempts to compel it by political pressure are doomed to failure; efforts to hasten coöperation by force of any sort lead sooner or later to reaction. It cannot be achieved by the drafting of visionary programs; it must come from cultural experience and cannot go beyond the coöperative attainment of individuals.

World coöperation.—The risk of modern warfare produces among thinking people a desire for a greater degree of world coöperation. Improvement of communication and

transportation is bringing the peoples of the earth closer together and making possible an exchange of ideas and material goods, especially in the field of commerce, which is in itself a form of world-wide coöperation. At the same time this multiplicity of contact offers more opportunity for the clashing of interests and the appeal to force. Although national isolation is impossible for any people to maintain, national groups are not prepared for any great measure of coöperative enterprises. Here, as within the group itself, any new departure cannot safely go beyond the habits or desires of the individuals concerned. The necessity is so great for more effective means of meeting the world-wide need of adjustment, that various schemes are suggested and different kinds of efforts made to increase international coöperation. Most important of these is the League of Nations, which, aside from its distinctive political achievement, has made substantial contribution in dealing with social problems that concern all nations. For instance, its recent report on international traffic in women is bound to have considerable influence in stiffening the moral protest against the shipping of women from one country to another where they may more easily be exploited in prostitution.

CHAPTER XII

PRIMITIVE SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

PHYSICAL INTERESTS

Importance of background.—Social experience as we now have it is, of course, not the product of a few generations, or even centuries. Although we cannot measure with any degree of accuracy how much the life of the remote past influences present conduct, it is indispensable that the student of contemporary life should see it with a background which stretches back to primitive man.

Since our knowledge of social origins is scanty compared with the information we have regarding the life of savage people, we have to depend upon the latter primarily in getting our ideas of simple group life. The study of savage society at least impresses upon us the great variation in culture that has existed among more primitive people. Nothing could be more fallacious than to assume that savage society is everywhere the same and is easily described by a few salient features. The fact is that the great differences we find among savages with reference to every kind of social expression make it difficult for any description to do justice to a social experience so rich in diversity.

Man's resources.—In strength, speed, and body means of defense man is inferior to other animals. His hair affords little protection. His teeth are too small and too close together to serve as effective weapons. His upright posture impedes his locomotion. These limitations hamper him in his direct effort to satisfy his physical wants. Fortunately his

larger brain and his flexible hand permit him to enjoy a superiority over all other animals in his effort to provide the necessities of physical life, by enabling him to use design and indirect means in getting food and shelter, and in maintaining protection. He does not depend upon his arm but fashions a club, and by being a tool-user adds enormously to his resources. He does not merely pick fruit from the tree, but plants seeds that later bring him a greater abundance of food material. To accomplish his task more easily he develops the digging tool. Man is constantly increasing his resources by discovering better methods by which indirectly he can plan to accomplish what is outside his power as an organism restricted to its physical strength and speed.

Dualistic adaptation.—The savage and primitive man had to adapt themselves to their physical environment with enough success to enable them to live. This meant that food-getting, the provision of shelter, and defense from enemies were carried on with an ingenuity which, taking into account their meager resources, demonstrated a high degree of adaptability. The energy of savage society was not expended entirely along the line of physical survival. The poverty of the savage's experience, his lack of science, and the awe inspired by his contact with nature resulted in another line of adaptation which he regarded as essential to his happiness and safety. Out of his psychic needs arose a mystic element which entered social experience. We, who understand that one of these processes was essential for life, while in common thought we regard the other as merely superstition, separate the two types of activity that in savage experience were so woven together that they could not be distinguished. For example, the savage hunter not only needed his bow and arrow and the skill of an astute woodsman; it seemed to him equally important that as he hunted, or even before his expedition, certain ceremonies be carried on without which he had no hope of success. For our analysis we can roughly divide these two terri-

tories of primitive social experience by relating one to the physical and the other to the psychic interests of the savage. This chapter treats his physical interests.

Food.—Man is omnivorous, but there exist great differences in the proportions of animal and vegetable food eaten by various peoples. The physical environment often limits the amount of flesh or vegetables that can be used as food. Some of the Eskimos, because of lack of vegetable food, devour the contents of the stomach and intestines of the reindeer in their effort to maintain a balanced diet.[1] On the other hand, the need of animal food is so great in some parts of the world that there exists among savages a willingness to eat human flesh. The importance of cannibalism among uncivilized peoples may easily be exaggerated, but there is no doubt that it has been at times an important source of food. Its prevalance does not appear to measure the stage of civilization, for there have been great cultural differences among those who practiced it. The eating of the body of the dead enemy, however strong the idea that this permits the taking over of his virtues and magical powers, was in part due to the desire to have flesh for food.

As a rule, food, whether animal or vegetable, is prepared by cooking. There have been savages who customarily ate both meats and fish raw. The primitive cook usually boils, broils or steams. The art of stone-boiling was practiced among the North American Indians. Baking or steaming in earth-pits is comparatively common. Solid food is eaten with the fingers, and shells, either of large nuts or of animals such as turtles or shell-fish, are often used for liquid food.

Fishing.—Fishing as a vocation extends far back, even, as the evidence shows, to the paleolithic period. In the neolithic era we find, especially in the lake dwelling settlements, plenty of evidence of fishing as an important means of procuring food. The savages developed various ways of catching

[1] Schmidt, M., "The Primitive Races of Mankind," p. 62.

fish. They were captured by nets most ingeniously made of different sorts of material, killed by poisonous substances put in the water, driven up the stream and scooped up as they piled on one another, caught by hooks, harpoons and traps. In the use of these various means success often depended on the coöperation of a large group, sometimes the entire settlement. For example, a hundred men or more were frequently employed in the using of great nets. Fish were caught by driving them into pools and checking their return with the ebbing tide, by means of stakes driven into the water, even by shooting them with bow and arrow. No one familiar with the half-believed superstitions which still linger among those who in our time fish for sport will be surprised that magic had a prominent place in the fishing of savages.

Hunting.—We have the best of reasons to suppose that hunting goes back to the paleolithic period. Not only was hunting a necessary means for the getting of food, and for some tribes the exclusive method; it also had, as it still has for many, a dramatic appeal. Every conceivable method was used by savages. Animals were chased into pits, driven until tired out so that they could be made captive, smoked out of their hiding-places and herded into stockades or traps of various sorts, killed by the blow gun, by bow and arrow, or by the spear. A common method was the forming of a circle composed of men, sometimes with women and even children interspersed, which, accompanied by an enormous amount of noise, gradually drew closer and closer together, thus forcing the animals into the center where they were clubbed or shot by arrow or spear, depending upon the nature of the equipment for defense or attack. In these drives there was a high degree of coöperative effort, for success depended to a large extent upon the individuals' working in unison.

Magic plays a large part in savage hunts. In addition to the idea that this is necessary for the success of the hunter, magical rites are carried out to protect the individual from

the danger of vengeance from spirits, to which he has become liable by the killing of his game.

Domestication of animals.—When animals were domesticated the savage obtained a more abundant and dependable source of food supply. It is unreasonable to suppose that everywhere domestication arose from the same circumstances. The savage's fondness for pets would account for the domestication and breeding of animals, and this is the theory acceptable to some authorities. It is assumed that animals were kept as pets, and then, as need arose, killed for food.

It has also been suggested that man was followed by certain animals like the jackal until a partnership grew up useful to both the animal and man. It is a common experience that, under certain conditions, animals which otherwise keep aloof enter man's settlement for assistance. It is said, for instance, that deer will sometimes do this in order to obtain salt. Apparently some animals, like the dog, easily develop a necessity for comradeship with man. Galton, in his famous essay on the "Domestication of Animals," made fondness for man a prerequisite in domestication.

In addition to the great importance of domestication in increasing and making more secure the food supply, it has a decided influence upon the social behavior of man, leading to more constant coöperation, since the herding of the animals demands as a regular routine the same willingness to work together that is necessary when hunting and fishing are carried on as a party enterprise. The care of the animals requires foresight and teaches patience and tenderness. The use of animals for transportation purposes enables savages to move about more freely and to maintain a somewhat more complex culture.

Men take more kindly to cattle breeding than to agriculture, which entails work so monotonous, that they often turn it over to the slaves or women. With the coming of cattle develop distinctions in wealth and even at times eco-

nomic exploitation. Ownership naturally gravitates into the hands of the more aggressive and thrifty individuals. A common use of this wealth is the establishment of a large family by the purchase of numerous wives, whose services are used to produce still more riches.

Pastoral life requires wide stretches of territory and encourages the moving about of groups dependent upon their flocks. With changes in the conditions of the grazing lands migration becomes a necessity. This explains the restlessness of nomad peoples. Their roamings produce leadership and enforce discipline. The group must stick together and keep ever on the alert since in the fierce competition for suitable pasturage the stronger groups take what they will and seldom give consideration to the needs of others. Nomads are notoriously warlike and quick to pick a quarrel. The temptation to steal from the neighbors' flocks develops a love of raiding which creates feuds, and a fondness for adventure and conflict which makes pastoral culture perpetually militaristic in spirit.

Agriculture.—Agriculture, as a means of providing food, also has a long history. Its origin is so far back that we cannot know with certainty how it came about. Again it is reasonable to suppose that agriculture began in unlike ways in different parts of the world. A simple form of agriculture, which is found among savages, is the mere preservation of wild plant life, that its harvest may be more certain. The taboo is frequently utilized for this purpose and is a far more effective protection than in modern times is provided by public opinion, law, or even high fences. It is not only a chief or priest who can establish such a taboo. Any ordinary person can place a taboo upon his property and his rights will be respected. It is the belief in the supernatural power which the sign on the tree or garden represents that gives the taboo its authority. Fear of an evil spirit will keep away the trespasser. Even so simple a sign as a wisp of grass tied to a

stick may be sufficient to give the property absolute protection.[2]

Perhaps agriculture started sometimes by the accidental scattering of seed until at last the savage got the idea of planting so as to have a more certain source of food. Some have suggested that the placing of food upon the top of graves may have led to agriculture, since the grain would germinate and grow in the loose dirt forming the mound. The difficulty of clearing land made agriculture, to a large extent, a coöperative enterprise, which necessarily checked migration and tended to make settlements more permanent. It is difficult for anyone who has never seen a tropical forest to realize how quickly nature takes back to a wild state any cleared land, unless man struggles constantly with the vegetation that crowds in and grows with surprising rapidity. Williamson says regarding this:

> It is astonishing to see how rapidly nature asserts itself, when left alone, in this tropical country. A carefully prepared path will become an impassable tangle in a very few months, and a deserted native garden soon loses all sign of having ever been cleared and cultivated.[3]

The savage as a worker.—The conventional idea of the lazy, care-free savage is an unjust generalization. The description given by Malinowski of the gardening of the Trobriand Islanders stands in vivid contrast to the popular conception. He tells us that the native spends about half his time working in his garden and that the enterprise receives at least half of his interest and ambition. He labors hard and systematically. He plants and harvests just twice what he actually needs, although in the past what is now exported was often allowed to rot, since no use could be made of the

[2] Williamson, R. W., "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," p. 52.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

surplus. He has to do extra work to gather this double quantity of food material.

He is not, however, satisfied merely to do what is required to obtain a good harvest. His interest in his garden leads him to exert himself to make it attractive. He has aesthetic taste which he expresses in the arrangement and care of his garden plot, dividing his space into small squares, merely because the garden then seems neater and more pleasing to the eye. He feels a sense of rivalry, and wishes to be known as a good gardener. At the end of the season what he gathers is neatly piled up, so that all may observe the fruits of his labor. The shiftless and indifferent gardener is looked down upon. Each self-respecting native wishes to be known as efficient.[4]

Much of the labor in the preparation of soil and the planting of seed is carried on by savage women. Often they have nothing more than a digging stick. Later development adds the hoe, and finally a rude plough. In places where the water supply is precarious, the savage uses irrigation. By whatever method agriculture is carried on, with it go numerous magical rites, many of them emphasizing the idea of a life-giving principle.

The social consequences of the coming of agriculture were of the greatest importance. A larger population became possible and a more stable tribal organization. The necessity of forethought, the investment of labor which had to wait months for its returns in satisfaction, the regulation of property rights, with the corresponding increase in the complexity of law, were some of the more important results that came from the development of agriculture.

Preservation of food.—Although primitive man has had the greatest need of preserving food, that in periods of scarcity he might get advantage from having saved part of the abundance of food gathered when it was plentiful, he was discouraged from attempting to store up a food supply, be-

[4] "The Argonauts of the Western Pacific," pp. 58–62.

cause of its difficulty. Nevertheless food preservation of various sorts has been carried on by savages. Among those who, like the Eskimo, inhabit a cold region freezing is the method favored and it is most extensively used and highly successful. The knowledge of fermentation, which is widespread, offers another way by which certain food supplies can be preserved. Beverages made of vegetables and fruits can be safely kept for a long period of time once they are fermented.

Meats and fish remain suitable for consumption if toasted several times; the repetition of the cooking frees them, even in the tropics, from risk of decay. Another method of food preservation made use of by the hunting tribes of the American Indians was the cutting of meat into thin strips, drying it, and pounding it until it had become a powder, then mixing it with fat. In this form, known as pemmican, it could be stored for a long period. Pickling in salt is another method of keeping food known to the savage.

Food not only has to be preserved, but stored safely from the dangers of rain and sun and especially from insect pests. Frequently the house is used as a place of storage. Sometimes a separate building is constructed and devoted entirely to the safe-keeping of various sorts of food material. The wasteful habits of savages when food is plentiful and their indifferent attempts to store it against the time of scarcity invite the criticism of the European until he appreciates, perhaps from personal experience in tropical travel, how difficult it is although provided with modern resources to keep food material that is not safely sealed in cans.

Household equipment.—Even the savages who live on the lowest level of culture make special provision for some sort of couch for sleeping. The Bushman of South Africa, who makes his sleeping place in sand, takes care to dig his couch near the fire that he may be comfortable. The favorite bed is made of animal skins. Sometimes a clay bench is con-

structed inside the house. Another popular accommodation for sleeping is the hammock, which is found in various parts of the world. In addition to the common use of blankets for protection from the cold, efforts are made to guard against mosquitoes and other insects. The savage is not dependent upon any form of chair, since he usually squats on the ground. Stones, tree stumps and blocks of wood are used, and, among those of higher culture, especially constructed stools.

The open fire is the customary means of producing warmth, although the Eskimo depends primarily upon oil lamps for heating as well as illumination. The fireside is a gathering-place and has a social value aside from its importance as a means of heating. It is also used as a cooking stove. The savages enjoy using the fire for light since, like the child, they do not care to be in the dark. The kitchen utensils are necessarily few. They are made of shell, stone, wood, and, where knowledge of how to work clay exists, of pottery. Full advantage is taken of the resources of the locality. For example, cocoanut shells may be used to store liquid, or the shell of the tortoise used as a roasting pan.

Trade.—Trading is everywhere found advantageous. It is carried on sometimes by the giving of presents and sometimes by barter. There is also the use of a medium of exchange, which is suggestive of modern currency. Trade by gifts is especially common. The person who takes the gift is expected to give something of equal value in return. Articles received through trade may be exchanged from tribe to tribe until finally they are made use of at great distances from their place of origin. Savages have group meetings for the exchange of gifts and utensils which suggest the modern market. Trading also accompanies ceremonial gatherings, being carried on, for example, at a marriage or a religious feast.

It is especially interesting to notice that certain regulations develop with reference to trade, some of them suggest-

ing an elementary form of our international law. For instance, during one of these periodic trade markets, regardless of any feuds that may have been going on between tribes, peace is maintained. In the same way property being transported from one tribe to another is sometimes permitted to go safely through the territory of a hostile tribe.

Valuable as trading is in adding to the resources of savage peoples, and in bringing greater contact between differing forms of culture, it is even more important from the point of view of social development. Trade is the chief means of bringing savage people into contact and providing opportunity for the diffusion of culture. As the people mingle, ideas are exchanged as well as material goods. Marketing is a stimulating experience, encouraging productive labor by those who find work irksome. It leads to exchange of raw materials and the enrichment of material resources. It develops skill in those who specialize. The craftsmanship of African blacksmiths is a striking illustration of the expertness sometimes achieved by savages.

> In return for the professional hint received, the blacksmith there and then took a piece of an old cutlass and forged it into an armlet. He duly chased it with a punched pattern and presented it to me. I then watched him making needles; fine work with such clumsy tools.[5]

Housing.—Nothing impresses upon the student of social experience more vividly the differences between savage peoples than an examination of the photographs of various kinds of dwellings. For purposes of shelter and the maintenance of the domestic circle, every conceivable type of architectural construction has been used. Early in human experience appeared the cavern and later the artificially made cave; the screen made of piled-up branches, sometimes more to protect

[5] Basden, G. T., "Among the Ibos of Nigeria," p. 174.

the fire than the persons; the hut; the tent; and the snow house of the Eskimo. One of the most fascinating variations is the tree hut which suggests the birds' nest, but which was often the most effective means of protecting the tree dwellers from danger. The houses were sometimes made to be transported; at other times they were constructed with the idea of being only temporary.

It is not mere shiftlessness but wise judgment that leads savages in some parts of the world to build dwellings that appear to the European as makeshifts. Among the Baganda people (Uganda) we are told that because of the perishable nature of the material used in building, no house is expected to last more than four years. An army of men were at work constantly building and repairing the houses within the royal enclosure. It took at least two hundred men two months to build one of the large houses. Sometimes in a few hours a hundred or more houses would be destroyed by fire. Although there were only three thousand people living within the enclosure, counting both women and children, at times a thousand men would be engaged in building.[6] Under such conditions there is no motive for attempting to build with the idea of permanence, since the character of the available material would make this a hopeless undertaking. Besides the single dwellings, there is the club, which houses a group of males, and the composite house occupied by many families, perhaps related by blood, which suggests the modern apartment.

Clothing, an ornament.— Among savages clothing is worn both for protection and for ornament. Indeed, there is a widespread opinion that the use of clothes as ornament preceded their use for comfort. Savages paint themselves, adorn themselves with feathers, tattoo their skins and mutilate various parts of their bodies, as by elongating the lip, piercing the nose and producing deeply pendant ear lobes. Their

[6] Roscoe, J., "The Baganda," p. 366.

clothes are made of skin, bark, furs, and vegetable fiber, and may be of woven texture among those who have attained a higher industrial culture. Not always is the clothing well adapted to the climate. For instance, the North American Indians were content with a loin cloth and loosely fitting cape with leggings and moccasins, even in New England in the winter time. On the other hand the Eskimos adjusted themselves with great skill to their rigorous climate by fur garments that completely protected the body.

The development of modesty is related to the evolution of clothing, but rather as a result of the covering of the body than as its cause. The amount of clothing worn by the members of any particular tribe is decided by the prevailing custom. Clothing must not be thought of as a means of measuring cultural attainment. Neither is it true that the morality of savage tribes is in proportion to the amount of clothing worn. Often the facts are just the reverse. The large place vanity holds in the habits of savages in their dress and decoration reveals how deeply rooted in human nature is what we now call fashion.

Transportation.—One of the commonest means of transporting loads among savages is the carrying of a burden on the back, or even on the head. This method is used in Africa and Asia where carriers are equal to taking a heavy weight long distances. The dog was perhaps the first animal to be domesticated, and he was used for the bearing of burdens, especially by the North American Indians; so also were cattle, the buffalo, and especially the horse, when once brought under the subjection of man. A very primitive vehicle, common among the North American Indians, was the drag, which at first consisted of nothing more than two poles hitched to a horse, with the opposite ends dragging on the ground. In between the two points were placed the persons or things that were to be transported. Out of this developed the drag as we know it, and eventually the wagon. It is

thought that the wheels were suggested by the use of logs placed under objects that had to be moved. The drag is still used in wild countries where a wheeled carriage cannot run.

Savages made boats in a great variety of forms and of many types of material. A most primitive boat is the dug-out, which is nothing more than a log pointed at either end with a space for the occupant dug out or, when inadequate tools made this too difficult, burnt out. The Indian canoe, made of bark or skin, has its modern representative today. The Eskimos were especially skillful in building from bones a framework which they covered with the skins of animals, for their kayak, in which they were able to travel with safety immense distances along the seacoast.

The Polynesian outrigger is a special illustration of a clever contrivance which permits a frail canoe to be successfully balanced in vigorous surf by means of a plank or log which extends along the side of the canoe and is attached to it by poles. The paddle is the most common primitive method for pushing forward a boat. For the crossing of rivers rafts are used, and even inflated animal hides, which are still seen on the rivers of Mesopotamia. The level of attainment in transportation and navigation influenced the social habits of the people by determining their contact with other groups, the development of trade, and the facility of the people in migration.

Tools and inventions.—Discovery and invention have a large place in the material advancement of primitive man. Of all the early human discoveries none outrank fire and the effect it has had upon the life of man. One can guess, but it is impossible to know how and when fire first began to be utilized; perhaps from a volcanic eruption, possibly from a forest fire that may have been occasioned by lightning. Its uses were probably discovered in different ways in many places.

Once man learned its value he had to learn how to keep

it or, if he failed in this, how to start it afresh. Savages often take great pains to keep the fire as a community possession from going out. Sometimes rude windshields are built by the more backward races to protect the fire rather than themselves. Various ways of starting fire were discovered early, the most common being the rubbing together of dry sticks. Another method found in various parts of the world is the fire drill, which consists in working one stick in the groove of another until by the boring process shavings are produced and finally a spark. The use of fire had a direct effect upon the desires of primitive man. It is supposed that it encouraged the eating of meat, stimulating hunting as a means of getting food.

When man learned the value of tools, another impetus was given to his material achievement. It is impossible to estimate how much primitive social life has been advanced by such inventions as the bow and arrow, fish hook, club, spear, baskets, pottery, hammer and the axe. Many ingenious theories are advanced as to how these tools were suggested to primitive man. For example, it has been suggested that releasing the bent sapling gave the idea of the bow, and that the flight of the bird suggested that of the arrow. It is, of course, impossible to find out how the more simple tools first came to be used. However, we are safe in assuming that they resulted from ordinary experiences due to accidental happenings, which occurred many times before any one had the wit to understand the advantages of the new way of doing things.

The invention is not always a tool but sometimes is a process of accomplishment, which we, in our time, call new technic. A new motor habit would be a great innovation and as valuable a material resource as any new mechanical contrivance. Discovery and invention were to primitive man, as to us, not merely a better means of accomplishing desired

ends, but even more a tremendous stimulus for thought and action.

Then, as now, invention changed the manner of living so that eventually, even though a new creation had to do with the material interests of savage man, it equally led to modification of social experience. We, who have seen the working out of this by the coming of the automobile and are beginning to enter upon social changes produced by the airship, can readily imagine what great social consequences came to primitive society by the invention of the bow and arrow or the discovery that seeds planted in the ground would in time furnish food for the planters.

CHAPTER XIII

PRIMITIVE SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

PSYCHIC INTERESTS

Point of view.—Civilized man has always found it easier to interpret the social experiences of savages along the line of their material interests than those that spring out of their psychic life. This comes about because of the great gap between the thinking of modern man and that of the savage. It is not a difference in power to think but in content, largely due to unlike premises. As a result of their lack of sympathy and understanding, those familiar with the more complex culture of our period have committed the fallacy of supposing that the ideas of the savage have the same meaning we would give them if they were held by members of our own group. This has permitted modern man to dismiss much of the savages' experience with the contemptuous statement that it represents superstition.

We can have no insight into the social experience characteristic of the savage along psychic lines unless we attempt to put ourselves in his place and uncover the notions that cause his thinking to take the slant it does. The essential thing to notice is that the savage, lacking our idea of causation and confronted with the need of explaining how things happen, has been driven to assume a continuous connection between spirits and the events that from time to time come within his observation. He believes in the invisible with even a greater sense of certainty than in the material objects with which he has contact. His point of view is perhaps

better expressed by saying that what the senses report become facts that have much of their meaning because they are representative of unseen realities which are the most important part of his existence.

What we deny, from lack of objective evidence, the savage assumes and then uses to explain the happenings of his everyday experience. Interpreting life as he does, he has no escape from thinking himself ever in relation with mystic forces, which for the most part he fears and is ever trying to propitiate. As Lévy-Bruhl tells us, this world of mysticism is especially revealed to the savage through the experiences, as he understands them, of death, the spirit embodiment that makes animals and plants spiritually significant, and the power and practices of medicine-men and priests. This point of view has been well stated by Leonard.

> According to their ideas, in fact, life is the growth of one existence inside another—the inner or vital existence within the outer material, the greater and immortal element animating the lesser and perishable embodiment.[1]

Interpretation of nature.—The savage, like the modern child, had to formulate some satisfactory explanation for the existence of natural phenomena. Since the sun and moon especially attracted his attention, in the stories of creation handed down by savage traditions these two heavenly bodies occupy a prominent place. Stories of creation appear in a great variety of forms, but frequently it is easy to see how the environment of a particular group influenced their mythology.

The myths that are handed down explain not only the creation of the earth and the origins of natural phenomena, but also each particular animal or natural occurrence has its definite interpretation. Thus the story of creation is not a

[1] "The Lower Niger and Its Tribes," p. 138.

consistent whole but a series of episode, each of which gives a satisfying explanation of the circumstances the savage has observed. In this mythology are certain elements that suggest the anthropomorphic tendency of man in his early attempt to build up a plausible cosmology. The idea, for instance, of the protecting father, is widespread. These expressions of belief in the All Father often suggest missionary influence and call attention to the fact that an original belief easily incorporated within itself elements suggested from a neighboring culture.

In the study of mythology therefore we come across a mixing of ideas, some of them having begun spontaneously within a definite tribe, others having been implanted by contact with outsiders. It is possible also to follow the slight changes the story of creation receives as it passes through a wide territory and becomes incorporated, with minor variations, in the mythological fund of several groups of people. The profound influence of Christianity upon primitive people opens up the suspicion, whenever we find ideas suggestive of missionary teaching, that an original belief has been somewhat changed to include the savage's idea of the new teaching which he has received through contact with an imported culture.

The soul.—The experiences of sleep and death have established in the social thinking of the savage a belief in the soul. The experience of the dream is interpreted as the going out of the soul from the body so that it passes through an experience such as the dream rehearses. Dreams are as real as any other happenings. In fact not only is the dream an explanation of the way in which belief in the soul comes to be so tenaciously held, but it is also the basis of social complications that originate simply because there is no difference in a savage's thought between the things he dreams and actual occurrences. The savage, for example, who dreams that an associate is trying to kill him awakens with the cer-

tainty that he is dealing with an objective fact. Even the victim dreamed about will assume that he did that of which he is accused.

Sometimes the soul is pictured as a peculiar sort of substance, and sometimes it is definitely located in some part of the body. Frequently the shadow is regarded as the soul. Some peoples believe in more than one soul. The Eskimo is said to have four souls, representing the name, the shadow, the breath, and the self.[2] It is commonly held that the soul can leave the body and come back again.

The ease with which the soul may leave the body according to primitive thinking appears in the belief of the Tinneh of the lower Tukon regarding the possibility of driving the soul from the child by severe punishment.

> "Do not frighten them," says the Tinneh. "If they are punished too much their souls will get cranky and leave them." The Tinneh have to exercise great care not to subject the soul of the newborn child to any sudden shock. For twenty days the father is not allowed to chop wood or to do anything requiring severe exertion. He is not put to bed to keep him quiet, as among some primitive people, but all his movements must be regulated with the greatest caution. If he leaves the house a pair of scissors or a scrap of tin or some other metal is placed upon the breast of the child as a kind of shield to protect its soul.[3]

Many savages believe that the soul can permanently leave its habitation at death and enter into the body of some other person or an animal or object. By savages death is seldom interpreted as by us, a product of natural causation. Sometimes the medicine man is called to discover whether the death is natural or supernatural; the more common thing

[2] Wallis, "Introduction to Anthropology," p. 252.

[3] Chapman, J. W., "Tinneh Animism," *American Anthropologist.* Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 306. This and all subsequent quotations from the same source quoted with permission.

is to interpret it not as an accident, nor as the result of disease nor of old age, but as a product of magic. At the occurrence of death the first question asked the medicine men, who are supposed to be familiar with such happenings, is, "Who is responsible for the magical process which took the soul from the body?" This explains the wide prevalence of the belief in witchcraft, a belief so tenaciously held by people of simple culture that missionaries and governments find it one of the most difficult to eradicate.

It is generally believed that the soul will leave the body, to return in some other form, and often that it is malicious in attitude. This explains the peculiar customs which are carried on to protect the living from the dangerous influences of the dead. Funeral ceremonies and the rites followed to keep the individual or the group from incurring the enmity of souls that have recently left their bodies take many forms, but one of the most common has been the placing beside the grave of tools, weapons, utensils and food which it is assumed the soul will need in the early period of his new existence. This practice has been costly in the development of social culture because implements and material of great value at a time when resources were meager have been lost by being removed from the cultural fund.

Attention has already been given to the influence dreams have in building up the idea of the soul. The dream also is to the savage of greatest importance as a special form of experience. Even when he can distinguish between his dreams and the happenings of ordinary day, he notices differences that enhance the dream and increase its significance. It is the dream that represents the more important event because in the dream the soul is freest and most thoroughly in contact with the spirit world.

Holding as he does such confidence in the value of the dream-state, it follows that the savage takes a keen interest in dreams and sometimes discovers a method by which he

can induce a state of trance which gives him a vivid experience that in his thinking takes on the usual significance of dreams. We also find dream vocabularies with a rich content so that what one dreams may have quite a different interpretation from what appears on the surface. For example, the Dakotas think it unlucky to dream of the moon. Dreams also are said to have the value of revelation. A warrior who has failed in the recent hunt may, through a dream, discover who has been responsible.

In view of the insight modern psychology has given us as to the origin of much of our dream experience and its relation to our wishes, it is easy to see how much trouble dreams may cause in savage society by falsely making it seem that some hated individual is responsible for a social mishap; strangest of all to us, even the victim feels the dream is more to be trusted than his own memory. He may suppose that he did the mischief while his soul was free from the body in a dream type of experience. This fact does not mitigate his guilt.

Magic.—Instead of natural causation savages hold the idea of magic. This belief is so potent a force that it may be connected with a particular object and made use of by a medicine man, who sells the fighters wooden fetishes to give them success in battle. Magic has a prominent place in savage experience and by means of it much that happens is easily explained, especially the more spectacular events, such as birth, death and illness. Magic also is allied with the savages' desire for security. Their fears are expressed by the notion of magic, as when they assume that if they handle the white man's book they will fall under his power; and to protect themselves from the things they dread they have recourse to the magician, who is supposed to be able to find a magic superior to that which has become a menace to the individual believing himself under the influence of a maliciousness which is employing magical means to injure him.

Man's sense of his inability to cope with a situation which has for him a momentous meaning helps to explain the demand for magic. This element in magic persists in spite of a general discounting of superstition. The notions and maneuvers of athletes, soldiers and college students reveal how commonly even modern man in a crisis or when dealing with events that appear to have slipped out of his control turns to some sort of magical rite as a means of confidence or to gain a fictitious advantage to help out ordinary preparation.[4]

In savage life many coincidences establish the idea of magic. For instance, a hunter who has been unusually skillful may suppose that his success is related to the fact that he happened to stumble over a particular stone, or that he picked up and carried with him a certain piece of wood. The fact that he brought home an exceptional amount of game makes him feel that the object has magical force and perhaps henceforth he keeps it as a fetish.

There are various kinds of magic, as, for example, imitative magic, which shows itself in the war dance that rehearses the battle and is assumed to bring victory; and in the antics of the medicine man, who waves his hand in semblance of the moving clouds in order to produce rain.

Then there is sympathetic magic, for which the common illustration is the making of some image which becomes to its possessor representative of an enemy. By mutilating this object it is believed that the person it symbolizes will meet with similar disaster.

Savages also believe that by getting possession of an object belonging to some one else a virtue characteristic of the admired person may be incorporated within oneself. An illustration of this is the case reported of a group of Sanks killing a Comanche warrior who had been especially brave

[4] See also Tozzer, A. M., "Social Origins and Social Continuity," pp. 227–28.

and then passing his heart about, that each might eat a portion and get a part of his courage.[5]

> When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow up to be a quarrelsome person, a yellow-jacket's nest was burned and the ashes were rubbed on the face, hands, and arms of the child. When the child grew up, it was believed, he or she would fight with everyone. The yellow-jacket's natural defense of its nest is interpreted as quarrelsome, even by white people.
>
> The toad was a powerful medicine for the bad box used in witchcraft.
>
> To make a man or woman die of craziness, one of the hairs of the person's head was put in the body cavity of a disemboweled toad.
>
> To make a person's face swell and suppurate until death came, the little pieces of softened red cedar bark used to clean the person's face were put in the body cavity of a disemboweled toad. The idea underlying this was probably the reproduction of the warts of the toad on the face of the person.
>
> To make a person die, a piece of the young shoot of a thimble berry, lost by that person while eating, was put in the mouth of a toad. Death was supposed to take place in half an hour.[6]

Of course in his interpretation the savage is strangely oblivious to the failures of magic which from our point of view should destroy his confidence, but do not, because if noticed at all they are interpreted by the idea that some superior magic has been in operation. The medicine man or priest is a specialist in the use of magic and his power comes from the general belief in his ability to control magical forces. The various beliefs regarding magic are socially affected; thus magic depends upon a community basis which

[5] Thomas, W. I., "Source Book for Social Origins," p. 686.

[6] Smith, H. I., "Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft Among the Bellacoola," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 27, No. 1, p. 120.

shows especially in social crises, and in the major life events of birth, marriage and death. None of these occurrences is without its magical implications and appropriate magical formula. As magical ideas become related to the experiences of reproduction in primitive agriculture, magical rites are thought necessary to make possible the growth of the harvest.

Modern man finds it difficult to understand primitive thinking because of his failure to realize that the tap-root of savage philosophy is belief in a mystic force.

> The spirit of wonder, the *recognition of life as power,* as a mysterious, ubiquitous, concentrated form of non-material energy, of something loose about the world and contained in a more or less condensed degree by every object,—that is the credo of the Pit River Indian. Of course he would not put it in precisely this way. The phraseology is mine, but it is not far from their own. Power, power, power, this is the burden of the song of everyday life among these people. Without power you cannot do anything out of the ordinary. With power you can do anything. This power is the same thing as luck. The primitive conception of luck is not at all the same as ours. For us luck is fortuitousness. For them, it is the highest expression of the energy back of life. Hence the sacred characters of all forms of gambling in primitive life.[7]

This idea of an all-pervading mystic force, a concept highly developed among the primitive peoples of the South Pacific islands, is commonly known as *mana* and represents the mysterious energy working in the world, while the taboo enforces the duty of observing supernatural authority. Among the Tangans the word *mana* is often used for thunder. It denotes wonder or miracle.[8]

Mana also carries the idea of the holy, something dangerous because of the occult power it has and can transmit,

[7] De Angulo, J., "The Background of the Religious Feeling in a Primitive Tribe," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 28, No. 2, p. 354.

[8] Collocott, E. E. V., "The Supernatural in Tanga," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 433–34.

after the manner of sympathetic magic. An adjective, manaia, is used to describe a Tanga man especially attractive to women. Mana, also, as Dr. Peters makes so clear, is among many savages a special quality of woman, and one to be feared.[9] Effeminacy is to be avoided. The power of woman to attract is evidence of mana. Her characteristics are marks of weakness but they can be taken on by man. The squaw-man is a type of spoiled masculine. The woman also is the potential witch both in savage and, until of late, in historic culture. The sex taboos so common in primitive society are chiefly the result of this belief that woman is possessed by an occult power that is a source of danger to man.

Many of the food taboos also originate from the fear that the individual will through his eating acquire magic that will force upon him characteristics believed to be possessed by the plant or animal eaten. Frequently savages have a food taboo, based on belief in the totem descent of the group.

Taboo.—The taboo, which is of the utmost importance in primitive social life, can be treated as an elementary form of law or as a magical institution related to religion. It represents a prohibition which has the sanctity of religion, and also contains the idea that certain persons or objects are inherently dangerous because they possess magical force. The prohibitions of taboo may be expedient or they may prohibit doing something which from a higher level of culture is clearly desirable. Thus we read that the making of pottery on one of the South Pacific islands became taboo because it happened that those who originated a crude vessel of clay for some reason happened to die and their death was at once interpreted as due to the anger of the spirits because of the utensils they had manufactured.

It is amazing how far fear of the taboo goes among savages. Many are the illustrations of savages dying because of accidentally coming in contact with some tabooed object which

[9] Knight, Peters and Blanchard, "Taboo and Genetics," p. 140.

brought them under the hand of the god; after a short period of worry they became ill and died, primarily as a consequence of fear. Thus we have the story of a boy who unwittingly picked up a match box that had been in the possession of a chief; in spite of the fact that the boy broke the taboo without intention, worry soon ended his life.

Taboos are used to set up effective social protection which works far better than the modern police. A tree with unripened fruit may be taboo so that it will not be molested in any way until the taboo is lifted in final harvest. Taboos may be established temporarily or permanently by authority, the priest usually being the person who enjoys this power. Taboos can also be removed. It is said that they lose their potency quickly when the savage comes in contact with modern culture. It is evident that in such a rapid transition from notions of authority which no one questions to a general disbelief, a tribe of simple people run great risk of a state of moral anarchy. This is the explanation of the sudden degeneration that sometimes occurs when the natives come in close contact with a superior culture. One of the powerful taboos which is common to savage thinking is the taboo of the dead body, which, incidentally, has had a useful though unappreciated place in preventing contagion. This usefulness of the taboo is perhaps more clearly shown in the case of those who are sick.

Animism.—Magic and animism are related in the savages' belief that the soul has entered into a definite object or person, or the more general interpretation which makes everything the embodiment of spirit. Closely allied to animism is the savage's belief in the efficacy of the fetish. This is the notion that by controlling the object of which a spirit has taken possession, one gets power to make use of the magical quality that belongs to this spirit. In modern man a remnant of this attitude is found in the common practice of carrying about a token of good luck which by some coinci-

dence has become related to experiences of success. The ideas of reincarnation and transmigration are both found in the animistic belief of savage peoples. The different kinds of treatment received by the spirits represent the ambivalency of fear and affection. This explains the inconsistency often found in the treatment of the body of the dead or in the attitude of custom with reference to the ghost. Savages sometimes ask the pardon of the ghost of the animal or person slain. It is not uncommon for them to attempt to propitiate the ghost of the enemy who has become a victim of their prowess.

An interesting illustration of this desire to keep on friendly terms with the animals hunted appears in Tinneh Animism in the annual Feast of Animal Souls.

> At this feast images of all the animals that are hunted are carved upon the ends of sticks, and hundreds of these are stuck up around the interior of the council house and propitiated with songs and offerings. It is significant that among these images are also to be seen representations of bags of flour, guns, and other things useful for maintaining life. An aged Indian who was asked whether the people supposed that the images could understand what was being done answered, "No, but the animals upon the mountains see it, and they are pleased." This was said during a ceremony in which water was sprinkled over a group of images representing a herd of deer.[10]

Practical knowledge.—The spectacular character of the thinking of the savage as it expresses itself in magic and animistic ideas makes it easy for the European to forget the fund of common-sense knowledge without which the savage could not exist. Information as to how he can best deal with the practical affairs of life is obtained by the savage, since on this depends his physical survival.

[10] Chapman, J. W., "Tinneh Animism," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 304.

The fishing tribe, for example, knows how, when and where to fish. Valuable knowledge regarding the habits of animals and how they can be most easily captured is gained by the hunting tribes. Savages also learn to interpret the natural phenomena that can give them insight as to the approaching weather. How to fell trees, clear brush, start fires, and recognize the tracks of animals are subjects covered by the technic they acquire. The woman in her routine demonstrates that she too has a fund of knowledge of the greatest importance with reference to making garments, cooking, planting, and taking care of children.

Much of this information is handed on from generation to generation as a matter of course. The child learns chiefly by imitation as he shares the labor of his parents. It is in this practical knowledge that we find the least difference in the cultures of savage people. In so far as they encounter the same conditions, they learn from experience how best to meet their needs. Carveth Read asks how it is that the savage developed the false notions that appear in his magic and animistic thinking, since in the earlier stages of his development, he, like the higher animals, had to give his full attention to the practical problem of meeting his physical needs. He suggests that in some stage in the process of social evolution man must have become the victim of an imagination that misinterpreted his experiences with nature.[11] The answer to his question is that man, unlike the higher animals, cannot live by bread alone. As soon as he became conscious of his psychic needs, under the influence of his fears, his hopes, and his errors that came from thinking by analogy he started building up a world of fancy which at least bears testimony to the fact that man cannot confine himself to the satisfaction of his physical desires.

Intellectual capacity of the savage.—Is the savage in his intellectual capacity inferior to civilized man? Before such

[11] Read, Carveth, "Origin of Man and His Superstitions," p. 67.

a question can be answered justly, it is necessary that we take full account of the advantages of modern man, due not to his mental attainment but to his possession of cultural experiences. Man today is the heir of the thinking of the past. He has the use of the information that has been gathered, the discoveries made and the tools invented. It is necessary in comparing men who have a simple culture with those of our own time who live a complicated social life, to notice the differences in the incentives to activity. The wants of the savage are relatively few and, when he lives in a favorable environment, easy to obtain. Necessity is not only the mother of invention, but also of intellectual achievement. The isolation of the savage often is responsible for a relative retardation in his intellectual growth. His lack of contact allows custom to become so well established that innovation is almost impossible. It is the ingenuity of the savage in dealing with his practical everyday affairs that discloses the effectiveness of his mentality.

In keenness of observation the savage has been often credited with a special endowment of the senses, but his skill comes from the necessity of observing carefully. His lack of concentration outside his circle of interests is noticed by the European. In matters that have for him no interest it is easy to mark him low in the power of continuous thinking. His emotional character has in the past been exaggerated. On the other hand, our familiarity with the emotionalism that is expressed by the mass of people in our own time leads us to discount its strength. Modern man has superiority in his ability to adapt himself to circumstances and perhaps flexibility is the most striking contrast between civilized man and the savage. The difference, however, is only in degree, for although the rapid changing of our culture encourages the habit of adaptation to new conditions, human nature is even yet reluctant to welcome the need of unfamiliar social adjustments.

CHAPTER XIV

PRIMITIVE CONTROL AND THE TRANSMISSION OF CULTURE

Social evolution and the transmission of culture.—Savage society, like our own, maintains itself by the transmission of culture. It passes on its traditions and ways of living by training just as we do by the more systematic instruction of our schools. Education exists in a very simple form among savages, corresponding more nearly to the process of public control as we think of it than to our idea of education. Primitive education or control has two objects. It tries to make the child that receives it conform to the necessities of tribal conditions. This represents an effort to teach the individual to do what seems for his advantage. In training the boy to hunt or fish or make a canoe, and the girl to plant corn or prepare food for winter storage, there is an attempt to give them a technic which has been developed from experience and which observes the laws of nature.

We might expect all savage education to aim at passing tribal knowledge of this useful sort along to the on-coming generation, but that is only a part of its purpose. Its other endeavor seems to us wasteful, yet to the savages it is perhaps more important. This is the effort to make the young and foolish observe the rules that have to do with the existence of the spirits as a necessary means of protecting tribal welfare. A great amount of time and energy goes to disciplining the child so that he will do those things which to us are merely superstition. When we analyze the beliefs and practices based on the supposed demands of the spirits, they are seen to be mostly subjective fancies, either what the

individual thinks ought to be or what he has been led to think does exist in spite of his desires. They are the projections of his wishes and his fears.

The progress of education gradually moved away from the primitive aim of control of the supernatural toward the better use of physical forces until now a large proportion of educational energy is devoted to understanding and observing the laws of nature. Certain traditions, attitudes and beliefs persist in popular thought that prevent education, using the term in its widest sense, from being altogether made up of training in the actualities of life.

This process of transmitting culture from one generation to another, commonly called social evolution, does not involve a change in man himself except through the effects on each individual of the training he receives. Man has not evolved physically or nervously in any marked degree since his savage days; both brain and body remain essentially what they were. Man has not changed at all in the substance of his life, yet he has become in his operations a new creature, to an extent that makes it possible to affirm that nothing in life has developed more than human nature itself, not because it is expressed by a new body or brain, but because it has obtained with the passing of time variations in culture which have profoundly influenced personality in its behavior.

Transmission of habits.—The transmission of culture is concerned largely with ways of doing things. One of the fascinating objects in the study of savage tribes is the tracing of the spread of certain operations so as to see how the spontaneous development of a new kind of arrow or a different way of shooting or spearing passed through neighboring tribes until it extended over a broad territory. The entire group of people, so far as their way of doing this definite thing is concerned, follows the same culture.

Transmission of sentiments.—Another transmissible element of culture is the sentiments of a people. These also

are passed on by contact, spreading over a wide stretch of territory, and may make people of different racial types alike because of their similar ways of feeling about things and happenings. As a result of contact with diverse sentiments, people of the some racial type may vary widely. These sentiments which unite and separate savage peoples, just as they do modern men, are the outgrowth of past experience. The significance of sentiments appears when an administrator of native people by ignorance or carelessness violates the feelings of those he governs. By running counter to the sentiments of the savage he at once makes his rule impotent, however strong the government he represents and regardless of the benevolent purposes he may be trying to carry out. Successful attacks upon sentiments that appear hostile to the well-being of a native group have to come gradually through the slow educating of children. Permanent results cannot be accomplished merely by the edict of authority nor by an expression of superior physical force. Sentiments are dissolved by destroying the culture out of which they spring.

The strength of sentiments appears in the social experiences of modern man. The American has sentiments so characteristic that he can never be incorporated into the Latin civilization where the sentiments are of another order; the distinguishing trend of either may not be easily analyzed, but their separateness is definite. The Latin does not understand us nor do we him. This is even more true of the American compared with the Japanese or Chinese. The sentiments of these distinct peoples are more different than their ways of doing things and far more different than their ideas. A Japanese, for example, may dress and talk like an American, express the same ideas, take with marked success the same courses as his American university friend, but there is sure to be a wider gap between the two in sentiments than in anything else, aside from physical traits of race.

Social customs.—Customs that have to do with social be-

havior rather than ways of carrying on physical activities such as hunting or planting seed also are transmitted and form an important element in culture. The ceremonies that gather about birth, puberty, marriage, and death are characteristic social customs among savages. Among the Rubiana people

> When a woman is about to give birth to a child, the women of the village build her a small leaf hut away in the bush; and there she has to remain in the damp and dirt, often with the rain pouring in from the roof, until the child is born. No male hand must take part in the building of the house, and no man, not even her husband, must approach it whilst she is there; moreover, the husband must not see the child for at least a fortnight after birth. The women of the village celebrate the event by a religious ceremony, with sprinkling of blood.[1]

In the Roro district a wedding is an elaborate ceremony celebrated in two parts, the second following the first after an interval of from three to eight weeks. The ceremony starts when

> On the wedding-day a party of the boy's friends surround the house of the girl's parents, and carry it by mimic assault with much fury and shouting. The girl escapes, runs away, and is pursued, and on being caught defends herself from her captors with hands, feet and teeth. In the meantime a battle royal is going on around her father's house. During the fight the girl's mother strikes every inanimate object about her with a club or other weapon, shouting curses in the meantime on the ravishers of her daughter; but she usually collapses, and gives way to weeping, in which other women of the village join. She continues her laments for three days.[2]

Transmission of ideas.—Ideas as distinguished from sentiments—and they are frequently hard to separate in savage

[1] Williamson, R. W., "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," p. 62.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 134–35.

culture—are also transmitted. No ideas are more common than those revealing the curiosity of the savage with regard to the origin of things. Accounts of creation, we are told, are found among all peoples.[3] This multitude of explanations that have been given by savages as to how the earth and its animals and men came about bears witness to the great interest centering in stories of the creation. The following introduces the idea of creation as it was held by the Maori of New Zealand.

> Men had but one pair of primitive ancestors; they sprang from the vast heaven that exists above us, and from the earth which lies beneath us. According to the traditions of our race, Rangi, and Papa, or Heaven and Earth, were the source from which, in the beginning, all things originated. Darkness then rested upon the heaven and upon the earth, and they still both clave together, for they had not yet been rent apart; and the children they had begotten were ever thinking amongst themselves what might be the difference between darkness and light; they knew that beings had multiplied and increased, and yet light had never broken upon them, but it ever continued dark. Hence these sayings are found in our ancient religious services: "There was darkness from the first division of time, unto the tenth, to the hundredth, to the thousandth," that is, for a vast space of time; and these divisions of time were as beings, and were each termed a Po; and on their account there was as yet no world with its bright light, but darkness only for the beings which existed.
>
> At last the beings who had been begotten by Heaven and Earth, worn out by the continued darkness, consulted amongst themselves, saying: "Let us now determine what we should do with Rangi and Papa, whether it would be better to slay them or to rend them apart." Then spoke Tumatauenga, the fiercest of the children of Heaven and Earth: "It is well, let us slay them."
>
> Then spake Tane-mahuta, the father of forests and of all

[3] Wallis, W. L., "An Introduction to Anthropology," p. 227.

things that inhabit them, or that are constructed from trees: "Nay, not so. It is better to rend them apart, and to let the heaven stand far above us, and the earth lie under our feet. Let the sky become as a stranger to us, but the earth remain close to us as our nursing mother." [4]

According to the Tsimshian people, in the beginning:

The whole world was still covered with darkness. When the sky was clear, the people would have little light from the stars; and when clouds were in the sky, it was very dark all over the land. The people were distressed by this. Then Giant thought it would be hard for him to obtain his food if it were always dark.[5]

In the traditions of the Maya Indians (Yucatan) appears a statement of the order of creation which is in part as follows:

On One Chuen he raised himself up to divinity; he created heaven and earth.

On Two Eb he created the first ebb. It came from the midst of the heavens in the midst of the water. There was neither land, rocks nor trees.

On Three Ben he created all things, as many as there are, the things of the heavens, the things of the sea, of the earth.

On Four Ix came the upsetting of heaven and earth.

On Five Men came the making of everything.

On Six Cib it came to pass that he made the first candle. There came light when there was neither sun nor moon.

On Seven Caban the world was first created when we had none.

On Eight Eonab his hand and foot were firmly set. Then he picked up the small things on the earth.[6]

[4] Grey, Sir George, "Polynesian Mythology," p. 1. Quoted in Kroeber and Waterman's "Source Book in Anthropology," p. 516.

[5] Bartlett, p. 99. "Comparative Study of Tsimshian Mythology," p. 60, Boas, F., Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

[6] Roys, R. L., "A Maya Account of the Creation," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 22, No. 4, p. 363.

Cultural differences.—Add together the differences between people in their habits of doing things, their sentiments, customs and ideas and the result is a product that discloses what is passed on from generation to generation. It is the transmission of this material that explains many of the differences between separate groups of people and the gap between the cultures of various periods. The culture that is transmitted gradually varies, group by group. Certain changes appear, are made permanent, and are transmitted. In our country there are characteristic sectional types of culture that are transmitted: New England, Atlantic, Mid-Western, Southern and Western. Children are somewhat modified according to the place in which they happen to be brought up. Language is slightly different, as are prejudices, religious feeling, point of view. We can often detect not only in the vocabulary and pronunciation but in ideas the fact that one person has had a definite sort of culture and another a different kind. In meeting people from other nations this is even clearer.

The baby born today has to begin his life under the influence of some type of culture. In his original equipment and capacity of body and mind he is essentially the same as a child born five or ten thousand years ago. The different personality that he will develop comes from the character of the habits, sentiments, customs and ideas that begin, as a result of his contact with his elders, to mold him.

Conservative character of savage culture.—Savage education is notoriously conservative. The savage, on account of his superstitition and hard circumstances, is constantly struggling to maintain himself, to accomplish physical survival. His surplus of wealth is always very small. Only in unusual cases of luxury dare he take much risk. Even were he in favorable circumstances physically he would never be safe from his spirit enemies. He is so lacking in understanding of physical conditions that comets, eclipses, changes of moon,

as well as animals, fierce winds, thunder and lightning, and numerous other physical phenomena give him a feeling of insecurity and build up a philosophy which is primarily that of fear and the need of protection. At first he thinks the world peopled with evil spirits that are his enemies. He worships, if at all, those spirits that are most dangerous. His worship is primarily an attempt to bribe by gifts or service the evil spirits whom he fears. Gradually he changes until the benevolent spirits occupy more of his attention but always fear is close to the mass of people.

The savage feels that any change is precarious and particularly does he fear change of custom or social tradition lest it incur the hostility of the spirits. Those who are young and most tempted to be reckless are especially trained to be fearful because of the danger they may bring to tribal security. A large part of education is a deliberate and successful attempt to keep the youth from revolting or even by accident bringing about new conditions.

Originality becomes an attack on social culture and is suppressed ordinarily as soon as it appears, though it is less dangerous in some spheres than others. Originality within the spirit element of life is of course regarded as extremely hazardous and the result is that there is usually no variation in religion except over long periods of time. Probably the innovations occur by infusion from other groups of a different culture. In the literature of the Old Testament appear illustrations of the willingness of a people to give up their god if it is proven that he is weaker than the enemy's god. Those who have been conquered often take over the god of their victorious enemy. Security comes from the god who shows superiority.

Secret societies.—Among savages secret societies occupy an important place; sometimes having a religious significance and always influencing the transmission of culture, they are an instrument of social control in the hands of older men.

Since they appear practically everywhere in savage society it is difficult to believe that they are transmitted by contact. It is more reasonable to suppose that there is a spontaneous demand originating from human experience which leads to this secret organization as a means of social control.

The secret society is especially efficient in controlling women and to some extent young people and men who do not belong to the society. Women in some tribes are largely kept in a place of subordination to masculine culture by the power of the secret society. Occasionally this seems to be the special motive of the society, which frightens and punishes women who are troublesome. In our own time we have had instances of secret organizations unlawfully attempting to administer authority that belongs to the state in ways that suggest the practices of the secret societies of primitive culture.

Variations in savage culture.—Most of the variations in savage culture are brought about by contact of different tribes, leading to the introduction of the new and its fusion with former habits. There is not the amount of independent invention that earlier students of savage customs assumed as the explanation of cultural changes.

It was once thought, in harmony with the idea of evolution then prevailing, that all savage peoples progressed through stages of social experience essentially the same, and, although they moved at different rates, each development followed the same logical steps. This assumed in man's mind a faculty that expressed itself, when stimulated by the demands of environmental need, in a progressive series of inventions and discoveries. According to this theory, the invention of stone tools, pottery, bronze, iron, etc., took place within each cultural growth independent of suggestions from outside. It is apparent that the evidence as to when and how any particular invention occurred in a savage tribe is not to be had, for we do not have the historical records necessary to estab-

lish the time of origin. What we do know about inventions among savages does not forbid a considerable duplication: it does destroy the plausibility of a stereotyped unfolding of culture according to a standard pattern.

Cultural changes come chiefly by diffusion. What appears in one tribe is brought to the attention of another and copied. In our own time the quick passing of the radio, aeroplane, and moving pictures from the place of origin to all quarters of the earth and their rapid incorporation into the various cultures of different nations discloses how easily cultural experiences can be taken from one people to another.

A weakness of savage culture which tends to hold it within its characteristic conservatism is its lack of competition. Old ways continue by the process of self-perpetuation. That which happens to be is accepted as long as possible. It is replaced only by an extraordinary crisis which forces new methods and ideas on an unwilling people or it is slowly dissolved by the coming of innovations brought by the process of diffusion. The resistance which the new encounters is frequently at bottom fear of breaking from habits of the past which are regarded as sanctioned by the spirits, and the dread of variation is enforced by the teaching of medicine men and chiefs. As Leonard says:

> Apart from their aversion to change of any kind, and slaves as these people from time immemorial have been, and are, to custom and conservatism, and the iron discipline of their bogey-ancestors—who in their belief only depart from the flesh to continue a much more potential existence and government in spirit,—the bulk of the people have their thinking done for them by the priests, doctors, and diviners, who are *de facto* the active thinkers and thought-leaders of their communities.[7]

How can this attitude of static thought persist among savages? It could not if there were greater knowledge of

[7] Leonard, A. G., "The Lower Niger and its Tribes," p. 59.

the laws of causation. Since the savage has so feeble a grasp of natural law and so often interprets that which happens as the result of mystic forces, he has neither an incentive nor a basis for comparison and investigation. Even inventions and discoveries when accidentally made are at times lost because of lack of interest and failure to realize their advantage. "No, it is not our way," a reply made by a New Guinea native to a missionary who had suggested that a canoe be made more comfortable after the fashion of those of a neighboring tribe, sums up the attitude of savage culture when it comes in contact with superior ways of doing things.

Culture under these conditions has decided coercive influence that tends to produce the conforming type of person. From the point of view of uniformity, with its well-established routine and its lack of restlessness, agitation or even crime, savage society is ideal.

Variation that appears serious and likely to earn the hostility of the spirits is apt to meet the punishment of death. The tribe cannot afford to run the risk of allowing the offender to live. A milder kind of variation may bring exile, which usually means death, or it may bring loss of social standing, a fine or merely ridicule.

Children and coercion.—Coercion for the purpose of protecting from originality and variation starts with the training of very young children. Children are as a rule well taken care of and kindly treated but, so far as innovation is concerned, since it is thought dangerous to the tribe, savages are very definite in their commands and ready to use fear to make the child docile. They have all sorts of bogey men, each tribe having its own favorite conception, a story perhaps of a snake that comes out of the river to eat up children who are disobedient.

Ridicule also is freely used to keep the child within the well-beaten path. The savage is often exceedingly sensitive

to ridicule and this provides an effective means by which the elders direct the conduct of the young. Praise, on the other hand, is liberally used to encourage the children that struggle to keep the traditions of the people. The child has little chance of preserving any tendency toward originality or variation under the successful fear-or-praise method of control.

The control of the child is based fundamentally on fear and his self-assertive desires, expressed in the craving for praise and feelings of vanity. As soon as a child is born, in either modern or savage society, he has to pay attention to the attitudes of the people about him because from them come his comforts. As a result of the treatment he receives he is repressed by them—repression being fear in its extreme form—or he is sensitive to their approval, the praise he gets leading to the expansion of his ego.

The child is keen in noticing these attitudes of his elders and becomes a more accurate observer than those who are older. Only the specialist who cultivates skill in reading facial expression has better insight into attitudes than the child, who can often tell better than the parent how the latter is feeling, and, if shrewd, knows when to ask for favors and when not to ask; he also learns very early to discriminate between friends and enemies. At first concerned only with the reactions of his family, he later includes his neighbors and then all with whom he comes in contact, always being sensitive to their disapproval with a feeling of fear, and to their approval, which leads to an expansion of self.

Savage initiation.—The initiation of the boy at puberty, sometimes of the girl, has in savage society a foremost place as a means of producing conformity and tribal respect. By this process recognition is made of the fact that the time has come when the child is taken from the family and made a mature member of the tribe. The initiation with its mysteries is in the hands of the elders who use to the full their oppor-

tunity for creating respect and even awe in the minds of the youth. In the teaching that accompanies the initiation and in the stories told about the campfire at night when the day's ordeal is over, deliberate effort is made to build up attitudes that protect from change.

During the initiation there is much that has a dramatic appeal and tests the courage of the youth. The ordeals through which they pass usually demand a large amount of endurance and control even over the expression of suffering. The North American Indians, for example, severely tested the courage of their youth; hanging them, perhaps for hours, on cords put through the muscles in their chests and shoulders. In Australia the youth were sometimes placed on brush fires and smoked. Never were they permitted to cry out. If they showed even in facial expression the slightest pain they ran risk of being made squaw men who had to live henceforth with the women.

The influence of folk lore.—Mention has already been made of the story-telling that takes place at the initiation for the purpose of getting youth in sympathy with the traditions and customs of the tribe. Stories and legends are constantly used to influence the conduct of both boys and girls. These tales enforce the virtues that are recognized by the older members of the group. This type of instruction is employed to inculcate the idea of obedience and in the stories there is a liberal use of fear to stimulate courage, sacrifice and respect for elders.

The evil of jealousy is another teaching found in savage folk-lore. An illustration of this appears in the following Masai Tale. There were two wives. One had twins while the other had no children. The woman who was barren stole the twins and placed them in a drum which floated down the river. They were saved by a far-away tribe and adopted and eventually became famous warriors, who learned the history of their childhood. After much searching they finally

found the woman who was responsible for setting them adrift and made her herd donkeys for the rest of her life.[8]

Tales repeated over and over again have a profound influence upon the children. In the stories the good, brave, and obedient are successful in their search for happiness while those lacking in respect for elders, and the disobedient are punished by coming to a bad end. Story-telling is not confined to the moral instruction of children, for it is popular also among the elders as a form of entertainment. The hunter returning from his successful adventure rehearses his experience to a group of eager listeners, in a most dramatic fashion and doubtless not without exaggeration. Folk-lore is both a means of ethical instruction of youth and a form of drama for the adults.

Progress in savage society.—If savage society is so conservative, how is there any progress? Often it comes by diffusion in the way that has already been described. The great incentive to progress strangely enough comes from misfortune caused by maladjustment. It is the desperate circumstances rather than the favorable that bring about social changes. The tribe that is suffering from its conventional habits is more open to trial of the new. We have then what is called by Professor Thomas a *crisis;* the situation becomes so disagreeable that special attention has to be given to it and a new choice of procedure made. Habits break down because they do not function satisfactorily and from this comes a readjustment of culture.

The customs that change most easily are those nearest the actual necessities of the people. If, for instance, they are starving for lack of food it is with reference to food production that change appears. If they are constantly being conquered by their enemies it is in regard to their military preparation that progress will be made. The so-called Five Nations developed the highest coöperation known in savagery

[8] Hollis, A. C., "The Masai," p. 178.

and their alliance influenced the development of the United States. So weak had they been separately and so often conquered by their enemies that they were driven to coöperation as a means of security.

Religious practices and habits of relationship are least likely to change because they represent interests farther away from the concrete necessities that test habits of food getting or of protection from dangerous animals and from enemies.

Leadership.—When a crisis occurs, the question whether or not it is met successfully by new ways of doing things depends upon the quality of leadership available and the willingness of the group to accept the leader who appears. Not only is something new needed. The tribe may die or be conquered because it cannot adjust itself to the new departure, once it has been made. Some leader may find a method that promises survival but his efforts to win a following may fail, bringing about tribal disaster. Since the savage is suspicious of leadership that turns away from the accustomed paths, this intolerance of unfamiliar practices becomes a serious hazard of savage culture.

In our own time there is little disposition to accept leadership that attempts to take people away from familiar habits to new and untried experiences. Many of our so-called leaders are literally followers, for they are merely reflectors of current opinion. He who heads a procession does not lead if his one object is to find its chosen line of march and keep at the front of the advancing column. Savage culture has its surprises and, under stress, departures are at times accepted and faithfully followed. The general trend of savage culture is unmistakably conservative and the leader who tries to change what has been finds his task always difficult, sometimes dangerous and often impossible.

PART IV

MAN AND HIS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER XV

THE FAMILY AND DOMESTIC EXPERIENCE

Although social experience is for each individual a connected whole, it contains distinguishable divisions which, because they emphasize definite interests that persist in social experience, are called institutions. Of these the family is the most important. In thinking of the family as one of our fundamental human institutions we must not conceive of it as maintaining a separate existence. It is rather a special grouping within the larger whole, for the experience within the family and that outside are, for each person, too intimately connected to be regarded as independent spheres of social behavior. The substance of the family is social experience, the result of the grouping of certain individuals who share special interests and who stand in definite relationship to one another. Thus the family, like everything that falls within the province of the social sciences, is essentially life, the behavior of persons in close contact.

This concept, which emphasizes the functional value in human association, forbids thinking of the family as static. Like the rest of social experience family life changes in the effort to maintain between itself and other social conditions the adaptation necessary for its success. The emotional attitude we all take toward family life, especially with respect to experiences of our own childhood, and the binding force

this attitude permits social experiences of the past, produced under different conditions, to exert upon the present family tend to slow down change and prevent each generation from fully recognizing the trends that may be taking place. This comes out clearly in our own time when the family is more rapidly altering its course than in the immediate past. Social movements do not proceed with regularity but at times travel rapidly and then, during the period of quiescence which follows, the new experience becomes relatively fixed. This is especially true with reference to the family where so often tradition checks ongoing although a new social situation demands fresh adjustment.

The function of the family.—If we think of the function of the family in narrow terms it becomes an enlargement of parenthood. The helplessness of the human infant requires a long period of nurture and protection, and from this necessity develops a special grouping of parents and children, which has become the institution of the family. Allied with this major interest is the control of sex desire which explains marriage as the method by which families are established. From a wider point of view the family, in addition to providing the necessary care of the child and the regulation of sex conduct, normally offers opportunity for the most intimate of social contacts, the desire for which has become a marked characteristic of modern men and women. Whatever aspect of family life is emphasized, its social function is evident. The family conserves and transmits social experience to the newborn child and also educates its members through closeness of relationship; upon its efficiency as an educational agency the security and quality of society as a whole primarily depend.

It is important to notice that the family has developed out of human experience. It is not something imposed upon human nature from without, but came into being as an indispensable means of procuring conditions favorable to the advancement of man's social life; its biological function is so

essential that we find it foreshadowed in the mating of the higher animals, where instinct provides for a time the cohesion which keeps together male and female until the offspring has matured sufficiently to care for himself.

Family life of savages.—The family life of primitive people as we have come to know it through the study of savage society does not present a picture of unbroken development from a simple origin to our present type of conventional family life. Instead we find illustrations of very different family experiences, showing no consistent progress that would permit us on the basis of the family alone to rank the cultural achievements of savage peoples.

There is at present unanimity among scholars that nowhere in savage society has evidence been obtained of the promiscuous beginning of family life, which once was arbitrarily deduced as the necessary starting point of family evolution. The marriage regulations of savages are often much more complicated than our own. This led to confusion among the missionaries and travelers who first came in contact with sex behavior so different from the European conventions as to make it seem lawless and independent of restraint. With greater knowledge it was found that what seemed license was really the complexity of marriage relationships and that even when sex behavior was not monogamous it was rigorously regulated by customs that were both specific and authoritative. The marriage customs of the Australian savages are an illustration of a very complicated marriage system, which permits a woman to be married to a particular man but also at definite times to be eligible for relations with certain other men of the tribe, while remaining strictly taboo to the rest.

Polygamy and polyandry are found among savages. Neither of these variations is confined to a definite economic status, although on the higher levels wealth encourages the first and poverty the second. Two types of polyandry occur, one of husbands who are brothers, the other of unrelated

men. In the second form the wife is apt to be migratory, spending several weeks or months with one of her husbands and then going on to another. In such cases control of the children is determined by customs that prevent friction. Among some peoples the first child born acknowledges as father the oldest of the woman's husbands, the next child has the next younger husband as parent and so on. Nor does the polygamous family show the strain which would surely develop under the conditions of modern culture. As a matter of fact the wife is often anxious that her husband marry other women since in this way she frequently gains assistance in the toil she has to carry on in household or field, and extends her authority.

Another important characteristic of the savage family is the regulations that maintain endogamy and exogamy. The first requires that marriage take place between persons of a definite group, while the other forbids marriage to persons within another group. These regulations usually are governed by specific plans and are often based upon totemic relationships. A deep-seated taboo against incest is always found among savages. Although these regulations are plainly of advantage to savage society it is not so clear how they originated. An effort has been made to tie these customs to instinctive reactions, but their social value as a means of consolidating the interests of the group is their most plausible explanation.

It is interesting to find a widespread taboo against intimacy between the mother-in-law and her daughter's husband. Many ingenious reasons have been advanced for this, and although we cannot know how it came about, it does adjust a problem in savage society which in some families of our own time is especially perplexing. Students of savage life bear testimony that ordinarily the family association is a happy one, in view of the difficulties of adjustment now so common in contemporary family contacts.

The history of American family life.—The family life of our early Atlantic coast settlements was, of course, European and for the most part English in tradition but there were wide variations in the geographical and industrial conditions and more especially in the customs and traditions of the different settlements. The introduction of slavery influenced the South, while the Puritan tradition impressed itself on the family life of the North Atlantic settlements. When the western territory was opened the culture in the new territory was not entirely imitative of the earlier settlements. Not only was there a mingling of influences from the northern, middle Atlantic and southern states, but other qualities were brought about by the necessity of adaptation to the conditions of frontier life.

The general trend toward a more democratic family life than that maintained in the older localities in part explains the greater educational and political opportunities that were given women as the frontier pushed toward the Pacific coast. Even now differences in educational theory and practice are shown by the prevalence in the east of the segregated colleges exclusively for men or for women, while the states west of the Alleghanies are thoroughly committed to coeducation. Although economic conditions had some part in bringing about this change, it represents primarily an elemental divergence in the educational atmosphere produced by social customs that looked with favor upon greater equality for women.

The Civil War, both north and south, had a disturbing effect on family relationships. On the whole, it multiplied opportunities for women, especially along professional and political lines. The factory system which developed in the north influenced family life by drawing rural families to manufacturing centers, and by putting a premium upon child labor.

Various unorthodox ideas regarding marriage and family

life have been advocated and to some extent practiced in the history of American family experience. One of the most striking and successful of these unconventional types was the plural marriage system of the Mormons which had the temporary advantage of a large territory to populate and a religious motive to lessen the dangers of polygamy. It was beginning to pass, however, when more adverse legislation was forced upon the Mormons by a national public opinion that was intolerant of such a radical departure from the accepted matrimonial status.

The World War not only had a disturbing and stimulating influence upon contemporary family conditions, it led many to marry carelessly and prematurely. A large proportion of these matrimonial alliances were not satisfactory, as was soon demonstrated by the increase in the divorce rate which reveals the abnormal situation of this period. The War opened up for women a still wider passageway into every phase of industrial and educational opportunity. The consequences of this are both the greater respect for women which came from their more numerous employment in diversified lines of industry, and the heightening of ambition among women which caused some of them to turn away from the possibility of marriage in order to follow their chosen career. The War also accelerated the disappearance of the economic motive which in earlier times made matrimony woman's chief occupation. To some extent the War weakened the former sex taboo and in some classes unsettled the code of conduct which had long been established among those who maintained high moral standards. The results of the War still persist and it is much too soon for the student of the family to state with certainty what its general effect upon family practices in this country will be.

Present trends of family life.—The American people have become conscious of the disorganization of prevailing family life. It is, of course, possible to exaggerate the significance of

this, since in part it is only the freer expression of faults that were concealed in former times when custom forbade the public admission of family difficulties. It is most unreasonable, however, to suppose that our present situation is entirely due to the greater opportunity for the confession of unsatisfactory family relationships. It is necessary to look to society itself for an explanation of the current disturbances which are so easily seen by the observer of American family life. It is only fair to notice that family unrest exists in greater or lesser degree in other countries. Apparently, therefore, although the American situation influences the extent of our family disorganization, the experience itself is a world-wide phenomenon, a product of conditions that belong to the modern way of living.

A complete description of American family trends is related to most of the outstanding features of contemporary life. Family experience is increasingly democratic, the members of the home demanding greater self-expression. This is especially noticeable in the reactions of women and children within the family circle. The prolonging of education tends to delay marriage and apparently also to influence the birth rate. The popularizing of contraceptive measures is affecting the birth rate, though some authorities question whether this has yet influenced to any great extent national reproduction. The evidence will soon be too overwhelming at this point to be longer questioned.

There is also an unmistakable trend, which is more characteristic of city life, toward a smaller amount of family experience. Accompanying this is the tendency of the community in private and public enterprise to take over more and more of the responsibilities with reference to children which once fell exclusively upon the parent. The pressure of tradition, which in the past made motherhood a duty no one disputed, is slightly lessening in some classes and in others has been replaced by the belief that motherhood

should be voluntary and represent a mother's desire, rather than an obligation, either political or religious in significance.

Women as a whole are concentrating less upon housekeeping and depending more upon industry for the means of getting rid of unnecessary household functions. For example, canning and preserving on a large scale in factories have almost put an end to the canning of vegetables and fruits by individual housekeepers. A great part of city people buy much of their food supply already prepared for eating at grocery and food shops. These changes increase the leisure of women, while, on the other hand, the greater demands of modern life, especially the universal desire for recreation, make the working day seem longer to most modern women than it did to their mothers who had to do many more household tasks.

Particularly in cities, households are adapting themselves to conditions that come from the working of married women outside the home. Their motives for doing this are various. Sometimes it is a purely economic matter, at other times the woman prefers to carry on the kind of work she finds in industry or a profession, rather than devote herself primarily to housekeeping. Her career before marriage may explain this preference. On the other hand, some women find the monotony of household work far less attractive than employment that brings them in contact with many people or has a large competitive element. In such homes the coming of a child often creates a problem that is difficult to solve unless the mother changes her attitude or by good fortune discovers some person or institution that she can make the substitute for her motherly responsibilities.

It is with reference to children that perhaps the most striking changes are taking place in family experience. Much of this is so recent that its fulness of meaning can be more clearly seen by the next generation than by us of the present. Parents give children greater opportunities for self-expres-

sion and he modern child usually separates himself from the family authority earlier and with less difficulty than in former times.

Children generally have more luxury than was common even a generation ago and when very young come under the influence of commercial recreation. Much less than in other generations do they depend upon their own resources for amusement and as a rule it can be said that they are more passive in their play than they used to be. As little children they are introduced to professional games and readily become spectators, as do their parents. The dangers inherent in the changes they have experienced would be far greater were it not for the timely coming of such organizations as the Boy and Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Big Brother movements, and others that place in the life of the child the teaching that stern necessity gave formerly by making him create his own forms of amusement.

These changes that are so apparent on the surface of present-day family life are intensified by the urbanizing of culture. The family of the past was more adapted to rural life than to the city. Indeed the function of the family necessarily decreased under urban conditions of life. This is especially true where congestion prevails, and explains why transportation has a decided effect upon the characteristics of family life. Not only does the city tend to reduce the extent of the function the family performs and bring it into competition with schools and other organizations, that, although trying to assist it, necessarily come to compete with it, but the city also tends to separate family interests by permitting each member to have opportunity to develop his interests by himself so that the common fund of family experience is at a minimum.

Many family groups are found in the apartment area of our cities, in which home is little more than a place for shelter, food getting, and the bickerings of those who without

intimate contact or sympathy are forced to contribute their earnings to the common enterprise. Adding to the confusion of present family life, a sordid materialism exists among many which smothers the greater values that come out of family experience.

Parents and children.—New conditions confront parents. To be sure, our period is not the first when this has been true, but it is doubtful if ever before parents have faced such a rapid reforming of their relationships with children. No progress can be made in dealing with problems of parenthood and marriage unless the practical significance of this new situation be regarded seriously. It is not true, however, as so often people seem to think, that the value of parental influence has decreased, for there never was a time when the rôle parents must play if they are successful was more important than now. Indeed the possibilities of the parenthood relationship have been increased by the changing conditions of home and marriage.

The secret that explains what has happened lies in the fact that family interests are no longer self-sustained. This perhaps is a forward step in human development. Even two generations ago, the family influence perpetuated itself as a matter of course and there was little need of any deliberate attempt by parents to prepare their children either for marriage or for parenthood. The necessary training, at least such as seemed at that time adequate, was to a large extent in good family life a by-product of everyday experience. The common interests of parents and children gave to family life a unity and a sharing of experience which naturally perpetuated family traditions. So long as there existed a cultural routine which carried along with it an impulse toward marriage and a preparation for the responsibilities of parenthood, marriage became the goal toward which the adolescent directed his imagination. It is true that some married prematurely and that others were denied opportunity ever to

reach the goal which had drawn forth fancy and determination.

Cultural régime, or the social force of the everyday manner of living, also safeguarded the obligations of parenthood. Public opinion frowned quickly upon the indifferent parent, for society clearly recognized the menace that the untrained child became to the community. Thus social experience was like the slow moving glacier which carries along with it great masses of rock. When the glacier begins to melt it no longer transports, and as the water flows away the masses of rock remain as a mark of its course. Something like this has happened with our present culture. It no longer automatically carries along marriage and parenthood interests.

The behavior of parents also was in the past largely standardized by common opinion. Children were trained essentially as animals are. The great problem of the parent was to teach obedience, using fear as a motive. The child not only was to be seen and not heard, he was expected in every way to keep in the background and observe the instructions of his elders.

All of these one-time well-established attitudes have slipped. Marriage is by no means the unrivaled goal of even adolescent daydreaming. The obligations of parenthood are neither universally accepted nor is parenthood itself regarded as the normal product of marriage. It is the pleasure-philosophy which modern science has done so much to establish that has discomposed the cultural routine just as the sunshine turns glacial ice into the mountain stream.

It is obvious that the changes taking place are the natural consequence of the different way in which we live as compared with our fathers and there cannot be any hope in attempting to turn back to the easier régime of cultural routine.

Family life and modern pleasure-seeking.—Marriage and the family are not alone in their present predicament; they are merely the last to succumb to a prevailing philosophy

which is slowly changing every institution and has at last affected them. The luxuries made possible by science and machine production have encouraged a direct drive for happiness which is in our time a marked social characteristic. Neither marriage nor the home has been adjusted to this demand for predominant pleasure and they are suffering because of their close ties with former traditions. Many young people, in spite of the fact that they are still as a general rule impelled toward marriage, looking at it against a background of the pleasurable experiences they are constantly enjoying, express doubt, insist on experiment, show restlessness and are quick to pronounce matrimony a failure. They demand much and easily feel disappointment if the pleasure yield which follows marriage is less than they had anticipated. If youths are demanding immediate returns in matrimony they are only logically extending the attitude of their elders into a new field where we who are older have continued, at variance with our general attitude, the traditions and routine which have protected family interests from the full competition of pleasurable undertakings.

Parenthood is having the same difficulty as marriage. Many times parent and child find it difficult to pull together. Irresponsibility on the part of fathers and mothers who are glad to escape all but a minimum of parental obligations and an increase of incompatibility between even the most conscientious and affectionate parents and children bear witness to the hazards of parenthood.

The prevailing ideas of marriage and parenthood are outgrowths of social experience. At a time when pleasure holds so large a place in our thinking as it does today, marriage and parenthood must be as far as possible brought into accord with the current atmosphere of life. Parents still have the largest chance to bring this about. It is they, to a large extent, who have led their children to conceive life in such pleasurable terms. They have accomplished this not by

intent but by example and unpremeditated suggestion. Our children have taken over our philosophy of life and are merely demanding that marriage and parenthood yield pleasure in the same way that they expect other experiences to do.

So long as homes exist at all parents will continue to have the first and largest chance to influence personality. If they create home atmosphere which demonstrates that marriage and parenthood are supremely satisying to human desires they will give to their children much the same attitude toward matrimony and the having of children which by sense of duty and cultural routine came to the parents, but if family conditions are devoid of genuine satisfaction the children will be the first to detect the actual situation and will become hesitant to enter upon parenthood. Indeed if their code permits they may even sidestep conventional marriage in the endeavor to take the pleasures of intimacy without its limitations and obligations.

At present there is an unmistakable trend on the part of many parents to release themselves from the habits and routine which have so long been connected with family life. The ominous element in this is the confession it makes that home values are not appreciated, and that their worth diminishes for many as soon as they are brought in competition with pleasures and satisfactions that make the contrasts more apparent. In other words, the attack on the family is an outflow of our manner of living and only those parents who can give their children everyday evidences of home satisfactions can do much to build up wholesome ideas of marriage and parenthood.

Since the family tradition no longer maintains itself and there is great need of educational effort outside the family to conserve the home, thoughtful parents or individuals who realize the social importance of family life must encourage the development of special training for marriage and for

parenthood. Public opinion also needs to develop a more genuine interest in the family. Much of the attack on the home comes not from the pleasure-philosophy so much as from a misdirecting of the present trend.

The companionate.—The companionate is a marriage based upon the deliberate intention of not having children.[1] It has come about from the widespread confidence in the use of contraceptives as a means of controlling births. From a social point of view it is perhaps best described as an arrested family attempting to sidestep the obligations that were formerly taken for granted in marriage. Although present social conditions have much to do with the growth of this new attitude toward marriage, it is, of course, unreasonable to suppose that in former times there were no individuals who would have preferred the companionate form of marriage or who attempted to avoid the responsibilities attendant upon having children. Nevertheless the companionte illustrates the present trend and the change of emphasis which has made family experience of less significance to society and of more meaning to the individual who interprets it as a means of personal happiness rather than as a social or religious institution.

A companionate marriage is often merely a temporary program for couples expecting, as soon as economic circumstances become easier, to have children. In many instances this is what finally occurs although in others the companionate remains permanent and perhaps it may never be known whether children could have been had in the first years of marriage or not. The companionate program does not always work out so well as the couple have theoretically assumed it would, for sometimes the family is switched to the orthodox form by the unexpected coming of children. Greater satisfactions frequently come from the new type of experience than were found possible in that which had been

[1] Of late the term has been inaccurately used as a synonym for trial marriage.

planned for, since with the coming of the child interests are awakened which change the entire philosophy of life.

At present in legislation affecting family life and in general discussion with reference to the home, no distinction is made between the orthodox and the companionate form of family association, although it is clear that from a social point of view the two types are radically different.

In all discussion of the home which remains childless it is necessary to keep in mind how much there is in our present manner of living that tends to encourage the less responsible type of family program. Children are expensive both in time and money, and seem to some, particularly to wives who have embarked upon a professional career, a handicap too risky to assume. The new conditions of life add to the problem of child-training and demand a superior type of parenthood equal to the present task, for society is increasingly awake to the social mischief that comes out of the home where parents are careless and inefficient, and growing public opinion insists that parents live up to their obligations. As a consequence many who do not desire to assume an undertaking which is likely to require so much of their time and thought either postpone or give up entirely the idea of having children.

On the other hand there are persons who, were they not free to marry and remain childless, would feel that they had no moral right to enter matrimony since it is their belief that because of a questionable family strain or some other personal situation they have not the right to bring children into the world. It is evident that the companionate has become the rival of orthodox marriage and that society will soon feel the necessity of doing everything possible to encourage more responsible types of family experience on the part of those qualified to have children.

Divorce.—For more than a half a century in this country the increase in divorce has been greater than that in popula-

tion. This increase is made clear by the following table from a report of the Federal Government. There are great differences in the divorce rate of the various states and in one, South Carolina, no divorces are reported as the law recognizes no grounds whatever for divorces. The recent increase in divorces granted in England as a consequence of the passage of a more liberal law seems to show that as soon as a

TABLE I

Year	Number of Divorces per 100,000		Population to One Divorce	Married Population to One Divorce *
	Total Population	Married Population		
1922 †.....	136	330	734	303
1916 †.....	113	281	884	356
1906 †.....	84	231	1,185	433
1900 ‡.....	73	200	1,363	500
1890 ‡.....	53	148	1,881	676
1880 ‡.....	39	107	2,551	935
1870 ‡.....	28	81	3,517	1,233

* For 1870 and 1880 the married population was estimated, while for 1890 the married population of Indian Territory and Indian reservations specially enumerated was estimated.

† The figures for 1922 are based upon estimated population, and those for 1916 and 1906 upon estimated population exclusive of population of counties for which divorce returns were lacking.

‡ The figures for the census years 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1900, respectively, are based upon the average annual number of divorces for the 5-year period of which the census year is the median.

modern state gives opportunity for married people to release themselves from unsatisfactory matrimonial conditions, the divorce rate increases.

Causes of divorce.—A statistical study of the grounds for divorce gives little insight into the actual causes. Grounds provided by legislation represent the means by which unsatis-

factory marriage associations can be dissolved. Whatever the actual cause of the trouble, if relief is to be had, a legal cause must be found. This does not necessarily have any real connection with the source of difficulty. The actual causes of divorce can be determined only by analysis of the marriage careers of those who seek to be permanently separated from one another.

Every study that is made of matrimonial unhappiness in the effort to get at the real basis of the trouble brings out clearly the fact that matrimony tests character and that its failures are primarily evidences of personal unfitness on the part of one of the persons married. Tied up with divorce are all the social evils of the period, recklessness, selfishness, faults characteristic of personality, unfaithfulness, love of luxury, incompatibility of interests, and social irresponsibility.

In a situation so complex, where the consequences largely flow out from habits that express personality defects or from social conditions that disclose unwholesome trends in modern life, only slight advantage in dealing with divorce can come from legislation. To insist upon individuals living together, though fundamentally unhappy, seems to an increasing number of serious-minded men and women nothing less than immoral. On the other hand, easy divorce laws put a premium upon matrimonial recklessness and are used by some as a means of having a series of marriages, each of which represents primarily a motive of physical passion and is not expected to become a permanent relationship.

Conserving the home.—It is encouraging to see a growth of public opinion which in its desire to protect the family is demanding higher standards of recreation, but this is only a step in the right direction. Business itself needs to be curbed when it shows indifference, as it frequently does, to the values of the home. Every worker is either a parent or a potential parent. Many there are who if they were not

checked by public opinion, in their craze for wealth-getting, would willingly have a mass of efficient *robots* that could work and reproduce but would be destitute of the parenthood ambitions that produce a home.

Parents also must succeed in bringing their children into a fellowship which will lessen the tension that so often now exists and leads the child to discount the joys possible to home life. The parent also needs to assume the task of giving information that will later contribute in the life of the child to successful marriage and parenthood. Many a parent who considers it a disgrace to have the child unsuccessful in business or a failure in education takes lightly his son's or daughter's avoidance of responsibility in marriage, unwillingness to bear children, or inability to train children successfully. Matrimonial or parenthood disaster is the supreme failure; were it not that we are deceived by lesser values this would always be recognized.

Education for marriage.—In dealing with divorce as an expression of matrimonial failure, we must have recourse to education as the one satisfactory method of doing what we can to conserve family relationships. It is fortunate that in so many quarters earnest effort is being made to get schools and colleges to undertake instruction regarding the obligations and privileges of marriage and parenthood. Thus far this movement has developed more with reference to the problems of educating the child in the home than of training the individual for marriage. There was a time when this latter type of educational preparation was less needed since the home in those days had so large an influence in building up attitudes that made for matrimonial success. It was also true that the greater economic function of the family in this earlier period lessened the risk of divorce and, to a smaller extent, of family unhappiness.

There is the greatest need of popularizing such information as proves an advantage to those who marry and become

parents. At present we have magazines and newspapers, books, lectures and extension courses, and, most important of all, instruction under the authority of our higher institutions of learning, which attempt to make marriage and parenthood socially more efficient. It is not to be supposed that any means of instruction can eliminate the element of necessary hazard which is inherent in the coming together for life of two distinct personalities. Surely, however, much can be done to relieve the strain which is making family unhappiness one of the major social problems of contemporary American life.

Such instruction must not be conceived in narrow terms. It is not primarily sex information that children and youth need, useful as such help proves, but knowledge that prepares for the strain of everyday comradeship and aids in the establishment of just relationships between men and women. The young man needs this fully as much as the young woman, for in no small measure it is his misunderstanding of the new conditions of matrimonial happiness that leads to family difficulties and disappointments. The parent has the greatest opportunity to start this training early and by giving the boy and girl the beginning of such teaching to lay a foundation upon which later instruction may be built.

At present we occasionally have experimental efforts to construct suitable programs for the teaching of those newly married or about to be married, and to find the best methods of giving useful information. Although the idea is new, there appears to be, especially in colleges, a great and growing interest in pre-marriage instruction. It is easier to see the need of such instruction and to stimulate an interest on the part of thoughtful youth than it is to know what to teach and how. It is at least clear that youth will not respond to discussion of family pathology. They seek affirmatives and are unwilling to listen to abstract treatment that does not come to close grips with the problems involved. They

perhaps overestimate the significance of physical sex, but only because in the pleasure philosophy of the day sex looms so large.

Parenthood training is progressing more quickly than premarriage education. The material to be taught is better determined, the need of this training more widely appreciated. The rapid increase in the circulation of *Children, the Magazine for Parents,* and the wide sale of popular handbooks for parents show how the idea of training for parenthood is spreading. A strategic place for both marriage and parenthood instruction is in our theological seminaries, since the minister who contributes his part to the conservation of family life must be well-grounded in science. No one has greater need of insight regarding marriage and family problems than the preacher. It is also imperative that the teacher and school administrator, especially, have a more conscious knowledge of family needs, for the educator of the schools easily antagonizes the home when, in specializing, he forgets the wide human purpose of study and allows public instruction to neglect the interests of the family. If thoughtful parents see the importance of making the family influence felt, we shall soon see in both religious and secular education more attention given to instruction for marriage and parenthood.

CHAPTER XVI

PROPERTY AND ECONOMIC EXPERIENCE

The social importance of economic experience.—The effort of man to maintain his physical existence and if possible to improve his manner of living by increasing his wealth belongs to the province of economics. Man's experience, in his attempt to satisfy his material wants, has a social significance, however, which interests the sociologist.

It is evident that from the first the methods used to produce the physical necessities for the sustaining of life have had an important influence upon the social culture of the period. It is just as certain that culture has made its impression upon man's productive methods. For example, we see at once how large an effect upon social life in a myriad of ways the transition from hunting to agriculture brought about. On the other hand, only by the process of social transmission has knowledge gained in the use of tools been carried from former experience to become a social advantage for those who are able to make use of the discoveries of a bygone period and to improve an invention already made.

The ability of man to produce is not merely a question of what tools he has to use, but also how he can organize his resources. Here again appears the influence of social experience. For example, the white man traveling among savages often complains of the irresponsibility of natives whom he hires to help him in some economic undertaking. Their lack of social discipline, such as he is familiar with in his own country, makes them unreliable. They may work today and not tomorrow merely because the habit of con-

tinuous work is not a virtue insisted upon by the traditions that influence their behavior.

Man's successes in his economic effort also have a decided influence upon his social life. With the increase of wealth come leisure, class distinction, competition and great variations in the wealth possessed by different individuals. These changes in turn influence the government, law, ethics, religion, family life, recreation, and every sort of social practice.

Society also influences economic activity by the prestige that changes with the culture and stimulates one kind of economic experience rather than another. Social reputation, for example, among primitive people, may be enhanced by the skill of the hunter, or courage of the warrior, just as ability to get money gives in our time a popular prestige, or as the talent to create thought brought social standing in the Golden Age of Athens.

Property among primitive people.—The economic product of human labor is property. Already in Chapter XII we have discussed the effort of primitive people to satisfy their physical wants. This led to the production of property and the early recognition of property rights. It used to be thought that savage peoples everywhere were communistic with reference to property. According to this conception, as culture advanced, communism was gradually replaced by the right of the individual to hold property.

We now know, through the accumulation of a vast amount of knowledge regarding the economic life of savages, that primitive people differ greatly with reference to their attitude towards property but that as a rule three kinds of property rights are recognized, private, collective, and communistic ownership. The second has formerly often been misinterpreted as the third. The definition of these three kinds of ownership depends upon the traditions of a definite people. It is customary for the individual to have complete pos-

session of the tools and weapons that he himself has produced, while frequently the ground over which he hunts is collective. Among pastoral people private ownership of animals is usual, with communistic control of the land on which they feed.

In the culture of the American Indian, land used for hunting was a tribal, clan, or family property. The predominant type of land holdings was that of the family. Wissler tells us that nearly everywhere each year there was an allotment of the land belonging to the community to family groups.[1] Thus, as was so often true among savages, property rights tended to emphasize and consolidate family interests.

We find also among savages hereditary rights to certain types of property, and the inheritance of personal possessions, and the right of the individual to the exclusive use of his possessions, brought about by traditions. For example, in a hunting expedition, the person who first saw the animal finally captured sometimes had, according to custom, an exclusive right to a certain portion of the body. The taboo also was used to establish personal property rights. The individual's mark upon a tree would in some localities give him unquestioned right to the use of the fruit at the time of harvest.

Money among savages.—With the development of property rights and the carrying on of trade, some sort of money becomes necessary as a means of currency. The list of objects used as a medium of exchange is extensive. Stones, beads, glass, feathers, shells and salt are a few of the articles that serve the savage in this way. Pastoral people naturally use their animals. Even the slave is utilized for this purpose. As soon as any article becomes of value not merely because of its possible use but also as a medium of exchange, then we have the beginning of money. Among simple people as with

[1] Wissler, C., "The American Indian," p. 174.

us, the value of money grows out of social experience and reflects the cultural conditions of the definite locality and period.

Trade rivalries and restrictions.—Savages are not free from economic rivalries. War as it is found among them is frequently the result of the clashing of economic interests. Not only do they struggle for territory which the conflicting tribes both claim, but attacks are also made to obtain possession of property in the form of cattle, women and children, and males to be used as slaves. Raiding parties are organized to capture males from a neighboring tribe in order to have the use of their labor as slaves. These acts of violence are committed often with no warning, and by the suddenness of the attack victory sometimes goes to the weaker party who go off with a quantity of plunder. Whenever adjacent tribes fail to carry on trade although one has in abundance what the other desperately needs, armed conflict is likely to result.

It is interesting to find that savages maintain boundaries and trade restrictions which are suggestive of the tariff regulations of the present.[2] The Hudson Bay Company in its operations in the great Northwest discovered that the Indians had very definite boundaries and trade regulations which the company attempted to set aside; its effort to maintain free trade led to much friction and at times to bloodshed.

In the history of the Five Nations appears an illuminating illustration of trade restriction which one tribe of the alliance tried to enforce against the advantage of another. About the middle of the seventeenth century the French-Canadians trading with the Onandaga shipped their merchandise around Lake Ontario instead of going through the valley of the Mohawk which would force them to cross the territory of the Mohawk tribe. This tribe at once protested,

[2] MacLeod, W. C., "Trade Restrictions in Early Society," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 29, No. 2

maintaining that only a thief attempts to enter a house some other way than by its proper door. In these trade rivalries of savage people it sometimes happens that one tribe is strong enough to disregard the right of a weaker neighbor to take goods over its territory, and then acts as middleman for the whole area. On the occasion of Captain Cook's visit to Sootka Sound native canoes came for trading purposes from the tribes along the coast, but the village chief who claimed ownership of the waters of the sound forbade their trading directly with Cook, and made them carry on all their business with his tribe acting as middleman.

The effect of such tolls on inter-tribal slave traffic increased the price of a slave as he passed through one territory after another on his way to the best market. A considerable part of the conflict between tribes, particularly during the Stone Age of North America, was the result of economic rivalry and the struggle to control hunting territory.

Within the group itself, economic strife is prevented by the growth of regulations that function as law; these become a part of the customs of the people, keeping peace between the members of the group and governing them in their trade relations with other people. Among the Baganda, scattered through the territory and under the supervision of tribal officials, were market places where regular fees were charged for the privilege of selling commodities. He who tried to save these fees by selling his goods privately ran the risk of a heavy fine and the confiscation of everything he had to sell. Although the savage markets were often neutral territory on the border-land of a tribe, there was a general understanding suggesting international law, that hostilities must not be carried on at these points of trade either by warring tribes or personal enemies. Any one who violated this regulation met with immediate punishment.

Slavery.—Slavery as a part of economic exploitation has

great antiquity. Primitive man had no ethical scruples that checked his use of other men in the effort to satisfy his own desires. The enemy that fell into his clutches through war could be used for food or as an unpaid laborer. It may well be, as Lester Ward suggested, that the greater utility of the slave led to a general abandonment of cannibalism. The enemy, once he had been captured, could be used as a sacrifice or tortured for the amusement and vanity of his conqueror; he could be killed and his flesh perhaps devoured; but for the tribes that had reached the level of agriculture, the unfortunate victim proved most profitable when made a slave.

Slavery, of course, could not appear before culture had reached the point in its development that made enforced labor profitable. When the time came that slave labor could be made an effective means of getting food supply, it offered the opportunity for culture to advance to a still higher level. The tribes that obtained their food by hunting could make little use of slaves. The slave could not safely be armed and carried on the hunt, neither could he be left in the village with the women while the male members of the tribe went on their expeditions. The slave was not much better adapted to the conditions of life maintained by pastoral people. It was the agricultural form of production that made slavery profitable. The slave could be driven to carry on the unattractive and toilsome tasks of clearing ground and planting seed, reaping and gathering the harvest. Among agricultural people, slavery proved an effective way of getting work done.

Increased production was brought about by the discipline inherent in the slave status, and the contribution of slavery appears to have been indispensable in the development of primitive culture. It was easier for primitive man to capture an enemy and set him to cultivating the land than to force himself to stick to this uninteresting work. As man's

social resources increased, and especially with the advent of machinery, slave labor was unable successfully to compete with that of the free laborer whose desires had been multiplied and made a more compelling motive for work than the fears and pain-pressure experienced by the slaves.

Primitive slavery was generally milder in form than that maintained by civilized men. Often the slave was essentially a household servant. Slavery as it existed in modern civilization produced a greater gap between master and worker, and the cruelty of this relationship burdened both the owner and the slave. On the one side it led to suppression of personality and denial of human rights; on the other it produced a tyranny inherent in the system itself, from which the most benevolent individual could not entirely escape. The development of culture finally rendered slavery uneconomic as well as morally archaic, but this must not conceal its social value at an earlier period.

Children and property.—The child develops very early the idea of personal possession. Even before he walks or talks, he sometimes shows evidence by crying or clinging to a toy or dress or something else with which he is familiar as his, that he resents its being handled by somebody else. However, not until he runs about is this attitude more than rudimentary in form. By the age of five or six he has attained to a clear conception of the meaning of property and also by this time has learned the use of money and the advantages that come from having it. The child has a much keener sense of his own property rights than of those of others.

Particularly in early adolescence, most especially in the case of a boy, the gang spirit is frequently accompanied by an utter disregard for the property rights of other people and a disposition at any opportunity to steal or destroy what belongs to them. The leader of a group of boys, each from a cultured and religious home, had occasion to visit a small

shop to buy some necessary articles for a Saturday afternoon hike. Becoming suspicious after they had left the store, he investigated, and found that practically every boy had "swiped" something. He found also when he tried to convince the boys that they should return what they had taken or pay for the article, that he had entered upon a most difficult task.

The gang seems to have the idea that any kind of property that can safely be stolen should be appropriated since sometime in the future, if not at present, it may be useful. It is a little difficult to understand what impulse leads the gang to destroy property it does not want, "just for the fun of it." How large a problem this is socially is revealed by the statistics concerning juvenile delinquency.

Travelers tell us that the savage, even when there is no theft within the group, cannot be trusted in the presence of outsiders' belongings which he can safely snatch and hide. It is evident that security of property rests upon social discipline not easily achieved by children. Indeed there are adults, as the careers of criminals disclose, who have only a faint sense of the meaning of property.

Industrial revolution.—There is a sense in which we can say that the rapid changes of the Industrial Revolution, commonly limited to the period between 1780 and 1830, are still going on, for modern industry represents a spinning out in greater complexity of the innovations that originated at the time of this remarkable readjustment.

The Industrial Revolution must not be thought of as the product of one line of development, such as perfection of a practical steam engine, but rather the culmination of many industrial and commercial changes which reconstructed industry by bringing about new methods in the production, distribution and consumption of manufactured goods. Along mechanical lines inventions were numerous, each improvement stimulating the coming of another. The most outstand-

ing of these inventions were those that utilized the energy of steam in manufacturing and transportation.

With the factory arose the need of advanced commercial methods, and corresponding changes appeared in ways of doing business, such as the opening up of new trade, establishment of means of credit, and perhaps most consequential of all from a social viewpoint, the coming of the capitalist, who, having the finances necessary to carry on the factory method of production, took over command of the industrial process. Those the capitalist hired were indeed hands who could only furnish labor and had to sell this, because it was their sole means of physical support, for such wages as individual capitalists, competing with each other to keep the producing costs down to the lowest point, were able and willing to furnish.

In a period of such tense and rapid changes, social adjustment would necessarily be difficult and faulty. Old social attitudes and habits were continued in spite of the need of radical reconstruction. Difficulties were also magnified by the social thinking of the period. During the first part of the nineteenth century the idea that industry was dominated by an iron law which forbade much relief from the sufferings that attended the sharp industrial changes was widely held by statesmen and men of business.

An illustration of this was the general acceptance among thinkers of the teaching of Malthus, at least so far as it was an explanation of the prevailing poverty. According to this philosophy poverty was due to an increasing population and the manufacturer was a public philanthropist who made it possible for the mass of people to find the means of physical existence. Little heed was paid to Malthus' suggestion of prudential checks on population growth, but instead it was taken for granted that any effort to relieve those on the lowest levels of physical survival would merely encourage new births and enlarge the class of those who suffered. Dur-

ing the last part of the century, the idea of the struggle for existence which came into vogue through the theory of evolution as announced by Darwin reënforced the Malthusian philosophy as an explanation of the industrial maladjustment and suffering which was too obvious to go unheeded. Thus economics became the dismal science that interpreted the working of laws of competition which benevolence could not wisely attempt to set aside.

In discussing the Industrial Revolution many forget how hard was the lot of the workers before the period of change. The low standards of living, long hours of work, factory labor of women and children, inadequate employment, unsanitary places of working, indeed, exploitation of every sort was to be found in the household form of industry which preceded 1760. The difference is that with the Industrial Revolution, existing evils were increased and new difficulties started.

The Industrial Revolution reduced the need of hand labor, leading to unemployment which meant for multitudes unimaginable suffering; it massed people together in manufacturing towns, resulting in slums that were both ugly and unsanitary; it speeded up work until the laborer was dominated by the machine rather than having, as did the handworker, control of the process he carried on. The most disrupting element in the experience was, perhaps, the new conditions of life which destroyed to a great extent the freedom of the worker and put him under the discipline of a system organized primarily for profit. The laborer was used to hard work and a meager living but previously he had enjoyed a degree of freedom and leisure, by being his own boss, having privileges even as a farm hand, which as a factory worker he lost at once.

The distressing consequences that came from the rapid industrial transition soon began to attract attention. Robert Owen, one of the first capitalists who gained immense wealth

from skill as a manufacturer, made an attack upon child labor and other evils of the new industrial situation.

Gradually a change for the better came about, due in part to pressure from the worker, in part to the humanity of the more favored classes and also as a result of the work of philanthropic statesmen like the Earl of Shaftesbury, who battled valiantly against the social evils that had developed in the progress of industry. No interpretation of this period is just which fails to notice that the worker gradually improved his status, attained a higher standard of living, and finally reached conditions of life that the worker of the preceding century would have regarded as luxury.

From a social point of view the greatest loss which came to the worker from the Industrial Revolution was the decrease of his mental status. Modern industry demands of the organizing and directing class a high degree of mentality, but the worker who is furnished with a machine and has his routine decided for him has little opportunity to use his mind and less need to do so. This division of labor which gives to one class skill and responsibility and to the other monotonous subserviency to a machine creates inevitable tendencies toward lack of initiative in most workers.

In fairness we must remember that this is exactly what at any period of society the powerful few in any population would have desired had it been made possible. Although democracy furnishes counteracting influences against what has been called social decay,[3] yet the routine and mechanical character of modern industry, by lessening the need of mentality in the worker, produces both politically and socially a serious problem.

In addition to this change in the mental effort demanded of the worker, the Industrial Revolution by its redistribution of population and greater urbanizing of life, and especially by increasing wealth, eventually brought to the

[3] Freeman, A., "Social Decay and Regeneration."

laborer a larger share in the comforts of life, more educational opportunities and higher standards of living. This realignment of social status did not come about quickly nor without much struggle and bitter feeling. As a necessary consequence of changes in the industrial field social habits were remolded, criticism was stimulated and a social restlessness was produced, which in our time has become characteristic and represents dynamic forces which for good or ill express themselves as a fundamental factor in American culture. Thus it is most necessary to realize that the Industrial Revolution has not yet spent its force and that new efforts at readjustment must still be expected.

Science and Industry.—In our time there exists a more general appreciation of the value of science and on the part of manufacturers and men of trade a willingness to invest money in research which advances scientific knowledge. The laboratory has become related to industrial processes. This is bringing into industry greater economy and efficiency.

Fortunately, science is not merely devoted to the material aspect of industry. A growing demand is being made that science take over problems involving the human element. In addition to the scientific effort that has been given to the increasing of efficiency and the decreasing of wasted effort, as represented by the Taylor system, a still more human emphasis is exerted by psychology, sociology and mental hygiene. The psychologist has been invited to study the processes of labor and the characteristics of the worker so as to minimize, by suitable vocational placement, strain and failure. The sociologist has been called in to become a mediator between employer and laborer, that greater coöperation may be maintained, while the mental hygienist has made great advance in detecting the psychopathic traits revealed in industry that become troublesome for business and a source of suffering to the afflicted person. Industrial mental hygiene is one of the most vigorous expressions of the

effort to conserve, improve and make more happy modern life by the use of science.

World industry.—Industry has developed to such an extent that it is no longer national in its scope. The entire world is knit together by trade; great manufacturing organizations distribute their products in every quarter of the globe. For example, the Standard Oil Company, the International Harvester Company, and Henry Ford have world-wide organizations and ship their products everywhere. In industry national boundaries do not exist. The capitalist thinks internationally because his interests are world-wide. Rapid transportation has created a world market. Men everywhere, as far as their industrial relationships and interests are concerned, are forced into experiences that are no longer national. A change of fashion in America which, for example, decreased the use of silk would be a disaster to Japan, while any embargo on rubber exportations to America, would, for a time at least, stop an immense amount of manufacturing in this country. An international trade resting on a world economy is the final product of the Industrial Revolution and one which enhances the dangers of political and racial divisions.

Industrial trends.—The size and complexity of industrial production in our period is raising problems that demand satisfactory adjustment, in the very manner that the factory system of production in the Industrial Revolution brought about new difficulties. The magnitude of manufacturing requires public regulation for which there was no occasion when production was on a smaller scale. This means changes in public policy leading to greater regulation of hours of labor, conditions of factories and housing, protection against accidents, and the safeguarding of other public interests that cannot be left to the disposition of the employer or the desire or power of the workers. The principles of law have to be adjusted to the new status. Political government, both state

and national, has added to its function as guardian of public welfare in the field of industry.

More and more it is felt that industrial power represents a public obligation. Business men organize to protect the indiscriminating from false advertising. The community regulates and inspects the production of milk. The national government enforces a pure food law and requires those who use the mails to be free from the dishonesty that was once so extensively practiced by fraudulent investment enterprises. The profits of railroads, their rates, and even to a considerable extent their management, are regulated by federal and state law.

On every hand one meets with indications of a growing demand that industry be not merely a means of making profits, but of contributing to the happiness and prosperity of society itself. It is true that in this matter of the public regulation of private industry, we are still in the experimental stage. The lines of development of present tendencies seem clear and promising. The value of capitalistic production is generally conceded. The advantages of private enterprise and initiative are clearly recognized.

The necessity for public control is not even denied by the captains of industry. The doctrine that economic activities are essentially social is not only making a deeper impression upon science, but has even become the belief of many of our most influential industrial leaders like Henry Ford, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Judge Gary of the United States Steel Corporation, and others. Experience alone can reveal methods, but the principle that business is not merely a private interest but, if conducted on a large scale, is at least a public utility is now firmly established in American thinking.

The organization of labor.—With the advent of the modern form of industry, capitalism was the first to organize, but the gradual development of labor organizations followed. Beginning about the nineteenth century in a small way in

New England arose a movement toward labor unions. Not until after the Civil War did laborers begin to feel that they ran risk of losing the economic position they had attained, unless their organizations became of importance.

In 1868 came the formation of the Knights of Labor. This has been superseded by the American Federation of Labor, a more conservative organization, and one which represents the federation of local unions. This has a membership of several millions and is an important power in influencing public opinion and in controlling a large number of American workmen. Another powerful organization is that of the Railroad Brotherhoods which controls a vast number of workers engaged in railroad transportation. The American Federation of Labor has been on the whole a conservative organization and has from the beginning resisted any attempt to make it a direct political party. It has, however, because of its industrial strength, influenced public policy, as was fully seen during the World War.

Although the individual workman has in our time less chance to make his wishes known as a person than was possible to his predecessor before the organization of great industries, he has, as a member of the labor union, the advantages of power vast beyond the dreams of those who preceded him. The labor unions have worked for better conditions in industry, shorter hours of labor, greater safety, steadier employment, higher wages, and more just treatment by those in authority.

There has been some demand for greater self-expression for the worker in industry but the need of this has often been as keenly felt by the manufacturer and merchant as by the labor leader. Various kinds of coöperative and profit-sharing enterprises have been started in business by those interested in a more democratic type of modern industry. Attempts have even been made to allow the worker a share of responsibility in the management of the business. The

Dennison Factory in Framingham, Massachusetts, and Filene's Department Store in Boston are examples of this particular type of industrial experiment.

The labor union has used as its method to advance the interests of the worker: the closed shop, which forces all the workers of an industry to join a union; collective bargaining, which permits workers to coöperate rather than to compete with one another in establishing their wage; and the strike, the means of exerting pressure to enforce the employer to come to the workers' terms. The last two decades reveal a great amount of industrial conflict and many strikes, all of them costly to the general public, whatever may be their advantage to the worker as a class or to the employer of labor. The American Federation of Labor has advocated the practice of arbitration.

However useful the strike may have been in the past as a means of advancing the status of the worker, there seems to be a general feeling which is constantly growing, that, like war between political states, the strike is not in accord with present social needs. Public opinion has at least gone so far as to deny the police, firemen, and others whose occupations are a public necessity, the right to strike; and various expedients are advocated as substitutions for the method that so long has been the chief weapon of the workers. Labor unions have contributed little to the elevation of standards of workmanship nor have they yet been successful in producing an apprentice system which meets the present needs of industry.

Education and industry.—Education, like science, is coming to have an ever-increasing importance for industry. Not only do our colleges and universities give courses of various sorts regarding business interests, but we also have specialized institutions, like Colleges of Commerce and Schools of Mines and of Engineering that train for managerial positions in particular industries or for commercial responsibilities.

Education of this kind tends to lift the standards of industry and to emphasize the social responsibilities of the manufacturer and merchant. More attention is also given to preparation for trades by special schools such as the Massachusetts Textile School or the Continuation Schools which in our cities permit pupils who have to leave school early to go on with their general education on a part-time basis. Certain industries have developed this in our schools. Examples of this are the work carried on by Henry Ford at Dearborn, Michigan,[4] and that of the General Electric Company at Lynn, Massachusetts.

Another educational contribution to industry comes from vocational guidance which has for its purpose the directing of the boy or girl into the profession or occupation most likely to bring success and satisfaction. In many of our large cities this assistance has come to be a definite part of the educational function of the schools. Vocational guidance is also given by college experts and representatives of different kinds of business who meet youth interested in entering the fields with which the speakers are familiar. This method of having the man of special experience give advice has been developed by the Y. M. C. A. in many cities.

A most interesting and promising contribution of education to economic life is coming from adult education, which flourishes in our cities. Not only does this type of education offer opportunity to the individual to use his leisure in a way that benefits both him and his community, but it also tends to lift standards and to furnish an antidote for monotony in the daily occupation. Most of those who elect such courses are employed day by day in their regular means of livelihood but their earnestness and practical motives offset the fatigue resulting from their day's work and make this form of education one of the most advantageous in present-day instruction.

[4] "Henry Ford, Educator," *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1927.

CHAPTER XVII

THE STATE AND POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

Origin of Government.—We can only theorize regarding the beginning of government since it started too far back in human development for us now to be certain of its origin. Even were it possible to retrace the steps by which government appeared, there would be differences of opinion as to when political experience began, because at the first its forms would be so simple they would be hard to recognize.

It is not reasonable to suppose that government resulted from one social necessity but rather that it grew out of various demands that required a basis for authority and a means of keeping order. There has been in the past a disposition to emphasize war as a means of bringing government, because of the supposition that the war expedition, which came into existence to protect the people, had to enforce order or fail to function. This point of view overemphasizes the significance of warfare in primitive society. Social control was also necessary for physical survival in the conflict of man with nature in the effort to obtain the physical necessities of life.

From the point of view of the savage it was also necessary that the behavior of the individual should be regulated in such a way as to prevent him from risking the security of the people by an infringement of customs regarding the spiritual existences that, to his mind, were ever about him. In the hunt also it was frequently necessary that order

should be maintained if success was to be had. Without question all the social interests that required discipline of the individual for the sake of the group had to do with the coming of government.

Primitive political experience.—The political unit of savages is small, especially among those who get their food by hunting, fishing or the more simple types of agriculture. The number of people who form a community runs from twenty to two or three hundred. The political experience of such a group is correspondingly simple. Sometimes the organization is based on family ties and the village conforms to the household.

These local units are largely self-dependent with an intense group feeling. In the sense of formal government they may be said to have little or no political life. For the purposes of social control and effective coöperation the ties of personal relationship between those on the lower levels of economic experience prove highly successful. The people protect each other from danger of animals and attack by enemies. They distribute the tasks necessary for their support. The people intermarry and carry on together the religious practices to which they are accustomed. As a group they often maintain an alliance with other similar communities. Their political experience suggests the unorganized life of the rural community as found in a district where for a considerable time there has been intermarriage and close family contact.

In the larger and more advanced groups there frequently are councils made up of the older men and rather commonly also the chiefs. The power and function of these chiefs vary greatly. A Roro clan in New Guinea had a head chief and a second inferior official who substituted when the first was away or ill. The head sat on the right-hand part of the platform at the clan club-house during ceremonies and the other on the left. The chief's business was primarily to stop

quarreling and fighting, to establish taboos and to take the lead in the ceremonial performances.[1]

There are savage societies that have two heads, the chief, and the priest or medicine man. In such cases there may or may not be personal rivalry between the two officials, but when there is competition for power, the struggle does not go to the extent of destroying the unity of the group. Often the question of dominance is determined by superior strength of personality. In some places the chief has sacerdotal authority and is likely to be chosen from among the medicine men.

In the council of elders leadership naturally gravitates to the man who has proven himself by the tests of war or management equal to the responsibility of authority. War provides the best opportunity for the potential leader to reveal himself. The hunt also offers the means by which able and resourceful individuals can win prestige and climb to a position of distinction.

The weakness of central authority, noticeable especially among the North American Indians, does not lead, as one might expect, to political influence of commanding personalities, since the power of custom and public opinion take the place of administrative power. Even when there is a powerful chief at the helm of government, tradition and public opinion restrict his authority and tend to protect the individual subject from despotism.

Forms of primitive government.—The government of savages is not so related to cultural experiences that the development of the one measures that of the other. Instead, political control among savages takes many forms and follows diverse lines of development. In North America, for instance, the trend was toward democracy, with the authority in the hands of the elders or a Council elected by the people. Africa, in contrast, shows the opposite trend toward monarchy. Aus-

[1] Williamson, R. W., "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," p. 114.

tralia, by means of the secret society, which was under the control of the elders, was largely governed by old men. New Guinea and Polynesia held the idea of a sacred class of rulers, taboo to common people to such an extent that even the war parties had to be led by a secondary class of chiefs, since the more sacred leaders could not mingle with the common people.

In the confederation of the Iroquois Indians, which was in existence at least by 1603, we find the highest level of primitive government. It was both democratic and representative and extremely successful. As is generally known, it directly influenced the construction of the American Confederation of States, organized at the close of the Revolutionary War, which, in turn, influenced the American Constitution.

The political state was not among savages an appendix added to social experience, the original creation of some individual or genius, but a gradual development brought about by social necessity. When associations form, authority of some sort becomes imperative. The germ of government starts from the necessity of having regulation and an effective method of working together. The state, like the family, is not an adjunct grafted on human nature, but something which came to answer human need. When men join forces they must organize and accept a procedure and a leader or they cannot get the advantage of their collective strength and resources. This establishment of order and system represents even in the most simple savage communities elementary government.

This does not indicate that primitive men thought out their need and, moved by rational motives, agreed to establish order and authority. It was rather that associations became expedient and those who united with others in their struggle to survive obtained favorable conditions. The union of effort became a variation that, developing through con-

tact, provided the means of a superior adjustment. Experience went ahead; thinking followed after.

Lowie's theory of the State.—In his "Origin of the State" Robert H. Lowie, one of the most influential of American anthropologists, discusses with his characteristic clearness the problem of primitive government and the establishment of sovereignty. He calls attention to the fact that modern ethnology does not accept the idea of the unilinear evolution of the state, which would require that all societies under the impulse of some mystic *vis politica* pass through corresponding stages of development on their way to a common goal. In the social coercion which may best be thought of as public opinion Professor Lowie finds the elemental expression of the modern state.

Earlier students in their analysis of savage political experience were impressed by the great differences between primitive and civilized government and stressed kinship as the factor that led to political solidarity. Lowie believes that the former writers overlooked the more subtle public opinion which functioned as law. When this public opinion which expressed the social code was violated the reaction was quick and severe. Everywhere some deeds are thought of as crimes and their commission followed by punishment. The nature of crime differs from tribe to tribe, but in all savage societies we find its existence.

In this coercive power of public opinion, which is in its essence sovereignty, lies the chief influence in bringing about the territorial unity which in the modern state has become the characteristic feature. A coercive force, whether in the hands of a group or a person, acts to bring to consciousness the elemental sense of relationship and fellow-feeling which is found in all human societies. From this seed develops that loyalty which in our civilization is felt for the political sovereign or national flag.[2]

[2] Lowie, R. H., "The Origin of the State," pp. 112–17.

The rule of children.—It is interesting to watch the spontaneous development of social control among children. Such an organization as the George Junior republic is manifestly largely an imitation of adult life and although it throws light upon childhood nature, it does not reveal the normal methods, during this age-period, of obtaining social order. The experience of children in their undertakings shows two distinct types of expression. The first is the spontaneous following of some child who has initiative or has at the time the prestige that comes from a definite accomplishment. This temporary fixing of authority appears on the playground, where the children follow the leader of the moment, or accept the best player of the game or the most skilled debater, for example, as the leader during baseball or in the literary club.

A different sort of government, more exacting and more self-conscious, is that of the gang which flourishes during the adolescent period, although more among boys than girls. The boys' gang is more frequently mischievous, therefore attracts greater attention than that of the other sex. The common secret societies of girls from eight to fourteen are more concerned with their own activities and plans than with seeking outside conflict, and perhaps a heavier parental hand, reenforced by a less lenient public opinion, allows them shorter rein than their brothers. The popularity of the Girl Scouts, Camp-Fire Girls, and similar organizations opens up the question whether or not the tendency of girls to organize has in the past been discouraged by custom. However that may be, the boys' gang which arises without adult encouragement is, at present, our best known example of the origin of rudimentary government in the development of youth.

In the formation of the gang both proximity and the common interests of the members play their part. The activities the group carries on are largely the result of the personality that leads. Here the influence of suggestion and en-

vironmental experience is easily seen. Whether small or large in number the group has a strong feeling of loyalty and, usually, firm discipline. At times the society is predatory but more often its interests are in sport. The names adopted are suggestive although fortunately the gangs do not always act in accord with the designation they have chosen.

Gangs sometimes dissolve by the mere growing up of their members; occasionally they continue until the membership is scattered and the old familiarity passes. The fact that the gang is so often charged with lawless conduct must not blind the adult to its social significance. Its government may be rude and incompatible with the standards of grown-ups, but for the boy it represents self-chosen authority and ideals. It is because the gang captures by its appeal the child's imagination and sense of loyalty that it has the power of leading him into theft, lying, and various forms of vice.

In contrast with this self-constituted form of government stands that of the parent, the school, and the community, which so often to the child seems external and coercive authority whose dominance he secretly condemns. As a consequence, as we know from a study of juvenile crime, any happening in home, school or community which injures the self-respect of the child or hurts him to the quick creates a spirit of rebellion which is easily, by suggestion, turned into anti-social conduct and becomes the motive force that leads the personality to crime.

The meaning of the State.—Confusion arises in political thinking because of a failure to notice the distinction between the nation and the state. The nation is a concept which signifies a group of people bound together by a common religion, race, language and tradition. The state, rightly defined, represents a political institution, made up of a definite group of people who occupy independently their separate territory and maintain their own form of government, free from out-

side dominance. The state is a political unit, while the nation designates a racial or cultural grouping.

Evolution of the State.—The state registers in form and function the social conditions that constitute the background of the group. The influence of the family and the idea of kinship appear early in the history of the state and have so large a place that authorities have described the early state as a mere enlargement of the family.

Geographical conditions also operate upon the political life of a people. For instance, the mountainous character of Switzerland enables it to maintain its existence although surrounded by stronger political states. Even in the World War its neutrality was respected by the warring nations. On the other hand, Belgium, weak in natural defense, and pressed between Germany and France, has been, as its history shows, the cock-pit of Europe. The tribal organization of the Arabs reveals a political adaptation to the requirements of nomad existence. Geographic isolation is another example, since it tends to hold back political experience in the same way that it checks the development of other aspects of social life.

Industrial conditions also influence the state, as is easily seen in the effect the rise of property rights had in extending the domain of the law and increasing the authority of savage governments as instruments for the preserving of peace. In our own time capitalistic combination has changed to an appreciable extent the practices of our Federal Government and even legal theory. As great organizations, through their power, became a danger to the citizens new legislation had to be passed and regulating boards such as the Interstate Commerce Commission instituted.

Religion makes its impression upon political authority, as is strikingly portrayed by the Puritan settlements in New England and the government instituted by Calvin at Geneva.

Calvin created a government that extended the jurisdiction of the church over the individual until even details of conduct became subject to ecclesiastical control. In harmony with the ideas of the time, doctrines were prescribed and in 1553 Servetus was burned at the stake for his unorthodox beliefs. The Puritan colony was an oligarchy, or, as some have called it, a theocracy. John Winthrop, the governor, expressed its spirit when he affirmed the folly of referring important matters "to the body of the people, because the best part is always the least and of that best part, the wiser part is always the lesser." [3] The intolerance of the Massachusetts oligarchy was the natural consequence of the concentration of religious and political authority in the hands of the same close corporation.

During the period when kings flourished in Europe their position was buttressed by the teaching of the church. Everywhere bishops and priests stood high, as chancellors of the state, and with few exceptions the church officials were intense in their support of the crown. The person and position of the monarchs were given the protection of a halo of sanctity. In oriental countries the kingship was still more allied to religion, the monarch of the state being also the head of the church. This alliance of church and state tended toward intolerance, for it became the duty of the political authorities to protect the doctrines of the church. Until church and state separated and ecclesiastical interests could not invoke the power of the state to enforce their teaching, little intellectual freedom was possible.

A common method by which governments have developed is that of conquest. Although this has been the usual method by which states have increased in size, they also grow by purchase of territory and alliance. From Aristotle's time to ours many have attempted to formulate a definite order of procedure to describe the development of political expe-

[3] Harlow, R. V., "Growth of the United States," p. 47.

rience. A recent statement of this procedure is from kinship to autocratic authority, which in turn gives way to a democratic citizenship.[4]

It is more in accord with the facts of human experience along political lines to think of an irregular development which permits diverse forms of the state to be contemporaneous and which requires that a particular government be understood, not as a point in an evolutionary scale, but as a specific construction, the product of many social influences.

Functions of the State.—The primary function of the state is to protect its citizens and maintain order. Internally this means preventing lawless persons from inflicting physical injury or in any way damaging the interests of others. To carry out this function law has to be made, codes created to interpret and administer it, police organized to guard property and apprehend the criminal, and prisons established as a means of putting in custody those who have done harm or endangered the peace and security of other people. The state is responsible for maintaining the security of its people from the attack of other states or from foreign individuals who unlawfully enter its territory. The state is bound to protect its citizens from these external dangers, and for this purpose has in the past had to maintain a military system. War has been the chief danger of the citizens, and military protection the primary function of the state.

The secondary functions of modern government have become so numerous and complex that their description covers the entire social experience of modern people. One of the foremost responsibilities of the modern state is the regulation of industry and transportation in such ways as to build up conditions that are fair and for the general welfare, rather than permitting selfish power to hurt the citizens. An example of this sort of undertaking is the American Pure

[4] Findlay, J. J., "Introduction to Sociology," p. 151.

Food Law, which, for the purpose of protecting the health of the people, forbids adulteration of food material. The modern state has considerable responsibility in health regulation, illustrated by the quarantine inspection given travelers who seek to enter American territory. Educational regulation also becomes a prominent part of modern state administration, although in our country this is under the jurisdiction of the separate states of the union, rather than Federal authority. The care of the dependent and defective, the establishment of patent rights and copyrights, the maintenance of systems of taxation, the administration of the postal service are other illustrations of the width of function that characterizes modern government.

The tendency has been toward an enlargement of these secondary functions as civilization has become more mature. In the ordinary experiences of social contact the citizen now thinks of his government as the power that protects his legal interests and makes possible the orderly procedure of the complicated activities of modern life rather than as an instrument that protects him from the violence of his fellows or the attacks of belligerent nations. Through these complicated undertakings the theory of the state, to some extent, and the political practices, to a great extent, are constantly changing as the government is forced by the complexity of modern society to assume new duties and carry on new activities.

The development of political science.—The Greeks were the first to study political problems seriously. Their interest was mainly philosophic with the exception of Aristotle, who, given by Alexander the Great, his former student, the means for collecting a quantity of political data, used the method of comparison in his treatment of politics. The Romans, basing their theories largely on the work of the Greeks, turned their attention to the practical problems of government and law.

During the mediaeval period attention was fixed on the contest between church and state. In some writers, for example Machiavelli, we find the beginning of an escape from the legal and theological theories of the time. Had this departure been equal to the task of turning political thought away from the philosophic, political science might have appeared sooner than it did.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the natural law speculation dominated political thinking. This philosophy rested on the notion of a state of nature, a period of time when the traits of man were revealed in the deliberate construction of the state. Although this idea of a previous state of nature was mere fancy, it contributed to man's political progress by leading him to examine the basis of government, freed from theological entanglements, and this in turn stimulated the revolutionary and democratic movements of the period. Political speculation came to the end of its vogue in the logic of John Stuart Mill, a commanding figure, who attempted to bring politics under the laws of reasoning.

Merriam gives the following as the chief lines of development in recent political thinking:

> Down to 1850—the *a priori* and deductive method.
> 1850–1900—the historical and comparative method.
> From 1900—observation, the survey and measurement.
> Most recently—a psychological trend in political discussions.[5]

The meaning of law.—Among savage peoples, we do not find a clear understanding of law or a detailed enactment of legal principles. What we do find is custom maintained by public opinion which, although it is not enforced by a specially organized body like our police, is nevertheless generally observed. In the savage situation we see the power

[5] Hayes, E. C., ed., "Recent Developments in the Social Sciences," p. 321.

of primary contact, especially when in addition to the social pressure of other persons' reactions there is also the idea of religious penalty for disobedience of the prevailing regulations. The savage, even more than modern man, fears ridicule. Custom and the *mores* represent the early expression of law.

The savage is largely influenced in his development of criminal law by the dangers that personal vengeance brings to the security of the tribe or clan. The general principle of a life for a life appears in the early criminal customs of primitive people. The advantages of having a customary means of settlement of trouble between families rather than the perpetuation of a blood feud leads to the development of the modern idea of damages or paying of fines. Much of the legal procedure of simple people is spontaneous. It does not suggest a judicial organization but a discussion rather than a trial. The elementary legal thinking of primitive people over-emphasizes the idea of joint liability even to the extent of sometimes making the oldest brother responsible with his life for a murder inflicted by his younger brother. Here the idea is not so much that injury has been done by an individual as that a family or clan has done damage.

The child exhibits the first trace of the idea of a legal system in his protest when some other child has not observed the rules of a game or through desire to tease or pure maliciousness breaks up the play and spoils the fun. In such cases it is not unusual for the whole group to attack the offending member and ostracize him from their play. Often the offender is an invader from outside who trusts to his legs for protection and immediately attempts to interfere with the amusement of another group of children. His behavior not uncommonly is at heart a protest against being left outside and evidences the beginning of anti-social conduct which a little later becomes troublesome to adults and brings him under the heavy hand of the law. Although children are

greatly influenced by the attitude of adults with reference to the pressure of public opinion and legal authority, they all develop from the necessities of their own experience some understanding of the meaning of group authority. Even the criminal gang has its own code and its own rules of conduct which it rigorously enforces.

The growth of law.—One of the characteristic elements of American culture is the exaggerated confidence in law and in the multiplicity of regulations as a means of social control. It has been stated, for example, that the average citizen in his ordinary occupations in the city is surrounded by thousands of regulations most of which he does not know and many of which are not consistently enforced.

In the oldest sections of the country are to be found outworn laws that have not been repealed although they are contrary to general practices and are merely ignored by the police. Each session of Congress and of the State Legislature adds heavily to the quantity of laws that are passed to regulate social behavior. Much of this is due to an increase of activities, the conduct of which for the general good cannot be left to personal decision. Nevertheless there is too great a disposition to attempt to bring about by legal enactment what had better be left to public opinion or to personal ethics. As a result many laws are passed that have trivial motives and by their nature are bound to fail of enforcement. In practice it is difficult to distinguish between the law that is imperative because of a new situation which demands public control and the eagerness that leads a legislative body to attempt to hasten the social good by premature or trivial regulation.

International law.—Although we have flexible practices and rules that have been accepted by the leading states of the world there is no international law in the sense that it can be enforced as law within the states is enforced. Many of our attempts to regulate international affairs are by special

treaty. The difficulty, obviously, with international regulation is that there is no central authority which has the power to interpret and to enforce regulations, and at this point occurs one of the most vexing problems created by the modern state. As has been said with reference to industry, many of the interests of greatest importance to social welfare are international in scope and bring the modern states into contact, yet there is no satisfactory means of arbitration of difficulties or the adjustment of damages that may have originated within a foreign state.

The League of Nations is an experimental effort to develop a world-wide representative body of authority that may prevent the appeal to war and the clashing of the interests of various states, and also further world welfare by a greater coöperation between different political governments. Such a venture breaks with the political traditions of the past and now represents a gradual beginning of what appears to be a necessary political evolution.

It must not be forgotten that public opinion, although easily exploited and awkward in its means of expression, has, even in international matters, considerable and increasing influence. Unquestionably public opinion was a significant force during the World War. The effort of both belligerent parties to win its favor reveals how forcefully it is felt as an instrument of control by modern statesmen.

Education and political experience.—The relation between political experience and education is reciprocal. Not only have there been industrial gains but also moral and social advances through legislation. Law and its enforcement are necessarily one element in the educational influences that mold character. Both those who believe in the necessity of a federal law regulating the drinking of intoxicants and those who oppose the Eighteenth Amendment agree that the law is supremely important as an educational force; they differ in their interpretation of its consequences as an influence that works upon the character of our people.

When we turn to education itself as the formal system of public instruction we discover still more vividly the inherent relationship between government, law and education. Education contributes to the spirit of law and order. It makes possible general intelligence, which alone establishes actual democracy. It encourages the spirit of coöperation and fair play with greater success than can law, which operates to maintain just conduct between citizens. It assumes reasonable responsibility along social lines, and it brings to the attention of youth the existence of social problems that menace happiness, while revealing the resources in the hands of the citizens for the solution of difficulties.

The history of political government discloses the risk of holding to tradition or refusing to make adjustment because of new social conditions. The school above everything else, if it is to contribute seriously to social welfare, must encourage freedom of investigation and make critical appraisal of what is being done to meet present needs lest the dead hand of the past menace political development.

Competition, to a large extent, insures progress along industrial lines, but education is primarily our only hope in encouraging the political advance that can keep government in good adjustment with public needs. It is rare that the state moves beyond the general maturity of its citizenship. We at least have learned that little substantial progress can be made by tinkering with the government machine. The problem is not one of political mechanics; it has to do with the quality of citizenship. Fortunately, in recent years, not only have we had an emphasis on social motive in public school education, but the educational experience of the child has to a considerable extent become itself a social training. Since it is only through practice that social thinking can be done, these new departures for the purpose of providing a more adequate social education are advances of direct sociological interest.

CHAPTER XVIII

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND THE CHURCH

Theories of origin of religion.—There is general agreement among students of primitive life regarding the immense importance of religion as a form of social experience. When the question is asked: "How did religion start?" this unanimity dissolves into various statements none of which seems to be convincing as an explanation of the great differences in religious experience that ethnology has gathered from a detailed study of the practices of savages in all sections of the world. Since religion seems to be found everywhere in some form by the student of savage life, it has been assumed that religion is instinctive in human nature. This explanation is almost universally rejected by psychologists, who find no grounds for believing in such an instinct.

Tyler and Spencer found in the savages' belief in spirits, as a result of dream experience, the origin of religion. Religion, from this point of view, was a testimony on the part of primitive man that he felt himself in contact with two types of forces, visible and invisible. From the latter developed the idea of the ghost, and from the effort to propitiate it came religion. A large part of the information we now have regarding savage society has caused this theory to be abandoned. Indeed there is more evidence that man started with a belief in plurality of spirit than that he derived the notion of the second self from dreams, shadows and the echo.

Another theory that has been supported is that of naturalness. This was advanced by Max Muller, who believed that

man's awe in the presence of natural phenomena, especially that which was unusual and terrifying, led to personification until nature gave expression to personalities which man interpreted as similar to himself. Fraser thinks that a correct understanding of the meaning of magic reveals the origin of religion. Sympathetic magic, carrying the conception that if the image of an enemy was mutilated disaster would come upon him, was an elementary sort of science built upon the idea of causation and an unchanging order in nature. When magic as a means of controlling experience failed, entreaty was resorted to and this effort to evoke help when magical processes failed brought forth religion. Fraser, to use his own words, says that religion comes as "propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life." Again he says, "religion consists of two elements, a theoretical and a practical, namely, a belief in powers higher than man and an attempt to propitiate or please them."[1] Even if the order of religious development is what Fraser suggests, religion always following magic and never preceding it, we would still have to answer the question as to how this idea of a substitution for the ordinary processes of control by magic came about. As a matter of fact there is greater evidence that magic results from a belief in the supernatural than that it comes first.

Durkheim makes religion a distinction between ordinary and extraordinary experience in the life of the savage. Its earliest form was totemism. All life was divided into the sacred and the common, the former having relation to the totem. The god represented the clan personified, and religious rites were social experiences that led to social fusion in the manner of the modern crowd experience. In the gathering and festival the monotony of everyday experience was relieved by exaltation, and excitement was the essential

[1] Cooke, G. W., "Social Evolution of Religion," p. 338.

element in the religious experience. This author, it is clear, minimizes the individualistic elements of religion by magnifying its social function. There are a host of minor theories advanced as to the beginnings of religion, none of them being convincing to the anthropologist.

It is apparent that the religious experiences of savages do not yield any clear indication as to the nature of their origin. Not only are the differences great as we pass from one religious system to another, but the beliefs of each individual people are inconsistent and confusing. Magic and religious worship have a natural object and after a while become so inextricably mixed that logic has to force itself rough-shod over actual facts to obtain a simple and consistent theory.

The social importance of religion.—However unsatisfactory theories of the origin of religion may be, we are on certain ground with reference to the enormous value religious experience had for the savage. Confronted with the perplexities of existence and with a meager fund of understanding of the processes and events of everyday living, religion was an indispensable expression of human need. It was for the savage a philosophy, an emotional satisfaction whose influence made for social solidarity and security, and an authority that prevented moral anarchy. To the savage these experiences that we lightly call "superstition" formed the reality of life. His needs as an individual, as an interpreter of nature, and as a social being craving the strengthening of sympathetic contact with others, were met by the mystical ideas and ceremonial practices that constituted his religion.

Primitive religion and everyday life.—Religion among the peoples of primitive culture extends into every detail of their life and becomes so interwoven with all their other experiences that it can be separated only by wrenching it apart from the rest and artificially giving it an independent existence. The religion of the Manobo of Eastern Mindano may serve as an

example. The native carries on his person a religious fetish. He does not build his house without consulting the oracles and omens. He cannot hunt or fish without making a religious offering. Even the cooking of his food has to follow religious rules. He plants and gathers his rice under the favor of certain deities. His hunting dogs are protected also by special divinity. His bow and spear are given a magical test. He cannot go to fight until he has used magic and sacrifice to give him promise of victory. All the chief events of his life—marriage, the pregnancy and parturition of his wife, death, burial, war are consecrated by religious rites often public and always formal.[2]

The main features of the Manobo religion include:

1. Belief in anthropomorphic deities who will help if supplied with offerings but who, if neglected, will cause evil.
2. Belief in forest-spirits and sky-spirits who also must be propitiated.
3. Reliance on priests who are considered the favorites of one or more of the friendly divinities.
4. Fear of the dead who are supposed to be envious of the living.
5. Belief in omens, auguries and oracles for the finding out of future events.
6. A rigid following of taboos based on either religious ideas or magic.
7. The frequent use of sympathetic magic.
8. The avoidance of any word or act disrespectful to brute creation.
9. Belief in two spirit-companions or souls that accompany each person from birth till death.
10. Belief that one of those spirit-companions may be captured by hostile spirits.
11. Belief in an after-world and the existence there of at least one spirit-companion.

[2] Garvan, J. M., "A Survey of the Material and Sociological Culture of the Manobo of Eastern Mindano," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 29, No. 4, p. 590.

12. Belief in dreams as being often prophecies of evil.

13. Belief in sacred methods that may bring harm to others.

14. Use of oaths and ordeals to enforce promises and discover guilt.

15. The deification of bravery as illustrated by the class of war-like deities.[3]

The Malagasy thanksgiving ceremony at the time of the rice harvest reveals in a characteristic manner the intimate place religion holds among savage peoples in their effort to procure the means of sustenance. The family came together in the northeast corner of the house, sacred because it was there that the bodies of the dead had been laid out, causing their spirits to linger about, ever after. The father of the family acted the part of priest. Placing the heads of rice under the roof in the corner he prayed: "Oh Creator God, thou who hast made us and art the source of our existence, we present ourselves before thee to offer thee these chosen heads of rice. But thou art not alone, Creator God. Our ancestors are with thee and have also become Gods. This offering is for all of you." When the prayer was ended all the family together cried "Hahasoa! Hahasatva! May this bring good things and well being!" Then followed two more prayers and finally the eating of rice and the Tabo fish.[4]

The religion of children.—At no point is the distance between primitive experience and present attainment greater than with reference to religion. It is true that superstition still lingers and a belief in magic shows in the practices of persons highly cultured. In spite of these fragmentary expressions it is clear that the characteristic religious attitudes of modern civilization are widely separated from the baffling, mystical interpretations that came out of savage life. Therefore the child of today travels rapidly in his religious development or from the first comes under the dominance of concep-

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 592–93.

[4] Linton, R., "Rice, A Malagasy Tradition," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 659–60.

tions that have been matured by centuries of human experience.

In this development the atmosphere of the home is the essential power in formulating the type of religious experience which every child has to construct. The human need of unification, security and motive is such that the demand for religion is inexorable, and some type of religious experience every child is bound to have. The commanding position which each individual's religious attitude has upon his career, both as an individual and as a social unit, makes it imperative that the child's religious development have the greatest possible guidance of wisdom and sympathy. It is not difficult for anti-social or narrow social attitudes to become a part of the growing personality if the child has an unwholesome religious development. Religious sanction, when it supports prejudice and social exploitation of outgrown moral practices, burdens society as certainly as high ideals, social conscience and enthusiasm for progress when allied with religion produce incomparable incentives for right living together.

The cultural lag shows markedly in the life of religious institutions. The consequences of lack of progress at this point as built into the growing personality of the child become an obstacle to social welfare in every department of life. Religion for some is a refuge from social responsibility, thus resembling, or perhaps, better, becoming a neurotic reaction. The selfishness and weakness of a withdrawal from life through religious experience must not conceal the dynamic motive force that mysticism in characters like J. F. D. Maurice exerts for social reform, innovation and efficient practices. The religion the child needs, if he is to contribute best socially, is one that faces outward and with optimism and sincerity engages in the affairs of life.

Conditions influencing the development of religion.—The effect of environmental contact appears strikingly in religious experience. Leonard, in his interpretation of the religion of

the people of the Lower Niger, emphasizes the way in which the contrast between the wet and dry seasons of that unfavorable climate is registered in the dualistic religious thinking of the natives. The value of water to desert people also colors their early religion and appears in their mythology. To the American Indian the future life was the Happy Hunting Ground, while to the inhabitants of the Nile Valley it is a place of fertile, abundantly watered territory. In the hot regions those who fear retribution in the future make their hell one of intense heat, while by the people of the Arctic region it is painted as a place of unbearable cold.

The climate puts its stamp also upon the temper of religious attitudes. As one would expect, people who have a stimulating climate tend toward a religion of activity, while those who live in regions that sap the energy build up a religion in which contemplation and non-resistance have a large place. Just as the physical environment operates upon religious experience, so also do the prevailing ideas of the period, the occupation of the people, class distinctions and the status of women. Religion, in other words, cannot be separated from the rest of the life of the people who hold it. It is an aspect of their total experience rather than a thing by itself. It influences their other forms of behavior and is in turn affected by them.

The growth of religious tolerance.—As religious sentiment formed itself by natural growth into an institution, it became intolerant of differences. It was felt that departure from the accepted form of worship was an act of treason against the unity of the group. As a consequence the church and state became partners in authority. Although the political power was used to enforce conformity to the prevailing religious experience, even among savages we often find constant conflict between the representatives of political power and those who have charge of the religious interests of the people. A glance into tribal life frequently discloses unend-

ing rivalry between priest and chief. So in later times even when religious worship was regulated by political power, the leaders of the two elements of the partnership were not always in accord.

Although it would be contrary to fact to make tolerance with reference to religious belief a modern discovery, since even under the Roman Empire absolute conformity in the field of religion was not attempted, it is true that dating from the seventeenth century there has been a growing understanding of the impossibility of people's thinking and feeling alike in their religious experience and a gradual recognition of the advantage of not trying to force uniformity. This change of attitude appears in the principle that each man's religious life should be according to the dictates of his own conscience, a principle which had a fundamental influence on the American Constitution.

The experience of the United States in divorcing religious and political authority has led to an increased tolerance with reference to religious differences. The lesson that other men, who think differently in religious interpretations, can be equally honest and just as good citizens is still hard even for some Americans to realize, but the current of life is overwhelmingly against the growth of intolerance and under modern conditions, where world relationships are necessarily maintained and where natural differences openly show themselves in religious experience, intolerance, in whatsoever form it is expressed, becomes a social menace.

Religion and morals.—As we have seen, the influence of religion manifests itself in the conduct of the savage. The taboo, for example, has a powerful control over behavior in the simplest societies. Ethical conduct among such people is, of course, rudimentary in form, but, such as it is, bears definite relationship to the prevailing religious teachings. With the evolution of culture, religious experience tends to follow diverse expressions. In one it is essentially ceremony, ritual,

dogma, and belief while in the other its content is moral behavior. This splitting of religious experience cannot occur until both morality and institutional religion have reached a high development. The distinction suggests the extrovertive and introvertive tendencies that show themselves in the human personality. In spite of the fact that religious experience comes to have these two aspects and that considerable controversy originates in the excessive emphasis of one as compared with the other, as instanced by the conflicting priestly and prophetic trends in early Hebrew faith, religion usually, on the institutional side, enforces the prevailing ethics of the period even when conduct is considered secondary to faith.

Following the morality of the times, religion in the past emphasized the idea of penalty. In the Christian tradition, until recently, the conception of hell as a place of torment for the punishment of those who had not followed the religious convention was both generally accepted and efficacious. It is the decay of this belief that has added an essentially new element to modern religion. It is obvious that the fear of eternal punishment would meet with transitory success as a motive in enforcing religious experience when nothing else would. Although the idea of retribution still persists in the thinking of most men and women, it no longer forms itself in the concept of a place of eternal punishment. This change unquestionably removes a social force that has had great influence in regulating the conduct of many people during the Christian era.

The loss of vitality in the motive of fear places upon religion and morals the task of finding a higher type of motive. This, for many, is represented by the attitude of loyalty which replaces fear and also had a prominent place from the beginning in Christian tradition. Its superiority as an impelling force in the realm of ethics cannot be contradicted. It requires, however, the bringing of the responsive personality to higher levels than were necessary when fear by itself

could be made a satisfactory motive to regulate conduct. Although it is most unfair to interpret religion as a sort of social police system, it is equally unreasonable to deny either the extent to which fear has had control or the advantage this has been to social security when man traveled on lower cultural levels than the one characteristic of this period.

The social results of religion.—Religion represents a fundamental need of human nature and necessarily one that shows itself in the other expressions of social life. Religion interprets existence, satisfies the human craving for security and gives reality and substance to the values men must find in human experience in order to get satisfaction. Its social significance, however, as we have seen, was present from the first and in our time becomes increasingly prominent.

The church.—Religious experience, which in its historical development assumed many forms, is now expressed through the church. Like-minded people, usually the product of the same religious training and tradition, join together to establish churches and to maintain the kind of religious experience with which they are familiar.

The church is an institution made up of individuals who find in its fellowship a spiritual satisfaction and moral incentive. Thus the church brings together those who are in religious accord and stimulates them through their interrelations to assume their moral and social responsibilities. Increasingly the church organizations, in spite of great differences in other respects, tend to lay more emphasis upon the social side of religion. The churches also provide ethical leaders who take high rank in the effort to maintain the present standards of moral conduct. The church, as an institution, tends also to stimulate in the believers an idealism which inherently exerts a propelling push toward social progress. Although the church, on account of institutional interests and demands, is conservative in social attitudes, it contributes not a little to the idealism that in individuals, if not in the mass,

drives human nature forward to greater achievement. Impatient reformers easily discount the social contribution of the church in furnishing the spiritual sanction which is constantly making social obligation a more important basic element in modern religion.

Present religious trend.—So many things are happening in religious experience, as in other elements of life, that one's choice of fundamental trends is largely a matter of individual happenings and disposition. The church does not represent a consistent movement like an advancing army, but movement more like the traffic on a modern thoroughfare. Some tendencies move toward one objective, while others are working toward the reverse.

In America at the present time it would seem as if the major current of church life was going forward to the following objectives: first, a greater appreciation of the unity of religious experience and a willingness to tolerate a variety of individual expressions; second, on the part of organized denominations and churches, a realization of their common interest and purpose and the necessity of maintaining friendly relations.

We have had in this country, as in Canada, successful consolidation of various denominations and discussion of possible combinations is nearly always going on in some quarter. Even where differences are as fundamental as the ideas of Sacrament or government or doctrine, there is clear recognition of the advantages and necessities of considerable coöperation between various churches. This is enhanced by the general understanding of the dangers of materialistic philosophy which, encouraged by certain elements in modern experience, attacks the spiritual values of man's life. There seems to be also a gradually decreasing confidence in dogma, and even more an unwillingness to interfere with the religious beliefs and practices of other people.

Perhaps the most important element in modern religion

is the increasing appreciation by church leaders of the fact that religion does not find in science an enemy, and that it is not the business of religion to coerce science by insisting that beliefs regarding matters falling within the domain of science, and which received religious sanction in former times, be maintained by religious authority. Although this trend, as one would expect, is not consistent, there seems to be overwhelming evidence that the idea of conflict between religion and science, which has been a disturbing element for a century or more, is swiftly passing and in its stead is coming general recognition of the fact that these two types of experience must make a division of labor and work together for the well-being of man. This necessarily means that religion, without any loss in its proper purpose, will retreat from territory that it occupied and organized into dogma, in order freely to allow science to make the greatest possible use of its resources in uncovering the causes that operate in nature and in man.

Problem of the city church.—In the city church today we find a program that emphasizes social organization and social activities which include both children and adults. In the Protestant denomination we have had in the past an institutional church which has generally been supplanted because of the activities of organizations like the settlement, which did similar work without sectarian differences. The mobility of the city population and the competition of church activities with recreational and intellectual organizations hampered the character of the city church's social contribution, although successful effort is being made in many urban churches to maintain what is essentially a social center, providing for various sorts of activities of value to the community. On the whole the city church contributes most along social lines by maintaining in its minister and priest leaders who influence the thinking and feeling of a considerable group of the population.

It is in the city church primarily that the liberalizing tendencies and progressive movements of each organization show most vitality. To the city church gravitate the outstanding personalities, with some exceptions, of each denomination or church group. Since they are apt to bring together the most influential congregations and have command of benevolence greater than that of the rural and town church, their prestige is increased so that, in spite of a floating clientele, they largely dominate the religious experience of their group.

Problem of the country church.—In the rural environment religious problems take on a different aspect. Here is the costly mischief of sectarianism which provides more churches than a community needs and separates the people so that they cannot carry on to best advantage the social service required. Here narrowness and religious partisanship often flourish as products of the meager training and isolation of the leaders. Here also is frequently found an intense emotionalism which makes religious experience erratic and permits a complete divorcement between belief and moral practice. On the other hand in the rural field social programs are often carried on with great efficiency by churches that minister to the social needs of the community; some of the workers prefer the rural environment and are especially trained for it; in some sections the federated or consolidated church flourishes, eliminating much of the waste that comes from sectarian division.

The cityward movement of rural population is tending to enforce consolidation and this promises much for the future rural church. Back in the theological seminary an increasing emphasis is being laid upon preparation for social work in the rural church and there is a disposition to lessen emphasis upon dogma and sectarianism. The rural minister has a decided advantage over his city brother in the close association and intimate knowledge of human nature which result from the primary contacts afforded by the rural environment. This

frequently permits him to have a deeper understanding of human needs, a more practical sympathy and greater familiarity with human behavior, than the city preacher can gain however great his gifts in organization or oratorical appeal. Because of this the rural preacher often comes in closer grip with human needs and contributes more fruitfully to the life of the people to whom he ministers.

The two kinds of service are so different that each needs its own special technique, and in so far as the rural clergy is made up of young men who regard their work as temporary while they look cityward, or of older men who have lost their vigor for city pastorates and are returning to the country to spend the remaining portion of their life more quietly, the country church is not given what it really needs or, because of its social importance, should justly demand. The prosperity of the rural church is intimately tied up with the group life of the farmers, and where poverty, bad farming, irresponsible tenancy, meager education, and low social standards are maintained, the work of the church is greatly hampered.

Education and the church.—It is in line with the better knowledge of our time that the church should be placing more emphasis upon education, especially of the young, than upon preachment. The student of human nature appreciates how difficult it is by appeal to change the habits and familiar reactions of any individual. This is as true of religion as of any part of life and the strategy of the church demands greater attention given to the young and more emphasis upon what is essentially an educational program. Not only must the child be taught religion in an effective manner but the content of the teaching must square with human needs and form a basis for moral development and social progress. The more church teaching faces backward, the less will be its success in helping to solve the difficult problems of adjustment that confront the child as he becomes an adult, and the greater

the disturbance which comes from rapid change of religious attitudes during late adolescence.

There is need also of making the teaching that children receive more in harmony with science and with social standards of living. It is of the highest importance that information be given that conserves health, deepens the aesthetic appreciation and makes for matrimonial stability and richer life-attitudes. This is especially true of the country church, which is under obligation to become an intellectual center as well as a social center of the farmers' life. Information of importance to human welfare should be systematically distributed by the church in the rural environment. Failure to do this is one of the causes of the social backwardness of country people. If, in the country, we are to have adult education on a large scale, the church must accept a considerable responsibility, not only for encouraging continued study, but also for providing opportunity.

Especially difficult is it for the church to deal with vexing social problems when they are matters of financial or political interest to individuals connected with religious organizations. Nevertheless in the teaching of moral principles, especially to the young, the church must eventually fail to contribute adequately to the growing personality under its tutelage unless this task is undertaken with sympathy and tolerance and a keen sense of social justice.

PART V

MAN AND HIS SOCIAL FAILURES

CHAPTER XIX

THE FORMS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Poverty.—As society is organized economically at present, income represents the power the individual has to draw from the resources of the group the means of satisfying his physical wants and those desires that are above the level of actual physical needs. Insufficient income signifies that the individual cannot obtain the measure of what he wants to satisfy his necessities. Poverty refers to an income which does not furnish the possibility of maintaining the standard of life which has become reasonable for the time and place, or an ignorance in making use of the income which reduces it below the normal level.

It is apparent that poverty contains two elements. The group as a whole may be brought to such unfortunate circumstances that it does not have the resources to distribute to individuals so as to lift them above the conditions of poverty. On the other hand—and this is the more general use of the word—poverty represents inability of the individual to draw upon the resources society has, but which he cannot have according to his need on account of meagerness of income. The first aspect of poverty is frequently found among savage tribes, when the entire group barely keep body needs satisfied on account of the low producing power of their culture or the meager resources of their environment. The other type of

poverty is found in the modern state and represents in size and consequences one of the most distressing and perplexing of social problems.

Poverty is obviously a relative matter except on the level of absolute need for physical survival. In a group where great wealth exists those who do not have sufficient resources to maintain the customary standards of living are considered poor, even though their resources are greater than those of the savage who shares the general poverty of his tribe. Douglas clarifies the discussion of poverty by defining three grades. The first represents mere subsistence; the second permits conditions that procure health and maintain decency; while the third adds a degree of comfort.[1] These distinctions help us to understand why there is so much disagreement as to the quantity of poverty. Some choose to regard poverty as a denial of the needs of physical existence, while to others one lives in poverty if he is unable to share the comforts that are so commonly possessed as to have become conventional standards in modern life.

Amount of poverty.—Many attempts have been made to measure the quantity of poverty, but statistical exactness is at present impossible. On the basis of careful local studies estimations have been made as to the extent of poverty in the United States, ranging from four per cent of our population to the declaration that fifty per cent of our families, at least, are in a state of poverty. If, as is generally felt, these two statements are extreme, one underestimating and the other exaggerating our amount of poverty, there is common agreement among students that in the United States investigation discloses more poverty than one would expect to find.

Any survey of poverty has to recognize sectional differences. A larger proportion of the population exists in a state of poverty in the older eastern section of the country than in the newer portion of the West. In the South a large amount

[1] "The Worker in Modern Economic Society."

of poverty is found among the Negroes, while the "poor whites" also maintain only a meager existence. The conditions that make these sectional differences in the quantity and character of poverty are complicated and various. The character of the people, the natural resources, the form of economic production, the degree of congestion of population, and social tradition, all play a part in determining the extent of poverty. We would, of course, expect in the older portions of the country, and in the cities, to find a greater amount of poverty.

Not only is poverty in itself a relative matter but the reaction to it shows a considerable variation. In a static society where convention and tradition combine to perpetuate class distinctions, poverty is largely taken as a matter of fact, both by those who are fortunate and by those who suffer privation. In a progressive and less conventionalized society, poverty is not accepted without considerable protest from both the fortunate and unfortunate. However, it is necessary to notice that the protest against poverty is largely a modern characteristic of our more highly developed society. Until recently poverty has been taken rather as a matter of course, even defended as a necessary and advantageous social situation. In the political philosophy and in the theology of the past poverty was frequently treated either as a necessary element in social experience or as an actual advantage.

In our time those who have been stimulated by conditions of relative poverty to an effort which, supported by their inherent ability, has led them to success often proclaim the value of poverty for the development of character. Seldom, however, do we find these individuals actually reducing their own children to an economic condition that demands struggle similar to that through which they themselves went. An unbiased study of the effect of poverty upon personality discloses that it is the rare and to some extent "lucky" individual who climbs out of his predicament and later comes to

feel that his success was conditioned by the difficulty of his early start.

Poverty and character.—Although it is true that luxury stifles personality in innumerable cases, it is equally clear that poverty for the most part exerts a crushing influence upon the growth of character. At the two extremes of life we find, in the greatest pathos, illustrations of the injurious effect of poverty upon character.

A little child during his formative years when personality is making itself, is largely at the mercy of the opportunity provided by the economic resources of his parents. This appears in the death rate of infancy and in child labor. Several careful studies of the death rate of little children disclose its ratio to the economic resources of the parents. For example, the following report of infant mortality in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, brings out clearly this relationship. It must not be interpreted, however, as a perfect measurement of poverty as the cause of the dying of children, since the death and the poverty may both be consequences, for example, of ignorance. What we do find is that where poverty exists the child suffers, even to such an extent that his hazard of life is increased. In child labor we see how the poverty of the family cuts away opportunity for growth of personality by reducing education and other advantages that give the normal child a chance for fuller personal development.

Finally comes the poverty of old-age dependency. It is estimated by a careful authority that in our country in 1912 one person in eighteen among our wage-earners at the age of sixty-five is in penury, that this proportion tends to increase, and that at least two hundred and fifty millions of dollars annually have to be paid out for the support of persons over sixty-five years of age who depend upon public and private charity.[2]

Physical disease.—Another major social problem is phys-

[2] Squire, I. L. W., "Old Age Dependency in the United States," p. 324.

TABLE II.—INFANT MORTALITY: JOHNSTOWN, PA.

DISTRIBUTION OF LIVE BIRTHS AND OF DEATHS DURING FIRST YEAR, AND INFANT MORTALITY RATE, ACCORDING TO ANNUAL EARNINGS OF FATHER AND NATIVITY OF MOTHER, FOR LEGITIMATE LIVE-BORN BABIES.

Annual Earnings of Father According to Nativity of Wife.	Total Live Births	Deaths during First Year	Infant Mortality Rate
Total	1,431	187	130.7
Under $625	384	82	213.5
Under $521	219	56	255.7
$521 to $624	165	26	157.6
$625 to $899	385	47	122.1
$625 to $779	224	24	107.1
$780 to $899	161	23	142.9
$900 or more	186	18	96.8
$900 to $1,199	138	14	101.4
$1,200 or more	48	4	83.3
Ample	476	40	84.0
Husbands with native wives	785	76	96 8
Under $625	80	16	200 0
Under $521	32	9	*
$521 to $624	48	7	145.8
$625 to $899	193	20	103.6
$625 to $779	86	6	69.8
$780 to $899	107	14	130.8
$900 or more	129	10	77.5
$900 to $1,199	92	7	76.1
$1,200 or more	37	3	*
Ample	383	30	78.3
Husbands with foreign wives	646	111	171 8
Under $625	304	66	217.1
Under $521	187	47	251.3
$521 to $624	117	19	162.4
$625 to $899	192	27	140 6
$625 to $779	138	18	130.4
$780 to $899	54	9	166.7
$900 or more	57	8	140.6
$900 to $1,199	46	7	152.2
$1,200 or more	11	1	*
Ample	93	10	107.5

* Total live births less than 50; base therefore considered too small to use in computing an infant mortality rate.

ical illness. Here, as with reference to poverty, it is practically impossible to realize the size of the problem. In money costs alone the estimation that three billions of dollars are spent annually in this country because of ill health does not seem, from such detailed studies as have been made, excessive. It is true that a large proportion of this is preventable since an intelligent society, willing to make full use of present medical resources, would deeply cut this bill of bad health. The success of the campaign in recent years against tuberculosis demonstrates that progress can be gained if a determined effort is put forth to attack conditions that make for bad health.

The War gave us an opportunity to check up on our health conditions through the physical examination of candidates for army service. Although this represented men between the ages of eighteen and thirty, a specially vital period, it was found that nearly one-half of the men examined, 2,753,922, were found defective and that about one-fifth of these had more than one defect.[3]

Syphilis is not only one of the most dreaded diseases, but one with the largest social consequences. Again, it is impossible to get an accurate picture of the amount of syphilis in the population of the United States. Both the venereal diseases, gonorrhea and syphilis, are more commonly found in the city than in the country. Whether the proportion of syphilis in our adult male population is five, ten or a greater percentage, it represents an important problem of health and one with which, in view of the resources now at the command of society, we should be making even greater headway. The full significance of this particular disease is concealed by the fact that so frequently it has indirect results in heart disease, insanity or some other form of breakdown which is not credited to the original cause.

[3] War Department, "Defects Found in Drafted Men," Washington Government Print of 1920.

There are other problems of health of a magnitude which removes the complacency of those who exaggerate the progress that is being made. The high percentage of heart disease in middle-aged people, the death of mothers in child-birth, the increase of cancer, the prevalence of malnutrition among school children; the economic losses and suffering caused by common colds and their menace to health and vitality; the prevalence of quackery and the large amount of money still spent on patent medicines, the diseases that come out of bad conditions of modern industry; our accidents, especially those caused by the automobile, are evidences that we still have an enormous task in conserving life to the degree specialists agree is possible just as soon as social thinking and practices are in accord with the teachings of modern science. The most hopeful side of the present attack on disease comes from the increasing control of infectious diseases of children that has resulted from laboratory science, inaugurated chiefly by the epoch-making discoveries of Louis Pasteur.

Mental disease.—Although we use the term mental disease, it is necessary for the student to recognize that we are dealing in our discussion with many distinct and different types of mental maladies, most dissimilar in causation and expression. It is only within the last decade that the full seriousness of the problem represented by mental disease has become generally recognized. We do not have to go back very far to find a complete misunderstanding of the meaning of "mental disease," evidenced by the treatment of the insane as if they were criminals responsible for their behavior. Indeed even yet it is the belief of alienists that we fail in our judicial procedure to recognize the irresponsibility of conduct that comes from diseased mentality and requires treatment rather than punishment such as the law provides. The history of the treatment of the insane is uncomfortable reading, but perhaps when we are told that King George III, while insane, was frequently beaten and starved, and placed within a

machine which gave him no liberty of motion, we can get some idea of what was happening in the treatment of persons who were poor and without friends.[4]

Today the province of mental disease occupies a large territory, of which insanity, rightly defined, fills only a portion. Insanity is a legal statement of the quality of the behavior of an individual suffering from some sort of mental disease. Mental diseases are roughly divided into two types, that in which change occurs in the substance of the brain, and that which, because no brain deterioration is discovered, is spoken of as functional in character. Statistics with reference to mental disease are especially confusing. The fact that patients are repeatedly committed to institutions and these separate commitments may or may not be counted as repetitions makes the statistical statement as to the number of inmates in institutions an unsatisfactory method of measuring the extent of mental disease. Moreover if such a survey were completely satisfactory it would still be true that a large number of persons suffering from mental diseases are not confined in institutions or reported to the state authorities in such a way as to become statistically known. The question whether or not mental disease is increasing more rapidly than the population is a matter of controversy although the conventional opinion is that it is growing considerably faster as a consequence of the greater strain and stress of modern ways of living.

Recent science has discovered how largely mental disease and abnormal personality traits show themselves in conduct as the originating cause of definite social problems. Much of the vice and crime and irresponsibility that vex society are actually born of mental disorder. Frequently the first definite expression of a developing mental malady is some sort of behavior at variance with the previous conduct of the individual and of such a character that society must take cognizance of the individual's action. The insight this changed point of

[4] Ives, G. A., "History of Penal Methods," p. 86.

view has brought to judges, social workers, teachers, parents, employers, and others who have to deal in practical ways with diverse personalities is important and promises to be of value in interpreting concrete social maladjustment. Indeed, even though the experts are not in common agreement, for we have at present special schools presenting their particular theories as to how mental abnormality should be treated, there has grown up a common understanding that mental disease represents an extreme development of characteristics previously within the personality, and out of this is growing the concept of mental health as compared with mental disease. In the earlier treatment of mental disease, the science of psychiatry was especially concerned with the classification of mental disorders, and the labeling of the patient was given an undue importance which frequently decided the treatment he received. In more recent years the trend has been toward the study of the personality as a whole and a treatment which recognizes that the patient's abnormal conduct is at least related to his former experiences even if it be not the direct consequence of it. It is in the case of paresis that we have at present the most promising knowledge of causation, since this particular form of mental malady is always caused by syphilitic poisoning of the brain substance.

Mental deficiency.—Another social problem concerning which we have had, as a result of better knowledge, a complete change of attitude is mental deficiency. A mentally deficient person is, because of accident, disease or inheritance, endowed with an insufficient amount of brain which makes it impossible for him to function as an adequately adjusted personality. Although statistics with reference to the number of feebleminded persons in the United States show an increase, this throws little light upon the proportion of these persons to the growth of our population, since even yet the vast majority of the feebleminded remain outside institutions. The report of the United States Government in 1904 estimated

that there were 150,000 of such individuals in this country. Goddard, a student of the problem, estimated in 1912 that we had at least 300,000. In former times there was scant recognition of the serious social consequences of behavior resting upon an inadequate amount of brain substance. As a result even in our criminal records we find persons held responsible for major crimes when their amount of mentality was no greater than that belonging to the idiot or at least the imbecile.

The large proportion of persons committed to institutions, who have inherited through defective family strain their tendency toward feeblemindedness, has obscured the problem by over-stressing the effect of heredity as a cause of feeblemindedness. The late Walter Fernald, a pioneer in the treatment of the feebleminded, made a determined effort in his later life to correct the popular opinion for which he, with others, had been responsible, that feeblemindedness was nearly always inherited. It is becoming evident to all students of the problem that the influence of accident and disease, especially birth injury and various forms of meningitis, has been too greatly minimized as a cause of feeblemindedness.

Massachusetts has a law requiring the examination of all school pupils who in their school work are retarded three or more years. A recent report covering a survey of 4,040 children shows that of this total number of children examined 75 per cent were found to be deficient, 8 per cent had one or both parents mentally deficient, and 3 per cent had one or both parents mentally diseased.

The popular idea regarding the feebleminded represents an exaggeration of facts. It is true that a considerable amount of crime and vice originates in the deficiency of brain characteristic of the feebleminded, which permits them to be exploited, yet this can be over-stressed. The feebleminded are not *per se* socially antagonistic or criminalistic. Their career, even more than that of ordinary persons, depends considerably upon their

childhood experiences, since, having so little restraint, their impulses are less controlled than those of more fully endowed individuals, but they respond to good treatment and the great majority of them are not the menace it was once supposed they were. The idiot, because of his great limitation, does not often originate anti-social behavior. The moron, who approaches normal mental endowment, is likely, because he is not understood and his deficiency is not taken for granted, to be more harmful and more frequently to appear in institutions for the vicious and criminal. Present industry can absorb a considerable number of high-grade morons, who so often take kindly to monotonous, supervised labor and follow with faithfulness the routine which is established for them.

It has been a great advantage to our educational system that methods have been devised by which the moron could be detected and given the special treatment his lack of mentality deserved. The idea of mental testing originated from the work of the famous Alfred Binet, whose experience in dealing with the feebleminded led him to see the advantage of constructing a scale by which the mental variations of individuals could be measured and defective persons discovered so that they could be given a different sort of instruction, which would not only relieve the school of the burden of trying to carry into the higher classes those inherently limited in their possibilities of mental attainment, but also would prevent mortification and suffering from being heaped upon the mentally deficient, as in former times when they were expected in the schools to compete successfully with their more gifted comrades.

In spite of the fact that feeblemindedness does not represent an anti-social disposition, it is evident that among the feebleminded we not only find a larger proportion of maladjustment, resulting from their inability to meet the responsibilities of life that are standardized to those normally en-

dowed, but we also find a considerable exploitation of the mentally weak by those who are mentally normal. It is in prostitution particularly that exploitation has been made possible by the mental deficiency of individuals who are easily led into commercialized vice, although this probably occurs to a much smaller extent than was supposed when it first attracted attention.

The feebleminded must not be interpreted as a class by itself, broken away from normal people, for intelligence passes by sight gradations from idiocy on one hand to genius on the other. The lower ranges of intelligence represent the feebleminded, who are generally divided into three classes: the idiot, with an intelligence of approximately two years or less; the imbecile, from three to seven years; and the moron, from eight to twelve years in mentality. The mental deficiency of the two lower groups is spectacular and limits the individual to a meager share of social experience; as we go into the higher types, the limitation fades away until, in the high-grade moron, if the individual be called upon to make only simple social adjustments, the handicap is too light to attract attention. The deficiency, nevertheless, represents restriction in the same way that so-called "normal" intelligence handicaps the average person in comparison with one who has superior gifts.

Although the greater complexity of society as it advances creates an increasing problem for intelligence and demands a greater mental efficiency for success, it is also true that the machine character of modern industry opens up new opportunities for those who are feeble in their intellectual preparation for life, so that within the industrial sphere they even have, as compared with more gifted persons who become restless under routine, a decided advantage.

The feebleminded, who have come to public attention and have actually been known and classified as such, doubtless, constitute but a small fraction of the large number of persons

with equally low intelligence who perform their tasks steadily day in and day out, lead uneventful lives, and live decently and happily in their own limited ways. All of which raises a question as to whether we should apply the term *feebleminded* to this army of wage-earners just because their intelligence level happens to fall in the present classification of moron.[5]

Crime.—In any group of people living together individual conduct occurs which is contrary to the desires of the group and destructive of its peace and security. Although such behavior occurs in simple society it does not become a large problem comparable to what we designate as crime.

Conduct that varies from the usual we describe as individual, odd, cranky, immoral, delinquent or criminal. The last two terms signify the quality of conduct that has so far deviated from the customary and proper as to collide with laws that have been enacted to protect the group against undesired acts. Conduct that is individual, odd, or cranky meets with the disapproval of one's fellows. Immorality brings social disrepute and to some degree ostracism, while delinquency and crime are treated by the state as offenses to be curbed by public authority. From the legal point of view, therefore, crime is an offense committed contrary to law. Delinquency usually means a mild form of crime by those who are legally defined as children, that is, persons under eighteen, or even, according to the laws of some states, under twenty-one years of age. Crime is not only a violation, it may also be a neglect of legal duty. According to law, an act cannot be a crime unless it be done with intent.[6]

From the social point of view crime is an extreme form of maladjustment of such a character that the group must, if possible, prevent its commission. The criminal act is of such importance that the legal authority organized by the state to protect itself from lawless behavior is but the climax to a

[5] Davis, S. P., "Control of the Feebleminded," p. 204.
[6] May, "Criminal Law," p. 27.

situation in which the individual and society are both involved.

The personality of the criminal is socially defective and unequal to the obligations society puts upon him or the temptations his personal circumstances bring. Except in those rare cases where the individual in his moral judgment is superior to the conventional level of conduct imposed by the state and becomes a criminal from ethical motives, the offender against the law is a person whose career reveals a failure of socialization; behind the act of crime stands a personality whose peculiar inheritance and experience have combined to produce social maladjustment of which the law must take cognizance.

If an explanation of a particular crime is to be made, the history of the person responsible has to be retraced and the importance of the happenings that made his personality revealed. Thus it comes about that an understanding of crime requires a study of social conditions which encourage faulty character as well as the occurrences in the individual's personal experience which throw light upon his unsuccessful adjustment.

This double character of the fundamental causes of what we call crime makes it easy to see why highly developed societies increase crime. Their complicated interests require the passage of a multitude of regulations which raise the possibility of offense. The new interests provide many stimulations which awaken impulses to do that which is unlawful. In short, the greater the complexity of social life, the larger the demand placed upon the individual who must adjust himself or get in trouble with his group. The individual who is feebleminded, the one who is suffering from a physical disease that weakens his vitality and lessens his inhibition, and he who has a mental malady that clouds his judgment or magnifies his impulses, are indisputably handicapped and their adjustment made more precarious.

The rapid changing of social habits which requires different and often more difficult adjustments adds also to the tendency toward more crime among those highly civilized. The automobile, for example, illustrates the way in which an invention changes social habits and becomes linked with a tendency toward crime, since it furnishes a new form of temptation for those who attempt to maintain a luxury they cannot afford, and opens up new types of crime, besides providing an easy means by which the criminal can quickly remove himself from the place of his crime and disappear. As a consequence we have more laws to regulate conduct and improved methods of police detection to cope more adequately with a new kind of social measure, and eventually we get a growth in methods of control which the home and school attempt to transmit to children in their formative years.

The situation of the United States with reference to crime discloses also that the frontier tradition and the European experience of the immigrant part of the population are involved in an understanding of the quantity of crime in the United States. While statistics with reference to crime are faulty, even if they were more trustworthy it would be practically impossible to get an accurate portrayal of the extent of crime. Whether we take the number of inmates in institutions or the arrests in proportion to population, or the amount of the various kinds of crime which are reported to the police, our records as compared with other countries are markedly bad. This is especially to be seen in regard to our homicide record as compared with that of England.

> London in 1916, with a population of seven millions and a quarter, had nine premeditated murders. Chicago, one-third the size of London, in the same period had 105, nearly twelve times London's total.[7]

[7] Fosdick, R. B., "The American Police Systems," p. 10.

TABLE III *

BURGLARY, INCLUDING HOUSEBREAKING BY DAY OR NIGHT, BREAKING, SACRILEGE, ETC.*

	1916	1917	1918
England and Wales	7,809	9,453	10,331
Scotland	3,977	5,073	‡
London	1,581	2,164	2,777
Liverpool	1,135	1,361	1,136
New York	†	9,450	7,412
Chicago	2,113	5,623	3,643
Detroit	2,736	3,080	2,047
Cleveland	‡	2,752	2,608
St. Louis	3,212	2,483	3,989

* Hoffman's Latest Homicide Record, Fosdick, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

† The American figures in this table are taken from police department records. Their accuracy cannot be vouched for, because in many of our departments, complaints of crime are deliberately and systematically concealed. It can safely be assumed, however, that these figures represent an under-statement rather than an over-statement. The English statistics, on the other hand, are kept with meticulous care, and after a careful study of the records and methods at Scotland Yard and elsewhere in Great Britain, I do not believe that complaints of crime are ever concealed to avoid unfavorable appearances.

‡ Figures not available.

Child welfare.—Child welfare represents not one social problem, but many. First of all comes child dependency. This problem by itself employs the energy of a vast number of social workers who in public and private agencies care for the orphaned, the deserted, and the temporarily homeless child. The impossibility of giving a child in an institution normal preparation for life has led to the placing out of children who are temporarily or permanently dependent in homes where they are supervised by the agency responsible. In spite of the utmost care such children do not always receive kindly or wise training for life.

Another group of children who are defective demand also some form of assistance. The crippled child, the blind, the deaf, and children suffering from chronic illnesses must re-

ceive at the hands of a just society special care. The necessity of societies to protect children against cruelty shows how great are the possibilities of moral and physical injury to children. The records of such societies are a terrible indictment of faulty human nature, revealing that even parents are guilty of unspeakable crimes against their own children.

The most difficult problem of all in our country with reference to children is that of child labor. At the present time it is fair to estimate that not less than 1,600,000 children are employed in various forms of industry, excluding agriculture, and have need of attention from the state if they are to get opportunity for adequate training for life.[8] Modern industry has become so mechanical that a large part of its activities can be carried on by children under supervision. The employment of these workers is profitable and if one factory employs them, the competitor feels the need of doing likewise. There are parents also who expect to have their children contribute to family needs. In cases of abject poverty, especially if one of the parents is a chronic invalid, or if only one parent is living, there is a temptation to put the child early to earning. The lack of appeal made by the school also invites many children to go prematurely to work.

Since children represent the citizenship of the nation in process of training, the questions: when children should be permitted to work, and under what conditions, and how their labor should be related to the necessity of their obtaining education, become matters of the greatest political importance. As a rule the work children do is not educational nor so planned as to further their industrial career. They enter for the most part upon jobs that are blind alleys and do not allow advancement. Sometimes they work under conditions that are physically and even morally bad. This, of course, is especially true of night work, which is now banned by law

[8] National Conference of Social Work, 1925, p. 29. Also conference for 1922, p. 281.

in nearly all the states of the union. Only superficially does the earning of children prove an advantage to their parents, for where the father is a worker he usually belongs to a class whose wages are lowered by the effect of the working of children.

The Children's Bureau has published many illuminating reports concerning conditions in various states and sections of the country with reference to child labor. It is apparent from these studies that poverty is the incentive for much of the willingness of parents to have their children work. It is also clear that a large part of child labor is carried on in agriculture. Much of this work is seasonable and temporary, but it withdraws the child from school and frequently puts upon him longer hours of work and more arduous toil than in his growing years he should be given.

Some children obviously would be happier and learn more if allowed to go to work, rather than compelled to remain in school. It is possible that mental and vocational tests would be better criteria than age limits in determining who shall stay in school and who shall work.

The dangers of child labor can be summarized as excessive and premature toil, absence from school with consequent retardation, physical or moral injury due to unwholesome conditions, sophistication and rapid maturity which shorten the normal development of the individual.

Vice.—The drug problem is a very ancient one. In savage society is found marked familiarity with stimulants and narcotics. We are told that primitive races in practically all parts of the earth have hit upon some means of enjoying caffeine compounds and alcohol.

At present in this country the drug problem has chiefly to do with narcotics such as opium, morphine, cocaine and alcohol. Again statistics fail us in our attempt to gauge the extent of the problem involved. According to a report of the United States Treasury Department, in 1918 there were one

and one-half millions of persons in this country using narcotic drugs, one million of whom are known as addicts in their own communities. This statement has been challenged as being far too large.

With reference to alcohol, in spite of stringent Federal law to carry out the Eighteenth Amendment, our problem is immense and at present, perhaps, the most talked about and troublesome of all social questions. This drug habit leads to physical and moral deterioration and encourages every sort of social maladjustment. For example, alcohol and prostitution are so linked together that it is difficult for prostitution to maintain itself without the use of intoxicants.

It has been only in recent years that science has known enough about the harmfulness of drugs to indict them specifically to a degree that forces society in order to preserve its own welfare to legislate against their use. In spite of the inevitable controversy regarding the wisdom of national prohibition, there are unmistakable signs that progress, not only in the United States but in many parts of the world, is being steadily made against the use of alcohol as a beverage and, slow and difficult as its elimination must be, its responsibility for diverse sorts of human misery and maladjustment must inevitably force the modern state to attack it as a root of many species of evil.

Prostitution is another vice which is being successfully attacked in nearly every part of the United States. Conditions that were once accepted as inevitable with respect to commercialized vice have been legislated out of existence to an extent that has surprised even those who led in the effort to annihilate one of the lowest and, as we now know, one of the most costly of all forms of social problems. The better understanding that science has given us with reference to the nature of venereal disease has done much to bring about in public opinion intolerance of commercialized vice.

Woolston's estimation in 1921 that there were in the

United States at least 200,000 professional prostitutes was for that time reasonable. Anyone familiar with the changes that have occurred for the better in many of our cities, as, for example, in New York, is certain that this number has shrunk considerably, even making allowance for the change from houses of prostitution to hotels and apartments that cater to vice, from that time to the present. The decline of prostitution does not mean, of course, that vice has lessened in the same degree but merely that its commercialized form has decreased in greater proportion than other forms of sex immorality.

Illegitimacy.—Illegitimacy is another social problem which fortunately is decreasing not only in this country, but nearly everywhere in the world. Without question, this decrease in part is due to the greater use of contraceptive methods. In part it is due to social changes in thinking and feeling similar to the influences that are operating against prostitution.

There are striking changes in popular thinking regarding the treatment the unmarried mother should receive, and a much more aggressive and successful effort is made to protect her child from death in early infancy. The baby farm with its atrocious record of infant mortality has largely been driven out of existence by legislation and aggressive inspection.

The progress of the social hygiene program and the far more widespread knowledge among young girls with reference to sex may well be credited with a portion of our success in this country in lessening the problem of illegitimacy. The better understanding also of the extra hazard encountered by the feebleminded girl and a more determined policy to supervise her conduct have borne fruit in the more progressive states in cutting down both prostitution and illegitimacy.

There is also an unmistakable trend, both in social thinking and in legislation, toward placing greater responsibility upon the father than was the situation even a decade ago when the

double standard of conduct was more commonly held both by men and women. Illegitimacy is a particularly difficult matter to control by legislation since there is always the possibility of false accusation in the case of promiscuous women and grave doubt as to the person who should be held responsible for the child's care. In Norway, the law in such cases holds responsible the group of males who have shared with the woman their vice.

The problem of race.—Of all the American social problems nothing is more difficult of solution and more vexing in its effect upon national life than that which results from differences of whites and blacks in our population. It is, of course, true that we are not the only country that has to face a serious race problem. The situation of South Africa is in many respects parallel to our own. Of all the differences between persons none attracts sharper attention or more naturally leads to antipathy than that of race, particularly when the racial differences are emphasized by the coloring of the skin.

The American Negro is separated from the rest of the population by color and the tradition of his former slave status, and to some extent by cultural difference, for in spite of the fact that the negro imitates easily and takes over, under favorable circumstances, a considerable amount of the habits and attitudes of his white neighbor, the negro population as a group still maintains distinct characteristics which cause cultural separation.

In the past the negroes have been found chiefly in the southern states and in a few northern cities. Many of the counties of southern states have more negroes than whites, as have the states of Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina. In some southern counties the negro population runs as high as eighty per cent of the total. This situation has made the negro a problem of the South until recently. Since the World War there has been a considerable migration of negroes north-

ward to the older eastern and western states. The cities of New York and Chicago, especially, have had an enormous influx of negro people. As a consequence of this shifting of population the Negro problem has become more distinctly national than previously. The negro population is increasing, but not so rapidly as the white, due apparently to their higher mortality, for the birth rate continues high.

In all the southern states and in several others we find laws against the marriage of negroes and whites. It is likely that the migration of negroes to the North will somewhat increase both the legal and the illicit unions, which, in spite of the general hostility of both races to a mixing of blood, have long been occurring, as evidenced by the mulatto. The negro population, both North and South, shows in statistics of crime and illegitimacy, as one would expect, that its problem of adjustment is more difficult than that of the less handicapped whites.

The existence of these two racial types, whose differences are magnified by the distinguishing mark of color, easily leads to race friction and occasional riots. From time to time also in both North and South lynching occurs, which necessarily separates still more the two races. Lynching is not a new expression of American lawlessness nor has it from the beginning been confined to the punishment of negroes. It is contrary to public welfare and is opposed by the best thinking of responsible leaders among the whites, either North or South, but the South, having had more experience with this form of race passion, is developing a public opinion determined to prevent lynching.

The negro problem is not the only race difficulty that confronts the people of the United States. On the Pacific coast Orientals, both Chinese and Japanese, have come to this country in the past in numbers great enough to arouse racial antagonism and finally to lead us to restrictive legislation. In 1904 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act

and since that time the number of Chinese residents in this country has been steadily dwindling. Accompanying this has also gone a decrease of racial feeling until at present in popular opinion the Chinese stand high, as compared with their position at the time of the passage of this act.

The Japanese did not begin to come to this country in any considerable numbers until after the Chinese and it was not until their number had become sizeable that we find any racial antipathy toward them on the Pacific coast. Through the efforts of President Roosevelt in 1907 the Gentlemen's Agreement was made with Japan, by which the mother country undertook to prevent laborers' coming to the United States.

Since the war with Russia in 1905 Japan has vastly increased its resources as a nation and entered into sharper competition in commerce with the United States. The new trade relations stimulated immigration to the United States. In California the fear of an influx of Japanese, who, because of low standards of living, would unfavorably compete with native labor, increased the feeling against the Japanese to a proportion which influenced Congress in 1924 to insert in its general immigration law a provision that completely excludes Japanese from the United States. The increasing value of the trade between Japan and this country and the enormous market we provide for silks the Japanese manufacture tend to encourage between the two peoples the understanding so important for the welfare of both.

Immigration.—Since the discovery and settlement of North America the territory of the United States has steadily invited immigration from Europe. In 1907 this reached the high water mark of 1,285,349.[9] Up to the outbreak of the World War the influx continued and in our industrial centers, particularly, great concentration and segregation of foreigners, who remained to a large extent aliens, persisted.

[9] Davis, *op. cit.*

New York, for example, had more Italians than any other city in the world except Rome.

As a result of the impossibility of immigration from Europe during the World War, the American laborer came to see the advantage of checking the incoming of cheap labor which competed with him and tended to lower his standard of living. The people of the United States also learned, as a result of the experience of drafting for army service, that we have a great number of men of foreign birth or foreign parentage who were found so unassimilated that many of them could not even understand the simplest commands spoken in English. The so-called "melting-pot" had not functioned as had been supposed.

As a consequence restrictive immigration laws were passed by Congress, allowing only as many immigrants from any country to enter the United States as three per cent of the number of that nationality living here in 1910. In 1924 this law was changed to two per cent. A new law, becoming operative on July 1, 1928, permits only 150,000 people to enter the country, apportioned on the basis of the number of residents of the United States who were born in each country respectively as reported by the census of 1920.

The great flood of persons of foreign birth who have been coming to this country since the Civil War has unmistakably affected American culture. A large proportion of this immigration has come in recent years from countries rather widely separated from the United States in culture and tradition. The task of assimilation has been thereby made greater and in spite of the effort of the public school system to Americanize both the child and the adult, the task has been too great to be successfully accomplished. As a consequence we have had in our large cities alien colonies largely segregated and holding to their former way of living. This has permitted political corruption and the dominance of the political machine in many of our largest centers of population.

Nor has the immigrant himself been happy; he has been uprooted, but not successfully transplanted. The second generation frequently have suffered through a division of desire, wishing both to adopt the American habits and not to hurt their parents by the abandonment of family customs. Industry has accepted the immigrant as cheap labor and offered even the more forceful and gifted little opportunity for substantial advancement. Without assuming any superiority of culture, it has become imperative that the American nation, as a means of maintaining security and unity, restrict immigration.

It must not be forgotten that the coming of large numbers of Mexican laborers into the southwestern portion of the United States, as far north even as Kansas City, has to some extent lessened the industrial disturbance that would have come had there been more complete checking of the immigration of unskilled labor. The Mexican began coming in large numbers during the World War and has now become a competitor of the Negro worker in a portion of the cotton-growing area and as a section hand on the railroads of the Southwest. The Mexican has taken advantage of the exception in his favor in our immigration legislation and has come to us in such numbers that he now constitutes a distinct social problem, since his low standard of living is not at all superior to that of the great majority of Negro laborers.

The family problem.—Already in Chapter XII the family problem has been discussed. It is intimately related to other social problems, sometimes acting as a cause and at other times becoming the result of social maladjustment. Its central place as a source of social influence makes it a primary problem.

CHAPTER XX

CAUSES OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Causal knowledge.—It is unfortunate for human welfare that we do not have the knowledge of the causes of social problems that we need in order to deal with them adequately. This fact explains the quantity of controversy among thoughtful people as to the origin of crime and poverty and the still greater differences of opinion as to how the criminal and those who are poor should be treated. In the most exacting sense of causation there is no knowledge of the conditions that invariably and necessarily produce a criminal or a pauper. It would be a great advantage to human society if such knowledge existed. Information that increases our understanding of bad social situations which encourage maladjustment is being accumulated rapidly, but it is merely self-deceiving to assume that these data give us the causal knowledge we desire and may some day have. Our position may be compared with that of medicine before the days of Pasteur when there was no certain knowledge of the causes of such diseases as scarlet fever and diphtheria.

We at least realize the kind of knowledge that must be had before causation can be established and because of this we are not exactly in the predicament of medicine before the bacterial origin of infectious diseases was discovered. We also assume that the causation of social problems must be complex rather than simple. This is true even of bacterial infection for there is always the question of the condition of the organism and not merely the character of the invading bacteria. We have every reason to suppose, also, that social

causation is cumulative and remote rather than immediate and near. Social troubles develop, much like tuberculosis, over a period of time and involve more than the mere start of the bad situation. Instead of the evil's coming quickly it proceeds gradually and shows at last in a form that makes it difficult to retrace the line of movement until the time, place and manner of its origin are discovered. Social causes are complex, distant, cumulative and usually extremely obscure.

Classes of social problems.—Social problems fall into two classes and the distinction between them is of great importance to the student. There are problems that come because of social progress and are the normal products of the need of new adjustment. Although distressing, they are in a sense normal results that have been brought about merely by society's growing and creating the demand for new adjustments. They represent life rather than disease and degeneration. Society resembles the child who by merely growing older makes necessary different treatment in accord with his changed character.

There are also pathological problems that are the opposite of these outgrowths of new conditions and represent disease. Often social growth has not taken place or the adaptation has been unsuccessful and there results a pathological problem. In every one of society's major ills these two kinds of problems are mixed together. Poverty results either because of changes in ways of living to which the individual makes inadequate adjustment, or because of society's failure to make reasonable advancement; and there are also pathological evils, which suggested to Lombroso the idea of the criminal types. The change in rural England during the modernizing of agriculture by the enclosure acts brought dire poverty to many families that had previously enjoyed a comfortable existence on a low economic level. Some of these families, once dislodged, drifted about, became bitter,

hopeless, undernourished and without self-respect, victims finally of unwise poor relief. From these families came children parasitic in their social attitude, candidates for the almshouse.[1] Their poverty was a form of social pathology, while their father's sufferings were due to inability to adjust to new circumstances.

Social problems secondary results.—Problems may originate, or merely operate, on the social level. The physical environment may be the cause of poverty. Such disasters as the lower Mississippi valley flood of 1927 reduce to poverty many people who a year before were in comfortable circumstances. The cause of their misfortune lies on the physical level but the final results are social.

Sometimes by the customs of society the physical and social causes of poverty are mixed together. Huntington in his description of the floods of Northern China gives a good illustration of this.[2] Floods are common and great canals are built to take safe care of the overflow. In dry weather the officials have this land to plant and they get such wonderful gardens from the alluvial deposit that often, when the floods come, they refuse to open the gates and let the water in because they are unwilling to sacrifice their gardens. The result is that up the river hundreds of acres are covered with water. The plight of the peasants is so serious that a whole village has been reported to have committed suicide because it had lost everything and had no hope.[3] Nature brings the downpour of rain but, the author states, it is the selfishness characteristic of Chinese society that permits year after year this flooding of vast tracts of farming land and the consequent famine of rural folk.

Primary and secondary causes.—In discussing social problems there is always the temptation to accept a secondary

[1] Hammond, J. L. and B., "The Village Laborer."
[2] Huntington, E., "The Character of Races," p. 171.
[3] Newspaper report.

cause as a satisfactory explanation of their origin. Perhaps a case of poverty may be easily dismissed by the remark that the man is lazy and therefore poor. Indeed he may be lazy but his situation cannot be correctly understood until his want of ambition is itself explained. Disease may be the primary difficulty. He may be suffering from hookworm or from tuberculosis, for example, his lack of exertion being nature's effort to protect the organism from the over-spending of its meager capital. Laziness is itself the product of an operating cause and, if so, proper diagnosis requires getting down to the primary cause.

When we ask the question, what changes must be made to rid society of crime, or poverty, or prostitution or some other social evil, the significance of the quest for causes at once appears. We have to find out what must be eliminated in order to reduce, or solve or prevent the definite social problem.

Although our social problems are various they are also the expression of some kind of bad social adjustment. This permits concentration on the fundamental task of discovering the primary causes of bad social adjustment.

Lack of capacity.—When an analysis of failures of social adjustment is attempted it quickly appears that one cause of difficulty is lack of capacity in individuals. As explanation is sought along this line it leads to examination of the quality of the group or, if it be an individual case, of the equipment and character of the person involved. He is lacking; his deficiency makes it impossible for him to meet with success the conditions of his life. Put such individuals together; lump their failures and the result is a maladjustment which comes primarily from lack of capacity in a definite group of individuals. They are not able to contribute their share to social life. Sometimes they are not equal to self-support. At other times they can maintain themselves physically but cannot meet the responsibilities of association, and

instead of being poor they become criminals. They are unequal to the social testing of their time and place.

Granting that because of the differences in capacity between people it is harder for some to adjust than others, it follows that sooner or later certain individuals must fail to adapt themselves to their social environment. The more society progresses, the harder it gets for some persons to order their life with success.

A savage society without crime does not necessarily indicate a high level of culture but one that is simple and static. As it advances crime appears, caused in part at least by social progress and the increasing difficulty of adjustment. Fortunately society as it becomes more complex discovers means of assisting those who find adjustment most difficult. Nevertheless there are, in spite of such aid, individuals who cannot keep the pace socially and who, by their retardation, produce social maladjustment.

In a democracy especially, incapacity becomes dangerous. A democracy is based biologically on a fallacy when it assumes that all people are born equal. An autocracy is easier to operate since it readily takes account of the inequalities of people, but its failure to conserve human welfare has made it distrusted. By no form of organization can society rid itself of social problems that originate in the differences of capacity between people. It is merely true that a democracy places society at the mercy of the general level of intelligence and if any considerable proportion of a population is made up of individuals lacking in the capacity to make adequate adjustment, their limitation is reflected in political life as well as expressed in their personal conduct.

Incapacity which tends to produce social problems is encouraged by the following:

1. Defective and degenerate heredity.
2. Migrations that take away the more vigorous people and

leave the less vital to reproduce. France in driving the Huguenots to England robbed itself of a valuable part of its population.

3. Wars and persecutions such as the Inquisition, that remove by death a large part of the most promising individuals.

4. Sexual selection that results from the early marriage of the less capable and a delay of marriage, with decreased birth rate on the part of the more ambitious and thoughtful.[4]

Inadequacy of social culture.—The group as well as the individual may exhibit lack of capacity. This falling behind of society in its cultural resources has been called by Professor Giddings social inadequacy. Adequacy includes the fundamental qualities that provide the means for good adjustment of the various members of a group with each other and with their environment, and thereby provides for a high degree of coöperation. Society brings forth these factors of adequacy just as the breeder produces in animals by selection and protection the characteristics which, because of their desirability, he wishes to survive.[5]

The supreme test of social adequacy at any definite time and place is whether the selecting processes are near enough to the needs of the people as they face the future to permit advantageous changes to take place. Behind the adequacy of social equipment there has to be a proper choice, from the multitude of possible survivals, of those social qualities which the group, for its welfare, needs to perpetuate. Thus cultural selection is as important in determining social health as is the blood stream of the human body in making possible physical health. If the selecting process fails and becomes contaminated by unfit choices, culture itself encourages the appearing of social problems.

The suggestive phrase, *cultural lag,* as used by Professor Ogburn denotes the separation and discord of the elements

[4] Freeman, A., "Social Decay and Regeneration," p. 264.

[5] Giddings, F. H., "Studies in the Theory of Human Society," p. 291.

of culture.[6] Cultural changes do not all take place with the same rapidity nor do they all move in the same direction. As a consequence of this we have retarded aspects of culture, characteristics out of harmony with the trend of other elements of the culture. This makes society maladjusted at such points; it creates, at the foci of backward or inconsistent conduct, social problems.

In a reputable metropolitan newspaper appeared recently an advertisement of a sure cure for epilepsy, and in a newspaper of a smaller circulation the statement that a remedy for cancer had been discovered and the secret would be sold for a nominal price. Here is evidence of a cultural lag. Both of these advertisements are contrary to fact, both are actually a form of theft. Not many years ago each of them would have been in accord with the general idea of the nature of epilepsy or cancer. In those earlier days it was generally supposed that a happy mixing of the right ingredients would produce drugs that would cure the various diseases. The laboratory and the microscope have destroyed this confidence in cure-alls, among those who understand the teaching of science. With reference to this former belief in the magic of drugs we find, however, a cultural lag. A considerable number of people, usually both poor and ignorant, still think as did their parents. This retardation makes drug advertisements that promise to cure cancer profitable, and public opinion itself lags to such an extent regarding newspaper ethics that a meaner and socially more expensive form of dishonesty than burglary is tolerated even if not approved, at least by papers of low standards.

Exploitation.—Exploitation is another cause of social problems. By exploitation is meant the taking of an unfair advantage by one person in his relations with another. The exploited person is hurt by being denied something that is rightly his, and which he needs for the proper development

[6] Ogburn, W. F., "Social Change," p. 200.

of his personality. In the misleading advertisement of patent medicine which suggests the cure of cancer an exploitation of ignorance is made possible by an inadequate culture. If, as often happens, this ignorance results from lack of capacity we have here an illustration of the working together of the three causes of social problems discussed above.

Since the time of the Industrial Revolution, in spite of the indispensable values society has obtained from machine industry, there have existed problems due to exploitation, and a large part of the energy of society has been devoted to the curbing and preventing of exploitation in business enterprises. In order to check the unfairness made possible by the new methods of production and the organization of capital, society, for its own protection, has changed its culture as related to public opinion, morality, law, legislation and functions of government.

Whenever an industry has failed to support its workers by adequate wages it has become socially parasitic and the poverty and suffering for which it has been responsible have eventually led to social problems which have burdened society. The evils that resulted from failure to pay workers a living wage have forced attention to the results of exploitation and developed a point of view which has influenced through selection the culture that now prevails.

A cultural lag that exploits is found at present in our legal methods. The courts, as they carry on their functions amid the social changes of our period, find it increasingly difficult to administer justice. Our situation as related to one of the functions of the court was vigorously described in 1909 by Ex-President Taft when he said, "the administration of criminal law is a disgrace to our civilization." As Dean Pound has said, civil law has advanced more rapidly to meet social changes than has criminal law, but there is plenty of evidence that the courts, even in their civil func-

tioning, find justice hampered by former practices and legal tradition.[7]

It would be a misinterpretation of human experience to suppose that exploitation is a modern evil. Society always has had problems due to exploitation. As civilization advances, however, and becomes more complicated and better organized, new opportunities to exploit are provided and culture for its own protection has to develop checks that discourage the selfish use of the resources which civilization accumulates. Social change brings new risk of exploitation; culture, if it continue adequate, has to furnish new protection.

Separateness.—Social separation becomes a cause of social problems. Human society does not and cannot maintain the unity of the bee-hive. Human nature is too variable and too individual to conform to a set system of procedure. Division, strain and considerable separateness are normal characteristics of modern man's social behavior. The attitude of separateness may develop in individuals in such measure as to become a cause of social problems. This appears in one of the fundamental obligations of the state. The government for the welfare of its citizens has to prohibit at times of public passion gatherings and parades that are likely to intensify bitter feelings of separation and lead to riots and class conflict with risk of violence and even murder.

There are many individuals, and from time to time groups, that regard themselves as being out of relationship with the prevailing dominant culture. This is often true of the habitual criminal, whose attitude frustrates any effort at reform and rehabilitation. He is a social outcast; his allegiance belongs to an outlaw body that is at war with regular society.

This attitude of separation, which is all too often reflected by orthodox society, is the trait in the criminal that constitutes his chief social fault. His acts are less a danger to

[7] Smith, R. H., "Justice and the Poor."

social order than is the fact that they spring from a chronic hostility to the constituted authority.

Marked differences between groups of people encourage feelings of separation that easily antagonize and cause maladjustment. Ignorance and intellectual achievement both carry with them the danger of withdrawal from normal relationships. It is curiously interesting to hear a manual worker express suspicion and hostility for the educated person while at the same time planning to send his child to college. It is equally a betrayal of feeling when the academic individual refuses to mix with politics or to maintain interest in community affairs because of his contemptuous attitude toward the "rabble."

The individual who has been born with the opportunity for intellectual training often finds himself feeling aloof because his background is so unlike that based upon uncritical traditions. He comes in contact with persons who have different beliefs and sentiments from his own and he ceases to attempt a relationship of understanding. Retreating to his academic seclusion he contributes little to the movements maintained by more courageous persons in the attempt to improve cultural habits and standards.

The very poor and the wealthy, the whites and the blacks, the union workers and the capitalists constitute groups that easily become estranged and by nursing their antagonism produce a schism that hurts the body-politic by decreasing unity and coöperation.

Population.—The quantity of population that inhabits a definite area and attempts to maintain physical existence is a possible source of social difficulty. If too many people for the resources available try to live off the land nature's penalty is swift and severe. Poverty, disease, famine, and at last, for some, starvation are the results of excessive population. If the nut trees on an island can support in comfort thirty squirrels the increase of the rodents to sixty during any

particular season is bound to be disastrous. If they cannot migrate or discover new food material, the squirrels soon begin to suffer from inadequate nourishment, become diseased and are eventually reduced by death to a number that the food of the island can support. In simple form this is what is meant by Malthusian law.

In the case of human beings there are many complications that hide or prevent the operation of the law. New food material may be utilized. War or migration may reduce the surplus population. Means of limiting births may be discovered when the first pangs of too much population are felt. It is also true that the troubles caused by too many mouths to fill may be for a time concealed by the disposition of the people to charge their ills to some other cause.

Although the ratio of people to food material is fundamental, it obviously is also complicated, containing many elements. Is the quality of the land such that by better cultivation more food may be produced? Are the people energetic enough to improve their situation if opportunity for an increase of food exists? Is their culture such that it contains resources for the inventions and discoveries necessary if more food is to be had? Denmark in recent years has demonstrated how much science, organization and education can do, as elements of an efficient culture, to increase food production and lift the standards of life. It is also clear that if the new food resources go to support an increasing population, the development of additional food proves of no advantage in relieving the group of its poverty.

The production-distribution ratio of a people is also related to the problem of population. In every modern society there is a group of people who are not producers, but in the material sense merely consumers. They are often called the white-collar class. Their service may be important socially but if society is pressed severely for food supply they become a burden and are the persons first sacrificed when society

begins to throw overboard part of its load. They are eliminated by the operation of economic law which makes it harder and harder for them to maintain themselves. If they turn to material production their support is made easier. In this way economic competition tends to restrict the non-producing class and to increase the number of those who provide the food material necessary for physical survival. In actual practice in our time there are too many cultural elements that interfere with the operation of this law, to allow it to reduce the social overhead quickly when this becomes too great a burden for the producers.

Prestige may make a lesser income more desired. As a consequence many who could live better as producers may cling to a white-collar job because of its greater social satisfaction. The power to exploit may be so securely in the hands of the non-producing class that the workers in order to live must continue to carry the load placed upon them, and as poverty appears, because there are too many that consume and too few that produce, they must continue to accept the punishment that the unwise policy of the group has brought about. Thus cultural influences appear even in the problem of population.

Control of population.—Excessive population produces a social situation that menaces even the physical survival of a group. Its social results are dire and numerous. This refers, of course, not to the number of people that inhabit a particular territory, but to the amount of population in relation to the food supply which the people with their cultural resources can procure. Savage tribes, thinly occupying their land area in comparison with the modern population that can be supported in the same territory, have serious problems, at times due to an increase of numbers, and their culture reveals practices that decrease population growth. How far these represent conscious schemes for the keeping down of the population is not always clear.

The many reasons for the killing of infants are an example of a method by which population growth is checked. Not only are little babies put to death for the most trivial peculiarities, such as irregularity in the coming of the teeth, but, in addition to infanticide, abortion, a long nursing period which lessens births, various taboos which keep husband and wife apart for prolonged periods, family and tribal feuds ending in murder and war, and among some savages the killing of the aged, all contribute to the restriction of population.

As an understanding of the process of reproduction develops, the savage naturally attempts to influence births by preventing conception. At first his efforts are confined to magical practices and are without effect. Later, among the primitive agricultural races, methods of preventing fertilization are discovered and employed.[8]

Modern civilization has produced an enormous growth of population. Europe, with little change in its numbers for a thousand years during the Middle Ages, responded to the new conditions introduced by the Industrial Revolution, and from the middle of the eighteenth century to the coming of the World War its increase was phenomenal, jumping from about 127 millions as estimated by Wilcox to approximately 450 millions. The rapid growth of the population of the United States during the same period is most impressive.

This upward sweep of population has led to an increasing interest in the problem of numbers and the theories of Malthus. Out of this has come agitation for the populariznig of information regarding contraceptive methods for the keeping down of births. Holland has committed itself to a program of giving instruction as to methods of controlling births. France has widely used contraceptive practices and England is at present divided with reference to the wisdom of educating people as to how to decrease births.

It is impossible to gather at present all the facts needed

[8] Carr-Saunders, A. M., "The Population Problem," p. 177.

to disclose the results that may be expected to follow a universal use of contraceptive methods. In this country at present the middle and professional classes appear to be widely using contraception and to be failing to contribute their proportion of increase.

That there are moral dangers connected with the popularizing of birth-control practices is generally felt. The Roman Catholic and other Churches are unofficially opposed to any contraceptive method of limiting the population, although not hostile to restriction of births by restraint for moral motives.

The dangers of an excessive population are a matter of historical record. Too many people for the available food supply cause social maladjustment and, for the most unfortunate, great suffering; and finally, if the excess continues, a lowering of living standards until in extreme conditions the mere physical existence of some becomes impossible.

Contraception is a new cultural factor. It is not as yet fully tested as a means of preventing fertilization. There is excessive confidence among many in regard to the knowledge science has at present as to how births may be prevented. Supposing that science has complete knowledge and that this is easily acquired, young couples, married or unmarried, often unwittingly assume the obligations of parenthood. There are problems of physiology, mental hygiene, and morals involved and perhaps most important of all the question, what will be the result on family life of a social commitment to the contraceptive program. Specialists forecast differently the effects of a growth of contraceptive practices. To some it means a stripping from human nature of the qualities that have produced the home as contrasted with the mere mating of the sexes; while to others it is a long-needed cultural resource which permits at last a control that human nature has long sought and desperately needed, an adaptive fecundity.

The student must not forget that independent of delib-

erate efforts to decrease births there are physiological and psychic influences, related to the manner of living of modern men and women on a level of comfort, that operate to lessen births. Without question many individuals who attempt birth-control could not under any circumstances have children born.

Unwise sympathy.—Valuable as sympathy is in maintaining the unity and human quality of a group, it can, like all good things, become excessive or at least express itself unwisely. Emotional attitudes, unreasoning sentiment, unthinking sympathy, all represent a cause of social problems easily forgotten or discounted. The beggar and the tramp bear testimony to the ease with which good will may be misdirected so as to hurt personality.

Social parasitism develops quickly and in this fact we have the explanation of considerable social difficulty. The treatment the unfortunate receive by well-meaning people who do not understand the risks of charity turns a temporary trouble into a permanent load that society has to carry. The acute becomes a chronic state because of unwise sympathy, to the misfortune of both the individual and society itself. Charity organizations started for the purpose of giving relief seldom are equal to the task of destroying by their service the need of their continued existence. Individual giving is even more likely to encourage conditions that perpetuate the need of assistance. All gifts, it is true, do not appear on the wrong side of the social ledger, but sympathy is so often blind to facts and undiscriminating that it still remains a source of social hurt and deserves listing among the causes of social problems. The nature of wise philanthropy is treated in a later chapter.

CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND PUBLIC POLICY

Poverty.—The analysis of the causes of poverty and the discovery of means of its elimination rightly belong to the science of economics, for the abolition of poverty includes the production and distribution of wealth. There are, however, aspects of the attack upon poverty that are essentially social, and success with reference to them must also be assured in order that the program of economics may work out. Indeed, unless there is a change of social attitude regarding poverty there is little opportunity for the economist to make headway in decreasing it.

Society is itself most responsible for the prevalence of poverty since effective use of present resources would practically end it. We are apt to pass critical judgment upon savage tribes that barely live above the line of subsistence, procuring their food by hunting and fishing, when surrounded by fertile soil which would provide food in abundance if their social culture had advanced to the point which would permit them to make use of their agricultural opportunities. Their predicament is fundamentally caused by retardation of the development of their social culture. Similarly, with us, in spite of resources which permit the procuring of the necessities of life in such a quantity as to make poverty unnecessary, our failure in social thinking, organization and distribution of wealth results in the continued existence of poverty.

Even if we had attained the point where our economic organizations could furnish conditions of universal comfort, our success would be conditioned by two matters that are

essentially social. We should still have personality problems, for there would be individuals who, because of intellectual or social defect, could not make the adjustment necessary for economic success; and such problems would need the attention of the psychologist and the sociologist. There is also the more fundamental problem of population. It is obvious that poverty is not merely a question of how much is produced for human use, but also how many there are to be fed, clothed and housed. A population that increases faster than science can provide, even with modern resources, the means of subsistence is bound to cause poverty, however well organized on its economic levels the society may be. Nor is it merely a question of the size but of the quality of population. If for any cause a group of people lose their vigor, alertness and enterprise, poverty must become to some extent an inevitable result.

Relief of poverty.—Since, for the present, poverty even in this most favored land will prevail and constitute one of the large social problems, its relief, which has resulted from the growth of human sympathy, must continue. Here society faces the task of helping the poor without making them parasitic. The old almshouse has largely passed except as a place for the aged and least promising of the poor. Fortunately homes for the aged have taken over increasingly those who, although poor in old age, have been too familiar in their early life with normal standards of living to take kindly to the atmosphere of the municipal or state almshouse.

The greater burden of poverty has fallen upon public or private organizations, whose "outdoor relief," as it is commonly called, helps the poor without separating them from their homes and tries if possible to bring them out of their state of need to final self-support. Churches and fraternal organizations also assume their share of the problem of caring for the unfortunate who are poor. The state itself, by such legislation as that regarding industrial accidents, mini-

mum wage, old-age pensions and insurance against accident admits its responsibility for dealing with the burden society now carries because of poverty. In this country the tradition of self-help and independence limits the state in its social legislation. We have not as yet provided for old-age pensions, although the states of Massachusetts and Wisconsin have voluntary systems of insurance against old age, as have also some of our larger industrial organizations. The Federal pensions for former soldiers have, especially in the North, to some extent provided old-age pensions; state employees, teachers, and in lesser degree municipal workers, are at present granted pensions in certain states and cities. We do not have in this country health or unemployment insurance carried on by the state, although both are found in some European countries.

The problem of health.—Illness, like poverty, constitutes a problem that must receive immediate attention in the form of relief. The United States has developed public and private medical service to a high point of efficiency. Except in the rural sections we have everywhere well-equipped hospitals and clinics, and are beginning to have public health activities that attempt to provide safe food, wholesome working conditions, protection against infectious diseases, and health education. In spite of recent attempts to provide less expensive hospital care for the middle class, it is still true that the wealthy and poor are best cared for, and that the middle class find illness a personal burden which society does not greatly share.

Social meaning of health.—Science has arrived at the point where it understands the larger meaning of ill health, its effect on the career of individuals and on the life of society itself. Instead of being thought of as a penalty for sin or wrongdoing or a mere misfortune, we now understand that ill health is a causal influence and has a large responsibility for such pathological social situations as are represented by poverty, vice, unemployment and crime. Indeed

the influences of health are so far-reaching that the state which attempts to conserve the welfare of its people has as large a responsibility for providing conditions that make for health as it has for furnishing public education. It has not been difficult to develop the public school system with its democratic educational facilities, but the popularizing of medical service, both curative and preventive, lags measurably behind our educational program.

At present the forces that are making for health are organized upon three distinctly different bases. One is private and professional interest, another is charity, and the third is public organization. A great majority of physicians function either in private practice, charity or a combination of the two. For the most part the interest of these doctors has to do with curative medicine, although the leaders are preëminently advocates of various sorts of effort to eliminate or prevent disease. The progress that has been made, especially in the control of communicable diseases, is immense and a prophecy of still greater control soon to be had. The Public Health Nurse, school clinics, various sorts of community health service, and the emphasis on periodic physical examination represent a definite program of using science to prevent rather than to cure disease.

Socialization of medicine.—Of course there will always be the necessity of both curative and preventive medicines, but since the second is still relatively neglected and even, by some physicians, antagonized, emphasis must be increasingly placed upon preventive work, the more important function of medical science, if society is to make rational use of present opportunities. The need of this is not yet generally recognized, but, if it were, we should still be confronted with serious problems of methods.

No one would wish to see the standards of medical science lowered by unwise attempts at its socialization. At present the majority of physicians and nurses are engaged

in a professional activity that depends upon illness for its means of support. Sickness is not merely an individual misfortune but a social liability and its relief should have no reference to the economic status of the individual. It is unfair to the physician and contrary to democratic principles to ask him to provide medical service as charity for those who cannot afford to buy it. Moreover, for the welfare of all, there is need that the physician's effort to guard health and procure freedom from disease shall mean, not the cutting away of his income, but an increase of remuneration for his help in advancing public welfare.

No profession is likely to be called upon to make so great a readjustment of its methods of service as that of the physician. The public is already too well informed regarding the meaning of health to be satisfied with the ineffective program of the private physician whose entire attention is devoted to the treatment of those who are sick rather than the maintenance of good health. Readjustment is inevitable in the point of view of medical science, but it is to be expected that the change will come slowly and it is to be hoped that it will come through the leadership of the physician himself.

Mental disease.—Although only a part of those afflicted with mental disease are inmates of institutions, this number increases and represents a vast public expense. At present the most efficient and forward-looking insane asylum commonly cures only a fraction of those who come to it. The branch of medical science that takes over the treatment of mental diseases was relatively late in coming and on this account is freer from tradition. This explains the enormous stress put upon preventive work by psychiatrists and neurologists, whose success is rapidly changing the thoughts of our people from the relief and care of the insane to the preventive program represented by mental hygiene.

By the institution and clinic which offer free diagnosis and advice, by the popularizing of present information through

books and magazines, and by public discussion and education much is being done to conserve mental health. It is becoming generally known that early recognition of psychopathic trends in personality is not only possible but imperative if progress is to be made in the elimination of mental disease. The mental hygiene program is thoroughly social in its point of view, recognizing that the adjustment problems of the individual have a social setting as well as a social consequence. The work of the Mental Hygiene Clinic discloses that delinquency, poverty and vice, indeed every sort of social maladjustment, may be the consequence of psychopathic difficulties which require not punishment or repression but understanding and treatment in exactly the same way that tuberculosis and cancer are handled. We now have psychiatrists in industry, in schools and universities, connected with our charitable organizations and our courts, whose business it is to detect the psychopathic personality and give him if possible the assistance of science that he may adjust himself more adequately to the demands of society.

The feebleminded.—At the time when our thinking regarding the problem of the feebleminded was largely colored by familiarity with the institutional type of mentally deficient and relative neglect of the greater number of those who never came to institutions, the program for elimination of the feebleminded offered a choice between segregation and sterilization. Since the advent of psychological tests we have come to realize the size of the problem and the impossibility of dealing with a great mass of those who are feebleminded by shutting them into institutions or making them sterile. Instead we have learned to recognize the positive asset that many of these individuals are in contributing unskilled labor to our economic resources.[1]

We also now know that even were it possible for us to segregate or make sterile all the feebleminded today, it would

[1] See Goddard, H. H., article in *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1.

not put an end to our problem, since in the next generation, through accident and degeneration, we should be presented with a new group of mentally deficient persons. Custodial care is necessary for the lowest grade of feebleminded and for those who, because of vicious disposition or for other reasons, are not safely to be trusted with freedom. In cases where family history gives a persistent record of the inheritance of mental defects, sterilization is reasonable and humane; and since the Supreme Court of the United States, with reference to a test case which came to it from a decision in the highest court of Virginia, has substantiated the legal right of the State to sterilize, this method of dealing with the defective strain is likely to be more often used.

The great majority of high-grade mental defectives will continue as in the past to exist in our communities, outwardly no different from their associates. Although society cannot standardize its recreation, its newspapers or its code of behavior to meet the needs of this minority on the lower levels of mentality, it is reasonable to ask that our moving-pictures, sensational newspapers, industrial conditions and our ethics recognize the prevalence of this class who, lacking in judgment and inhibition, are especially liable to every sort of exploitation. The schools especially must provide for the needs of this class by protecting them from the irritation and loss of self-respect which are produced by the attempt to force them to follow the conventional pathway made by children who have normal mental endowment.

Crime.—From the earliest period of organized society, doubtless, there has existed the problem which we now call crime. Individuals who acted contrary to customary behavior in such a way as to seem a menace to the welfare of the group, even when such acts were accidental, were regarded as enemies and treated as such. Even in the simplest society we find the idea of punishment for infringing social regulations. This punishment as it developed has been of four

kinds, physical torture, humiliation, confiscation of property and separation from the group, including branding, exile, imprisonment and death.

Today our treatment of the criminal is inconsistent, based upon a medley of three ideas: vengeance, the protection of society and the reformation of the guilty persons. Thus our practices represent a conglomeration: philosophic ideas regarding human nature, tradition, custom, legal theory, experience and antipathy. Although the idea of vengeance still has influence, particularly as an appeal to the jury in a criminal trial, theoretically it has been given up as a rational motive in the treatment of the criminal. As a consequence the penal program is divided between attempts to reform the criminal and the effort to protect society. In case of conflict between these two principles, the second usually has right of way, and since the reform of the criminal is always doubtful, it is wise that it should take the secondary place.

In the effort to protect society, we have developed in this country commitment to a jail or prison, and, for a capital offense, in most of our states, the death penalty. The jails, except in our larger cities, are places of detention with inadequate facilities and often an incompetent personnel, so that not only is it difficult to use them for reformation of the criminal, but seldom is there any serious effort made to do anything more than keep him segregated according to his sentence. Most unfortunately it is to the jail that the prisoner awaiting trial is frequently sent; and on account of the miscellaneous collection of criminals, some new to crime, some innocent awaiting trial, and others hardened in every sort of vice, the jail sentence is really an introduction for many to contaminating influences far greater than they encountered in their ordinary walk of life.

The jail is almost universally condemned by students of the American penal system but it continues chiefly because of the ignorance and indifference of the general public re-

garding it and the advantage it is to politicians who dispense its positions as rewards to party workers. The county jail, often in a small town, and having room for few inmates, is far inferior to most state prisons. The prison is a larger and more elaborate institution, maintained by the state or federal government, with greater facilities for dealing with the criminal. Much depends upon the character of the warden as to the nature of the discipline and the general atmosphere within the prison walls. In this country wardens have seldom been trained for their special position and the salaries they receive in comparison with their responsibility are notoriously low. However well equipped for the position and forward-looking in point of view, and however sympathetic toward penal reform, the warden himself is largely helpless since the treatment the prisoner receives is to so large an extent decided by legislation and by customs that the warden himself cannot greatly modify.

The death penalty is assumed to be the most serious punishment for crime and is inflicted with the idea that it will act as a deterrent to others who are tempted to commit murder. Unfortunately murder is seldom a deliberate act, but arises either from passion or from pathological irresponsibility, so that we have no evidence that the death penalty to any great extent prevents murder. Doubtless the possibility of execution has restrained a few individuals. On the other hand it is an open question whether capital punishment does not have a brutalizing effect upon the population itself and thus tend on the whole to lower the standards of behavior and incite toward delinquency.

Probation.—When we turn to the machinery we have for reforming the criminal we find that various kinds of efforts are made to change him and send him back to society qualified to take the part of a good citizen. One method is probation, which originated in Massachusetts as early as 1869. This permits the court, instead of sending the guilty person

to jail or reformatory, to turn him over to the supervision of a person who is supposed to be sympathetic, experienced and especially qualified to deal with those who have started on a career of crime. It is especially important as a means by which the Juvenile Court can give children the special guardianship they need. The success of probation hinges upon good judgment on the part of the court in placing suitable persons on probation and also on the personnel of those who administer probation. Sometimes this oversight is merely nominal, representing scrutiny rather than guidance. Under such circumstances it has little value in the prevention of crime.

Parole.—Parole represents another method by which the state makes an attempt to reform the criminal. After having served part of his sentence in a penal institution, he is released on parole, that he may be tried for a period of time before he is permitted unconditionally to return to society. If he breaks his parole he is recommitted, having demonstrated his inability to cope with ordinary responsibilities of social life.

Indeterminate sentence.—The indeterminate sentence is another effort to make punishment of value to the criminal who coöperates with the prison officials, since for good behavior the sentence is shortened. The mischievous fact is that the sentence given by the court seldom has much relation to the need of the individual but is decided primarily by the type of crime he committed. Because of this, when the time appointed for his return to society has arrived, he has to be sent back even though it is clear to the warden that he is not prepared for his liberty and will certainly return to his bad practices. Statistics demonstrate a large recidivism, according to the estimation of some, as high as eighty per cent. Even if this is excessive every prison census shows that a large proportion of the prisoners have served more than one sentence.

The modern American prison furnishes both education and recreation to the inmates. Indeed it is frequently criticized for making the life of the prisoner too easy, a criticism revealing that still in the minds of many the chief business of the state in dealing with the criminal is to punish.

Difficulty of reformation.—Whatever treatment the prisoner receives, his reformation is difficult and the percentage of success in restoring him to normal life most discouraging. One should hardly expect it to be otherwise when one realizes that the criminal from early life up to the time he has come to prison has usually had a career of criminal activities extending over many years and gradually becoming more and more serious. His life habit, his attitude toward society, his original maladjustment have really been stimulated and matured by the various sorts of experience he has had in his contact with the police courts and penal institutions. If he were forced to stay under the care of the state until qualified to be free, without reference to his crime, in a great majority of cases he would continue under the guardianship of the state during the remainder of his life.

Modern treatment.—It is obvious that society can make little headway against crime by whatever means it uses in dealing with the hardened criminal. The hope lies either in getting the youthful offender before he has gone far in his criminal career or by reducing in society those conditions that stimulate youth to crime.

When we turn from the jail and prison to the modern methods that have developed to prevent those starting delinquency from continuing on their course, we find ourselves in an entirely different atmosphere and one where science has begun to make practical contributions to the problem. The outstanding work is that of the Juvenile Court, which has now spread to every part of the world; this was organized in Chicago in 1900 as the result of the effort of several benevolent women who enlisted women's clubs in an attack on the

unwise treatment youthful offenders were receiving because they had to be dealt with as criminals in the conventional manner prescribed for adults.

The innovation of the Juvenile Court was the idea that the delinquent child should be dealt with by the state as a wise parent would deal with a troublesome child. The law, up to that time, handled the child in the same manner as an older person, at least according to theory, for unless he was below the legal age, which was usually seven, he was technically capable of committing a crime. The method of probation which had already developed was taken over by the new court and officers were appointed to act as guardians to the children who came before the court. The method of procedure was not that of trial in accordance with judicial practices, but an informal hearing in which the judge was permitted to get easily and naturally the story of the child. The rôle of the judge was more that of counsellor than judge.

Ten years later, in the same city there developed, also largely through the influence of benevolent women, the first psychopathic institute which provided special examination and diagnoses for children who had become delinquent. This work was developed with remarkable scientific precision by Dr. William Healy, now head of the Judge Baker Memorial of Boston, who gathered information regarding child delinquency and began at once to change the practices of all forward-looking juvenile court judges. Delinquency was studied and attacked as a problem for science and out of this new attitude have come forces that are doing more to help adolescent delinquents than centuries of theory with respect to criminal responsibility and punishment.

It is a long distance and one that represents great progress from the hanging of a child of nine, as was done in England in the eighteenth century, to the attitude of the modern Juvenile Court with its well-trained personnel and its useful psychological and psychiatric specialists. Not only

is the juvenile court the reasonable way of dealing with the young offender, but its presence challenges our conventional and traditional treatment of the adult criminal who, except for his years, is not uncommonly as immature as a child and in need of the same sort of understanding and treatment that we are now usually ready to give children.

Drugs.—Vice is a vexing problem that naturally separates into that of narcotic drugs, including alcohol, and prostitution. It is easier to prevent drug habits than to cure them when they have been formed. Our best strategy lies in protecting individuals from becoming drug victims. Stringent laws regulating the sale of drugs have not only been passed but are efficiently enforced. Special effort has been made to enlist the sympathy of physicians and to make them realize the danger they sometimes create for their patients by prescribing drugs. The law that makes it illegal for the druggist to refill prescriptions containing certain dangerous drugs, without a new prescription from the physician, tends to prevent the accidental beginning of the drug habit through the continued use of medicines, the nature of which the patient does not understand. More skillful methods have been devised by physicians for the curing of persons suffering from drug habits.

In spite of this practical program for the attack against drug habits the problem still persists. There is, of course, much in modern life that encourages persons' having recourse to drugs, particularly in time of crisis. This seems especially to tempt the physician, who, in spite of his knowledge of danger, seems more confident than those less trained that he can make use of the drug in time of stress without risk. The profits that come from selling drugs proscribed by law are so great that illegal importing persists and through disreputable druggists and peddlers, the victims, particularly if they have wealth, find ways of getting the drugs they crave.

Alcohol.—The educational attack on alcohol as a beverage made possible the heroic task in this country of trying to rid the nation forever of one of its most troublesome social problems. The War stimulated the movement toward Prohibition and finally the Eighteenth Amendment was passed, which forbids the selling and making of alcoholic beverages. The cosmopolitan character of our population, particularly in the cities, the strength of the habits which this law antagonized, and the doubt of some whether this method is the proper way of dealing with what is recognized as a major social problem have led to considerable opposition to the law and to some extent to its nullification.

On the whole, however, Prohibition seems better established than it was at the beginning of its operation. The law has led to undue emphasis upon legislative attack on intemperance and an unfortunate lessening of the educational work, which made the legal standing of alcohol impossible. There are great contrasts in public opinion and in the enforcement of the law in various sections of the country and in different classes, and as a consequence a fair estimation of the success or failure of Prohibition is extremely difficult. There seems to be a general acceptance of the fact that the saloon cannot return. This practically means some sort of prohibition. The decreasing of immigration will tend to make Prohibition more secure.

The prevalence of the automobile and the enormous risk the drinking of alcohol creates for those who drive cars is an argument for Prohibition that must continue forceful. This invention reveals that alcohol is incompatible with the demands of modern life and, in spite of some reaction, the present trend seems to be toward a strengthening of Prohibition rather than a change of policy.

Prostitution.—The history of the progress that has been made with reference to prostitution includes the whole social hygiene movement. On the legislative side, laws have been

devised that get at the exploiters higher up who make possible the opportunity of the prostitute to ply her trade. Some of these laws fix the responsibility on the owner of property used for prostitution and compel him to pay damages to the abutters whose property is injured by the prostitution he allows to flourish. The prostitute herself no longer finds the progressive court willing merely to fine her and send her back to her business to earn the fine which is practically a license; instead she is identified by her thumb print and sent to a reformatory as one who endangers public welfare.

Still more important in the elimination of prostitution is the changed public opinion which no longer tolerates the idea of segregation but in nearly every part of the country commits public policy to the suppression rather than the regulation of vice. It is true that laws are often administered laxly and prostitution is still to be found in cities that theoretically do not permit it, but it has been largely driven under cover and is found in much less proportion than even a decade ago. Education has taken advantage of its opportunity to a great extent and the attack on venereal disease and on prostitution has been positive and intelligently directed. Credit must be given to such organizations as the Social Hygiene Society and the Mental Hygiene Society for a persistent, sane educational attack on vice in its commercialized form.

It is true that the problem of vice has taken new forms and now presents many perplexing aspects that were not commonly found when houses of prostitution flourished, but on the whole the load society was obliged to carry because of the commercializing of the powerful instinct of sex has been markedly lessened.

The health campaign which has popularized the idea of the significance of syphilis and gonorrhea and the possibility of their cure is getting wide attention and has decidedly

changed the attitude of most men regarding the risks of prostitution. Not only has this campaign decreased the prevalence of venereal disease but it has at the same time given men a better understanding of the menace of prostitution and encouraged men and women who understand the social dangers of commercialized vice to continue with more and more success in their effort to suppress this ancient evil, that for so long has afflicted society beyond nearly every other curse.

Franker relationships between young men and women, a more rational attitude toward problems of sex, the decrease of fear taboo as a method of control, and a better understanding of the sex nature of both men and women is tending to influence the suppression of prostitution even though in some respects these changes encourage illegal sex relations. The appearance of immorality in new forms does not, of course, give any motive for returning to former conventions that permitted the double standard of conduct which made possible an easy attitude toward the existence of prostitution; rather it challenges society to meet the new problem by the wise educational effort that in the past has done so much to elevate moral standards.

Dependency.—The dependent and handicapped are justified in asking of society more than merely relief. In dealing with those who are defective through blindness, deafness, deformity and crippling, public policy demands the giving of special training to the young that they may at least attain to a measure of self-support and happiness and the largest possible freedom from feelings of inferiority.

Unless there shall be a return to thrift on the part of a great mass of our population, society must take over the burden of providing for the aged by some form of insurance or pension. Here again self-respect must be maintained in a way impossible if the procedure be one of charity. The almshouse offers no satisfactory harbor for the self-respecting

aged unless its character be changed and the traditions that surround it completely transformed. Under present circumstances it represents not security and comfort to those who have passed the period of production but a mere physical refuge with unpleasant suggestions that make the self-respecting, tender-minded citizen shrink from such a closing of life, even to the extent of preferring starvation or suicide. The provision of institutional support under such circumstances is doubtful social justice and, except as a place for the degenerate poor, the almshouse will surely be replaced by some happier method of caring for those who are dependent in their old age.

CHAPTER XXII

CRITICISM AND DEFENCE OF PHILANTHROPY

Popular approval of philanthropy.—Philanthropy has become a characteristic trait of modern culture. Nowhere in the world has it developed to a higher degree than in the United States. So thoroughly has it been incorporated in modern life that, although there is often criticism of some specific charitable enterprise, the value of philanthropy itself is seldom challenged by popular thinking. In spite of the common approval of benevolence it is necessary for the student of sociology to examine the indictment charity receives from a small but thoughtful group of critics. It would be a great mistake for sociology to take upon itself the support of philanthropy and fail to recognize that many scientists consider modern charity highly dangerous in its effect upon the process of social evolution.

Popular support of philanthropy.—In spite of the popular support American philanthropy receives it is easy to exaggerate the sincerity of this public approval. In an article in *The Survey* entitled "The Man in the Street and the Chest," it appears, as one would expect, that many people who give to charity do so without much genuine conviction. A few of the attitudes expressed to the author of this article appear in the following statements:

> A dentist said: "I'd be a poor sport if I didn't give. These visiting nurses make a lot of business for us dentists."
>
> A lawyer said: "I've had several years on the board of the Such and Such and I've learned that social work is a high-class service. It makes adjustments. It keeps people out of the

domestic relations and criminal courts. It's a good thing for the creditor class, even if it does often deprive lawyers, judges and policemen of part of their excuse for existence."

The opinion of a club member was: "The only reason I give to the chest is to save my face. I deal with some of these men that are at the head of things and I have to come across for business reasons. I don't believe in the chest. Social work is too damned full of graft."

The factory hand said: "He did his bit because he noticed the boss coughed up a good-sized wad and he admired the boss; the boss was no fool, and if he gave the chest must be all right."

A teacher contributed because a teacher has to do a lot of things to preserve his standing and perhaps his job.

A man upon being asked whether he thought social workers graft answered: "Hell, no, you can tell they don't by looking at their dowdy clothes, their shabby homes, their rattly cars if any, and their poor table manners. They aren't grafters—they're just business failures who can't make good at anything else and have found a soft snap."[1]

Attack on philanthropy.—Our first question is not, can we relieve or even eliminate the major social problems, but should we attempt to do it? We have become so accustomed to benevolence as it expresses itself in practical charity, and have so firmly linked philanthropy with ethical and religious instruction, that it is almost impossible to turn from our previously established judgment to examine critically and justly the arguments made against modern philanthropy.

We do not find it hard to condemn charitable practices of the past. The most superficial reader of mediaeval history recognizes the futility and social injury which mark the almsgiving of that period. Giving to the beggar was conceived of as a type of Christian virtue, and the church even went so far in its teaching as to defend abject poverty

[1] *The Survey*, Dec. 15, 1927. Quoted with permission.

because it provided opportunity for human nature to become virtuous and earn access into a future heaven by giving alms. In that period, calling into question the prevailing charity would have seemed as unreasonable as criticism of modern types of benevolence does at present.

Savage philanthropy.—Savage society in some of its practices conformed to present-day teaching, while in others its actions were contrary to the ideas of our time. Hospitality, as enforced in savage society, is a good illustration of a benevolence that accomplished something like the task we delegate to public and private organizations which distribute relief. The custom requiring that the aged be put to death, as was true for instance among the Eskimos, is an example of a savage practice at variance with our ideas of what is socially right and wise.

Meaning of altruism.—Philanthropy is merely the expression of altruism, and one's attitude toward it must depend on the place altruism is given among the influences that hamper or assist social advancement.

The most ardent advocate of instincts would hardly credit altruism with the advantage of an instinctive basis; it is a social product brought about by environmental influences. The normal development of every child shows that altruism needs stimulation by parental contact and easily may be smothered, perverted, or narrowed as a result of childhood events. Today the home, school and church under favorable conditions are constantly building into the child's personality ideals of altruism that soon become so automatic a part of the individual that they seem to be the very substance of human nature.

Ordinary observation discloses how self-deceiving altruistic sentiment often becomes. In everyday behavior much of what we call altruism is simply the means by which, through the process of rationalization, we tag our motives and conduct with self-approval. Not only is altruistic senti-

ment used consciously or unconsciously to disguise unworthy motives, but there is also the temptation inherent in benevolent feeling to allow emotion to take the place of genuine effort to help others. This explains the character always to be found in any considerable group of people, who enjoys feeling kindly as long as his sentiment remains abstract and costs nothing. The worthlessness of a mere sentimental altruism must be at once granted by the firmest believer in the social value of benevolence. Altruistic daydreaming is as useless as the wildest reveries of the adolescent.

The biological attack on philanthropy.—Criticism of modern philanthropy comes from two sources, biological and social thinking. The biological criticism of charity is essentially that it attempts to meddle with natural laws that work for the welfare of the race. Charity as commonly exercised interferes with the natural processes of survival and upsets nature's effort to rid society of the weak, the defective and the diseased. In spite of good purposes and perhaps an immediate lessening of suffering, charity in the long run intensifies human misfortune.

The first charge in the biological indictment of practical charity is that it defeats the process of elimination. For example, it has been recently said by a close observer of life that alcoholic intemperance is a social asset because it assists nature in getting rid of unsound persons, who by drinking multiply their tendencies toward degeneration and are the sooner dead and gone. It is of course emotionally unpleasant to hear the bald statement of the biological argument.

Here is a person in the advanced stages of consumption, unable to get well, who clings tenaciously but hopelessly to life, becomes dependent upon others and demands attention, nursing and medical service, all of which prove expensive. Perhaps the special care he receives permits him to continue his suffering for several years. If married, he may during this period be a risk to his wife and children; he may become

the father of another child. If we multiply his case by a thousand, we begin to realize what a problem this army of tubercular people is. Large is the amount of relief required to alleviate personal suffering, permitting individuals to extend for a time their fight against death and thereby further the spread of contagion.

In dealing with tubercular cows, our program is the opposite. As soon as a cow, on being tested, reveals the onset of the disease she is killed. The farmer who is lax or who attempts to doctor the sick animal soon finds his whole herd inoculated. What is a hard-hearted policy from the point of view of the individual cow proves in the end more humane.

Recently a dog belonging to one of my children gave birth to seven puppies. Of this family one, from the start, was weaker than the rest and three weeks later was found in the morning dead. Unquestionably he was physically the feeblest of the lot and with his passing more food remained for the others. Suppose the puppy who showed signs of weakness had been especially assisted and coddled so as to permit him to live, even though he continued to be the smallest and weakest of the seven, who would have wanted that puppy, knowing his history? Most people would not have taken him as a gift because they would insist on a healthy pup or none at all. Charity is supposed to act as a coddling agency to protect and prolong the lives of those who are especially weak, with the promise of a feeble, short life-period.

Charity is also criticized for continuing an inadequate survival. Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes once said, "If you want to live a long time get an incurable disease, not too serious, and learn how to take care of yourself." At once the question arises, what is the value of helping any individual extend his life if that means a continuous struggle to live. Resources that belong by right to the strong have to be expended to protect those who are physically inadequate. Giving this assistance becomes a drag on society, and

thus charity, in spite of its good will, handicaps human progress, eventually causing greater suffering than would come from the more heroic and hard-hearted social program.

The following statement regarding the dangers of modern charity was made by Leonard Darwin, a foremost student in the field of human eugenics. Although he conditions his criticism, its general tenor shows that he views with some alarm the development of modern philanthropy. His assertion may well be taken as representative of the attitude of many eugenists with reference to charity.

> As long as philanthropy remains in active operation, without adequate racial safeguards, a whole nation may well be slowly and steadily descending to the level of its lowest types; whilst amongst the lower animals, the absence of all social differentiation and of all conscious philanthropic effort prevents any similar retrograde change taking place. A study of nature gives no ground for the belief that our nation cannot be slowly deteriorating in racial qualities.[2]

The sociological attack on altruism.—The social critics who have been skeptical of philanthropy make much of its putting upon the strong the burden of carrying the weak. Although Nietzsche's love of sarcasm makes it easy for his readers to misinterpret him, he is generally credited with having, by his doctrine of the superman, taught that the inferior personality should be ignored in the planning of social policy.

The sociological critics of charity often point out that any attempt to relieve social evil runs the risk of increasing it. If you give generously to the beggar at the street corner and your friends do the same, it will not be long before there will be three or four instead of one trying to capitalize good will in the endeavor to live the easy life of a social parasite. "Suppose, for example," says the opponent of charity,

[2] "Eugenic Reform," p. 316. Quoted with permission.

"that the state organizes a pension system for the relief of the aged. Immediately there follows a lessening of the spirit of thrift through the loss of the sense of personal responsibility."

It is also claimed that charity conceals. Society feels a false security, because so long as the strong are able to carry the burden of the weak there is little recognition of the size of their burden. Unless the parasitic trend receives some spectacular portrayal, society continues its policy even though what it does is constantly adding to the number of those that have to receive attention.

Especially, we are told, does charity cover up exploitation. If an industry does not pay a living wage, sooner or later many of its employees must receive assistance from others in the form of charity. So long as the benevolence continues, it helps to cover up the actual cause of the difficulty. In the same way, instead of striking against slums, inadequate income, or the ignorance of housekeepers, we try to deal with the consequences of these bad social conditions as they appear in tuberculosis or intemperance. From this point of view, if there were less charity there would be more justice. The attempt to substitute charitable relief for a fair wage was strikingly evidenced in England in the thirties, the time of the reform of the poor laws.

The critics of modern philanthropy who stress the danger of charity's being used to take the place of justice believe that it is a cloak by which exploitation is covered up or, to change the figure, that charity is a social narcotic which reduces temporary suffering at the expense of permanent health. Such critics insist that what society needs to do is to stop helping these people who are suffering because of social inefficiency or individual selfishness and get back to the sources of social trouble.

The profession of social work.—Some opponents of modern philanthropy go so far as to challenge the value of pro-

fessional social work. The large body of people engaged in the carrying on of public and private relief are thought of as being themselves parasitic individuals who get their livelihood from treating the victims of the social ills they never succeed in eliminating. It is even true that the professional social worker is sometimes unpopular with the very people whom he serves. Recently, in a moving-picture theater in one of the poorest parts of the city of Boston, a charity nurse taking the part of a kind-hearted heroine was hissed by the children each time she appeared on the screen. However unreasonable this attitude may seem on the part of those who look upon the social worker as getting an easy living from the predicament of the socially unfortunate, it must be catalogued among the unfavorable reactions to modern philanthropy, even though it proceeds from the least thoughtful of the critics of charity.

The place of altruism in social culture.—It is seldom possible for the opponent of philanthropy to argue consistently against the expression of altruism which he denounces. Our social thinking on its higher levels is so fundamentally altruistic that the critic of charity usually ends in condemning definite forms of philanthropy and arguing for what he conceives to be a superior type of assistance.

It is not mere prejudice which makes the average person so unwilling to listen to attacks on social sympathy and charitable enterprises. Society has been at work over a long period to develop the degree of altruism which is a vital element in present culture. Even the most extreme opponent of philanthropy hesitates to undermine any specific charity that is genuinely altruistic and efficiently managed.

This hesitation of those who theoretically oppose modern charity and advocate certain non-altruistic attitudes does not take away the need of attempting rationally to defend philanthropic policy.

The fallacy of simplicity.—The mistake of the critics who

arraign public and private relief because it interferes with the natural processes of survival is a type of the fallacy of simplicity. Their interest is in the transmission of healthy bodies and they believe that nature's effort to do this is largely frustrated by charitable enterprises. They assume that society could change the program at one point without injuring other qualities. They would be loath to see the results of the alteration of emphasis they urge. If we asked such critics to choose between transmitting good bodies by placing life upon a plane of strictly biological competition, and keeping the sense of social responsibility which is now expressed in practical charities, most of them would hesitate to take the first.

If society were fully committed to a biological program, it would be marching back to the animal level of survival. It would be attempting to breed bodies. A concentration upon merely physical or even mental soundness would mean the loss of characteristics that society has been led through experience to value supremely. The policy of not interfering with the processes of survival by assisting the defective, the weak, and the diseased would require a cultural revolution with a removal of those qualities which have been developed in the effort of human nature to achieve motives and attitudes that are characteristically human and are denied to those maintaining an unmitigated competitive struggle.

Complexity of social values.—Only by ignoring essential facts can the problem of human inheritance be compared with the transmission of qualities prized in animals. By the process of selection we have produced the milch cow and the beef steer. We have developed among dogs the bloodhound with his gift of smell, the greyhound with his speed, and the police dog, superb in his sense of guardianship. These results have been accomplished because of the definiteness of the objectives in the minds of the breeders.

Human values, however, cannot be reduced to such con-

crete and simple qualities. The question of survival when applied to human relations raises the question of social norms. It is hard to picture the type of society that would develop if the one aim of culture were to permit the existence and prosperity of the physically strong or the mentally alert and to extinguish through selection the maturity of all others, and render impotent those whose kindness of heart would lead them to attempt to establish social sympathy.

The necessity of social altruism.—A primary function of society is the coöperation of its members. The advantage of social organization is the opportunity it provides for the working together of the members of a group. There comes a time, even in animal life, when the individuals combine and obtain the advantage of common interest. Under such circumstances, a society, elemental though it may be, is of assistance in the struggle for survival. Competition among the bees is not the conflict of individuals but of hives. If one hive has thousands and another hundreds of individuals, the weaker is likely to become a victim of the stronger. Although competition is still maintained, it is primarily between groups rather than individuals. In savage society the same thing appears in a more complex form. Conflict, so far as it expresses itself in human relationships, is between groups rather than individuals. A tribe cannot work together unless there be unity. In this sense, group solidarity requires fellow-feeling.

In complex modern society, altruism is a social necessity, or each individual feels himself alone in his life destiny, expecting no help from others and exhibiting on his own side indifference to the welfare of his associates. Sympathy thus becomes in present-day society the cement that holds the individuals together. It is reasonable to ask that this feeling of fellow-interest be intelligent, and also to check up its result in group unity. If society were brought to the point of a universal willingness to suppress all forms of charity, this

would necessarily choke off the feeling of sympathy, so that the individuals would not merely become indifferent to suffering, but would gradually lose the bond that held them together.

Plato, in advocating the exposure of weak and defective children, foresaw that this policy would require the substitution of the state for the parent, since the development of affection would block his program. In spite of our advance in social consciousness, it is still difficult for some thinkers to realize that society cannot maintain a culture so competitive as to be indifferent to human welfare, and at the same time have unity.

The value of the biologically weak.—No sensible person doubts the value of good health or physical vitality; yet it is not true that a sound body means necessarily a sound mind. If the physical and mental aspects of human personality were so closely related there would be no need of mental tests; a physical examination would determine the degree of intelligence. The worth of any individual to society cannot be accurately measured by his mere physical equipment or condition. A social policy that eliminated all weak children would have denied society many of its most useful leaders.

It is doubtful whether Charles Darwin himself, suffering as he was from some sort of nervous malady, would have made a valuable contribution to human thought if he had not had the advantage of private wealth. The manic-depressive characteristics of Abraham Lincoln, especially evident in his late adolescence, would hardly have justified the denial of his right to live. Roosevelt as a sickly child gave no evidence of the aggressive and vital personality he finally developed.

The following list of persons who have fought tuberculosis is impressive: Nicolo Paganini, Johann Friedrich Schiller, Xavier Bichat, René Théophile Laennec, Leigh Hunt, John Keats, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, St. Francis of Assisi, Frédéric Chopin, Henry David Thoreau, Feodor Dos-

toievsky, Artemus Ward, Sidney Lanier, Edward Livingston Trudeau, Cecil John Rhodes, Christopher Mathewson, Aubrey Beardsley, McDugald McLean, Harold Bell Wright, Roger W. Babson, Lawrason Brown, Will Irwin, Albert Edward Wiggam, Eugene O'Neill.[3]

There is of course considerable difference between protecting a sickly child and caring for the insane, the hopelessly ill and the aged. But sympathy cannot be localized. Altruistic sentiment, once created, is bound to spread until it leads to the helping of all who need assistance.

Altruism and prevention.—It is an advantage for society to assume the burden of philanthropy in an effort to care for all in want, since this teaches society the serious character of its situation, and eventually leads it to undertake the eradication of the causes of social problems. It is one thing to eliminate the individual who suffers from defect or disease. It is quite another matter to attempt to get rid of the causes of such trouble. In the one case, the victim is merely lopped off as rapidly as he appears, while the opposite policy leads to an attack upon the conditions responsible for his predicament.

A policy of elimination which covers up the causes of social ills does not lead to progress. The efficient way for society to lighten its social load is not brutal neglect of the unfortunate, but an intelligent altruism which is not content with giving relief, but insists upon trying to eliminate the sources of its difficulties. Modern philanthropy does more than assist the weak and diseased; it makes vivid the final issues of bad social conditions, and teaches society to face them squarely and to attack them.

Unwise philanthropy.—Altruism is not always well directed. We have much charity that is mischievous, and frequently this is what the critic is actually attacking. The only way of meeting his criticism is to improve charitable

[3] Meyers, J. Arthur, "Fighters of Fate."

practices so as to make them square with the best scientific knowledge of the time. Fortunately, we do not often need to choose between the welfare of the individual and of the group; the interests of the two are not antagonistic and any assistance that is good for the individual generally proves in the long run to be for the advantage of society.

Finally, any concrete problem of charity must be treated specifically. It is justified or condemned not by the quality of good will shown, but by the practical value of the sympathy expressed. If it is an unwise method it is bound to do harm. It is tested by its results. The best type of charity is that which is self-destroying, so that its service ends in the elimination of its need. It is only fair to admit that philanthropic organizations, once started, do not easily disappear because of having accomplished their mission. In Europe, especially, we find charitable funds used to perpetuate forms of relief that have long since ceased to be useful. This is unsound public policy. The charity that continues after its need has been destroyed is itself a menace. It wastes social energy and creates parasitic evils in the same manner as do gifts to the individual beggar.

Christianity and altruism.—Man's social adjustment can never satisfactorily be made on a purely intellectual basis. The feeling element must enter, and its importance is at least equal to that of thinking. Man easily becomes the victim of moral inertia through lack of wholesome sentiment. Man also is easily led astray by a narrow interpretation of self-interest which places individual welfare in opposition to the good of the group. The task of clarifying and invigorating sympathy primarily falls upon religion. Religion provides the social dynamics that can set aside personal selfishness and intensified group consciousness.

Christianity from its beginning furnished a source of social sympathy which made it expressive of human idealism. Its appeal to human nature has been primarily the oppor-

tunity it offered for the expression of an active, aggressive socialized conduct. Its philosophy of life is built upon the golden rule. The leadership of Jesus has always drawn his followers toward social brotherhood. This has been the pathway by which man has traveled toward the Kingdom of God. The temptation, however, has always been felt by the institutions of religion to leave the main pathway in the effort to find a cheaper, less costly method of salvation. This repudiation of the spirit and ways of Jesus has been concealed by a rationalizing process which has lifted theological dogma and ecclesiastical preferences to a false importance.

Jesus by his own words made clear how seriously this perversion of religious sentiment hampers the growth of the good life he instituted. The Kingdom of God, as he interpreted it, is from the religious angle socialized group life. Altruism was from the beginning an essential constituent, and the benevolent attitude must always be in Christianity a primary motive. As Jesus viewed life, human success comes not from the breaking of ties of association and withdrawal from practical life, but by a sharing of burdens and a wholehearted commitment to the good of one's fellows. This by no means leads to the irresponsible alms-giving characteristic of the mediaeval period. The highest expression of benevolence occurs not when attention is given to a case of individual misfortune and suffering, but in so socializing imagination that social evils can be anticipated and largely prevented by an intelligent use of the resources at hand. Benevolence that functions before rather than after social evils appear is the most Christian.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PREVENTION OF SOCIAL FAILURE

The program.—Although we must continue to provide relief through charity for those who are socially unfortunate, there is general agreement that no substantial progress can be made unless our attack on social problems be based on a preventive program. We have learned from experience that every kind of social difficulty can be decreased by attempts to get at its source. At present there is a demand for the same attitude toward social ills that has permitted medical science to make such rapid headway against disease. As a consequence of this point of view an increasing amount of effort on the part of social workers and organizations is devoted to the building of constructive programs for the prevention of social evils.

The start.—Prevention cannot rest on mere good will. The strides of medicine have been possible because of the progress this science has made in the understanding of the causes of disease. The history of medical discoveries is a record of constant and usually slow headway against ignorance and superstition by the laboratory investigator and the bedside observer in the close alliance of scientific zeal.

Social work can come upon the platform of prevention in no other way. Although its problems are so complex and intertwined that its task of tracing and demonstrating causal relationships seems at present almost hopeless, there is no other rational line of procedure. The investigator and the practical worker have the greatest need of coöperation since neither alone can make any headway in the accumulation of

the information necessary to establish a preventive program that shall have practical value.

The sound beginning of a policy of prevention of social problems is research. Investigation must precede action. Here it is that the weakness of social reconstruction appears. There is relatively little encouragement by the public of efforts to get facts concerning social situations, and the relief and treatment of those whose suffering cannot wait until more knowledge is obtained has to go on being built upon the flimsy basis of tradition and uncritical experience. We need more special studies of specific problems, such as those now supported by the more forward-looking foundations, but we also need in our universities a greater stress on research that leads out of the academic atmosphere into the practical difficulties of social service.

It is true that many social workers and even officials who administer our charities do not take kindly to what they call the theoretical side of their problems and are at times quite frank in saying they do not get much value from sociological studies. They are justified in part because the science of sociology has been in the past so largely philosophic in manner and outlook, but it is risky for the practical worker to be satisfied with technic and routine and not at all concerned with research. Though we are seldom able to get the exact knowledge of the problems of society that is desirable, enough is being done, particularly among the younger sociologists, to make profitable a closer coöperation of student and social worker.

To make headway in the attack on social evils, it is necessary also to enlist the interest of the economist and the psychologist, for social problems often are the final outcroppings of causes that originate in the economic and psychic experiences. If much progress in a scientific treatment of social problems is attained in the near future it is bound to be the result of a concentration on specific problems in all their ram-

ifications and a coöperation of specialists in the various sciences involved in each particular study. This synthesis is merely bringing together in a common undertaking allied workers who for the sake of definiteness of investigation have divided into its various aspects a human experience that is never merely physiological, psychological, economic, political, moral or social but a combination of all of these.

Necessity for investigation.—Nothing stimulates serious study so much as original investigations. In physical science one discovery attracts attention and leads to another. In medicine especially this fact accounts for the remarkable record of achievement in recent years. There has been in medical history a tendency to overvalue the contribution of those who have finally brought forth a new technic or a discovery of the causal relationship between a specific pathogenic microörganism and a particular disease, and a corresponding failure to recognize the work of those whose previous findings had made the new method or knowledge possible.

All advances in medicine, however much they are credited to individuals, have been preceded by preliminary steps made by earlier workers, without which the epoch-making discovery or invention could not have been made. The preliminary research was often more difficult, requiring longer and more original effort than the dramatic application, which requires merely a slight change in method or a minute addition to the knowledge already obtained. Advances made by one experimenter act as stimuli to stir others to take the next step. The history of medicine is not, as many suppose, a record of the sudden appearance, from time to time, of epoch-making discoveries but a culmination of numerous, painstaking contributions.[4]

This momentum, which investigation generates once it gets well started, promises well for sociology. We appear to be entering an era that is to be characterized by scientific obser-

[4] Stern, B. J., "Social Factors in Medical Progress," Pt. 2.

vation of man's social experiences. This new departure will eventually lead to a more effective use of good will and educational resources than has been true when science had little opportunity to develop within the social field.

As social guidance based on an increase of factual information proceeds, there will be the greater need of building up in the popular mind, by educational effort, ideas respecting social norms, for, as progress is made against the more obvious forms of social maladjustment, the public, partially relieved of their former burden, will become indifferent to further attempts to eliminate its problems. This explains the slowing down of public interest when, an attack having been made against some concrete evil, improvement has taken place. The public turns from the project just as soon as progress is evident. Only when social experience becomes exceedingly painful on account of difficulties of adjustment, and a crisis occurs that draws attention to the situation in which a group finds itself, is it easy to win support for movements that are committed to reform. A social situation which is desperately bad compels consideration from a public quick to turn away to pleasanter matters when its discomfort begins to pass.

Even at times when social life goes on with relative smoothness, an immense amount of effort is directed toward improvement, but this in the past has been chiefly concerned with individuals and has usually treated problems as moral matters. As reliable information regarding vice, crime and poverty accumulates, the energy now being wasted in preachment that ignores causal influence will be available for an assault upon social evils that will strike at the sources of trouble.

There is no better illustration of the misspending of social energy due to lack of knowledge, than crime. Civilized society has built a large and complicated organization for the protection or punishment of the criminal. The cost of

maintaining society's defense against crime is enormous, while only meager effort is being made to understand the causes that operate to start the criminal on his career. So far as the general public thinks at all about the problems of crime, it is thoroughly satisfied to depend upon punishment as the most efficacious method of prevention. This confidence is purely traditional and emotional. We have little evidence of the value of the conventional procedure in dealing with the criminal. The work of Dr. William Healy of Boston and Dr. Herman Adler of Chicago demonstrates that insight into the causes of delinquency can be obtained just as soon as popular misconceptions are put aside and thoroughgoing investigations of the causes of delinquency are carried on.

A development in research and applied science which has been rapid and also widely influential is the child clinic. With a single exception these clinics have been organized since 1900. In 1925 they were found in twenty-five states and two hundred and nine cities. In eight states there are clinics that serve the entire commonwealth. It is estimated that 25,000 children are treated each year by about one-third of the entire number of clinics in the United States.[5] The influence of the clinics appears in every aspect of our modern interest in children and is far greater than that which comes from the help given individual children who visit clinics. The work of the various types of these organizations for children has led to the appearance of an extensive literature; and a vast popular educational program, carried on by social workers and lecturers, is meeting with marked success in every part of the United States. The Child Guidance Clinics were the first to combine the findings of psychiatry, psychology and psychiatric social work in the effort to help children troubled by maladjustments of minor character in the home or school. These led to the habit clinics which advise parents who discover in their children habit-trends that are making

[5] Blanchard, P. M., "The Child and Society," ch. 15.

trouble. We also have nursery school clinics and organizations for the study of the infant and the pre-school child. The work of all of these puts emphasis on prevention rather than cure and is leading more and more to a similar kind of service for parents, since so often it is the adult rather than the child who is responsible for the problem which requires attention.

Legislation.—Among the methods that must be included in a preventive program for the decreasing of social maladjustment is legislation. One of the obvious political facts is the rapid extension of government activities that has accompanied the increasing complexity of civilization. There seems to be no escape from this necessity of the government's assuming new obligations that are not needed under simpler conditions.

As a result of modern culture's providing much opportunity for exploitation, and the dominance of urban relationship which forces our contacts to be mostly secondary rather than primary, the government, for the protection of its citizenship, has to exercise control over much that formerly was left to the individual.

Although one frequently resents, and at times fears, this multiplicity of government activity and its increasing interference with individual initiative, there is general recognition that no modern government can return to the simpler responsibilities of former times. This means that the power of government to influence the movement of social culture has been enlarged and any successful attack on social problems must include a wise use of legislation. In spite of the American habit of depending too much upon legislation, there can be no denial of the fact that the passage of laws provides an opportunity for social advancement. By legislation an attack may be made against a definite social evil, as when the worst slum dwellings of New York City were demolished and the tubercular infested area was turned into a public park.

Legislation also helps to establish social norms. A good illustration of this is the laws that exist in all progressive cities regulating the production and distribution of milk. By this legislation the buying public is taught to demand a quality of food which carries with it the least possible risk of infectious disease. Even when the regulative legislation does not begin at once to bear the fruit expected, it frequently establishes the idea of wholesome standards and becomes a method of education which in the long run has a wide influence.

Legislation and knowledge.—If the legislation is to be socially efficient it must be based upon reliable information. When the state of Wisconsin established for its legislature a bureau of research to assist its members in getting the information they needed in order to prepare wise legislation, it emphasized a matter of great importance. The framing of laws that express good intentions but are based on faulty knowledge has become a notorious weakness of American culture.

Laws, when once they begin to operate, often have unexpected results along lines not thought of by the legislators. It is necessary, therefore, that investigations should be made constantly of the working of the more important laws that attempt to push forward social culture, and this investigation is worthless unless carried on with the technic and attitude of science. Legislation designed along the line of one objective is liable to exert its influence in a different province of social experience. Thus, the income tax law, both state and national, influences the family, just as do child labor laws and those that establish educational policies.

The scientific bureaus of our Federal Government cover a broad field of interests and the results of their investigations are invaluable. They conserve plant and animal life, protect the Nation from disease, improve commerce and manufacturing and, in the case of the Children's Bureau, operate

directly in furtherance of social progress. No activity of the government is now more important than these various kinds of social investigation, which provide a sound basis for helpful legislation. If we are to make the social advance that our resources permit, it must be by the working together of the investigator and the law-makers.

Two kinds of legislation.—Legislation accomplishes most when it is essentially attractive rather than coercive. An attractive law is one that wins the support of fair-minded people and becomes a standard of conduct based on public opinion. A coercive law is one that wins widespread disapproval and is either largely ignored or is only enforced by constant use of authority by the officials. There are always both kinds of legislation, but the one that contributes most to social progress is the attractive type that develops enthusiastic support. Forward-looking legislation that attempts to lift to higher levels social conditions has to be fortified by previous research which gives information justifying the law and providing the means by which it can be popularized and made appealing.

Organization.—Little progress can be made in a preventive program by spasmodic or isolated efforts at reform. Any social evil will thrive once it becomes established unless the struggle against it is well organized. The necessity for organization encourages at times too much reliance upon this form of attack. Organization of itself has no curative effect in dealing with social problems, it merely permits a strategic and coöperative attack, providing the push of concerted action which is indispensable in a society as complicated as our own.

It must be remembered that organization is not a substitute for good will but a product of common interest based on sympathy. Social evils usually have behind them strong organizations because the individuals who profit from existing social evils combine to protect what is to them a source of gain or power. Progress cannot be made without the clashing

of opposing organizations since those who desire to eliminate and those who want to perpetuate social evil, both organize, each trying to influence legislation and develop public support. This explains the laws requiring the registration of all who attempt to lobby at state or federal capitals. It has become a necessity of public policy that those interested should know what organizations are attempting to register their will by influencing the law-makers.

The right to organize has become a modern necessity, for only by concerted action can any group express its desires or protect its interests. The unorganized individual is often as helpless in our society as was the outlawed savage who, driven from his tribe as an ostracized individual without the support of his people, became victim to the first enemy he encountered.

Those who organize to protect sinister interests have the advantage of a strong personal motive for the support of their organization. The opposite sort of organization suffers handicap because its members frequently are moved by benevolence in their endeavor rather than by personal motives. On the other hand they have decided superiority in not being open to the suspicion of having an axe to grind. As a result, the first type of organization often works underground, hiding its activities from the public that would react against them were their source recognized. Frequently public-spirited organizations perform public service by uncovering the sources of the opposition they are receiving.

Community organization.—Experience has proved the advantage of concentrating social activities of various sorts by using the community or neighborhood as the unit of organization. Village Improvement Societies originated in New England, the first having been formed in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in the year 1853. This society still carries on its public service. In cities, the settlement made much of neighborhood organization, often by its effort creating a keen sense

of common interest and local pride among the inhabitants of the district it served.

The World War brought about the forming of many sorts of local organizations for the purpose of carrying on the specific undertakings that from time to time became necessary as a result of the peculiar conditions of the period. The Red Cross in many of its social enterprises has stressed the idea of community organization. The Young Men's Christian Association is another organization that has recognized the naturalness of the neighborhood and community as units for carrying on their work.

Community organization has in recent years taken many different forms in the endeavor to carry out various objectives. Recreation, health, better transportation, adult education, and the improvement of business are some of the interests which have brought forth different types of community organizations. Many of the improvements in rural life are the direct outcome of community organization: farmers' clubs, community churches, local granges and Parent-Teacher Associations are some of the organizations that have been used by rural people for the development of more satisfying social conditions. In villages, women's clubs, athletic, dramatic, and musical groups are to be found; and occasionally welfare societies are organized on the basis of the entire community, similar to the village society but with a much larger program.

Although the city is too large for a community organization that attempts to cover its various social activities there have been many forces working to unify urban social agencies. The Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, and especially the Community Chest are attempts to put in a common fund the personal and financial resources that cities make use of in their relief and preventive philanthropy. The Community Chest, as a term, implies primarily the effort to prevent duplication of charitable organization, and inefficient methods of collecting the finances necessary for their support. Frequently

special effort is made to collect from all classes on a community-wide basis the funds necessary for carrying on all the private charitable work. Often the Chamber of Commerce takes the leadership in managing the financial campaign and by skillful use of publicity raises the money necessary for the year's support of all the authorized philanthropic organizations. The Community Chest puts a check upon waste and overlapping and tends to curb the starting of unnecessary organizations.

Thus the Community Chest represents financial coöperation and a scrutiny of the philanthropy that appeals to popular sympathy for maintenance. There are arguments for and against the advisability of the Community Chest basis for the financing of philanthropic enterprises. Societies that have built up through a long period of service an intelligent and enthusiastic support are often reluctant to come under the dominance of an outside organization. There are also practical problems in the administration of the Community Chest which have made it unacceptable to some of our cities, especially in the older sections. Even where this particular form of organization is not made use of, there is a decided trend toward emphasizing the community aspect of philanthropic support. By voluntary coöperation much of the duplication formerly found in charitable work is prevented.

The Community Chest idea is significant as showing the increasing sense of the need of a common basis of organization in undertakings that attempt to relieve those suffering from misfortune, and especially in emphasizing the value of a concerted program for the prevention of social evils.

Good will.—Human society can make slight headway against social obstacles if it puts all its stress upon information and organization. Sympathy has its rightful place, if only it is intelligent and well directed. Good will is one of the great assets of society and its development an essential

task of efficient culture. Religion assumes a large responsibility for the bringing about of good will and its guidance toward worthwhile expression. Not uncommonly it is poverty of genuine good will that lies at the root of problems which vex communities. It is not difficult for honest good feeling to be misled, narrowed and even aborted by unsocial teaching on the part of leaders who direct churches, schools and newspapers. Social attitudes, as expressed in concrete community experience, are sometimes sadly lacking in practical good will because of partisanship, selfishness, and lack of understanding in those who exercise leadership.

No preventive program can prosper that neglects the development of good will. Much of our ethical life and sense of responsibility still remains, as expressed in our everyday, practical opinions and actions, competitive and individualistic rather than social. The reconstruction of a socialized type of ethics has to accompany any substantial advance in a preventive program for dealing with the problems that still hamper social life.

The characteristics of any group of people or period of time reflect in so great a measure the prevailing culture that it is difficult to separate the fleeting and local from the more nearly universal social experience. Practically the quantity and substance of good will is primarily a question of leadership. We have the ethical genius as well as the inventive or the militaristic genius, and he should direct the quantity of good will that any group expresses in practical philanthropies. It is impossible to measure the contribution that results from the well-directed social sympathy of such workers as Jane Addams, Mary Richmond, Robert A. Woods and Graham Taylor.

Not many would question the fact that society at present has carried preventive good will to the highest levels yet reached; but it is not difficult to detect in modern society

places where the golden rule is either not recognized or imperfectly applied. It is only when the present is placed along the background of man's past that the growth of good will shows itself with clearness. It is true that much of our brotherhood spirit is destroyed, concealed, and wasted. It is because of this spasmodic misuse of the kindly feeling characteristic of our time that many of our efforts to advance society through study, organization and education have partially failed.

Education.—At every point where constructive effort is maintained to eliminate and prevent social maladjustment, the commanding place of education is disclosed. Education is the building process by which at any moment of time society is forming the social characteristics of the future. Education is so fundamental to social experience that it requires special treatment in a later chapter.

In the planning of the preventive program which aims at a more satisfying social experience, education must be included. For some time, especially in the United States, social leadership has kept its emphasis upon the necessity of universal schooling for the child. Very recently it has begun to appear that there is also need of providing the adult with opportunity to continue his education. Training the child is obviously only the right start. The child has his limitations, and much needs to be included in his educational program that cannot naturally appear during the time when the majority of youth attend school.

Since ignorance is the enemy of good adjustment in social experience, adult education is becoming in our time an indispensable preparation for social advance. To teach adults successfully demands of the instructor the finest type of equipment and the most skillful technic. Pedagogic experience in the carrying on of adult classes leads to the scrutiny of practices and programs now put upon the child by public authority. Education provided by orthodox schools will receive

social emphasis by being incorporated into an educational program that conceives its task of instruction as a life preparation that continues from childhood into maturity and even, for many who find study a recreation, goes on into the declining years of life

CHAPTER XXIV

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Field of practical charity.—We approach the field of practical charity by four main pathways, through the study of poverty, crime, insanity, and feeblemindedness. Spreading out our line of attack in this way, we cannot hope to get complete knowledge at any one point, but we can acquire that minimum of information about these matters which everyone ought to have so as to understand the present situation.

Poverty.—The problem of poverty appears very early in American life. As soon as settlements were made in this country, with hardly any exception the colonists had to face poverty. As a rule either the settlement failed and the people went back to England or the poverty was handled by the community as a whole, largely through the stressing of family relationships.

Since the colonial settlements in Massachusetts were among the first to face the need of dealing with poverty, a practical program was developed which in the later history of the state contributed much to the American systems for the relief of poverty, both public and private. In the Puritan era the first effort made was to insist on young people's not leaving home until ready for self-support. Much was done to stress the responsibility of the family as a unit, just as, in the savage society, everything is based on the family as the fundamental unit of organization. It was easy for any needy member of a family to get help from the rest of the family. This led to family survival, certain families prospering throughout all

their ramifications, and others becoming very poor so that all their individuals were destitute, as still happens in rural sections of New England, where an occasional family has for generations endured great poverty.

A little later it was necessary for the towns to take over some responsibility. Being very thrifty, because one had to be in New England in order to survive, the towns had to carry their load of poverty in the cheapest possible way; they tried to be humane, but had to be economical. Soon, they began to board out their poor people or sell their labor, reminding us of what was done in England in the 'thirties and earlier. Then, since these people who were boarded out were supposedly profitable to those who had them, the towns said, "Why not use them ourselves instead of selling them for service?" This started the almshouse where the town put its poor people and tried to make them self-supporting. The question, who would have charge of the almshouse, became a matter of politics. The highest bidder was elected to the job and made half his income from bad food, overwork, etc., until scandal regarding this arose.

Nor could the province escape responsibility. After the Indian Wars, in 1675, a definite amount of provincial aid was given to poor people. This starts the Massachusetts program in which the state increasingly takes over responsibility; even though the town helps, the state gives money, examines records, regulates relief and checks bad politics and favoritism. In 1854, Massachusetts began to take charge of some of the poor people who were neglected and care for them in its own institutions. Later, Massachusetts established a state Board of Charities, a method of organization which has been followed by most of our states. Very recently the power of the state board was largely delegated to one man, appointed by the governor and known as the Commissioner of Public Welfare.

From the beginning Massachusetts has refused to give pub-

lic money to private enterprises, and her constitution now forbids the use of public funds for any private charity, a stand not yet taken by some other states, notably New York, although these states have found their policy troublesome at times when political issues hinged on the giving or withdrawing of support that was expected by privately managed charitable institutions.

Municipal charities, being more closely under the thumb of politicians, have lagged behind state charities, but the larger cities now have their relief as well organized as that of the states. Starting in Boston and going westward, changing to county government in the South, the general principles that originated in Massachusetts have been adopted. These are: stress of town responsibility, with state supervision and responsibility for the lowest and most difficult types of poor people; a state board of administration whose business it is to carry on oversight, and, though not all have gone this far, the concentration of authority in one official.

The states of Indiana and New York rival Massachusetts in their influence upon the policy of poor relief. Iowa in recent years has built up a notable system of public relief, culminating in its State Hospital which receives its citizens for any kind of ailment and gives them free treatment at state expense.

Octavia Hill, who, through her work at London, influenced housing reform and the establishment of public parks in this country, also contributed to the course of charity in Massachusetts and particularly in Boston. From Germany came influences born of the Elberfeld experiment, which was in essence a system of friendly visiting by which a small number of poor people were given over to each member of a visiting committee for personal contact, sympathy and counsel.

Organization of charity.—Toward the last quarter of the nineteenth century came about a more business-like organization of charity in this country, so that private societies

should not duplicate each other's efforts nor an aggressive few of the less needy "cases" absorb a major part of the relief given, while the more reticent who might be in worse straits passed unnoticed. This movement also was stimulated by the work in London of Octavia Hill and by the Elberfeld scheme.

In several parts of the country efforts were made, at about the same time, to organize charities on a community-wide basis. When the citizens of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in the winter of 1873 met to consider how they could most efficiently relieve the distress resulting from unemployment caused by the failure of a large Philadelphia manufacturer, a detailed plan was presented by Charles Gordon Ames, a Unitarian minister, for dividing the suburb into districts, each under its own visiting committee, with a central board over all which should act as a clearing-house for the petitions received. The group of interested citizens accepted Ames' scheme and called a large public meeting to draw up a formal organization known as the Germantown Relief Society. As in the Elberfeld system, each visitor was responsible for a geographical "space" instead of taking the next "case" on the docket in the manner of the volunteer worker today, no matter in what part of the town it might lie.

The next successful attempt to organize local charities so that all poor people could be served in a way that would make for self-help developed in Boston. Showing no signs of being suggested by the Germantown experiment, this also was an outgrowth of the Octavia Hill and Elberfeld plans. The Boston Coöperative Society of Volunteer Visitors spread from one part of the city to another until it indicated the need of an Associated Charities that would cover the whole city. In 1866 volunteers formed a Registration Bureau to list the families being helped and cite the amount of aid given them; this work, carried on under the auspices of a committee representing a number of different social agencies in the

city, was the forerunner of the Confidential Exchange, an attempt to record the help given a person in such a way that organizations when asked for aid could get all the information needed about an applicant who had previously had assistance from some other benevolent association. This remarkable system of social bookkeeping makes available in the city of Boston alone several hundred thousands of records, carefully tabulated so that no matter how often a person moves, the exchange can check him up if he has been given aid by any organization that has reported to the Central Exchange.

Buffalo was the first city in the United States to place its entire area under one charitable organization; this occurred in 1877 as the result of four years of leadership by the Rev. S. H. Gurteen, an Episcopal clergyman then officiating at St. Paul's Church in Buffalo. Coming straight from London, he brought a fresh impetus from the London social work. When the panic of 1873 was causing widespread distress, Mr. Gurteen preached for several weeks on different aspects of charity, and out of the interest roused by these sermons grew a painstaking effort to reduce pauperism by discriminating help. In 1877 this crystallized in the Buffalo Charity Organization, which divided the city into districts, each with its committee of men, "for this is especially a man's work," and a body of visitors drawn largely from the well-to-do women of the district.

The society hoped to allow each volunteer only one family to be visited, and, though it was not always able to do this, it found that the limitation of responsibility brought about a more kindly feeling between visitor and visited. Recognizing no racial, religious or political demarcations, the society tried to deal with each case on its own merits, binding itself never to give financial aid, but only to investigate its applicants so as to give them advice, and direct them, if necessary, to the proper benevolent association.

As in the Elberfeld plan of Germany, this was an attempt

to bring together prosperous, thoughtful people and the poor and thoughtless, in the belief that the contact of the two would be the best way of reducing the problems of poverty. The Buffalo society tackled the public giving of relief, since wasteful doles had been leading to parasitic results; by investigation it reduced in three years the amount of money spent by the city in outdoor relief from $100,636 to $28,295 and meanwhile the poor were better taken care of. The society started one of the first day nurseries in this country for the children of mothers who had to work, and inaugurated the woodyard, where men were forced to do some work in order to test their honesty when they asked for help. This society, the original Associated Charities in the United States, has now been copied with modifications by all our larger cities.

The training of case workers and visitors so that they will try to root out underlying causes rather than just mitigate surface complaints has become a large part of the work of Associated Charities organizations, or Family Welfare Societies, as they are now called.

In general public charities leave the experimental field to private organizations, whose findings they stand ready to incorporate in their own practices, once they have been proved.

Housing.—One of the problems that have been attacked from time to time by private charity is housing. Though this has had a temporary setback in recent years, due to the high cost of building, the movement is still widespread. The building code has sometimes been impossible to carry out in practice because too advanced, but the work of legislation and law-enforcement has been ably supplemented by the "philanthropy and five-per-cent" building movement, which has proved the possibility of combining the building of "model tenements" and the earning of a reasonable financial profit.

Tuberculosis.—Impressed by the close relation between tuberculosis and poverty, the New York Charity Organization Society in 1902 engaged in active work for the suitable

housing of poor consumptives and the education of all people regarding the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis, an undertaking which is now carried on by the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis.

A more recent outcropping of the inter-dependency of poverty and tuberculosis is the dilemma of western states famed as consumption resorts because of the mistaken notion that a high altitude or dry atmosphere cures lung trouble; tubercular poor folk have descended on these states with their savings eaten up by the long trip, only to become public charges as the climate, unaided by good food and rest, failed to work the expected miracle.

Dependent children.—The care of orphaned, deserted and otherwise destitute children was taken over in 1882 by the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, and similar societies in other places became keenly interested in dependent children. Emphasis has largely passed from institutional child care to the placing out of children in homes under supervision, since the more normal life of a family group gives a better chance for health as well as a fuller character-development. Although we still have orphan asylums and Children's Homes where many children live together, these meet with disapproval from the more progressive charity organizations, and the institutional care of normal children is being gradually supplanted by the wiser policy of child-placing in carefully chosen and well-inspected families.

Legal aid.—What a great handicap poverty is in getting legal justice has been forcefully revealed by Smith's painstaking investigation.[1] Experience has taught the charity organizations the necessity of furnishing their poor with legal aid as well as financial help. It has proved of advantage for various organizations to depend upon a coöperating Legal Aid Society for this service. Legal Aid Societies are found in all our large cities and by giving to the poor free advice

[1] Smith, R. H., "Justice and the Poor."

and court representation they decrease in some measure the unjust and irritating disadvantages that face those who are poor, when they seek justice in the courts. It is true that this service is often given by young lawyers seeking practice, who are seldom equal to the more experienced men employed by corporations and people of wealth. Some charity organizations maintain their own legal aid bureaus.

Alcoholism.—Not many years ago the author in visiting a number of the public charity and penal institutions of the city of New York was told by the superintendent of each that the chief cause of the inmates' being there was drink. Today we should not be so sure whether alcoholism was a primary cause or secondary, itself the result of poverty, psychopathic unsoundness or even physical disease. Warner, in his book, "American Charities," published in 1894, after expressing doubt whether the causes of poverty can be unraveled with any satisfaction, proceeds to charge drink as the main cause.[2] This shows the strength of the earlier belief.

The Associated Charities of Boston has been credited with having been most active in attempting a program of prevention of alcoholism. Not satisfied merely to help the inebriate and his family, it organized a committee of professional men, mainly physicians of reputation, for the study of the alcohol problem in the effort to discover a program of prevention. It was the conviction of this committee that progress depended upon creating a public opinion hostile to alcohol drinking and that this could be best done by scientific instruction. In 1911, with the coöperation of the State Board of Education, lectures dealing with the alcohol evil were given in some of the Normal Schools. Educational material was furnished social workers and by 1913 a poster campaign had been started.[3] In 1918 the social welfare agencies of Boston held a conference on the social evils of alcoholism. It was such work as this, en-

[2] Warner, A. T., "American Charities," p. 50.

[3] Watson, F. D., "The Charity Organization Movement in the United States," p. 373.

couraged nearly everywhere in the United States by welfare organizations, that had a large part in educating public opinion to the point that made possible the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Alcoholism has been throughout American history a troublesome problem and every step of advance that has been made against it has met with violent opposition and well-organized protest. The national prohibition law has necessarily encountered bitter hostility both from vested interests and personal conviction, but in spite of the social strain brought about by this advanced legislation, the charity organizations generally bear witness that it is working on the whole to decrease poverty and suffering.

The penal situation.—The State of Pennsylvania deserves greatest credit for leading in the reform of penal practices in the United States up to the time when New York established the first American reformatory. The Quakers are the originators of humane effort in modern prison reform in this country, just as in England they were influential in the treatment of insanity. Conditions were so bad in so-called jails, where people, even though not criminals, were kept when awaiting trial or for debt, that societies were organized by the Quakers to save them from starvation.

Dr. Rush and Franklin were two who had a large part in this undertaking, which came at about the time of the American Revolution and brought together the workhouse and jail, producing the institution we now know as the prison, where offenders were given confinement and labor as punishment. Torture and whipping were stopped and instead the convicted persons were sent to the prisons, where they were put under guard and made to work.

Such was the beginning of the modern prison system. The next step forward was the establishment of the Pennsylvania System, which consisted in the putting of each man in a cell by himself, giving him labor, theoretically allowing

him an open yard for exercise, and expecting him to reform through meditation and the serious contemplation of his crime. Since this separated felons from debtors and persons awaiting trial, it was a great advance over what had been even though it did not work out altogether well, especially in the old Walnut Street Jail, where the inmates were badly crowded. The "penitentiary" idea perhaps paved the way for later attempts at reforming criminals.

New York built a new prison at Auburn and started with the Pennsylvania System, but was sensible enough to try an experiment before committing itself to the penal policy of its neighbor state. Eighty men were put in solitary confinement on Christmas Day; many became sick, some died, some went insane. The management then did not dare either to put the men together or isolate them, so left them in cells at night and by day had them work silently together, in shops. This was the Auburn System, established in 1824 For quite a time there was warfare between the two systems. In Europe the Pennsylvania System won out; in this country the Auburn, largely through the influence of a minister, Rev. Louis Dwight, who, although in ill health, became interested in prison reform and organized a society for the improvement of penal methods which strongly supported the Auburn scheme.

Rivaling the Auburn System came the reformatory movement which reached this country from Australia, by way of Ireland. In 1876, when Z. R. Brockway opened the Elmira Reformatory, New York State passed an indeterminate sentence law, which permitted this new scheme to be practiced. The men committed were to be marked on their behavior while at the reformatory, and a definite number of good marks would end a man's confinement, provided he continued to behave well when released. Warden Brockway gave physical training, added a general educational course, and arranged lectures on social and ethical questions. Disappointed finally with the results of his efforts, Brockway, the enthusiast, writes

in his autobiography that the venture was mostly a failure, he did not know why. In so far as the Elmira Reformatory was a failure, this was because of the lack of discrimination shown by the courts in letting old men with long criminal records go to Elmira and sending the young men, first offenders, to Sing Sing. In spite of his discouragement, in part the result of not having so accurate an understanding of the nature of the problem as, thanks to recent science, we now have, many of Brockway's principles have become the orthodox practices of all American prisons.

The George Junior Republic established in New York was an interesting experiment in the effort to train young offenders by giving them responsibility as citizens in control of their own community.

New York, by starting at Sing Sing the psychiatric study of prisoners inaugurated by Dr. Bernard Glueck, added a most important line of advance in modern penology. The establishment at Chicago of the first Juvenile Court in 1900 and ten years later of the first Psychopathic Clinic as means of dealing with young delinquents were strategic efforts to make greater use of science in the solution of problems of crime. The recent law of Massachusetts, which requires that any person who has been three times sentenced to a prison or jail must be given a psychiatric examination, points the way to a still more effective use of science in dealing wisely and humanely with those who fail to make the social adjustment our modern civilization requires. We are beginning more and more to feel that criminals can be divided into two classes—those who are reformable and those who cannot be reformed; and that the two should be treated differently, but that punishment is not good for either.

Mental disease.—In the early care of the insane, Philadelphia stands high, having its first infirmary for the sick and insane in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and in 1760 a hospital for the insane. This was such a new venture

that the trustees had to build a fence to keep people from annoying the inmates as happened in England, where admission was charged for visitors who teased the patients to see them get angry as some people now do to animals in the zoo. The first hospital exclusively for the insane was opened in Philadelphia in 1773.

A citizen of Boston left money to the selectmen of that city in 1764 to start a hospital for the insane, but the officials would not receive it because they said there was no use for such an institution. Soon afterward they had to start one.

Dorothea L. Dix became the advocate of the humane treatment of the insane, visiting them where they were confined in hospitals, almshouses and prisons in every state east of the Rockies, and lecturing and writing continually in an effort to get insane people separated from criminals, paupers and other institutional types. Her work led to the establishment of insane hospitals widely through the states. Nearly every state has some contribution from Miss Dix, who is credited with having started as many as fifty insane hospitals. One, St. Elizabeth's Hospital at Washington, now in charge of Dr. William A. White, established by the Federal Government through her effort, has contributed notably to the development of psychiatry in this country.

At first those who cared for the insane in these hospitals were chiefly concerned with classifying their patients. The question was: what sort of disease did the person have when he came? That would decide his treatment. Finding their classification superficial, largely verbal, and not dealing with disease as distinct as smallpox or typhoid, the doctors turned to chemistry with the hope of finding the causes of mental pathology. During this laboratory period the discoveries made in neurology led to the belief that through better knowledge of the brain insanity could be cured. When this proved not true, realization of the deeper meaning and complications of mental disorder followed and emphasis began to be laid on

preventive work in the early stages. The psychopathic clinic at Boston was one of the first evidences of the new point of attack. This offered an opportunity for examination of any patients sent for diagnosis or who came of their own choice.

Later, out-patient work began to be maintained. This preventive service soon became a part of the program carried on by all progressive insane hospitals. Social workers recognized the fact that the problems of the insane are largely social and that help must be based on knowledge and supervision of the family life. This led to psychiatric social service.

We can no longer say, "Brain trouble" in all the diseases commonly called insanity. Where we do, as in paresis, there is a greater possibility of cure because definite knowledge has been reached as to the physical cause of the trouble. The brain inheritance, the entire body, including endocrine glands and the digestion, and even the individual's social situation are involved. Early treatment is imperative, that the main causes may be traced and if possible checked.

Mental hygiene movement.—A Yale student went insane, was committed to an asylum, cured and sent back into life, but remembered very distinctly what he had experienced. Having a literary gift, he wrote of his experience under the title, "The Mind that Found Itself."[1] William James of Harvard was attracted to this and gave it wide publicity; Professor Hyslop of New York and others were impressed by the book. Its author became head of the Mental Hygiene Society, which he organized, now a national organization, and of which he is still the secretary. This at first tried to improve hospitals but soon concentrated on an effort to educate people as to the meaning of mental disease, commonly but wrongly called insanity.

The advantage of psychiatric supervision of children has been stressed by the mental hygiene committee in recent years. In Red Bank, New Jersey; Los Angeles; Philadelphia; and

[1] Beers, C. W.

other cities demonstration clinics have been established to show people the advantage of psychiatric investigation in dealing with children. Mental hygienists attempt to detect neurotic tendencies in young children and often prevent serious later disorders. Recently special effort has been made to train parents.

Mental hygiene has been carried over into industry, and a number of large firms are making use of the findings of the psychopathic clinic. Some colleges and universities, also, notably Yale and Dartmouth, have added to their staff a psychopathic clinic, to help students make their adjustments and establish good mental habits in preparation for later life.

Every well-trained young doctor today has some knowledge of psychiatry, yet often the older doctors, who are unfamiliar with psychiatry, are put on boards to determine whether a person is mentally diseased. In some states, no matter what a doctor's training, he is a candidate for service on these boards.

The feebleminded.—The first institution for the feebleminded in the United States was established in Boston in 1758 under the influence of Seguin of France, who had developed from practical work the idea that the sense training and muscle training of feebleminded persons would largely eliminate the handicap of their situation, perhaps improve or even completely cure them.

At the start the children that drifted to the institution were a segregated lot, representing on the whole the lowest types and the more serious expressions of delinquency. As a result of this the character of the feebleminded population was misinterpreted and the seriousness of the problem exaggerated. It seemed necessary either to segregate or sterilize in order to make headway under the burden of the feebleminded. Sterilization was for the most part contrary to public opinion and even when permitted by law was seldom carried out. Many laws that were passed were declared uncon-

stitutional. In any case they were seldom operative. In time, especially as a result of the out-patient department, specialists began to discover that many of the feebleminded were living at home and in communities where they were making no trouble.

Dr. Fernald, superintendent of the Massachusetts School for the Feebleminded, was surprised and gratified at the successful adjustments of many of those who had received training at his institution at Waverly, and had been released to the life of the larger community. Dr. William Healy, when in charge of the Chicago Psychopathic Institute, also demonstrated by his studies of juvenile offenders that there was no constant relationship between feeblemindedness and delinquency.

Later, Dr. Bernstein in his experiments at Rome, New York, developed the colony system, first for men on the farms and later for women, both for domestic work in homes and also for work in the knitting factories about Rome. The success of these young people was so great as to prove beyond doubt that many of them could compete favorably with other so-called normal people, indeed that in certain forms of industry a feebleminded person apparently had a real advantage.

From these experiments it began to be clearly seen that the feebleminded were too many to be segregated in institutions and that fortunately it was not necessary since a large proportion of the higher grade feebleminded could be depended upon to earn their own living and meet with average success the demands of social adjustment.

Now that the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in regard to the sterilization of the feebleminded makes such laws constitutional, to some extent in dealing with defective family strains this method can be used to advantage and will receive the approval of most thinking people, though no one expects sterilization to be anything more than a method

of dealing with a small proportion of specially defective family strains.

California has made greater use of eugenic sterilization than any other state. Recently Paul Popenoe has made a series of studies to discover the success or failure of this method of dealing with the feebleminded and insane. Since the operation for sterilization was authorized, about one patient in twelve in the state hospitals for mental diseases has been made sterile. Most of these individuals have been discharged, but a large number still remain at the institution.[4] At the Sonoma State Home more than 1,000 feebleminded have been sterilized, most of them morons with a mean Intelligence Quotient around 60.[5] Dr. Popenoe has studied the records of 605 of these patients who after their operation were put out on parole. The average period of time they had been on parole was twenty months. One in twelve of the girls had been sexually delinquent; before sterilization the ratios had been nine in twelve. No boy on parole had been sexually delinquent. The author concludes that in California parole of the feebleminded after their sterilization tends to increase neither promiscuity nor venereal disease.[6]

[4] *Journal of Social Hygiene*, Vol. XIII, No. 5, p. 268.
[5] *Ibid.*, No. 6, p. 330.
[6] "Success on Parole after Sterilization," p. 18.

PART VI

MAN AND HIS SOCIAL RESOURCES

CHAPTER XXV

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PLAY

Play and the child.—We must first notice that the child's chief business is play, not for his advantage or pleasure merely, but as a necessity for the growth of his personality. If he cannot have a chance to play, to that extent his growth is stunted. Persons whose childhood is marked by a lack of play disclose in their later life the results of that deficiency. John Ruskin, for instance, whose early years were so much under the influence of his parents as to make his development precocious, had very little opportunity for play, but was forced rapidly through his early childhood into a mature atmosphere. Apparently his adult life was not only less wholesome than it should have been, but more unhappy than if he had been allowed fair opportunity for play.

The play of the child is hard to define because so unlike adult recreation; it is more like our work, a very weighty matter. What the child does not take seriously is the activities we call work for him. He is more intensely concerned with play than with school lessons, farm chores or home tasks. The play of the child is not like ours in one respect; it is not a means to an end but an end in itself. It is neither like adult work nor adult play, but different from both.

We cannot trace the growth of the child's play in such

a way as to give orderly development. The kinds of play the child carries on show only roughly a constant advance. First comes the sort of play that has to do with sensations. This we might call sampling-play, since it is largely touching and tasting. It is the perception of contact with environment. Often it is also an imitation of processes the child has watched. This has been called the mimic period of play,[1] but that does not fully describe the essential characteristic of this form of play because only occasionally does the child mimic. Most of the time he is simply trying to get sensations.

A little later self-expression takes a larger place, with the desire for creation. Now the child tries to do things, not merely to come in contact with things; he makes mud pies, plays horse. When he ceases putting his blocks in his mouth and tries to build houses he has largely passed from the first into the second type of play. The mark is indefinite and there is much overlapping.

As the child grows older he turns from passive to active play. From being subservient to his environment he gradually changes until he is trying to control and alter it. Another movement easily noted is from destructive to constructive play. The Fourth of July and Hallowe'en Night show how faint is the demarcation between the ages at which these tendencies predominate and how readily the older child drops back into destructive play when he has special invitation as on these holidays.

While the infantile trends are being replaced by more advanced kinds of play the child is moving on from solitary to coöperative play. It is unnatural for him to want to play much by himself, after the third year.

The only child and the frail child are apt to prefer playing alone so as not to be interfered with, the one because he is not strong enough to hold his own in competition with his mates, and the other because he is used to being the object

[1] Lee, J., "Play in Education."

of special consideration. Once introduced to the satisfactions of playing with other children, by a tactful supervision that places the delicate child with younger companions or provides opportunity for him to compensate for his physical handicap by using his wits in games of skill, and gives the only child such large doses of companionship with people of his own age that he gets out of the habit of thinking first and foremost of himself, these hampered children are led by their awakening craving for comradeship to coöperative play. Children who fail to break into the world of shared experiences are likely, as adults, to be morbidly fond of their own company. Normally an individual likes to be by himself at times, but also wants to associate with others in play experiences.

Feelings of rivalry and loyalty become strong about the age of nine or ten when association in play is well established. As soon as boys are old enough and numerous enough in any neighborhood to form a fluid sort of gang and thrill with the fervor of group loyalty, one of the first things they do is to hunt up another gang so as to carry on a mild degree of contest, which is mostly noise and not to be taken very seriously; it is automatic that as soon as they have an organization they want to match themselves against some other organization and test their power. Girls do somewhat the same, but with smaller cliques.

The sex play carried on in childhood is often misinterpreted as precocious sex experience or even immorality. The interests of sex are vague and mysterious but lead to a play spirit on the part of the child. The parent who knows his child well is likely at times to find the child's play taking on a suggestion or even a considerable expression of sex, and is often tempted to give this undue importance; it is merely play with no moral tinge whatever, unless it should become a persistent habit or morbid desire. If the child's concern with sex is summarily checked by an emotional outburst from the parent, or prematurely forced by older children, normal

growth in his sex life may be blocked. Occasionally we meet highly trained persons who represent a morbid arrest of sex development. In thinking of the child's sex play we must remember that he has no sex that is conscious, but plays at this as he plays at keeping house or school or store or at being a doctor or teacher. His play takes on a sex character just because that represents one of his natural interests.

The child, to have complete development through play, must have a suitable place to play; this is difficult in the city at present and often can be provided only by transferring much of his play outside of the home life. He must have time to play. The chief danger in the present desire of educators for a long school day is their desire to use the added time for getting the child to do more work rather than to play more. It would be better for the child if his school day were shortened instead of lengthened unless his play needs are guarded. If the greater day is merely to make possible more work in the school it is not unlike what we call child labor; if we could get a suffrage of children, there are innumerable children that would prefer to go to a factory and make cloth rather than spend their time on arithmetic and spelling. It is particularly important that if little children are to have the longer school day they use a large part of the extra time for play, since play represents the best educational resource they have, more important than the rest of the day's program.

The child must have playmates. This is a very serious problem for rural children and sometimes a perplexing problem for parents who find their child without normal mates, because of age differences or perhaps because the neighbor's child is not a good child but a persistent trouble-maker. The choice between having no playmate and having a bad companion is one no parent would want to make.

Children have to have freedom. Most teachers who regulate or supervise play meddle too much, make the children's

activities follow a set routine, insist on standard ways of playing; they keep saying, "Don't do this; do that. Do it differently." In so far as they interfere in this way, they pervert freedom and the result tends to be not play but work for the child. He will gladly slip away from the over-regulated playground and go around the corner to "play," as he says, with his friends because then he gets a chance for real play.

Much is made of the child's equipment for play, but we are likely to misunderstand his needs and give him ready-made playthings instead of raw materials for construction. He wants to manipulate and create. Children enjoy making their own things and get more opportunity for development by making things than by just playing with toys that are bought for them. Some parents smother their child with over-equipment.

Savage children play very much as ours do. They have imitative toys, a bow and arrow, a canoe, a doll, and other things their fathers and mothers have, just like our children. They play a great deal and are almost always happy. Nearly all travelers notice how happy the children of primitive people are at their play. Much of this play is not only imitative but preparatory for their later life; this preparation is not consciously planned, but the parents do see the value of the children's doing the things they will later have to do. The child takes the opportunity given him just as our child does when eager to cook or drive nails.

The older savages play also, having a great deal of pantomime and play in their dances. Sometimes their mimic plays suggest our comedies. At the initiation, especially, the savages enjoy long dances that show, perhaps, how a white man or a kangaroo behaves, and imitate processes or animals that have been observed.

Some of the games we are familiar with and often play come from savages and are very ancient. Contest games are

popular among savages almost everywhere in the world. A common one makes two boys or men challenge one another to stand a certain amount of punishment. In a Malay game played by two men, each man puts out one hand and holds a short stick in the other. The players hit each other with the sticks until one says, "I have had enough." These men are showing off before many spectators, particularly women, their ability to stand pain. American Indians used whips to fight what we would call a duel, but which was in reality another form of the contest game.

Modern baseball comes from an old game called rounders, in which a player could be hit by the ball and put out by being struck. If we carry that back we find the North American Indians playing ball and always permitting a player's being struck by the ball, since that gave a certain amount of risk to the game, which added to their enjoyment of it. Anthropologists say this goes back to the time when it was wise for savage boys to be trained in using a club as a weapon and in throwing stones in preparation for fighting; out of this came the contest which gave way to the ball game of the Indian and that in turn to our professional baseball.

Theories of play.—One of the oldest of the theories that try to account for the origin and universality of play is the Schiller-Spencer theory of surplus energy. Play, like laughter, releases surplus energy so that it can flow out and lower the tension of the organism. We say to our children, "Play and get rid of your extra energy." But the malnourished and the sick child play; it is not always true that play represents a surplus, for sometimes the person cannot afford to dispose of any of his energy in that fashion, yet he loves to play.

Groos said, "Play is practice. We play the things we want to do later." That is partly true but most of us will confess we have played at many things we never seriously wanted to do in life. Only in the animal is this preparation

seriously carried out. Groos was led to his theory by watching animals. Puppies play at being watch dogs as if they thought their destiny was to be mostly snarling and barking. But preparation is not the only meaning of play. We cannot assume that the child is only doing the same thing as the puppy; instinct accounts for much of the puppy's behavior, but the child's life is more complicated.

G. Stanley Hall's theory is that play recapitulates the history of the race. The child repeats the experiences of his progenitors. We no longer believe this because the child evidently does not go through any constant series of activities representing cosmic periods, but merely reproduces some of the experiences of past ages.

It is true he plays at being a caveman, a tree-dweller, a nomad, but he is unlikely to play spontaneously at being a shepherd or an agriculturist. Even when hunting or fighting he is often reacting to suggestion he has received from conversation, stories, pictures or events that have come within his environment. The child craves action, and is won by the drama of man's early life, as by the exploits of more recent times. It may be that the child's interest in dramatic contests of modern as of ancient times is due to his cosmic past, but it is difficult to disentangle so broad an emotional bias from the fundamental human urge to activity and the seeking after sensation which in early childhood are characterized by a preference for intensity of stimulation and activity involving the use of the larger muscles.

McDougall tells us play is rivalry. That is true of some play. Rivalry has a large place in contest games but does not fully account for play.

Miss Appleton says play is the result of biological necessity. As the body changes its structure it has to change its play. Play is for the advantage of the body. Sensation play enables the child to become more delicate in his contacts. That is true also but it is not the whole truth.

We would have to put all these theories together to have a satisfactory understanding of play, and then come back to the statement that play is the business of childhood and that we cannot account for it other than by saying it is the great need of childhood.

Adult play.—If we turn to the adult our problem becomes simpler. There are two reasons for adult recreation: monotony and intensity. Persons whose lives are monotonous will play, for to them play is a rest from routine. The great majority of people, if they play at all, do so on account of this desire to rid themselves of the result of monotony, fatigue. Their play is likely to be noisy, rough, spectacular, overemphasized, because it is such a relief to them after the monotony that has impressed them in their working experience. Professional people who have great responsibility, whose life is intellectually intense, play, not to get away from monotony but to lessen the intensity of their life by a change of occupation which will bring them relief. They are likely often to choose the same sort of play as those who are suffering from monotony. To both play is relief.

Play also gives the adult new experience, something human nature is always craving as relief from monotony. Play represents adventure. The traveler and explorer enjoy an extreme type of adventure play. Roosevelt, going to Africa to hunt game when he left the presidency, illustrates the zest to be found in this sort of recreation.

Contact provides motive for recreation. The person who is playing solitaire with cards exemplifies the kind of play that is largely struggle; the fascination of the bridge party lies in the opportunity it provides for association. Much of our play springs from the desire for effortless contact with people.

The play that allows conflict is the kind of play the boy likes. It permits him to try his resources against somebody else's. It is necessary in most games to have scores, records,

or distinctions in order to have struggle. When we feel we cannot pit boy against boy but must urge the boy to improve himself we get his past record and pit him against that, but this is a more sublimated struggle; he would rather beat somebody else than himself, so we have to advertise his success and add to its arbitrary prestige, to make this new type of struggle as compelling as the other.

Much of our play is imitation of things other people do. *The American Magazine* not long ago told the story of a man in New York who built in his basement a large electric railroad with many cars and stations and invited the boys of the neighborhood in to play. Every little while they ran a regular railroad system. The fathers heard about what was being done and soon interfered so much that the man had a night once a fortnight for the older enthusiasts, when several prominent men would gather and run a complicated railroad service, trying to see if they could manage the system they had planned. These men confessed they had wanted as children to be railroad men and had not got over the desire; as long as it was play, not work, they still wanted to manipulate trains. They were getting recreation from what is probably a more vital interest than billiards or bridge, though not common because people do not often have an opportunity to imitate in that way. Camping out is a return to boyhood dreams and allows imitation of the doings of that time.

Play is also carried on for distinction, certain kinds of recreational success bringing advantage, especially to the boy and girl in school. Every educational institution is troubled by the position athletics hold in public thinking and among the great mass of the students. It is hard for school administrators to realize that the prize fighter, the noted tennis player, the football hero are the greatest persons of the period to these young people. In their eyes these are the men who have achieved. Having no idea of what it means to earn money, to conquer nature, or to discover new facts

by skilled research, the student body honor the man whose doings they can understand. It is very easy for educators to cater to this emphasis on bodily prowess so as to get such results as school loyalty and discipline. Just so long as any college honors athletes more than students, it will find its athletic attainment outdistancing its intellectual achievement in the minds of its students. College administration has often neglected opportunity to stress scholarship, executive and organizing ability and other capacities that bring distinction in the outside world, but is beginning now to change its attitude and is getting results.

An outstanding problem is our tendency toward vicarious play, which is of no great advantage, though it has some value. It ought not to take the place of personal play. Probably the chief criticism of American athletics is its development of specialties and specialists, its willingness to let a few persons get the advantage of the game, becoming almost professional, while the rest merely look on and back what is being done. The desire for success in athletic contests is so great that not many coaches are willing to pay attention to the average candidate for sport, but are interested only in the extraordinary; they train a team as one would train a trotting horse and for the same purpose. This should not be called recreation, because that is not what it is at all. It exploits the individual who is trained and exploits still more those who are only supporters.

The English spread their recreation through the mass of people, so that almost everybody takes an active part in some sport: the young play football; the middle aged (those over twenty) go in for cricket; and bowling on the green, for the older people, can be played almost as long as a man can walk about. These are interesting, require skill, and bring people together in the open air in a very different way from that of sitting in a grandstand watching professionals play their game as a business. Walt Whitman said, "I hear

America singing"; when a poet can say, "I see America playing," our culture will be markedly changed.

Commercial and community play.—We have in modern life three kinds of play, spontaneous, organized, and commercialized.[2] Spontaneous play occurs mostly in the family, organized play is in the hands of the school and such groups as the Boy Scouts or Y. M. C. A.; commercialized play is merely a business carried on by people who have no responsibility except to themselves in profits. At this point the risk of modern recreation is clear. The danger of commercialized recreation is being lessened by an increasing stress on organized play. The time may come when the community will feel that unless it provides play for its children it is not giving its citizens a reasonable preparation for life; it will not dare have its play entirely in the hands of men thinking only of profits.

The Little Theater is a good illustration of the difference between commercial and community recreation. The ordinary theater has almost lost its artistic value. It does have slight value as relief, but compared with its function in the past it has dropped to a very low ebb. The Little Theater has come from the attempt of thoughtful people to produce plays of a higher order than the ones that can be commercial successes. Nearly all the fine playwriting of today is in the hands of those who are working for the Little Theater. North Dakota University is an amateur dramatic center that has attracted attention. The Carolina Players of North Carolina University go all through the South putting on plays most of which are written by the students of that institution. Harvard has had its Workshop 47 which has produced many of its plays and published others. Dallas, Texas, has a Little Theater that has received a great deal of attention because of its remarkable success. Pasadena Community Theater stages plays of a high order, the work of artists who live

[2] Davis, J., and others, "An Introduction to Sociology," p. 766.

there, and do this because they love it, not at all as a commercial undertaking. Scattered through the country are many of these sincere attempts at dramatic expression, reaching a far higher level than the ordinary theater.

It is a depressing fact that good plays are not now self-supporting, but one cannot feel that this necessarily means a drop in the general level of appreciation of the audience. The spectacular modern productions of heavily capitalized showmen would in any period have done much to crowd out the higher type drama because they demand so little of the onlooker and inculcate a superficial sense of sophistication by accustoming him to scenes of splendor, that form no part of the genuine drama, and a finished technique of execution not easily attained by the small producer handicapped by a comparative lack of funds; when the average theater-goer of today, then, goes to see a play that is above the ordinary level, he resents the mental and emotional exercise demanded of him and is contemptuous of the barrenness his familiarity with elaborate costumes and settings leads him to see in the production.

Play and personality.—The kind of play a person takes part in rebounds and influences his personality. One can as quickly tell about a person's character by what he likes to play, how he plays and his standards of play, as in any other way. It is not true that this is the only thing one must take into account; man is too complicated to allow that to be true. One can have a fine character in one's working life and a high type of responsibility, yet enjoy a low type of play life; but such a case is rare. In the mass if one sees people playing over a length of time one has a clear indication of their culture and character.

Play has an educational function that influences personality. This came out in our World War experience. It was not wise to bring great multitudes of soldiers together, with their desire for self-expression, unless they had wide oppor-

tunity for wholesome recreation. As soon as they were free from routine, effort was made to bring them at once into the atmosphere of well-directed play; if left to themselves they ran risk of degenerating immediately to the lowest kind of play. In every place where soldiers gathered, even in the prisoners' camps, the governments of all countries had to organize play under the supervision of specialists as a means of building up morale and protecting personality from the deadening effect of the war experiences. Some of this was not so well carried on as it should have been and did not succeed therefore in doing what it attempted.

If true in wartime when people are gathered together in great numbers, it is true all the time that the desire for play must be made an asset lest it become a source of degeneration, only this does not appear so clearly in times of peace because then most people are influenced in their recreation by family ties, the force of early habit, expectations of friends, and pressure of public opinion.

The realization of the effect of play on personality accounts in part for the keen interest now being shown in the play movement all over the country, and the large amount of space, money and attention given to play by some of our larger cities, notably Chicago. If wisely carried on this will make a satisfactory attack on our crime tendency. Society ought always to provide the means to satisfy the craving for recreational self-expression; much of the mischief that appears in society is the result of emptiness in the play life. If we fill up this void we will have less trouble. When in difficulty with children it is good strategy at once to arrange for play.

The American officials in their government of the Philippine Islands had the problem of trying to stop head-hunting. It had been the fashion for a man in the late adolescent period to go out and kill somebody and bring in his head. A lover could not stand well in his courtship unless brave

enough to get an enemy's head. When the United States assumed control, the mountain section had this old established custom. We wanted to stop it. Somebody was wise enough not to depend on policing the section or legislating head-hunting out of existence. Although that was done, football was also organized and the rival tribes were started playing with one another, until in time this drove out head-hunting in the Philippines, though it still exists in some other places.

When play is organized, there have to be play standards. This is the place for supervision. Groups cannot just go on playing without leadership. Even if they did nothing wrong, their ethics would soon be on the level of the lowest in the group. Those who are interested in play have to spend a great deal of effort in trying to establish proper standards of good taste and justice. In order to do that they have to depend on the support they get from the group. Supervisors cannot put their standards upon others with success; they must lead in a strategic way by suggestion rather than by dominance. If the leadership is trivial, it defeats itself and the boys and girls escape supervision as quickly as possible.

Play as relief.—Where there is not enough play there are bound to be substitutes for it. The craving for powerful narcotics like opium, cocaine and alcohol is in part a hunger for the same sort of relief from monotony or hard work as that offered by play. There are times in the lives of most of us when it seems as if relaxation has to be provided or we shall break down under the strain of long-continued effort; if play is not possible or if we are not in the habit of playing, this is a time when we may take up some form of drug. It has been said that anyone who would discover a harmless narcotic for human nature would bring it one of its great gifts. The play spirit acts as a harmless narcotic, taking the attention off whatever is wearing down one's resistance, and giving a sense of respite before one goes back to the task of facing realities in a business-like way.

Play and achievement.—Anything that comes out of the child's play interest is dynamic. After anger, hate, and love, play is a fourth source of energy. The adult watching the child at play asks, "How far can the things we want children to do be made play so they will be done easily and with great willingness by the child?" The modern pedagogue says, "You cannot get all you want from the child unless you make his work interesting." The adult also asks, "How far can I in my work carry the play attitude so as to have the advantage of being stimulated by play?" In so far as any of us can imbue our work with the spirit of play we have the advantage of stimulation that we should not otherwise have. When we are interested in our work we do it easily and therefore accomplish more than if we did it with difficulty, and at the same time we reduce our fatigue because that comes from friction in the personality. Moreover we discover a satisfaction in doing things playfully which does not often come from doing things as work. We like sometimes to feel that we have done a hard thing, and enjoy a sense of moral self-mastery; because this is so spectacular, we have had false teaching in religion and education that makes a thing valuable because it is hard. At times we must fall back on that but the better way is to do things happily without struggle. The satisfaction that comes from the play attitude is more convincing in the long run than the other sort.

The play spirit in work tends to improve judgment. The buoyant type of person is likely to show good sense in his activities as compared with the person who takes his work too seriously, making it unduly difficult. A proof of this is the fact that the more tired a teacher or parent gets, and the more overwhelming seems his obligation of getting things done, the less discrimination he shows in dealing with young people, so that his lack of spontaneity defeats his purpose. The child discovers that the judgments passed are unreason-

able and extreme and that fault-finding is quick; he, in turn, becomes nervous and less able to work efficiently.

It has been hard for New Englanders and all who have taken over their traditions to realize that the doctrine of hardness which comes down through authors like Locke and later theologians like Edwards is false teaching. It is a whipping of human nature. The more light-hearted way is the normal thing. The shadow of the New England conscience still rests on many Americans, for it is not confined to territory but is a morbid attitude, representing fear of relaxation. What one does easily is what one does well. Only when one is in a crisis where one's strength is hard pressed, must one fall back on the driving of determination in workaday mood. If unreasonable in one's usual demands on oneself, one may be less able to meet the crisis when it comes. Good development would build up reserves of strength to be called on in extraordinary circumstances. The buoyant person is probably as often equal to a crisis as the work-hardened person.

The advantage of the play spirit comes out in the professional man's career. One of the arguments for entering upon professional work is the amount of opportunity it gives for the play spirit. A man may not make so much money here as in some other occupations but he is freer in that his work is more interesting ordinarily and he can carry more of the play spirit into it. He has the advantage usually over business men, though some of them can greatly use the play spirit. Factory work offers little chance for play but its very monotony drives the operators to daydream a large part of the time. Specialists who know what working girls whose jobs are mechanical in character occupy their minds with, while at their machines, testify that these girls spend their time in dreaming about the themes of love and wealth that appear in the novels they read or the moving pictures they see, making their own plots and putting themselves as hero-

ines in love stories where they have delightful success in romance. Only when they have to come back to reality by the snapping of a thread do they leave this dream world. Their work is automatic and their minds instead of being concentrated are free to play. Dr. Pruette by her survey of the daydreams of the adolescent girl shows us that these reveries are a common experience of youth without regard to economic class.[3] The factory girl merely uses the opportunity her work offers to carry on a fascinating mental and emotional play.

From the point of view of play interest we can make a scale of occupations. On the lowest level we would put toil, best illustrated by the slave who has to do as he is commanded even though it is unpleasant; this represents subordination with no play spirit. The man who has to stick close to his job in order that his family may survive is a toiler with practically no play spirit. Above that stands work, where most persons are in their adult occupations; here is a slight idea of self-expression, so that the workers do not have to accept employment where they do not want to. These people have a small amount of choice, and a sense of their own value; what they do is purposeful, but they do not have very much play, their labor is too serious and not desirable in itself but only for what it brings. Highest of all is the play attitude, which makes an adventure of difficulties and a delight of accomplishment; we think of this as being characteristic of the old time craftsman, and as typifying the surgeon, artist and lawyer who lose themselves in their work and forget their personal grief or acute physical pain in the ecstasy of achievement.

Social significance of sport.—In modern life the most interesting thing about sport is its democratic character. This is one of the few places where democracy actually does succeed. We cannot have democratic government, industry, nor

[3] Pruette, L., "Women and Leisure," pp. 152–90.

education yet, though we try hard; but sport is really democratic, because the game carries everyone with it. The man who cannot attend the contests gets the returns from bulletin board or newspaper. Sporting news goes into all sorts of homes and most persons take some interest in it. At first thought it may seem ridiculous that sport has so much space in the newspapers and so many people turn first to it, but this provides a real insurance for society. The establishment of a common ground of understanding for the business man, man of wealth and loafer on the street corner, all turning to the same page, gives a basis of interest that protects us from a complete separation of classes. This is perhaps our only genuine democracy.

Sport also in our time is invigorating because it gives us new experiences, and therefore substitutes for some other things we want to rid ourselves of. Besides attacking alcohol and other narcotic drugs, and undermining the trend toward crime, it does away with the dissatisfactions that turn us toward war. One of the reasons for war, as Tennyson said in "Maud," is that peace gets so monotonous. Peace is tedious to a certain type; at least the hope of sharp change offered by war unconsciously wins their sympathies. William A. White analyzes the war spirit as representing a psychoanalytic craving for relaxation. When war comes, it soon gets too serious to afford much relief from peace-time routine, but at the beginning it brings a feeling of holiday. All the old shopworn annoyances and difficult problems are automatically sloughed off and what lies ahead seems a glorious adventure.

We have to have new experience. Human nature used to get it in warfare and hunting and still wants it in some form. It is only a drag horse kind of individual that can go on day after day doing the same thing. Some literally do not want new experience, but most of us crave it and if we do not get it become restless or, under certain circum-

stances, tend toward morbid expression. Sport is one of the ways in which we get new experiences, as we go out of our own routine and identify ourselves with an expert in another line of action.

Sport of all sorts tends to give us social experience. Tennis stands low, from this point of view, as compared with football because it does not yet have the universal appeal of the gridiron, is too high grade and aristocratic to be appreciated to the same extent. Baseball is more characteristic than tennis because it interests more persons and represents a cruder form of running, throwing, and hitting than tennis. Football, like baseball, wins the multitude because of its resemblance to the elemental struggles of savage life. All these contests give people a chance to step out of their business and for a little while have a new type of experience. While not so good as travel, they act in much the same way. For many, sport must be the usual method of relief. It gives zest to life, by invigorating the mind, breaking concentration and clarifying judgment. The man who, when perplexed in making a decision, locks up his office and goes to a ball game is a wise strategist; he has done as much as he can, so will rest a while, get interested in something else, and come back able to see the question differently and make a clearer judgment.

Sanity in society is protected by sport. If we could get the cranks and agitators playing, we should check their unwise meddling as, probably, nothing else ever will. They are seeking a crude sort of satisfaction by attacking society and their desire for a struggle can be sublimated in sport just as are the cravings that lead to war.

Play and delinquency are linked together; when there is more play there are fewer juvenile offenders. Studies made of cities have shown that the coming of the playground with its encouragement of play decreases crime, so that play is felt to be much better than the policeman as a means of pre-

venting delinquency. Since sport is so valuable socially it properly belongs to government and education. The Roman government learned how to protect itself from civil uprisings by providing public spectacles. Athens and Sparta learned the value of play as a constructive effort in social control. We are using play as a means of educating children and adults in regard to health habits.

Play and social environment.—Both the rural and the urban environments influence the character of play in different ways. The rural environment offers less play than it might because of the difficulty of getting together. Many adults in rural sections do not believe in play, but still think of it according to Puritan traditions as a waste of time, crippling their own play life and that of their children, though on the whole the country child has the best opportunity for solitary, spontaneous play. The city runs risk of parasitic play. It is depressing on a beautiful Saturday afternoon to stand at a theater entrance and watch the children, who now have an afternoon free, going into the picture theater, losing the value of fresh air and free movement and being put under artificial stimulation. This represents a loss in recreation; it would be much better for these children if they were outdoors on a playground. Yet thousands of children in the cities go to the movies because its spectacular attraction overshadows more wholesome forms of play.

Play reflects culture differences. The Occidental and Oriental represent two types in their recreation, just as in their other interests. Some of the people in this country belong to the Oriental type, and there are people in Asia and India who belong to the Occident in their play attitude. The Occidental in his play is energetic, likes struggle and wants to do things, continues the kind of activity that has made survival possible. This represents a youthful attitude. The Oriental is more passive, tends toward thinking rather than acting, apparently getting much of his play from what we would

call intellectual daydreaming and discussion. We who are Occidental cannot understand him very well and he does not understand us any better.

Social environments produce complexes with reference to play. The one that stands out as characteristic of our present Occidental culture is the athletic complex. The athlete has been our hero. The mystic is the Oriental complex and that is why all religions with one or two exceptions have been born in Oriental territories or propagated by exceptional western persons who conform to the Oriental type.

Play and education.—Recognition of the advantage not only of having play in the schools but of making it a part of the learning process has brought about the prevalence of the interest doctrine. Interest is very similar to the play impulse. This is now being carried further than at first and children are actually learning through play, most especially in the earlier grades. The kindergarten was a pioneer with Froebel's theory, so strange at the time, that play was education; this movement is now incorporated in the upper grades and little by little it is coming in the highest grades. Even a university course can be taught profitably without any of the conventional attitude toward it, as a play experience. The student who is taking a course without credit gets an inkling of this as he reads according to his interests, without troubling about marks; he may be surprised to find that he is getting more than usual out of his study, with less sense of effort.

As the pleasure philosophy is pushing us all the time away from the older notion that a thing is good because difficult, without doubt we shall have more of play in education. The linking together of play and school changes the attitude of the child regarding education. Those of us who are older had very little play tied up with the school; we played prisoners' base and marbles before and after school and at recess, but had no playing in school, except the spelling match, which for many was agony rather than sport; the school represented

a workshop or a dungeon and we carried over into life, most of us, the idea that the things for which the school stood were more or less irksome and the outside things pleasureable. No modern school permits that today because the child finds in the school and connected with it what he loves, as well as some things he does not like. That will probably always remove from him the feeling that school is toilsome, in sharp contrast with play.

Play and the parent.—As the school gets more opportunity, unfortunately the home gets less. The parent needs to think about this. Where the parent does not play with the child and take interest in his play, he comes to have much the same relationship the teacher used to have, merely authority, with little possibility of comradeship. One of the reasons why parents today find it so hard to control their child is that the old method of authority has broken down so that if there is not a sympathetic relationship between parent and child, there is little basis for loyalty. As this movement progresses, the child will care less and less for his family life, and will break from the home very easily and earlier than he used to unless the parents share his play interests in the child's early years. Anyone who has experience with family problems recognizes that. If the parents want to protect themselves from trouble with the adolescent they must do it by investing themselves in the child's early life in play and comradeship. By the time adolescence comes it is usually too late to do much. One seldom sees a serious problem in the home where the father takes a large enough share in the child's play life. The mother usually does her part, especially when the child is very young.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ART

The antiquity of art.—Art has had a long history. A multitude of artistic creations belonging to the Quaternary period have been discovered by archaeology in its study of prehistoric times. These evidences of the existence of paleolithic art bring out forcefully the strength of the deep-seated impulses in human nature that lead to artistic expression, for the work of the prehistoric artists developed spontaneously, since they were without the stimulus of a background of art. It is unlikely also that at a time when culture was so crude their efforts received much social recognition from their more materialistically inclined associates. The prehistoric artist must have found primarily in his creations the pure joy of workmanship.

Although there is considerable controversy among experts as to whether some of these paleolithic specimens that have been dug up by the archaeologists are hand-made imitations in stone of forms familiar to primitive man or mere accidental resemblances found among the stones scattered about, and kept on account of their likeness to common objects, it would be unreasonable to question the artificial character of certain figures in stone that archaeologists have discovered. When we come to the paintings that have been unearthed in ancient caves, and the bone and ivory carvings, there is no room for doubt that the producers of these were artists who possessed real talent. With great skill and a sense of movement the paintings portray animal profiles. Colors were made by using inorganic material, probably from minerals

that were picked up on the surface of the ground, and after having been mixed with grease, applied by some sort of brush. The paleolithic artist, although especially fond of portraying animal life, did not neglect the human form.

It has been said that no race of men, whether savage or civilized, is without artistic sense. There appears to be a widespread delight in drawing the figures of animals. This form of entertainment is also extremely common among children. The impulse of the child seems to be to create. In the older child the criticisms which are generally received intensify self-consciousness, and this, allied with an increasing interest in sports and more active forms of play, apparently lessens the love of artistic creation except in those who are especially endowed with artistic talent.

The socializing of art.—We use the word art with different meanings. Sometimes we denote the artificial as compared with the natural. Sometimes we are thinking of applied knowledge, as when we speak of industrial art. The term as used in this chapter is limited to the fine arts, which are the products of skill. This kind of art results from the attempt to express strong emotion. The turbulent and unpleasant emotions such as anger and fear seldom receive artistic expressions. The emotions that do flow out into art are called by the psychologist the aesthetic emotions, and there is much discussion in that science as to their significance. Although they are generally thought not to be instinctive, yet they are impulses natural to the normal person. One has a strong desire to express an aesthetic emotion. Even the little child, brought in the presence of an appealing, colorful type of art, shows a strong tendency to react, and if possible to get some one to share his experience. Inner feeling also flows out of the little child in the song and particularly the dance, and appears to be more than mere enjoyment of motion or the delight of making sound.

Impulses so deeply buried in human personality are bound

to have social significance. In primitive life, as we see it among savages, we have no difficulty in detecting the advantage that comes to society from the uses made of this love of artistic expression. Its largest asset for the group is the part it plays in social solidarity and the feeling of relationship. The appreciation of art and the expression of art draw together kindred persons and strengthen the ties that produce fellowship. In savage culture art also links itself with religion and magic and even the manual occupations. This appears in the carved tool and the beautifully woven basket of reed and, among the more advanced craftsmen, in pottery. The effort of the savage to create artistic products also leads to an increase of skill. Anyone who has looked upon the carvings of the Eskimo in ivory or wood will appreciate the skilful coördination of fingers and eyes that was necessary in the art of the engraver and its value in training for manual dexterity.

Savage ornamentation.—A visitor to a savage tribe might hesitate to catalogue under art the various kinds of adornment he observed, for much of what he saw would seem to him hideous, as, for instance, feathers in the hair, tattooing of the skin, scarification by making swellings on the surface of the body, face and body painting and the mutilation of teeth, ears or even lips. Nevertheless these exhibits of savage fashion are related to the artistic impulse. This adornment also has a distinct part in sexual selection. Most fundamental of all is the appeal it makes to vanity, a motive which is the basis of the vogue of fashion

The anthropologist surprises us at first when he tells us that adornment had a larger influence in leading the savage to cover his body than did the utility value of clothing as a means of protection. It should, however, be no surprise to learn this when we notice in our own time how far fashion can go in causing men and women to wear or do what is uncomfortable in the effort to conform to fashion.

Poetry, music and the dance among savages.—Poetic pictures are frequently found in the folk tales of savage peoples. Their imagination, especially when it plays about the origin of life, the creator, and the golden age of an earlier period, shows a fertile fancy. The songs of the savage, in particular, disclose this love of poetic expression. The topics most commonly relate to the hunt, battle or food-getting, for it is the coarser material pleasures that receive the larger place in primitive poetry, although it is not entirely destitute of amorous expression. It is rare also to find savage tribes without any instruments for the making of musical sounds. The music of the savage emphasizes rhythm, and the drum is usually the prominent instrument. Sometimes this rhythm is produced by the clapping of hands which accompanies dancing and perhaps singing. The instruments are of the wind, string and percussion types, and often anticipate modern inventions such as the violin, harp, flute, drum and musical box.

Social aspects of the appeal of art.—The history of art is closely related to social conditions. During the mediaeval period, when the church dominated social life, the supreme expression of art was architecture in the form of the cathedral. With the development of the nobility and a more aggressive class friction the castle and the palace became the higher forms of architectural construction. In our own time architecture gets its largest expression in commercial construction or in buildings devoted to the affairs of the state.

When we pass from architecture into literature, painting and sculpture, we find art revealing social culture and responding in the form it takes to the conventional thinking and feeling of the time. Art that depends upon the ear has a more limited opportunity for the expression of social thought than that which is related to the eye. From this point of view literature provides the richer medium of expression and is the art most sensitive to changes in social experience.

Painting has to use color, and sculpture, form, but literature carries art to the point where the symbol itself conveys meaning. This permits the development of a medium for the expression of social feeling which is most complicated, but as we move toward greater complexity, there is a corresponding loss in the ability of the recipient of the art to share his experiences with others, at the time when the aesthetic feeling is experienced. Instead of the social contact permitted by the dance of the savage or by worship in the mediaeval cathedral, literature gets an individual response. More is demanded of the mind receiving the impression, and as a consequence the types of art that appeal through the eye are less democratic. The love of literature is much more limited than love of music. Many there are who find in the printed page no value other than utility. The books they read are merely used as tools of the mind. The art which literature represents is to them something that has no meaning.

Democracy at the news stand.—If you would meet American democracy at close quarters, loiter by the news stand. You can find no better place to distill the flavor of our democracy, expressed in what we are pleased to call literature. In front of you are spread the papers, magazines and books that most readers want. You are impressed by the universal appeal of the news stand. Gradual change has at last brought that for which social prophets and educational reformers have long been working—a civilization in which everybody reads.

Never before has there been such an expression of democratic taste in art, or at least in the rudiments of one of the arts. In the past literature has been aristocratic; it has been dominated by the influence of a restricted class of readers. Even in Athens, where the popular literature reached such high levels, the workers, or slaves, were as a matter of course excluded. Modern American literature has

been forced to take the democratic experiment seriously. More than our industry, our education, our religion, even our government, literature has tried to satisfy public desire by catering to what it calls "the general reader," a personification of popular taste. It is natural enough that democracy should have come early in the domain of the printing-press.

The writer and the publisher, with the exception of the propagandist, whose willful attempt to meddle with people and change their thought puts him in the group of advertisers rather than among the makers of literature, are more anxious to discover what readers want than they are to influence them. As a consequence the readers are given what they want, or at least what the publishers think they are likely to want, for the publisher in his effort to satisfy the demands of his market is engaged in a speculative enterprise. The reading public is as fickle as a child; it drops an interest in which it has been absorbed and turns to something new with unexplainable suddenness and without warning. The people rule, with their power over profits, and the democracy of readers takes what pleases it from the material offered by the publishers, indifferent to tradition, authority, even the standards of the literary aristocrats who choose to think themselves the guardians of literary art.

Leisure and Reading.—Literature has grown democratic by the simple process of enlarging the volume of readers. This has come about, as everybody knows, by the increase of inventions and the decrease in the hours of labor, especially of those who, according to the popular vocabulary, are "the workers." Merely by the spread of leisure the essential character of literature has been changed. Once an aristocratic art, it is in these days democratic: once it had to look for survival to the beggarly gifts of the patron; it must now turn for its sustenance to the multitude of readers who know only what they want and care for nothing else.

It is increased leisure with its higher standards of life for the great mass of people that has shifted the basis of literary expression, but it would be most fallacious to assume that the increased leisure has gone mostly into reading; such is not the case. The material civilization that gave us more free time also determined the use we should make of it. Reading and the arts have received a rather niggardly portion of the new leisure, quite contrary to the expectation of those who advocated a more equitable distribution of freedom from toil. The automobile and other mechanistic means of pleasure-getting have taken so tremendous a slice of our added spare time that there is little left for the library.

Even our city library building, as any visitor may discover for himself, is patronized to a considerable extent by the homeless and the unemployed, to whom it is a higher type of park bench free to all who will make a pretense of reading, and by the student driven to it by educational coercion, to whom it is a storage plant for the information that he can gather nowhere else and must have if he is to obtain a passing mark in his courses.

The automobile, rather than the family library, has become the characteristic adjunct of our leisure; the average American home spends more money yearly on gasoline than on all its reading put together. Even Santa has been known to disregard the urgent requests of children for books at Christmas, just at the age when their love of reading could be most easily encouraged or starved; yet the head of the house would immediately buy a new car to replace one only two or three years old.

The middle-class family no longer feels that it must establish its neighborhood standing by books purchased as an ornament; it knows full well that its position will be determined by the kind of automobile in its garage or the radio set on its front table more than by the kind of books it has or does not have. Even the pestering book-agent has been driven

out of business and in his place we have the young athlete who tells us that he is maintaining himself at college by selling subscriptions to popular magazines.

New readers.—Literature has been influenced not so much by an increase in reading as by the additions to the ranks of readers. Everybody reads a little. The "average reader," that vague personage that has such a significance for the publisher, nibbles at literature much as the chronic dyspeptic eats; nevertheless he largely decides what is to be set on our literary table. The publisher, confronted with ever-increasing expenses in the production of books and magazines, must depend for his profits on large sales; his output must either be in popular form, to sell in quantity for a short time, or if more serious he must have reason to suppose that it will sell over a long period of years.

The commercializing of literature.—Literature has gone the way of the theater and become a mob-minded art. It takes considerable advertising momentum to give a popular novel a fair chance to become a best seller, but once the book succeeds in winning the popular attention, for a season—usually a very short season indeed—the book rages in the same way as the fashion or the fad; nearly everybody who reads books reads it; all who talk about books discuss it; the library buys several copies of the book and keeps a waiting-list for it: and then the book passes, and nothing brings it back; the several copies gather dust on the public library shelf, for popular favor has left it and never again will it be sought after except by the curious student of literary interest. To a degree this has always been true of books, but the difference now is in the quickness with which the book comes and goes, and in the lack of discrimination with which it is accepted, for even the critic if he is to be heard must follow the crowd and become an interpreter of popular choice rather than a guide that directs the literary movement. The mischief is not in the fact that a book rages, but rather

in the monopolistic control it has over the reading public while it is in vogue, and the way in which it wins its popularity. Keeping up with the best sellers is not reading in the old-fashioned sense, but, as it has been called, "a conspiracy against reading"; it is thrill-getting, and in the mental world occupies somewhat the same position that the roller-coaster does in the realm of physical recreation.

Best sellers have only their popularity in common: among them are the good, the bad, and the indifferent, but they are all alike in having something that can appeal to a multitude of readers, the majority of whom read only books that win mass popularity. This literary clientele is as intolerant as mob judgment. By its power of mass suggestion it bewitches those readers who, possessing a native taste, would achieve discriminating and thoughtful reading if only they were not shackled by social coercion. Thus the American reading public tends to perpetuate itself upon an uncritical level. What it lacks in the quality of its literary experience it makes up in its insistence on quantity; it wants stimulation, and of a massive sort; as in the case of the movie and jazz music it asks for a sensational quality that will make little demand upon the mind itself, but give it abundant thrills with little effort. Woe upon the book that was destined to have permanent value, when it becomes entangled in the rapidly moving mass; it enjoys its fleeting season of popularity and then runs the risk of literary oblivion, from which it is rescued either by a happy accident or by the effort of the discerning few.

Popular dominance in literature.—The lack of interest on the part of many people in serious books that may properly be called literature has created in the minds of some the fear of a dominance of popular taste which will lead to the censoring of books and thereby limit the reading material of lovers of literary art because of the censors' antagonism toward that which they cannot appreciate. Although we

have had some evidences of this trend, the practical danger of popular dominance in literature lies along another line. It is becoming so expensive to print and circulate books that the publishers, for the sake of profit, have either to depend upon a wide circulation of the books they publish or to fix a price that automatically keeps the book from the reader in moderate economic circumstances.

There is no serious problem regarding books of the past since many of them are being published in popular editions, but, with the new books, the concentration of the publisher on the best sellers, and the effects of advertising are such that the reading of the people very largely becomes standardized. If, as some charge, this lowers literary taste, it is primarily the effect of widening the number of readers and making it profitable for the writer and the publisher to cater to the lower levels of the reading public.

The commercial situation has a marked effect upon the development of literature both by tempting the artist to be content with work which will bring better financial reward than if he does his best, and also by leading the publisher to confine himself to the books that easily sell. Even in the selection of manuscript, the publisher feels the force of this dictation from a mass of readers of low literary taste. If the submergence of literature is to be prevented, it must be by lifting the standards of popular reading, and this in turn seems to be a function that rightly belongs to the school.

Popularity of fiction.—The novel by its persistent popularity reveals its deep anchorage in human nature; the wellnigh universal love of the story, which can put under a similar spell the child, the savage, and the sophisticated American adult, guarantees that fiction can never be made a class type of literature. It draws its magic from the power it has to unloose the imagination and give fancy a free flight; it carries the reader beyond his possible experience, and even in a direction contrary to the realities of his life. When we

deal with actual experience we have to take what environment brings us; consciousness has to apply itself to the thing in hand. So long as we pay attention to outward stimuli there is no escape from the tyranny of environment; if we would have different circumstances we must remove ourselves from our surroundings. We are the slaves of time and space. Story-telling, however, in its simplest form releases the human cravings, sets us free to dream, to imagine, to revel in our own desires.

In the past the untrained person has been obliged to get his stories largely out of real life, that is, life near at hand, for it would be a grave mistake to suppose that the fictitious is absent ever from that simple form of story-telling which we call village gossip. The men that gathered about the circular stove in the country store or the women that packed missionary boxes in the church vestry knew full well that much they heard and said must not be taken too literally. In other words, even the simple happenings of everyday life in the little neighborhood were used to give opportunity for those who could make of them a stimulus to imagination and a way of escape from the dullness of routine. The difference between him who takes the lead in the conversation around the grocery stove and Sarah Orne Jewett is only a matter of skill; the greater delicacy and refinement of expression of the latter shuts out from the enjoyment of her story most of those who attempt to satisfy their cravings for the fictitious in village gossip. These same auditors, lifted to a slightly higher level by more experience, and trained in their early years by the contagious enthusiasm of a disciple of literature, could have developed into readers who would have found in "The Country of the Pointed Firs" greater satisfaction than in their repetitious neighborhood gossip.

The newspaper with its human interest story has developed a technic which draws all its readers together in a common sympathy; even though it is supposed to recount

facts, it to some extent sets fancy on the wing. The "sob story" is a sub-species that captivates only those who range on the lower levels of experience.

Fiction therefore serves all classes; its limitations are merely the limitations of those who read. One of the most profitable discoveries in journalism was the recognition that the business man, even when he appears on the surface prosaic, also has the inherent human yearning for the flight of fancy; his reading, however, had to be specially flavored with suggestions of his everyday life interests. When what he wanted was given him, not only did he read with avidity, but it was soon revealed that in America there is a vast multitude that think as he thinks and want the same sort of magazine he prefers: in the election of fiction types, he and his kind cast the largest number of votes and at present can justly claim to be the class of readers of fiction that most characteristically portray the literary level of our democracy.

Cultural differences and literature.—We have living with us, but not of us, vast numbers of migrants from other countries who are cut off from their own national culture, but have not tied themselves up firmly with ours. While some are superior in mental and artistic powers to the average descendant of American stock in the third or fourth generation, the mass of our immigration has been recruited from those citizens of other countries who had the fewest advantages in their homelands; whatever may be true physically of these laborers who come to us to better themselves, their cultural level is usually lower than ours, as indeed it is lower than the standard of their own countries. This inflowing people has tended to hamper us. It may be that in capacity there is no difference, but because of lack of opportunity they have not had the development that tends to make them choose the finest things in the new culture.

So far as they have been perverted by their early experiences in the new land into mere money-getters, many have

turned their whole family to the gathering in of wealth, paying little heed to anything else. Even though thriving financially the family then begrudges the time the child spends in school and snatches him out as soon as the law permits, to put him to work. Since to a large part of the newcomers America represents a money-grabbing contest where only the foolish waste time in such soft pursuits as educating themselves or their children, there is a wide gap at this point between their aims and ours; indeed, this non-educating, quick-money-getting ideal represents in itself a lower culture than that of the characteristic American, who is ready to sacrifice himself that his children may have full educational opportunity.

This difference in the ambitions of the newer and older Americans in the mass—for of course there are plenty of exceptions on both sides—does not necessarily mirror any difference in the attitude of the members of the two groups toward their children: the newcomers as well as the older inheritors of American traditions are giving their children a better equipment for life than they themselves had. It is understandable that a parent who is almost illiterate in the tongue of his adopted country does not see the need of a high school course for his child; he must stretch his imagination and power of self-negation almost to the breaking-point if he is to approve of the child's continuing in school after his triumphant completion of the fifth or sixth grade, when he can already read and write fluently on matters that are beyond the ken of the parent. Such a situation means more strain in the relations of parent and child than creeps in when a native parent, himself a graduate of the complete course of elementary schooling in America, contemplates sending his child to college.

Reading meets competition.—There are in our population many individuals who find little pleasure in reading. The newspaper is the only form of literature that makes any ap-

peal to them. If they can get from the radio what previously had to be obtained from a book, they prefer the radio to the book, just as long ago people preferred to have the poet read his poetry, rather than reading it themselves. Modern life offers too many attractions to force reading on those who do not enjoy it. In our earlier frontier life there was a great deal of emptiness. At seasons when out-of-door work could not be carried on, because of the frozen ground, deep snow, or excessive rain, people who were ordinarily very busy soon found themselves with their limited indoor occupations so well in hand that the evenings were left free for recreation. The long distances between homesteads made social gatherings few. Relief from the monotony of the yearly routine then had to be sought in reading and re-reading the few books that were about. Persons who would not have read if they had had something else to do for recreation were forced to read by their lack of opportunity to do anything more directly exciting.

Think of the difference between the situation Whittier described in "Snowbound" only three-score years ago and a winter night or day in most of our villages, towns and cities. It is a rare occasion when we are shut into our house all day by a storm; even if we are kept in by illness or accident we have radio, telephone; the mail almost always gets to us. We have things to attract our attention that make it unnecessary for us to turn to a book, whereas in frontier life there was often little else. The reason we think the early settlers read so much is that they had so little to read, they read it very slowly and carefully, perhaps read it over and over; then thought about it a good deal, since there was so little to think about; and naturally, having thought about it at length, and having few things to talk about, they discussed what they had read, with as much interest and definiteness of detail as now only paid reviewers are likely to devote to a book. Most of these frontiersmen really read very little; they were

more anxious to sit about the grocery stove and talk; the non-readers are forgotten when we think back, for the pithy comment of those who read and pondered what they read catches our eye and makes the minority who did read stand out.

Modern conditions that influence family life also have much to do with our literary situation. As the direct responsibilities of the family decrease, and the number of children per home drops, the house grows smaller corresponding to the size of the family. In the tiny apartment, where can the family keep its books, especially if it moves every spring, as many a family does? The layout of the four or five diminutive rooms has been carefully planned to leave no waste space, and such matters as a place for books are listed under luxuries and omitted from the scheme of things; so rare is it to find even a fair-sized apartment in the suburbs making arrangements for book-space that when one does have built-in book-shelves it features them in its brief classified For Rent ad. The books in the modern, compactly built house are few: they have to be; nobody wants to gather together the books he loves, only to have the family immediately move into a smaller apartment nearer the heart of the city, when his friendly books have to be given away or loaned—it matters not—since in the new residence will be no corner even for packing-boxes of books. When apartment-dwellers do buy books, they usually choose the ephemeral type; they do not intend to put much money or thought into the purchase of books that they are likely soon to throw away.

An organization that tends to prevent our buying books and circumscribe our reading is the lending library, which most of us patronize somewhat. Its policy is rather surprising. Recently the author tried to get a book that had been in print less than six months. It was gone. "What has happened to it?" "We do not keep books more than a few months. Most of the stock six months old does not circulate

any more with us." If this is typical of the quickness with which the general public turns from a new book to its successor, the outlook is rather disheartening for the producers of books. According to this, the writer and publisher can only expect a book to have six months' or a year's sale, and it is much better as far as profits are concerned to bring out half a dozen poor books than one good one that will last a hundred years. Naturally the makers of books, like other men, prefer to make an income for themselves rather than for their descendants.

What a struggle teachers are making to develop the love of good reading, working as they do under circumstances that almost completely prevent their success! If they would try to rouse interest in easier books, intensely fascinating, fairly well written, instead of dulling the expectations of their pupils by forcing them to read books written for adults, books whose material lies far outside the active range of interest of the boys and girls, more deep-rooted love of the best literature would finally result. Probably the greatest difficulty in the way of teachers and taught is the common practice of hashing and re-hashing a piece of literature until those who loved it at first sight become bored by its prolonged and microscopic examination, while those who did not happen to fall under its sway at the beginning dislike it more and more, until they end by assuming that all "good literature" is dull, so that henceforth they take care to avoid whatever seems to bear a tag of over-recommendation. "Oh dear, we're going to read *Ivanhoe* at school", protests the young book-lover; "it's just about my favorite story, and now it'll be spoiled for me."

Literature and social conditions.—Literature is in the main extremely sensitive to social conditions. There do appear from time to time books that have no time significance, but belong to the ages. As a rule, however, literary art, like the other forms of aesthetic expression, is distinctly connected with prevailing social conditions. For example, in the eight-

teenth century literature of England appears the well established essay, an imitation of the classics, represented by the work of the popular Alexander Pope. This reflects the aristocratic trend of the period. It is not surprising to find Defoe outlawed by his contemporaries because he turned his skill toward the portrayal of the life of the lower classes. With the rapid social changes that followed the Industrial Revolution and led to the Reform Bill of the nineteenth century, came an increase of political power on the part of, first, the commercial class, and then the so-called working class. Along with this developed a new type of literature, a romanticism that had a distinctly democratic flavor. We find it in Shelley, Burns and in lesser quantity in Wordsworth. The novel reveals the trend even more, and the difference in point of view between Jane Austen and Charles Dickens, for example, is not that of a period of time but of cultural traits. In America also, literature voiced the trend of social movements. Hawthorne, Whittier and Emerson, for instance, cannot be appreciated in their literary significance unless one is familiar with the evolution of theology in New England and the introverted characteristics it produced, which in turn influenced the literary expression of these New England figures.

The class theory of tragedy.—An interesting theory with reference to the class character of tragedy has been advanced by V. F. Calvert in his book entitled "The Newer Spirit." Assuming that tragedy represents the highest form of literary expression, he maintains that in the past it has dealt entirely with aristocratic personalities in accord with the undemocratic spirit then prevailing. Ordinary persons often appeared in comedy, but according to this author did not receive the primary rôle of a tragic character. It is rather shocking to notice how Shakespeare treats the manual worker. In "Midsummer Night's Dream" this contemptuous attitude toward common labor is vividly shown. In the names, dress, and stupid notions Shakespeare applies to the hand workers, he

expresses without doubt the prevailing attitude of the literature of his time. With the coming of power to the working class there began to be seen in the portrayal of tragedy a new type of character. Calvert believes that what he calls the proletariat has received no representation by a truly tragic character in literature until of late, when the change ushered in by Walt Whitman glorified the most mediocre and lowly, even base, of occupations.

It would be surprising if we did not find reflected in literature the social experience of the period so that class distinctions would reveal themselves in artistic expression. It is possible, however, to overdraw this and to forget such facts as that even before the novel was fully embarked, Daniel Defoe treated enthusiastically and sympathetically a prostitute character, giving her the tragic rôle. Crabbe, Wordsworth, Burns, Goldsmith, and Robert Browning are authors whose works challenge the statement that Whitman was the first to find among the working class subjects for tragic portrayal.

Art and social surplus.—The society that spends all its energy in physical maintenance has little chance for artistic expression. Art represents social surplus. Even the artistic genius easily becomes submerged if he cannot get leisure and freedom from worry so as to develop his talent. As society gains in the ability to control environment and provide leisure, opportunity at least is provided for the development of art. When society was primarily aristocratic those that had leisure became the patrons of art. What now we need to get the full value of our social surplus is a popular interest in artistic expression. Art, like philosophy, does not make bread, but it does have a large place in leading to a contented and idealistic population.

The therapeutic value of art.—Art also has therapeutic value for the individual. Even in the insane hospital it has been discovered from actual experience that music can be

made a benefit to the patients. Again and again we find in literature testimony to the value of various forms of art in helping individuals to master their problems and win posses sion of their souls. What we are just beginning to learn is the therapeutic value of art along social lines. In a society restless and competitive, even feverish in its activities, art becomes an antidote for excessive stimulation and the régime of ordinary routine.

The public park is supported by the progressive city because of its social utility. In European countries the municipal theater performs its function in making social life more wholesome. Canon Barnet, when he inaugurated the social settlement in Whitechapel, made much of his annual exhibit of painting. He felt that good music, good literature and good paintings were as much needed in that congested section of London as more food, more clothing, better shelter and more funds. To this day, settlements find they cannot serve well the people to whom they minister without emphasis upon art.

Here and there we have recognition in community movements of the value of art both as a curative element, and still more as a preventive in the treatment of social problems. The Little Theater movement is a step in the right direction. It does not merely furnish better entertainment; it affords amusement and builds character, but also constructs social values. By lifting the individual from the narrowness of his social environment it invigorates and gives him moral energy and better enables him to coöperate with progressive society.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SCIENCE

Meaning of science.—What is science? The word is commonly used with two meanings. It denotes a method by which information is gathered; it is also used of the resulting collection of knowledge. As a method, science signifies a certain kind of thinking, science as content refers to the product of that thinking, which, accumulating from time to time, becomes a special fund of knowledge related to a particular field of human experience, such as chemistry, physics or astronomy. Science, whether looked at from the point of view of process or product, is of such social significance as to make it the primary influence in modern life. Since it is the method of science that makes possible the obtaining of knowledge, the analysis of scientific thinking concerns us first.

Science as a method.—The fundamental thing about science that distinguishes it from ordinary thought processes is the fact that it holds back desire. Any one who thinks scientifically has to stop his mind's working toward the thing he desires. The ability to block one's personal preference in order that one may better discover the truth has to be acquired by effort. This difference of attitude explains what is meant by critical and uncritical thinking. Whenever there is need of coming to a conclusion by the forming of a judgment the untrained person finds suspense irksome, because it is not enjoyable to be undecided, just as it is fatiguing to hold up the arm without moving it for any length of time. Mental processes seek quickly to reach their goal. When we start thinking we naturally wish to pass on rapidly to a decision.

It is just this that the scientist must not do. He assumes the task of searching for facts and cannot be impatient.

The attitude of Charles Darwin with reference to his theory of evolution illustrates the attitude of a scientist. Just as soon as he had come, as a result of patient investigation, to a conclusion he tried hard to disprove the judgments to which he had been driven by his search. Although he spent years in critical examination of the problem he had undertaken to study, he was even then reluctant to announce publicly his conclusion. The unscientific person is irritated by this attitude and dislikes to have anyone challenge his opinions or attempt to examine the thought processes by which he has come to the ideas he holds; as soon as his judgment is formed he wishes to announce it and may even become angry if his assumptions are doubted or the way he arrived at his deductions is questioned.

There is another characteristic about the process of scientific thinking. Usually we wish first and think afterward. We use our thinking to back up preconceived opinions. The scientist, however, is expected to keep his desires outside of his thinking process. He does this not because he has no feeling, but because he cannot allow his wishes to interfere with the thinking process without spoiling the effort he is making to get at the facts. The scientist, outside his special province, cannot always keep his thinking upon such a high level of freedom from emotion. He is human like the rest of us in allowing at times his preferences to interfere with his thinking, yet his habit of guarding himself against his emotions in his special field of study does to some extent influence him even in the minor and personal affairs of life.

This holding back of thinking and keeping it free from the coercion of emotion is essential to the discovery of facts. Just as soon as the ordinary individual reaches a conclusion, he turns his attention to something else and usually dismisses that upon which he was engaged, because his purpose has been

achieved. If this is not done, usually the same thinking is gone through again and again because of the satisfaction it brings. The scientist, on the other hand, keeps his mind open by delaying his conclusion, and this gives him opportunity to see elements that otherwise would be concealed from him, as he tries to analyze or observe or deduce so as to obtain a trustworthy conclusion.

The scientist and life.—The scientist realizes how difficult it is to be sure of one's facts even when one has thought without bias and with every critical faculty alert. This leads to a caution which seems to some persons, having no appreciation of the superior value of the scientific method of thinking, a sort of skepticism.

Instead of speaking with assurance, the scientist often announces his conclusion tentatively; instead of positive decision, he builds up hypothesis. When he constructs his theories he does not claim that they represent truth but merely that they account best for the facts in so far as knowledge has at that time attained. This attitude of caution seems to the outsider indecision as a result of doubt. The scientist, however, could do no differently without making trouble for himself. If he were not cautious in his investigation, he would be constantly tricked.

The scientist has to go where his facts are. He cannot rest himself in comfort in his armchair and construct the world as he would like it to be. Wherever the sources of information for his particular study are found, there he must go or he cannot hope to get reliable data by which to arrive at his conclusions. As a consequence of this the scientist is driven close to life. This again teaches him to be careful in his generalizations and modest in the claims he puts forward, for in the world of living things facts are more complicated than they seem to be when viewed from a distance. Indeed the human desire to make everything simple has to be guarded against lest the scientist, in order to construct a

theory, fail to observe those things that are inconsistent with his generalization. The scientist cannot be merely open-minded, he must also be zealous in his effort to get at the facts by persistent investigation.

The steps of scientific thinking.—The steps by which the scientist arrives at his conclusion have been best stated by Thomas Huxley. First there must be *observation*. This in itself is often very difficult and requires ingenious methods by which the thing studied is separated from other elements that would hide from the scientist what he is trying to discover. Of course scientists are not equally gifted in their ability to observe.

Following observation is *comparison*. This permits the scientist to make use of information already gathered and to compare what he has found by his investigations with the results of other investigators along lines that help him work out his particular problem.

Then comes *generalization*. By this process the scientist puts together the meanings he has found in a multitude of concrete observations. To emphasize the tentativeness of his judgment he often constructs what he calls a hypothesis, which is an attempt to account for all the facts but to recognize that something has slipped out of the knowledge of the observer, so that demonstration is impossible.

Classification enables the scientist to put a new discovery in relation to the other facts that have been determined in science.

When these four steps have been taken, the scientist cannot dismiss his undertaking without attempting to verify it by some sort of experiment which will reveal whether it is sound or not. By this testing of his conclusion, the scientist retraces his steps and tries to find out whether under observation the law or group of facts that he has hypothecated actually works as he expects. The ease or difficulty of these various steps differs as we pass from one field of science to

another. For example, *verification* is much more difficult in sociology than it is in physics.

The basis of science.—The fundamental drive behind science is curiosity. At first it seems far-fetched to put together as products of a common basis village gossip and technical science, but they are both alike in having come from curiosity. In the little child the spontaneous expression of this desire to know what is going on around him reveals how fundamental to human nature is curiosity. In primitive people a more mature type of curiosity shows itself, but one relatively easy to satisfy as compared with that which distinguishes the scientist.

The fact that science rests upon curiosity explains in part why it is so long in coming in human development. The strong desire of human nature to satisfy its curiosity prevents it from holding back judgment in the way science requires. Human desire runs far ahead of facts and fills the empty spaces where knowledge has not yet penetrated. Into this unexplored territory, later, science forces itself and frequently gets into trouble by questioning well-entrenched preconceived ideas.

As science develops, it drives ahead of itself superstition and tradition. It is not strange, therefore, that science always goes forward with a good deal of opposition; it has to uproot as well as to construct. If it merely had to discover truth by careful observation in a territory empty of opinion, it would progress more rapidly and with greater ease. Its history is an account of a persistent breaking into new territory. In Galileo's time it broke into astronomy. Harvey, with his idea of the circulation of the blood, entered new biological country, which psychology, many years afterwards, invaded again, and by beginning seriously to study the mind, laid itself open to the charge of being immoral, materialistic and an enemy to human happiness. One of the last places where science has begun to investigate in a thorough fashion is the region

of social experience, and naturally once again scientific method is denounced by some as mischievous, making an attack upon human values.

Human curiosity is too strong, however, once it starts along the line of science to allow any field to be protected from serious study. Man wishes to know; fortunately, he also needs to know. Science has utilitarian value which wins for it an increasing support. Discoveries in pure science which at first prophesy little significance for man's practical affairs of everyday life prove in the long run to be the starting point of new inventions and findings of the greatest value; thus it was in the case of the original discoveries that led to the X-Ray, to the telephone, to radium and to the radio. From a practical point of view, the motive behind science is better control of man's resources. Even if investigation leads to the formulation of laws like that of gravitation, which cannot be controlled, the information obtained proves of value in many ways in enabling man to understand his problems and how best to meet them.

During the last century one of the most fascinating lines of scientific advance has been with reference to microbes. Once the microscope was constructed so as to permit man to have evidence of the microörganisms that exist about him, a new department of science was created. The discoveries of Pasteur, ushered in by his study of yeast, gave a great impetus to this research, and rapidly all over the world marked gains were made in the understanding of the world of microörganisms. These are not entirely related to problems of disease; bacteria concern the agriculturist since they make possible the growing of crops, and also have much importance in a multitude of industries as carried on at the present time. Spectacular discoveries have been made with reference to the origin of infectious diseases. Tracing the causes of malaria, yellow fever, diphtheria, tuberculosis and syphilis has consti-

tuted a series of brilliant conquests by science in a field previously unknown to man.

Rapidly following the new knowledge as to how infectious diseases originated came discoveries of means for their prevention or cure. Now we have for typhoid, diphtheria and several other once dreaded diseases specific serums that can be used either to prevent or to cure infection. A very recent discovery that malaria can be used in the early stages of paresis as a means of cure, although not yet well tested, shows how complicated is the field of the microörganism, when one disease may be used in an effort to cure another.

The origin of science.—There is much discussion as to how and when science started. The answer to the question largely depends upon the definition given. There is a sense in which the first expression of human curiosity represents in an elemental form the start of science. The savage concept of magic is a more reasonable place to establish the beginning of science. The savage, by his idea of magic, is believed to have developed the notion of contagion which carried with it the thought of cause. It is true that he misinterpreted the operation of causes and his assumption of magic seems to us stupid because it was contrary to fact. We call these ideas of the savage *superstition* yet they were a groping after the idea of relationship as an explanation of why things happened. They contain the germ of science even though to us they seem mere fancy.

Growth of science.—In the modern sense we cannot find much science earlier than the eighteenth century. It was not until a hundred years later that science arrived at the point which gave it dominance. Three periods have been distinguished in science. At first science was largely a form of entertainment. Benjamin Franklin typifies this period, for, although some of his inventions, like the Franklin stove, were distinctly utilitarian, many of his investigations were carried

on in the spirit of play. It is not an uncommon practice for men, and occasionally women, to turn to science as an avocation. This amateur interest in some field of science must not be discounted, since from it often come important inventions and discoveries.

Christian missionaries have made valuable contributions, especially along the lines of medicine, geography and ethnology. Many Catholic priests have taken a keen interest in some department of science and obtained fame from their work. Mendel is an example of this. His patient investigation of the coloring of the sweet pea, carried on for many years, although not at first appreciated by the scientist, eventually became one of the most important discoveries in modern biology. During the eighteenth century men and women of leisure found entertainment and relaxation in simple forms of applied science, especially electricity.

In the nineteenth century, however, science became a serious undertaking motivated by the idea of utility; commerce, business, amusements and even such traditional occupations as housekeeping began to be influenced by science, and today the greater part of the business of the world rests upon a scientific basis. The present importance of chemistry illustrates how dependent is modern industry in all its aspects upon scientific investigations. Even the bread we buy is a product of elaborate experiment and constant research by skilled chemists.

Besides its utilitarian interest, science is not only a source of entertainment in our own time, as evidenced by the automobile and radio, but it is extremely significant from the point of view of education. Slowly science has made headway into the educational processes, and although even yet it does not receive in the public school program the commanding place it deserves from a cultural viewpoint, it has already modified the spirit of modern education. Thomas Huxley, the great biologist, spent much time in his later life trying to

persuade the authorities of England to make greater use of science as a cultural training in the schools. The educational progress of science has been delayed because it has had to force itself into a crowded curriculum by disturbing the traditional subjects of instruction such as Greek and Latin, and naturally its intrusion has not always been welcomed by the authorities in charge of school practices.

Our century has witnessed in the United States the democratizing of science. This has come about not from agitation or even deliberate effort on the part of the leaders of science, but merely as a consequence of the increasing advantages that science brings to people in all the common experiences of life. One has been able to escape the influence of science only by isolating himself altogether from the current of contemporary life. In the field of agriculture, where tradition was perhaps as securely established as in any form of industry, science has made rapid headway, in part due to the skillful extension service carried on for farmers by our Federal and state government.

Now, not only have we a host of magazines devoted to science along particular lines, but even the popular periodicals and newspapers give a large amount of space to matters of science. Every discovery that has human interest becomes news at once. Indeed, the eagerness of the newspapers to report inventions and discoveries has become an embarrassment to scientists, since it often leads to premature publicity and, in the field of medicine especially, sometimes brings about great misunderstanding and gives afflicted people false hopes with subsequent disappointment. Human nature is being gradually led into a cultural atmosphere pervaded by science. The territory where uncurbed desire is permitted to formulate ideas grows steadily smaller as the field of science extends and draws within it every human interest.

The radio has strikingly contributed to the popularizing of science and the educating of the growing boy and girl,

especially the former, in appreciation of the advantage of scientific methods of thought. The radio is constantly teaching those who try to make use of it the necessity of conforming to law in order to get the result desired. When the instrument fails to work according to one's wishes, impatience of any sort proves of no avail. If the boy gets the station he is interested in, he must do it by the delicate adjustment of his instrument under the conditions existing at the time in the physical environment. Never before have so many children been forced to recognize, by their desire for entertainment, the meaning of law and the achievement of applied science. What this means for the culture of the future cannot be foreseen. Certainly it must lead to the increasing dominance of science.

The vocabulary of science.—Science in the past has been handicapped in its popular appeal by its specialized vocabulary. It has been difficult for the average person unread in a particular field to understand the writings of science. Again, with reference to this problem, we must credit Thomas Huxley with an epoch-making contribution. He attempted to make science so clear and interesting that it could be understood and enjoyed by untrained working men. All scientists have not taken this attitude. There have been many who have ridiculed efforts to popularize science. They have desired to keep science an exotic experience, feeling that it could not be popularized without being cheapened and diluted to an extent that would make it without value. Some have gone so far as to oppose the introduction of science in an elementary form in the secondary schools, claiming that high school instruction merely made it more difficult for the college student to start work in science.

It is true that it is not only convenient but necessary in each particular science to build up a special vocabulary, with the precision of thought that comes from definite agreement as to the meaning of fundamental definitions. Nevertheless,

it has been found by experience that scientists of the highest rank, provided they have literary skill, can make popular presentations that will appeal to a multitude of thoughtful people.

Moreover, the scientist has at last come to realize, generally, the necessity even from a selfish point of view of winning popular sympathy. Attempts to hamper science by coercive legislation which would make the scientist teach, not according to his conviction, but according to an arbitrary act of the legislature, have taught the American scientist the need of being better understood; and now we have a better appreciation of the value of books and articles for bringing science to the attention of the average person. In history such a book as James Harvey Robinson's "The Mind in the Making" and in biology Kruif's "Microbe Hunters" have not only interested, but taught a multitude of readers. In the cities we have under the auspices of colleges an army of specialists gifted in interpreting in a clear and appealing way the advances of science. Our universities, by correspondence courses, as well as by extension classes, have assumed their rightful obligation to contribute to adult education, and much of this effort has been along the line of science.

The changing character of science.—As science becomes more popularly known, a greater number of persons are troubled by its changeableness. They hardly become familiar with the current teaching along the line of biology, psychology, or physics before they learn that some new discovery has upset the ideas they have caught from their study. As a friend has recently said, "You psychologists and sociologists are like people making canoes which we who do the work of the world hardly get into and prepare to paddle away in before we are told that the canoe is useless and we had better take another." It would indeed be easier if our knowledge of truth were static and not constantly changing as a result of the advancement of science, but there is no escape from the situation in which

man finds himself, however much he may wish it otherwise. As his knowledge grows, his opinions must change. The situation outside of science is merely covered up by the static character of traditions that can continue year after year because they are not obliged to square with actual facts. Wherever man is at work trying to arrive at a greater quantity of truth, there change has to be made as the new information corrects or pushes aside what formerly was thought to be true.

The critics of science often have a right to complain of the dogmatism of some scientists who forget that the teaching of their period will be modified, just as they have moved away from what formerly was thought. Individual scientists are guilty of assuming that the knowledge which they have obtained is final. Sometimes they use the authority that rightly belongs to them in their chosen field to express opinions outside the territory which they have seriously studied, and expect their word to receive docile acceptance. Such attitudes are justly resented by those who detect the destructive influence of this dogmatism. These slips on the part of scientists show how hard it is for human nature to keep within the spirit of scientific thinking.

The reason why science does not need to be coerced by outside authority is the fact that it is self-correcting. Errors that are made are sooner or later revealed by the investigation of other scientists who carry on further experimentation. Recent changes with reference to the meaning of gravitation show us how impossible it is to know when the time has come that any teaching of science is final, taking account of every element in its problem. Sometimes the opposition science receives from laymen is due to a misunderstanding of the meaning of hypothesis. The hypothesis of science is a theory that has been made as a provisional explanation of the facts known at the time. It is assumed that it has a tentative character until better established by subsequent investigation.

Often the hypothesis is not confirmed by later study; then its importance is merely in closing up a false trail which was leading away from the truth.

Science and causation.—It is important socially that science helps us in all the affairs of everyday life, but the more important fact is that science teaches us the meaning of causation. We should be especially careful in teaching children, that they are not led to believe that the facts they have acquired represent the larger value of science. Since we live in a world of law where causes operate, it is fundamental for our well-being that we realize the significance of our environment. This means that we come to know the import of causes. The great waste of human thinking in the past has been its failure to see the folly of allowing human desire to intrude in the realm of causes and tyrannize over facts.

Now that our culture has produced a great quantity of inventions and discoveries, an understanding of the meaning of cause among people generally has become imperative or the quality of our civilization will be reduced and the opportunities of our social prosperity largely lost. Modern education cannot escape the necessity of building up in the thinking of the child the meaning of causes and appreciation of the method by which science has been able to enrich human life.

Science and human experience.—Science is not, and, it would seem, never can be an exclusive element in human experience. We have our emotions as certainly as our thoughts. It may be possible to reduce the affection of mother and child to a scientific explanation, but this does not replace the affection itself. Even if we could know fully and accurately in the sense of causation what love is and how it comes, our information would be a poor substitute for the feeling itself. Feeling and thinking do not represent divorced incompatible elements in the reaction of the mind, but are responses due to the emphasis of one or the other of its aspects.

Science magnifies thinking and reduces feeling to the

lowest possible proportion. Affection, aesthetic appreciation, and religion provide feeling with its necessary and rightful opportunity of expression. The two attitudes need not be separated by a rigid wall of division, but it is necessary that either the feeling or thinking reaction should receive right of way over the other within its appropriate field of activity. The maintenance of the values of life in terms of duty and love need not be an intrusion upon science. However busy science may be in its workshop, there will be a vast territory belonging to the unknown. There will also be experiences that cannot be taken from the realm of feeling and reduced to scientific formulas without loss of their distinctive quality. There would be much less opposition to the constant advance of science if it were commonly appreciated that the feeling side of human experience runs no risk of being crushed by the achievements of science.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATION

Importance of education.—The school is in modern culture a primary social institution, its influence rivaled only by that of the family. No one questions the fact that the school provides society with a powerful instrument for influencing personality. Indeed the school would be regarded by many observers of present-day civilization as the primary institution, outranking the family in its social significance. The school has, however, its share of critics who, although they do not doubt its power, question its efficiency.

Education must not be conceived as a modern invention. There is a sense in which we can say that education of some sort has always accompanied social life. In an elementary form instruction may be found among the higher animals. Although there is controversy among the naturalists as to whether this should be regarded as a low form of education, there is no doubt that the most primitive human society known to science has had education even though it has been of the most meager kind. If it were not for the fading away of knowledge as we look back toward prehistoric society, doubtless we should be able to trace from its simplest human beginnings what now has become our complicated system of education.

We can go farther, however, in our emphasis of the social value of education than to emphasize the importance of formal instruction, for social contact is itself an educating process. We cannot come in relationship with others without at once receiving from them stimulations that modify our behavior

and enter into our character. It is because of this fact that we now regard family influence as the starting point of the educational career. Even though parents make no deliberate effort to instruct their children, they cannot maintain contact or care for their young without imparting knowledge, building up habits, and putting their imprint upon the emotional life of their children.

As culture accumulates, society cannot be content with the haphazard instruction either of the family or of the larger contacts with persons in the ordinary affairs of life. Cultural values have to be maintained and preparation becomes necessary for the satisfactory living together of the citizens of the state. As was pointed out by John Fiske, the greater the offspring's need of opportunity to acquire through environmental influences the necessary preparation for life, the longer the infancy period which permits richness of instruction. As it advances society soon arrives at the point where it becomes conscious of its possessions and the need of building up in the young habits and attitudes that will enable them to appreciate and maintain the culture of the time. In this way develops the school as the means of formal instruction.

Nothing testifies more strongly to the social significance of the school today than the desire of propagandists to obtain if possible an opportunity to use the schools to extend their purposes. It is evident to any one who undertakes to mold public opinion that the school is today our chief culture-making institution, but we sometimes forget that the schools do not monopolize modern instruction. From the movies, the newspapers and all sources of interest and contact come influences that operate as educational forces, but the schools are, in spite of their competition, preëminent.

Democracy and education.—It is not difficult for a simple type of society to be democratic. Although, as we have already noticed, all savage society is by no means democratic,

among people of primitive culture we frequently find groups that are both democratic and socially successful. The people in their intimate contacts maintain pleasant relationships, a brotherhood strong in spite of its crudeness.

With the elaboration of culture, democracy is not easy to maintain. As the culture becomes complicated, developing artificial obstacles to equality and mutual understanding, so many interests are represented that a democratic civilization has to maintain itself by effort and necessarily depends primarily upon the schools. No democracy can remove the hereditary differences between people. In a complex society it is easy for these inherent differences to be exaggerated and many other distinctions to be developed that hamper democracy. Even when the form of government is essentially democratic, as is true of our own, in its practical working, characteristics develop that are undemocratic. Even legislation passed for the purpose of securing more democratic results often works contrary to expectation. The nomination of candidates for public office by primary election is a striking illustration of a method devised to make government more democratic, which in actual practice often has just the opposite result because the cost of the primary election has proven so great that it is seldom possible for a man without wealth to run for office. This fact is so apparent in the test of experience that many are advocating a return to the former method which gave such power to party leaders, but did permit a poor man to get his place on the ticket.

Difficult as democracy is to achieve under the conditions of a complicated civilization, it has become increasingly clear that the only hope of making a government such as ours workable is the influence of the school. It was the discovery of this that led to the compulsory educational system which is now found in all our states. It is not necessary that all our children go to the same sort of school, but unless they are given

instruction which includes a definite effort to build up the democratic attitude, an effective democracy becomes impossible.

Successful democratic life must, under the social conditions that now prevail, rest upon intelligence and good will. The government based upon democratic principles escapes none of the vexing problems of political life; indeed it adds some that a despotism escapes. As a consequence, in so far as public opinion actually express itself, it must needs be intelligent or it forces the government to deal unwisely with the problems that it undertakes to handle. It is especially necessary that the citizenship be intelligent enough to discriminate between trustworthy and unwise leaders. Here perhaps democracy runs more risk than at any other place, because if it cannot make a good choice among those who seek power, it soon becomes the victim of the demagogue and the exploiter. Despotic government can get on even though a great part of its population is extremely ignorant, since the direction of its affairs is in the hands of a limited number of persons who may be highly intelligent and who in any case do not give heed ordinarily to the thinking of the mass of people. Thus education is the condition of democracy and in our country it is literally true that the foundation of our culture rests upon the public school system.

Intelligence is not the only quality needed to insure democracy. There must also be good will. In practice, good will largely depends upon closeness of contact and the understanding that comes from familiarity of person with person. Here again, schools play the most important part in influencing our democracy. The social value of the school as a means of teaching the young to get on together, to maintain the social code of fairness, is not at all less than its intellectual significance. An aristocratic system of education could provide educational training for the favored with less difficulty than we encounter in our attempt to educate all the people,

but its great failure would appear in the building up of class consciousness which would smother the appearance of superior qualities coming from those outside the group in control.

In so far as we fail to maintain a democratic culture our failure is probably due essentially to the defects in our educational system. Economic conditions operate more and more directly upon children as they grow older, often forcing some whose natural gifts would take them far in an educational career to leave school early for work. On the other hand persons with lesser ability, because of the more favorable circumstances of their parents, are sometimes allowed to drag on an attempt to prolong education through college and even university.

The trend in our education is toward the equalizing of school opportunity. It is this motive that is behind our child labor laws and compulsory attendance laws. Here also is the explanation of the origin of the state universities which Lester Ward pronounced the supreme achievement of social evolution. In some places, as, for example, in Providence, Rhode Island, the community has provided a special fund to be used for the education of gifted students, who otherwise would be obliged by economic pressure to go to work before they finish high school.

One of the most fruitful movements, especially in our cities, is represented by what is called adult education. This means the providing by our colleges and universities of all sorts of opportunities for men and women engaged in earning a living to continue study on a part time basis. Most of these classes are held in the evening and this department of instruction has become in many of our city institutions a very large part of the educational service.

Education among the savages.—A visitor to a savage tribe might often be led to the superficial conclusion that in a definite sense there is no formal instruction among savages. However, if he were permitted to visit an initiation he would

soon discover that there is a very efficient and systematic method of training by which the older members of the tribe impart, usually to the boy and sometimes the girl, information and traditions that are necessary to perpetuate the culture of the group. Merely from the point of view of effective teaching, these initiation rites carried on by savage tribes are extremely interesting. In at least one tribe, the boys were not permitted to return to the village until they had all learned perfectly all the lessons that had been taught them.

> In this ceremony we find what we would call moral and civic training, emphasis of patriotism and the development of group consciousness by story telling and hero worship.[1]

It would be an error, however, to suppose that all the instruction of a formal character among savages takes place at the initiation of the boy or girl at puberty. Parents also instruct their children and show them how to do the things they must learn if they are to play their part in the life of the people. They are also taught by religious ceremonies, and by the clubs and secret societies that often exist among savage people. The instruction not only provides training in doing the things that are necessary for the getting of food, fighting, making weapons and tools, and constructing houses; it often includes preparation for marriage and less often for parenthood.

The school as a social institution.—As we have seen, the increasing complexity of society soon brings it to a point where some special educational agency is necessary to carry on instruction. This training of the young becomes so important that it cannot be left to parents or irresponsible, spasmodic teaching. School training in the more advanced society is often undertaken first for the benefit of a small number of children in favorable circumstances. Once the

[1] Holdredge, G., and Young, K., "Circumcision Rites among the Pajok," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 29, No. 4, p. 667.

school starts, however, it slowly extends its function until in time in most modern countries all normal children, both male and female, are required to attend school during a part of their formative period.

The school as an educational agency represents economy and efficiency, as any parent willingly grants who has himself tried to train his child during the years he would ordinarily attend school. It is usually easier to train from ten to twenty children at once since their contact provides a source of stimuli and becomes a means of education. The modern school assumes a task so much more difficult than that belonging either to savage instruction or to an aristocratic system of education that efficiency grows more difficult to attain.

The modern school is not merely a distributing place for culture. It originates culture itself and from it occasionally come elements that are incorporated in the life of the people. These results commonly arise from the planning of the expert who sees social needs farther ahead than the mass of the people. They sometimes originate from the spontaneous expression in the life of the children of the social conditions existing in the group. The most efficient schools would be essentially an instrument of social control by which from time to time new adaptations required by culture would be introduced into the lives of the people by being made a part of the instruction of children. This is the goal toward which progressive education slowly moves. Increasingly our schools are not merely the guardian of past culture, but the medium through which social achievement is made possible.

Education and social conditions.—Although it is not possible to trace from its beginning the making of a personality so as to give to the family or the school its proper credit for the part it has produced, everything points to the conclusion that education now has the greater influence upon social conditions. In the modern period the breaking down of aristocracy and the spread of democracy has come primarily from

the increase of intelligence in the mass of people. The changes in our politics, laws, religion and even our morals have come especially as a result of the extension of information and the increase of educational opportunities for the children of all the people. The United States itself was born in the sweep of a democratic trend which came from a rapid widening of culture. It was one of the first fruits of the intellectual enlightenment which led to the French Revolution and the political democracy of England. In the long run social dynamite is essentially composed of ideas. Fortunately it is also true that the bricks and mortar by which, without the violence of rapid and discordant change, new culture is built up, are primarily made of ideas.

On the other hand, although it would be an exaggeration to charge to the failure of education every possible form of social defect, since some are at least in part results of circumstances over which at present man has no control, as for example, earthquake or pestilence, it is nevertheless fair to assume that at the very bottom of nearly every major social problem today we may find the failure of education to accomplish efficiently what society demands of it.

Education does not provide the quick returns that the educator and the agitator often desire, but it remains society's dependable method of making substantial progress. We learn from sad experience that in a democratic society even legislation cannot go far ahead of the general intelligence. We discover also that the leadership, however high its motives, has to recognize the thinking and feeling of the mass of people. We also find, as society advances, how effective and well organized educational efforts become when they seriously minister to human needs. An example of this is the magnificent record of the east side of New York with reference to the mortality of infants. In spite of adverse environmental conditions, the death rate has been brought so low as actually to be less than that found in some of our rural sections. This

has been the consequence of well-directed effort to teach mothers to care for their babies and to build up a knowledge on the part of the public of how best to protect the food of the children, especially milk, from infection.

The conservative character of education.—In spite of the social benefits that are coming from education, it is necessary to notice the conservative trend that public education almost always discloses. It is perhaps unfair to go so far as have some and charge the schools with always being behind human needs, and forced forward only by the pressure put upon them by outside influence.[2] According to this group of critics it is the school itself that is chiefly maladjusted. Out of culture come forces that push it into the current of social movement. Educational conservatism is explained by the large function the school has in preserving the culture already in existence. The conservatism of education is also a product of the size of its undertaking and its dependence upon a backward public opinion which is not entirely the result of the failure of formal school instruction. Adults are influenced by other things than merely the lessons they received at school. Even if their attitudes were entirely the outcome of former educational experience, it would be difficult for the school of any generation to teach its pupils so as to produce, in the next generation, a public opinion that would have progressed to the point of welcoming the educational changes necessary.

In public education we find therefore both the cultural lag and the cultural push. The lag represents the conservative character of public education. The push appears when we notice that the leading educators are constantly emphasizing the need of innovations and in the end are remarkably successful in getting new ideas incorporated in the educational machinery. In concrete educational politics, as the school questions in any community demonstrate, an intermittent struggle goes on between those who are trying to lead the

[2] Todd, A. J., "Theories of Social Progress," p. 514.

schools forward and those who desire to see them continue as they are. The situation is the same as that which always is found at the point where culture is made, but it comes out most clearly with reference to the school, because education is actually more sensitive to the demands of progress than is the church or the family or the state. Society always gives up its old culture reluctantly and a degree of pressure is usually found when changes are being rapidly made. It also must not be forgotten that social changes are not always advantageous. Even the history of education reveals that wrong steps have been taken which did not lead as expected to greater success.

It is disconcerting to find how frequently in the past educated people have taken the wrong side in social controversy. This has come about primarily because of the class character of educational experience. The difficulty science had in getting itself incorporated as a part of the curriculum of the English universities is a case in point. The appearance of Gladstone's name among the signatures to a petition presented to Oxford authorities protesting against the attendance of students not members of the established Church of England is indeed a shock until one reflects that it is merely evidence of the strength of the Tory conditions against which Gladstone in his later career labored. Professor William James, in a commencement address at Harvard, once startled his hearers by declaring that the alumni of that institution had been as often found on the wrong side of public questions as on the right. Wendell Phillips in his famous Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard, with the eloquence for which he was famed, indicted educational leadership for its blindness to the needs of human progress.

Some of this criticism of education comes from an unreasonable expectation. The schools have so many things to do, they can hardly be expected to take over pioneering efforts, since the load of social obligations they have to carry has be-

come excessive. As a rule when new courses of instruction have been introduced there has not been a corresponding elimination of former undertakings. New studies are added to the curriculum without the removal of those that have ceased to be of value in meeting the needs of modern society. Likewise with reference to various kinds of services rendered by the school, new ones have been incorporated with very little decrease in those previously carried on. As the task of the school is overloaded, its success is hampered and there grows up in self-defense among the authorities responsible for the management of the school an unwillingness to take over new obligations unless they seem imperative.

New departures in education.—The history of public school education in America is a record of a constant increasing of social responsibility. The program that was relatively simple at the beginning of the century has now become elaborate. There has been a steady multiplying of types of work. For example, manual training and domestic science came into the school after their utility had been demonstrated by experimental work in private institutions. Very recently the nursery school or pre-school education has assumed a task in the training of little children that would not have been dreamed of even a decade ago, and already we have agitation to incorporate this new departure in the public school system. Recent advances that have become part of a progressive school system are: special classes for children who deviate from the average; educational testing for the purpose of getting at the native intelligence of the child; and educational research that the school may discover its cost, its faults and its achievements.

Many of the innovations the public school has taken over were first tried out by private schools, specialized institutions organized for experiments. Many of these schools have been connected with universities and have been related to the departments of education. Private schools, on account of their

financial resources, limited number of students and freedom from the limitation of public support, have particularly contributed to pioneering educational efforts. The country day school, for example, embodies many of the most desirable elements in a socialized program of education; it is so different from the conventional school that it provides advantages which, when well tested, are likely in time to be taken over by ordinary schools. It is, however, sometimes true that the cost of progressive education prohibits an attempt to use some of its desirable but expensive methods. The cost of public education is always mounting higher. This has already become a problem of serious character. Important as formal education is, no society can be asked to assume too great a financial burden in the effort to advance education. Even though educational expenditures are in the long run the most constructive appropriations of public funds, there are other obligations that have to be met. For example, the care of the insane involves a necessary expenditure and one which also is rapidly increasing.

Teaching and social selection.—It is interesting to notice that the teaching profession itself furnishes a special type of social vocation, and one that has in it conditions which may make it a selective process. The teacher is usually called upon to instruct inferiors. He also receives from his position the support of an authoritative system which gives him added power beyond that resulting from his greater maturity and superior attainment. To some extent also teaching provides a way of escape from the more competitive contacts of industrial and commercial occupations. These conditions that necessarily belong to the teaching vocation represent danger for some, since they provide opportunities for persons who crave power, but because of their feeling of inferiority do not desire to compete on equal terms with others. The social contribution of the school is not merely that which comes from things learned; the personality of the teacher himself

contributes to the developing character of the child. In so far as the teacher, therefore, becomes a victim of inferiority feelings or a recluse from life, part of the social value of the school is vitiated by the weakness of the instructor.

A selective tendency is also presented by the school in reducing the work of the teacher to a routine and conventional expression. Both the inefficient and the highly original and courageous teachers are likely to get into trouble, the first because of lack of ability and the second by his variation from orthodox procedure. The more powerful the personality of the second type, the more sure he is to attract attention, even sometimes creating in his colleagues feelings of jealousy.

The fact that the school system itself is an instrument of social selection has to be kept in mind when one criticizes the conservative character of the school. The teaching profession tends toward conservatism. In a somewhat different form the same tendency toward a conservative attitude shows in the administration of medical practice and even more in law. The creation of a complicated school system which has to carry on a multitude of enterprises leads to organization that, although necessary, somewhat curbs originality and spontaneity. Under such a régime the conforming type of person more easily works upward into leadership, so that it is often true that the administrators of colleges and public school systems are products of a selective influence which advances lovers of power and conforming types of persons. Excess conservatism in our school is frequently not so much the fault of education as of the educational officials.

Social science and education.—The emphasis we are now giving to what we call social aspects of human experience would necessarily show in education. Not so long ago little conscious attention was given to education as a preparation for social contacts. Even yet there is more neglect with reference to the social purposes of education than along some other lines. What we now have does not necessarily come under

the name *social science*. In history, English, and especially in civics we have in the high school and in lesser degree in the lower grades instruction along social lines that has the same purpose as the teaching of social science. In some of our high schools, especially in the West, sociology is taught as a definite subject. Even though this has to be elemental and practical in form, it at least draws attention to the need of preparation for social life.

The sociologist recognizes that the best contribution the schools can make in the preparation for better living cannot in the public schools be primarily based upon instruction. The school itself is a special type of social experience and its practices are of marked value in the development of character. The value of social science in the public schools is greatest as an influence that shapes school policy and keeps in the foreground the life needs of the growing boy and girl.

Social science has contributed to educational theory and practice by its insistence that the human aspects of education shall not be neglected in the effort to arrive at definite intellectual goals. Sociology has also tried to stress in the preparation for the teaching profession the need of understanding the social background of the child and the building of a forward-looking attitude of mind. It is perhaps in the normal school and the college from which teachers come that the study of social science as a part of the curriculum can be of greatest value in leading the schools to do justly by the social needs of the child. As we shall see, this interest has led the sociologists to develop a particular field of their science, known as educational sociology, which undertakes to study in a scientific manner social aspects of the educational process.

Although no sociologist discounts the social value of conserving the culture that exists, sociology necessarily looks forward and attempts to keep before the educator the need of using the school as an economical and rational way of making progress. Sociology as a science cannot side step its responsi-

bilities in advancing human welfare. Necessarily it looks to the school as the effective means by which society can make superior adjustments. In order that the social problems met by human progress can to some extent be charted in advance, there is need of making social science a large factor in modern education, especially in the practices carried on by the schools.

Psychology has influenced the technique of teaching by revealing to the teacher the character of the pupil and the method of the learning process. It belongs to sociology as a science to do its part in keeping clearly before teacher and administrator the aim of education, superior adjustment for the individual and a more adequate social experience for the group.

CHAPTER XXIX

SOCIAL ADEQUACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

What is progress?—The term *progress* appears frequently in sociological literature. What is its meaning? Progress is more than change. The coming of something different from what has been does not necessarily represent progress. In human history over long periods of time new conditions have constantly been coming as old conditions have passed. Such a statement, however, reveals nothing regarding the quality of the variations that from time to time have occurred. Progress adds another element. It denotes that the new situation is superior to the old. With reference to human life it signifies a superior adjustment to environment, a more satisfactory adaptation. This adjustment does not come as the result of a simplifying of life such as results from the parasite's eliminating unnecessary activities as it increases its dependence on some other animal. The word *progress* carries with it also the idea of evolution and increasing complexity.

Social progress cannot be used with reference to mere individual advancement. It is the group we have in mind and unless the social unit makes headway there is no social progress, even though some individuals prosper as a result of the situation in which they find themselves.

One of the simplest definitions of progress is the famous statement of Lester Ward, "Progress is that which secures the increase of human happiness." This statement might be criticized for failing to explain what it is that secures greater happiness. Difficult as it is to get any definition of progress that fully satisfies, its essential element is the idea of an in-

crease of social efficiency. From this point of view progress might be defined as man's increasing skill in dealing with his circumstances so as to make his life more secure and satisfying. A discussion of the meaning of progress easily leads into social philosophy since it brings up the question, "What is the goal of human achievement?" So long as we keep the question of progress related to the concrete problems of life, its test is advancement toward a more desirable type of living.

Is progress possible?—The attitude people take toward the possibility of progress is often a reflection of personal feeling and disposition. To the pessimist progress is deception: to the optimist it is treason against the facts of life to raise the question whether or not there is progress. The average human being finds himself thinking differently regarding progress according to his state of body and mind, and the particular line of social experience concerning which he happens to have interest. These reflections of personality are of course flimsy arguments for and against the possibility of progress.

It is only when we are on historic ground that we have firm footing in our argument. Perhaps it is a debatable question whether modern man is happier than the primitive. Happiness is difficult to measure. Moreover we should need to be primitive as well as modern men to compare the human happiness of the two states of existence. Not many will question the superior advantages of present culture in affording resources for happiness as compared with the meagerness of life of the savage. As one traces human experience backward till it fades away in the prehistoric period there appears a remarkable advancement of cultural resources which at least provide the conditions for human progress.

If we put the question, Is the simpler life of the past or that characteristic of our time a more desirable choice? most readers will feel the superiority of the present. Not only is life richer in its resources, but the values of culture are more widely distributed than in the past. A segregated

group of the population of classic Greece attained a high level of culture; thus social progress was restricted to a portion of the population. Behind the achievement of the fortunate classes stands in the background a slave population dragging out its existence on the lowest levels. In making historic comparisons, therefore, it is necessary not only to compare the levels of achievement but also the proportion of persons who enjoy the culture provided.

Much of present-day pessimism is based on lack of knowledge of the hard circumstances that have been characteristic of the life of people in the past. It is easy to be impressed by the poverty of slums in the great cities today, but only one familiar with eighteenth century city life understands the filth, disease, poverty, crime and vice that used to be found among the poor of such a city as London.

If the objection be made that the difference between the London of today and of the former period is primarily with reference to the material circumstances of the people, the answer is that these changes are themselves products of an adaptation of culture. It is necessarily the material environment that bears testimony to the progress that has been made. Behind the cleaner streets, more healthful houses and greater freedom from vice are advances in invention, in medicine, in morals, in political responsibility, in the thinking of the people. The improvement of outward circumstances attests superior preparation for life on the psychic and moral side.

The idea of progress.—Progress has become so characteristic a term in present thinking and speaking that it is hard to realize how modern it is as a popular conception. It is true that one can trace the idea of progress in the history of thought from the earliest Greek period of philosophy, and even writers before Plato were interested in the possibility and nature of progress, but the idea remained aristocratic even among thinkers and never reached the point of a foremost problem. During that part of history which we call the

medieval period, we find little notion of progress. The medieval philosophy of life was distinctly hostile to the idea of change. It is only of late that progress has been acceptable to Oriental culture and even now it is contrary to the thinking of the mass of people in such countries as India and China.

Although much talked about and one of the commonest words in our vocabulary, it would be easy even with reference to American culture to exaggerate popular belief in progress. Many there are who give merely lip worship to the thought of progress and many more have little interest in the idea for which it stands, and no definite conception in regard to it. Nevertheless it is a word that has become characteristic of much of American thinking and it is this which makes it seem axiomatic. The general confidence in the certainty of progress must not be taken, as it sometimes is by uncritical thinkers, as demonstration of the existence of progress.

The ideas stimulated by Darwin's theory of evolution were largely responsible for the recent spread of a belief in progress. Evolution was interpreted as a law of progress, and some there were that regarded the movement of life as an inevitable process of growth from the less to the more desirable in accordance with what we now describe as progress. The World War shattered this assumption, and now a considerable number of people are pessimistic regarding the possibility of progress. It is inevitable that the catastrophe of the late war should cause serious examination of the basis upon which the confidence in progress has been resting.

The golden age.—In contrast with our looking toward the future, earlier times have shown a disposition to look backward to "the golden age." In Christian tradition as elsewhere there has been the notion of a superior state from which man has fallen. Memory easily heightens the experiences of the past, bringing them out in brighter colors than they deserve. This accounts for the habit one frequently notices among older people, who speak of "the good old days when

we were young." Again, this exaltation of the past results merely from ignorance of former social conditions.

A group of eighteenth-century thinkers, well represented by Rousseau, regarded savage culture as superior to that of modern times. They found in the simplicity of savage life the ideal state of society. Their knowledge of savage conditions was largely imagination, and they pictured primitive people enjoying everything which they themselves considered socially desirable. The life of primitive people is of necessity free from many of the burdens that society in the modern world has to carry. These the savage escapes, merely because of the limitation of his social possessions, and his advantages are largely negative in character.

There has been no golden age in the past, but culture in its evolution has added vexing problems and lost at times advantages the savage had as a matter of course on account of the meagerness of his life. His freedom from the complications of modern life seems less appealing when put alongside the fear, poverty and insecurity that were characteristic of savage culture.

Progress in the control of nature.—Man's increasing control of nature is one of the best evidences of his progress. Science has become so bold as even to talk about the possibility of influencing season and climate and originating life itself. So much has been accomplished already that we hardly dare be skeptical when we hear the wildest dreams of the possibilities of science in its advance. The savage, restricted primarily to muscle-power, stands in vivid contrast with modern man, using the energy of today, steam, oil, gasoline and electricity. We are told that our present use of energy is but a foretaste of new conquests in the development of power that science is soon to bring about.

However progress is interpreted it must include an increase in man's ability to control the natural environment. It is along the line of this conquest that man's achievement

is most striking. Since civilization has to rest upon a material basis, this greater control of nature helps the movement of progress and becomes the condition of social achievement.

Conditions of progress.—First of all, if there is to be progress, society must cut away the traditions that tend to make it static. Social inertia operates at this point, leading men to prefer what is, rather than to make effort through new adjustment to reach a more satisfactory type of social experience. All too often that which is familiar seems right, and the very thought of change disturbing.

In addition to the natural hesitation of man to give up that to which he has become accustomed in order to attempt a better way of doing things, we have the artificial inertia which is brought about by the deliberate effort of individuals who are profiting from existing circumstances, and who try to protect their interests by strengthening the conservative tendency of human nature.

When Boston University, for example, admitted women, not only did it hurt its educational standing, but some of its earlier women graduates testify that their attendance at classes was followed by social ostracism in the aristocratic society of Boston. Higher education was a masculine privilege and for women to go to college was not only disrupting but contrary to social good.

A little later the same stagnant attitude was evident in the arguments used against woman suffrage. Man's political dominance was embedded in social tradition. An enormous waste of energy followed, before the tradition could be broken and political rights and duties set free from the tradition of sex discrimination which had so long prevailed as a consequence of masculine dominance.

Increasingly it is becoming a cultural trait to challenge in our thinking any tradition that tries to maintain itself merely because it is ingrained in the experiences of the past. If ever this attitude of mind becomes a well established cultural pos-

session, society will be as eager to advance as in the past it has been determined to remain stationary. Much of our industrial thinking has already arrived at the point where it is keen for new methods and constantly scrutinizing those that have become habitual.

The widening of social sympathy.—One of the evidences of social progress at present is the constant widening of social sympathy. It is a long distance from primitive man's concentration on the family or clan relationship to the period of world contacts characteristic of our time. Only a few individuals have the imagination necessary to make as vivid their relationship to distant people as to those near of kin. But the sense of remoteness has everywhere disappeared sufficiently to make possible a world-wide sympathy, which, even though faint, is most promising. This is best revealed when some catastrophe brings suffering and death to any city or district. From every part of the world come expressions of kindly feeling that takes a practical form. Science, by making possible close contact, as a result of the cable, the newspaper, and the wireless, has provided the conditions which were indispensable before there could be any growth of the kind of federation of which Tennyson dreamed. This closeness of relationship creates problems of adjustment between nations, but that would have to be true since contact forces interaction.

Social progress is more clearly seen when one looks over the stretch of centuries rather than years. Whatever may be the immediate disturbances caused by interrelationship of nations, the new intimacy must eventually lead to some system of world-wide coöperation and national justice. Sympathy loses its vigor when it reaches toward an alien people; national contact leading to mutual understanding is the prerequisite of international good feeling and coöperative activities.

Progress as a challenge to social evils.—Those who are

close to human suffering frequently become skeptical as to progress. This comes from their failure to give full value to the attitude we are increasingly taking with reference to social evils. Progress cannot mean the elimination of social difficulties since even superior adjustment creates new problems for some individuals, and no advance is a complete social conquest. It is with reference to our attitude toward social evils that the more significant demonstration of progress appears.

Social evils have in the past been largely taken for granted. Pity has been felt and assistance has been given, but the evil itself has received a fatalistic reaction. During the last two centuries one problem after another has been challenged by the more thoughtful and benevolent. The time has arrived when even popular thought tends to challenge every social evil and to ask the question, "How can social suffering be prevented?" Our thinking is not always consistent, but we have seen enough success in the lessening and preventing of social evils to justify our courage in attacking *laissez faire* attitudes wherever they appear.

Progress and Research.—Another evidence of social progress which has been given special treatment in an earlier chapter is our increasing interest in social research and the gathering of objective facts regarding human experience. Society has all too often been ostrich-like in the inclination to get rid of problems by blinding itself to conditions. Of late, the trend is toward open-minded serious gathering of information regarding social difficulties. The insistence of the newspaper editor and the politician that the social reformer produce facts to justify the measures he proposes for social advancement is at least reassuring; even when these demands for information have as their motive the desire to postpone or defeat the new measure advocated, they have value in calling attention to the need of getting substantial information as the basis of social improvement. Creating a public recog-

nition of this need is bound to be a stimulus that will lead increasingly to its being met.

Especially in the younger generation can we expect to gather the full fruits of this attitude of mind. The quest for social knowledge will be stronger in the next generation than at present. Moreover, as a result of present efforts, gain will be made in the technic required for the gathering of social information.

The conservation of good feeling.—Of all the tragic waste revealed by human experience nothing has been more costly than the misuse of good feeling. Religion has been much more successful in stirring up the emotion of benevolence than in opening up genuine and wise roads for its expression. Power has been generated but little opportunity has been found for its use. The inevitable result has been that emotion is often cultivated for its own sake, leading to a peculiar moral perversion which rots away the core of personality while outwardly maintaining the semblance of altruism. Social advance is increasingly pressing against this misuse of religious emotion, and among the young, especially, there is an emphatic demand that religion honestly assume social responsibilities. It seems fair to regard this, in so far as it appears in Christianity, as a movement back to the unspoiled teachings of Jesus. This must be recorded on the credit side of present civilization for it marks a decided trend toward social progress.

The wastage of life is appalling: premature death, unnecessary physical suffering, mental breakdown, family incompatibility, unemployment, low standards of living are tragic facts that challenge the efficiency of society. Nothing could be worse in the presence of such evils than to allow evaporation of the good feeling required to make headway against these perplexing problems. Now that the best thought of our time has grown intolerant of moral daydreaming and insists that the motives of true religion show in the spirit of concrete,

thoughtful service, we have promise that the energy of benevolence will be put to work. A working religion is becoming a new social asset.

Leadership and progress.—Society has to have leaders, and unless they look forward, social progress is difficult and spasmodic. Here also is a supreme test for democracy. There is always an inclination to choose leaders who cater to the superficial and immediate wants of the citizen.

It is not only children who are captive to the values near at hand because their imagination cannot reveal the fullness of appeal that comes from a greater distance. Our difficulty at this point shows clearly in the misuse of natural resources. Again and again we are told by the scientist that we are rapidly using up in unnecessary activities wealth that should be available over a long period. It is not too much to say that a large part of our so-called wealth comes from exploitation of natural resources. We are not so different from children who eat in a day the supply of candy that has been provided for the week. Yet it is doubtful whether any politician has ever obtained his election by an appeal for the conservation of natural resources.

If the leader is only an opportunist catering to the whim of the moment, social progress comes in spite of him rather than by his assistance; the temporizer, in whatever field of leadership he appears, becomes an obstructionist who has to be pushed aside by the person of vision. It is easier to discover and reflect the desires of people than to lead. Much of our leadership actually deserves to be called docile subserviency.

Even in the realm of politics, the careers of Franklin, Jefferson and Lincoln show that independence and leadership do meet with response. Although it is true that to a certain extent we have a vicious circle in which the leader caters to the people and they in turn to leaders that are not forward-looking, this is only the darker side of political popularity. Genuine leaders still appear who win support and naturally

draw toward the goal which they see afar a considerable part of the people whom they try to serve.

Social strategy and progress.—An interesting question for the reader to ask is, "What social changes would I immediately bring about in society if I had the power to do as I pleased?" One would hardly dare to attempt to carry his ideas too far into the future. Social strategy, on account of our lack of knowledge along the line of social science, consists not so much in planning the distant campaign as the immediate battle. We have to strike against the evils that are near at hand.

This prudential plan for social betterment is irksome to the social thinker who is unwilling to be scientific in his point of view. There are social mystics just as there are religious mystics. The social dreamer wants everything at once or nothing at all. He is too interested in the far-away idealistic results which he attempts to create, to take any serious interest in concrete laborious striving for social welfare. He also, so far as he has influence, leads to social wasting; indeed, often he is near of kin to the religious emotionalist and merely transfers to the social realm the same ethical distortion of emotion which so frequently in the past has appeared in our churches. It is sane social strategy that attempts merely to make those advances that appear to be justified on the basis of substantial knowledge of conditions and needs.

The costs of progress.—It is an unpleasant fact that no progress comes without a degree of trouble. Even when an advance is distinctly for the good of the majority there are likely to be some who suffer disastrously as a result of the change. The supreme test of social leadership is whether the gains that are made bring a minimum of suffering to the individual.

The abolition of slavery in the United States is an example of mischievous leadership, since the advance was at the expense of a terrible war and the disrupting of the industries

of the South. The effect was also felt in the North in the corruption of politics and the influx of immigrants whose coming was stimulated by the losses in man power due to the war, but this was far less than the blow which fell upon the Southern States. As we now look backward, it grows increasingly clear that wise political leadership could have found a more expedient and less costly way of replacing the institution of slavery.

English history reveals in clear light a step in advance that led to horrible suffering on the part of many, when the whole system of agriculture which was based upon the common use of land in the small English villages gave away to a more modern method that required enclosure and private ownership. A great many rural laborers found themselves without occupation and with no land by which they could support their families; they drifted to the cities and added to the suffering that hindered the transition in industry which came with the factory system of production. This change in agriculture was needed and was advocated by men who had at heart the welfare of the rural people. But as it operated it put the cost of progress upon the shoulders of those least able to bear the burden of change.

Progress and happiness.—Social progress should lead to an increase of happiness. We cannot, however, insure the happiness of the individual. We can do no more than provide favorable circumstances for the development of personality. Happiness, as actually experienced, is the possession of a particular person, and whatever the social situation there must always be an element of personal equation. It is the business of the group to make headway in providing the conditions for superior adjustment. This is the aim of social progress. The individual still is left to meet the problems of personal adjustment that arise from his contacts with the other members of his group. Society may well aim at the goal of the greatest happiness for the largest number of people, but at

present it cannot insure the individual against dissatisfaction. The less the strain of social maladjustment in the group itself, the greater the opportunity of the individual to achieve social satisfaction. As science advances and gets better control of the elements that influence personal development, it may well be that social progress will also mean corresponding advance in individual happiness.

The goal of progress.—The movement of society is not toward some definite point of achievement which, however good in comparison with earlier stages, provides a final resting-place. Progress as a static attainment is bound to be for man a false hope; rather, for society as for the individual, it is continued growth. Progress cannot be mere accretion or accumulation. At best, inventions and discoveries are but the instruments that make it possible. Progress consists in the better use of available opportunities, the superior functioning of men in their social relationships. Just as soon as this ongoing ceases, the products of former advancement cannot protect from social retrogression. What has been accomplished in the past cannot be made a permanent social asset, but contributes to human welfare only so long as progress continues. Society does not go forward like a train moving along steel rails. Its achievements are like those of the military campaign, which includes battles won and battles lost, retreats and advances along a wide-stretching front constantly in motion. Its gains are strategic, never measured primarily by the territory taken, but by the morale and more effective coöperation of the group in its adaptations. Social progress is group-life going forward, but its essence is in the life rather than in the movement.

PART VII

THE DEVELOPMENT AND FIELD OF SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER XXX

THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL THINKING

Origin of social thought.—Thinking with respect to social experience can be avoided only by not thinking at all. The interests of each person are so intimately interwoven with the prevailing social life, and he is so conscious of this relationship that he cannot ponder the social happenings that have meaning for him without making at least a crude effort to understand his situation. Even the most elemental effort to interpret personal experience as a result of social contact reveals the irresistible push life gives in the direction of some sort of social philosophy. The reflective man therefore cannot avoid social thinking, but he has the choice of turning towards the facts in his willingness to know the truth, or away from them in the effort to make life conform to his desires and preconceived ideas. Sociology is the science that takes over this perennial eagerness of man to think about his social conditions and if possible improve them.

There is no difference between the kind of experiences the untrained person thinks about and those that concern the sociologist, but there is a wide difference in the way the two do their thinking. The sociologist commits himself to the effort to deal with social experience in the same way that the

physicist or chemist deals with happenings in that portion of the material world which he has undertaken to investigate. If the sociologist does not succeed so well as these other scientists, it is not because he uses a different method of thinking, but on account of his less perfect mastery of his task. Man has too much at stake in his social experience, and is far too conscious of his interests to neglect social thinking, but he is extraordinarily reluctant to deal with social facts without emotion and bias, as he is more often willing to do when he turns towards the phenomena that fall within the province of the so-called material sciences.

This human attitude, which endeavors to preserve within the social field what fancy and human yearning desire, is itself partly the explanation of the slow development of sociological science. As Professor Hankins has said, sociology is both the youngest and the oldest of the sciences. It is the oldest in that man has from the first turned his attention to social experience. It is the youngest because it is the last province from which man is willing to remove opinion in order to discover the facts. It was, of course, impossible for man to wait in dealing with his social situations until a science could be formulated. He was from the beginning an actor, and with his activities developed opinions and even social philosophies which occupied the territory into which the sociologist now attempts to carry science.

The coming of this distinctly scientific effort to interpret man's social behavior was delayed also by the necessity of the prior development of other sciences without whose contributions sociology would have no substantial basis for its specialized point of view. Economics, psychology and biology had first to explore their chosen fields before man's interest in his social experience could be more than a philosophy. The earlier form of social thinking appears not as a thing apart, but as an aspect of political, moral, religious, or philosophic thinking. Thus from the beginning of human thought is seen

the expression of that social interest from which finally emerges what is now defined as the science of sociology.

Greek social thought.—It is among the Greek thinkers that we first find mature expression of sociological interest. This we should naturally expect, since the Greeks brought their culture to the highest level during that period which we now call "ancient." Their development of social thinking flowered eventually in Plato and Aristotle, and represented the culmination of a long progression of social thinking revealing in its form the influences of Greek civilization.

Plato (427–347 B.C.) in "The Republic" attempts to portray his conception of the ideal society. In harmony with present-day thinking he builds his idea of the just state on education. Since there are large differences between people, Plato provides for three classes, and plans training to fit each individual for his proper place. The artisans are responsible for industry and agriculture, and their preparation for life is limited to music and physical training. The soldier class are the protectors of the state; courage is their virtue, and they are given special training that they may be skilled in war. The third class of rulers are the guardians of the state. They are the chosen few who are advanced through a long period of education, accompanied by periodic examination, until, having passed the tests, they are assumed to be equal to the responsibilities of political management. Their education makes them lovers of wisdom, and the conditions of their occupation are expected to protect them from the temptations that beset the ordinary politicians and destroy their high sense of patriotism. Plato provides for a control of marriage so as to obtain healthy children. The educational system under the direction of the rulers is supposed to give each child the kind of education his natural endowment makes reasonable. Plato establishes communism of property, but not an absolute equality. His conception of the state is that of an organic whole, and he sees the relationship of citizens and government

as one of mutual interest. Plato wrote his "Laws" as a legislative program. Here he abandons as impractical his communism of property. Again he provides for an aristocracy, but one based upon wealth. The "Laws" appear to be an attempt upon Plato's part to adapt the principles of his ideal state to the demands of practical politics by compromise.

Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) attempts not to picture an ideal state, but accurately to describe what is. He brings to his problem the attitude of the scientist rather than that of the philosopher, and uses induction as his method of getting insight into the meaning of the state. Man is a political animal because his needs demand social experience. The individual presupposes the state. Government represents an elemental need of association, a means of providing not only for the physical necessities, but also for moral growth. A combination of households produces the village or tribe. The final development of association is the state, which represents the coöperative community, a consolidation of interests. The individual without citizenship must be either a superman or beneath contempt, since man cannot live a normal life apart from others, without concern for the practical problems of government and administration.

Roman social thought.—Political and social speculation had little appeal for the Romans, but such social thinking as we do find is largely an imitation of the Greeks. The two schools, the Epicurean and the Stoic, give some attention to political science, the Epicurean tending toward a rudimentary form of social contract, while the Stoic interpretation made the state result from human sociability. Cicero follows mainly the Stoic tradition and has little of originality. Seneca pictures a primitive state of society as the Golden Age, destroyed by the development of private property. This idea of the glorious past appears in Neo-Platonism, having as its interpreter Plotinus. This movement was important because of its influence upon early Christian thinking.

Early Christian social thinking.—The dynamic contained in the social teaching of Jesus was concealed by the development of ecclesiastical dogma, and his principle of the Kingdom of God, resting upon love, service and brotherhood, was hardened into creedal doctrine and ritual. The Christian Fathers, whose writings rivaled in practical influence the Scriptures, are not in full agreement, but in general their thinking rests upon the following ideas: in the past there existed a Golden Age which was destroyed by the fall of man through sin; the business of human existence is not to construct a better society, but to save one's own soul; government has been made a necessity by man's fall. In spite of their holding that government was a product of human wickedness, they believed, as did the Stoics, that man is naturally social, and they regarded government also as having Divine authority. In St. Augustine's "City of God" is drawn a vivid picture of the contrast between the city of this world, materialistic and debasing, and the City of God, where the Divine Will finally triumphs.

Scholastic and pre-modern thinking.—The scholastic era of social thought was ushered in by the renaissance of Aristotle in Europe through the Arabs in Spain. The essential characteristic of this period was the effort to reconcile the teachings of the great Greek with Christian revelation. The outstanding figure of the period was Thomas Aquinas. He attempted to fuse Aristotle's idea that man was a social being who joins others to form a social organization that can satisfy his needs, with the declaration of the Fathers that government had Divine origin and authority, although the political power was inferior to the spiritual. In Dante's "De Monarchia" is presented the perfect ruler who administers the whole of Christendom with the spirit of Plato's philosophy. Dante maintains Aristotle's doctrine that the test of a government must be found in its actual promotion of the welfare of its subjects.

We date the modern study of politics from Machiavelli. He is not, like Plato or Aristotle, interested in speculation regarding the nature of the state, but in problems of statesmanship. In "The Prince" he deals with questions of method and expediency to be followed by the successful leader whose interest is in the preservation of the state, and describes with unusual frankness the principles, as he conceives them, that the ruler must observe or fail in the management of his subjects. In spite of the unsavory reputation with which this author is credited, the book is born of experience and still reveals the practices, if not the theories, of many of those who direct the destiny of nations. Although his "Discourses" are less generally known than "The Prince," the former book is regarded by many as the more important contribution. The author lays down a program for both the ruler of a monarchy and of a republic. Machiavelli's greatest importance for the sociologist comes from the fact that he starts social thought along the line of concrete practices to be discovered by induction, and leads away from speculation. Sir Thomas More indicted the unjust social conditions of his day by expressing his ideas through the mouthpiece of a fictitious traveler. Not content with merely describing the political, economic and social evils of his time, he pictures the ideal commonwealth and discusses the manner by which it can be attained.

The Protestant Reformation did not directly contribute much to social thinking. It led, however, to radical changes in social experience by its relation to the contemporary commercial changes that were taking place, as a result of the checking of the power of the church, and indirectly resulted in the extension of political and intellectual freedom in spite of the intolerance that accompanied the new movement. Serious interest in social matters and more critical methods of investigation were stimulated.

In "The New Atlantis," Francis Bacon made a plea for

the freeing of human thinking from its prejudices, that it might by open-minded examination discover the truth. The improvement of social conditions rests upon knowledge which can be obtained only by releasing the thinker from human predispositions. "The New Atlantis" was a portrayal of the perfect state. It is unfinished, but it represents, as we have it, the author's highest level of social thinking.

Contract school.—Thomas Hobbes, one of England's greatest political thinkers, introduced an original theory of the birth of the state which came to have a decided influence upon social thinking. He based his discussion on two premises: one, that sovereignty was necessary and absolute, and the other, that civil society originated by contract. We do not know whether Hobbes meant this as an actual description of the historic origin of society or whether it is a philosophic interpretation independent of the actual evolution. He defines the sovereign as the agent established by the will of society, but not limited in his discretion, and with an authority that once given cannot be taken away. The state is not a product of man's political nature, but originates as a means of satisfying desire. Before the organization of the state all men are in a state of anarchy and every man's hand is against every other. In this state of nature the life of man is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." There is also no justice nor injustice, right nor wrong. Men, however, desire peace and freedom from the fear of death. They also wish to have the fruits of industry. Men are free to get what they can, but their possession is always uncertain. They are led to give up their impractical freedom, and assume the obligations of a commonwealth through foresight, obtaining through their self-limitation, expressed in a covenant, physical preservation and the possibility of a contented life. Some common agent must be created to keep the peace and enforce the covenant. This is accomplished by delegating authority through the

sovereign. Hobbes also describes the origin of another type of society through conquest, and here his interpretation suggests the conflict thesis of Gumplowicz.[1]

John Locke, another Englishman, in writing an apology for the Revolution of 1688, gave the contract idea a new twist. Since a state of nature preceded the organization of civil society, the violation of the law of reason brings about the conditions of war, in which one man does injury to another. There is the necessity of some central authority to act as umpire. Locke agrees with Hobbes in his belief that man surrenders his rights to the community, but Locke holds that man's giving up is not absolute, and is only for definite purposes. Whoever becomes a member of an existing commonwealth is made a party to its covenant just as truly as if he had been present when it was first made. When a political society is organized, in order that it may function the majority must become the ultimate basis of authority. The author admits that we have no certain knowledge of the beginning of government, but he affirms that this absence of records leaves us free to construct the most probable hypothesis.

Rousseau, an erratic character, by impulse neither a scholar nor a philosopher, contributed social thinking that has had a decided influence upon the movement of modern civilization. His teaching appeared in the French Revolution and was responsible for the trend of thought which Robespierre represented in the movement. The American Declaration of Independence also shows the impression Rousseau made upon Thomas Jefferson. Again in Thomas Paine's "The Rights of Man" we discover the thinking of Rousseau in a popular form which made a wide and passionate appeal. Rousseau, like Hobbes, turns to the state of nature to get an understanding of the meaning of political experience, but unlike his predecessor he maintains that at the beginning

[1] Gumplowicz, L. (Moore, F. W., tr.), "Outlines of Sociology."

man was peaceful and happy and strong, and that with the coming of civilization appeared decay, inequality and corruption.

In his "Contrat Sociale" Rousseau affirms that every man gives up his freedom and individual rights, not to a sovereign but to the community itself, in which he, as a citizen, continues to be a shareholder in the authority. As he states it, "Each of us puts his person and faculties in a common stock under the sovereign direction of a general will and we receive every member as an inseparable part of the whole." Thus sovereignty rests upon the general will. He grants that it is difficult in the modern state to find means by which this collective expression of the people can be made, but suggests, as a means of surmounting this difficulty, that states should be smaller. Representative government does not provide the instrument by which the general will can be expressed, for the representatives are properly only delegates who need to have their acts confirmed. Thus the English Parliament by usurping sovereignty had enslaved the people.

Rousseau, in writing "Emile," a treatise on education, also contributed to social thinking. "Emile" is an appeal for an educational policy that directs its efforts toward freedom and the inner life of personality rather than the mere acquisition of knowledge. In his point of view the author turns from the conventional standardized education of his day to emphasize the spontaneous and the individual interests, which in these days are seriously thought of as proper goals for our educating agencies.

Edmund Burke had little sympathy with political theories, and never produced a systematic statement of his doctrine. We have to go to his speeches and his "Reflections on the French Revolution" to dig out the principles upon which he built his ideas of government. He was a reformer, but one who valued the past and recognized the risk of sudden changes in institutions that had been built up over a long period of

time and had become intimately related to the life of the people. Much of Burke's writing deals with particular questions, and, as one would expect, not always consistently. In defending himself from attack because of his failure to keep to his own thinking, he writes "The Appeal from the New to the Old Whig," which, perhaps, gives the most systematic statement of his thinking. Burke was strangely obtuse to the significance of the French Revolution, and his bitter and sometimes hysterical attack on the French made him in his later life a contributor to reactionary trends in English politics.

Comte and the naming of sociology.—The emergence of sociology as a definite subject of study was the culmination of a long interest in social and political problems that had won the attention of a host of thinkers. Within the limits of this survey many who contributed to the growth of social thought can receive only brief mention, and even less consideration must be given the social events and trends which, as they appeared in the modern history of Europe, stimulated the movement that finally brought forth a new science.

Auguste Comte (1798–1857) christened the science and is conventionally known as its founder. Much of his thinking was based upon the prior work of St. Simon, under whom he had once studied but to whom in his contributions he was reluctant to give credit. St. Simon was a socialist and a scientist who had pointed out the need for a new classification of the sciences culminating in political science. The importance of Comte was not in what he accomplished, but in what he started. He defined the province of a new science. Although there is not much in the work of Comte that was original, his "Positive Philosophy" was the first effort to outline distinctly what has now become the field of sociology.

Comte's second important treatise was "Positive Polity." He argued the necessity of constructing a social philosophy as the proper means of social improvement. He arranged

the sciences in a hierarchy with sociology as the climax. He declared that human thinking had developed through three stages, the theological, the metaphysical, and finally the scientific. These levels were illustrated in man's thinking about his social experiences. The first kind of thinking leads to a militaristic and monarchical social organization. In the second, the government establishes itself upon abstraction, the theory of natural rights and sovereignty. In the third, positive thinking makes possible the industrial era. The scientific is the only kind of thinking that can be trusted to produce practical results. Comte desired to advance the study of society to the third level. The new science is concerned with two aspects of social experience, social statics dealing with order and social dynamics with progress.

Comte defined the methods by which the science must make its progress. First, there must be observation of facts, a task particularly difficult because of the complexity of the material studied. Second, experiments are impossible to any great degree, but spontaneous happenings, whether of the past or in contemporary life, are, he claims, just as valuable. Then there must be comparison of human and animal societies to reveal the origin of society, and comparison of coexisting types of human social development, revealing, he says, that the human mind develops uniformly everywhere, for race and climate merely interfere with the rate of progress. Third, a comparison must be made of consecutive stages in the history of a definite group, so as to reveal the influence of generation upon generation in a progressive social development. In spite of good intentions, Comte did not succeed in keeping his discussion within the realm of science. He invited science to a new task, but can hardly be said to have himself inaugurated sociology.

Herbert Spencer.—The hypothesis of Charles Darwin, expressed in his theory of organic evolution, turned the thinking of his time, but not without violence. The immediate effect

of his "Origin of Species" was to shatter tradition in much the way an earthquake breaks up the crust, so that when the earth settles a new surface appears. Although the impact of the work of Darwin and Wallace was felt most in the theological realm, the idea of evolution forced a new alignment of sociological thinking.

The chief author to respond to the challenge of the new situation was Herbert Spencer. He engaged in the mammoth undertaking of interpreting and bringing into relation all the specialized fields of knowledge, and carried out his chosen purpose more nearly than has any other writer since Aristotle. He gave himself the task of building an evolutionary foundation for the sciences and arts, which together covered the entire field of human knowledge.

Lacking in humor and taking himself over seriously, Spencer aimed for the impossible goal of a complete synthesis of human thought. Necessarily his system included the field of social experience. He was, indeed, especially interested in problems of government, and believed that his teachings "would have a practical effect for good on the development of modern society." He had been trained as a civil engineer, and from his study of mathematics had developed a love of system and a sense of the need of precision in statement. Naturally logical, he was quick to formulate general concepts, and once they were made, he was too apt to strain thought in their defense. In this tendency he was unlike the cautious and painstaking Darwin, who always attempted to disprove the principle to which his thinking led him.

Spencer wrote clearly and interestingly, and as a champion of evolutionary doctrine he obtained a large following especially among the thinking youth of England and America, where for a time his influence was immense. He pushed forward the idea of natural causation in the evolution of human society, even though much of his writing was formal and biased in an effort to maintain the premises which he

had deductively constructed. He underrated savages, but nevertheless drew attention to the need, instead of theorizing in this field, of discovering what primitive life really was. On account of physical weakness Spencer had to have much of his research done by assistants, and perhaps this in part accounts for his grouping material that supported his theories regarding savage life, even when cultural differences indicated that the matter put together was artificially joined by his misinterpretation of surface similarity.

Spencer advocated individual rights. He found in the evolution of modern society a trend from a militaristic to an industrial society, a society whose interests would lead it irresistibly away from war toward the maintenance of peace. It is much too soon to deny that the rational considerations Spencer assumed will not eventually produce universal peace, but it is certain that present progress toward the goal is slow, and it cannot in any case be the product of a static society such as Spencer pictured.

Spencer makes much of biological likeness between the animal organism and society. This was to him, according to his later statements, merely an analogy, but it has so prominent a place in his social philosophy that it seems an essential part of his doctrine, and tempts the reader to overestimate the significance of the similarities he finds between the biological organism and society. "Social Statics," written by Spencer when he was thirty, is surprising in its degree of originality, when one realizes the youthfulness of the author. In it he makes happiness built upon liberty and justice the proper end of government. "Synthetic Philosophy" gives the basis of all his thinking, and as a consequence it has been said that this is the most authoritative statement of his social philosophy. In his "Principles of Sociology" Spencer deals with the data that he gathered from his investigations of savage society. Here it is that we find his famous ghost theory of the origin of religion. In the "Principles of Soci-

ology'' also appears in detail his analogy between society and the biological organism.

It is not difficult from the present level of social thinking to discover the limitations of this author and his proneness to be captured by the appeal of his quickly formed general principles, but even if he failed in his interpretation of the significance of the evolutionary process for the science of sociology, he at least popularized the notion that social experience must be studied as an evolving life.

Herbert Spencer had in the United States two disciples who contributed to American social thinking. John Fiske expounded ''Synthetic Philosophy'' and extended its influence. William Graham Sumner, a gifted teacher at Yale, was one of the first to give instruction in the science of society. He took a position in his teachings and writings that shows his great debt to Spencer. In general he was an advocate of the *laissez faire* doctrine. His study of primitive society, given preliminary form in his ''Folkways'' (now, through the coöperation of Professor Keller, appearing in greater detail as the ''Science of Society''), is notably superior to the Spencerian exposition of savage life and much more just in its appreciation of the significance of the thinking that belonged to the simpler society of primitive men. Sumner helped to lay the foundation of American sociology.

Lester Ward.—Undoubtedly the writings of Herbert Spencer must be credited with stimulating the thought of Lester Ward along sociological lines. Ward was a specialist in botany, connected with one of the scientific bureaus at Washington. He took up the serious study of sociology as an avocation, but advanced through his writings to the foremost place among American sociologists. Although a careful scientist in his field, he was philosophically inclined in his sociological thinking and is charged with dogmatism and the inability to progress far from his first presentation. ''Dynamic Sociology'' was his first book, and although he wrote

several others, they are largely an extension and reinterpretation of the position taken here.

This author attempts to bring social phenomena under a complete causal description, and now when sociology has the advantage of years of investigation, it is generally conceded that, because of lack of knowledge, the attempt was premature and impossible of accomplishment without substituting philosophizing for science. It is impossible to exaggerate the commanding place Ward occupied in the pioneering period of American sociology. His range of knowledge was immense, and his sense of finality and lack of hesitation in assuming the undertaking of a complete system of sociology was impressive and convincing in a way difficult for the sociologist of our time, committed to painstaking effort to advance knowledge of social behavior at some special point, to understand.

Perhaps the most important point in Ward's system is his emphasis of mind as a social factor. This was first expressed by him in a paper read at Johns Hopkins University at the invitation of G. Stanley Hall, in April, 1884. In his presentation he attacked the *laissez faire* doctrine and showed the advantage of artificial or directed selection over natural selection with its wasteful methods. The evolutionary process finally produced man's mind, which added a new element that could direct the process. This advent of reason and its utility as a means of guidance appeared later as *telesis* and formed the cornerstone of Ward's system. With his confidence in the mind as an instrument of progress, Ward constructed a social optimism in sharp contrast with the pessimism of *laissez faire*. In spite of his confidence in human ability to profit from the powers of the mind, Ward was not blinded to the evils of the present nor the difficulties in the way of advancement. He thought of man as in the rough stone era in his social achievement, considerably behind his industrial development.

Ward allied himself with present social thinking by his emphasis upon the psychic factor and by his appreciation of the importance of the feeling element as an influence upon human behavior. Fond of coining words to signify elements in his doctrine, he at times forgot the difference between explanation and description. He affirmed that spiritual civilization, which concerns the human values, is built upon a material basis. Material civilization consists of the utilization of the materials and forces of nature that condition the spiritual part of civilization; permanent products of achievement are not things, but principles and devices, arts, systems and institutions, signifying permanent gain and making possible a producing of material wealth. Education is the chief preventive of social exploitation, and its popularizing is the supreme achievement of democratic society. Although it was impossible that the structure built by Ward on such a flimsy foundation of factual knowledge should persist with the ongoing of sociological science, his contribution, nevertheless, was not only immediately influential in America to a degree that overshadowed the work of others, but he still occupies a position of preëminence in the history of American sociology.

Ward, in the earlier part of his professional career, was occupied in botanical identification and classification, and his writings convey an atmosphere of aloofness from concrete living and have a heaviness of style that repels the reader. In his contacts Ward frequently revealed lack of humor and an over-serious regard for personal opinion. Perhaps his inability to meet with others on equal terms and accept criticism accounts for the slight advancement that we find in his later writings over his first book, "Dynamic Sociology."

Franklin Giddings.—In contrast with Ward, Giddings attracts his readers away from systematization to a study of concrete human relationships. This opening up of the only means by which the science can advance to an achievement more substantial than mere verbal description will in time

perhaps be of greater importance in the history of American sociology than the philosophizing of Ward, which tempted students to believe the new territory of social experience was scientifically conquered before it was seriously entered. Giddings gives as his definition of sociology, "the explanation of the origin, growth, structure and activities of society by the operation of physical, vital and psychical causes working together in a process of evolution."

In his "Principles of Sociology," Giddings makes consciousness of kind the elementary social fact. Consciousness of kind Giddings defines as a state of consciousness in which any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognizes another conscious being as of like kind with itself.[2] With reference to the quality of this consciousness of kind there are in society four classes: the non-social, who have not developed this group sympathy; the anti-social or criminal, including those whose consciousness of kind is disappearing; the pseudo-social or pauper class, who have degenerated in their consciousness of kind; the class of the normally social, giving vitality to society and carrying its load, who are the ones that develop a high degree of consciousness of kind. Professor Giddings discusses the conditions that develop consciousness of kind and the relation of this principle to conflict.

Giddings was not content to view society from his study window, but has come in close grapple with public affairs. This closeness to concrete contemporary life appears in his "Studies in the Theory of Human Society," in which is developed his pluralistic interpretation of social behavior. In a recent book, the "Scientific Study of Human Society," Giddings pleads for a serious effort by sociologists and social workers to get at the facts that fall within the field of social experience and in some detail he considers scientific methods by which reliable knowledge may be obtained for the building of social science.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

Recent trends in American sociological thought.—In recent years the interest given to the subject matter of sociology has become widespread and the literature voluminous and distinct in its specialization. The complexity of social experience invites analysis from different points of view, and because of the quantity and diversity of American sociological thought it is difficult to mark out the chief channel of development. A disposition to explore social experience and determine facts is prominent, as compared with an earlier willingness to generalize by mixing a poverty of fact with a wealth of confidence in subjective thinking. This cautious determination to avoid running ahead of fact shows the line where the promise of the science chiefly lies.

In the pioneering period of American sociology many of the leaders came to the science through an interest in economics or political science, subjects which they frequently continued to teach along with sociology; others came to sociology from practical philanthropy or the Christian ministry. More recently, especially among the younger men, there is a turning to psychology as the neighboring science which offers the more profitable alliance. This effort to base the interpretation of social conduct on the substantial foundation of the knowledge that psychology is gaining of human personality is perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of recent sociological science in this country. Cooley, Ross, Wallas, Ellwood, McDougall, Thomas, Giddings, Eliot, Young, Faris, Allport, Bogardus and Barnard are a few of those who, by their writings, have directed sociology toward an eagerness to deal concretely with social behavior in accord with the findings of psychological science.

With the development of the influence of psychiatry and mental hygiene, which Carlton Parker was one of the first to bring into relation with social problems, a new point of view concerning human behavior is beginning to have importance. In spite of the prevailing confusion in psychology there is a

growing consensus of opinion among sociologists that without a better understanding of the nature of human personality little substantial progress can be made in interpreting social behavior either of the individual or the group.

The student interested in the evolution of American sociology will find in Albion W. Small's "Evolution of Sociological Consciousness in the United States" in the *American Journal of Sociology* for September, 1921, a list of articles that reveal the growth of the science. The most satisfactory classification of present sociological thinking, which attempts to define the special contributions of writers who have influenced, up to the present, the course of the science, has been made by Professor Frank Hankins in his "History and Prospects of the Social Sciences," pages 312 to 332. This statement, which should be read by the student, shows how necessary specialization has become and from what widely different viewpoints the problem of social experience is being attacked. This trend is in accord with that found in all modern science, and testifies to the fact that the sociologist is alive to the meaning of scientific investigation, and has at last seriously committed himself to the baffling task of digging out of our social complexity the objective facts that lead to an understanding of man's social behavior.

Social thought in literature.—It is a mistake for the student to suppose that all social thinking appears in a sociological form. Every kind of thought-expression reveals the influences of the social experiences, conditions and ideas characteristic of a definite people and time. Theology, politics, law, commerce and art in its various divisions, especially literature, become a medium by which social thinking obtains expression.

Of all these non-scientific forms of social thought literature is the most extensive and revealing. From the proverb and folk tale of the savage to the modern novel, now so popular, we easily trace the effect of social life and thought

upon literature. To illustrate in detail this influence of social thinking upon the form and content of literary art would require a book of its own, but a rapid survey of English and American authorship brings out forcefully the way that man's social interests affect his creative imagination and determine his literary construction.

In English literature from the Anglo-Saxon period with its Beowulf and Widsith to Shaw, Galsworthy and Wells of our own time, this reciprocating influence of literature and social thinking is apparent to the most superficial student, but certain outcroppings of social thinking in literary art are to the sociologist especially significant.

For example, the dynamic social thought of Elizabeth's period appears in its richness in Shakespeare, while the moral earnestness of the Puritan age shows best in Milton. The Puritan demand for an extension of human rights, an outgrowth of the social situation, comes out in Thomas Hooker's constitution written for Connecticut's government and in Milton's protest against the literary censor in his Areopagitica. In the diaries of Evelyn and Pepys we find a microscopic portrayal of everyday life and thought in London during the Restoration period, without a parallel in the history of literature.

With the coming of the eighteenth century social life and thought demanded a wide area for its literary outflow, and as a consequence we have such contrasts as Goldsmith's winsome picture of rural life in the Vicar of Wakefield, Swift's bitter satire of life and manners, Gray's melancholy Elegy, Burns' democratic passion, Blake's mysticism, Crabbe's realism, and the novels of Defoe, Richardson, Fielding and Smollett, a new literary vehicle, soon to be the favorite, for conveying social experience. Moll Flanders, Roxana, Pamela, Clarissa Harlow, Tom Jones, Amelia, Humphrey Clinker, in spite of their great difference in motive and manner were products of the period and reflect social thinking.

The nineteenth century finds poetry and prose interested in conscious undertakings that attempt to change the life and thought of people as well as to register prevailing experience. Shelley with his thirst for revolutions, Byron, the restless exploiter, Wordsworth, who turned from youthful enthusiasm to the refuge of meditation, Tennyson and Browning, interpreters of the age of science and evolution, Hardy, Meredith, Carlyle, Arnold, Ruskin, Morris and Swinburne are the leaders of a host of writers who put social thought into the permanent mode of literature. In America we find Emerson, Whitman, Hawthorne, and Lincoln with his speeches, reflecting in the characteristic ways of their genius the complex social thinking of their time. The humanitarian trend of the century, especially of the Victorian period, appears also in Elizabeth Browning, Dickens, George Eliot, Charles Reade, Kingsley, Gaskell, and in America in Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

In our own time the outpouring of a vast quantity of literature, poetry, biography, essays, and novels especially, saturated with social problems and their proposed solutions, testify to the large place sociological interests are being given by contemporary authors. Indeed, American literature at present is so much concerned with social thinking that it seems almost captive to the intense interest in social experience characteristic of our time, and in greater or less degree this is true everywhere in the world where literature flourishes. Literature has all but become a popular diluting of sociological science.

It is not only in literature in the strict sense of the term that we find expression of social thought. Such a book as "Black Beauty," immensely popular a generation ago, whatever its literary rank, has sociological importance because of its representative character. This particular book advocated more humane treatment of horses and its wide reading demonstrates how closely it was connected with the growing

sentiment that made the kind treatment of animals an ethical obligation. The newspapers of the past like their successors today are filled with material that records social thinking, and, although they must be used with discrimination, they furnish a source of information regarding the development of social thought of the greatest value to the student of sociology.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE DIVISIONS OF SOCIETY

The need of specialization.—The phenomena of social experience are so intricate and diverse that specialization in the science is inevitable. The sociologist brings to his study his own special interest and training that lead him irresistibly to the development of an emphasis on some particular aspect of social experience. Life is especially prolific in distinct problems that challenge the scientist and invite concentration until sociology, like medicine, is a term that binds together in a common task numerous lines of investigation that through zeal in their special undertaking at times fail to recognize their unity of purpose.

Points of view.—One cause of cleavage in sociological investigation and literature is represented by the diverse points of view of investigators and writers. Unless this is recognized by the student he is likely either to feel that sociological science is in a state of anarchistic confusion, or, becoming enamoured with one special viewpoint, usually that of his instructor, he conceives the entire science from a narrow angle. The literature can be classified in the same way that Professor Hankins has grouped the sociologists. With slight change his method has been followed in this discussion.

The geographical interpretation.—This brings together those interested in an interpretation of social experience from the point of view of human geography and its allied sciences, such as geology and mineralogy. Here, as in each of the other divisions, there are such differences as to require subordinate groupings. This includes those interested in topography,

climate, natural resources and human history interpreted geographically. Some of the writers that have won distinction by their contributions in this field are Ellen C. Semple, E. Huntington, E. G. Dexter, F. J. Turner, F. LePlay, and Patrick Geddes. Franklin Thomas in his "Environmental Basis of Society" demonstrates the importance of this approach to sociology.

The biological interpretation.—Another point of view is that of men interested in the biological problems of social experience, including problems of social evolution, of population, of eugenics and of race. Among the recent writers in this field are E. B. Reuter, Raymond Pearl, C. B. Davenport, E. G. Conklin, H. H. Goddard, Frank Hankins, F. Boas, R. H. Lowie, and A. L. Kroeber.

The psychological interpretation.—The psychological point of view brings to social phenomena the background of psychological and psychiatric science, and is concerned with instincts, habits, processes of socialization, social consciousness and the expression of man's original nature in his social experience. A few of those who have recently contributed to the science along these lines are Franklin Giddings, Ordway Tead, E. D. Martin, F. H. Allport, F. L. Wells, L. L. Bernard, J. Dewey, J. B. Watson, E. Faris, J. M. Williams, E. A. Ross and E. S. Bogardus.

Social culture.—The attention of some students is given chiefly to the institutions and cultural products that result from social experience. This school is especially interested in primitive social life because in the group made up of people maintaining a more simple civilization it is easier to observe the manner by which culture is made. Although this leads to an emphasis upon the cultural habits of savages as expressed in their folkways and *mores,* the study of social culture is not merely an interpretation of savage behavior. Every group has its own folkways and *mores* and those that are now found in operation in our own civilization are at least

of equal concern to the sociologist. Not only does each group maintain a characteristic culture but each individual who enters it by birth or adoption has to learn to adapt himself to it. The group way of living is not the creation of the persons who maintain the culture. They have been given it by those before them. Culture thus represents a social heritage that accumulates, generation after generation. The specialist in this field is interested in all the products of social experience, ranging from methods of satisfying physical needs to the ideas that are widely held by the group, from ways of frying fish and making automobiles to political ideals of democracy. Representative writers are C. A. Ellwood, A. L. Kroeber, W. F. Osborne, H. E. Barnes, M. M. Willey, S. Eldridge, W. I. Thomas, M. M. Knight, C. Wissler, W. D. Wallis.

The reformers and the philanthropists.—This group of sociologists have widely scattered interests. The special viewpoint is that of the scientist who attempts to relieve human misery or to attack practical problems or eliminate some particular form of social maladjustment. The group includes such prominent social workers and students as Graham Taylor, Jane Addams, Edith Abott, Mary E. Richmond, Robert Kelso, J. C. Lathrop, C. C. Carstens, J. L. Gillin.

Social philosophy.—The philosophic school is made up of those who have attempted to put together current information regarding social experience in an organized whole so as to produce a system. Necessarily such an effort will reveal the personal slant and background of the writer. This synthesis of sociological material is growing increasingly difficult and the contemporary sociologist sees more value in a definite and specialized searching after sociological material than in attempting to put together a philosophic interpretation of social experience. Even those who have a philosophic leaning prefer to synthesize a particular aspect of social experience rather than undertaking to deal with the entire field. Recent

contributions to the philosophy of sociology have been made by Franklin Giddings, J. J. Findlay, Victor Branford, C. Hayes and Graham Wallas.

History of social thought.—This group concentrates upon the development of the science. Some choose to treat the evolution of sociology with a philosophic motive, endeavoring to find in its history a synthetic meaning, while others are content to record the objective facts of the progress of the science and the social situations that were instrumental in shaping sociological thought. Among the philosophic historians we find L. M. Bristol and Albion Small, while Harry Barnes is an outstanding example of the objective attitude.

University courses.—The student who seeks familiarity with sociological science should examine the catalogues of several American universities. If he chooses institutions in different parts of the United States he will soon discover that when the staff of their instructors is sufficiently large to permit the whole field of sociology to be handled, there is substantial agreement in the specialties that are represented in the various courses offered. In a few of the older institutions the investigator may be surprised not to find the term *sociology* appearing. Usually a portion of the province of sociology appears in college courses that are placed in economics or social ethics. This is generally accounted for by the fact that for a time sociological interests were chiefly tied up with the point of view that we now call "political economy" and, more commonly, "economics."

When sociology emerged as a distinct approach to the study of human behavior its appearance was in some institutions aborted by economists who saw no need of it, while in others it was continued as a subordinate element in economic science. In a few institutions much that is generally called sociology appears as social ethics, emphasizing the fact that the purpose of the instruction is to establish social norms or what James Ford calls "ought-judgments" in contrast with

"is-judgments," which in the past made sociology a descriptive science.

In nearly every institution where sociology is offered at all we find an introductory course which is commonly prerequisite for advanced study. This course attempts to orient the student in the general field of the science, familiarize him with its vocabulary, acquaint him with the notable contributors to the science, and especially to start him thinking about social experience with that interest in objective facts which is the salient obligation of the scientist.

Although the first course is designed primarily to give the student an elementary knowledge of the science, it has as a secondary purpose the preparation for further study if such should be desired by the student.

Rural and urban sociology.—In the curriculum are two distinct branches of sociology that emphasize environmental differences in social experience. The first is rural sociology, which originated in the effort to understand the problems of rural life and to give those concerned information that would help to improve social experience in the country.

Rural sociology naturally evolved in the state colleges, where agricultural courses were offered, and came in part as a protest against the current idea of a decade or so ago that the farmer's problems were entirely economic and related to the producing and selling of his crop. Since the rural environment is relatively simple, rural sociology has had an advantage, and as a consequence its development has been rapid and substantial.

Urban sociology turns its attention to city life. Although there has long been an interest in city culture, urban sociology is a comparatively recent development, which has already become well established and has developed an extensive literature. The biological concept of ecology has been applied to the study of the city community with fruitful results.[1] The

[1] Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., "The City," ch. 3.

fundamental interest represented by human ecology is the effect that both time and space have in influencing the institutions and conduct of people.[2] Social institutions and even human nature itself, having become accustomed to definite spatial relationships of human beings, are forced to make new adjustments as these relationships change. As a result social and political problems are brought about by this disturbing element of new conditions.

The plant cannot move from its unfavorable environment. The animal with his power of locomotion may go away from a habitat lacking in food material to one more to his liking. Man can choose his environment; he also can adapt it to his needs. In addition to his power of movement he has the ability to accomplish his purpose by controlling or changing his environment. The human community is an association which attempts to adjust its environment to the needs of its members, but it is not entirely free to work out its designs, for its behavior is influenced by conditions of time and place.

Now that our culture has become in this country predominantly urban there is the greatest incentive for the development of urban sociology, as a means both of interpreting human behavior and also of getting substantial information that will help administrators, social workers and other citizens to deal with the problems that arise in human associations in the urban environment.

Theoretical sociology.—The distinction between theoretical and applied sociology, which was formerly more generally emphasized than at present, shows its influence in the program of courses in the philosophy of social experience. This point of view Lester Ward distinguished as pure sociology in contrast with applied. Here are courses in the theory of progress, which treat in a systematic manner human social

[2] McKenzie, R. D., "The Ecological Approach to the Study of Human Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 287–301.

experience from the special point of view of the possibility and conditions of social progress. Here also are courses in methodology, which discuss the means by which social science is advanced and provide training in the making of investigations for those who have chosen social science as their special interest or life work. Under the theoretical also are commonly grouped courses in the history of sociology. Their purpose is, of course, the building of background which will enable the student to appreciate what it is that has made sociology take its present form. All these courses are important for students who attempt to specialize in some part of social science.

Practical sociology.—Applied, or practical sociology as it is sometimes called, is chiefly concerned with the getting of information regarding the problems of social experience and finding methods for their amelioration, and, if possible, solution. Courses are given on the social survey which deal with the methods of making an investigation of social experience so as to collect a body of substantial facts which can be given statistical description. The survey method has been especially helpful to the rural sociologist. Difficult as this technic is to apply to city life because of the movement of the population and the complexity of city interest, one of the most authoritative studies of human experience is the survey of "Life and Labor in London" made in 1889–1891 by Charles Booth. In our country an extended study was made of Pittsburgh and this survey represents one of our most useful studies of social experience.

In applied sociology separate discussions are made of the major problems that affect modern people. It is common in the universities to offer an elementary course which introduces the student to all of the most important social expressions of maladjustment and then to relate each of the advanced specialized courses to a definite problem, such as poverty, crime, immigration, race, the family, social hygiene, mental defects,

housing, public opinion, and the organizations and practices of modern philanthropy.

Educational sociology.—The specialization of sociology also discloses definite interests that demand their own group of courses. One of these is known as educational sociology and is concerned with the study of the educational process from the point of view of its social purposes and the social conditions that determine its efficiency. Although this is a relatively new point of view it has come through the effort to interpret education as a preparation for successful living together. As educational psychology emphasizes the means by which education carries out its program and brings to light those facts regarding human personality that condition educational success, so educational sociology attempts the task of defining the objectives of the educational program. Society finances and organizes education primarily for social welfare, and even though it deals with the individual, justification of what it does rests upon its success in building up desirable social relationships. Interest in educational sociology is developing with great rapidity and is already demonstrating its value to the educator, whether he teaches or administers educational resources.

Social psychology.—Social psychology is not a new interest, but the recent development of social science has emphasized its importance. It is difficult to define because it occupies the borderland between orthodox sociology and psychology. Courses in social psychology appear in some institutions under sociology, while in others they are listed as psychological subjects and are taught by specialists in psychology. Like psychology it deals with the individual but it stresses social behavior and the influence of social experience upon his personality. Orthodox psychology does not disregard the social aspects of personality but its emphasis turns to the individual rather than the social aspect. Social psychology also designates the effort of sociologists to por-

tray the behavior of groups of people such as crowds and the mob, which have temporarily, at least, the characteristics of an individual. The study of religious revivals or contagious propaganda would naturally come under the head of this type of social psychology. The significance of sociological science is so great that it was inevitable that a distinct effort should be made to build up this borderland of the two sciences and put together material from both psychology and sociology which is pertinent in the interpretation of individual experience as it occurs on the social level or in group expressions like that of the crowd, that through imitation or suggestion show unusual uniformity in emotional agreement.

Social origins.—Another special interest which appears in sociology, although often listed under the science of anthropology, has to do with social origins. The life of the savage is valuable in giving the scientist a clue as to the meanings of modern social experience. The specialists in psychiatry and psychoanalysis have found it of value in their treatment of behavior problems to be well read in the literature that deals with primitive social experience. Such information is not only fascinating in its inherent interests, but indispensable to the student who desires to be well trained in social science. Here the anthropologists and sociologists come together in a common interest as do psychology and sociology in social psychology. The beginnings and early history of, for example, the family, the state, industry, religion and art, as earlier chapters of this text have illustrated, are matters that we need to know if we are to understand the social background out of which has developed the civilization of today and the evolutionary process by which it has come to be what it now is.

Sociology and theology.—It is of course as impossible to construct a science of sociology to uphold a special religious or denominational interest as it would be to formulate a Christian chemistry or an Episcopalian geology. There is

however a legitimate place for the study of religious experience or Christian teaching from the sociological viewpoint. In the theological school, sociology as related to the work of the religious leader properly belongs to a curriculum that is modern and well adapted to the problems which the graduates of such a school meet later in their public service.

The field of sociology.—The student in sociology is inadequately introduced to the subject if he leaves the study with the idea that the field is narrow, well occupied, and that complex social experience conforms precisely to a special system of sociological interpretation. The field is large and varied and the science has merely made a beginning with its task, but information already gained shows the impossibility of constructing any system that completely explains social phenomena by a collection of abstract laws and principles. Sociology has at least advanced so far that it can no longer be content with systems and must turn its attention to the more heroic and reliable effort of bringing together in causal relations information we now have concerning man's association with others. For the complete satisfaction of the thinker, sociology may require social philosophy, but that its progress may be actual and not fictitious as a science, it must accept the restraint of other sciences and avoid leaping by subjective generalization where advancement, to be genuine, needs to be slow and laborious, the product of patient investigation and analysis similar to the processes that have made trustworthy the material sciences. The field of sociology, as defined by courses of instruction, demonstrates the trend toward acceptance of the responsibility which scientific methods place on any investigator, in whatever division of knowledge he works.

APPENDIX

CHAPTER I

THE APPROACH TO SOCIOLOGY

Topics for Discussion

1. What Should a Student Expect to Gain in Preparation for Life from an Introductory Course in Sociology?

2. Should Sociology Be a Required Course in College? In High School?

3. How Do You Explain the Fact that Sociology as a Science is Less Advanced than the Physical Sciences?

4. Why Is Prejudice so Frequently Revealed in Discussions of Social Problems?

5. How Do You Explain the Present Popular Interest in Sociology?

6. With Reference to What Important Social Questions Have You Had to Reconstruct Your Judgments in a Fundamental Way?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Definitions of Sociology Given by Authors of Introductory Texts.

2. The History of Sociology in Your Own Institution.

Problems

1. Mark in red ink all the material you find that is sociological in character in a daily newspaper.

2. Make an analysis of a controversy you have heard so as to bring out the sociological reasons for the differences of opinion.

3. Notice and record all the opinions regarding sociological matters that you have heard in one day. Analyze your material.

4. What social problems are most often discussed by your friends? Analyze their interest and their attitudes.

REFERENCES

Books

BLACKMAR, F. W. and GILLIN, J. L., "Outlines of Sociology," Part I.
CASE, C. M., "Outlines of Introductory Sociology," Introduction.
DEALEY, J. Q. and WARD, L. F., "A Text-Book of Sociology," ch. 1.
DOW, S. G., "Society and Its Problems," ch. 1.
HART, H., "The Science of Social Relations," chs. 1, 2.
HAYES, E. C., "Introduction to the Study of Sociology," ch. 1.
ODUM, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," ch. 2.
PARK, R. E. and BURGESS, E. W., "Introduction to the Science of Sociology," ch. 1.

Articles

BOGARDUS, EMORY S., "What Is Sociology?" *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 57–62.
HART, HORNELL, "What Is a Social Problem?" *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIX, No. 3, pp. 345–352.
HAYES, EDWARD CARY, "The Sociological Point of View," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XVI, pp. 1–16.
HOWERTH, I. W., "What Are Principles of Sociology?" *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXI, No. 4, pp. 474–484.
ZNANIECKI, FLORIAN, "The Object Matter of Sociology," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 4, pp. 529–584.

CHAPTER II

HOW TO STUDY SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is Sociological Research?
2. What is the Value of Periodical Literature to the Student?
3. What Are the Advantages and the Faults of the Discussion Method?
4. Why Are Reports Made in Class so Often Uninteresting?
5. How Do Statistics Contribute to Sociology?
6. What Are the Dangers of Statistics?
7. Can the Sociologist Escape from Subjective Interpretations?

Subjects for Investigation

1. The Characteristics of the American Journal of Sociology.
2. The Foreign Sociological Periodicals and Their Special Interests.
3. Changing Points of View in Sociology as Revealed by the Contents of Periodicals Over a Ten-year Period.

Problems

1. Read an article on some sociological topic which opposes the judgment which you have already formed. Record your opinion before reading, your attitude toward the article as you read it, and your final judgment.
2. Make a bibliography on some social question in which you are interested.
3. Which of the sociological periodicals interests you most? Account for your choice.
4. Analyze the personal motives involved in a group activity in which you have recently taken part.

REFERENCES

Books

Blackmar, F. W. and Gillin, J. L., "Outlines of Sociology," chs. 36, 37.

Bushee, F. A., "Principles of Sociology," pp. 12–18.

Dealey, J. Q. and Ward, L. F., "A Text-Book of Sociology," chs. 3, 4.

Ellwood, C. A., "The Psychology of Human Society," ch. 1.

——— "The Social Problem."

Findlay, J. J., "An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 1.

Hayes, E. C., "Introduction to the Study of Sociology," ch. 2.

Odum, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," ch. 1.

Small, A. W., "The Meaning of Social Science."

Todd, A. J., "The Scientific Spirit and Social Work."

Articles

Bain, Read, "The Scientific Viewpoint in Sociology," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 38–49.

Bentley, Arthur F., "Remarks on Method in the Study of Society," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 3, pp. 456–460.

BOGARDUS, EMORY S., "Personal Experiences and Social Research," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No. 5, pp. 294–303.

——— "Problems in Teaching Sociology," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 19–24.

BURGESS, ERNEST W., "Trend of Sociological Research," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 131–140.

BUSHNELL, C. J., "Scientific Method in Sociology," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXV, No. 1, pp. 41–58.

CLARKE, EDWIN L., "Teaching of Scientific Thinking to Social Science Students," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No. 6, pp. 355–358.

DITTMER, C. G., "Statistics and the Social Sciences," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. X, No. 4, pp. 324–331.

GRUENBERG, FREDERICK P., Students' "Field Work," *Social Forces,* Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 109–111.

KRUEGER, E. T., "Life History Documents and Social Research," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 196–201.

——— "The Technique of Securing Life History Documents," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 290–298.

MELVIN, BRUCE L., "Methods of Social Research," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, pp. 194–210.

PALMER, VIVIEN M., "Field Studies for Introductory Sociology," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. X, No. 4, pp. 341–348.

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE IN CONTACT

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Can a Man Be Normal and Totally Unsocial?
2. Is Culture a Human Necessity or a Human Advantage?
3. Does a Simple or Complex Culture Provide Happiness?
4. What Is a Case Study?
5. How Has Sociology Influenced Other Sciences?
6. What Changes Have Taken Place in Recent Psychology that Concern Sociology?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Spencer's Theory of the Social Organism.
2. Ward's Conception of Society.
3. Comte's Idea of the Purpose of Sociology.
4. The Influence of Culture Upon Body Structure.
5. Booth's Survey of the Life and Labor of the People of London.

Problems

1. Draw up a list of static attitudes you have heard expressed in a day with reference to social experience. Classify the persons with reference to age, sex, training and vocation. What conclusions can you draw?

2. Observe children and parents together and record the efforts of the latter to bring the former into alignment with conventional culture. Describe methods used and the effects on the children.

REFERENCES

Books

Alverdes, F., "Social Life in the Animal World," ch. 2.
Beach, W. F., "An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems," ch. 12.
Chapin, F. S., "Introduction to the Study of Social Evolution," ch. 4.
Cooley, C. H., "Social Organizations," chs. 2, 3.
Edman, I., "Human Traits and Their Social Significance," ch. 5.
Groves, E. R., "Personality and Social Adjustment." ch. 9.
Hobhouse, L. T., "Social Development," ch. 1.
Muntz, E. E., "Race Contact."
Park, R. E. and Burgess, E. W., "Introduction to the Science of Sociology," ch. 5.
Sumner, W. F., "The Folkways."
Trotter, W., "Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War."
Wallas, G., "Our Social Heritage," ch. 3.

Articles

CASON, HULSEY, "Gregariousness Considered as a Common Habit," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 96–105.

MARTIN, EVERETT DEAN, "Some Mechanisms Which Distinguish the Crowd from Other Forms of Social Behavior," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XVIII, No. 3, pp. 187–203.

MOORE, RILEY D., "Social Life of the Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 339–375.

WILLEY, NANCY BOYD and WILLEY, MALCOLM M., "The Conditioned Response and the Consciousness of Kind," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXX, No. 1, pp. 22–28.

CHAPTER IV

THE HUMAN EQUIPMENT

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Is Meant by the Statement That Man Is an Adapting Organism?
2. What Are the Peculiarities of Man as an Organism?
3. What Is Habit? A Habit-pattern? A Conditioned Reflex?
4. How Is a Conditioned Reflex Brought About?
5. What Is Psychiatry?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. The Social Consequences of the Development of the Upright Posture.
2. The History of the Invention of the Steam Engine.
3. McDougall's Theory of the Instincts.
4. Watson's Experiments With Infants' Instincts.
5. William James on Habit.
6. Thomas's Doctrine of the Wishes.

PROBLEMS

1. Observe and record the random movements of an infant during half an hour.

2. Trace the influence of childhood happenings upon your present social attitudes and ideas.

3. Record, with your interpretation, the differences in conduct and in thinking between an extrovertive and an introvertive friend.

REFERENCES

Books

BEACH, W. G., "An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems," ch. 4.

BLANCHARD, P., "The Child and Society," ch. 3.

DAVIS, J., and Others, "An Introduction to Sociology," Book 2, Part 3.

EDMAN, I., "Human Traits and Their Social Significance, chs. 1–7.

FOLSOM, J. K., "Culture and Social Progress," ch. IV.

GALTON, F., "Hereditary Genius."

HOCKING, W. E., "Human Nature and Its Remaking," Part 2.

MCDOUGALL, W., "Character and the Conduct of Life," ch. 2.

——— "Social Psychology."

OGBURN, W. F., "Social Change," Part I.

PARK, R. E., and BURGESS, E. W., "Introduction to the Science of Sociology," ch. 2.

WARREN, H. C., "Human Psychology," ch. 6.

WATSON, J. B., "Behaviorism."

WHITE, W. A., "An Introduction to the Study of the Mind."

WILLIAMS, J. M., "Principles of Social Psychology," Book I.

WOODWORTH, R. S., "Dynamic Psychology."

Articles

FARIS, ELLSWORTH, "Are Instincts Data or Hypotheses?" *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXVII, No. 2, pp. 184–196.

——— "The Nature of Human Nature," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, Part 2, pp. 15–29.

FINNEY, ROSS L., "Culture and the Original Nature of Man," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 339–343.

TOLMAN, EDWARD CHACE, "Can Instincts Be Given up in Psychology?" *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XVII, No. 2, pp. 139–152.

CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

Topics for Discussion

1. What Is Personality?
2. How Does a Child Develop and Express Personality?
3. What Are the Normal Attainments of a Pre-school Child?
4. What Is the Meaning of Integration of Personality?
5. What Are the Social Characteristics of Adolescence?
6. What Is Adolescent Conflict?
7. How Do You Define an Adult?
8. Have Old People Too Much Power?

Subjects for Investigation

1. The Nursery School Movement in the United States.
2. The Binet Scale of Measurement and Its Revisions.
3. Mental Measurements in Modern Education.
4. The Work of the Children's Bureau.
5. G. Stanley Hall on Senescence.

Problems

1. Record emotional experiences of your childhood that made a deep impression. Trace their influence on your later conduct.
2. Record your adolescent conflicts and give their explanation.

REFERENCES

Books

Allport, F. H., "Social Psychology," ch. 5.
Bagby, E., "The Psychology of Personality."
Bernard, L. L., "An Introduction to Social Psychology," Part III.
Edman, I., "Human Traits and Their Social Significance," ch. 8.
McDougall, Wm., "Outlines of Abnormal Psychology," ch. 33.
Odum, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," ch. 5.
Richardson, F. H., "Parenthood and the Newer Psychology," ch. 8.
White, W. A., "The Mental Hygiene of Childhood," chs. 3, 4.
Young, K., "Source Book for Social Psychology," ch. 13.

Articles

BROWN, HELEN W., "The Deforming Influences of the Home," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 49–57.

GARRETT, H. E., "Personality as 'Habit Organization,'" *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 250–255.

GOODENOUGH, FLORENCE L. and LEAHY, ALICE M., "The Effect of Certain Family Relationships upon the Development of Personality," *The Pedagogical Seminary,* Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 45–71.

GOSLINE, HAROLD I., "Personality from an Introspective Viewpoint," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XV, No. 1, pp. 36–44.

PRINCE, MORTON, "The Structure and Dynamic Elements of Human Personality," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XV, Nos. 5 and 6, pp. 403–413.

PUTNAM, JAMES J., "Sketch for a Study of New England Character," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 73–99.

YOUNG, KIMBALL, "Parent-Child Relationship: Projection of Ambition," *The Family,* Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 67–73.

CHAPTER VI

"THE SOCIAL EXPRESSION OF PERSONALITY"

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How Is Society an Extension of Personality?
2. Do Inventions Increase Personality?
3. Why Do People so Frequently Judge Others by Table Manners?
4. Why are Human Rivalries so Often Social in Form?
5. What Is the Three-fold Task of Society?
6. What Is Cultural Lag and How Is It Caused?
7. Is Rational Direction of Social Evolution Ever Likely to Come?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Trotter's Theory of the Gregarious Instinct.
2. Freud's Theory of Sex.
3. Ogburn's Statement of Cultural Lag.
4. The History of Phrenology and Its Influence.
5. Modern Psychology and the Analysis of Personality.

Problems

1. On what subjects would your thinking along new lines meet with most resistance? Why?
2. Are you an optimist or pessimist regarding social changes? What do you think explains your reaction?
3. Classify yourself or some friend by F. L. Well's outline.
4. How do you judge character?

REFERENCES

Books

Allport, F. H., "Social Psychology," ch. 7.
Bernard, L. L., "An Introduction to Social Psychology," ch. 16.
Blanchard, P., "The Child and Society," ch. 10.
Blanton, S. and M. G., "Child Guidance," ch. 12.
Davis, J., and Others, "An Introduction to Sociology," Book 2, Part 3, ch. 6.
Fenton, J. C., "A Practical Psychology of Babyhood," ch. 13.
Gesell, A., "The Mental Growth of the Pre-School Child," ch. 11.
Thom, D. A., "Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child," chs. 13, 14.
Wile, I. S., "The Challenge of Childhood," Division IV.
Williams, J. M., "Principles of Social Psychology," ch. 30.

Articles

Bagby, English, "The Inferiority Reaction," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XVIII, No. 3, pp. 269–273.
Blanchard, Phyllis, "The Family Situation and Personality Development," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 15–22.

BOGARDUS, EMORY S., "Personality and Occupational Attitudes," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 73–79.

BOWDEN, A. O., "A Study of the Personality of Student Leaders in Colleges in the United States," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XXI, No. 2, pp. 149–160.

FARIS, ELLSWORTH, "The Concept of Imitation," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 3, pp. 367–378.

FOSTER, SYBIL, "A Study of the Personality Make-Up and Social Setting of Fifty Jealous Children," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 53–77.

———"Personality Deviations and Their Relation to the Home," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 735–742

HARLOW, RALPH VOLNEY, "A Psychological Study of Samuel Adams," *The Psychoanalytic Review,* Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 418–428.

KEMPF, EDWARD J., "Charles Darwin—The Affective Sources of His Inspiration and Anxiety Neurosis," *The Psychoanalytic Review,* Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 151–192.

LARSON, J. A., and WALKER, A., "Paranoia and Paranoid Personalities: A Practical Police Problem," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* Vol. XIV, No. 3, pp. 350–375.

PARK, R. E., "The Concept of Social Distance," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No. 6, pp. 339–344.

PRUETTE, LORINE, "Some Applications of the Inferiority Complex to Pluralistic Behavior," *The Psychoanalytic Review,* Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 28–39.

SAPIR, EDWARD, "Speech as a Personality Trait," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 6, pp. 892–905.

THOMAS, WILLIAM I., "The Problem of Personality in the Urban Environment," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, Part 2, pp. 30–39.

WIRTH, LOUIS, "Some Jewish Types of Personality," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, Part 2, pp. 90–96.

YOUNG, KIMBALL, "The Measurement of Personal and Social Traits," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XXI, pp. 92–105.

CHAPTER VII

THE INFLUENCE OF PHYSICAL NATURE

Topics for Discussion

1. How Does Physical Nature Influence the Social Life of Savages?
2. Why Are We Apt to Discount the Influence of Geographical Conditions on Modern Culture?
3. What Are the Results of Social Isolation?
4. How Does the Size of Groups Influence Social Behavior?
5. How Has Land Influenced American History?
6. Does Man Conquer Nature?
7. Why is Culture Considered a Dynamic and Environment a Static Influence?

Subjects for Investigation

1. The Culture of the Mountain Whites.
2. Soil and American Immigration.
3. Present-day Cotton Growing and Southern Culture.
4. The Influence of Wheat Culture in American Politics.

Problems

1. Record during one week the changes of weather, your personal energy and moods. Do you discover any correlation?
2. Trace in a rural community the differences in standards and social attitudes due to differences in soil.

REFERENCES

Books

Blackmar, F. W., "History of Human Society," ch. 8.
Davis, J., and Others, "An Introduction to Sociology," Book 2, Part I.
de Laguna, T., "The Factors of Social Evolution," ch. 6.
Goldenweiser, A. A., "Early Civilization," ch. 1.
Hayes, E. C., "Recent Developments in the Social Sciences," ch. 4.
Huntington, E., "Civilization and Climate," new ed.

HUNTINGTON, E. and CUSHING, S. W., "Principles of Human Geography."
LEONARD, A. G., "The Lower Niger and Its Tribes."
ODUM, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," ch. 8.
SEMPLE, E. C., "American History and its Geographical Conditions."
THOMAS, F., "The Environmental Basis of Society."
THOMAS, W. I., "Source Book for Social Origins," Part I.
TOZZER, A. M., "Social Origins and Social Continuities," pp. 42–51.
WALLIS, W. D., "Anthropology," ch. 7.
——— "An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 9.

Articles

BERNARD, L. L., "A Classification of Environments," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, pp. 318–332.
——— "The Significance of Environment as a Social Factor," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 84–112.
GOLDENWEISER, A. A., "Culture and Environment," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXI, pp. 628–633.
JENNINGS, H. S., "Heredity and Environment," *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, pp. 225–238.
YARROS, VICTOR S., "Isolation and Social Conflicts," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, pp. 211–221.

CHAPTER VIII

HUMAN DIFFERENCES

I. Races

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why Is It so Difficult to Define Race?
2. What Are the European Races, Their Origin and Character?
3. How Do You Distinguish Nationalities from Races?
4. Was the Immigration Policy of the United States Up To the World War a Mistake? Defend Your Answer.
5. What Are the Mental Characteristics of the Negro Race?
6. What Are the Causes of Race Friction in the United States?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Representative Classification of Races.
2. The Theory of Nordic Superiority.
3. The African Background of the Negro.
4. The Problem of the Mulatto.

Problems

1. Draw up a statement of your former ideas regarding race characteristics. How many are based on facts?
2. List the expressions of race prejudice which you notice in a day.

II. Personality Variations

Topics for Discussion

1. What Are the Characteristic Differences in Human Response to Stimuli?
2. What Is Meant by Morbid Conduct?
3. Can We Safely Study Morbid Conduct to Learn About Normal Behavior?
4. What Is a Shut-in Character? How Brought About?
5. What Is Psychasthenic Tyranny?
6. Why Do Reforms Attract the Unadjusted Personalities?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Hysteria and Social Behavior.
2. Manic-depressive Insanity and Social Behavior.
3. Psychasthenia and Social Behavior.
4. Paranoia and Crime.
5. Inferiority Feeling and Social Maladjustment.

Problems

1. Select an acquaintance who represents one of the types described in the text and analyze his social behavior.
2. Trace the history of an inferiority feeling of which you know.

REFERENCES

Books

ALLPORT, F. H., "Social Psychology," ch. 6.
BEACH, W. G., "An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems," chs. 4, 5.
BERNARD, L. L., "An Introduction to Social Psychology," ch. 13.
BLANTON, S. and M. G., "Child Guidance," ch. 21.
CASE, C. M., "Outlines of Introductory Sociology," ch. 5.
DAVIS, J., and Others, "An Introduction to Sociology," Book 2, Part 2, ch. 6.
DIXON, R. B., "The Racial History of Man."
EDMAN, I., "Human Traits and Their Social Significance," ch. 9.
GROVES, E. R., "Personality and Social Adjustment," ch. 18.
HANKINS, F. H., "The Racial Basis of Civilization."
HART, H., "The Science of Social Relations," chs. 19, 20.
HUNTINGTON, E., "The Character of Races."
JOSEY, C. C., "Race and National Solidarity."
KROEBER, A. L., "Anthropology."
ODUM, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," ch. 11.
PORTEUS, S. D. and BABCOCK, M. E., "Temperament and Race."
SANDS, I. J. and BLANCHARD, P., "Abnormal Behavior," ch. 7.
WALLIS, W. D., "An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 10.

Articles

BAILEY, PEARCE, "A Contribution to the Mental Pathology of Races in the United States," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 370–391.
BERKELEY-HILL, OWEN A. R., "The 'Color Question' from a Psychoanalytic Standpoint," *The Psychoanalytic Review,* Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 246–253.
BRIDGES, J. W., "A Theory of Personality," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 362–370.
BRONNER, AUGUSTA F., "Individual Variations in Mental Equipment," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 521–536.
DOOLEY, L., "A Psychoanalytic Study of Manic-Depressive Psychosis," *The Psychoanalytic Review,* Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 38-72.
DOWD, JEROME, "Race Segregation in a World of Democracy,"

Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XIV, pp. 189–202.

DUNN, L. C., "A Biological View of Race Mixture," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XIX, pp. 47–56.

FURBUSH, EDITH M., "The Social Significance of Dementia Praecox," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 288–299.

HANKINS, F. H., "Individual Differences and Their Significance for Social Theory," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XVII, pp. 27–39.

HINKLE, BEATRICE M., "A Study of Psychological Types," *The Psychoanalytic Review,* Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 107–197.

LAZELL, E. W., "The Group Treatment of Dementia Praecox," *The Psychoanalytic Review,* Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 168–179.

LINTON, RALPH, "An Anthropological View of Race Mixture, *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XIX, pp. 69–77.

MILLER, HERBERT A., "Changing Concepts of Race," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XXI, pp. 106–112.

MUHL, A. M., "Fundamental Personality Trends in Tuberculous Women," *The Psychoanalytic Review,* Vol. X, No. 4, pp. 380–430.

NEIFELD, M. R., "The Race Hypothesis," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 3, pp. 423–432.

NIXON, CHARLES E., "The Study of Individuality," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 603–606.

OGBURN, W. F., "The Contributions of Psychiatry to Social Psychology," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XXI, pp. 82–91.

——— "Paranoia From the Subjective Point of View," *The Psychoanalytic Review,* Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 200–209.

PECK, MARTIN W., "Psychopathic Personality: Report of a Case," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XVII, No. 2, pp. 184–193.

REUTER, E. B., "The Hybrid as a Sociological Type," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XIX, pp. 59–68.

SANDS, IRVING J. and BLANCHARD, PHYLLIS, "Some of the Psychological Mechanisms of Human Conduct," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 498–521.

TAYLOR, W. S., "Characteristics of the Neurotically Disposed," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 377–383.

VISHER, JOHN W., "A Study in Constitutional Psychopathic Inferiority," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 729–745.

WEATHERLY, ULYSSES G., "Racial Pessimism," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 1-17.

WELLS, F. L., "Report on a Questionnaire Study of Personality Traits with a College Graduate Group," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 113–127.

WHITE, W. A., "Some Considerations Bearing on the Diagnosis and Treatment of Dementia Praecox," *The Psychoanalytic Review,* Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 417–422.

YOUNG, PAULINE V., and YOUNG, ERLE F., "Mutation of Personality," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. IX, No. 6, pp. 442–449.

CHAPTER IX

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

I. Contact

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Are Contacts? Primary Contacts?
2. Do Primary or Secondary Contacts Influence Personality More?
3. Does the Radio Furnish Secondary Contacts to Rural People?
4. Does Familiarity Breed Contempt?
5. What Is the Social Explanation of Rural Gossip?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Cooley's Discussion of Primary Contacts.
2. Giddings's Consciousness of Kind.
3. The Political Influence of Wars in the History of the United States.

PROBLEMS

1. Record the proportion of primary and secondary contacts you experience in a day. Which has had the greater influence? Which the greater satisfaction?

II. Interaction

Topics for Discussion

1. What Happens When People Come in Contact?
2. Is It Normal to Enjoy Contact. If So How Do You Explain the Unsocial Person?
3. Is It Possible to Read Character By Bodily Expressions?
4. Why Do We Imitate? Whom Do We Imitate?
5. What Is Suggestion?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Darwin's Discussion of Blushing.
2. The Psychology of Laughter.
3. Martin's Analysis of Crowd Experience.
4. Suggestions as a Social Force.

Problems

1. Describe and analyze a bodily reaction which you have noticed and interpreted.
2. Trace the origin and spread of a fashion.
3. Describe and analyze your reactions when in a crowd.

REFERENCES

Books

Child, C. M., "Physiological Foundations of Behavior," ch. 16.
Cooley, C. H., "Social Organization."
Davis, J., and Others, "An Introduction to Sociology," Book 2, Part 3, ch. 5.
Findlay, J. J., "An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 5.
Martin, E. D., "The Behavior of Crowds."
Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., "Introduction to the Science of Sociology," ch. 6.
Rivers, W. H. R., "The Todas," ch. 27.
Skeat, W. W., and Blagden, C. O., "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula," Part II, ch. 11.
Smith, G. E., and Others, "Culture, the Diffusion Controversy."
Wissler, C., "Man and Culture."

Articles

BOGARDUS, EMORY S., "Mutations of Social Distance," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 76–84.

——— "Static Social Distance," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. XI, No. 6, pp. 579–583.

CLOW, FREDERICK R., "Cooley's Doctrine of Primary Groups," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, pp. 326–347.

ELIOT, THOMAS D., "A Psychoanalytic Interpretation of Group Formation and Behavior," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, pp. 333–352.

HOUSE, FLOYD N., "Social Relations and Social Interaction," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXI, No. 5, pp. 617–633.

ROSS, EDWARD A., "Association," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXIV, No. 5, pp. 502–527.

——— "Socialization," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXIV, No. 6, pp. 652–671.

CHAPTER X

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL EXPERIENCE. Communication

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Can Normal People Be Together and Not Communicate?
2. Do We Make Too Much of Language Characteristics in Judging Character?
3. Why Do Children Start Talking?
4. Why Is Speech Correction So Difficult to Make?
5. Do Animals Communicate?
6. How Does Gesture Language Originate?
7. What Modern Illustrations Are There of the Magic of Words?
8. How Is the English Language Changing?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. The Origin and Development of the Alphabet.
2. The Influence of Printing Upon Democracy.
3. The Social Causes of Speech Defect.
4. The Speech Development of the Child.

Problems

1. Draw up and explain the origin of your most commonly used gestures.

2. Observe a popular speaker in action. Analyze the sources of his popularity.

REFERENCES

Books

Blackmar, F. W., "History of Human Society," ch. 7.
Blanton, S. and M. G., "Child Guidance," ch. 8.
Cooley, C. H., "Social Organization," Part II.
Deniker, J., "The Races of Man," ch. 4.
de Laguna, T., "The Factors of Social Evolution," ch. 12.
Edman, I., "Human Traits and Their Social Significance," ch. 10.
Fenton, J. C., "A Practical Psychology of Babyhood," ch. 6.
Findlay, J. J., "An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 3.
Klaatsch, H., "The Evolution and Progress of Mankind," ch. 5.
Lévy-Bruhl, L., "Primitive Mentality," pp. 368–375.
Malinowski, B., "Argonauts of the Western Pacific," ch. 18.
Skeat, W. W., and Blagden, C. O., "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula," Part 4, ch. 2.
Storck, J., "Man and Civilization," ch. 11.
Vendryes, J., "Language—A Linguistic Introduction to History."
Wallis, W. D., "Anthropology," ch. 35.
———"An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 16.
Wundt, W., "Elements of Folk Psychology," pp. 53–68.

Articles

Donovan, J., "The Festal Origin of Human Speech," *Mind,* Vol. XVI, No. 64, pp. 500 ff.
Ellwood, Charles A., "Theories of Cultural Evolution, *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIII, No. 6, pp. 779–800.
Hackh, Ingo W. D., "The History of the Alphabet," *The Scientific Monthly,* August, 1927, pp. 97–118.
Sinclair, A. T., "The Secret Language of Masons and Tinkers," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* Vol. XXII, No. 86, pp. 353 ff.
Smith, Harlan I., "A Pictograph on the Lower Skeena River," British Columbia, *American Anthropologist,* Vol. XXIX, No. 4, pp. 611–614.

CHAPTER XI

THE FORMS OF SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

I. Conflict

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Must the Child in His Development Experience Conflict?
2. What Should the Parent Do When His Child Fights?
3. Is There a Pugnacious Instinct? If So, Does It Make War an Inevitable Social Experience?
4. What Are Tantrums and How Caused?
5. Are Men More Pugnacious Than Women?
6. Are Women Responsible for War, as Ruskin Once Said?
7. What Are the Social Strains of Peace?
8. Is Conquest by Military Force Possible in Modern Civilization?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. William James' Theory of the Moral Equivalent of War.
2. Newspaper Suggestion and War.
3. The Socialistic Doctrine of Class Conflict.
4. The Conflict of Parents and Children.

PROBLEMS

1. Describe and analyze a child's fit of anger.
2. Trace the steps by which the United States entered the World War. Explain the social influences that operated.

II. Coöperation

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is Coöperation Natural to Man?
2. Is There a Gregarious Instinct?
3. Does Prosperity or Adversity Encourage Coöperation?
4. How Can Children be Taught to Coöperate?
5. Does Education Use Too Much the Conflict Appeal?
6. Is International Coöperation Possible?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Coöperation Among Savages.
2. Trotter's "The Herd Instinct."

3. Kropótkin's "Mutual Aid."
4. The Work of the League of Nations.

Problems

1. Make a study of some coöperative activity and describe the leadership, the motives, the difficulties and the results of the undertaking. Record your opinion of the success of the methods used.

REFERENCES

Books

Beach, W. G., "An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems," chs. 15–18.

Bushee, F. A., "Principles of Sociology," chs. 10, 11.

Case, C. M., "Outlines of Introductory Sociology," chs. 24, 27.

de Laguna, T., "The Factors of Social Evolution," ch. 8.

Groves, E. R., "Personality and Social Adjustment," ch. 5.

Hart, H., "The Science of Social Relations," chs. 11–15.

Hobhouse, L. T., Wheeler, G. C., and Ginsburg, M., "The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples," ch. 4, Sec. 1.

Hose, C., "Natural Man, A Record from Borneo," Pt. III, ch. 4.

Kropótkin, P., "Mutual Aid," chs. 3, 7, 8.

Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., "Introduction to the Science of Sociology," chs. 8, 9.

Roscoe, J., "The Baganda," ch. 10.

Sumner, W., and Keller, A. G., "The Science of Society," Part III, ch. 14.

Wallas, G., "Our Social Heritage," ch. 9.

Wallis, W. D., "An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 20.

Williams, J. M., "Principles of Social Psychology," pp. 67–382.

Articles

Bogardus, Emory S., "The Personality Clash and Social Distance," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 166–174.

Case, Clarence M., "Conflict and Coöperation in Social Progress," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 179–186.

——— "Instinctive and Cultural Factors in Group Conflicts," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, pp. 1–20.

NOVICOW, JACQUES, "The Mechanism and Limits of Human Association: the Foundations of a Sociology of Peace," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIII, No. 3, pp. 289–349.

ROSS, EDWARD A., "Estrangement in Society," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIII, No. 3, pp. 350–358.

CHAPTER XII

PRIMITIVE SOCIAL EXPERIENCE. PHYSICAL INTERESTS

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How Do You Explain the Differences in Standards of Living Among Savages?
2. What Is Meant By the Dualistic Adaptation of Savages?
3. How Do Savages Obtain Food?
4. What Was the Origin of Agriculture?
5. Why Were Women the First Tillers of the Soil?
6. Are Savages Lazy?
7. Are Modern Houses Biologically Adapted to Man's Needs?
8. What Were the Social Consequences of the Discovery of Fire?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. The Diet of Savages.
2. The Methods of Fishing Found Among Savages.
3. The Evolution of the Dog.
4. Social Culture Among Cattle-breeding Tribes.
5. The Origin of Clothing.
6. The Evolution of Transportation.

PROBLEMS

1. Write out the opinions you have long held of savage culture. Trace their origins and state those you would now defend.

2. If ever you have made what was under the circumstances an original invention, trace the steps that you followed and explain their sources.

REFERENCES

Books

BLACKMAR, F. W., "History of Human Society," ch. 5.

DE LAGUNA, T., "The Factors of Social Evolution," ch. 9.

DENIKER, J., "The Races of Man," ch. 5.

ELLWOOD, C. A., "Cultural Evolution," chs. 5, 6.
FOLSOM, J. K., "Culture and Social Progress," ch. I.
HOBHOUSE, L. T., WHEELER, G. C., and GINSBERG, M., "The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples," ch. 1.
HOSE, C., "Natural Man, A Record from Borneo," Pt. II, ch. 3; Pt. III, ch. 3.
KLAATSCH, H., "The Evolution and Progress of Mankind," ch. 4.
MASON, O. T., "The Origins of Invention."
———"Woman's Share in Primitive Culture."
RIVERS, W. H. R., "The Todas," ch. 3.
ROSCOE, J., "The Baganda," chs. 11, 13, 14.
SCHMIDT, M., "The Primitive Races of Mankind," Part I, Sec. II.
SKEAT, W. W., and BLAGDEN, C. O., "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula," Part II, chs. 1, 3, 4.
SUMNER, W., and KELLER, A. G., "The Science of Society," Part II, ch. 8.
THOMAS, W. I., "Source Book for Social Origins," Part 3.
WALLIS, W. D., "Anthropology," chs. 8–11, 15.
WILLIAMSON, R. W., "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," ch. 8.
WISSLER, C., "The American Indian," chs. 1–3, 6.

Articles

CAMPBELL, WALTER STANLEY, "The Tipis of the Crow Indians," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 87–104.
GARVAN, JOHN M., "A Survey of the Material and Sociological Culture of the Manobo of Eastern Mindanao," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 567–604.
SPIER, LESLIE, "Suni Weaving Technique," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 64–85.
WATERMAN, T. T., "The Architecture of the American Indians," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 210–230.

CHAPTER XIII

PRIMITIVE SOCIAL EXPERIENCE. PSYCHIC INTERESTS

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why Do We So Easily Misunderstand the Psychic Experiences of Savages?

2. What Causes the Savage to Develop His Ideas of Magic?
3. What Did the Savage Mean by the Soul?
4. Do You Believe That Dreams Have a Personal Significance?
5. Can Man Outgrow the Idea of Magic?
6. How Did the Idea Originate That Women Had a Special Power of Magic?
7. What Was the Social Value of Taboo?
8. What Are the Common Taboos of Our Own Time?
9. What Was Animism? How Do You Explain Its Origin?
10. How Should We Rank Savages Intellectually?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Lévy-Bruhl's Explanation of Mysticism.
2. Leonard's Description of Mysticism.
3. Freud's Theory of Dream Interpretation.
4. Herbert Spencer's Theory of the Soul.
5. Mysticism and Religion.
6. Freud's Theory of Taboo.

Problems

1. If possible analyze a myth that has influenced you in childhood.
2. Collect all the superstitions you have noticed in college life. How do you account for these various ideas? Can you trace the origin of any of them?

REFERENCES

Books

Basden, G. T., "Among the Ibos of Nigeria," ch. XXVI.
Codrington, J., "The Melanesians."
de Laguna, T., "The Factors of Social Evolution," ch. 10.
Deniker, J., "The Races of Man," ch. 6.
Frazer, J. G., "The Golden Bough."
Freud, S., "Totem and Taboo," ch. 3.
Goldenweiser, A. A., "Early Civilization," Part III.
Hose, C., "Natural Man, A Record from Borneo," Pt. V, ch. 5.
Lévy-Bruhl, L., "Les Fonctions Mentales Dans les Sociétés Inférieures."

LÉVY-BRUHL, L., "Primitive Mentality."
——— The Soul of the Primitive.
READ, C., "The Origin of Man and His Superstitions," pp. 66–70; chs. 3–6.
RIVERS, W. H. R., "The Todas," ch. 12.
ROSCOE, J., "The Baganda," ch. 17.
TOZZER, A. M., "Social Origins and Social Continuities," pp. 57–83.
WALLIS, W. D., "Anthropology," ch. 21.
WUNDT, W., "Elements of Folk Psychology," pp. 68–75.
THOMAS, W. I., "Source Book for Social Origins," Part 2.

Articles

CHAPMAN, JOHN W., "Tinneh Animism," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 298–310.
COTTON, E. P., "The Mind of the West African," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 25–29.
GREEN, LAURA C. and BECKWITH, MARTHA WARREN, "Hawaiian Customs and Beliefs Relating to Sickness and Death," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 176–208.
KROEBER, A. L., "Totem and Taboo: An Ethnologic Psychoanalysis," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 48–55.
SMITH, HARLAN I., "Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft among the Bellacoola," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 116–121.

CHAPTER XIV

PRIMITIVE CONTROL AND THE TRANSMISSION OF CULTURE

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Could Culture Be Maintained Without Transmission?
2. What Are the Differences Between Physical and Social Evolution?
3. What Are Some of the Cultural Habits We Now Transmit?
4. What Do You Consider American Sentiments?
5. Why Are Savages so Conservative?
6. Why Are Old People Usually Conservative?
7. What Are the Social Functions of Secret Societies in the Culture of the Savages?
8. How Do Savages Make Social Changes?

9. What Were the Purposes of the Initiation Among Savages?
10. Have We Any Substitute for the Initiation Ceremony of the Savages?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Ideas of Creation Among the North American Indians.
2. The Psychology of the Initiation of the Savage.
3. Representative Secret Societies Among Savage Peoples.
4. Moral Education Among Savages By the Use of Folklore.

PROBLEM

1. Record the suggestions received in a day's experience that lead toward conservatism, liberalism and radicalism. Can you draw any conclusion as to the sources from which these suggestions come with reference to class, age, sex, section, vocation and training?

REFERENCES

Books

BARTLETT, F. C., "Psychology and Primitive Culture," chs. 3, 5.
BASDEN, G. T., "Among the Ibos of Nigeria," ch. XXII.
BRIFFAULT, R., "The Mothers," ch. 17.
FREUD, S., "Totem and Taboo," ch. 2.
HAMBLY, W. D., "Origins of Education Among Primitive Peoples."
HOBHOUSE, L. T., "Morals in Evolution."
LEONARD, A. G., "The Lower Niger and Its Tribes," Part 2, ch. 4.
LOWIE, R. H., "Primitive Society," ch. 14.
SPENCER, B. and GILLEN, F. J., "The Native Tribes of Central Australia," chs. 7–9.
SUMNER, W., "Folkways," ch. 15.
TOZZER, A. M., "Social Origins and Social Continuities," pp. 221–225.
WEBSTER, H., "Primitive Secret Societies."
WISSLER, C., "The American Indian," pp. 177–179.

Articles

CHAPIN, F. STUART, "Primitive Social Ascendancy Viewed as an Agent of Selection in Society," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XII, pp. 61–74.

CRAWLEY, A. E., "Sexual Taboo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 116–125, 219–235, 430–435.

CUTLER, JAMES E., "Survival of Primitive Controls in Frontier or Retarded Communities," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XII, pp. 75–81.

HOLDREDGE, CLAIRE PARKER and YOUNG, KIMBALL, "Circumcision Rites Among the Bajok," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 661–669.

LUMLEY, F. E., "Slogans as a Means of Social Control," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XVI, pp. 121–134.

SPEAK, FRANK G., "The Social Structure of the Northern Algonkian," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XII, pp. 82–101.

STEIN, LUDWIG, "The Sociology of Authority," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 116–120.

CHAPTER XV

THE FAMILY AND DOMESTIC EXPERIENCE

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Is a Social Institution?
2. What Is the Function of the Family?
3. What Are the Characteristics of the Family Life of Savages?
4. What Were the Social Advantages of Endogamy and Exogamy?
5. Should Cousins Marry?
6. What Social Conditions Are Influencing American Family Life?
7. What Are the Motives That Lead to the Companionate Marriage?
8. How Do You Explain the Increase of Divorces in This Country?
9. Is Educational Preparation for Marriage and Parenthood Practical?
10. What Changes Do You Expect in the Family Experience of the Next Generation?

Subjects for Investigation

1. The Patriarchal Family.
2. The Puritan Family of Colonial New England.
3. The Quaker Family of Colonial Pennsylvania.
4. The Colonial Family of the South.
5. The Marriage and Divorce Laws of Your State.
6. War Brides.
7. Divorce Reform.
8. College Courses in Preparation for Marriage and Parenthood.

Problems

1. Draw up a list of happy and unhappy families that you know and, if possible, classify them.

2. List the cases of divorces that you know and state if possible the real causes of the trouble and contrast them with those given to the court.

REFERENCES

Books

Alverdes, F., "Social Life in the Animal World," ch. 5.
Basden, G. T., "Among the Ibos of Nigeria," ch. VI.
Blanchard, P., "The Child and Society," ch. 2.
Briffault, R., "The Mothers."
Calhoun, A., "Social History of the American Family."
Cross, E. B., "The Hebrew Family."
Ellwood, C. A., "Cultural Evolution," ch. 10.
Elnett, E., "Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia."
Goodsell, W., "A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution."
Groves, E. R., "Social Problems of the Family."
———"The Drifting Home."
Hobhouse, L. T., Wheeler, G. C., and Ginsberg, M., "The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples," ch. 3.
Lowie, R. H., "Primitive Society," chs. 2–4.
Malinowski, B., "The Father in Primitive Psychology."

MASON, O. T., "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture."
ODUM, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," chs. 15–18.
POPENOE, P., "Conservation of the Family."
PRUETTE, L., "Women and Leisure."
RIVERS, W. H. R., "The Todas," ch. 22.
ROSCOE, J., "The Baganda," ch. 3.
SKEAT, W. W. and BLAGDEN, C. O., "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, Part 3, ch. 3.
SPENCER, A. G., "The Family and Its Members."
SUMNER, W. and KELLER, A. G., "The Science of Society," Part V.
THOMAS, W. I., "Sex and Society."
——— "Source Book for Social Origins," Part 4.
TOZZER, A. M., "Social Origins and Social Continuities," ch. 4.
WILLIAMSON, R. W., "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," ch. 9.

Articles

DUBLIN, LOUIS I., "The Great American Family," *Survey Graphic,* Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 267–269.
GROVES, ERNEST R. and GLADYS H., "Before Marriage—What?" *The World Tomorrow,* Vol. X, No. 6, pp. 266–270.
——— "The Psychology of the Woman Who Works," *The Family,* Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 92–97.
——— "Social Influences Affecting Home Life," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXI, No. 2, pp. 227–240.
——— "Two to Get Ready," *Survey Graphic,* Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 308–311.
HARRIS, FREDERICK, "The Possibilities of Marriage," *The World Tomorrow,* Vol. X, No. 6, pp. 262–266.
HART, HORNELL, and ELLA, "Unsuccessful Marriages—Why?" *The World Tomorrow,* Vol. X, No. 6, pp. 258–261.
HEWES, AMY, "Note on the Racial and Educational Factors in the Declining Birth-Rate," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIX, No. 2, pp. 178–187.
JACOBS, THEO, "Progress in Work with the Family," *Social Forces,* Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 55–61.
JENNINGS, H. S., "From Amoeba up," *Survey Graphic,* Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 272–276.

KNIGHT, M. M., "The Companionate and The Family," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. X, No. 5, pp. 257–267.

MILLER, NATHAN, "The Evolution of the Parent," *The Scientific Monthly,* September, 1927, pp. 240–245.

MOWRER, ERNEST R., "The Study of Family Disorganization," *The Family,* Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 83–87.

NEWCOMER, MABEL and GIBSON, EVELYN S., "Vital Statistics from Vassar College," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIX, No. 4, pp. 430–442.

OGBURN, W. F., "Eleven Questions on American Marriage," *Social Forces,* Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 5–12.

———"Our Social Heritage," *Survey Graphic,* Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 277–79, 341–343.

PETERS, IVA L., "Repression and Problems of the Family," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VII, No. 6, pp. 309–317.

SCOTT, NANCY E.; "The Effects of the Higher Education of Women upon the Home," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 2, pp. 257–263.

STEWART, ETHELBERT, "A Family Wage-Rate vs. A Family Social Endowment Fund," *Social Forces,* Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 120–125.

TODD, ARTHUR J., "Some Industrial Management Aspects of Married Women's Work and Their Bearing on the Family," *The Family,* Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 88–92.

TUCKER, E. F. GORDON and GILBERT, LESLIE H., "Primitive Promiscuity and Group Marriage," *The Sociological Review,* Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 291–305.

WINSLOW, MARY N., "Married Women in Industry," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. IX, No. 7, pp. 385–395.

CHAPTER XVI

PROPERTY AND ECONOMIC EXPERIENCE

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Social Changes Appear With Surplus of Material Resources?
2. What Forms of Property Do We Find Among Savages?
3. What In Savage Society Is Used As Money?

4. How Do You Explain the Communism Found in Some Savage Tribes?

5. Has Slavery Contributed to Social Progress?

6. What Ideas of Property Are Characteristic of Boys in Their Early Teens? Of the Older Adolescent?

7. What Were the Causes and Social Results of the Industrial Revolution?

8. What Are the Significant Trends in Present-day American Industry?

9. Do You Expect Arbitration To Replace Strikes?

10. Are Business Ethics Advancing?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Robert Owen, Capitalist and Reformer.
2. The Work of the Earl of Shaftesbury.
3. The Industrial Revolution in America.
4. William Place and Labor Legislation.
5. The Taylor System.
6. Industrial Psychology.
7. The Social Influence of Henry Ford.
8. Recent Changes in Industry.
9. Industrial Coöperation.
10. The American Labor Movement.

Problems

1. Write out what you remember of your development of property attitudes from early childhood.

2. By reading a first-hand investigation collect information regarding some recent strike. What were the causes and results of the strike? Record your explanation and solution of the difficulty.

REFERENCES

Books

Basden, G. T., "Among the Ibos of Nigeria," ch. XVIII.
Cheney, W. L., "Industry and Human Welfare."
Clark, J. M., "Recent Developments in Economics," ch. 5.

COLE, G. D. H., "A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement.
DE LAGUNA, T., "The Factors of Social Evolution," ch. 7.
DICKINSON, Z. C., "Economic Motives."
ELLWOOD, C. A., "Cultural Evolution," ch. 9.
FLORENCE, P. S., "Economics and Human Behavior."
GOLDENWEISER, A. A., "Early Civilization," ch. 7.
HOYT, E. E., "Primitive Trade: Its Psychology and Economics."
LOWIE, R. H., "Primitive Society," ch. 9.
MALINOWSKI, B., "Argonauts of the Western Pacific," chs. 3, 17.
ROSCOE, J., "The Baganda," ch. 15.
SKEAT, W. W. and BLAGDEN, C. O., "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula," Part II, ch. 5.
SUMNER, W., "Folkways," chs. 4, 6.
———, and KELLER, A. G. "The Science of Society," Part II, chs. 4, 10–13.
TEAD, O., "Instincts in Industry."
WALLIS, W. D., "An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 12.
——— "Anthropology," chs. 13, 14.

Articles

BLACKMAR, FRANK W., "The Court of Industrial Relations," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 84–92.
BRANFORD, VICTOR, "Economic Roots of Evils and Ideals," *The Sociological Review,* Vol. XVII, No. 3, pp. 204–219.
GEORGE, W. HENRY, "Economic and Social Forces in War," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIII, No. 6, pp. 747–753.
HOWERTH, I. W., "The Origin and Development of Productive Industry," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIX, No. 5, pp. 539–552.
MACLEOD, WILLIAM CHRISTIE, "Trade Restrictions in Early Society," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 271–278.
MALINOWSKI, B., "The Primitive Economics of the Trobriand Islanders," *American Journal of Psychology,* March, 1921.
VALENTINE, R. G., "The Human Element in Production," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXII, No. 4, pp. 477–488.

CHAPTER XVII

THE STATE AND POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

Topics for Discussion

1. What Is the Social Function of Government?
2. What Are the Characteristic Political Experiences of Savages?
3. As Society Advances Must It Have More or Less Government?
4. Do Children Imitate Their Elders or Develop Spontaneously Their Gang Control?
5. Why Are Boy-gangs So Often Lawless?
6. Is Student Self-government a Success in College? In High School?
7. How Do Savages Treat Crime?
8. Why Do Americans Have Such Great Confidence in Laws?
9. Do We Need an International Authority To Enforce International Law?
10. How Can Education Train for Citizenship?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Government Among Primitive Australians.
2. Political Authority Among the North American Indians.
3. Lowie's Theory of the State.
4. The George Junior Republic.
5. Secret Societies Among Pre-adolescent Girls.
6. The Work of John Stuart Mill.
7. The Growth of International Law.
8. English Common Law.

Problems

1. Observe children at play and record the means and the effectiveness of the authority of the group.
2. List the behavior your group will not tolerate, what it permits but does not like, and what it encourages. Record the methods used to enforce its authority.

REFERENCES

Books

BARNES, H. E., "Sociology and Political Theory."
CASE, C. M., "Outlines of Introductory Sociology," ch. 17.
COOLEY, C. H., "Social Organization," ch. 35.
ELLWOOD, C. A., "Cultural Evolution," ch. 11.
FOLLETT, M. P., "The New State."
——— "Creative Experience."
FURFEY, P. H., "The Gang Age."
HOBHOUSE, L. T., WHEELER, G. C., and GINSBERG, M., "The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples," ch. 2.
LOWIE, R. H., "The Origin of the State."
——— "Primitive Society," ch. 13.
HAYES, E. C., "Recent Developments in the Social Sciences," ch. 6.
ODUM, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," ch. 23.
——— "Community and Government."
PUFFER, J. A., "The Boy and His Gang."
RICE, S. A., "Quantitative Methods in Politics."
RIVERS, W. H. R., "The Todas," ch. 23.
ROSCOE, J., "The Baganda," ch. 8.
SUMNER, W. and KELLER, A. G., "The Science of Society," Part III, ch. 16.
THOMAS, W. I., "Source Book for Social Origins," Part 7.
TOZZER, A. M., "Social Origins and Social Continuities," pp. 199–221.
WALLIS, W. D., "Anthropology," ch. 29.
——— "An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 25.

Articles

BOGARDUS, EMORY S., "Will Democracy Survive?" *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No. 6, pp. 372–376.
BOYD, J. H., "Socialization of the Law," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXII, No. 6, pp. 822–837.
CARPENTER, WILLIAM S., "Methods of Political Reasoning," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXI, No. 2, pp. 227–240.

DASHIELL, J. F., "Some Psychological Phases of Internationalism," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXV, No. 6, pp. 757–768.

DIAMOND, HERBERT M., "Property and the Cult," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 2, pp. 264–270.

ELLWOOD, CHARLES A., "Education for Citizenship in a Democracy," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXVI, No. 1, pp. 73–81.

MEAD, GEORGE H., "The Psychology of Punitive Justice," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIII, No. 5, pp. 577–602.

MEIER, NORMAN C., "Motives in Voting: A Study in Public Opinion," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXI, No. 2, pp. 199–212.

POUND, ROSCOE, "Juristic Problems of National Progress," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXII, No. 6, pp. 721–733.

SPEEK, P. A., "The Need of a Socialized Jurisprudence," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXII, No. 4, pp. 503–518.

CHAPTER XVIII

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND THE CHURCH

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why Has Religion Such Social Importance?
2. Which Started First, Religion or Magic?
3. Do We Make Religion a Special or an Everyday Experience?
4. Would Children, Left Alone, Develop Religious Ideas?
5. Are Introverts More Religious Than Extroverts?
6. Is Religious Tolerance Difficult? Why?
7. Have We Outgrown Religious Fear?
8. Is Church Union in This Country Possible?
9. Is Religious Unity Increasing?
10. Has the Radio Affected Church Attendance?
11. Should Religion Be Taught at College? In High School?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Frazer's Theory of Magic.
2. Durkheim on Religion.
3. The Priest-code of the Old Testament.

4. Religious Principles of the Hebrew Prophets.
5. Famous American Urban Churches.
6. Progressive Rural Churches.

Problems

1. Make a statement of your religious beliefs, showing their origins, changes and motivating value.

2. State the chief doctrine of your church and indicate those that are exclusively held by it.

REFERENCES

Books

Basden, G. T., "Among the Ibos of Nigeria," ch. XX.
Briffault, R., "The Mothers," ch. 22.
Bushee, F. A., "Principles of Sociology," ch. 31.
Durkheim, E., "The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life."
Edman, I., "Human Traits and Their Social Significance," ch. 12.
Ellwood, C. A., "Cultural Evolution," ch. 13.
———"The Reconstruction of Religion."
Goldenweiser, A. A., "Early Civilization," chs. 10, 11.
Hartland, E. S., "Myth and Ritual."
Hocking, W. E., "Human Nature and Its Remaking," ch. 39.
Hopkins, E. W., "Origin and Evolution of Religion."
Hose, C., "Natural Man, A Record from Borneo," Pt. V, chs. 1 and 2.
Marett, R. R., "The Threshold of Religion."
Martin, E. D., "The Mystery of Religion."
Odum, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," ch. 22.
Richardson, F. H., "Parenthood and the Newer Psychology," ch. 11.
Roscoe, J., "The Baganda," ch. 9.
Storck, J., "Man and Civilization," ch. 18.
Sumner, W. and Keller, A. G., "The Science of Society," Part IV.
Swisher, W. S., "Religion and the New Psychology."
Thomas, W. I., "Source Book for Social Origins," Part 6.
Wallas, G., "Our Social Heritage," ch. 12.
Wallis, W. D., "Anthropology," ch. 25.
———"An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 22.
Williamson, R. W., "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," ch. 5.

Articles

BAIN, READ, "Religious Attitudes of College Students," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 5, pp. 762–770.

DE ANGULO, JAIME, "The Background of the Religious Feeling in a Primitive Tribe," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 352–360.

GIFFORD, EDWARD WINSLOW, "Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 214–257.

GROVES, E. R., "An Unsocial Element in Religion," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXII, No. 5, pp. 657–662.

LOEB, EDWIN M., "The Creator Concept among the Indians of North Central California," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 467–493.

PARK, ROBERT E., "Human Nature and Collective Behavior," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 5, pp. 733–741.

SWANTON, JOHN R., "Three Factors in Primitive Religion," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 358–365.

CHAPTER XIX

THE FORMS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Do You Mean by Poverty?
2. How Do You Explain the Amount of Poverty in a Country as Rich as Ours?
3. Why Is There So Much Poverty Among Negroes?
4. Does Poverty Stimulate Ambition?
5. Is Physical Illness Primarily a Social Cause or Result?
6. What Is a Mental Disease?
7. Is Feeblemindedness Increasing in the United States?
8. Why Do We Not Know the Amount of Crime in This Country?
9. What Is Social Hygiene?
10. Is Race Antagonism Decreasing in the United States?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Statistics of the Amount of Poverty in the United States.
2. The Medieval Idea of Poverty.

3. Family Income and Infant Mortality.
4. Recent Progress in the Control of Children's Diseases.
5. Walter Fernald and the Care of the Feebleminded.
6. Child Labor Conditions in the United States.
7. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene.
8. Statistics of Illegitimacy.

Problems

1. Make as full a case study as possible from personal knowledge of some individual problem of one of the following: (1) poverty, (2) mental disease, (3) feeblemindedness, (4) illegitimacy.

REFERENCES

Books

Children

Devine, E. T., "The Principles of Relief," Pt. I, ch. 9.
Dexter, R. C., "Social Adjustment," ch. 6.
Ford, J., "Social Problems and Social Policy," pp. 486–491.
Gillin, J. L., "Poverty and Dependency," ch. 21.
Margold, G. B., "Problems of Child Welfare."
Queen, S. A. and Mann, D. M., "Social Pathology," chs. 5, 6, 16.

Feeblemindedness

Barr, M. W., "Mental Defectives."
Binet, A., and Simon, T., "Intelligenec of the Feebleminded."
Bossard, J. H. S., "Problems of Social Well-Being," ch. 21.
Davies, S. P., "Social Control of the Feebleminded," chs. I–IV.
Dexter, R. C., "Social Adjustment," ch. 7.
Dow, S. G., "Society and Its Problems," ch. 25.
Dugdale, R. L., "The Jukes."
Estabrook, A. H., "The Jukes in 1915," Publications Carnegie Institution.
——— and Davenport, C. B., "The Nam Family."
Gillin, J. L., "Poverty and Dependency," ch. 20.
Goddard, H. H., "The Kallikak Family."
Groves, E. R., "Social Problems and Education," ch. 4.
Hollingworth, L. P., "Psychology of Subnormal Children."

QUEEN, S. A. and MANN, D. M., "Social Pathology," ch. 26.
SEGUIN, E., "Idiocy and Its Treatment by the Physiological Method."
TREDGOLD, A. F., "Mental Deficiency."

ILLEGITIMACY

GILLIN, J. L., "Poverty and Dependency," ch. 22.
GROVES, E. R., "Social Problems and Education," ch. 7.
KAMMERER, P. G., "The Unmarried Woman."
QUEEN, S. A. and MANN, D. M., "Social Pathology," ch. 8.

IMMIGRATION

ABBOTT, E., "Immigration—Select Documents and Case Records."
ELLWOOD, C. A., "Sociology and Modern Social Problems, ch. 10.
FAIRCHILD, H. E., Editor, "Immigrant Backgrounds."
GARIS, R. L., "Immigration Restriction."
JENKS, J. W. and LAUCK, W. J., "The Immigration Problem" (5th ed.).
ODUM, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," ch. 13.
STEPHENSON, G. N., "A History of American Immigration."

MENTAL DISEASE

BEERS, C. W., "The Mind that Found Itself: An Autobiography."
BOSSARD, J. H. S., "Problems of Social Well-Being," ch. 24.
CAMPBELL, C. M., "A Present-Day Conception of Mental Disorders."
DEXTER, R. C., "Social Adjustment," ch. 11.
FORD, J., "Social Problems and Social Policy," pp. 417–428.
GILLIN, J. L., "Poverty and Dependency," ch. 18.
GROVES, E. R., "Social Problems and Education," ch. 3.
HART, B., "The Psychology of Insanity."
MORGAN, J. J. B., "The Psychology of Abnormal People."
MAY, J. V., "Mental Diseases," Part I.
QUEEN, S. A. and MANN, D. M., "Social Pathology," ch. 25.
SOUTHARD, E. E. and JARRETT, M. C., "The Kingdom of Evils," Book 3.
WHITE, W. A., "Outlines of Psychiatry."
——— "Foundations of Psychiatry."

Race

Baker, R. S., "Following the Color Line."
Boas, F., "The Mind of Primitive Man," ch. 10.
Brawley, Benjamin, "A Short History of the American Negro."
——— "The Negro in Literature and Art."
Dow, G. S., "Society and Its Problems," ch. 9.
Du Bois, W. E. B., "Darkwater."
——— "The Souls of Black Folk."
Ellwood, C. A., "Sociology and Modern Social Problems," ch. 11.
Groves, E. R., "Social Problems and Education," ch. 12.
Hammond, L. H., "In Black and White."
Hoffman, F. L., "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro."
Holden, A. C., "The Settlement Idea," ch. 9.
Johnson, J. E., "The Negro Problem."
Johnston, Sir H. H., "The Negro in the New World."
Miller, K., "Race Adjustments."
Mechlin, J. M., "Democracy and Race Friction."
Moton, R. R., "Finding a Way Out."
Odum, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," ch. 12.
——— "Social and Mental Traits of the Negro."
Oldham, J. H., "Christianity and the Race Problem."
Ovington, M. W., "Half a Man."
Page, T. N., "The Negro, the Southerner's Problem."
Reuter, E. B., "The American Race Problem."
——— "The Mulatto."
Seligman, H. J., "The Negro Faces America."
Weatherford, W. D., "The Negro from Africa to America."
Willoughby, W. C., "Race Problems in the New Africa."
Wolfe, A. B., "Readings in Social Problems," Book 5.
Woofter, T. J., Jr., "Negro Migrations."
——— "The Basis of Racial Adjustment."
——— "Negro Problems in Cities."
——— "Negro Problems in Cities."
Work, M. N., "The Negro Year Book."

*

Physical Disease

Bossard, J. H. S., "Problems of Social Well-Being," ch. 8.
Devine, E. T., "Misery and Its Causes," ch. 2.
——— "The Principles of Relief," Pt. I, ch. 4.
Dexter, R. C., "Social Adjustment," ch. 9.
Gillin, J. L., "Poverty and Dependency," ch. 25.
Groves, E. R., "Social Problems and Education," ch. 9.
Hill, H. W., "The New Public Health," ch. 3.
Moore, H. H., "Public Health in the United States," Part II.
Queen, S. A., and Mann, D. M., "Social Pathology," chs. 20–22.

Poverty

Bossard, J. H. S., "Problems of Social Well-Being," Part I.
Booth, Charles, "Life and Labor of the People of London."
Devine, E. T., "Misery and Its Causes," Pt. I, ch. 1.
——— "Principles of Relief," Part 2.
Dexter, R. C., "Social Adjustment," ch. 2.
Dow, S. G., "Society and Its problems," ch. 20.
Ellwood, C. A., "Sociology and Modern Social Problems," ch. 13.
Ford, J., "Social Problems and Social Policy," ch. 19.
Gillin, J. L., "Poverty and Dependency," chs. 1–4.
Houghteling, L., "The Income and Standard of Living of Unskilled Laborers in Chicago."
Kellog, P. U., Editor, "The Pittsburgh Survey."
Parmelee, M., "Poverty and Social Progress," ch. 2.
Queen, S. A., and Mann, D. M., "Social Pathology," ch. 12.
Rountree, B. S., "Poverty, A Study of Town Life."
Sanderson, D., Editor, "Farm Income and Farm Life."
Warner, A. G., "American Charities," ch. 7.

Vice

Devine, E. T., "The Principles of Relief," ch. 12.
Dexter, R. C., "Social Adjustment," ch. 12.
Dow, S. G., "Society and Its Problems," ch. 24.
Gillin, J. L., "Poverty and Dependency," ch. 24.
Kneeland, G. J., "Commercialized Prostitution in New York City."

QUEEN, S. A., and MANN, D. M., "Social Pathology," chs. 9, 27.
SANGER, W. W., "History of Prostitution."
SMITH, S. G., "Social Pathology," pp. 256–264.
WOOLSTON, H. B., "Prostitution in the United States."

CRIME

BURT, C., "The Young Delinquent," ch. 1.
DOW, S. G., "Society and Its Problems," ch. 22.
DRUCKER, S., and HEXTER, M. B., "Children Astray."
ELLWOOD, C. A., "Sociology and Modern Social Problems," ch. 14.
GILLIN, J. L., "Criminology and Penology," Book I, Part I.
GROVES, E. R., "Social Problems and Education," chs. 1, 2.
MOREHOUSE, F., and GRAHAM, S. F., "American Problems," ch. 16.
PARMELEE, M., "Criminology," Part I, ch. 3.
PARSONS, P. A., "Crime and the Criminal," ch. 1.
STEINER, J. F., and BROWN, R. M., "The North Carolina Chain-gang."
SUTHERLAND, E. H., "Criminology," chs. 1–3.
WINES, F. H., "Punishment and Reformation," ch. 2.

Articles

CHILDREN

BEACH, WALTER G., "Poverty and Child Work," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 13–20.
FULLER, RAYMOND G., "Child Labor Research," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. IX, No. 6, pp. 410–421.
JOHNSON, F. ERNEST, "The Moral Hazards of Child Labor," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, Vol. X, No. 6, pp. 329–334.

FEEBLEMINDEDNESS

FERNALD, WALTER E., "Feeblemindedness," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 964–971.
GODDARD, H. N., "Who Is a Moron?" *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 24, pp. 41–46.
HAMILTON, GORDON, "Some Community Aspects of Feeblemindedness," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 312–338.

ILLEGITIMACY

KENWORTHY, MARION E., "The Mental Hygiene Aspects of Illegitimacy," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 499–508.

LENROOT, KATHERINE F., "The Delinquent Girl and the Unmarried Mother," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 74–82.

LUNDBERG, EMMA O., "Children of Illegitimate Birth and Measures for their Protection," *Children's Bureau Publication,* No. 166.

POPENOE, PAUL, "Some Eugenic Aspects of Illegitimacy," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. IX, No. 9, pp. 513–527.

REED, RUTH, "Illegitimacy Among Negroes," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 73–91.

WORTHINGTON, GEORGE E., "Law for Children Born Out of Wedlock," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 164–176.

IMMIGRATION

ALBRIGHT, R. E., "Federal Immigration Legislation," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. XI, No. 6, pp. 553–560.

BAMFORD, EDWIN F., "The Mexican Casual Problem in the Southwest," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No. 6, pp. 363–371.

BOGARDUS, EMORY S., "The Mexican Immigrant," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. XI, No. 5, pp. 470–488.

GILLETTE, J. M., "Immigration and the Increase of Population in the United States," *Social Forces,* Vol. V., No. 1, pp. 37–51.

GILLMAN, JOSEPH M., "Statistics and the Immigration Problem," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXX, No. 1, pp. 29–48.

GRANT, EDWIN E., "Scum from the Melting-Pot," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXX, No. 6, pp. 641–652.

LOFSTEDT, CHRISTINE, "Mexican Population of Pasadena, California," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 260–268.

REUTER, E. B., "Immigration and the American Birth-Rate," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No. 5, pp. 274–282.

STERRY, NORA, "Social Attitudes of Chinese Immigrants," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VII, No. 6, pp. 325–333.

SULLENGER, EARL T., "Mexican Population of Omaha," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No. 5, pp. 289–293.

THOMSON, CHARLES A., "Restriction of Mexican Immigration," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. XI, No. 6, pp. 574–578.

MENTAL DISEASE

BURROW, TRIGANT, "Insanity a Social Problem," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, Part 1, pp. 80–87.

SCHWAB, SIDNEY I., "Influence of War upon Concepts of Mental Diseases and Neuroses," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 654–669.

STRECKER, EDWARD A., "The Non-Specificity of Mental Disease," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 277–306.

RACE

CARROLL, JOSEPH C., "The Race Problem," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 266–271.

DUNCAN, HANNIBAL G., "The Negro and the Backwardness of the South," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 140–146.

HILL, JOSEPH A., "The Effects of the Recent Northward Migration of Negroes," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 34–46.

KERSCHNER, J. HAYDEN, "Race Prejudice a Form of Group Prejudice," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. XI, No. 5, pp. 446–452.

LOWIE, ROBERT H., "Psychology, Anthropology, and Race," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 291–303.

REINHARDT, JAMES M., "The Negro: Is He a Biological Inferior?" *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, pp. 248–261.

STEWARD, G. A., "The Black Girl Passes," *Social Forces,* Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 99–103.

YOUNG, ERLE FISKE, "What Is Race Prejudice?" *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 135–140.

VICE

CROWDY, DAME RACHEL, "The League of Nations: International Position with Regard to Prostitution and the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. X, No. 9, pp. 549–559.

EMERY, E. VAN NORMAN, "Revising Our Attitude Toward Sex," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 324–338.

EVERETT, RAY H., "International Traffic in Women and Children," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. XIII, No. 5, pp. 269–288.

HEAGERTY, J. J., "Education in Relation to Prostitution," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 129–138.

KOLB, LAWRENCE, "Types and Characteristics of Drug Addicts," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 300–313.

LEWIS, LESLIE L., "Survey of a Vice District in the Middle West," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 93–96.

RECKLESS, WALTER C., "Indices of Commercialized Vice Areas," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 249–357.

——— "Vice and Personal Disorganization," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 133–139.

SEAGRAVE, MABLE, "Causes Underlying Sex Delinquency in Young Girls," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. XII, No. 9, pp. 523–529.

CRIME

ABBOTT, E., "Recent Statistics Relating to Crime in Chicago," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 329–358.

HEINZEN, H. and RYPINS, R. K., "Crime in San Francisco," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 75–91.

MCCORD, C. P., "A Survey of the Albany County Jail and Penitentiary from Social, Physical and Psychiatric Viewpoints," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 42–67.

SIMS, E. W., "On Crime Conditions in Chicago," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 105–108.

CHAPTER XX

THE CAUSES OF SOCIAL FAILURE

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Is Social Causation?
2. Does Social Progress Increase Social Problems?
3. Can Society Ever Rid Itself of Social Problems?
4. Does Social Adjustment Become Increasingly Difficult?

5. How Do You Explain the Present Reaction Against Democracy?

6. What Is Social Exploitation?

7. Why Is Our Criminal Law So Backward?

8. Will Birth Control Prove a Social Advantage or Disadvantage?

9. What Is the Cause of Unwise Sympathy?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Lombroso's Theory of the Born Criminal.
2. Malthus on Population.
3. Benjamin Franklin's Discussion of Population.
4. Population Problems and Policies Among Savages.
5. Rural Progress in Denmark.
5. Birth Control Legislation.

Problem

1. Rewrite your case study given in Chapter XIX, in the effort to analyze the causes of the problem. Designate those that are social, individual and a combination of both.

REFERENCES

Books

Burt, C., "The Young Delinquent," chs. 2–14.
Davies, S. P., "Social Control of the Feebleminded," ch. 3.
Dexter, R. C., "Social Adjustment," ch. 3.
Ford, J., "Social Problems and Social Policy," ch. 21.
Freeman, A., "Social Decay and Regeneration," Section III.
Gillin, J. L., "Criminology and Penology," Book I, Part II.
——— "Poverty and Dependency," Part 2.
Morehouse, F., and Graham, S. F., "American Problems," ch. 15.
Ogburn, W. F., "Social Change," Part IV.
Parmelee, M., "Criminology," Part II.
——— "Poverty and Social Progress," Part II.
Parsons, P. A., "An Introduction to Modern Social Problems," Part 2.
——— "Crime and the Criminal," ch. 11.
Sutherland, E. H., "Criminology," chs. 4–8.
Warner, A. G., "American Charities," chs. 3–6.

Articles

BRANDT, L., "The Causes of Poverty," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 23, pp. 637–651.

BRIDGES, K. M. B., "Factors Contributing to Juvenile Delinquency," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 531–580.

HALVERSON, H. JEANETTE, "The Prolificacy of Dependent Families," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, pp. 338–344.

HIGHFILL, ROBERT D., "The Effects of News of Crime and Scandal upon Public Opinion," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, pp. 40–103.

HOWARD, GEORGE ELLIOTT, "Alcohol and Crime: A Study in Social Causation," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, pp. 61–80.

KOREN, JOHN, "What We Do Not Know About Crime," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, pp. 446–452.

STANLEY, L. L., "Disease and Crime," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, pp. 103–109.

SUTHERLAND, E. H., "Public Opinion as a Cause of Crime," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 50–55.

WOODRUFF, R., "A Classification of the Causes of Crime," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 105-109.

CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND PUBLIC POLICY

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do You Regard Poverty as Chiefly an Economic or Sociological Problem?
2. Have We at Present the Economic Resources to Do Away with Poverty?
3. Do You Believe in State Pensions for the Aged?
4. Should the Doctor Give Part of His Service as Charity?
5. What Is the Mental Hygiene Movement?
6. How Do People Start the Drug Habit?
7. Do You Approve of the Eighteenth Amendment?
8. Can the Saloons Ever Return?

Subjects for Investigation

1. The Feebleminded Farm Colony.
2. Sterilization Laws and Practices.
3. The Juvenile Court.
4. The Psychopathic Clinic.
5. Parole and Probation.
6. The Socialization of Medicine.

Problems

1. Visit some charitable or penal institution and write out a report of what you saw and the impressions you received.

REFERENCES

Books

Davies, S. P., "Social Control of the Feebleminded," chs. 7–9.
Devine, E. T., "Social Work," Parts II–IV.
———"The Principles of Relief," Part IV.
Dow, S. G., "Society and Its Problems," chs. 21, 23.
Gillin, J. L., "Criminology and Penology," Book II.
———"Poverty and Dependency," chs. 14–16.
Johnson, A., "The Almshouse."
Leigh, R. D., "Federal Health Administration in the United States."
Moore, H. H., "American Medicine and the People's Health."
Odum, H. W., "An Approach to Public Welfare and Social Work."
——— and Willard, D. W., "Systems of Public Welfare."
Parmelee, M., "Poverty and Social Progress," chs. 19–22.
Parsons, P. A., "Crime and the Criminal," ch. 49.
Queen, S. A., and Mann, D. M., "Social Pathology," ch. 29.
Warner, A. G., "American Charities," Part II.

Articles

Bailey, Pearce, "State Care, Training, and Education of Mental Defectives," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 57–67.
Fuller, Earl W., "Extra-Institutional Care of Mental Defectives," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 828–835.
Hincks, A. P., "The Place of Institutional Care," *The Family,* Vol. 5, No. 10, pp. 243–246.
Lynde, E. D., "The Significance of Changing Methods in Relief Giving," *The Family,* Vol. 8, No. 5, pp. 135–144.

POPENOE, PAUL, "Eugenic Sterilization in California: The Feeble-minded," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, Vol. XIII, No. 6, pp. 321–330.

SEARS, AMELIA, "Old Age Pensions," *The Family*, Vol. VII, No. 10, pp. 300–306.

CHAPTER XXII

CRITICISM AND DEFENSE OF PHILANTHROPY

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is Philanthropy Popular in Your Community?
2. Should We Ever Give to Beggars?
3. What Forms Did Philanthropy Take Among Savages?
4. What Is Altruism?
5. Can Altruism Be Selfish?
6. Does the Golden Rule Require Altruism?
7. Why Is Philanthropy Dangerous?
8. Should Society Allow Seriously Defective Children to Be Put to Death at Birth?
9. How Does Altruism Cement Society Together?
10. Can Social Culture Avoid Interfering with Natural Laws?
11. Can Christianity Exist without Philanthropy?
12. Are Social Workers Parasitic?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Medieval Charity.
2. Psychology of Altruism.
3. Philanthropy as the Eugenists See It.
4. The Teaching of Jesus Regarding Philanthropy.
6. Social Contributions from the Sick and Defective.

PROBLEMS

1. Interview different types of persons with reference to their attitude toward philanthropy and classify the results.

2. State your own attitude regarding altruism and philanthropy and trace the influences that have led you to your present conclusions.

3. Choose a social organization in your community of which you can get information and study it in order to write out a

statement of its purposes, methods, problems, success and forms of support.

4. Choose a community organization widely known and attempt to discover how much people know of its work and what attitude they take toward it.

REFERENCES

Books

COOLEY, C. H., "Social Organization," ch. 17.

DRUMMOND, H., "The Ascent of Man."

ELLWOOD, C. A., "Christianity and Social Science," ch. 4.

———— "The Reconstruction of Religion," ch. 6.

FOLSOM, J. K., "Culture and Social Progress," chs. XII and XIII.

FOSDICK, H., "The Meaning of Service."

GIDDINGS, F. H., "Studies in the Theory of Human Society," ch. 14.

HOCKING, W. E., "Human Nature and Its Remaking," ch. 40.

PARMELEE, M., "Poverty and Social Progress," chs. 17, 18.

ROSS, E. A., "The Social Trend," ch. 7.

SUMNER, W. G., "What Social Classes Owe Each Other."

WARNER, A. G., "American Charities," ch. 23.

WATSON, F. D., "The Charity Organization Movement in the United States," ch. 12.

Articles

"The Philanthropist Considers Brahms," *The Family,* Vol. 10, No. 10, pp. 256–258.

DEVINE, E. T., "Prejudices Against Organized Charity," *The Survey,* Vol. 27, pp. 1325–26.

GILLIN, J. L., "Modern Philanthropic Movements in Their Relation to Democracy," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XIV, pp. 113–120.

NOVICOW, JACQUES, "The Mechanism and Limits of Human Association: The Foundations of a Sociology of Peace," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIII, No. 3, pp. 289–349.

PARMELEE, MAURICE, "The Rise of Modern Humanitarianism," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 345–359.

TODD, ARTHUR J., "Sentimentality and Social Reform," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXII, No. 2, pp. 159–176.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PREVENTION OF SOCIAL FAILURE

Topics for Discussion

1. How Do You Account for the Social Worker's Common Indifference to Sociology?
2. What Can the Psychologists Contribute to the Prevention of Social Problems?
3. What Influences Are Leading Sociology Away from Its Former Philosophic Attitude?
4. How Can the Public Be Taught to Take a More Intelligent Interest in Preventive Work?
5. What Social Gains Have Been Made by Legislation?
6. What New Laws Do You Advocate for the Prevention of Social Evils?
7. What Is a Social Norm?
8. What Makes a Law Coercive?
9. Do You Approve Social and Educational Organizations' Maintaining a Lobby to Influence Federal and State Legislation?
10. What Organizations in Your Community Are Contributing Good Will?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Social Case Work as a Method of Investigation.
2. Recent Achievements in Sociological Investigation.
3. The Contribution of Dr. William Healy to Preventive Work.
4. Recent Advances in Socialized Legislation in Your State.
5. Social Influences of the Federal Income Tax Law.
6. The Work of Octavia Hill.
7. The History and Function of the Community Chest.
8. Problems of Community Organization.

Problem

1. Draw up a plan for what is in your opinion the most promising social reform.

REFERENCES

Books

Addams, J., and Others, "The Child, the Clinic and the Court."
Blanchard, P., "The Child and Society," ch. 15.

DAVIES, S. P., "Social Control of the Feebleminded," ch. 12.
DEVINE, E. T., "Misery and Its Causes," pp. 239–274.
———"Social Work," Part V.
FORD, J., "Social Problems and Social Policy," ch. 22.
GILLIN, J. L., "Poverty and Dependency," Part 5.
HENDERSON, C. R., "Preventive Agencies and Methods."
HOLLANDER, J. H., "The Abolition of Poverty."
MOORE, H. H., "Public Health in the United States," Part V.
PARMELEE, M., "Criminology," ch. 30.
———"Poverty and Social Progress," chs. 24–30.
PARSONS, P. A., "An Introduction to Modern Social Problems," ch. 13.
POPENOE, P., and JOHNSON, R. H., "Applied Eugenics," ch. 18.
QUEEN, S. A., "Social Work in the Light of History," ch. 3.
ROSENAU, M. J., "Preventive Medicine and Hygiene."
SHENTON, H. N., "The Practical Application of Sociology."
STEINER, J. F., "Community Organization."
SUTHERLAND, E. H., "Criminology," ch. 25.
WARNER, A. G., "American Charities," ch. 8.
WEBB, S. and B., "The Prevention of Destitution."

Articles

CHAPIN, F. STUART, "Socialized Leadership," *Social Forces,* Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 57–59.
CRAIG, L. L., "A Small City Mental Health Clinic," *The Family,* Vol. 6, No. 9, pp. 268–270.
DE SCHWEINITZ, K., "Social Work as it Contributes to the Strengthening of Family Life," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. 9, No. 8, pp. 449–458.
FAUST, S. W., "Community Aspects of Recreation Legislation in the United States," *Social Forces,* Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 463–465.
FRANKEL, L. K., "Social Hygiene and Public Health," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 210–214.
GIDDINGS, FRANKLIN H., "Social Work and Societal Engineering," *Social Forces,* Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 7–14.
HOOKER, D. B., "Social Hygiene and Social Progress," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 20–25.

MORRISON, A. W., "A Further Discussion of College Mental Hygiene," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 48–54.

PARRAN, JR., T., "Social Hygiene and Public Health," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 17–29.

PATON, STEWART, "Mental Hygiene in the University," *The Scientific Monthly,* December, 1924, pp. 625–631.

SHEFFIELD, ADA E., "What Are the Case Workers Really Doing?" *Social Forces,* Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 362–365.

SMITH, S. K., "Psychiatry and University Men," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 38–47.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY AND PUBLIC WELFARE

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Social and Political Results Came from the Poverty Among the Early Settlers of this Country?
2. Why Is the Family as a Unit Magnified so Frequently by Conditions of Poverty?
3. Are State Almshouses Usually More Efficient Than Those Maintained by Towns and Counties? If So, Why?
4. What Is Meant by Friendly Visiting Among the Poor?
5. What Influences Have Led the Associated Charity Societies Commonly to Become Family Welfare Societies?
6. Why Have Child Placing Societies Generally in this Country Replaced Orphanages?
7. Why Is Legal Aid Necessary?
8. Why Was Not the Elmira Reformatory More Successful?
9. What Led America to Accept the Auburn Prison System and Europe the Pennsylvania System?
10. Explain the Popular Horror and Misunderstanding of Hospitals for the Insane.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Poor Relief in Colonial Massachusetts.
2. Poor Relief in Your State.
3. The Work of the Volunteer Visitor.

4. The Legal Aid Society.
5. Quaker Influence in Philanthropy.
6. The Elmira Reformatory.
7. Louis Dwight, and Early Prison Reform.
8. Recent Changes in Penal Institutions.
9. The Rome, New York, Program for the Feebleminded.

Problems

1. Write out what you consider to be the present trends in one of the following:

Relief of the poor.
Care of the feebleminded.
Treatment of the mentally diseased.
Treatment of the criminal.

REFERENCES

Books

Barnes, H. E., "The Repression of Crime."
Devine, E. T., "The Principles of Relief," ch. 2; Part III.
Dexter, R. C., "Social Adjustment," ch. 4.
Ford, J., "Social Problems and Social Policy," chs. 23, 24.
Gillin, J. L., "Poverty and Dependency," chs. 11–13.
Ives, G., "A History of Penal Methods."
Kellogg, C. D., "History of Charity Organization in the United States," Report 1893, Conference of Charities and Correction, pp. 52–93.
Kelso, R. W., "History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1620–1920."
Queen, S. A., "Social Work in the Light of History," Part II.
Robinson, L. N., "Penology in the United States."
Warner, A. G., "American Charities," ch. 22.
Watson, F. D., "The Charity Organization Movement in the United States."

Articles

Bates, R. C., "Character Building at Elmira," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. III, p. 577.
Brockway, Z. R., "The American Reformatory Prison System," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XV, p. 454.

BUTLER, AMOS W., "A Decade of Official Poor-Relief in Indiana," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XI, p. 763.

ELLWOOD, CHARLES A., "Public Outdoor Relief," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. VI, p. 90.

FAIRCHILD, HENRY P., "Preventing Cruelty to Children," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XVIII, p. 556.

HENDERSON, C. R., "Politics in Public Institutions of Charity and Correction," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. IV, p. 202.

HERRING, HARRIET L., "The Beginnings of Industrial Social Work," *Social Forces,* Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 317–324; No. 3, pp. 502–509.

KELSO, ROBERT W., "A Decade of Social Progress," *Social Forces,* Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 55–57.

MACQUEARY, T. H., "Reformation of Juvenile Offenders in Illinois," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. VIII, p. 644.

MILLIS, H. A., "Law Relating to the Relief and Care of Dependents," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. III, pp. 378, 479, 631, 777; Vol. IV, pp. 51, 178.

MUNSTERBERG, E., "Poor Relief in the United States," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. VII, pp. 501, 659.

Penal Institutions, Report of Committee on, *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. IX, p. 329.

RANDALL, C. D., "The Michigan System of Child Saving," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. I, p. 710.

SMITH, SAMUEL G., "The Minnesota System in Charitable and Correctional Institutions," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XIV, p. 213.

TITZEL, MARY E., "Building a Child-Welfare Program in War Time." *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIV, p. 411.

CHAPTER XXV

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PLAY

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why Do Children Need Play?

2. Through What Stages Does the Play of the Child Normally Pass?

3. Is It Better for Play to Be a Part of the School Program or for Children to Be Given Time to Play after School?

4. Why Do Children in Their Play Imitate Their Elders?

5. Does Modern Life Increase or Decrease Monotony for the Average Person?

6. Are College Athletics a Menace to Education?

7. What Are the Chief Appeals Made by the Movies?

8. What Has Brought the Commercial Theater to So Low a Level?

9. What Causes People, Especially in the Country, to Be Hostile to Play and Recreation?

10. How Do You Explain the Difference Between Orientals and Occidentals Regarding Sport?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Play and Games Among Savages.
2. The Groos Theory of Play.
3. G. Stanley Hall's Theory of Play.
4. The Little Theater.
5. The Community Playground Movement.
6. Play Problems in the Country.
7. Froebel and Play in the Kindergarten.

Problems

1. Visit a moving-picture show and classify the various appeals made in a single entertainment, the responses they receive and their probable social influence.

2. Engage in conversation with various people so as to discover their attitude toward sports, the reasons for their interest, indifference or hostility; and classify the various types of character.

REFERENCES

Books

Basden, G. T., "Among the Ibos of Nigeria," ch. XI.

Blanchard, P., "The Child and Society," ch. 5.

Bowen, W. P., and Mitchell, E. D., "The Theory of Organized Play."

Curtis, H. S., "Education Through Play," chs. I–IV.

———"Play and Recreation for the Open Country."

CURTIS, H. W., "The Play Movement and Its Significance."
FENTON, J. C., "A Practical Psychology of Babyhood," ch. 2.
FOLSOM, J. K., "Culture and Social Progress," ch. XV.
GROOS, K., "The Play of Man."
LEE, J., "Play in Education."
NORSWORTHY, N., and WHITLEY, M. T., "The Psychology of Childhood," ch. 12.
RAINWATER, C. E., "Play Movement in the United States."
RIVERS, W. H. R., "The Todas," ch. 24.
WOODS, R. A., and KENNEDY, A. J., "Young Working Girls," chs. 8–11.

Articles

CURTIS, H. S., "Public Recreation and Sex Problems," *Journal of Social Hygiene,* Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 203–207.
HALL, G. S., "Recreation and Reversion," *The Pedagogical Seminary,* Vol. 22, pp. 510–520.
KROEBER, A. L., "Games of the California Indians," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 272-277.
LEE, J., "Play the Architect of Man," *Survey Graphic,* Vol. LIX, No. 3, pp. 123–126.
RAINWATER, CLARENCE E., "Play as Collective Behavior," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No 4, pp. 217–222.
———"Socialized Leisure," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 255–259.
ROSS, A. E., "Adult Recreation as a Social Problem," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXIII, No. 4, pp. 516–528.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ART

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Is Art?
2. What Is the Social Function of the Dance Among Savages?
3. Is There Fashion Among Savages?
4. Is America Backward in Art and Its Appreciation?
5. Is the Popular Taste in Literature Rising or Falling?
6. Do the Public Libraries Educate or Cater to Their Readers?
7. Has the Automobile Decreased the Love of Reading?

8. What Makes a Book a "Best Seller"?
9. Is Literary Censorship Desirable?
10. What Has Been the Influence of the Radio on Art?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Prehistoric Cave Paintings.
2. Poetry of Savages.
3. Calvert's Theory of Tragedy.
4. Contrast the Sociological Material in the Short Stories of Sarah Orne Jewett with That of O. Henry.
5. The Art of Children.
6. Trends in Contemporary American Art.

PROBLEMS

1. Visit, if possible, an art museum and classify the people you find there as to their apparent class, type, motive and interest.
2. Canvas book stores and periodical shops and discover the reading material that is popular, and in what proportion.
3. Buy a copy of a popular weekly magazine and survey its material from a sociological viewpoint as to its appeals, its suggestions, its literary standards and its public attitudes? How do you estimate its standing as literary art?

REFERENCES

Books

BALFOUR, H., "The Evolution of Decorative Art."
BASDEN, G. T., "Among the Ibos of Nigeria," ch. XVII.
BUSHEE, F. A., "Principles of Sociology," ch. 29.
CASE, C. M., "Outlines of Introductory Sociology," ch. 19.
GOLDENWEISER, A. A., "Early Civilization," ch. 9.
GROSSE, E., "The Beginnings of Art."
HAVEMEYER, L., "The Drama of Savage Peoples."
HAMBLY, W. D., "Tribal Dancing and Social Development."
HOCKING, W. E., "Human Nature and Its Remaking," ch. 38.
KLAATSCH, H., "The Evolution and Progress of Mankind," ch. 15.
MACCURDY, G. G., "Human Origins," ch. 7.
O'SHEA, M. V., "The Child, His Nature and His Needs," ch. 7.
ROBERTS, H. H., "Ancient Hawaiian Music," Bernice P. Bishop, Museum Bulletin No. 29, Honolulu, T. H.

SKEAT, W. W., and BLAGDEN, C. O., "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula," Part II, ch. 9; Part III, ch. 5.

STORCK, J., "Man and Civilization," ch. 16.

THOMAS, W. I., "Source Book for Social Origins," Part 5.

WALLIS, W. D., "Anthropology," ch. 37.

WISSLER, C., "The American Indian," chs. 4, 5, 9.

WUNDT, W., "Elements of Folk Psychology," pp. 94–109.

Articles

BOAS, F., "The Decorative Designs of Alaskan Needlecases," *Proceedings United States National Museum,* Vol. 34.

DENSMORE, FRANCES, "The Study of Indian Music in the Nineteenth Century," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 77–86.

DUNLAP, K., "The Development and Function of Clothing," *The Journal of General Psychology,* Vol. I, No. I, pp. 64–78.

KRIEGER, HERBERT W., "Some Aspects of Northwest Coast Indian Art," *The Scientific Monthly,* September, 1926, pp. 210–219.

MACCURDY, GEORGE GRANT, "The Field of Paleolithic Art," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 27–49.

ROBERTS, HELEN H., "New Phases in the Study of Primitive Music," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 144–160.

SANBORN, H. C., "The Functions of Clothing and Bodily Adornment," *American Journal of Psychology,* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 1–20.

SCHENCK, DOROTHY E., "Art and the Races," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. X, No. 6, pp. 570–576.

WHITNALL, HAROLD O., "The World and Art of the Ancient Cave Men," *The Scientific Monthly,* Vol. XVII, No. 5, pp. 412–426.

WISSLER, C., "The Decorative Designs of the Dakota Indians," Bulletin XVIII, *American Museum of Natural History.*

CHAPTER XXVII

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SCIENCE

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Is Science?
2. How Did Science Originate?
3. Was Magic an Elementary Form of Science?

4. Is Curiosity an Instinct?
5. What Is Meant by the Methods of Science?
6. Can There Be a Democratic Science?
7. When Should Children Begin at School Their Study of Science?
8. Is the Popular Interest in Science Increasing?
9. Does Science Antagonize Religion?
10. Can Science be Controlled by Legislation?

Subjects for Investigation

Study one of the following scientists as to method, social attitude and personality.

1. Galileo
2. Mendel
3. Darwin
4. Huxley
5. Pasteur
6. Edison
7. Burbank
8. The Curies
9. Marconi
10. Einstein

Problems

1. Critically study a book of science that has become popular, in order to discover its source of appeal.

2. Interview all sorts of people so as to get their reaction to science. Can you make any deductions?

3. Buy a daily newspaper and mark all the material you find in it related to science. What impression regarding science does the newspaper give the general reader?

REFERENCES

Books

Barry, F., "The Scientific Habit of Thought."
Blackmar, F. W., "History of Human Society," ch. 29.
Bushee, F. A., "Principles of Sociology," ch. 30.
Curtis, W. C., "Science and Human Affairs."
Ellwood, C. A., "Cultural Evolution," ch. 15.
Lodge, Sir Oliver, "Science and Human Progress."
Storck, J., "Man and Civilization," ch. 17.
Wallas, G., "Our Social Heritage," ch. 11.

Articles

Branford, Victor, "Science and Sanctity," *The Sociological Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, pp. 165–193.

BROWN, F. C., "Who Profits from Scientific Work?" *The Scientific Monthly,* December, 1924, pp. 655–660.

CLARK, AUSTIN H., "What Science Owes to the Public," *The Scientific Monthly,* July, 1926, pp. 50–53.

DAVIS, W. M., "The Reasonableness of Science," *The Scientific Monthly,* September, 1922, pp. 193–214.

DOWNING, E. R., "The Elements and Safeguards of Scientific Thinking," *Scientific Monthly,* March, 1928, pp. 231–243.

HOWERTH, I. W., "Science and Religion," *The Scientific Monthly,* August, 1927, pp. 151–161.

LUCASSE, W. W., "Progress and the Sciences," *Scientific Monthly,* Sept., 1927.

MYER, A. W., "Science and Conduct," *Scientific Monthly,* March, 1928, pp. 220–230.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATION

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Has the School Now More Social Influence than the Home?
2. Why Is Contact an Educating Experience?
3. Has School or Out-of-school Education Greater Social Influence?
4. Are Private Schools Out of Place in a Democracy?
5. Does Education Produce Socially-minded Individuals?
6. Is It Contrary to Public Good to Have So Many Seeking a College Education?
7. What Influences Tend to Make Teachers Conservative? Radical?
8. Should Sociology Be Taught in the Public High School?
9. What Kinds of Adult Education Does Our Country Need?
10. Are Our Schools Costing Too Much?

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Education Among Savages.
2. John Fiske's Theory of Infancy.
3. The Development of the State University.
4. The Progressive School Movement.

5. Trends in Adult Education.
6. The Development of Educational Sociology.
7. The School Laws of Your State.

Problems

1. Draw up a list of the influences in your educational institution that tend toward conservatism, liberalism and radicalism. What is your conclusion as to the main tendency?

2. Visit a grade school or high school and record all the changes you notice that show educational progress over your experience during the same school period.

REFERENCES

Books

Beach, W. G., "An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems," ch. 28.

Blackmar, F. W., "History of Human Society," ch. 30.

Cobb, S., "The New Leaven; Progressive Education and Its Effect Upon the Child and Society."

Dewey, J., "Democracy and Education."

Hart, J. K., "Democracy in Education."

Horne, H. H., "The Philosophy of Education."

Martin, E. D., "The Meaning of a Liberal Education."

Odum, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," chs. 20, 21.

Wallis, W. D., "An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 23.

Articles

Chase, Harry Woodburn, "The Social Responsibility of the State University," *Social Forces*, Vol. I, No. 5, pp. 517–521.

Conklin, Agnes M., "The School as a New Tool," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 93–99.

Dewey, John, "The School as a Means of Developing a Social Consciousness and Social Ideals in Children," *Social Forces*, Vol. I, No. 5, pp. 513–517.

Myers, G. C., "School Room Hazards to the Mental Health of Children," *Mental Hygiene*. Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 18–24.

Payne, George E., "Education and Social Control," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 137–145.

PENDRY, ELIZABETH R., "The Organization of the Activities of an Elementary School for Purposes of Character Education," *The Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 146–156.

PETERS, CHARLES C., "How to Translate Detailed Objectives into a Program of Civic Education," *The Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 49–56.

SMITH, WALTER R., "The Problem of Educating a Democracy," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XIV, pp. 145–160.

——— "School Discipline as Training for the Larger Social Control," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XVII, pp. 142–150.

SNEDDEN, DAVID, "Sociology a Basic Science to Education," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XVII, pp. 101–114.

THRASHER, FREDERIC M., "Social Backgrounds and Education," *The Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 69–76.

——— "Social Backgrounds and School Problems," *The Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 121–130.

WEST, NATHANIEL G., "Some Social Factors in the Public's Support of Its Schools," *The Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 157–162.

CHAPTER XXIX

SOCIAL ADEQUACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How Does Progress Differ from Change?
2. How Would you Define Progress?
3. Are People Getting More Happiness Out of Life as Society Develops?
4. Why Is the Interest in Progress So Recent?
5. Is Social Inertia Lessening?
6. How Would You Test the Present Progressiveness of Society?
7. Can There Be Progress without Suffering?
8. What Are the Chief Influences That Make for Social Progress?

9. What Social Changes Do You Regard Necessary for Progress?

10. Do You Think Social Progress Possible?

Subjects for Investigation

1. Definitions of Progress.
2. Famous Pessimists and Their Doctrines.
3. The World War and Social Pessimism.
4. Rousseau on the Ideal Life.
5. Conservation of Natural Resources.
6. Education for Progress.
7. Lester Ward on Progress.

Problems

1. Define your attitude with reference to social progress and trace the influences from childhood to the present time that have led you to your position. Have they been predominantly emotional or intellectual in character?

2. Write out the evidences that appear to you to prove or disprove social progress.

REFERENCES

Books

Blackmar, F. W., "History of Human Society," ch. 27.
Ellwood, C. A., "Cultural Evolution," ch. 19.
———"The Psychology of Human Society," ch. 14.
Folsom, J. K., "Culture and Social Progress."
Lodge, Sir Oliver, "Science and Human Progress."
Marshall, L. C., "The Story of Human Progress."
Odum, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," ch. 32.
Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., "Introduction to the Science of Sociology," ch. 14.
Todd, A. J., "Theories of Social Progress."
Tozzer, A. M., "Social Origins and Social Continuities," pp. 28–33.
Wallis, W. D., "An Introduction to Sociology," ch. 37.

Articles

Bernard, L. L., "Invention and Social Progress," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, pp. 1–33.

CARMICHAEL, R. D., "The Need of an International Mind," *The Scientific Monthly,* July, 1924, pp. 47–52.

CASE, CLARENCE MARSH, "What Is Social Progress?" *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 109–119.

DEALEY, J. Q., "Government in Relation to Social Progress," *Social Forces,* Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 209–213.

GIDDINGS, F. H., "Are Contradiction of Ideas and Beliefs Likely to Play an Important Group-making Rôle in the Future?" *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 13, No. 784.

GRUENBERG, BENJAMIN, "The Chains of Prometheus," *The Scientific Monthly,* December, 1927, pp. 504–510.

LUCASSE, WALTER W., "Progress and the Sciences," *The Scientific Monthly,* September, 1927, pp. 213–219.

SIMONDS, J. P., "Progress," *The Scientific Monthly,* June, 1927, pp. 537–547.

WILLEY, MALCOLM, "Servitude and Progress," *Social Forces,* Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 228–234.

CHAPTER XXX

THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL THINKING

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Influences in Contemporary American Life Encourage Social Thinking?
2. What Did the Greeks Contribute to Social Thought?
3. What Were the Social Attitudes of Early Christian Leaders?
4. What Explains the Characteristics of Scholastic Social Thought?
5. What Were the Social Influences of the Contract School?
6. What Was the Background of Comte's System?
7. Why Is Spencer's Contribution to Sociology Now So Largely Neglected?
8. What Are the Chief Elements of Ward's Social Thought?
9. What Does Giddings Mean by "Consciousness of Kind"?
10. What Are the Present Trends in Sociology?

Subjects for Investigation

Outline the social thought of one of the following:

1. Aristotle	3. Comte	5. Spencer	7. Giddings
2. Bacon	4. Gumplowicz	6. Ward	8. Sumner

Problem

1. Draw up in outline form your own social thought at the present time.

REFERENCES

Books

Barnes, H. E., Editor, "The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences," pp. 255–332.

Bogardus, E. S., "A History of Social Thought."

Bristol, L. M., "Social Adaptation."

Ellwood, C. A., "The Psychology of Human Society," ch. 15.

Giddings, F. H., "Studies in the Theory of Human Society," ch. 16.

Hayes, E. C., "Recent Developments in the Social Sciences," ch. 1.

Lichtenberger, J. P., "Development of Social Theory."

Ogburn, W. F., and Goldenweiser, A., "The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations."

Queen, S. A., "Social Work in the Light of History."

Sorokin, P., "Contemporary Sociological Theories."

Articles

Barnes, Harry Elmer, "The Development of Historical Sociology," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 17–49.

——— "The Place of Albion Woodbury Small in Modern Sociology," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, Part 1, Part 1, pp. 15–44.

——— "Two Representative Contributions of Sociology to Political Theory: The Doctrines of William Graham Sumner and Lester Frank Ward," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, pp. 1–23.

Branford, V., "A Survey of Recent and Contemporary Sociology," *The Sociological Review*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 315–322.

Calverton, V. F., "Social Forces and the Evolution of Literature," *Social Forces*, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 519–522.

CASE, CLARENCE MARSH, "Sumner of Yale," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. X, No. 5, pp. 418–421.

COOLEY, C. H., "Sumner and Methodology," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. XII, No. 4.

DEALEY, J. Q., "Plato's Course in Social Problems," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol .XII, No. 3, pp. 203–207.

GEORGE, WILLIAM H., "Auguste Comte: Sociology and the New Politics," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, pp. 371–381.

GILLIN, JOHN LEWIS, "The Development of Sociology in the United States," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* Vol. XXI, pp. 1–25.

GOODSPEED, THOMAS W., "Albion Woodbury Small," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, Part 1, pp. 1–14.

HAYES, EDWARD CARY, "Were Comte and Spencer Wholly Wrong?" *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, pp. 14–27.

HOWERTH, IRA W., "The Sociology of Lester F. Ward," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 210–216.

LICHTENBERGER, JAMES P., "Franklin H. Giddings: An Appreciation," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. IX, No. 5, pp. 326–332.

MACLEAN, ANNIE MARION, "Albion Woodbury Small: An Appreciation," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, Part 1, pp. 45–48.

STARR, HARRIS E., "William Graham Sumner: Sociologist," *Social Forces,* Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 622–626.

VINCENT, GEORGE E., "Albion W. Small: An Appreciation," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* Vol. IX, No. 5, pp. 321–325.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE DIVISIONS OF SOCIOLOGY

In the preparation of this chapter the student will find it profitable to sample books from the following list:

1. The geographical interpretation,

THOMAS, F., "The Environmental Basis of Society."

2. The biological interpretation,
   HAWKINS, F. H., "The Racial Basis of Civilization."
3. The psychological interpretation,
   ALLPORT, J. H., "Social Psychology."
4. Social culture,
   WISSLER, C., "Man and Culture."
5. Social philosophy,
   GIDDINGS, F., "Principles of Sociology."
6. History of social thought,
   BRISTOL, L. M., "Social Adaptation."
7. Rural sociology,
   TAYLOR, C. C., "Rural Sociology."
8. Urban sociology,
   PARK, R. E., and BURGESS, E. W., "The City."
9. Theoretical sociology,
   WARD, L., "Pure Sociology."
10. Practical sociology,
    ODUM, H. W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance."
11. Educational sociology,
    PETERS, C. C., "Foundations of Educational Sociology."
12. Social psychology,
    BERNARD, L. L., "Introduction to Social Psychology."
13. Social origins,
    THOMAS, W. I., "A Source Book for Social Origins."
14. Theology and sociology,
    ELLWOOD, C. A., "Christianity and Social Science."

AUTHOR INDEX

Addams, J., 355.
Adler, H., 348.
Allport, F. H., 58, 125.
Appleton, L. E., 380.
Aquinas, Thomas, 461.
Aristotle, 460.
Austen, J., 412.

Bacon, Francis, 462.
Barnet, Canon, 414.
Barrie, J. M., 74.
Bartlett, F. C., 195.
Beers, C. W., 370.
Bernstein, Dr., 372.
Binet, A., 65, 283.
Blanchard, P., 185, 348.
Boas, F., 195.
Bogardus, E. S., 27.
Booth, C., 485.
Brockway, Z. R., 367.
Browning, Robert, 413.
Burgess, E. W., 483.
Burke, Edmund, 465.

Calvert, V. F., 412.
Carr-Saunders, A. M., 310.
Chapman, J. W., 179, 187.
Comte, A., 27–28, 466–467.
Cooke, G. W., 259.

Dante, 461.
Darwin, C., 155, 234, 416, 467, 468.
Darwin, L., 335.
Davis, S. P., 285, 295.
Defoe, Daniel, 413.
Dix, Dorothea L., 369.
Dodd, L. W., 115.
Douglas, 274.
Durkheim, 259.

Emerson, 412.

Fernald, W., 282, 372.
Findlay, J. J., 251.
Fiske, John, 430.
Ford, H., 237, 241.
Franklin, B., 366, 421.
Frazer, J. G., 139, 259.
Freeman, A., 235, 303.
Froebel, 394.

Galileo, 419.
Galton, 164.
Gary, Judge, 238.
Giddings, F. H., 303.
Gladstone, W., 488.
Glueck, B., 368.
Goddard, H. H., 282, 318.
Goldenweiser, A. A., 100.
Goldsmith, Oliver, 413.
Grey, G., 195.
Groos, K., 379.

Hall, G. S., 65, 380, 471.
Hammond J. L. and B., 300.
Hankins, F., 458.
Harlow, R. V., 96, 250.
Hayes, E. C., 253.
Hill, Octavia, 360–361.
Hinck, E. M., 133.
Hoffman, F. L., 288.
Hobbs, T., 463–464.
Hollis, A. C., 203.
Holmes, O. W., 334.
Huntington, E., 300.
Huxley, T., 155, 418, 422, 424.

Ivanhoe, 411.
Ives, G. A., 280.

James, William, 438.
Jefferson, Thomas, 453, 464.
Jesus, 450.
Jewett, Sarah Orne, 406.

Klatsch, H., 134.
Knight, M. M., 185.
Kropótkin, P., 136, 155.

Lee, J., 375.
Leonard, A. G., 177, 199, 263–264.
Lévy, Bruhl L., 141, 177.
Lincoln, Abraham, 453.
Linton, R., 262.
Locke, John, 464.
Lowie, R. H., 100, 246.
Lumley, F. E., 141.

Machiavelli, 462.
MacLeod, W. C., 228.
Malthus, 233–234, 310.
Maurice, J. F. D., 263.
May, 285.
McDougall, W., 380.
McKenzie, R. D., 484.
Merriam, 253.
Mill, J. S., 253.
More, Sir Thomas, 462.
Morgan, J. B., 115.
Muller, M., 258.
Munro, R., 45.

Odum, H. W., 20.
Ogburn, W. F., 81, 303, 304.
Owen, R., 234.

PARK, R. E., 483.
Pasteur, 420.
Patten, W., 155.
Peters, I. L., 185.
Phillips, Wendell, 438.
Pope, Alexander, 412.
Popenoe, P., 373.
Pound, R., 305.
Plato, 446, 459–460.
Pruette, L., 390.

READ, C., 188.
Richmond, M., 355.
Robinson, J. H., 425.
Rockefeller, J. D., Jr., 238.
Roosevelt, T., 295, 380.
Roscoe, J., 171.
Rousseau, 448, 464–465.
Roys, R. L., 195.
Rush, Dr., 366.

SHAFTESBURY, 235.
Shakespeare, 412.
Shelley, Percy, 412.
Spencer, Herbert, 467–470.
Smith, H. I., 183.
Smith, R. H., 306, 369.
Stern, B. J., 346.
Sumner, W. G., 470.

TAFT, 305.
Taylor, C. C., 93.
Taylor, G., 355.
Tennyson, 391, 450.
Terman, L. I., 65.
Thomas, W. I., 59, 183, 203.
Tozzer, A. M., 150, 182.

VANWATERS, M., 73.

WALLIS, W. L., 179, 194.
Ward, L., 230, 433, 444, 470–471, 484.
Warner, A. T., 365.
Washington, B. T., 108.
Watson, F. D., 365.
Wells, F. L., 86.
White, W. A., 369, 391.
Whitman, Walt, 383–384, 413.
Whittier, 409, 412.
Wilcox, 310.
Williamson, R. W., 166, 193, 244.
Wissler, C., 227.
Woods, R. A., 355.
Wordsworth, William, 413.

SUBJECT INDEX

ABNORMAL PERSONALITY TRAITS, 280.
Abolition of slavery, 454.
Absentmindedness, 128.
Activity, 60.
Adaptability of savage *vs.* civilized man, 189.
Adaptation of savage, 161.
Adjustment, 26.
Adolescence, 69–72, 395.
Adolescent
  attitude toward property, 231–232
  conflict, 72.
Adult, 73.
  education, 241.
  play, 381–384.
Agriculture
  an early slavery, 230
  origin of, 165–166.
  social consequences of, 167.
  woman's rôle in, 167.
Alcoholism, 291, 326.
  and education, 365–366.
Alphabet and social culture, 138.
Altruism
  and Christianity, 342–343.
  and social culture, 337
  and prevention, 341.
  attack on, 335–336.
  meaning of, 332–333.
  social, 339–340.
Ambivalence, 59.
American family
  life, 209–210.
  unorthodox types of, 210.
American
  Federation of Labor, 239.
  immigration, 105.
  Magazine, 382.
  Negro, 106–108, 293–294.
  penal system, 32.
  sociological thought, 474–475.
Ancestral worship, 122
Anger
  in infant, 147
  in men and women, 147–148.
  in modern life, 147.
Animal communication, 133.
Animals, domestication of, 163.
Animism, 186–187.
Antagonism
  between unlike groups, 307.
  of groups, 150.
Anthropomorphism of primitive man, 178.
Antiquity of language, 134–135.
Apartment, 410.
Appleton's theory of play, 380.
Applied sociology, 28, 485–486.
Arbitration of labor disputes, 240.
Archaeologists, 396.
Architecture, 399.
Art
  and social surplus, 413.
  the antiquity of, 396.
  the socializing of, 397.
  therapeutic value of, 413–414.
Associated Charities, 361–363.
Athens, 393.
Athletics, 382–383.
Auburn System, 367.
Automobile, 402.
Average reader, 403.

BASEBALL, 379.
Behavior, savage regulation of, 242–243.
Best-seller, 403–404.
Big Brother movement, 213.
Biology
  and philanthropy, 333–335.
  and social values, 337–338.
Biological interpretation of sociology, 480.
Biologically weak, value of, 340–341.
Birth rate, decreasing, 311–312.
Book agent, 402.
Boston University, 449.
Boy Scouts, 213, 384.
Business and home values, 221–222.

CAMP FIRE GIRLS, 213, 247.
Camping, 382.
Cannibalism, 162.
Capacity, lack of, 301–303.
Carolina Players, 384.
Carvings, 396.
Case
  studies, 34.
  workers, 363.
Casual thinking *vs.* magic, 181.
Cave art, 396.
Charities, organization of, 360–363.
Charity, practical, 358.
Chicago, 386.
Child
  clinic, 348
  conservation of the, 67–68.
  development of the, 62–64.
  freedom of the, 377–378.
  Guidance Clinic, 348.
  integration of the, 68–69.
  labor, 289–290.
  life, changes in, 212–213.
  placing, 364.
  play, 374–378.
  socialization of the, 66–67.
  welfare, 288–290.

Childish trace of legal system, 254.
Children's attempts at government, 247–248.
Children
and property, 231–232.
dependent, 364.
neurotic tendencies in, 371.
Chinese in America, 294–295.
Christian
social thought, 461
teaching and social sympathy, 342.
Christianity and altruism, 342–343.
Church
and education, 271–272.
and progress, 267–268.
and state, 249–250.
consolidation, 268–269.
leaders and science, 269.
city, 269–270.
Civilization and climate, 91.
Civil War
and family relationships, 209.
result of isolation, 90.
Class
conflict, modern, 148.
discussion, 12.
Climate, effect of, 91–92.
Clothing as ornament, 171–172.
Coercion and children, 200–201.
Coercive power of culture, 25.
Coincidence and magic, 182.
Collective ownership of land, 227.
Commercializing of literature, 403–404.
Communication, 10.
of animals, 133.
commercializing of, 138.
ease of, 90.
Community
Chest, 353–354.
organization, 352–354.
Companionate, 218–219.
Competition *vs.* coöperation, 158.
Concentration, 128.
Conditioned reflex, 50–51.
Confidential Exchange, 362.
Conflict
and the child, 145–146.
and play, 381.
between groups, 150.
resulting in coöperation, 157.
rôle of, 144.
vs. coöperation, 154–155.
Conformity, 80, 83.
in savage life, 200.
Conquest
and assimilation, 154.
and consolidation, 153.
and government, 250.
Conservatism, 81–82.
of savage, 196–197, 199–200.
prevention of, 82.
Conserving the home, 221–222.
Contact, 90.
and changes in culture, 198–200.
and conflict, 159.
school, 463–465.
Contraception, 311.
Coöperation, 144–145.
a social habit, 158.
importance of, 154–155.
Coöperation, in savage hunt, 163.
in the school, 158.
of animals, 155–156.
of savages, 156–157.
Country church, 270–271.
Craftsmanship of savages, 170.
Creation, accounts of, 194–195.
Crime, 285–288.
and penalties, 321.
and punishment, 347–348.
and social complexity, 286–287.
early history of, 319–320.
in England and America, table of, 288.
prevention of, 320.
statistics of, 287.
Criminals, communication of, 136.
Criminal
difficulty of reformation of, 323.
law of savages, 254.
modern treatment of, 323.
psychiatric study of, 368.
reformation of, 323.
treatment of, 320.
Crisis
and cultural changes, 199, 203, 204.
theory of progress, 203–204.
Crowd
psychology and war, 151.
susceptibility, 125–127.
Cultural
changes, 304.
differences, 196.
influences on population, 309.
lag, 81–83, 303–304, 305.
lag in religious institutions, 263.
mixtures, 106.
selection, 303.
Culture, 23–25.
and language, 130.
and war, 152–153.
coercive influence of, 200.
elements of, 100.
evolution of, 24.
significance of, 25.
transmission of, 24–26, 129, 190–191.
Cultures, similarity in, 188.
Currency in primitive life, 227.
Customs, 80.

Dallas Theater, 384.
Dance of savages, 399.
Daydreaming, 112, 389.
Death
and magic, 179–180.
penalty and murder, 321.
Defective children, 288.
Democratic trend
in family life, 209–211.
in industry, 239–240.
Dennison Factory coöperative experiment, 239–240.
Dependency, 328–329.
of children, 288.
Dependent children, 364.
Discoveries, prehistoric, 97–98.
Diet, effect of, 92.
Diffusion and cultural changes, 199.
Discipline of child, 201.
Diseases, cure of, 420–421.

Discussion, 12.
Divorce
  and education, 222.
  increase in, 219–220.
  causes of, 220–221.
Divorces increased by World War, 210.
Dogmatism, 426.
Domestication of animals, 164–165.
Dreams of savage, 180–181.
Drug habits
  cure of, 325.
  prevention of, 325.
Drum, 399.
Duel, 379.
Dullness, 110.

Ecology, Human, 483–484.
Education
  adult, 241.
  an invention, 429.
  and coöperation, 157–158, 257.
  and democracy, 430–433.
  and family life, 217.
  and industry, 240–241.
  and political experience, 256–257.
  and social conditions, 435–436.
  and social maladjustment, 356–357.
  and social science, 442.
  and the church, 271–272.
  among savages, 190–191, 433–434.
  conservatism of, 437–439.
  for marriage, 222–224.
Educational
  sociology, 486.
  tests, 439.
Eighteenth Amendment, 291.
  and education, 366.
Elberfeld experiment, 360–361.
Elmira Reformatory, 367.
Emotional development, 64–65.
Endocrine glands and mental disease, 370.
Endogamy, 208.
English athletics, 383.
Environment, 42.
  limitations of, 99–101.
  physical, 88, 97.
Eugenical program, 333–335, 337–338.
European races, 103.
Evolution, 416, 447.
  of American sociology, 475.
  of culture, 24.
  of family, 207.
  of language, 135.
  of society, 92.
  of state, 249–251.
Exogamy, 208.
Experience
  and sentiments, 192.
  vicarious, 129.
Exploitation, 304.
Extroversion, 56.

Family
  conflict, 145–146.
  disorganization, 210–211.
  experience, lessening of, 211–212.
  function of, 206.
Family
  life, emotional attitude toward, 205–206.
  life in America, 209–210.
  life of savages, 207–208.
  life, present trends of, 210–214.
  life, unconventional types of, 210.
  unhappiness, 223.
  Welfare Societies, 361–363.
Fear
  and coercion, 200.
  and magic, 181, 191.
  and religion, 266–267.
Federal pensions, 315.
Feebleminded, 371–373.
  adjustment of, 372.
  maladjustment of, 283.
  parole of, 373.
  segregation of, 371, 372.
  sterilization of, 319.
  treatment of, 318–319.
Feeblemindedness, 281–285.
Feeling, 47.
Feminine restlessness, 27.
Fetish, 181, 261.
Fiction, popularity of, 405–406.
Fighting
  desire for, 151–152.
  impulse, 146.
Filene's Department Store coöperative experiment, 239–240.
Fishing of savages, 162–163.
Five Nations
  confederation of, 203–204.
  trade restrictions of, 228–229.
Folk lore—influence of, 202–203.
Food
  and population, 308.
  distribution of, 92.
  of savage, 162.
  preservation, 167–168.
  supply, 92–93.
Football, 392.
French Revolution, 436.
Friction in life of child, 146–148.
Frontier
  influence of, 95.
  lure of, 94–95.
Funeral customs of savages, 180.

Gang Discipline, 248.
Geographical interpretation of sociology, 479–480.
Geography, social significance of, 89–91.
George Junior Republic, 247–248, 368.
Gesture language, 135–137.
Gifts and trade, 169.
Girl Scouts, 213, 247.
Golden age, 447, 461.
Good will, 354–356.
Gossip, 406.
Government
  and sentiments, 192.
  origin of, 242–243.
Greek social thought, 459–460.
Gregariousness of animals, 156.
Group
  antagonism, 150.
  organization, 98–99.
  organization of savages, 243.

HABIT, 54–55
of sociological thinking, 1.
Habits
as customs, 80.
transmission of, 191.
Hall's theory of play, 380.
Health
problem of, 315.
social meaning of, 315.
Hereditary rights of savages, 227.
History
of American family, 209–210.
of social thought, 482.
Home, conservation of, 221–222.
Household equipment of savage, 168–169.
Housework, farming out of, 212.
Housing, 363.
Human
activities, 46.
ecology, 483–484.
equipment, 44–46.
instincts, 52–54.
needs, 76–78.
organism, 42–43.
values, 5.
variability, 102.
Hunting of savage, 163.
Hysteria, 109.

IDENTIFICATION, 57.
Illegitimacy, 292–293.
Imagination of primitive man, 188.
Imitation, 123–124.
and learning, 188.
Imitative
language, 134–135.
magic, 182.
Immigration, 105–106, 295–297.
early, 95.
restriction of, 296.
Improvement
and indifference, 347.
Societies, 352.
Inadequacy of social culture, 303–304.
Incapacity, 301–303.
causes of, 302–303.
Incest, savage taboo against, 208.
Indeterminate sentence, 322–323.
Individual
a social product, 25.
behavior, regulation of, 242–243.
differences, 109.
significance of family, 218.
vs. social desires, 83.
Industrial
advantage in war, 151.
conflict, 240.
evolution, 412.
Revolution and social adjustment, 232–236.
trends, 237–238.
Industry
and education, 240–241.
and immigration, 296.
and science, 236.
social obligations of, 238.
Infanticide, 310.
Infant mortality, table of, 277.
Inferiority feeling, 114–115.
of mental defectives, 319.
Initiation, 201–202, 434.
Insane
classification of, 369.
humane treatment of, 369.
Insanity
and mental disease, 280.
prevention of, 317–318.
Instinctive anger, 147.
Intellectual capacity of savage, 188–189.
Intelligence
and democracy, 432.
Interaction, bodily expression of, 122.
International law, 255–256.
Intimate contacts in family life, 206.
Intolerance, 158.
Introjection, 58.
Introversion, 56.
Inventions, 232–233.
prehistoric, 97–98.
social consequences of, 175.
Isolation, 89.
and intellectual retardation, 189.
and war, 90.

JAILS AND PRISONS, 320–321.
Japanese in America, 295.
Jesus and socialized group life, 343.
Juvenile
Court, 321–322, 368.
Court and probation, 322, 324–325.
delinquency, 285.
delinquency and property, 232.

KINDERGARTEN, 394.
Knowledge used by savage, 187–188.

LABOR, ORGANIZATION OF, 238–240.
Land in American history, 94–96.
Language, 127.
adaptability of, 130.
and control, 139.
and culture, 130.
and magic, 139.
and personality, 132.
antiquity of, 134–135.
bond of common, 141–142.
elements of, 131.
of the child, 130–133.
origin of, 134–135.
progress of, 142–143.
social significance of, 129.
written, 137–138.
Laughter, 123.
Law
growth of, 255.
international, 255–256.
meaning of, 253.
Leadership, 40–41, 82.
difficulty of, 204.
quality of, 204.
League of Nations, 256.
and prostitution, 159.
Legal Aid, 364–365.
Legislation
and knowledge, 350–351.
and social maladjustment, 349–350.

Legislation
attractive, 351.
coercive, 351.
Linguistic evolution, 135.
Literature
and reform, 477–478.
and social conditions, 411.
and social life, 476.
and sociology, 477.
social thought in, 475–476.
Little Theater, 414.
Luck, 184.
Luxury in life of child, 213.

Machinery and Slavery, 231.
Magic
and science, 259.
and security, 181.
in life of savage, 181–185.
in modern life, 182.
in savage hunting, 163.
sympathetic, 259.
vs. causal thinking, 181.
Maladjustment, 285.
Mana, 184–185.
Manic-depressive type, 111.
Man's resources, 160–161.
Marriage
and pleasure-seeking, 216.
preparation, 222–223.
regulations of savages, 207–208.
Married women in industry, 212.
Massachusetts law regarding mental testing, 282.
Materialism in family life, 214.
Matrimonial unhappiness, 221.
McDougall's theory of play, 380.
Medicine
man, 181, 182.
socialization of, 316.
Mental
abnormality, 281.
defectives in school, 319.
deficiency, 281–285.
differences, 102.
disease, 279–281, 368–370.
disease and neurology, 369.
disease, prevention of, 317–318, 369–370.
health, 281.
health, conservation of, 318.
Hygiene movement, 370–371.
Hygiene Society, 327.
testing, 283.
Messenger sticks, 138.
Method of study, 11.
Mexican laborer in United States, 297.
Money among savages, 227.
Monotony, 409.
and play, 381.
Mores and law, 254.
Moron, 283.
Mother-in-law taboo, 208.
Movies, 393.
Municipal charities, 360.
Murder and death penalty, 321.
Mystic, 394.
Mysticism of savage, 161, 176–177.
Myths of savages, 177–178.

Narcotics, 290–291, 387.
Natural environment, 97.
Nature
and culture, 99.
conquest of, 96–98.
Negro
economic development of, 108.
problem, 106, 293–294.
Neurology and insanity, 369.
New England conscience, 389.
Newspaper, 406.
New York, 436.
Non-producing class, 308–309.
North Dakota University, 384.
Novel, 412.
Nursery school, 439.
clinic, 349.

Obedience, Former Rôle of, 215.
Occidental play, 393–394.
Old-age pensions, 315.
Ordeals in savage initiation, 202.
Organization
and reform, 351–352.
community, 352–354.
of charity, 360–363.
Oriental play, 393–394.
Originality
in savage life, 197
limitations of, 83.
Ornamentation, 398.
Orphan asylums, 364.
Over-sensitiveness, 109, 114.
Over-stimulation, 110.

Painting, 400.
Paintings, prehistoric, 396–397.
Paranoia, 113.
Paranoid tendency, 113–114
Parenthood
and family life, 206.
training, 224.
Parents
and children, 214–215.
as workers, 221–222.
attitude reflected in child, 217.
Paresis, 281, 370.
Parole, 322.
Parturition customs of savage, 193.
Pasadena Community Theater, 384.
Penitentiary, 367.
Pennsylvania System, 366–367.
Personalities
classification of, 85–86.
interplay of, 85.
Personality, 60, 73, 75–76, 80.
and culture, 191.
defects and divorce, 221.
false ideas of, 84.
of criminal, 286.
scientific study of, 84.
Philanthropy
attack on, 331–332, 333–335.
popularity of, 330.
savage, 332.
support of, 330–331.
unwise, 341–342.
Philippine Islands, 386–387.
Physical
aspects of group organization, 98–99.

Physical
disease, 276, 278–279.
environment, 88, 97.
resources, 92–94.
resources of man, 160–161.
variability, 102.
Picture-writing, 138.
Pioneering culture, 95.
Play
and achievement, 388.
and the child, 374–378.
and delinquency, 392.
and education, 394–395.
and parent, 395.
conflict in, 376, 381–382.
contact in, 381.
equipment for, 378.
imitation in, 375, 381.
of savage children, 378.
of savages, 378.
relief given by, 381, 387–388.
supervised, 377–378.
theories of, 379–381.
Pleasure-philosophy and family life, 215–218.
Poetry of savages, 399.
Political
experience and education, 256–257.
experience, primitive, 243–244.
rôle of cotton and grain, 96.
science, development of, 252–253.
Popular dominance in literature, 404.
Population, 307–309.
control of, 309.
in relation to soil, 93.
Polyandry, 207–208.
Polygamy, 207–208.
Poverty
amount of, 274–275.
and character, 276.
and population, 314.
and social resources, 313.
a relative matter, 274.
in colonial days, 358–359.
of individual, 273.
of group, 273.
reaction to, 275.
relief of, 314–315.
sectional differences in, 274–275.
Practical
charity, field of, 358.
sociology, 485–486.
Praise of savage children, 201.
Prejudice, 35, 37, 40, 51.
Pre-parenthood training, 214, 217–218, 222.
Pre-school child, 61–62.
Preservation of food, 167.
Prestige
and economic effort, 226.
Preventive program and education, 356–357.
Primary contacts, 117–118, 254.
Primitive
attitude toward dreams, 180–181.
food preservation, 167–168.
funeral ceremonies, 180.
government, forms of, 244–246.
housing, 170–171.
Primitive
idea of soul, 179–181.
market, 169–170.
religion and everyday life, 260–261.
social control, 243.
stories of creation, 177–178.
thinking, 176–177, 187–188.
transportation, 172–173.
Printing, 138.
Prisons and jails, 320–321.
Probation, 321–322.
Production
and social culture, 225.
increased by slavery, 230.
Professional classes, primitive, 99.
Progress, 41.
and control of nature, 448–449.
and education, 191, 257.
and good will, 452.
and happiness, 455–456.
and individual failure, 302.
and leadership, 453.
and research, 451–452.
and social evils, 450–451.
and strategy, 454.
conditions of, 449–450.
costs of, 454–455.
goals of, 456.
in savage society, 203–204.
meaning of, 444.
possibility of, 444–445.
retardation of, 82.
Progressive school, 441.
Prohibition, 326.
opposition to, 366.
Projection, 58.
Promiscuity, 207.
Property
and the gang, 231–232.
early rôle of, 226–227.
Prostitution, 326–328.
and the League of Nations, 159.
trend of, 291–292.
Pugnacity
of men, 148–149.
of women, 148–149.
suppression of, 148.
Psychasthenia, 111–113.
Psychiatric
mechanisms, 55–59.
social service, 370.
Psychiatry for general practitioners, 371.
Psychic needs of savage, 188.
Psychological interpretation of sociology, 480.
Psycho-metric classification, 65–66.
Psychopathic
Clinic, 368.
Traits in industry, 236.
Puberty among savages, 201–202.
Public
control and savage education, 190.
opinion and parenthood, 215.
opinion in rôle of law, 246.
park, 414.
Publicity, 5.
Publisher, 403.
Puritan influence in family life, 209.

RACE
differences, 104.
friction, 107.
meaning of, 103.
mixture, 106.
physical marks of, 103.
problems, 293–295.
Racial purity, 104.
Radio, 402, 409, 422, 423.
Random movements, 48–59.
Rationalization, 58–59.
in war, 151.
process and Christianity, 343.
Reading, competition of, 408–409.
Recent developments in sociology, 474.
Reconstruction period, 107.
Recreation and family life, 221.
Red Cross, 353.
Reflex, 49–50.
Reformer, 81, 112.
Reports, 13–15.
Religion
and government, 249–250.
and morals, 265–267.
and science, 269.
demand for, 263.
development of, 263–264.
of children, 262.
primitive, 260–262.
social importance of, 260.
social results of, 267.
stability of, 204.
theories of origin of, 258.
Religious
attitude, importance of, 263.
tolerance, 264–265.
trend of the present, 268–269.
Reform
Bill, 412.
organization of, 351–352.
Reformation of criminal, 323.
Reformatory, 367.
Reformers and philanthropists as sociologists, 481.
Relationship, 128.
Repression in savage life, 201.
Research, 8.
Resources of man, 160–161.
Rhythm, 399.
Ridicule, 254.
in savage life, 200, 201.
Roman social thought, 460–461.
Rural sociology, 483.

SAVAGE
approximation to international law, 229.
as worker, 166–167.
attitude toward death, 179–180.
birth control, 310.
coercion of children, 200–201.
culture, conservative character of, 196–197.
culture, variations in, 198–200.
dreams, 180–181.
education, 190–191.
funerals, 180.
household equipment of, 168–169.
ideas of soul, 178–181.
initiation, 201–202.
Savage
interpretation of nature, 177–178.
invention and social experience, 175.
markets, 229.
philanthropy, 332.
political state, 245.
political unit, 243–244.
thinking, 187–188.
tools and inventions, 173–174.
traffic tolls, 229.
wedding rites, 193.
Schiller-Spencer theory of play, 379.
Scholastic social thought, 461–462.
School
as an institution, 434–435.
child, 68–69.
Science
and causation, 427.
and experience, 427–428.
and industry, 236.
and magic, 259.
and material progress, 98.
and religion, 269.
basis of, 419.
changes in, 425–426.
meaning of, 415.
method of, 415–416.
origin of, 421.
vocabulary of, 424.
Scientific
attitude, 39–40.
thinking, 418.
Scientist and life, 417–418.
Secondary contacts, 118–119.
Secret societies, 197–198.
Sectional types of culture, 196.
Security
and magic, 181.
social, 81.
Self-consciousness, 123.
Senescence, 73–74.
Sentiments
dissolving, 192.
transmission of, 191.
Separateness, 306–307.
Separation of criminal, 306.
Sign language of feebleminded, 137.
Slave influence in American family life, 209.
Slavery, 229–231.
social value of, 230–231.
uneconomic character of, 231.
Slogans, 141.
Social
adaptation, 26–27, 81.
adequacy, 303.
adjustment, 26, 78–79.
altruism, need of, 339–340.
coercion, 80.
consciousness, 131.
contact, 116.
control and secret societies, 197–198.
coöperation, 129.
crisis and magic, 183–184.
culture and resources, 94.
culture emphasis in sociology, 480–481.
culture, inadequacy of, 303–304.
customs, transmission of, 192–193.
distance, 86–87.

Social
environment, influence of, 25.
evils and science, 345–346.
evolution, 190–191.
experience, means of, 128.
facts, 32.
hygiene movement, 326–328.
hygiene program, 292.
Hygiene Society, 327.
interests and literature, 476.
intercourse, 135.
life, development of, 24.
life, scientific attitude toward, 27.
maladjustment, 27.
maladjustment and legislation, 349–350.
needs, 29.
origins, 487.
parasitism, 312.
pathology, 28.
philosophy, 17, 27, 481–482.
problems, 26–27.
problems and good will, 354–356.
problems, classes of, 299–300.
problems from physical causes, 300.
problems, investigation of, 346–349.
problems, primary and secondary causes of, 300–301.
progress and individual failure, 302.
psychology, 486.
service and research, 345–346.
solidarity, 120–130.
survey, 34.
thought, history of, 482.
thought in literature, 475–476.
thought, origin of, 457–458.
value of economic experience, 225.
values, 29–30.
values, complexity of, 338–339.
work and prevention, 344–345.
work, professional, 336–337.
Society, theories of, 30–31.
Socialization of medicine, 316
Socialized needs, 76–78.
Sociological
attitude, 27.
literature, 9–11.
literature, classification of, 478.
material, 8, 15–17, 32–34, 36.
research, 8.
thought, recent trends in, 474–475.
Sociology
and altruism, 335–337.
and theology, 487–488.
attitude toward, 2.
background of, 4.
biological, 480.
character of, 3.
defined, 3.
educational, 486.
field of, 488.
geographical interpretation of, 479–480.
interest in, 6.
logic of, 17.
meaning of, 1, 22–23.
popularizing of, 56.
practical, 485–486.
preconceptions regarding, 2.
psychological, 480.
Sociology
rural, 483.
scope of, 2, 3, 4, 5.
scientific attitude toward, 27–28, 36–37.
specialization in, 479.
task of, 28.
theoretical, 484–485.
university courses in, 482–483.
urban, 483–484.
value of, 2.
Songs of savages, 399.
Soul, primitive conception of, 179–181
Sparta, 393.
Speech
beginnings, 132.
correction, 132.
Sport, 391–392.
State
evolution of, 249–251.
functions of, 251–252.
vs. nation, 248.
Statistics, 15–16.
Sterilization, 319, 371–373.
Stimulus-blocking, 112.
Stories
in primitive life, 202
in savage training, 202–203.
Strikes and public opinion, 240.
Students' reports, 13–15.
Study, method of, 11.
Sublimation, 58.
Suggestion, 125.
Superstition, 37, 191.
Superstitions of savage, 161, 176–177.
Susceptibility of crowd, 125–127.
Sympathetic magic, 182–183.
Sympathy, risks in, 312.

Taboo, 185–186.
Technic in savage life, 174–190.
Theology and sociology, 487–488.
Theoretical sociology, 484–485.
Trade
among savages, 168–170.
and currency, 227.
inter-tribal regulation of, 169–170.
rivalries and restrictions, 228–229.
schools, 241.
Trading and social development, 170.
Transmigration of souls, 179.
Transmission
of habits, 191.
of ideas, 193–195.
of sentiments, 191.
of social customs, 192.
Transportation, 90.
among savages, 172–173.
and family life, 213.
Tuberculosis, 363–364.

Unconscious, The, 56.
University courses in sociology, 482–483.
Unmarried
father, 292–293.
mother, 292.
Urban sociology, 483–484.
Urbanizing of culture, 213.

Venereal Disease, 327.
Vicarious experience, 129.
Vice, 290–292, 325–328.
Village Improvement Societies, 352.
Vocational guidance, 241.
Volunteer visitors, 361.

War, 149–152.
  and diffusion of culture, 152–153
  and resources, 94.
  appeal of, 152.
  cost of, 151.
  dance, 182.
  relief offered by, 152.
Warfare, rationalization in, 151.
Wealth and social life, 226.
Wedding ceremonies of savages, 193.
Wish, the, 59.
Wishes and magic, 191.
Woman's part in early agriculture, 167.
Women, control of, 198.
Work songs, 129.
Workers as parents, 221–222.
Workshop, 47, 384.
World
  coöperation, 158–159.
  industry, 237.
  War, 447.
  War and community organizations, 353.
  War and family conditions, 210.
  War and Play, 385.
Writing, 137–138.

X-Ray, 420.

Y. M. C. A., 353, 384.