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CIVIC SOCIOLOGY

A TEXTBOOK IN SOCIAL AND CIVIC PROBLEMS FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

BY EDWARD ALSWORTH Ross. PH. D., LL. D.

*Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin
Author of Social Psychology, Changing America,
Principles of Sociology, etc.*



Revised and Enlarged Edition

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THINKING Americans today recognize, as never before, the need of training for citizenship; hence, the growing attention to the social studies in the curriculum. *Civic Sociology* brings before young people in the high schools the social and civic problems of our country and our time. In his concrete, pungent style, Edward Alsworth Ross challenges them to investigate and to inform themselves. By throwing light on selected significant spots instead of trying for a detailed picture, he stirs the imagination and arouses the exploring spirit. The publishers believe that this is an outstanding book that "applies the world's knowledge to the world's needs."

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FOREWORD

Civic Sociology offers what the graduate of an American high school may reasonably be expected to know in this field. It aims to help in laying the foundations of sound citizenship by promoting the study of our chief social problems and „civic problems. Among its distinctive features are the following:

1. Before the pupil is set on such problems, he is made acquainted with the master trends in American society.
2. Instead of scratching the whole field, the book plows into a limited number of big problems.
3. Since the citizen will have to face such lively issues as personal liberty, commercialism, sectionalism, sectarianism, and class struggle, this book introduces the youth to them.
4. Such chapters as "Standards of Social Distinction," "Willing Obedience to Law," "Independence," and "Freedom of Speech" strive to recapture some of the lost idealism of the Fathers of the Republic.

This text ought to be tackled in the senior year, and it should be preceded or followed by a semester of elementary economics. Together with the usual study of forms and functions of government, these two courses ought to give the youth an impetus which in due time will develop him into an intelligent and public-spirited citizen.

My idea of fitting the youth for good citizenship is to rid his mind, once and for all, of fallacies which otherwise may rule it so long as he lives. "Why shouldn't I vote for my friends?" "Is it anybody's business how much we spend to elect our candidate so long as we spend it legitimately?" "Why should I obey a law put over us by a lot of bluenoses?" The classroom is the place to thrash out such q^festions, and the time to do it is while the youth is still open-minded and disinterested.

I wish to confess my debt to Professor David Snedden of Teachers College, Columbia University, to Professor W. F. Ogburn of the University of Chicago, and to Mr. Thomas N. Barrows, Director of Woodmere Academy, Woodmere, New York, for the benefit of their judgment on certain parts of this book.

EDWAKD ALSWOBTH Ross

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Author and publishers acknowledge with gratitude the generous assistance of various government bureaus and other organizations which provided statistical data for this revision of *Civic Sociology*. The extensive and invaluable help given by the Census Bureau has been particularly appreciated. Among other agencies cooperating to compile for this edition the most recent figures available are various Federal agencies — the Office of Education, Forest Service, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Women's Bureau, Children's Bureau, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and Bureau of Public Health Service — and the Massachusetts Department of Industrial Accidents, American Medical Association, National Industrial Conference Board, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, American Association for Labor Legislation, National Child Labor Committee, Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Sangamon County Juvenile Court, and Drs. Thompson and Whelpton of the Sc~ipps Foundation for Besearch in Population Problems. To all these both author and publishers are deeply indebted.

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PART ONE
TRENDS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

CIVIC SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER ONE

THE TREND OF POPULATION

- I. The shifting make-up of the American population
 - 1. The pioneer breed
 - 2. The native stock
 - 3. The foreign-born
 - 4. The Negroes
 - 5. Our aging population
- II. Increasing marriedness of Americans
- III. Growth of population
 - 1. Tendency of the natural increase
 - 2. Prospects of a slackening in rate of growth
- IV. The trend of quality
 - 1. The lower outbreed the higher
 - 2. The fate of the stock of the Pilgrims

The pioneer breed. The settlement of our country took place under conditions that tended to kill off the weak. The old route of ships between Europe and the American colonies could be traced by human bones — if the Atlantic were dried up. The ships were small and crowded, the cabins were close, and the voyage required from six to ten weeks. "Between decks," writes a colonist, "there can hardlie a man fetch his breath by reason there ariseth such a funke in the night that it causeth purification of the blood and breedeth disease much like the plague." In a circular William Penn urged passengers to keep as much upon deck as they could, "and to carry store of *Rue* and *Wormwood*, or often sprinkle *Vinegar* about the Cabbin." The ship on which he came over lost a third of its passengers by smallpox. In 1639 the wife of the governor of Virginia writes that the

ship on which she had come out had been " so full of infection that after a while they saw little but throwing people overboard." One vessel lost 130 out of 150 souls. One sixth of the three thousand Germans sent over in 1710 perished in a voyage that lasted from January to June. A ship that left Rotterdam with 150 Germans landed fewer than 50 after a voyage of twenty-four weeks. In 1738 " malignant fever and flux" left only 105 out of a company of 400 Germans. It was estimated that in the years 1750 and 1755 two thousand corpses were thrown overboard from the ships plying out of Rotterdam.

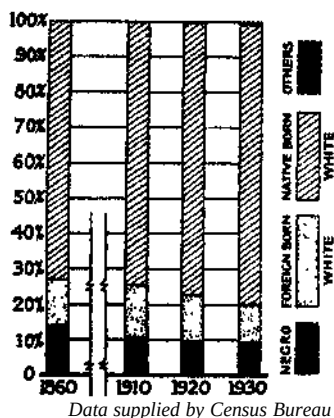
Then after the toll of the sea came the toll of the wilderness. Half of the 102 Pilgrims who came over in the *Mayflower* died before the ship left for home four months later. Of the Puritans who entered Massachusetts Bay in 1621) a fifth were buried within a year. Of the 1500 who came over in the summer of 1630, 200 died before December. In the Southern colonies the settlers were killed off at a dreadful rate by malaria. In June, 1010, only 150 persons were living on the banks of the James River, out of 900 who had been landed there within three years. By 1616 a total of 1650 persons had been sent out; of these, 300 had returned and about 350 were living in Virginia. During a twelve-month in 1619-4620, 1200 left England but only 200 were alive in April, 1620. Fifty years later Governor Berkeley stated : " There is not oft seasoned hands (as we term them) that die now, whereas heretofore not one out of five escaped the first year." Surely the survivors of such a test had a tough fiber to pass on to their defendants.

The frontier let only the stanchest survive. The hardships of daily life were a severe test; fever and ague struck down the less hardy; and the Indians seized many a chance to cut off these intruders on their land. Of the 380 persons whom Robertson collected in North Carolina in 1779 to

found what is now Nashville, only 134 were alive at the end of a year, although not one natural death had occurred. Six months later only 70 were alive. If there had been any weaklings in the party, by this time surely the tomahawk would have found them. No wonder, then, that when the vote was cast on the question of staying or going back, not one of these sturdy pioneers voted to go back!

In energy and venturesomeness — not necessarily in brains — those who sought the frontier surpassed those in their class who stayed behind; and in the main they left more children. With land abundant and prospects cheering, they married earlier, they *all* married, and, thanks to the need of helpers, they welcomed big families. The census of 1830 showed the proportion of children under five years in the states west of the Alleghenies to be from a third to a half greater than in the seaboard states. In 1840 children were 40 per cent more numerous among the Yankees of the Western Reserve in Ohio (about Cleveland) than among their kinsfolk back in Connecticut. In 1890 families showed 20 per cent larger in Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota than in the Ohio Valley. In 1900 the people of the then agricultural frontier had a proportion of children larger by 28 per cent than the population between Pittsburgh and Omaha.

Thanks to the pioneer families' multiplying so fast, the pioneer traits naturally became more plentiful in the American people. Americans are famed for energy, tenacity of purpose, and willingness to take risks *because these are just the traits made more abundant in the process of settling the wilderness*. Of course not *all* the descendants of the early European settlers had in their blood the virtues of the pioneer, But if originally a *sixth* of them had such virtues, then the process of peopling the fertile wilderness might cause these traits to be represented in a *fourth* of them. And something like this is probably what actually happened.



The composition of the people of the United States in 1860 compared with that in the last three decades.

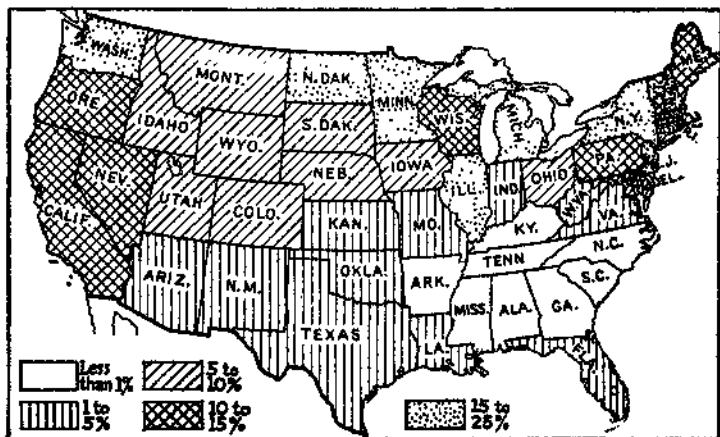
Negroes. So the white element is divided about equally between this native stock and the descendants of more recent immigrants. The native stock is increasing about eleven or twelve per cent a decade.

The foreign-born. Owing to the World War, the proportion of whites who were foreign-born declined in the decade 1910-1920 from 19 per cent to 14.5 per cent. In the next decade, restriction of immigration brought the proportion down to 12.3 per cent. But the foreign-born are nearly all grown up; so to get a fair statement of relative numbers, we should balance the foreign-born against the native adults, not against a mass which includes all the children of native stock and also the children born in this country of foreign parentage. We sense the immense foreignization of our people on learning that in 1910 every fourth man in the United States — that is, every fourth male twenty-one years of age and over — was an immigrant. In 1930 the proportion of foreign stock was

The native stock. There being no figures on the "pioneer breed," the best we can do is to watch the "native stock"; that is, those whites whose ancestors were in this country before 1790. In 1920 thirty-nine per cent of the blood of the American people came from whites who were on this side of the Atlantic before 1790. Thirty-eight per cent came from European immigrants who have come here since the forming of our republic. Thirteen per cent of the population were foreign-born and ten per cent were

18 per cent. In 1930 in New England, which was once the home of English Puritans, one man out of every three was foreign-born.

It is in the North and the East that the pioneer breed has been swamped by the tide from the Old World. The whites of the South, particularly the mountain parts, are still of native stock. In 1910 in Atlanta seven out of eight white men had American parents; in Nashville and Richmond, four out of five; in Kansas City, two out of three; and in Los Angeles, one out of two. But in Detroit, Cleveland, and Paterson, one man out of five had American parents; in Chicago and New York, one out of six; in Milwaukee, one out of seven; in Fall River, one out of nine. At the outbreak of the World War the foreign-born and foreign stock formed a larger pro-

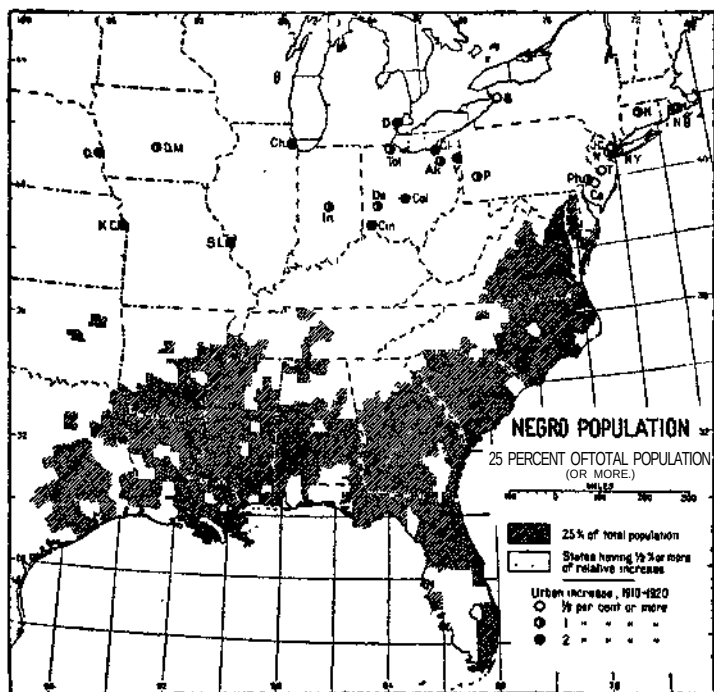


Data supplied by Census Bureau

Per cent of foreign-born in the white population by states (1930). Notice how the immigrants have shunned the old South, where as workers they would be brought into competition with Negroes. Notice how small their proportion is in Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, and the states bordering Mexico. Notice also how Maine and Vermont contrast with southern New England and the Middle States.

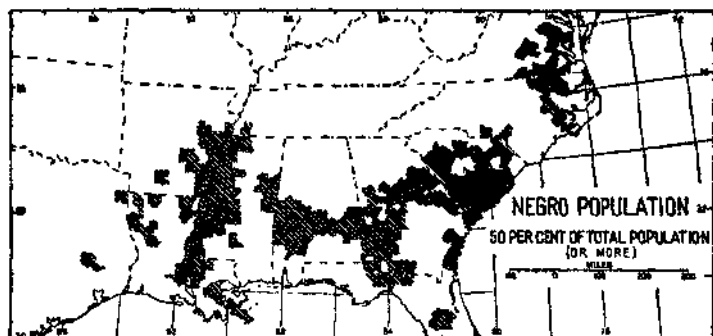
portion of our people than at any other time since the colonial era.

Owing not so much to greater fertility as to lower standards of living and a different attitude toward wife and children, the foreign-born have a higher birth rate than the native element. In 1900 in American cities a thousand foreign-born women could show the census taker 612 children under five years of age, while the native women could show only 296. In the rural parts, however, the native element made a better



From Bowman's "The New World"

Here is the zone of the American Negro, determined largely by climate and crops. We see, too, which Northern states and cities are drawing him out of the South.



From Baerman's "The New World"

This defines the "Black Belt," in which the outnumbered whites are often concerned as to whether they can maintain the chief features of their civilization.

slowing. Of the women who bore children in our thirty birth-registration states in 1925 a fifth were foreign-born, but of those who had already borne ten or more children nearly two fifths were foreign-born.

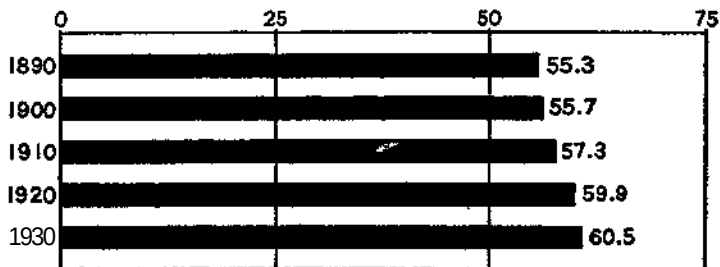
The Negroes. Since 1790 the Negro element, from being nearly a fifth of the whole people, has shrunk to about a tenth. This is because the Negroes grow almost entirely by natural increase, while the expansion of the whites has been enormously assisted by immigration. Moreover, the Negroes' rate of natural increase is only about half that of the native stock.

This slower rate of increase reflects a great change which is affecting many Negroes. Up to the outbreak of the World War 89 per cent of the Negro race in this country lived in the South. With the cutting off of immigrants from Europe and the return of great numbers of the foreign-born to fight for their native countries, labor shortage developed and our industrial centers began to draw the Negro out of the South with the lure of high wages. Later, when four million young men had been absorbed into army and navy, the clamor for

labor drew the Negro in still greater numbers. So by 1930 the proportion of Negroes in the South had declined to 78.6 per cent, and the proportion in cities had risen from 47 per cent to 43.7 per cent. Now, most rural Negroes do not thrive when they go to live in cities; so this growth in the urban Negro element has resulted in fewer births and more deaths.

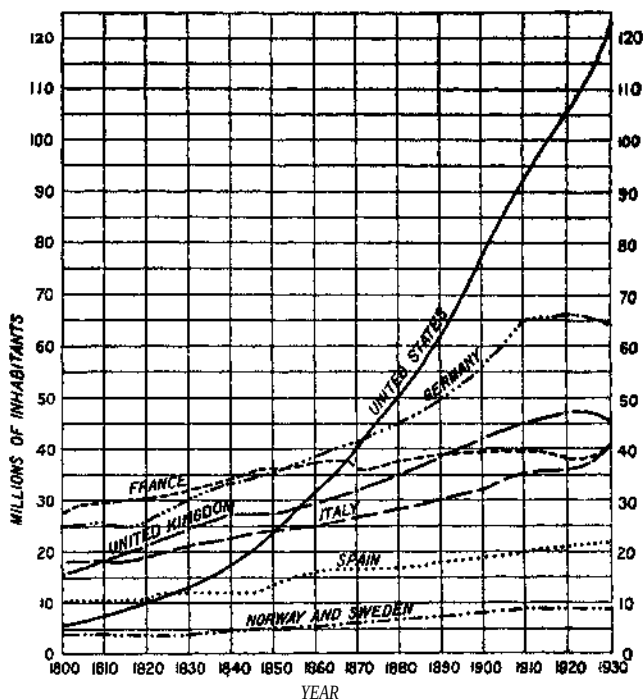
Marriedness. The Americans are one of the most married peoples on the face of the globe. In all Europe only the Slavs and the Magyars are ahead of them. This high marriedness is due to a number of factors. More of us live by farming than in western Europe, and farming urges people to get married. Ease of making a living encourages matrimony, and the broad layers of the people here are able to win a much better living than the masses in most other countries. Domestic servants are hampered in setting up for themselves, and in the United States the proportion who live by domestic service is exceedingly small.

Not only are Americans much married, but *the tendency to marry is growing*. We do not have the figures earlier than 1890; but between then and 1930 the per cent of men over fifteen years of age married rose from 53.9 to 60 — a ninth. The per cent of women over fifteen years of age married rose from 56.8 to 61.1 — a thirteenth.



Data supplied by Census Bureau

Percentages of the population of the United States married in the last five decades.



Data supplied by Census Bureau and Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce

Growth of the United States and the principal countries of Europe, 1800-1930. **Has** immigration doubled the rate of growth of the United States, as the diagram seems to suggest?

The census of the colony of New Hampshire in 1773 gives us a glimpse of our forerunners in the era of the simple life, when most families lived on the farm and girls lacked the chances of earning wages outside the home. Nowadays nearly a quarter of our girls and women are working outside the home. Yet it appears that the proportion of the married in New Hampshire then was *only a tenth greater* than in the whole United States one hundred and forty-seven years later. Who would have expected that access to paying jobs would make

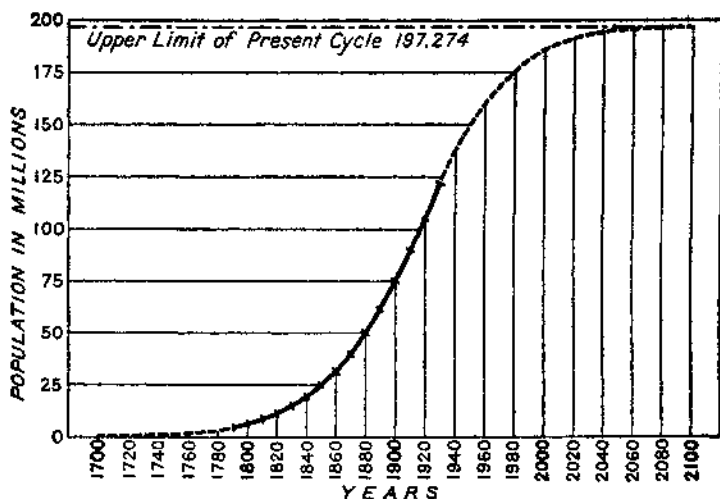
so little difference in the willingness of young women to accept wif ehood ?

One is surprised, too, at the young men's willingness to marry. Owing to certain industrial changes in the household (to be described later), the wife is far less able to contribute to the upkeep of the home now than she was in olden times. More and more the home-staying wife is " supported " by her husband. This being so, it is more frequently the case that the young man taking a wife is shouldering a burden; that is, he will have less to save or to spend on himself. If, nevertheless, more men marry, and marry earlier, it is a sign that selfishness is not triumphing. The growing marriedness of Americans suggests that, in general, we are not allowing the mating instinct to be overruled by money considerations.

Over much of Europe the custom prevails of parents' providing the daughter with a marrying portion. The girl without a marriage portion stands hardly any chance of getting a husband, no matter how pretty and good she may be. Yet * American girls, for whom no marriage portion is provided, marry fast enough. It seems that among us love is less hobbled by the " Almighty Dollar " than among any other people known to history.

Growth of population. Now that immigration has been checked, our chances of avoiding the fate of overcrowded China are much improved. The native element among the American people has shown some caution about overpopulating the country.

Children under five are almost exactly half as large an element in the population as they were a century ago. This decline in births, however, is not such a serious matter, for we no longer lose children as we used to. In 1820 very likely one baby in three died before it was a year old; in, 1930 the loss was only one in sixteen. In fact, we are now filling two



Adapted from Pearl

Curve of population growth in the United States together **with the probable** trend.

cradles for one coffin. Were there no immigration, the present margin of births above deaths, if maintained, would suffice to double our numbers in a century. There is good reason for expecting the birth rate to fall faster than the death rate in the near future.

The population growth of practically all countries for the past century appears to fit into a certain kind of curve discovered by Professor Raymond Pearl of Johns Hopkins University. We Americans have traversed about half of this curve, and if we follow it through we shall reach our maximum about 2100 A.D., when this country will contain 197 millions.

Our aging population. The age make-up of the American people is changing, to the disadvantage of youth. At the time of our Civil War those under twenty were half of the American people. In 1930 they constituted 38.8 per cent;

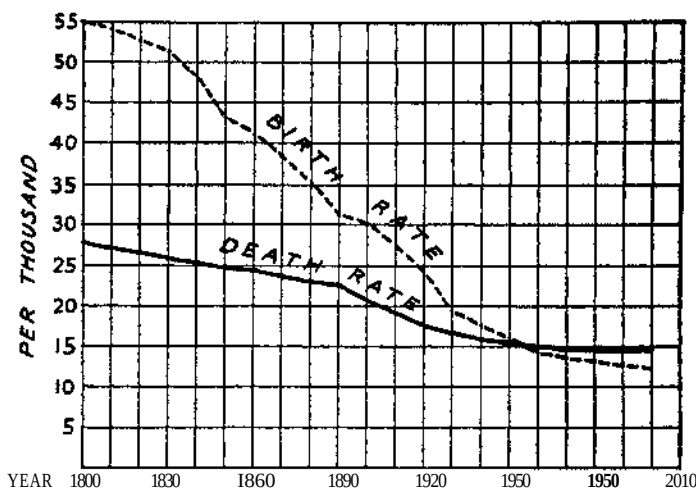
by 1975 this group will not amount to more than 30 per cent of the whole. On the other hand, those above forty-four, who in 1980 came to 22.9 per cent of the total, will by 1975 make up a third of our people. This increasing elderliness is likely to have certain striking consequences :

1. Men past forty find increasing difficulty in getting a job because many employers believe such men cannot as a rule stand the pace which their efficiency programs require. Now if an increasing proportion of the population are going to be over forty, we may be very sure that they will not be allowed to become dependents but that the pace of industry will have to be moderated to such a degree that most of them will be able to earn a living.

2. Older people as they gain in numbers will not allow their diversions to be dictated by the young as now. A population running ten to fifteen years older will spend less on roadhouses with their dance halls and jazz orchestras, on cabarets, college football, vaudeville, and sensational films, and will demand the pleasures that appeal to middle life and old age, such as books, concerts, lectures, and drama.

3. Our school system will not be deluged with children as now, but it will bear an increasing load of adult education, particularly the retraining of those thrown out of their jobs in middle life by the coming in of some new production process.

4. When the men at the helm of enterprises run years older than now, they will show less sympathy for the bright ideas of youth, so that our whole economic machine may be slowed down. Then, too, it is to be expected that we shall become more conservative politically, more impatient of reform proposals. Hence, institutions and customs will be preserved long after they are effete, and Americans who inherit the pioneer temperament will be tempted to emigrate to regions of South America or Africa where the public is not so fearful of change.



Data supplied by Warren B. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton

Birth rate and death rate trends in the United States from 1800 to 2000. The forecast illustrated is that natural increase will cease within the next twenty years.

The trend of quality. The application of intelligence tests to a million and three quarters drafted men in 1917-1918 led experts to estimate that in this country there are about twenty-five millions who cannot be got through the elementary school. Another twenty-five millions would be brought to a halt at various points between grammar school and graduation from high school. Thirty-five millions able to finish high school would be stalled before graduating from college. Fifteen millions would be able to get through college, but only four or five millions could graduate with any degree of brilliancy and go on into fields of creative thinking.

Now, intelligence is hereditary and, with such marked inequalities in intelligence, it means everything for our posterity whether population here is growing faster at the "top" or at the "bottom." There are many signs that it is

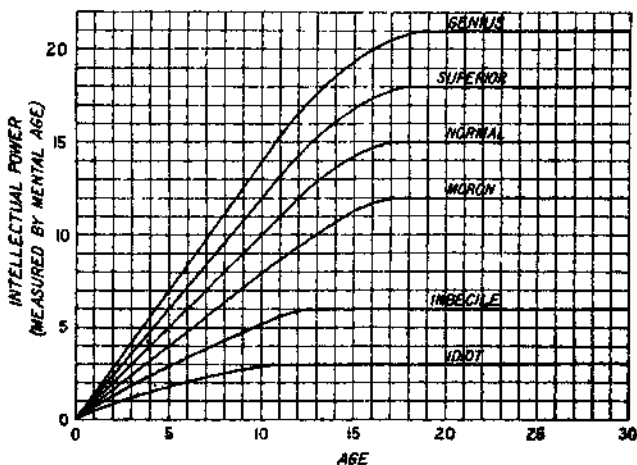
the " lower " levels which increase faster. In 1923, in families in which the birth of a child was registered, the number of living children averaged 5.45 for fathers fifty to fifty-four years of age who were bootblacks, boiler-washers, engine hostlers, longshoremen, stevedores, draymen, teamsters, coal-mine operatives, and common laborers. But the average was only 3.54 for fathers of the same age class who were engineers, teachers, physicians, lawyers, judges, inventors, dentists, clergymen, chemists, authors, newspaper men, architects, bankers, and railway officials. This means about two more children apiece left by hand-workers than by brain-workers, by unskilled laborers than by men of the learned professions, by the privates in the industrial organization than by the officers.

The Milbank Memorial Study of the size of families of about 40,000 native white married women in 33 Northern cities and of about 30,000 in the rural parts of 74 neighboring counties (1910 census) showed that large families are common among farm folk rather than city folk and among the " lower " layers of each rather than the " upper."

An investigation at the University of Wisconsin shows that to 2200 living fertile couples of American parentage, whose families are complete and who have a child or a nephew or niece in college, had been born an average of 3.35 children. But to 100 pauper couples of American parentage in five cities of the Middle West had been born an average of 6.49 children. These pauper couples, nearly all mentally weak, alcoholic, immoral, or criminal, are bringing children into the world *twice as fast* as the other group.

With the frontier gone and the country filling up, families *should* run smaller; but it is a pity that the college graduates, supposed to be drawn from the brightest seventh of the population, should lead in this decrease in birth rate. Between 1845 and 1900 the average number of children per Mount

Holyoke College graduate fell from 2.37 to 2.1. Married, graduates of Syracuse University were averaging two children apiece in the decade before the Civil War, while forty years later they averaged but one. The average number of children born to the married Harvard or Yale graduate fell from 3.25 in the 1850's to 2.5 in the 1880's. In 1936 it was found that the average number of children, per completed family, in the families from which 691 Mount Holyoke girls came was 2.8. But the mother of this average family was one of 4.8 children, while the grandmother was one of 5.5 children. In two generations, then, the size of these families, mostly of New England stock, has been cut in two. The University of Wisconsin investigation found that the 2200 living couples of native stock studied produced 3.35 children per fertile family; while the 750 couples who were



Intellectual power expressed in terms of mental age. The vertical scale represents the intelligence of the normal person at different ages. The reader will notice that the idiot is arrested in his mental development at about the intelligence of a three-year-old normal child; the imbecile, at about the intelligence of a six-year-old child; etc.

their fathers and mothers averaged 5.44. Here in one generation is a shrinkage of nearly two fifths.

Of the 102 Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth Rock most died within a few months. But the 23 known to have left descendants were ancestors of such eminent Americans as John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Charles Francis Adams, James A. Garfield, Ulysses S. Grant, Levi P. Morton, Elihu Root, William H. Taft, Zachary Taylor, Daniel Webster, Leonard Wood, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, Frank Munsey, Percy MacKaye, and Winston Churchill. It was eight generations ago that they landed, and they later expanded to many thousands. But it has been calculated that, with their present birth rate, at the end of another eight generations all their living descendants could be put into a ship no larger than the *Mayflower* and sent back home!

About one fourth of each generation produces one half of the next. In this country a good deal more of this fruitful fourth lies below the middle grade of mentality than above it.

The cities draw to themselves more than their fair share of the bright country-born. But in the cities these have fewer children than they would have had if they had stayed on the farm, fewer than the brothers and sisters who *did* stay on the farm.

Of the men drafted into the army in 1917-1918, one in 36 was found too stupid to be worth making into a soldier. At least as many more men had been rejected earlier. On this basis one can figure that at least a twentieth of the population is mentally below a normal ten-year-old child and would hardly be able to survive but for the fact that civilization makes the world safe for stupidity. Yet these weak-minded, together with twenty million other people of little sense, multiply much faster than the better stocks in our population — certainly one and a half times as fast, perhaps twice as fast.

This is why our serious thinkers would impress upon capable young people of sound stock their solemn obligation eventually to marry and raise a family — not just the three children which at present barely replace the two parents, but two or three more youngsters to help brighten the prospects of our race. And the more gifted the parents are, the graver is their fault if they stop with the one or two children which are the fashion today among the more successful. It will require unusual minds to handle well the vast, integrated, highly complex society of the future. What if there should not be enough of them to meet the need!

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Show that the settlement of our country took place under conditions which killed off many of the weaker.

2. Why is it likely that those who sought the frontier surpassed in energy and venturesomeness those of their class who stayed behind?

3. Why was frontier life favorable to rapid increase?

4. Who are comprised in the native stock? What per cent of our people in 1930 came from whites who were here before 1790? What per cent were foreign-born? What per cent Negroes?

5. How did the World War affect the proportion of foreign-born in this country?

6. In what parts has the native stock been swamped by the tide from the Old World?

7. Compare the size of the Negro element in our population today with that of 1790. What have been the causes of the northward migration of Negroes in recent years?

8. Why are the Americans one of the most married peoples on the face of the earth?

9. What is the rate of natural increase of our population?

10. What changes may be looked for when people above 40 years of age preponderate?

11. What did the application of intelligence tests to the drafted men show as to the distribution of ability in our population?

12. What indications are there that our population grows faster at the bottom?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. How are birth rates and death rates determined ?
2. How will the Immigration Act of 1929 affect the future growth and make-up of the population of this country ?
8. Why was the population of Europe practically stationary during the Middle Ages ?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Trace the growth of the population in your state since 1860. What were the chief sources of this increase? To what extent has the population of your state been affected by immigration? Which racial elements are strongest in your state ?
2. What different races do we have in the United States today ?
3. Set forth the doctrines of Malthus. What can be said for them ? against them ? (See item I in the reading references below.)
4. List the factors that are at work to pull down the death rate. **In** what ways has the advance of medical science prolonged human life?
5. Show the significant relationship between the personality of the early college women and their marriage rate. (Abbott's "Three Decades of College Women/" *Popular Science Monthly*, 65: 350.)

DEBATE

Resolved, That the State should provide an allowance for each child, above the third, of couples of unusually fine heredity, physique, mentality, and character.

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¹See page 401 for complete bibliography, with publishers' names and addresses included.

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CHAPTER TWO

INCREASING PRESSURE ON NATURAL RESOURCES

- I. The disappearance of the frontier
 - 1. Importance of the westward movement in our history
 - 2. Effect of the disappearance of the frontier
- II. Stretching the United States
 - 1. Resort to inferior lands
 - 2. Reclamation of swamp and arid lands
 - 3. Enthusiastic response to the idea of conservation
 - 4. Growth of interest in the improvement of agriculture
- III. Does the ending of free land make tenancy inevitable ?
 - 1. Growth of tenancy
 - 2. Significance of this growth
- IV. Looking ahead
 - 1. Future of food production
 - 2. Future of population
 - 3. The new attitude toward immigration
 - 4. The new frugality and caution
 - 5. Can the democratic spirit survive the disappearance of the frontier ?

The disappearance of the frontier. Throughout their history the American people have developed in the presence of abundant land. Always there was good land to be had for little or nothing if only you would take the trouble to go West. Wherever it might be — on the Ohio or on the Columbia — the frontier spelled opportunity for the common man. Neither malaria nor scalping savage could check the westward stream of land seekers hoping "to get a start." The passion for economic independence was so intense that, by the time a region had been sparsely occupied, it would be contributing to the tide moving on to settle the frontier beyond. It is a fact that each tier of Western states was settled principally by overflow from the states nearest to it. The

Ohio Valley furnished the people who settled along the upper Mississippi, and *their* children in turn played the major rôle in peopling the trans-Missouri region.

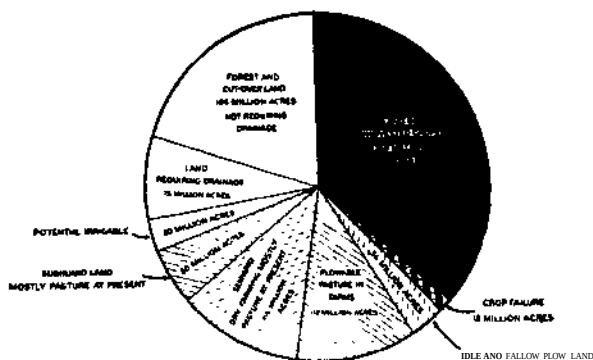
Since the westward movement was a response to the lure of opportunity rather than to the lash of need, the rate of expansion kept pace with the growing liberality of the government to the settler. The more nearly the public domain was offered as free land, the more eager was the rush to the frontier. Settlement spread from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi much more slowly than from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains. Through the nineteenth century the frontier moved westward at an ever accelerated rate; it had never moved so fast as in the last two decades before it ended — before we lost our frontier because the best of the public domain was occupied.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the frontier as a large determining factor in the life of our people ceased to exist. The first grapple with rude nature is still to be witnessed in some places, but the remaining land can have no such significance for our people as did the frontier when it was a broad, irregular belt stretching unbroken from the northern to the southern boundary of the country, in which were created nearly every year some tens of thousands of new homes. There is still public land of a sort to be had, but, as a great shaping condition, the frontier has disappeared and with it has ended the expensive free-land epoch that constituted our national childhood. Without wishing it, yet with nobody to blame, we have entered upon the era of limited natural resources and fuller utilization. The change is almost as sharp as that a youth experiences when he ceases to receive aid from home and for the first time is thrown upon his own resources.

There is, to be sure, in the Far West much waste which will in time be brought under cultivation; but dry land which

costs from thirty to fifty dollars an acre to get water to is not an opportunity for penniless families such as used to move out upon the public domain and achieve financial independence. Fifty years ago in Iowa the fanner's son on his twenty-first birthday might be presented by his father with a team, a wagon, and a few farm implements. After working a year for wages, he married his sweetheart, put bows and canvas on his wagon, and drove out to the margin of settlement in Kansas, Nebraska, or the Dakotas. Before he reached his twenty-third birthday, he was an independent farmer on a quarter-section of virgin land, which would certainly gain from five to ten thousand dollars in value by the time he was old. Nowadays the young man must work as farm "hand" or renter for fifteen or twenty years before he can "get ahead" enough to have a farm of his own. And he will be near forty years of age before he will be where the other man was at twenty-three.

Stretching the United States. Had we been an ignorant peasant people, the sudden ending of arable public land in the cain belt would have been like meeting a stone wall; the blow to people's hopes and ideals would have been tragic. But, being ingenious and enterprising, our people, finding themselves unexpectedly at the end of the sunset path, at once pushed out right and left. Several means were found to make the country stretch to fit its growing population. The numerous New England "abandoned farms," of which much was heard during the 1880's, were quietly reoccupied, and many stretches of poor or heavy soil which the land seeker had contemptuously passed by in the old days began to be turned to account. In the Middle West millions of acres of swamp and overflowed lands were diked and drained, while a great cry went up that the rivers of the Far West should be caught and turned upon the desert. Since this was a job which could best be handled from Washington, there was a rapid



Bureau of Agricultural Economics

The extreme physical possibility of cultivation of the 973 million acres of land in the United States capable of use for crops.

growth of the functions of the Federal government in relation to the settlement of the remaining public domain.

The enthusiastic popular response to the idea of conserving our natural resources was another evidence that we were on a new path. For thirty years before President Roosevelt in 1906 brought together a number of kindred policies and launched them under the name of "conservation," certain government scientific bureaus, as well as certain university geologists and economists, had been denouncing our waste of nature's stored wealth and prophesying of the dearth to come. The people were deaf to such warnings until it had been borne in upon them that the agricultural frontier was gone forever. Within about ten years after the conservation movement was launched, the public mind was ripe for the conservation idea.

The same idea lies behind the enormous expansion of the activities of the Department of Agriculture. A few inches below the surface of the ordinary farm lies a second farm which is rarely tilled. Shallow plowing may do when a man is, spreading himself out thin over a quarter-section; but

when the farmer has to provide farms for his two boys out of that same quarter-section, he is glad to be shown how to get more from the soil. So long as there was a West to send boys to, he was content with the old simple tillage. How some of the farmers used to jeer at the professors from the State College of Agriculture! "Those fellows with their book learning can't teach *me* anything," was how many a granger put it. Now the farmers are much more appreciative of the advice of experts who explain to them seed selection and scientific tillage, while the agricultural colleges are visited by hosts of young men keen to learn how to make farming pay.

Tenancy in the United States. The close of the era of free land was bound to bring an increase of tenancy; that is, the working of the land by men who *rent* rather than *own* it. In 1880 tenant farmers constituted 25.6 per cent of all farmers; in 1890, 28.4 per cent; in 1900, 35.3 per cent; in 1910, 37 per cent; in 1930, 42.4 per cent, while they operated about 31 per cent of the land in farms. Tenancy has been increasing among the white farmers in the South and in the grain-growing region of the Northwest; it has been decreasing in the older agricultural regions of the East and in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states. In the South, where tenancy has largely taken the place of the old slave-plantation system, it prevails because many Negroes who can handle a small farm under direction are not yet "up to" independent ownership. In several other regions tenancy was stimulated by the great increase in the money return from farming after the stock of good public land ran out.

In certain parts of the South, tenancy shows some very forbidding features. But, taking the country as a whole, a fair share of our tillers of the soil may hope some day to cultivate farms of their own. Over 75 per cent of the farmers under twenty-five years of age are tenants, and somewhat over 50 per cent of those between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age*

But of the farmers thirty-five to forty-five years of age, about 37 per cent are tenants; of those forty-five to fifty-five, 50 per cent; of those fifty-five to sixty-five, less than 20 per cent. This means, for one thing, that the older farmers got their farms in the days when good land could be "taken up." Chiefly, however, it means that tenants are moving up a ladder. The first rung is working as a "hired man"; the second, tenancy; the third, ownership subject to a mortgage; the fourth and top rung is ownership of a farm clear of debt. Great numbers are climbing this ladder, but the rungs are farther apart than in the old days. Now a man stays longer on a rung before he can lift himself to the next rung above. So the greater proportion of tenants means later arrival at the top of the ladder rather than withering of the hope of ownership.

The agricultural ladder. A study of 2112 farm owners in the Middle West, made some time ago for the United States Department of Agriculture but still approximately correct in its findings, throws light on this upward movement. Nearly 75 per cent of them had been hired men or tenants, or both, before they came to own a farm. Some came by their farms by inheritance or marriage, but 70 per cent became owners through purchase. Of these, the ones who skipped the tenant stage became owners at the average age of twenty-nine years; those who skipped the hired-man stage became owners at thirty-two years; those who, starting probably with nothing, passed through both stages came to own farms at the average age of thirty-six and a half years. These conditions probably still exist practically unchanged.

As land becomes dearer, one who starts at the bottom must tarry longer in the lower stages. It is not surprising, then, that those who acquired their farms more than thirty years previous to the investigation spent on the average 4.9 years as

tenants; those who got their farms in the next decade, 7.2 years; those who got them in the following decade, 9.6 years; while those who achieved ownership only in the last decade before the investigation averaged 11 years as tenants. For these same four groups, the average time spent as hired man was respectively 5.2, 6.1, 7.5, and 7.9 years. In other words, the length of the service as hired man increased by half in thirty years, while the length of the tenant period doubled.

The future of food production. Only in recent years have wise Americans begun to look carefully into our social future. Now that the stock of good virgin land is used up, this country is no longer youthful and it ought to take the long look ahead. Cultivation is being extended in the West, it is true, but the new area no more than balances the shrinkage in the states east of the Mississippi, owing to the wearing out of fields, the ruination of tilled hillsides by wash, and the abandonment of land unadapted to the use of modern farm machinery. It has been calculated that with present methods of farming a population of 140 millions could be as well nourished as we are now, without being dependent on other countries for any of their basic food supply.

Some go on and calculate how many our land might support if we keep up a reasonable standard of living, if we stick to our present food habits, if we conserve carefully our soil fertility, and if we farm as intensively, as scientifically, and with as little waste as the best farmers of Europe, who by population pressure have been stimulated to force their acres. The boldest optimists figure that on such terms food might be grown here for 331 millions.

With such a peoplement, however, there would be no margin for safety. In the summer of 1901 hot winds cut our corn crop a quarter; in 1916 chinch bugs and weather pinched a third from our wheat crop. Were this country saturated with population, what would happen when the caprice of

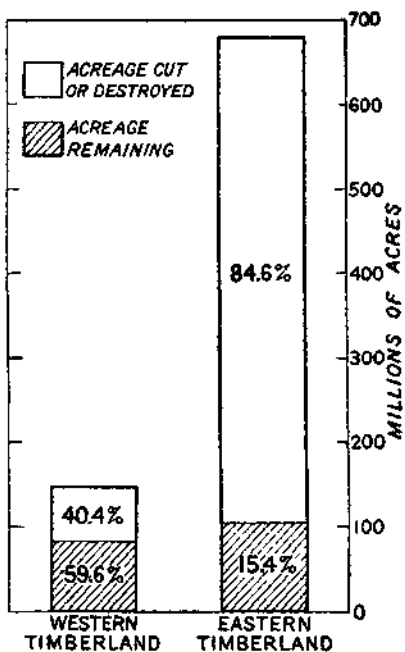
the seasons inflicted such heavy jolts? Why, tens of millions would starve; that is all!

Furthermore, as population becomes dense, the danger of famine grows because of the reduction in the proportion of domestic animals. Meat animals are a big feature in our diet. In time of food shortage we could eat first the animals and then the grain they would have eaten; but as Professor East, the food production expert, says:

When man has ousted the ox and the pig from the grain bin because he needs their fodder himself, he has allowed a valuable dietary insurance policy to lapse. Thereafter he will have to do as Pharaoh did, lay aside food during the fat years — and storage rates are high!

The enthusiasts for mere numbers would land us in the future in a condition like that of present-day China, where the common people taste meat once or twice a month and the poor never.

The present state of "overproduction" ought not to mislead us. With the spread of "economic nationalism" (high tariffs) over the world, American farmers have found increasing difficulty in marketing their food surplus abroad. This condition will not continue indefinitely, however.



Data supplied by U. S. Forest Service

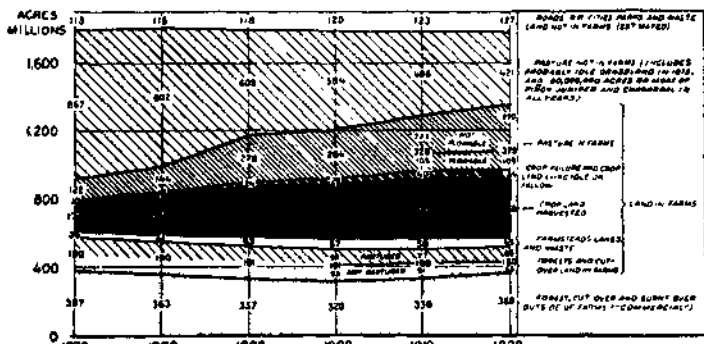
Original and remaining timberland in the United States.

The future of population. Our race has more fertility than it dares now use. It can produce 50 to 60 babies a year per thousand population, whereas it ought not to have more than 20, now that the deaths have been brought down to 12 per thousand a year. It was one thing for couples to average ten children when only three of them grew up; it is quite another thing to average ten children when seven of them will grow up. In this country in twenty years the death rate has been cut a quarter, and the health experts expect it to be cut another quarter in the next twenty years. Now that we have arrived at a time when, thanks to the doctors and sanitarians, half of those born live to be 56 years old, only a lunatic would imagine that people generally may go on multiplying at the old rate. In the words of Professor East:

The finest and soundest agriculture in the world cannot keep a country from the depths of the most degrading misery if it continues to pack its territory with human beings without regard as to whether there is room for them or not. Food production may reach the heights of efficiency and its distribution be well-nigh perfect, but if there is no end to the number of mouths to fill, except as they are kept in check by positive agents of repression, we shall be in the same plight as were the daughters of Danalis, forever carrying water in a sieve. The voices which demand 300 million people in the United States in order to make it secure and prosperous are siren voices. If we listen, we are lost. What is needed is not 300 million people chained permanently to poverty and distress, but 150 million people, or thereabouts, who can live comfortably and happily if they will.

In China, Japan, and India even the thinkers fail to see any connection between family size and the sharpness of the struggle for a living. Our *thinkers* see it but not many others. It is still an open question whether our population will be stabilized before it is too late to save the good, life for the masses. If we expand to two or three hundred millions, our fate is sure. Nothing can perpetuate the relatively high

THE TREND IN LAND UTILIZATION*
United States, 1879-1929



* FIGURES ARE MOSTLY ESTIMATES BASED ON THE CENSUS AND ANNUAL ESTIMATES OF THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

U. S. Department of Agriculture

Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Trends in utilization of the 1,973,000,000 acres of land in the United States. Notice that although fewer people are now living on farms than were in 1879, scientific farming methods have enabled them to cultivate an increasing amount of land to feed our growing population.

standards of living which prevail in the United States now but a drop in the birth rate, not the birth rate among our best endowed and most precious fifth but of the broad layers of common folk.¹

The new attitude toward immigration. So long as there was a vacant Great West, it was common sense to welcome the immigrant who would plant himself in the wilderness.

¹ The postwar low price of farm products with the resulting extreme agricultural depression is due to special causes and should not confuse us as to the main trend. Among these causes are:

1. War-time overextension of farming in response to the slogan, "Food will win the War."

2. Tariffs on manufactured goods so high that foreigners who wish our farm products find it difficult to introduce into this country the goods with which to pay for them.

3. Thanks to the gasoline engine, millions of acres which formerly grew food for horses and mules have been diverted to the production of food for human beings.

Why should empty stretches which aliens would make blossom with the homes of men be reserved for coyote, prairie dog, and rattlesnake?

But the immigrants of the last thirty-five years have generally failed to find a footing on the soil. In 1010 there was one Scandinavian farmer for every eight persons of Scandinavian birth in this country and one German farmer for every eleven persons of German birth; but it took 130 Poles, Hungarians, or Italians among us to furnish one farmer. Unable to engage in food-growing, most of the immigrants have had to press into the labor markets, compete for jobs with those already here, and thereby create a sense of pressure which prompted the demand for the restriction of immigration. It is safe to predict that the cheerful come-on-boys-thereVroom-for-all attitude toward the congested peoples of the world will never again prevail in this country.

The new frugality and caution. A highly educated woman, a missionary who had long worked in Turkey-in-Asia, was asked by a women's society in Buffalo what impressed her most on her return to her native land. She replied, "Your garbage pails." She saw in them sinful waste — good food thrown away in a single city which would nourish multitudes of half-famished people in Armenia. Now, there is every reason to expect that we shall develop a new attitude toward waste as we leave behind us the days of rude plenty.

Having skimmed the cream off the continent, we are undergoing a change like to that of a flush youth who, having run through his inheritance, is forced to stoop for the first time to petty economies. Having scooped the luscious heart out of the watermelon, we are now getting among the seeds. A century and more of access to "boundless" natural wealth fostered the conviction that we are a "chosen people" and that Divine Providence will see to it that Americans pay no

serious penalty for their folly, negligence, or extravagance. If poor farming wore out the soil, there were limitless leagues beyond; if fire was allowed to ravage the forests, there were better forests farther on; if the grafter stole the public funds, the citizens joked, for was there not enough prosperity to stand it?

Moreover, optimism seemed justified by the irrepressible growth of the country. Every sag was followed by a higher wave of prosperity. In general, cities, businesses, fortunes, land values, crop totals, incomes, changed in only one direction — *they grew*. Standstill or decline was a strange thing, in need of explanation. The intelligent foreteller of penalties to be paid for error or waste was scoffed at as "croaker," "calamity howler," "pessimist." "Booms," frenzied speculation, overbuilding, overborrowing, overdoing of public improvements, overexpansion, overconfidence, and extravagance are among the fruits of the beaming optimism bred in us by access to huge stores of natural wealth. As all this recedes, our national character is likely to gain something of the canniness and frugality of the Scot.

Can the democratic spirit survive the disappearance of the frontier? Free land was an equalizer, for it admitted all comers to possession of the chief means of producing wealth. At the frontier no man would work long for a farmer or pay rent when for next to nothing he could get other land just as good and farm it himself. The town artisan had to be paid a wage large enough to keep him from turning farmer. Besides, such economic differences as there were did not put *distance* between people. In general, class distinctions show themselves, not between those who possess and those who do not possess, but between those who possess and those who not only *do not* but apparently *cannot* possess. Always in the West — whether "the West" was Kentucky or Idaho — the rich banker did not object to the penniless but capable young

man's calling on his daughter, because the banker very likely was penniless himself when he married and he knew that this young man would be as well off as he himself when he reached the same age. The abundance of opportunities on the frontier, coupled with equal access to these many opportunities, engendered a sense of social equality which gradually became a part of "Americanism."

Again, the frontier has been a maker of *political* democracy in this country. In our early history there was a tendency toward class government and the growth of "vested interests" in the seaboard states. The younger states of the West, on the other hand, showed a strong tendency to sweep away class rule. The settlers of the Ohio Valley introduced many democratic political practices, such as the abolition of property qualifications for voting, the abolition of property and religious qualifications for office holding, the increase in the proportion of elective officials as compared with appointive officials, shorter terms of office, rotation in office, and the ratification of state constitutions by the people. The West stood for states' rights as against Federal authority, for state banks as against the Bank of the United States. From the West at different times have swept eastward Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy, Lincoln Republicanism, Grangerism, Populism, Bryanism, and Progressivism, together with such recent innovations as direct primary, initiative, referendum, and the popular election of the United States Senators.

While the aggressive democratic spirit kindled in the frontier has constantly spread back into the older communities and broken the spell upon them of old families, old wealth, and old prestige, it does not follow that with the ending of the frontier we shall begin to lose our democracy, or even that we shall not become more democratic. To be sure, one of the great founts of democracy is dried up. But, though the physical West passes, there is a spiritual West

— independent of boundaries or localities — such as has inspired the democratic movement in long-settled countries like France and Norway. From time to time there appear emancipating spirits who spurn man-made distinctions of place, rank, and money, and whose hearts go out toward every man as toward a brother. Such are the poets and the prophets, such are the humanizing Isaiahs, Ruskins, Mazzinis, Victor Hugos, Lincolns, and Tolstoys, who recall us to natural fellowship, who impress us with our likenesses even when conditions of living are exaggerating the differences among us. Let no one leave out of the reckoning this spiritual West.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Show that the westward movement was a response to the lure of opportunity rather than to the lash of need.

2. When did the frontier as a large determining factor in the life of the American people cease to exist?

3. Contrast the present era with the free-land epoch.

4. Compare the opportunities for advancement of a typical Iowa farm lad today with those of fifty years ago.

o. Why has the policy of conservation been greeted with an enthusiastic popular response?

C. How has the farmer's attitude toward agricultural colleges changed? What has brought about this change?

7. Show how tenancy in the United States has increased since 1880. Where has it increased? Where decreased? What does the greater proportion of tenants mean?

8. What is meant by the "agricultural ladder"?

9. Account for the agricultural depression of the last ten years.

10. How has the completion of settlement on the public domain affected our attitude toward immigration?

11. How will the fact that we have left behind us the days of rude plenty influence our attitude toward waste?

12. What influence did the frontier have upon the spirit of America? What is your answer to the question, "Can the democratic spirit survive the disappearance of the frontier?"

13. What is "the spiritual West"? How can it influence our future history?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Why does the individual tenure of land make for the betterment of a country, rather than the communal tenure of Europe in the Middle Ages?
2. Point out specific ways in which the white man who dispossessed the red man was more closely attached to the soil.
3. What were the natural characteristics of Iowa and Missouri that made them more attractive to settlers than the territory of Dakota?
4. Can you give evidences that the national government is interested in the food production in your own community?
5. How does woman as the family purchaser affect the future of our nation? What type of training should she have?
6. What proportion of farmers in your community are tenants? How many who own farms now were tenants? How did they get the money to buy their farms?
7. What relation is there between tenancy and soil conservation?
8. Are we cultivating too much land or too little?
9. Does conservation of the vast resources of Alaska mean a "locking-up" of these resources?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Report on the work of the United States Department of Agriculture. Write to it for bulletins.
2. Report on the Homestead Act. Do you know anyone who has taken up a claim? How much arable land does the United States still own? Write to the General Land Office, Department of the Interior.
3. What was done to conserve food during the World War? Describe the work of the United States Food Administration. (*Lessons in Community and National Life*, Series A-13.)
4. What are some of the provisions of the Pure Food Law?
5. What was done to conserve fuel during the war? Describe the work of the United States Fuel Administration. (*Lessons in Community and National Life*, Series C-14.)
6. Report on "Saving the Soil." (*Lessons in Community and National Life*, Series B-6.)
7. Report on the work of the Department of the Interior. (*Lessons in Community and National Life*, Series B-13.)

Increasing Pressure on Natural Resources 35

8. Why is land reclamation important? Tell about irrigation in the United States.

9. Report on forest conservation in the United States. (Read E, Chapter 10, and A, Chapter 11.)

DEBATE

Resolved, That America's extraordinary economic success has been due to abundant and freely appropriated natural resources rather than to American genius.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE SHIFT TO THE CITIES

- I. Reasons why cities draw from the country
 - 1. Development of transportation
 - 2. Development of machine industry
 - 3. Development of farm machinery
 - 4. Displacement of draft animals
 - 5. More money goes for town labor and less for country
 - 6. Greater improvement in living conditions in the city
- II. Make-up of urban population
 - 1. The city drains from the country the young adults
 - 2. The majority of our foreign-born are found in cities
 - 3. Fewer city dwellers are married
- III. Cities attract the cream of the country
- IV. **How** the city-bred differ from the country-bred
 - 1. City rush gives mental alertness
 - 2. City rates by consumption; country, by production
 - 3. Country life stimulates saving more than city life does
 - 4. One standard in a country neighborhood
- V. The future of cities

At the birth of the American nation its largest city had but 42,000 inhabitants. Only one thirtieth of the total population lived in the six towns of more than 8000 inhabitants each. Now there are over a thousand towns above that size and about half of us live in them. About a fifth of us live in villages and a quarter on the farms. Already the typical American is a town dweller.

Urbanization. The growth of cities at the expense of the country is called *urbanization* (from *urbs*, Latin for "city"). It is nearly a world-wide phenomenon, for it appears wherever steam transportation and machine industry prevail. It is as marked in Japan and Argentina as it is in the United States. Up to about thirty years ago we always had a

frontier and this acted as a brake on urbanization. The overflow of people from the older regions split into two streams, one flowing to the rising cities, the other flowing west to take up wild land. The chance to make new homes on the public domain saved hundreds of thousands every decade from being gathered in by the reaching tentacles of the city. Now that free land on the frontier is but a memory, the ambitious farm youth who inherits no capital must either till another man's land or go to the city.

Why cities draw from the country. Several developments are drawing people from country to city.

1. *Development of transportation.* The application of steam to transportation has made carriage so cheap that the movement of goods has grown like Jonah's gourd. More and more of the things we consume come from beyond the hundred-mile zone, from beyond the thousand-mile zone, from overseas, from the ends of the earth. Gulf Streams of traffic pour between regions, countries, and climates. Wherever cargoes are shifted between wagon and train, land and water, canal and river, river and sea, there a commercial city springs up. These swelling streams of commerce let more of us live by handling, storing, exchanging, or forwarding a mass of goods which grows much faster than population and must make an ever longer journey to reach the consumer.

2. *Development of machine industry.* Two or three generations ago the typical farm family produced a large part of the made goods it consumed. The women of the house, busy with hand card, spinning wheel, and loom, worked up into clothing the fleeces of the farm flock of sheep. Rag carpets covered the floor and homemade quilts and comforters were on the beds. The hides of the beef killed for family consumption, as well as those of two or three calves, were taken to the tannery and after six months brought home and worked up into foot gear, sometimes by the men of the family but

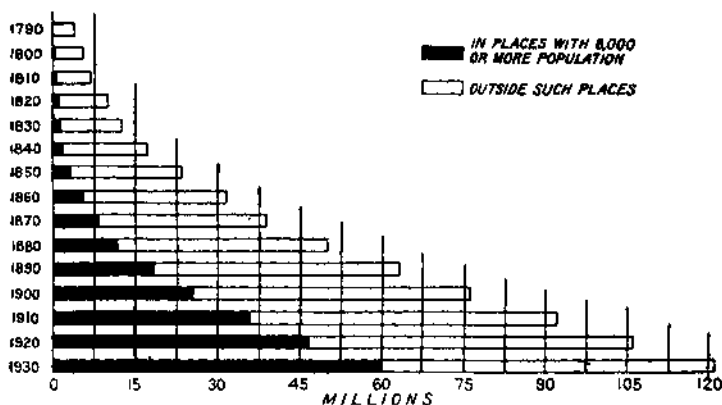
more often by a traveling shoemaker. In the smokehouse hams and bacon were cured. The family supply of soft soap was made from lye drained from wood ashes and then boiled with refuse fat. Candles were molded from the tallow of the slaughtered beef. The orchard supplied fruit, cider, and vinegar. "Sweetening" came from the "sugar bush" or the patch of sorghum cane. Farm machinery did not exist, and the wooden parts of the farm implements were made on the place, the iron parts being furnished by a crossroads blacksmith.

Since this period the development of machine industry has concentrated in towns at least five sixths of the making industries which formerly supplied the wants of the farm family. Nor can we foresee that any rural handiwork, except the preparation of food products for consumption by the family, is likely to escape the power-driven machine. In some regions, perhaps, specialization has gone too far. Thanks to girls' canning clubs, sewing clubs, and the like, the people of the grain-growing regions in particular will become less dependent on the city for their food and clothing. Nevertheless, there will be left outside the towns few who do not give their entire effort and attention to some purely extractive industry like agriculture, mining, or lumbering.

3. *Development of farm machinery.* The use of farm machinery for nearly everything needing to be done on the farm releases many of the farm folk for city jobs.

4. *Development of the gasoline engine.* Lately oil wells and refiners are taking the place of the pastures, meadows, and crops that nourished the draft animals formerly bred and raised by farmers. The number of such animals has been cut to a half.

5 *More money goes for town labor.* The poor lay out most of their income on *food*—i.e., farm produce; but, as people prosper, more of their gain in purchasing power goes



Data supplied by Census Bureau

Population in places of 8000 inhabitants or more at each census from 1790 to 1930. A comparison of the first eight of these columns with the last seven brings out the tremendous development of life off the farm in the last two generations

to support factory rather than farm. This is because the better the article, the more of its value lies in *workmanship* and the less in *material*. Of the price of the fine shoe, less goes for leather than of the price of the brogan. Compare pastry with bread, the business suit with blue jeans, porcelain with crockery. The coarser goods mostly represent *extraction*, which is a countryman's job; the finer goods, *elaboration*, which is a townsman's job. Hence, as people live better, more of their money goes for town labor and less for country labor.

6. *Improvement in living conditions.* Both city and country are improving, but which improves faster? In our time the city has gained electric street railways, electric lights, asphalt pavements, pneumatic tires bringing a reduction of street noises, purer water, parks, playgrounds, public baths, social centers, housing regulation, palatial free high schools, and municipal universities. The open country has gained better roads, the oiled highway, the automobile

and autobus, rural mail delivery, the telephone, in some homes acetylene gas and running water, and in some localities the consolidated school and the community house. On the whole, town life is outstripping country life, and the town's lead in attractiveness constantly broadens.

7. *Make-up of the city population.* Farming is so much a man's job that rural widows and spinsters undertaking self-support generally remove to the city. On the other hand, a farmer with aged parents or several small children is shy about going to the city, where living is dear. Hence, the city drains from the country young adults, unencumbered, leaving behind an excess of aged and children. A third of our city dwellers are between twenty-five and forty-four years of age, but only 23 per cent of our farm people are. No wonder the growing city hums with energy and glows with hope, while the countryside is reserved, deliberate, and conservative.

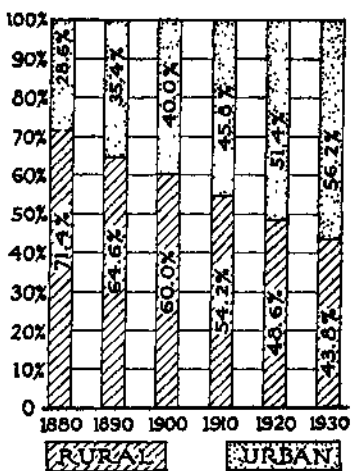
Overseas migration drops people down in our cities and there most of them stay. After our frontier came to an end, foreign immigration saturated American cities with foreign-born and contributed more to their upbuilding than the tide from the farms. Hence the open country, especially in the South, is a stronghold of old Americanism, while the city is a Babel. About *two thirds* of our farmers are native stock; in the great cities a bare *quarter* is. But the foreign stock, which is represented on the farms by *two tenths*, makes up *seven tenths* of the myriads in New York City.

Who is more forlorn than a lone man or a lone woman on the farm? Since boarding houses are unsuited to the country, farming *commands* people to marry; and they obey. "The city discourages marriage about 10 per cent." Country people marry younger than city people, keep together longer and, in case the union is broken by death or divorce, are more likely to remarry. Family life rules in country rather than in city because on the farm the family is

the more natural unit for life and work. There is a *social* as well as an *economic* reason for the less-marriedness of city dwellers. The city is supposed to offer numberless opportunities for congenial people to meet. To starve for companionship in the city seems as queer as thirsting at the brink of a lake. Yet cities are composed of distinct social groups, the members of which have little touch with the life of other groups. And these groups in turn are composed of smaller circles or of individuals whose opportunities of normal companionship with those of the other sex vary greatly. This is why

some young people who migrate to the city are no better off for companionship than they were on the farm. No doubt there are numbers of young people in the city who would like to marry but do not meet the right mate.

The city family has fewer children than the farm family because children are more of a burden to it and less of an asset. The raising of a large family costs a farmer much less than it does a city dweller, unless the city children are sent to the factory. In the South the size of the town family is about half that of the farm family. In the North, however, we do not find this contrast, for many of the foreign-born of the cities think little about how family size will affect them.



Data supplied by Census Bureau

Distribution of the population of the United States at certain dates. It has been prophesied that the growth of cities at the expense of the country will continue until in 1975 the 1880 proportion will be reversed.

Do the cities attract the cream of the country? There is reason for thinking that the rush from farms to the city impoverishes the country. The distinguishing trait of those who thrill to the call of the distant city is the *spirit of initiative*. Had they never left home, they would have been among the first in the community to better their way of farming, introduce a new crop, start a new industry, or push some community enterprise; so their going leaves their neighborhood poorer in natural leaders.

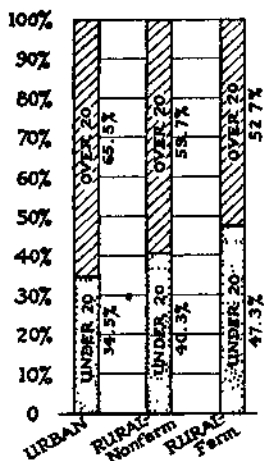
This is bad because natural leaders are *key persons*. Not only is it they who start good things, but they keep up to the mark the various institutions which minister to the higher life of the country community, such as the church, the school, the debating society, the grange, the rural club. Often one sees a sad slump in the religious, social, and recreative life of the neighborhood after two or three families of initiative have moved away. Usually those who insist upon and know how to get good schools, strong churches, and merry social gatherings are a minority, often a tiny minority. The loss of even the best tenth of its people may cut down by a half the support the community gives to higher interests.

Rural "degeneration." In country localities which have been losing population for a long time the flitting of young people who would have become leaders results at last in community decline. The roads are neglected, which means less resort to school and church and town. The school is allowed to run down and the farmers take up the idea that it always pays to hire the cheaper teacher. The church gets in a rut and fails to start up the activities which bind young people to it; presently it ceases to be a force or even goes to pieces. In such backward localities the young people give themselves to frivolity because there are none to take the lead in organizing singing schools, glee clubs, literary societies, or debating clubs. If the community continues to lose in

population, a generation grows up that has missed the uplifting and refining influence of school and church and club. People are plainly not up to the level of their forefathers. They are coarser in their tastes and care less for the higher things.

We see, then, that the double pull — of city and of frontier — has acted on the rural population in the older parts of the country like a cream separator. In New England there are rural counties which have been losing their bright minds for three or four generations. The number of loafers in some slackwater villages of the Middle West proclaims that the natural leaders of the community have gone elsewhere to create prosperity. In parts of southern Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and even as far west as Missouri, there are country neighborhoods which remind one of fished-out ponds.

This, then, is the root of "the problem of the country," which in the last quarter-century has given so much anxiety. The situation is one which is bound to arise in any community that has been drained of its natural leaders. The remedy is to check the flow of choice country brains to the city, and the means of doing this are well understood. Give the young people on the farms more social and recreative opportunities ; tie up the work of the country school with the life



Data supplied by
Census Bureau

The child crop in country* and town. About half the people on farms are under twenty, while in the cities only about a third are. In round numbers this means that, on the average, every adult on a farm is supporting one young person, while in the city five adults divide the burden of supporting three children. The cases where persons under twenty are self-supporting does not seriously affect this proportion.'

on the farm; let the rural church get a new vision of its task; dispel the false glamour in which the distant city is seen; cease favoring industry at the expense of agriculture; and show the bright country youth the best ways of gearing his brains and knowledge to farming.

How city dwellers differ from country dwellers. Human nature is everywhere the same, but it develops according to its surroundings; and the biggest contrast in surroundings is between farm and town. The pace of the city mind is quicker. It skates on surfaces, life being so full of impressions that there is little time for reflection. Compare the number of sights and sounds which hail one in the city street with the number one meets in the country lane. Compare the big headlines, color, dramatic posters, and winking lights which have to be used in order to capture attention in the city with the modest sale notice posted at the crossroads. The things the city dweller noticeably looks at or listens to in a day must be several times as many as those that engage the farmer's mind. As a result, one farmer stagnates; another reflects but never gets anywhere, for he is mulling over his personal experiences, his little stock of inherited political or theological dogmas, the scraps of information gleaned from his weekly newspaper. And then, too, there is the farmer of trained mind who, furnished by his schooling with orderly knowledge and supplied with trustworthy current data, works out sound conclusions by his own thinking.

The city rush gives mental alertness and a quick "come-back"; also snapshot judgments and shallow thinking. You may long ply country folk with facts and ideas and seem to get no response. But the impressions accumulate and after a while a fixed purpose has been built up. Once you have made them distrustful of liquor or the party machine or the demagogue or "big business," they will hold that distrust for years. City dwellers, on the other hand, are sooner

hot and sooner cool. Many never arrive at a conviction or a purpose, but drift along in obedience to the impressions which rain upon them.

The city does not favor the basic economic virtues, such as foresight and frugality. The farmer is rated according to his evidences of *production* — his big barns, tight fences, weedless fields, and fat stock. The city man is rated according to his *consumption*; his clothes, residence, furnishings, style of entertaining, fix his social marking. Country life, then, suggests " Save! " City life suggests " Spend! "

Again, one is most stimulated to thrift when one's present savings will lighten future labor. The farmer pinches now so that next year a windmill may relieve his aching arms, or the band saw take the strain off his shoulders. Besides, his saving is invested under his eyes and earns him much more than a paltry seven per cent. The tiles he lays through his slough may pay for themselves in three years; so, likewise, the new barn, the improved dairy herd, or the self-binder. On the other hand, the typical city dweller rents his savings to someone else and is rewarded not in a vivid personal experience, but in an annual five or six per cent from some remote company whose directors he does not know and whose business he has never seen and would not understand.

The country neighborhood holds up its backward and wabby members better than the city. It has one standard for all, and if you don't come up to it you're an outcast. So each does his best to behave as the community expects him to behave. In the city, however, there is not one community but hundreds. If you want to fling money about, you can get " in " with spendthrifts; if you want to gamble, you go with the " sports "; if you would live by crime, there is the " underworld." On the other hand, if you have a bent for study or saintliness or poetry, you find circles thtft will

give you an encouragement you would never get in the ordinary country community. In the city, then, each is more stimulated *to follow the demands of his own nature* than in the rural community.

The future of cities. One may well doubt if human beings will be content to live always as divorced from nature as our city dwellers do. Certainly there is no longer need for them to do so. Now that we are in the era of the inter-urban railway and automobile, it is possible that we shall see ere long a great scattering of city folk into the small places and the open country. Helping to huddle people in cities, there are tens of thousands of factories which would go on just as well in little towns, where the worker could hope to own a cottage with a grass plot in front and a garden behind. In dreary brick-lined streets live millions of wage earners who are perfectly able to live ten miles out and vibrate between home and work at a daily cost of forty minutes and twenty cents. Bound by the chains of habit, most of them will go on living as they always have lived. But will their children make homes there when the green fields beckon? It may be that *an a place of residence* the city will largely melt away into suburbs and suburban towns.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What are the causes of urban growth?
2. How does city population compare with country population as regards ages and sexes?
3. Why are there more men in the country? more old people? more natives? more conservatives?
4. Compare city with country with respect to family life.
5. How do those quitting the farm compare in type with those who stay?
6. Account for rural "degeneration" in some spots.
7. Why is the country now holding more of the bright youths?

8. Compare the effect of surroundings on the city-bred and on the country-bred.

9. Why are the cities likely to lose ground as places of residence ?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Is it to be regretted that in one hundred and forty years our urban element has grown from 3 per cent of our people to 56 per cent?

2. Will the movement to the cities continue ? Why ?

3. Is a rural population likely to be radical or conservative in politics? Or when is it likely to be radical, and when conservative?

4. Which is more likely to cooperate efficiently with his fellows, the city-bred or the country-bred ?

5. Compare country people with city people in their acceptance of leadership.

6. Why is the rural family generally more closely knit and more stable than the urban family ?

7. Account for the fact that in the United States in 1920 the number of children under five years of age to 1000 native white women from twenty to forty-four was for the cities of over one hundred thousand population, 341; for the rural parts, 721.

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. From the last United States Census find out the proportion of men twenty-five to forty-four years of age in those rural counties of your state which made no gain in population in the last decade. Compare this proportion with that of a growing city.

2. From the pamphlet studies of *Church and Country Life* made by the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, find the traits characteristic of a stagnating neighborhood. (Write to the Board at New York City.)

3. Make a study of the work done by your state agricultural college for people away from its campus. Is it helping *your* community ? If so, how ?

4. Study farmers' organizations, past and present, especially Grange and Farm Bureau, with reference to their effect on the drift from the farm to the city. (For the Grange, read A, Chapter 4.)

5. With the aid of a modern history textbook, or M. J. Bonn's *Modern Ireland and the Agrarian Problem*, compare tenancy in Ireland two or three generations ago with tenancy in the United States today. (Read F.)

DEBATE

Resolved, That in order to hold more of the bright young people on the farms, special state aid should be extended to rural schools.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE SPREAD OF THE MACHINE PROCESS

- I. The machine process here to stay
- II. Results of the introduction of the machine process
 - 1. The tyranny of the iron man
 - 2. Cause of unrest among well-paid workers
- III. Problems arising from the ascendancy of the machine process
 - 1. Length of the working day
 - 2. Child labor
 - 3. Working women
 - 4. Industrial accidents
 - 5. Industrial diseases
 - 6. Unemployment
 - a. Causes for unemployment
 - b. Social effects of unemployment
 - (1) Lessened income
 - (2) Destruction of the worker's efficiency
 - (3) Effects on the family
 - (4) Industrial and political unrest
 - (5) Social demoralization
 - c. Remedies for unemployment

If the earth's axis were to shift until the North Pole were in Labrador, every climate in the world would be changed. In like fashion, the substituting in the last hundred and seventy years of the machine for the tool, and of engines and dynamos for human muscles, has had a most upsetting effect on human relations. While it has brought unspeakable blessings, it has raised up a swarm of social problems which we have to puzzle over. Of course, we are glad to have the locomotive, the steam shovel, the self-binder, the power press, the pneumatic riveter, and the compressed-air drill, even if problems follow in their train. But it must be recognized that, thanks to the genius of inventors, we are like mariners being carried on a mysterious Gulf Stream to an unknown

bourne. We do not intend to quit the stream, but it behooves us to take our bearings from time to time; and that is just what we shall do in this chapter.

The machine process is here to stay. It is great to have a motor car and everybody wants one, although well he knows there are more risks in driving a car than in walking. A machine tender may at times feel himself to be only an attachment to iron mechanism, but he rarely yearns for a return to an era of hand labor and all it involves. How many would go barefoot if shoes were made by hand instead of by sixty machines! How many floors would be bare if carpets were woven still in hand looms! Few, indeed, could afford sewing machines, clothes wringers, washing machines, refrigerators, bathtubs, plumbing, telephones, easy chairs, cameras, bicycles, radio outfits, or talking machines, were these made by hand. The supreme triumph of machine production is the fitting out of Americans with twenty-seven million automobiles — enough to give us all a ride at the same time. For better or worse, then, we are in the age of machines and shall never return to the age of tools.

The iron man. In olden times the worker guided the tool; in modern production machinery guides the worker. Automatic and semi-automatic machines make small demands upon the wits of the operative. The skill of the designer has been built into the machines, so that the person who tends them does not have to think; it is enough if he is attentive. Consider how in an automobile factory the frame of a car moves along a conveyer before groups of men, each of whom performs on it a certain specified task, for which just so much time is allowed. One attaches the right front wheel; another the left rear wheel; a third tightens certain screws with a pneumatic wrench. Each man performs the same task over and over — tightens identical nuts, lifts identical parts off a rack, and applies each one of them precisely to a something

that is exactly like its predecessor to the thousandth of an inch. The accurate, monotonous toil goes on swiftly amid the hissing of air valves, roar of drying ovens, clatter of tools, thunder of trucks coming and going. Some of these operations involve much muscular effort, others little; but whether little or much, each operative uses the same set of muscles for about the same length of time in each repetition of his assigned operation.¹

In general, it is not the muscles that are overtaxed in machine production but the nerves. A man may use merely his fingertips feeding metal disks into a machine, and yet be as tired in the evening as if he had been swinging an ax. The lumberjack's weariness is an all-round fatigue, and he is ready for bed at sundown; whereas industrial workers are restless and display astonishing energy in after-work pursuits. Books and quiet conversation do not appeal strongly to men who feel that, while they get their livings *in* the shop, they must lead their lives *outside* the shop.

Our ancestors were woods creatures with a taste for hunting, tracking, roving, prying, and contriving — the things that children love to play at. When hunting failed them and they went to tilling the soil, they made their first acquaintance with drudgery. Then began the struggle with "laziness" and the invention of whips to drive themselves through unstimulating tasks. But the husbandman working with growing things out of doors and in touch with farm animals is a glad child of nature compared with the modern factory hand, all day long feeding metal plates to a punching machine. The machine process splits work up so fine that many find in it no such zest as the cabinetmaker or wood carver finds in his work. Repetition and monotony go against the grain of human nature. This want of appeal to our inborn tendencies is supposed to explain the unrest which often shows itself in

¹ Adapted from Arthur Pound's *The Iron Man in Industry*.

well-paid and well-treated workers. It is an evil for which no remedy is in sight.

The length of the working day. In handicraft industry the artisan works with his own tools in his own shop at his own pace, beginning and ending the day to suit himself. He "knocks off" a bit to stretch himself or smoke a pipe. Today he may be up with the lark in order to quit early; tomorrow he may sleep late and make up for it by working into the night. But in the factory this go-as-you-please gait gives way to a pace of labor regulated by the machine. Often, through the man in the engine room, the employer can speed up work throughout the shop; so that the working day has fewer short resting spells than in the hand-tool epoch.

Much light has been thrown on the question of hours of labor by studies in fatigue. They show that fatigue is due to poisons which are the by-products of muscular exertion. If juices from the body of a tired dog are injected into the body of a fresh dog, the latter immediately becomes tired. In the laboratory, an excised muscle may be made to contract so many times that it refuses to respond further; then if the poisons are washed out, the muscle will contract again. These poisons accumulate while we work hard and are got rid of by the lungs, pores, and kidneys, or are neutralized in the body during periods of rest. If the rest is long enough, the poisons will be gone and the worker will start the next period of labor as fresh as ever. But if the labor is too hard or the period of rest too short, not all the poisons are got rid of. So they gradually accumulate until fatigue becomes chronic and the worker is no longer "up to the mark." Here is solid ground for the one day's rest in seven and the Saturday afternoon off.

Because machinery adds enormously to the worker's output and because often it "takes it out" of him, drains him more quickly of his daily stock of energy, the question of

reduction of hours of labor has long been an important one. A century ago the prevailing hours of labor in manufacturing were twelve a day. Eighty years ago American workers were, agitating and striking to get them down to ten. About forty years ago a strong movement to bring in the eight-hour day began. Thanks chiefly to the advantage given working-men by the labor shortage during the World War, the curtailment of working hours finally came with surprising speed. In 1909 one fourteenth of the workers in manufacturing had a week of forty-eight hours or less; in 1914, a ninth; in 1919 nearly one half; in 1930, probably three quarters. In order to get more people back to work, the National Recovery Administration in 1933 and 1934 cut the working week to forty or even fewer hours.

In practically every important case where it has been tried, the shortening of the working day has resulted in no decrease of the product per man; often, indeed, it results in an actual increase. This shows that the eight-hour day might just as well have been introduced thirty years earlier, with infinite benefit to the workers and without loss to the employers.

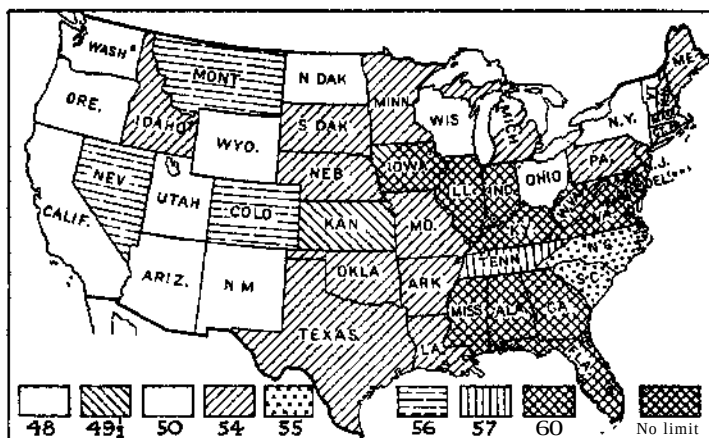
Child labor. The power-driven machine lifts much of the strain from human muscles, and every year there is more light-running machinery which even a child can tend. Hence, modern industry draws in children in increasing numbers. Since these children have to work for as long a day as the adults and at the pace set by the machine, the effects upon the child's stamina and growth have often been frightful. Farmers do not hitch colts to the plow; slave-owners did not work the children of their slaves over-early. These were *property* and the owner knew that it *would not pay* to work creatures so young. But in the case of their, own children, some ignorant or heartless parents will, for the sake of a few daily dimes, let them be spoiled by prematute toil.

Then, too, working children miss school, which every year

is more a tragedy. With the chance to learn and to acquire skill, the youthful worker may hope to raise himself; but if deprived of this chance, he faces a dead-level existence. The penalty for ignorance becomes more and more like that pronounced by the judge upon some of the worst criminals — "Hard labor for life." So society becomes restless at the spectacle of swarms of weaklings, incompetents, and illiterates which it must care for, raised up by the meanness of some parents and the greed of some employers. About half the states keep children under fourteen in the schoolroom and protect them from night work and the long working day.

But in some parts manufacturers are free to go to the limit in using the labor of children, and their competition imperils the policy of the advanced states. The 1930 census revealed seven states in which a tenth or more of the children ten to fifteen years of age are gainfully employed. So the feeling has spread among those most interested in child welfare that the evil must be dealt with by the nation, rather than only by the states. Two attempts to regulate child labor by acts of Congress having been pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, an attempt has been made to bring about the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress concurrent power with the states to regulate the labor of those under eighteen years of age.

Working women. Women, too, are being drawn into industry — in part because machinery creates millions of jobs which are not beyond a woman's strength and in part because there is less that they can produce to advantage in the home. In 1880, 14.7 per cent of the females over ten years of age were earning; fifty years later, 22.1 per cent. The army of "female gainful workers" has risen above ten millions and is largely composed of young women. A fourth of those in mills and stores are sixteen to twenty years of age, another fourth are twenty-one to twenty-five. These younger girls



Data supplied by Women's Bureau

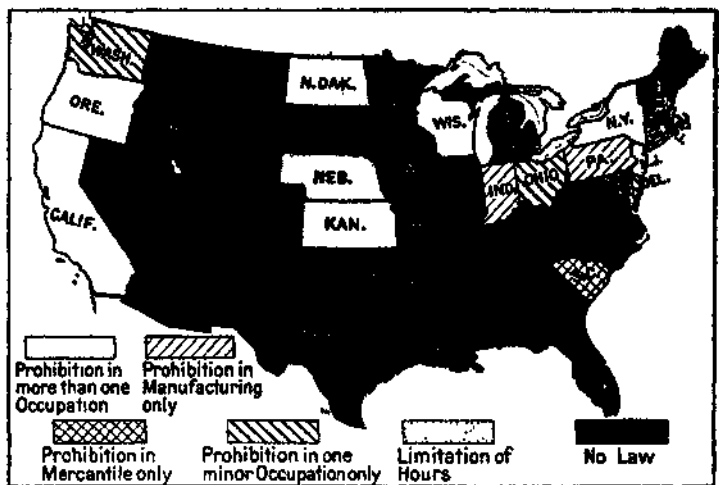
Legal working hours for women in the various states. Thirty-two states limit the working week for women to between forty-eight and fifty-six hours. In five states there is no legal limit.

are all the time replacing the working women who marry and go into homes. A great and increasing proportion of the young w^men who are destined to become the wives and mothers of Americans first spend a few years as wage earners.

In their parents' homes girls are usually surrounded by conditions shaped by affection. Married, they pass into another home and there should find conditions shaped by affection. But while they are out earning money, somewhere between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, they are under conditions not shaped by anybody who cares for them. Can they protect themselves? Hardly. The girl under twenty is not likely to realize what standing all day is doing to her, what sitting on a backless seat is doing to her, what a "rush" pace is doing to her, Too often the conditions under which they work drain of that vitality which ought

to be hoarded to enable them to meet later the strains of home making and motherhood.

There is a tendency for the wages of working women to sink low. Investigators agreed in 1914 that a living wage for a woman under American conditions was eight dollars a week, and that seven dollars represented bare existence. Yet it was found then that, among women and girls working outside the homes and professions, almost half earned less than six dollars a week; three fourths, less than eight dollars. In 1914 the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Board, which included several employers, agreed after many inquiries and much discussion that \$8.71 a week was the least that a working woman could live decently on and keep her health and strength. Then the returns came in from a certain industry, showing that *nine tenths* of the women in this industry were paid less than this amount. In about half the states surveyed in 1924 by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor in a study of women's wages, a majority of the women were earning less than the least that the National Industrial Conference Board — representing the employers — figured a working woman could live decently upon. A government bulletin, "Women in Florida Industries," shows the working women in Florida getting a median wage of \$15.10 a week in 1930. The Women's Bureau also studied the wages of about six hundred women at the Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers in industry — a group made up of women probably at the height of their earning power — and found that the median weekly wage of these women in 1930 was \$21.38; and that 26.2 per cent of them earned less than \$16 a week. The total yearly earnings averaged \$793. No doubt in many cases women workers are girls living at home, so that their wages are their pin money; but such low pay is hard on those workers who have to live on their earnings.



Data supplied by Women's Bureau

Night-work laws for women in the various states. Eighteen states regulate in some way the night work of women.

Of course, there are reasons for such excessively low pay. Working girls do not struggle against bad conditions as men do. The girls are less resentful than the men are and more ready to take things as they come. Most of them are too young and inexperienced in industry to realize what organization might do for them. They do not believe in it, are not farsighted enough, know too little of economics. Again, four fifths will marry. When urged to join a union, pay dues, risk their jobs making an effort to adjust matters with their employers — as will men who know that all their lives long they will have to be workers — the girls think: "What's the use? Next year I may be married and it wouldn't make any difference."

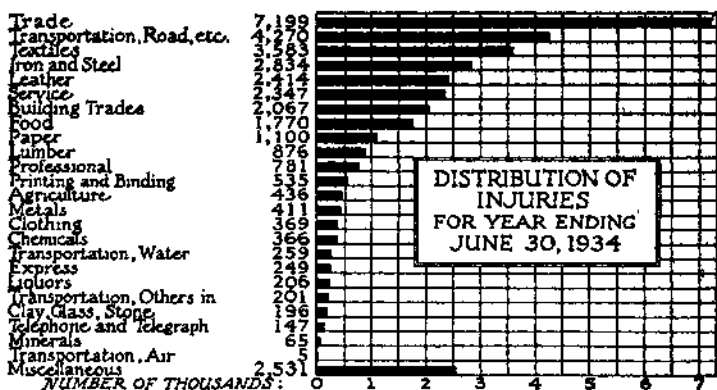
Nor can the humane employers always make things better for their girls. When competition is keen, one has to conform to the practice of one's competitors. A laundryman

may hate to keep the girls working four hours extra on Saturday night or on Sunday, or to work them beyond their strength; nevertheless, the price of laundering is fixed by the cost in other laundries where all these things are done; so he is obliged to conform in order to keep his business. You may get most employers to agree that the pace they are forcing upon their working girls is too hard; and yet, if one employer does not look at it that way and persists in exacting this pace, the rest may have to do as he does. He can oblige them to conform to him, whereas they cannot oblige him to conform to them.

The conclusion is that only *society* can completely do away with conditions which menace the health, strength, or morals of considerable bodies of working women. This is why we are constantly extending the protection the law throws about them.

Industrial accidents. As more and more the worker moves in the midst of heavy machinery and dangerous appliances, he runs a greater risk of being injured without fault on his part. The danger of accidents in mines and steel plants, on fishing boats and railways, is known to all. It has been calculated that in 1934 there occurred in American industry 16,000 fatal accidents and approximately 2,250,000 time-loss accidents. The total direct money cost of these has been computed to be not much below a billion dollars. Indirect costs of industrial accidents have sometimes been estimated at four times the direct costs.

The more plainly the bulk of such accidents arise from the nature of the work and not from the fault of the worker, the more ashamed we are to let *all* the burden fall on the worker and his family. The anguish, the mutilation or death, will be borne by them in any case; but we who consume the products of dangerous industries ought to pay the doctors' bills and the wages of those hurt in getting out the product



Data supplied by Massachusetts Department of Industrial Accidents

Distribution, according to industries, of injuries of industrial origin in Massachusetts for year ending June 30, 1934.

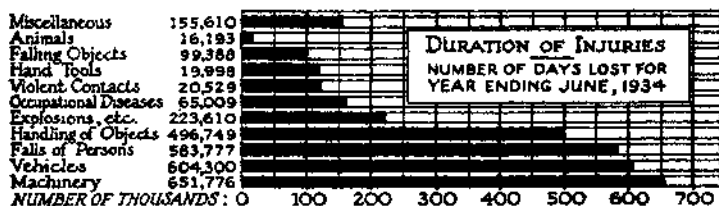
for us. When you buy a keg of powder, you pay not only for the cost of making that powder but part of the cost of all the powder that blew up accidentally; and once every seven years you and other buyers have to pay for the mill itself, because on an average of once in seven years, they say, the whole thing is blown up. Queer, isn't it, that in paying for the powder you get, you pay also for powder you never get? But stranger yet is it that, until the law provides for it, you pay nothing at all for the men killed when the mills blow up. When you buy coal, you pay for a fraction of all the damage from explosions in that mine, but nothing for the human beings who have been maimed or destroyed. Can it be right that there should be charged in the cost of products to the consumer the unavoidable wreckage of property, but not the unavoidable wreckage of men?

Such thinking* has prompted all our states, except four, to provide that employers must pay some compensation for

the wage losses sustained by workers injured in the course of their employment. Still, only about half of all employees enjoy such protection. In some states the compensation is not more than a quarter of the wages lost by the injured workman, whereas many experts think that it ought to be from a half to two thirds of the wage loss.

The authorities agree that at least three quarters of the losses from industrial accidents can be avoided. In 1930 this would have meant a saving of nearly a quarter of a billion dollars a year to employers and half a billion dollars to employees. A great many safety devices have now been installed, which might just as well have been in use a generation ago. Glass hoods ward off fine steel splinters from the emery wheel. A frame is ready to catch the fragments of a grindstone in case it should whirl itself in pieces. Goggles cover the metal-grinder's eyes. Safety nets catch the falling workmen or falling tools. A full half of accident reduction comes from changing the habits of workmen by educating them through talks, films, plays, and posters, and by arousing their watchfulness through safety committees.

Industrial diseases. When a hundred men in a big shop are doing something which creates dust or fumes, injury is harder to avoid than when one worker does the same thing in his own shop. So in modern industry there are various diseases known to grow out of occupations. Among such are lead poisoning, anthrax from the handling of hides, skin infections from acids or other irritants, neuritis, telegraphers' cramp, and the "bends" of caisson workers. Little has been learned about such diseases; but the more the matter is studied, the greater is the number of bodily ills which are seen to grow out of occupations. It has been estimated that 5,600,000, or over 11 per cent, of American wage earners work under conditions more or less bad for the health because of dust, fumes, or gases. It is easy to see that such



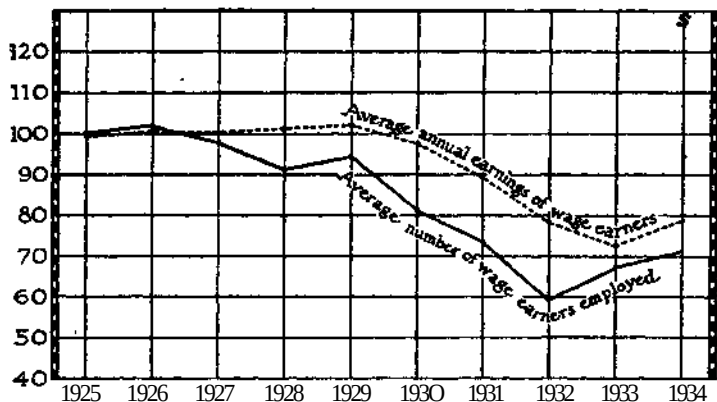
Data supplied by Massachusetts Department of Industrial Accidents

Duration of injuries of industrial origin in Massachusetts
for year ending June 30, 1934.

evils should be attacked in much the same way as industrial accidents have been attacked.

Unemployment. Probably the worst evil growing out of machine production is great ups and downs in employment. In the days of handicraft the worker's income, while small, was surer than it is today. One reason is that business nowadays moves in great waves a few years apart, and in the troughs between these waves business is dull and millions of men may be laid off. Within a few months in 1930-1921, 53 per cent of those in the automobile industry lost their jobs; likewise, a third of the workers in leather and hosiery industries and more than a quarter of those in iron and steel, woollens, and boots and shoes. At one time in 1921, five and a half millions of men were reported to be out of work. In 1933 the number of unemployed exceeded thirteen millions. Another cause of unemployment is the great fluctuation of activity from season to season in such branches as the building trades, coal mining, and garment making, to say nothing of farming, canning, and logging. The social effects of unemployment are dreadful.

1. *Lessened income.* This is a big factor in family demoralization. The United Charities of Chicago report that "unsteady work, caused a little over one half the applications for help."



Data supplied by Massachusetts Department of Industrial Accidents

Trend of employment and of average weekly earnings in manufactories in Massachusetts. Toward the end of 1931 less than 60 per cent of the number at work-seven years earlier were employed. In 1932 employment increased about 8 per cent although wages continued to decrease for another year.

2. *Destruction of the worker's efficiency.* Unemployment makes good workers bad; saps self-respect and the sense of responsibility; creates a tendency to blame others for one's failure; prevents thrift and hope of family advancement; sends a man to work worried and underfed.

3. *Effects on the family.* It forces the mother out of the home to supplement the earnings of the man. It takes children from school at the earliest possible moment and places them in industry. It forces the family to move into poorer quarters.

4. *Industrial and political unrest.* The man long unemployed is likely to become embittered against industrial and political conditions.

5. *Social demoralization.* The morale of the unemployed man is likely to be broken down by spells of idleness; time lies heavy upon his hands; and presently even the good workman may become desperate. In the dull time of 1914 men

committed petty crimes in order that they might be sent to the workhouse, where they were sure of their keep while their wives might draw from the city fifty cents a day.

Relief for the unemployed. Our industries are run not to meet human needs but in order to make a profit. When a profit is no longer in sight, the wheels stop and workers are turned into the street. In recent years there has been much talk of "stabilizing industry," but the immense unemployment of 1930-1935 demonstrates that industry has not been stabilized. There is not the slightest reason to doubt that there will be other, perhaps worse, industrial depressions, when through no fault of their own millions of competent and willing workers will be jobless. Private charity is too degrading and demoralizing to be relied on for such an emergency. There is no prospect that the masses of unskilled and semiskilled whose wages are lowest will be able during employment to save enough to carry them through months, or even years of unemployment. As for unemployment insurance provided by private employers and corporations, not one worker in one hundred is covered by a guaranteed employment or unemployment compensation plan. In lieu of adequate alternative there has been a great growth lately of demand for state unemployment insurance such as has been provided in Great Britain, France, and Germany.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What are the reasons for judging that the machine process is here to stay?
2. What effect does machine production have upon the physical and mental condition of the worker?
3. What is the cause of the unrest which sometimes shows itself in well-paid and well-treated workers?
4. What problem must be solved in regard to the length of the working day? What have been the results of shortening the working day?

5. What are the social problems caused by child labor ?
6. What conditions of modern industry drain young women of their vitality ? How could this be prevented ?
7. Why are the wages of women lower than those of men ? What could women do to remedy this ?
8. Why is it necessary to extend the protection of laws in order to protect women in industry ?
9. What has been the extent of industrial accidents ?
10. Estimate the extent of industrial diseases.
11. Give the causes, social effects, and remedies for unemployment.

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Why did the workers at the beginning of the machine era resist the installing of labor-saving machines ? Do the workers feel the same today ? Why, or why not ?
2. What type of education should be given to those who are likely to become modern industrial workers ?
3. "Shorter hours result in more production/" Comment on this statement.
4. Comment on the following: "As long as there is one workman unemployed, the hours of labor are too long."
5. Is this old jingle true ?

"Whether you work by the piece or the day,
Decreasing the hours increases the pay."
6. Comment on the saying, "Statistics can prevent accidents."
7. Should occupational diseases be compensated for as well as occupational accidents ?
8. Is it true that a good man can always find a job ?
9. Is the presence of women and children in industry the cause of unemployment ?
10. Does society owe anyone a living ?
11. Would unemployment insurance tend to promote laziness ?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Should women receive pay equal to men's for equal work ? If they did, what effect would it have on (a) the employment of women, (b) men's wages ? (Read I, pages 161-108.)
2. Present the arguments for the eight-hour day. Write to the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., for bulletins.

3. Study the Workman's Compensation Act of your state. Write to the United States Department of Labor for bulletins on this subject. (Read K, pages 262-264.)

4. Study the causes and results of unemployment. (Read C, Chapter 17, and D, Chapter 28.)

5. What does the United States Department of Labor recommend with respect to the hours during which women may be employed? What are the standards of this department with respect to the wages of women? (Read K, pages 257-259.)

6. Report on the working conditions of some factory or department store near you.

7. Report on the safety-first movement in your town.

DEBATE

Resolved, That the Federal Constitution should be amended so as to permit the states to adopt a minimum-wage law for working women. (Read J.L Chapter 34.)

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE EXPANSION OF THE SOCIAL MIND

Results of the improvement of the means of communication

1. Creation of a national society
 - a. Isolation in early America
 - b. Decay of neighborhood
 - c. Lengthening radius of sympathy
2. Democracy strengthened
3. Communication and organization
4. Growth in social consciousness affects legislation

Could John Winthrop have foreseen that descendants of his might cross the Atlantic by airplane in fifteen hours, he would have felt sure that a bargain with the Devil lay behind it. Peter Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam, later New York, would have smelled witchcraft if assured that some day a man might leave his town in mid-afternoon, sitting in a long, comfortable room, and reach the foot of Lake Michigan in time for the opening of business next day. Benjamin Franklin was not a man to be staggered at the wonders wrought by science, but even he would have been dazed to know that the day would come when the President of the United States would speak directly into the ears of millions of his constituents. The inventors of our time are greater wizards than were ever imagined in fairy tales, and only the everyday "film of familiarity" keeps us from living in a state of chronic amazement at the marvels which occur about us.

Social effect of improvement of the means of communication. However, it is not the modern miracles themselves but the *social consequences* of these miracles that we shall consider here. Steamboat, railroad, automobile, and airplane in the conveyance of persons and mail, and telegraph, telephone, and radio in the transmission of news and ideas are creating a national society such as has not been known

since the days of the tiny Greek city-state, where all the citizens could come together in one assembly and listen to the oration of the head of the state.

In the absence of communication the human imagination is like a waste patch of ground which is sure to bear a crop of weeds. Peoples neighboring but sundered come to have the falsest ideas of each other. In the mountainous Caucasus it is possible for peoples of adjacent valleys to regard each other as cutthroats and brigands because a mile-high mountain wall divides them. If some magic could gradually lower this mountain wall, we should see an increasing going back and forth between the valleys and a slow fading out of the false notions each has of the other. If the mountain wall disappeared entirely, there should be in time no more bad blood between these peoples than there is between those of the upper end of the valley and those of the lower end. It is true that nearness does not always breed friendship. Not every person or people improves on acquaintance. On the whole, however, closer communication kills a great deal more hostility than it begets. Now, distance brings about misunderstandings just as a mountain wall does, and the wiping out of distance has the same social effect as the breaking down of a mountain chain.

Isolation in early America. At the beginning of our life as a nation, the people of the states were sparse, aloof, and strangers to one another to a degree we can hardly imagine today. Says Professor C. H. Cooley:

In the United States at the close of the eighteenth century, public consciousness of any active kind was confined to small localities. Travel was slow, uncomfortable, and costly, and people undertaking a considerable journey often made their wills beforehand. The newspapers, appearing weekly in the larger towns, were entirely lacking in what we should call news; and the number of letters sent during a year in all the thirteen states was much less than that handled by the New York post office in a single day.

People are far more alive today to what is going on in China, if it happens to interest them, than they were then to events a hundred miles away. The isolation of even large towns from the rest of the world, and the consequent introversion of men's minds upon local concerns, was something we can hardly conceive. In the country, "the environment of the farm was the neighborhood; the environment of the village was the encircling farms and the local traditions; . . . few' conventions assembled for discussion and common action; educational centers did not radiate the shock of a new intellectual life to every hamlet; federations and unions did not hind men, near and remote, into that fellowship that makes one composite type of many human sorts. It was an age of sects, intolerant from lack of acquaintance."

The change to the present regime of railroads, telegraphs, daily papers, telephones, and the rest, has involved a revolution in every phase of life: in commerce, in politics, in education, even in mere sociability and gossip — this revolution always consisting in an enlargement and quickening of the kind of life in question,

Decay of neighborhood. Improved communication is permitting a new pattern of social grouping to emerge. The early American settlement was a mutual-aid community where barn-raising, husking bees, exchange of work, and neighborly nursing were the common thing. Stowed in a four-seated farm wagon large families would descend upon distant kinsfolk for a two-day visit. The automobile now enables the farm family to reach more relatives, but the visits are shorter. Telephone and car weaken the sense of dependency upon one's next neighbors; what does nearness amount to when within twenty minutes the whole family may be on the doorstep of friends ten miles away? With every extension of smooth highways the rural neighborhood tends to break up, its more alert and restless members finding satisfying acquaintances in other neighborhoods or in town. Hence among farmers the *interest* group, based upon common tastes or purposes, is more and more replacing the *locality* group, based on nearness of homes.

In the city the *neighborhood*, the members of which invest their entire selves in the neighbor relation, has pretty well disappeared; in its place are a variety of single-interest groupings which have little or no connection with dwelling place. It is no longer necessary to live close to those with whom, having common interests, you share or wish to share common activities. The person is no longer subject to the oversight and control of his local community; he may disregard the comments and carpings of his neighbors because he finds the standards and approval of his behavior in groupings which have nothing to do with places of residence. The greater the number of associations of congenial spirits one belongs to, the less chance for many shared experiences with one's neighbors. Thus more and more *preference* rather than *accident* determines with whom you shall associate.

The lengthening radius of sympathy. A century ago the people of Connecticut probably felt for the settlers of Indiana or Alabama a sympathy no more lively than that we feel for the Peruvians or Bulgarians. No doubt all parts of the United States are as much interested today in what befalls other parts of the country as the communities in Pennsylvania or Virginia a century ago were interested in what befell other communities within their own state.

Newspaper reading has a socializing effect. The newspaper is mostly organized gossip — "the sort of intercourse the people formerly carried on at crossroads stores or over the back fence" — and gossip has been called the "first art of neighborliness." It is "designed to occupy, without exerting, the mind." This enlargement of gossip "promotes a wide sociability and sense of community; we know that people all over the country are laughing at the same jokes," thrilling at the same films, or watching the game round-the-world air races, and "we absorb a conviction that they are good fellows much like ourselves."

Thanks to the press and the public meetings and speakers ever more numerous, we can be made sensitive to the problems and woes of groups far away from us in space and race and time. Armenians, Pueblo Indians, children working in beet fields, drug addicts, stranded consumptives, victims of a mine explosion, maltreated convicts — we can become worked up over any of them, provided that someone makes us realize vividly their plight.

Democracy strengthened by improvement of communication. Not only in the United States but all over the world democracy raises its head. This is not because kings and ruling classes are botching their job worse than they used to, not because the masses are much better informed or wiser than they were, but chiefly because the common people have become interested in what is going on; and it is not long after they have become interested before they claim a vote. In other words, democracy is a natural and inevitable result of improvement in the means of interchanging thought.

Where, as in certain South American countries, the masses are handed the ballot before they become alive to what is going on, there is no real gain in democracy. The voters are bought or fooled, the ruling class stays in the saddle, and things go on pretty much in the old way. On the other hand, when the people take notice of public events and a real public opinion has developed, no government for long will be suffered to pursue its way just as if this public opinion did not exist. "Once the people have information and discussion, they will have a will, and this must sooner or later get hold of the institutions of society."

Communication and organization. How newspapers promote people-rule among the scattered inhabitants of a large territory was well explained by the famous French visitor De Tocqueville from his observations in the United States nearly a hundred years ago.

It frequently happens . . . in democratic countries that a great number of men who wish or who want to combine cannot accomplish it, because as they are very insignificant and lost amid the crowd, they cannot see, and know not where to find, one another. A newspaper then takes up the notion or the feeling which had occurred simultaneously, but singly, to each of them. All are then immediately guided toward this beacon; and these wandering minds, which had long sought each other in darkness, at length meet and unite.

The newspaper brought them together, and the newspaper is still necessary to keep them united. In order that an association amongst a democratic people should have any power, it must be a numerous body. The persons of whom it is composed are therefore scattered over a wide extent, and each of them is detained in the place of his domicile by the narrowness of his income, or by the small unremitting exertions by which he earns it. Means, then, must be found to converse every day without seeing each other, and to take steps in common without having met. Thus hardly any democratic association can do without newspapers. There is consequently a necessary connection between public associations and newspapers; newspapers make associations, and associations make newspapers; and, if it has been correctly advanced that associations will increase in number as the conditions of men become more equal, it is not less certain that the number of newspapers increases in proportion to that of associations. Thus it is in America that we find at the same time the greatest number of associations and of newspapers.

Growth in social consciousness affects legislation. In the degree that we are knit more closely together by newspapers, by public gatherings, and by state, sectional, and national conventions, it is certain that this intenser consciousness of our fellow countrymen everywhere will have its effect upon legislation. There will be more acts of Congress aimed at the suppression of lynchings; at fighting trachoma or hookworm or pellagra or Rocky Mountain fever, no matter where they crop up; at remedying the factory exploitation of children in certain laggard commonwealths; and at broadening the school opportunities of children in other commonwealths.

If people see a great number of dependent children left upon the hands of the ranchers and miners of a Southwestern state, because of consumptives who flock thither from all over the Union and eventually die there, they are not going to be greatly impressed by the maxim, "Public health is purely a *state* problem." They become convinced that it is a matter calling for action by the nation as a whole. If the Constitution stands in the way, then there is likely to be a movement to amend the Constitution. For this instrument, adopted over one hundred and fifty years ago, did not contemplate an American people living under conditions which enable them to listen at one time to one voice like auditors in a darkened hall.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How does the improvement of the means of communication create a national society?
2. Why is the neighborhood decaying?
8. What were the results of isolation in early America?
4. Show how the newspaper has a socializing effect upon American life.
5. How has the improvement of communication strengthened democracy?
6. Summarize De Toqueville's observations on the influence of newspapers among the scattered inhabitants of a large territory.
7. What other influences, besides the newspapers, tend to knit us closely together?
8. As we become more conscious of our fellow citizens in distant states, what responsibilities are we likely to feel in regard to legislation?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. How does rapid street-car or bus transit affect the life of your home town?
2. How do the improved highways affect the life of your farm?

3. If the telegraph, the printing press, and the telephone make for good understanding and sympathy, how did it happen that we recently passed through a great war? Does the World War prove that these devices do not tend to promote friendship?

4. What use can the colleges make of the radio in promoting education?

5. Is the effect of communication the same whether it is carried on by (a) merely expressive signs, (b) speech, (c) writing, (d) print? Explain your answer by illustrative examples.

6. Does the growth of communication tend to make all of us alike?

7. What influences are holding the people of the Pacific slope away from the rest of the nation? Which of these influences are getting stronger? Which are getting weaker?

8. What are the effects of isolation upon the young man or young woman reared in the country?

9. Was Lincoln the product of isolation or of social contact?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Trace the development of transportation systems in the United States. (Read B, Chapter 5, C, and D.)

2. Report on the influence of the telephone and telegraph. (*Lessons in Community and National Life*, Series B-10.)

3. Report on the history of the radio and its possible future influence in forming the social mind.

4. Show how the Olympic games and religious festivals in ancient Greece helped to develop a social mind.

5. To what extent may (a) the rise of the Greek city-state, (6) the history of Greece, be explained by geographic isolation?

6. Show to what extent the backwardness of Africa has been due to isolation.

7. Show the chief results in the development of social unity in some community that you know, following the introduction of (a) telephone, (b) interurban electric railways, (c) Chautauqua, (d) open forum, (e) a farmers' club.

8. Describe the steps by which the United States made up its mind to do one of the following: (a) declare war on Spain, (f) declare war on Germany, (c) build the Panama Canal, (d) restrict European immigration.

DEBATE

Resolved, That, in the interest of the public, either state or national government should control all radio stations.

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CHAPTER SIX

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HOME

- I. Changing status of the home
 - 1. The home as a workshop
 - 2. The vanishing of industries from the home
 - 3. Women emerge from home seclusion to enter industry
- II. Results of women's emerging from the home
 - 1. How the home-staying wife is affected
 - 2. How the new leisure has been used
 - 3. Husbands and wives as yokefellows
- III. Problem of woman's relation to industry
 - Social ban on staying with the job after marriage

The home as a workshop. As a boy I lived for a while in the family of a pioneer uncle in Iowa. His log cabin was a perfect fairyland for a child because of the fascinating industries carried on in it. Before the big open fireplace we passed many an autumn evening paring, quartering, and stringing apples, which were then hung in festoons about the kitchen to dry. This was long before grocers began to purvey evaporated apples. Before winter came, great crocks of plum butter and apple butter were prepared, as well as jars of marmalade, kegs of pickles, and barrels of salt pork. In the smokehouse hams and bacon were curing, while in every corner of the cellar lay „piles of vegetables preserved under straw or dry earth. From the ashes in the great leach was drained the lye which, when boiled with refuse fat in the huge iron kettle outdoors, furnished soft soap for the use of all save guests. There were quilting frames and candle molds too, and discarded in the attic I found a card, a hackle, a spinning wheel, and various other nomemade implements, the use of which then lay' quite beyond the ken of a boy.

- These industries were once characteristic of most American households. Nearly all that was eaten and worn in the family had been manufactured by the hands of its women folk. In those days nothing was heard as to the " economic dependence " of the wife upon the husband. The husband did not consider that he " supported " his wife. My aunt, busy in and about the house, was as strong a prop of the family's prosperity as my uncle afield with his team. Uncle knew it, and, what is more, *my aunt knew that he knew it,*

The vanishing industries from the home. Gradually, however, a silent revolution has taken place in the lot of the home-staying wife. Unnoticed by us, the machine in the factory has been slipping invisible tentacles into the home and picking out this, that, and the other domestic task. The knitting machine has taken over the making of the socks, mittens, and comforters which used to grow from flying needles in the hands of women. The power-driven sewing machine in the factory has taken over the making of garments. The oil refinery ends the job of molding candles for the household, and the soap manufacturer has made junk of lye leach and soap kettle. The big packing house has made the home smokehouse a relic, while the " store blanket " has caused most quilting frames to become kindling wood. The surplus milk goes to the creamery, so that the hand churn-is becoming a curiosity. Canneries of all kinds crowd the grocer's shelves with preserved fruits and vegetables, which formerly could be had or!y from the skill and care of the housewife. So, one by one, operations are transferred from home to factory until it looks as though in time little of the housewife's work would remain to her.

It seems safe to say that *four fifths of the industrial processes carried on in the average American home in the middle of the nineteenth century have departed, never to return.*

With this change, there has been a great reduction in the

number of children cared for. The first census of the United States, taken in 1790, showed that in the whole population there were nineteen white children under sixteen years of age for every ten white women more than sixteen years old. In 1930 the census revealed that the children under fifteen and the women over fifteen in the white population were about equal in number. On the whole, the average woman today has half as many children to look after as had her great-grandmother.

Women emerge from home seclusion to enter industry. One consequence of the shriveling of the home on its industrial side is the migration of daughters from the home, where there is little for them to do. In great numbers they go to factory, laundry, restaurant, store, office, and classroom. In 1930 there were nearly eleven millions of women and girls ten years of age and over who were wage earners. In 1900 one woman in five was engaged in a gainful occupation ; now the proportion is better than one in four. Women wage earners are increasing in number faster than men wage earners, and they form an ever greater body in our industrial army.

One must not interpret this swelling exodus from the home into jobs as due chiefly to wives' quitting the hearth. It is true that more working women are wives than formerly. Thirty years ago a seventh of the women workers were married; now, about a third. Still, only one wife in eight is earning money outside the home, and of white wives considerably fewer than this. Back in 1890, to be sure, the proportion of earning wives was only one in twenty-two, instead of one in eight. The trend is plain, but the current is not moving very fast. Motherhood and home-making are powerful forces holding married women out of industry and business.

How the home-staying wife is affected. In what ways is the married woman in the home affected by the passing of

industrials processes from her little realm? The wife of the unskilled, poorly paid wage earner probably gets no benefit from it. Now that nearly everything used in the household is bought rather than homemade, her husband's wage is not enough. So, to eke it out, the wife takes a job in the factory, or goes out to wash or scrub or sew, while her home is neglected. Or she adds to the family income by doing at home the work given out by factories or stores.

But the industrial home work of the wife is so ill paid that her economic value to the family may well be less than in the days when the wife made their food and clothing with her own hands. Before the World War an investigation in Massachusetts showed that most of the home workers earned less than eight cents an hour and two thirds of them less than ten cents. Half of the home workers on wearing apparel earned less than seven cents an hour, while half of those producing paper goods at home received less than five cents an hour.

The whittling away of household industry by the factory variously affects the wives of the better paid — the skilled workers. Since more and more the family consumes bought goods rather than homemade, it is harder to make both ends meet on the husband's earnings. So the wife *may* follow her disappearing work into the mill, into pickle or biscuit factory, into cannery or millinery shop. Thus she keeps up woman's immemorial concern with the production of food and clothing.

But if the earnings of the husband suffice, the wife stays in the home and busies herself with satisfying wants of a higher character. She cleans and dusts and tidies as never before. She switches from making the useful to making the ornamental — cushions and curtains and doilies and fancywork. She provides comforts rather than simple utilities, and ministers as well as she can to the intellectual and aesthetic needs of her family.

The next higher economic class, the women folk of business and professional men, have experienced a great change in their lot. Since the husband's income allows the purchase of comforts and even luxuries, as well as utilities, they are entirely excused from *making* anything whatever. They find themselves possessed, after their children are no longer infants, of *a leisure such as has been throughout history the exclusive privilege of a small aristocracy*. The opportunities of serious occupation for women in the home are now so few that married women are furnishing most of the membership of America's leisure class.

How the new leisure has been used. What did the women do with the leisure cast into their laps by the filling of the home with factory products? Many, alas, squandered it in parties, luncheons, and teas, in giving and receiving attentions which they sought to dignify with the phrase "social duties." Many a woman offered as a valid excuse for not bearing a hand in some community service, "I am rushed to death with my social duties." Some gave more time to devotional exercises and church work. Others found a new rôle in bringing up children well and gave their leisure to educating their children much better than the school teacher can do it.

Conscious of a certain void in their lives, some women engaged in the pursuit of "culture." About fifty years ago home-staying women began to band "together into self-improvement clubs, where they took turns in reading papers on Etruscan art, Botticelli, and the Miracle Play." Gradually they edged nearer our own time; they discussed the Renaissance, Napoleon, Bismarck; Corot, Millet, Whistler; Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Montessori. Now there are actually hundreds of thousands of women absorbing the best books and lectures on public health protection, child welfare, industrial diseases, social centers, and housing reforms. Today

experts on community problems win an earlier and a fuller hearing from women than from men.

Husbands and wives as yokefellows. Consider how many wives have been using their leisure to become fully as well informed as their husbands. Consider, too, that more than half the high-school graduates are girls, that nearly two fifths of the college students and graduates are young women, that four fifths of the school teachers are women, and that trained women are "making good" in all the professions. Can one, then, doubt that the influence of women both in the home and out of it is bound to grow? But is the case really so simple? When the woman's activities in spinning, weaving, churning, pickling, and preserving made the home a workshop, the wife was not ^{k<} supported "by her husband. They were yokefellows. He knew the value of her contribution and took her seriously, even if he did belittle her opinions on politics and theology. But now that the home is so Kittle of a workshop, it is more and more often the case that the husband really "supports" his wife.

In the well-to-do homes — *and it is chiefly here that the standing of wives in general is determined* — the wife is no longer much of an economic factor. Apart from motherhood, her role is chiefly ornamental. The husband is the one whose strength must be conserved, who cannot afford to be sick. Will it be taken for granted that the bearing and rearing of three or four children is a sufficient offset to the forty or fifty years of support provided by the husband? Grandmother had, on an average, six or eight children, besides getting through a hundred tasks which never present themselves in the modern household.

As the leisured wife realizes that everything she eats, wears, enjoys, and gives away comes out of her husband's earnings, her rising impulse to assert herself as his equal may be damped by the recollection that *he* is the breadwinner

while *she* is unproductive. She is tempted to pay for support with subservience, to mold her manner and personality to his liking, to make up to him by her grace and charm for her exemption from work. But, "being agreeable" means often that she hides her views and wishes when they diverge from his — or adopts his. And this sort of thing dwarfs the wife, spoils the husband, and revives just the thing which was supposed to be done with forever — masculine ascendancy.

The problem of woman's relation to industry. We see then that, although the surface current is sweeping women toward full equality with men, there is an undercurrent which runs in the other direction. Over ten million girls and women are working outside the home, slowly becoming valuable producers. But within the homes there are perhaps twenty-five million wives who, from no fault of their own, are becoming less and less able to contribute much to the upkeep of the household. Farm wives, of course, are still important from the economic point of view. Wives who rear a fair-sized family will feel contented with themselves so long as their children are small. But how about the town wives who have no children, who have but one or two, or whose children no longer need much attention? Will more and more of them come out of the home shelter and tackle paying jobs? Or will it be the common thing for the wives of business and professional men to take it easy for twenty or thirty years after their children are no longer little and while their husbands are still hard at it, wresting a steady living from a competitive world?

Among us there is a social ban on a woman's staying with her job after marriage. Couples are afraid of the comment, "She's married to a man who isn't equal to supporting his wife." For this ban there is a reason, however, in the fact that if the woman doesn't turn toward home-making

and motherhood when she first marries, she may never do it. But the ban against taking a job lies also on the wife of forty, whose youngest child is in the grades and who might work outside the home at least half of the time. But the couple feel that they would lose standing if she did, and so she occupies herself at home while they live meagerly on the husband's earnings, although their joint earnings would provide the family with a satisfactory income. Whether this ban is to stay or be lifted is one of the momentous questions facing the American home.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Show why the pioneer women of America were economically independent of their husbands.
2. How has the vanishing of household industries affected the status of the housewife?
3. How does this change affect the home-staying wife?
4. What element is furnishing most of the membership of America's leisure class? Why?
5. What did women do with the leisure they gained by filling the home with factory products?
6. Why is the influence of women in and out of the home bound to grow?
7. How does the wife's share compare with the husband's in their joint undertaking of maintaining a home?
8. Why is there a social ban on a woman's staying with her job after marriage? Is it a good thing? Give reasons.

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Do you think that bread should be made hi the home or bought from some company? Should women today make their own jellies and preserve fruit?
2. Is it more important or less important to teach domestic science in high schools today than it was a century ago?
3. Explain woman's lead in teaching; in secretarial Work.
4. Explain: "The poor man's wife is a drudge"; "the rich man's wife is a parasite"; "the poor little rich girl."

5. When does fancywork have economic value? When is it wasteful?
6. How can the modern urban home make up for the loss of the wholesome influences of the old rural or pioneer home?
7. Would it destroy our civilization for most of us to live in large family hotels and eat at a common table?
8. Can and should housekeeping be made a profession?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Take the last census of occupations and list the occupations in which women were employed. List those in which no women were employed. Then make a list of the kinds of work usually done by men that you think could be done by women.
2. Find out the extent to which girls and women in your community are earning money outside the home.
3. Study the economic and social status of the following:
 - (a) Roman women. (Read H. W. Johnston's *The Private Life of the Romans*, Chapter 3.)
 - (b) Greek women. (Read C. B. Gulick's *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*, Chapter 9.)
 - (c) Women in the colonial period of the United States. (Read A and B.)
 - (d) Women in industry today. (Read D and K.)
4. List the women's clubs in your community. What work are they doing? (Read F, pages 248-256.)
5. Show what influence the employment of women in industry has upon the death rate of children. Suggest some measures that might lessen these evil results without taking the women out of industry.

DEBATE

Resolved, That School Boards should treat the marriage of a woman teacher as a resignation of her job.

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PART TWO

MAJOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FAMILY

- I. The whittling-down of the family since ancient times
 - 1. Functions that have been handed over to other institutions
 - 2. Its remaining functions narrow but all-important
- II. Triumph of the monogamic family
- III. Changes affecting the family
 - 1. Economic
 - 2. Spiritual
- IV. Growth of divorce in the United States
 - 1. Extent
 - 2. Causes
- V. Remedies for the instability of the family
 - 1. Better marriage laws
 - 2. Courts of Domestic Relations
 - 3. Prohibition
 - 4. The sound ideal of marriage

Babies have to be "raised," and generally there is no one so much interested in doing this as the child's parents. There have been times when people got along somehow without laws, or courts, or schools, but never have they got along without some kind of family. So the family is more than a social institution.. It is a *natural formation* for nature has implanted instincts which draw the sexes together and other instincts which unite parent and child. It is not just because the patterns have come down from the far past that we feel there is something sacred about the relations between the members of the family. If all the props set up by law and religion were suddenly taken away from the family, and men and women found themselves free to follow their fancy at all times, probably many of these props would have been set up again by the time our grandchildren appeared on the scene. Experience would have shown that these props are essential to the welfare of the community and the race.

The family hands over certain responsibilities. The family as a matter of course looks after the rearing of its children; but how much else shall center in the household depends upon the stage of advancement of society. There was a time when the family was the chief political unit; the grandfather or *patriarch* was master and his word was law. There was a time when the family was the chief *economic* unit; its members worked together for the common benefit, as is still the case with the farm family. Again, the family was the chief *religious* unit, as in old Greece and Rome and today in China and Japan, where all the members join in the common worship of the spirits of dead ancestors. The family, too, was once the chief *educational* unit, such teaching as the children received being given by their elders.

Never again will the family be the all-in-all it used to be. Having developed such specialized institutions as written law, juvenile courts, schools, social centers, and supervised public playgrounds, society will never retrace its steps and turn its jobs back to the family.

The vital role of the family. In spite of all that it has surrendered, the family still remains *a key institution*. It influences each of us during our earlier formative years when the soul can be led like a climbing vine. Thinkers agree that there is no place like the good home for the building of social character in the young. The family is, as it were, a bridge between self and society. In it the child meets with the strongest known appeal to consider others; and if he remains deaf to the appeal of his housemates, what chance is there that later on, in the world outside, he will respond to the appeal of the fellowman or the fellow citizen? It is when one is young and easily impressed that he should be helped to get the better of instinctive selfishness, greed, jealousy, and anger, and should take the first steps in the path of love, service, and self-sacrifice. Well does Professor Ellwood say:

Loyalty and unselfish devotion to the larger human groups, psychology shows, cannot be effectively developed without first developing loyalty to those smaller groups which call forth the instinctive affection's of the child. The attachments developed in the family make possible and actually strengthen the attachments to larger groups. Hence, where family sentiments are strong, there one usually finds strong patriotism and strong social sympathies in general.

Triumph of the monogamic family. One can hardly think of a relation between the sexes, or between parents and offspring, which has not prevailed in some society or at some time; but *monogamy*, or one-mate marriage, has emerged as the winning type. The once widespread right of a man to have as many wives as he could afford is vanishing from the world because it is degrading to the wife to be entitled to only *a fraction* of a husband's affection, while *he* is entitled to *all* her affection. Since the subjection of women to men is already so far broken that it seems sure to disappear, we cannot imagine the polygynous family ever coming back again. So, also, the patriarchal family, in which the old man ruled over his grown sons, their wives and children, was suited to a by-gone state of society and has no future.

Economic changes affecting the family. In the past the family, from time to time, has been molded by outside changes, and we have but to look about us to see the same thing occurring today. The machine in the factory has drawn out of the home most of the industrial processes which made the wife nearly equal with her husband in maintaining the household. One result is that the home-staying wife is more "supported" by her husband than ever before, and her sense of this dependence hurts the pride of the woman of today. If, in order to have money of her own, the wife takes a paying job outside, the unity of the family is likely to suffer'

On the other hand, *the* job, still more *the chance of a job*, is causing the wife to count for more in the marriage partnership. The ever open door to self-support makes the young woman harder to win and harder to hold than in the old days when wifehood was the only career open to her.

Spiritual changes affecting the family. Economic changes remove certain "bonds that hold together the members of the family but leave untouched the ties of love and loyalty uniting them. More serious are certain spiritual changes which attack the family from within and work against its stability. One is the weakening of religious belief. For multitudes marriage no longer possesses a religious sanctity, and, in case they find themselves ill mated, they are impatient to be rid of the yoke.

The family has suffered, too, from the ideas as to the supreme importance of the individual which reigned in the latter half of the nineteenth century. According to this social philosophy persons of legal age should be free to choose each other in marriage without control by their parents; mating should be prompted by romantic love; marriage is not the shouldering of responsibilities but the opening of the door to "wedded bliss ; *rights* are mind rather than *duties*.and there is small appreciation of the significance of the *family for society* and for the *race*.

Another change is the new self-respect of women. Formerly the unity and stability of the marriage was achieved largely by the patient wife. It was the sacrifice of her wishes and personality that insured its success. This we see still in central and southern Europe, in South America, and even more in the Orient. Now women everywhere are straightening up, holding their heads higher, and calling upon the husband to bear his share of the sacrifices which domestic harmony requires. Let him give in *some* of the time. But often the husband balks because he has grown up with the

notion of the superiority of his sex. Considering himself as rightful "head" of the family, he thinks he should have his way in all big matters. In time, the ideas handed down from the epoch of male domination will die out. Meanwhile, however, thousands of good wives with modern ideas of what is due them will have trouble with well-meaning husbands reared in the old ideas as to the wife's place.

Rapid growth of divorce in the United States. Owing to these causes, the family is less stable now than at any other time since the beginning of the Christian era. This instability is particularly marked in the United States. Even forty years ago this country was granting more divorces than all the rest of Christendom, while in 1905 it granted 68,000 divorces, as against 40,000 for the rest of the Christian civilized world. At the latter date the divorce rate of the United States was twice that of Switzerland, thrice that of France, five times that of Germany, and forty times that of England. In 1916, in the United States as a whole, there were 106 divorces to 1000 marriages; in 1922, 131 divorces to 1000 marriages; in 1932, 163 divorces to 1000 marriages. In the quarter century ending 1932 the proportion of divorces to marriages doubled. Now probably a fifth of all marriages end in divorce; if this rate of increase continues, by the middle of the century a fourth of all American marriages will meet with shipwreck!

The fact that two thirds of the divorces have been granted on the petition of the wife suggests that the tendency reflects woman's new sense of dignity and her new access to paying jobs. Ninety-four per cent of the divorces are granted for such causes as unfaithfulness, desertion, cruelty, imprisonment for crime, drunkenness, and neglect to provide. That unfaithfulness or desertion — either shows that a real bond no longer exists — figures in three fifths of the cases indicates that the flood of divorce is not due, as some insist, to the

laxity of our laws, but to the decay of the virtues upon which the family rests; namely, self-sacrifice, forbearance, and loyalty.

Marriage a challenge to manhood and womanhood. There is no evidence that Americans are less honest, less truthful, or less kindly than of yore. The reason why so many of them fail to "make good" as husbands or wives is that they enter marriage with a false idea of it. Young people have rushed into marriage because they were in love, and out of it because they were out of love. "What," said their elders, "can be more dreadful than a loveless marriage?"

This romantic conception has been a great help in freeing us from the degrading custom of marrying for money. Probably never before has marriage been less tainted by sordid considerations than it now is in this country. But, on the other hand, the romantic conception starts the couple wrong. They expect to "live happily ever after" just because they love each other, not because they stand ready to practice the self-control and self-sacrifice marriage calls for. "Love cannot be forced," they have been told, and so they *hope* that their love will last, but little dream, how much they might do to keep it alive.

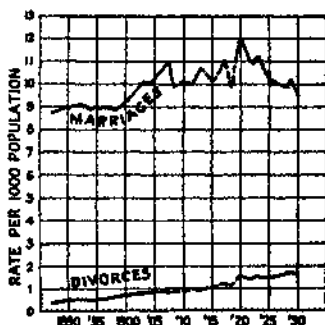
Experience shows that love is not enough, that whether the union will turn out well or ill depends much upon the *will attitude* of the parties. If lovers enter upon wedded life realizing that determined effort is called for, they are likely to keep their attachment firm. Shining examples of conjugal happiness are usually couples who started their common life with a lively sense of obligation and with a stanch resolve to make such sacrifices as might be necessary to insure its success.

If marriage is a test, a stern challenge to one's manhood or womanhood, as well as a beautiful adventure, we ought to look upon its failure as moral shipwreck. Generally

husband or wife, or both, have been found wanting in thoughtfulness, unselfishness, patience. Faults like pride and want of self-control ought not to be allowed to masquerade as "incompatibility of temper." There is no reason why the husband or wife responsible for the union's ending in divorce should not be at least as shamed as the business man who goes bankrupt.

Some day the tide of divorce will turn, owing to the spread of a sense of insecurity. Most persons like to think they are building something stable when they marry and will become very uneasy when they reflect that in a few years, when their attractiveness has greatly waned, they may find themselves without a mate. Once the risk of divorce is generally realized, young men and women who take marriage seriously will be at a premium in the matrimonial market while the frivolous and unstable will be shunned.

How to combat the divorce evil. Stricter divorce laws, which would deny relief to those who are really mismated, will not correct the divorce evil. The better place to be strict is at the entrance door to matrimony. There is something to be said for the plan of heading off hasty, impulsive marriages by fixing a term of ten days or two weeks after a marriage license is issued before the marriage may be celebrated. Another means of discouraging unfit marriages is the so-called "eugenic marriage laws" passed by several states, which require one or both parties to be certified by a physician as free from certain grave diseases. The time



Data supplied by Census Bureau

Number of marriages and divorces per thousand of the total population from 1887 to 1930.

may come when those wishing marriage may have to submit themselves to both physical and mental examinations. Later it may be that society will deny marriage even to those who are personally fit, in case their family history discloses taints which are very likely to be handed on to handicap their children.

In recent years our larger cities have set up Courts of Domestic Relations, and sometimes such a court becomes very skillful in saving marriages from shipwreck. When a wise judge commands the confidence of both parties, he may settle many family difficulties which might have led to divorce. Indeed, many reconciliations are brought about after divorce has been applied for.

The remedy which really goes to the root of the difficulty is to popularize a sound ideal of marriage and family. Those who are inclined to act in a romantic, impulsive way in the matter of mating should be brought to see the importance of this sound, ethical ideal. Young people at the hearth and in school, church, society, and club should be imbued with this finer ideal of family life; and in every way we should make the social atmosphere frosty toward all frivolous notions of marriage.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How do "family ties" hold us together in childhood? in later life?
2. Show that various functions of the early family have been taken over by institutions of later development.
3. What vital service to society is the family still rendering?
- 4' What has happened to the wife's industrial duties in the home?
5. How does the chance of a job enable the woman to get better treatment as a wife?

6. How does the individualistic view tend to weaken the family?
7. How may a Court of Domestic Relations lessen the demand for divorces?
8. What is the ideal of marriage that is most likely to insure its permanence?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. What conditions help to hold the farm family together? Which of these living conditions are lacking for the average city family?

2. Why is it that the good wife of today will not be busy with the same tasks as the wife described in Proverbs XXXI, 10-28?

3. What benefits to women result from their entrance into the industrial field? What evils?

4. Do smart sayings, such as "Is marriage a failure?" "How to be happy though married," show that marriage is losing in popularity?

5. Through most of Asia the parents arrange the marriage, the bride and groom having nothing to say. What can be urged in favor of this custom? against it?

6. Does the great increase in divorce prove that the proportion of unhappy marriages has increased?

7. Does the fact that there is much more divorce among couples without children prove that couples with children are more harmonious?

8. Why should the divorce rate be high in the states of the Far West in which men outnumber women and low in Eastern states in which women outnumber men?

9. Why do actors, showmen, musicians, and commercial travelers show a high divorce rate?

10. How has the stability of marriage been affected by the use of the automobile?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Ascertain the chief features of the laws of your state relating to divorce. Compare them with the trend of American divorce legislation as set forth in G. E. Howard's *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, Vol. III, Chapter 26, or in J. P. Lichtenberger's *Divorce: A Study in Social Carnation*. Would you consider your state laws liberal or strict?

2. Find out for your own community what court grants divorces; its procedure; the conditions and grounds on which divorces are granted; what proportion of petitions for divorce are denied; and whether any effort is made by the court to reconcile the estranged couple. Have you any amendments to the divorce laws of your state to suggest?

3. How did the introduction of Christianity affect the stability of family life? (Read D, pages 142-144, and E, Chapter 6.)

4. Discuss the effect of the Industrial Revolution on home and family life. (Read J, pages 493 ff., and Hayes and Moon's *Modern History*, pages 388-395.)

DEBATE

Resolved, That the United States Congress should be given the power to pass a uniform divorce law for all of the United States.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

CHILD WELFARE

- I. Changes modifying our attitude toward the child
 1. Children no longer an oversupply
 2. Children recognized as a national asset
 3. The new view of heredity
- II. Child welfare as a community concern
 1. Increasing helplessness of the unaided parent
 2. Need of protection from amusement vendors
 3. New light on the influence of surroundings
 4. The youth as the hope of society

Why has the child become of late a *social* problem? Always hitherto he has been only a *family* or *parental* problem. In the Book of Proverbs there is much advice as to how parents should deal with their children. Consider such passages as these:

Chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not thy soul spai 2 for his crying.

Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it.

Correct thy son, and he shall give thee rest, yea, he shall give delight unto thy soul.

Withhold not correction from the child; for if thou beatest him with the rod, he shall not die.

Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell.

It is plain that here the child is looked upon as a *household* problem, not as a problem *for society*. Then why is it that we hear so much of "the child problem," of society's "duty toward the child" and policies regarding the child?

The cause is not that society wishes to usurp the parents' place, nor that busybodies are trying to take the control of

Proverbs XIX, 18; XXII, 6; XXIX, 17; XXIII, 13, 14.

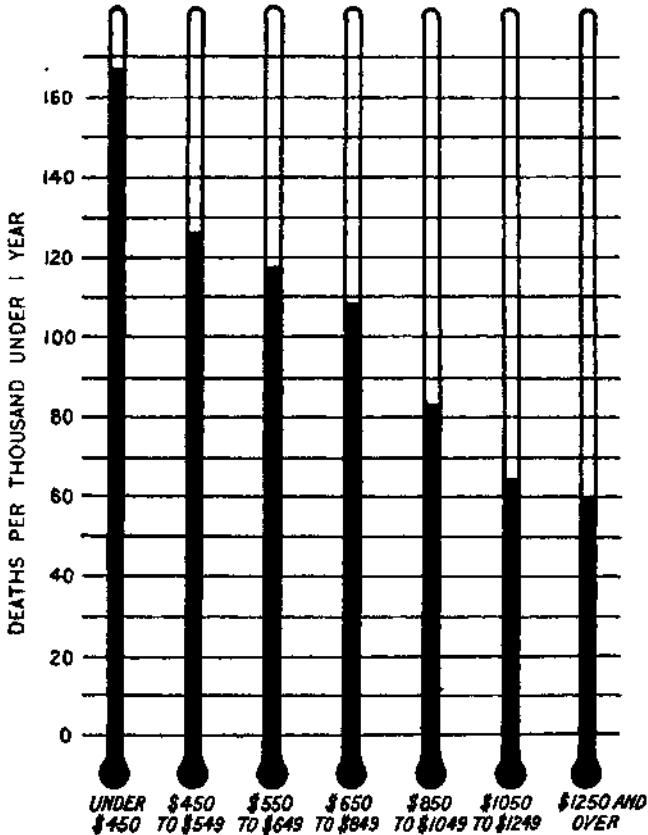
the child out of the hands of his natural guardians and vest it in officials or bureaus. Far from it. What has happened is that certain changes in society have made many parents less able to provide all the child needs for his proper welfare and development, while other changes have made society less reluctant than formerly to shoulder responsibility regarding children. Let us survey briefly the causes of the new attitude.

Children no longer exist in great oversupply. The tendency toward smaller families lessens the dread of overpopulation and changes the feeling of the public toward other people's children. Down through history men had to recognize that the last thing to worry about is shortage of population. In fact, one could not but perceive that the lot of all would be harder were it not for the high mortality among the little ones.

In China great numbers of babies die needlessly because their ignorant mothers feed them, when they are but a few weeks old, a certain hard, indigestible cake. The poor souls think it is the right thing to do. With this in mind, some years ago I asked an American missionary, a thousand miles up the Yangtze River, "What would you think of the policy of sending nurses about to instruct these Chinese mothers in the proper feeding and care of their babies?" He replied, "I think anyone who did that would be incurring a very grave responsibility." Here was a man who loved the Chinese well enough to dedicate his life to promoting their welfare; yet he could not fail to recognize that the one thing which prevents the Chinese with their excessive birth rate from being half-starved and miserable is that half the children die before they are six months old!

It is not likely that we shall ever sink into such a state of overpopulation and poverty as that fine people, the Chinese, have come to. As the doctors, the public health officials, and the spread of health knowledge pull down the death rate,

the birth rate falls too, so that the margin between the two does not widen. There is little likelihood that some day we shall come to so distressing a state of overcrowding as one finds in the Far East, where, even in Japan, the average



The baby death rate falls as the father's earnings rise (figures from seven cities studied by the Children's Bureau). Do more die in the poorer families because there is lack of what money will buy? Or because often those earning the lower incomes are ignorant or inefficient?

family lives on *one eleventh* as much as the average American family lives on.

Since this is so, when we learn that even among ourselves great numbers of children are perishing just because their ignorant parents do not know how to care for them, we feel a desire to spread this precious knowledge by means of government or community effort. In 1919 the Federal Children's Bureau set afoot a campaign to save the lives of 100,000 babies, on the assumption that at least half of the deaths of children under five years of age are needless. No one protested that this would upset Nature's balance, for it is generally believed that if more children are saved, fewer and better children will be born.

Children come to be recognized as a national asset. The World War with its awful carnage and its constant cry of "Men, more men!" caused the statesmen of the fighting countries to see the child in a new light. Never has his social importance been set forth more clearly than in a war-time report of the chief medical officer of the British Board of Education:

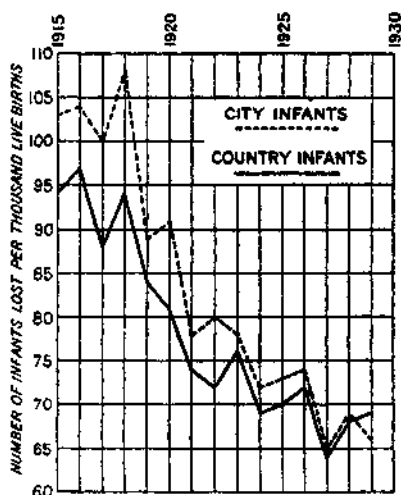
The European war has given new emphasis to the importance of the child as a primary national asset. The future and strength of the nation unquestionably depend upon the vitality of the child, upon his health and development, and upon his education and equipment for citizenship. Great and far-reaching issues have their origin and some of their inspiration in him. Yet in a certain though narrow sense everything depends upon his physique. If that be sound, we have the rock upon which a nation and a race may be built; if that be impaired, we lack that foundation and build on the sand. It would be difficult to overestimate the volume of national inefficiency, unfitness, and suffering, of unnecessary expenditure, and of industrial unrest and unemployability to which this country consents because of its relative failure to rear and to educate a healthy, virile, and well-equipped race of children and young people. There is no investment comparable to this, no national economy so fundamental; there is also no waste so irretrievable as that of a nation

which is careless of its rising generation. And the goal is not an industrial machine, a technical workman, a "hand" available merely for the increase of material output and the acquisition of a wage at the earliest moment, but a human personality, well-grown and ready in body and mind, able to work, able to play, a good citizen, the healthy parent of a future generation.

Early in the war, the American public was mortified to learn that a third of the men in the first draft were rejected as not physically sound. A large proportion of the rejections were for causes dating back to infancy and early childhood, which could have been removed

had they been recognized and dealt with in time. The doctrine that what happens to children is of social concern grew rapidly in public favor. More and more, people came to feel that the child is a national asset and a proper object of public attention.

The new view of heredity. What we are learning about heredity makes us realize how cruel were some of the old policies. People have long believed the saying, "Like father, like son"; that is, the son will be the father over again, the daughter will be the mother over again. Hence, it has been held imprudent to stand up for the neglected child. The



Data supplied by Children's Bureau

City and country compared in respect to deaths per thousand babies under one year of age. Notice the recent drop in the infant-mortality rate in cities. Either more of the deaths of city babies are preventable or city parents are learning the art of infant care faster than country parents are.

old idea was that if the parent beats or starves the child, is a drunkard, a loafer, or a family deserter, it is better to do nothing, since the poor child is likely to turn out badly whatever you do for him. For the child is *heir* to the parent's meanness, as well as *victim* of it.

We now see that is a false view of heredity. Every child springs from the union of two lines of inheritance — the father's and the mother's. The daughter will not be just like her mother, for that would imply she gets nothing from her father's side. The son will not be his father over again, for then where would be the contribution from his mother's side? The fact is, the relation of a child to a parent is not nearly so close as that between two children in the same family. The relationship is not even so close as that of half-brothers or half-sisters. Indeed, it has been calculated that double cousins — whose fathers are brothers and mothers are sisters — may be expected to resemble one another more than the child will resemble one of his parents.

Furthermore, the child may not resemble *either* parent, for he does not inherit *from* the parents, but *through* them. Parent and child are like branches on the one stalk, the child higher up. The later branch is what it is, not because of the nature of the branch below it, but because of the nature of the stalk upon which they both grow. So you cannot know the kind of children John and Sue will have by knowing all about John and Sue. Both may be brown-haired, but they may have a red-haired child. You have to know the *stocks*, of which John and Sue are only specimens and not always typical ones. This means that, in order to forecast what kind of children John and Sue will have, you must know not only these two, but their parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, and cousins.

We see, then, how unfair it is to assume that the boy with the scalawag father *must* turn out a scalawag, that a girl

whose mother is a bad woman is sure to go to the bad anyhow. The offspring of a wicked parent is not foredoomed to turn out badly. The child *may* be of poor stock, but you have no right to infer it just because one parent is good for nothing. Hence, society, freed from its old superstition regarding inheritance, is today willing to stand up for the abused or neglected child.

The parent needs the aid of the community. In cities the average parent is becoming more helpless in meeting the needs of his children. Take a big city — built up for miles. How can the ordinary wage earner give his children a roomy back yard to play in? Unless some philanthropic agency or the city itself provides a playground, the wage earner's youngsters, lacking a proper chance to play, may become terrors of the streets and later hoodlums and gangsters.

Throughout the earlier stages of society children gained most of their instruction from the lips of their parents in the home. But now not one boy in ten has a father enlightened enough to teach him what he needs for modern life. How much the boy will learn depends less and less on how much his parents know and more on the kind of school opportunities the community provides.

In the past — in India today, even — callings were inherited. The son of a smith would be a smith, the son of a scribe would be a scribe, the son of an accountant would be an accountant. But machinery and specialization and the spirit of democracy have brought it to pass that we do not take it for granted that the boy shall follow his father's calling. How, then, is the boy to acquire skill for his chosen calling? His father certainly cannot impart it. So it comes about that the boy looks not to his father to build up in him a skill, but to the vocational training provided by the community.

Can the father even bring the boy up to his own level of

character? Probably he could if he were the boy's chief companion, as the farmer generally is to his boy. But in cities the influence of playmates and workmates and street companions may far outweigh that of the parent. Generally the father does not know enough of child psychology to be able to mold his boy in his own image. He may be a very good man, yet, when it comes to understanding and guarding his son, some outsider — the pastor, priest, Sunday school teacher, scoutmaster, "Big Brother," or probation officer — may be far shrewder than he is. So, in many cases, the parent is puzzled how to reproduce his own virtues in his child and, when it comes to building good character, he is glad to have the aid of community agencies and specialists.

On the farm the child is expected to help his parents, especially in the busy season. But if the parents are of fair intelligence and mean right by the child, there is little danger of the work's hurting him or interfering with his schooling.

The lad works under the eye of the parent, while the nature of the task, and the pace, are fixed by those who have his welfare at heart. In the city, on the other hand, the father who, needing his child's earnings in order to keep up the home, places the boy or girl on a job, has no say as to what tasks shall be put on the working child, how fast, how hard' or how long he shall work, or under what conditions and with what associates he shall work. If the child is being damaged in body or soul, the father cannot mend the situation. All he can do is to try to find the child a better job. Hence, if the health and safety and morals of the child worker are to be protected, it is not the individual parent who can do it, twit the community or the state.

Thus we see that deep-seated social changes require the community to come to the help of fathers and mothers. The powerlessness of great numbers of good parents in the cities to provide what their children need in order to have a real

chance in life explains why the child is becoming a social problem. Sociologists and social workers are not responsible for the change; *they only call attention to it.*

Self-interest prompts society to safeguard children. The vast cost of pauperism and crime must, in numberless ways, be paid by society. It is pure folly to neglect any conditions that help to make paupers and criminals. To jolt people awake, Jacob Riis in 1890 in his book on New York slum dwellers, *How the Other Half Lives*, wrote thus :

The sufferings and the sins of the "other half," and the evil they breed, are but just punishment upon the community that gave it no other choice. . . . The tenements are the hotbeds of the epidemics that carry death to rich and poor alike; the nurseries of pauperism and crime that fill our jails and police courts, that throw off a scum of forty thousand human wrecks to the asylums and workhouses year by year, that turned out in the last eight years a round half million beggars to prey upon our charities.

Not much can be done to correct the spoiled adults; it is with the children one must begin. In view of the burden, or even menace, he may later become, society cannot afford to allow any child to be crippled or stunted in body, broken in health, corrupted in character, or denied an education by premature labor. For example, consider what the writer found some years ago :^x

In thousands of Greek shoe-shining shops are working bound boys who are miserably fed and lodged by their masters, paid \$3 or \$4 a week, and required to turn over all tips. Often the tips alone cover the boy's wages and keep, so that his labor costs the master nothing. Seeing that from each boy the padrone makes from \$100 to \$200 a year, a chain of such establishments yields him a princely income. No wonder the Negro bootblack and the Italian bootblack have been forced to the wall.

The bound boys are on duty 15 or 16 hours a day and work every day in the year. They get in their eating and sleeping as best

^x E. A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, page 188,

they can. They know no recreation. Late at night, completely exhausted, they drop with their clothes on into a bed that must suffice for four or five. Boys who have been in a city several years may learn nothing of it save the shop, their living quarters, and the streets between. Since the padrone's game is to keep his boys dumb and blind, they are not allowed to talk freely with Greek customers. The moment a customer talks with a boy, "trusties" crowd round to listen. No truth can be got from the boys concerning their age, their work, or then' pay. To avoid the arm of the truant officer, no Greek bound boy confesses to less than seventeen years. They are ignorant of the rights and rewards of labor in this country, and are told that, if they leave their work, they will be arrested. Even their letters home are read and censored.

The effects of this servitude on the boys are shocking. They miss all schooling, and years may elapse before they get their eyes open. The study of English is the first step toward emancipation; but where work is constant they miss even this chance, and young men will be found who have been shining shoes for years and feel no ambition for anything else. The physical ravages of such work and confinement are appalling. In their memorial to the Immigration Commission the Greek physicians of Chicago say:

"Young immigrants laboring in shoe-shining places for a period of upwards of two years become afflicted with chronic gastritis and hepatitis. These diseases undermine their constitutions, so that if they continue longer at the same work they become afflicted with pulmonary tuberculosis. Being too ignorant to take precautionary measures, they communicate the disease to others by contagion."

In view of the way exploited children — those who are used simply to get profit out of them — fill our almshouses, hospitals, and jails, it is folly to tolerate such a state of affairs. In simple self-protection, then, the law and the state intervene to prevent the lives of the young from being ruined by the greed of their elders.

Need of protection from those who provide amusement. Some of the men who engage in the business of catering to the desire of the young for pleasure will stop at nothing in order to increase the rain of dimes into their cash drawers. They care nothing whatever about the effect of what they furnish

upon their young patrons. These men are perfectly willing to offer that which will stain or taint the child's soul if it will make them more money than furnishing the wholesome. Since in cities more and more of the child's amusements are obtained outside the home, there is need of community protection of the young from the purveyors of recreation.

New light on the power of environment. " Which is the stronger influence in one's life, heredity or environment ? " — this is a subject for endless debate. As regards *intellect*, the champions of heredity have the better of the battle. Our intelligence seems to be largely determined by what we have inherited. Increasing attention is paid to mental tests and measurement, which are supposed to disclose inborn intellectual capacity.

But as regards *moral character*, the champions of environment seem to have the better of it. Our early experiences and surroundings apparently have the stronger influence. Examination of the inmates of state reform schools and other youths who give society serious trouble shows that they differ from good children less in their make-up than in their early experiences and surroundings. Mentally they may be weaker; more of them will be feeble-minded than of children outside the reform schools. But it is not clear that they have more inborn " devil " in them. They have about the same troublesome instinctive tendencies as other boys and girls; but they lack the good habits which should hold these tendencies in check.

Now, if we look away from the children to the place they come from, we soon discover why they are in reform school. *Almost always there is something the matter with the home.* The child is an orphan or a half-orphan; the parents are separated or divorced; the child is being reared by a step-parent ; the father is unknown or in prison, or has deserted his family, or is a drunken loafer; the parents are all the time

squabbling; or the father earns too little to keep up a decent home. All this suggests that nothing else does so much to develop our individual possibilities for good as being brought up in a well-situated, decent home, by two intelligent, harmonious, conscientious, and affectionate parents.

Professor Ellwood found in 1909 that out of 7575 children in 34 state reform schools, only three in eight had both parents in the home; while of these three eighths nearly all came from homes demoralized by drink, vice, or crime. "In only a negligible per cent of the cases did these reform school children have a normal family life." Out of 4278 children investigated in four juvenile courts, it was found that half were without the care of two parents. "The general conclusion of social workers is that a normal family life in which the child has the care of both parents is the best possible guarantee for the proper adjustment of the child to society/"¹

In St. Louis less than half of the children who got into court in 1908-1909 had both parents living together. A Federal investigation of nearly five thousand delinquent children showed that a little over half the boys and only a third of the girls had father and mother together in the home. From a study of 237 girl truants in Los Angeles, Miss Dunham concludes that in nearly all the cases "it is clear that back of the violation of the compulsory education law is a broken-down home life." "A sound, well-balanced home life would have prevented the rise of truancy and related social problems."

Take the thousand girls committed to the state reform school, Sleighton Farm, by the courts of eastern Pennsylvania in the course of five years. All are under twenty-one, and three fourths are under sixteen. How came these girls to go wrong? A six months' investigation² by Dr. Reitel of

¹ Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Revised Edition, page 158.

² *Harper's Weekly*, September 11, 1915.

the University of Pennsylvania brought to light striking facts.

Back of the immediate overt act which sends a girl to Sleighton lurk three causal influences leading to her downfall:

- I First — Lack of family control
- I Second — Inadequacy of family income
- I Third — Lack of education

These are the undercurrents that catch the young girls. It is here that one finds the undertow which carries them into deep sea.

The lack of good family control. We are appalled by the fact that ninety per cent of them never had any so-called "family life." Only eighty-seven families were found in which both father and mother lived in a normal relation to each other and to society. Of the remainder, one or both parents were criminal, immoral, dead, strayed, or unknown.

We might as well expect wheat to grow on an ash heap as to expect good children from such influences.

The inadequacy of family income. The rich and mighty need have little fear of reform-school life for their children. They are immune from commitment. Of the thousand families studied, not one had more than an annual income of \$800; sixty per cent had less than \$600; while twenty-five per cent had less than \$300. Five hundred and ninety-three fathers and 250 mothers were workers. Of the parents who worked, only 106 had learned a trade, while most of them filled jobs such as day laborers, day workers, servants, drivers, and teamsters. In all these families we find the wage viciously low, and their livelihood following in like description. These thousand girls seem to be but fact portrayals of the poor economic surroundings in which they have been reared. Many of them are ill-paid factory hands, some are inmates of miners' hovels, while still others are feeble products of feeble-minded and degenerate parents. Reared, as they are, in misery and squalor, it is but natural to expect them to break and finally to end in penal institutions.

Lack of education. We have

- 80 per cent never further than sixth grade
- 18 per cent between sixth and twelfth grade
- 2 per cent twelfth grade or over

These statistics show blind ignorance raised to the nth power. And only those who have come in contact with the girls upon their

admission to Sleighton can appreciate what the nth power of ignorance really is. At first thought, the novice is certain to consider them impossible; it is only after getting into the hands of trained workers that the latent capacities creep to the fore and show their existence.

Such are the three factors comprising the ghastly trinity which force our girls into dependency, crime, immorality, and destitution — poor family control, low income, and blind ignorance. These are the powers that daily turn out the product for penal institutions; these are the forces back of a thousand "backwards" that "beat our people to pieces and grind the faces of the poor."

Thus the evidence is overwhelming that the great majority of those who give society serious trouble are not born to evil, but are victims of a bad home, bad associations, or some other destructive factor of environment. Those who go bad solely from inborn defects and tendencies are few in number. It is fair to conclude that the criminal element could be wonderfully reduced if children were shielded from bad surroundings and brought into the good surroundings of school and playground, and if every orphan or abandoned child were placed in a good home. The social cost of pauperism and crime is quite too staggering for society to overlook any means of preventing unfortunate children from growing up into trouble-givers.

Society cannot improve unless we start the young right. The deeper thinkers realize that large improvement of society is prevented by the prevalence of low standards, wrong ideas, and false ideals. For example, the hope of getting something for nothing is well known to be the stalk upon which grow all kinds of crookedness and crime. But do we seriously attack this stalk, to uproot it? No, we simply try to snip off certain buds. It is agreed that gambling and betting are vices; but too many have been reared in the idea that it is "smart" to palm off upon the unsuspecting buyer something which looks good but isn't — a broken-

winded horse, a "salted" mine, a corner lot in a swamp or under Lake Michigan. In certain places, the selling of worthless oil stock by mail to remote investors who know nothing of oil but can be induced to put confidence in the very highly-colored and persuasive literature sent out, is a definite industry, and nothing will be allowed to stand in the way of it.

These bad ideas and other similar ones, inherited from the past, have so warped the public mind that it seems almost hopeless to do very much with the present generation; so reformers are turning to the rising generation. You cannot take the twist out of baked pots — i.e., the adults; but you can impress the right form upon the wet clay of youth. Never before was there such zeal for giving every normal child an education that will free him from popular fallacies and base standards. More and more, it is the work among the young that is felt to be fruitful. Better a dime to rear the young in sound ethics and civics than a dollar to straighten the kinks in the mind of the adult.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What do we mean when we say that the child is a national asset?
2. What is wrong with the saying, "Like father, like son" ?
3. Why does the parent need the aid of the community in meeting the needs of the children ?
4. Why is child labor on the farms no such social problem as child labor in the mills ?
5. What are the dangers of public amusement ?
6. What grounds are there for thinking that most trouble-giving children are not born with worse dispositions than other children ?
7. Show that many children are started wrong by the bad opinions and practices of their elders.

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Do you think that, as the Hebrew proverbs imply, the rod is necessary in training the average child to respect the rights of others?

2. Why is it an advantage for a boy to be reared in a home in which there are regular chores for him to do?

3. A Children's Bureau report on a certain county says: "It was surprising to find that over one third of the children 10 to 20 years old in the three townships visited were unable to read and write." Should the state be concerned about this? the Federal government? Why?

4. A Children's Bureau report on a mountain county says: "The schoolhouse was completely cut off from the road by a stream . . . too wide for the children to jump across. A small board or a few stepping stones would have made it possible to cross dry shod, but no one had taken the trouble to provide either. . . . All the children in the school during the rainy seasons had to sit throughout the day with wet feet." Is this a neighborhood matter solely, or should outside agencies get busy? If so, how?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Find out whether your state makes it an offense for a parent by his negligence to "contribute to the delinquency" of a child.

2. Report upon the present restrictions on child labor in the several states of the Union. (*Child Labor Laws and Facia, an Analysis by States*, published by the National Child Labor Committee, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York.)

3. What should be minimum provisions of a good child labor law? Compare your list with the list set forth by the National Child Labor Committee and report the differences. (Read H, pages 255-257.)

4. If your state has an aid-to-mothers (mothers' pension) law, find out what is being done under it and what the wisest people think as to the results.

5. Why have special juvenile courts been set up to handle offenses committed by children? Have they proved successful? (Read H, pages 285-287; Towne's *Social Problems*, pages 229-230; *Survey*, October 24, 1914, page 83, and October 22, 1921, page 119.)

DEBATE

Resolved, That the United States should adopt a constitutional amendment giving Congress the power to regulate child labor.

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CHAPTER NINE

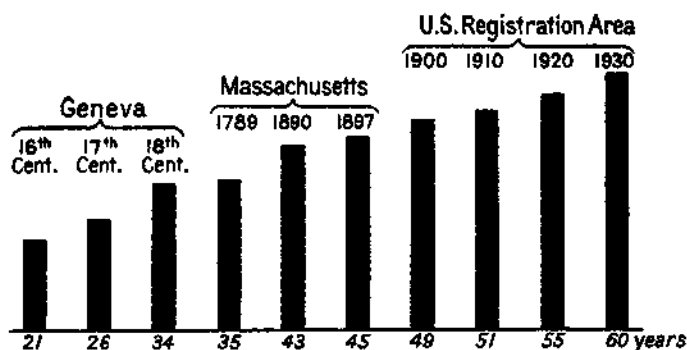
HEALTH AND DISEASE

- I. Illness as a cause of dependency
- II. Modern triumphs of medicine
- III. Socializing health
 - 1. The public health department
 - 2. The free clinic
 - 3. The health center
 - 4. The infant welfare station
 - 5. Public health nursing
- IV. Shall medicine be socialized ?

There are supposed to be among us constantly two million adults too ill to work. Nothing, in fact, puts so many worthy people "down and out" as illness. On the average, dependent persons are ill nearly twice as often as other people. From the study of several thousand dependent families it has been concluded that "not less than three quarters of the families under the care of family agencies present one or more health problems, and there are probably not less than two persons in each family suffering from physical disability serious enough to require medical service."

What sickness means to the poor may be gathered from the story of the Eltons, supplied by a South Carolina charity organization society:

Thomas Elton lived with his wife and two children, aged two and four, on a small farm that he owned. Two years after the World War he contracted pellagra, doubtless from improper diet, and began to neglect his farm. He was extremely nervous and irritable and took to drink. His wife was poorly nourished during the period preceding the coming of a child and just before its birth she was stricken with pneumonia, from which she recovered, but with shattered nerves. The farm went for debt, and the family moved to a near-by cotton mill. Mr. Elton worked irregularly, as the pellagra, which had eased up, was coming back in full force. Mrs. Elton



Changes in the last four centuries in expectation, at birth, of the length of life.

took in sewing to help out. The income was barely sufficient for food, fuel, and clothes. Then Mr. Elton began to have periods of great nervous instability and he drank heavily at times. Finally he was taken to the State Hospital, where he is slowly recovering. Mrs. Elton was assisted by a charity organization society and by a social worker from the mill. But her constitution has never got over an earlier period of ill nourishment followed by pneumonia and childbirth. Finally she was sent to a tuberculosis camp, where she is fighting for life and with little hope of winning out. The two older children are at an orphanage, and the youngest, who is either feeble-minded or a borderline case, is with a relative. The family will never be united.¹

What makes sickness ruinous is not doctors' bills but the stoppage of the income of the breadwinner or the inability of the home-maker to look after her household. In the words of F. J. Bruno:

If the father is ill, the mother is often forced to find work away from home, children are taken from school as soon as it is legally possible and are put to work without the preparation they might have received in longer schooling, children of school age are forced to take odd-time employments to an extent which interferes with their necessary recreation and rest, or the family becomes partially

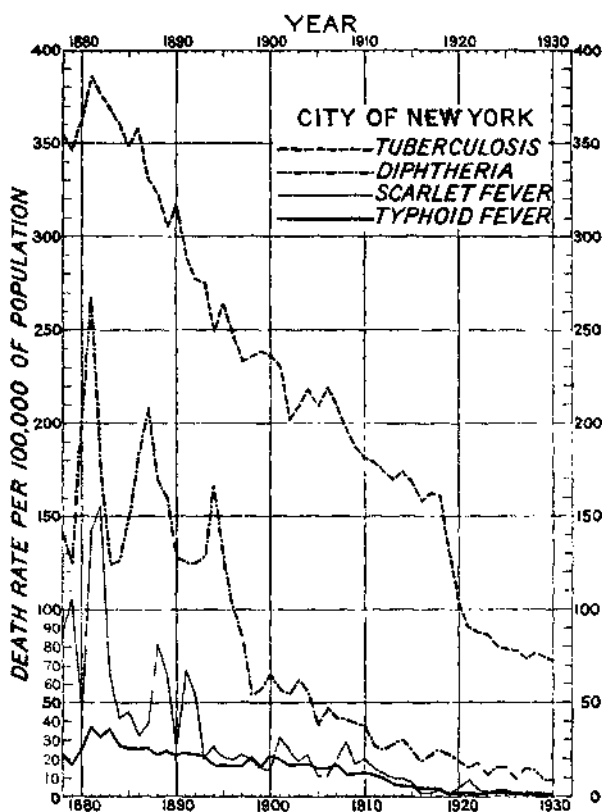
¹ G. C. Williams, *Social Problems of South Carolina*, page 67.

or completely dependent. If the mother is ill, the home is more likely to be broken up than when the father's health is impaired. It is easier to arrange for institutional care of children and even of a sick mother than to provide adequate service in the home to take the place of the mother or to wait upon her. Illness of father or mother may be followed by delinquency of children, due, probably, to lack of the customary oversight-as well as to the discomforts and disorganization of a home in which either parent is seriously ill. Occasionally when the mother is ill, especially if she becomes a chronic invalid, and when the children suffer from a long series of ailments, the father deserts his family, although in the majority of instances he returns when conditions have been improved.

Serious illness of either a breadwinner or of the home-maker lowers the family standards of living. This often means moving into a poorer neighborhood, living in a less desirable house with fewer rooms, less light and open space, disposing of some of the better or more salable articles of furniture, and curtailing recreation and variety and supply of food. These are circumstances and conditions which entail danger to physical health, and, even more, tend to break the morale of the family and increase overwhelmingly the sense of failure and inferiority characteristic of dependency.

Most perilous is the insidious sickness that people do not think important enough to call a doctor for, "the sickness that expresses itself in a fleeting pain, in an occasional ache, and which, preying on vitality, results in an inability to think and act at the top of one's powers/'

An illustration of this is to be found in the experience of A. C., who for years has been an unsatisfactory sort of person. He was lackadaisical and without energy, a "no account" fellow who seldom had employment and who frequently deserted his family. The cause of his depleted vitality and consequent unproductiveness was not discovered until he returned home from one of his periodic absences, suffering from a hemorrhage. A diagnosis of tuberculosis in an incipient stage was made. Three months elapsed before the sanatorium could admit him. During this time he was under the attention of the dispensary and when his turn to go away arrived he had made such progress in learning how to regulate his life and diet that it was possible for him to return to work. A job as a rail-



Data supplied by New York City Department of Health
 The toll of certain diseases in New York City for the decades
 from 1880 to 1930.

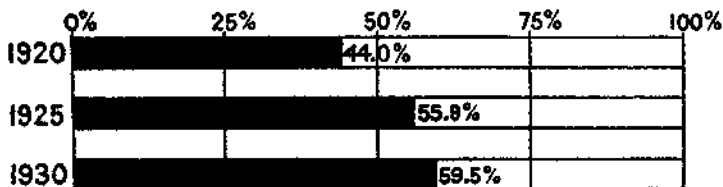
road switchman was secured for him. This position he has held ever since. He is buying his own home and has continued to live with his family.

Even more elusive was the cause of J. B.'s inefficiency. He was described by one visitor as looking like a Greek god, having the sort of disease which made people say of him, "There is a man for the army." Nevertheless he was ineffective. The neighbors said that

he was lazy, and so indeed he appeared to be. It was only when his condition became so serious that his power to grip things with his hands failed that tuberculosis of the spine was discovered. The disease has since been arrested sufficiently to enable him to work regularly.¹

Latter-day triumphs of medicine. Since the germ origin of infectious diseases was established by Pasteur and others in the seventies of the last century, the healing art has advanced as never before. It is safe to say that the up-to-date physician today, if called in time, is twice as able to diagnose and heal as the physician of sixty years ago, thrice as able to relieve suffering, and perhaps five times as effective in warding off disease. The result has been victories over disease such as the past never dreamed of. Even a decade ago the president of the Rockefeller Foundation could declare :

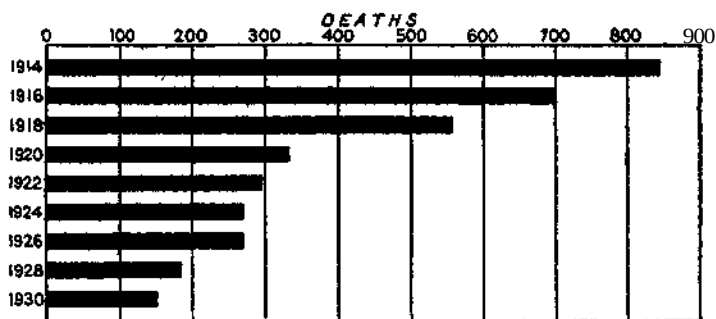
The presence of smallpox is now a disgrace to any civilized community or country; cholera and plague have disappeared from the leading nations; typhoid fever has been enormously reduced; malaria and hookworm disease are giving ground; yellow fever is being narrowly restricted; typhus is practically unknown among cleanly people; the fear of diphtheria has been largely allayed. Such victories as these, together with advances in general sanitation, higher living standards, and more attention to individual health



Data supplied by the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals, American Medical Association

Percentage of counties in the United States having hospitals for general community use.

¹ K. de Schweinitz, "Sickness as a Factor in Poverty," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1919. page 100.



Data supplied by North Carolina Department of Health

Deaths from typhoid fever in North Carolina, 1914-1930. The striking reduction in the number of deaths is largely the result of the organization of county health departments, which increased from three in 1916 to fifty-three in 1930.

habits, have resulted in steadily falling death rates in all the more progressive countries.

Life terms, ancient and modern. If we divide the number of deaths in any period of time into the total of years lived by those who died, we get "expectation of life" for that period. Now, we know that the expectation of life in ancient Rome was very low as compared with that in our time. Whereas in England today at age fifteen the expectation of further life for boys is forty-five years and for girls forty-eight years, in ancient Rome it was twenty and fifteen years respectively; whereas in England at age thirty the expectation for men is thirty-three and for women thirty-six more years, in ancient Rome it was nineteen and fourteen more years respectively.

Writes Professor Irving Fisher of Yale University:

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe human life was lengthening at the rate of about four years per century. During the first three fourths of the nineteenth century the rate was nine years per century. During the last quarter it was

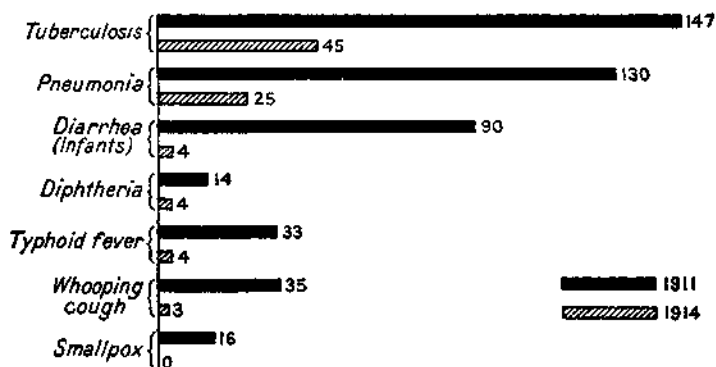
fourteen years per century in Massachusetts, seventeen years per century in Europe in general, and twenty-seven years per century in Prussia in particular. More recent data show that, in the first quarter of the twentieth century, for the United States, England, and Germany, life lengthened at the amazing pace of forty years per century.

Socializing health. Probably the great majority of us inherit a sound body and could lead a comparatively disease-free and happy life if only we did the right thing. So much is known now about our invisible enemies and the means of warding them off that it seems an infinite pity that people should misuse their bodies and let themselves in for ill health simply because no one has told them the right thing to do. Hence, the increasing pains taken to instruct school children in the art of proper living and the vast campaign to bring to the public by means of lectures and printer's ink the almost daily discoveries as to how to keep well.

The health department. Once it was made clear how much health depends on conditions beyond one's control, it seemed reasonable to protect the community by blocking the paths disease follows and wiping out or isolating the foci from which it spreads. In each state a health department tackles such state-wide problems as the curbing of epidemics, the disposal of the sewage of cities, the guarding of public water supplies from contamination, the sanitary inspection of factories, the safeguarding of foods and drugs. The first county health department was set up only twenty years ago; yet now of 2500 counties wholly or in large part rural 425 have a full-time health officer. The record of the health department of a certain Alabama county in its first five years shows how in a virgin field a little money may be made to, yield a big dividend in public health. In this time the county has not had an epidemic, thanks to better sanitary conditions, prompt reporting of cases by physicians, and proper control over the

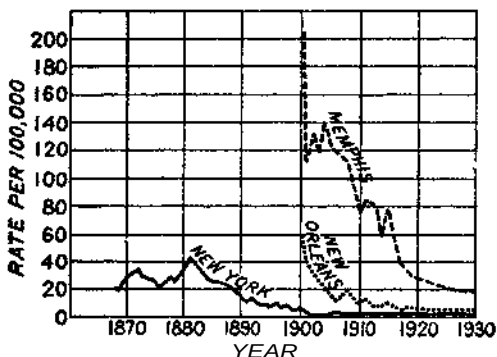
foci from which such diseases spread. The department's work includes sanitation, safeguarding of milk and meat supplies, malaria control, a county laboratory for all sorts of disease, child hygiene and school health work (7546 children examined), hygiene of maternity and infancy, a clinic for venereal diseases, a program of health education, and such miscellaneous bits as 282 examinations for life extension, 327 physical examinations for marriage, 276 children examined for work certificates, 1581 complete anti-typhoid inoculations, and 942 smallpox vaccinations. All this for a county with 52,535 souls cost a bit more than \$19,000!

The clinic. There has been a rapid growth of clinics from about six hundred in 1910 to near six thousand in 1926. They are maintained by hospitals, governmental and private health organizations, industrial and commercial establishments, schools and colleges, trade unions, and charitable agencies.



What can be done when a conscientious, energetic, and enthusiastic physician gives his whole time to looking after the health of the people. This is the record of the health officer of Robeson County, North Carolina, who began his work early in 1912. Contrast the number of deaths from the diseases shown here in 1911, the year before he began work, with that in 1914, after his work had begun to bear fruit.

The health center. Within twenty years the health center, which brings together a number of formerly separated community health activities, has made great progress; whereas in 1917 there were about a dozen in the large cities, now there are upwards of a thousand. In time such tax-supported centers will come to be a matter of course among us as they are in England, which has already more than two thousand of them.

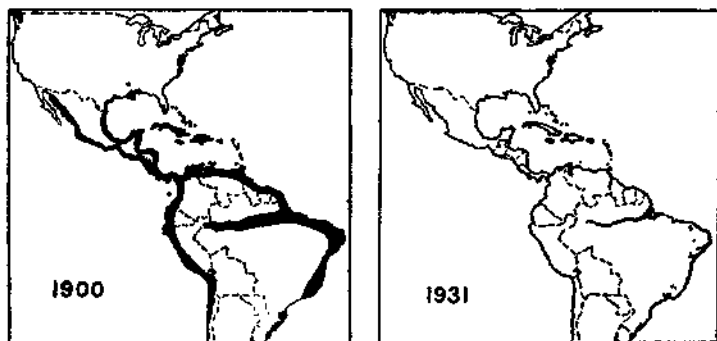


Data supplied by U. S. Public Health Service

Mortality from malaria in three American cities. Such conquests of disease finally bring us face to face with the population question.

The infant welfare station. In some places it is proposed to have continuous health supervision of the child. A record of it is to be kept from the moment of birth through the period of preschool life, grade schools, secondary schools, in fact, throughout childhood and adolescence. Rhode Island is the first state which has definitely committed itself to such work.

Public health nursing. The visiting or public health nurse is a graduate nurse taking part in an organized community service to individuals or families. Her service includes the interpretation of medical, sanitary, and social procedures for the correction of defects, prevention of disease, and promo-

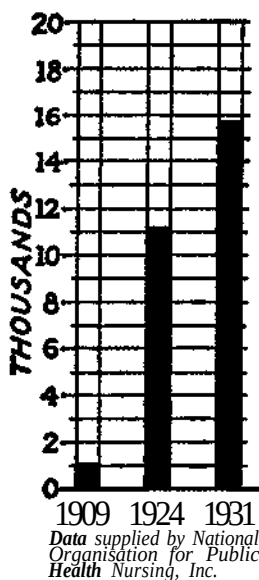


Data supplied by U. S. Public Health Service

The driving of yellow fever from the Western Hemisphere. Small black dots indicate cases reported in 1931, but no extensive outbreak occurred in this year. How many more such pictures of victory over disease may be drawn Were another quarter century has passed!

tion of health; and it may include care of the sick in their homes. Public health nurses are employed by agencies receiving their support from taxation, such as the Board of Health or Education, or from private contributions, such as the Visiting Nurse Association; or there may be a joint administration of public and private funds. Since 1909 the number of public health nurses has increased from one thousand to approximately sixteen thousand, exclusive of nurses employed in industry. It is estimated that at present there are between two and three thousand industrial nurses.

Shall medicine be socialized? Many health experts think that the services of physicians will some day be available for all at a common expense just as are the services of the public schools, the public libraries, the public highways and parks. There is in this country about one physician for 750 persons. In this respect we are twice as well off as England and France, and thrice as well off as Germany and Austria. But the attention of these doctors is by no means distributed according to need. The city has it much more



Number of public health **nurses** in the United States in three different years of the last quarter century.

freely than the country, and the well-to-do have it far more than the poor. This inequality of distribution of medical care never seemed so sad as it does now when the physician is a real magician in the resources he has at his command for relieving human suffering and piloting his patient back to health.

Time was when the seeker after justice never dreamed of coming before a judge without a present to reward him for his attention; for the suitor without a present stood small chance of being listened to. Time was when a turnpike company set a gate at either end of a highway it had built and let none pass who could not pay the fee. Time was when children received only such schooling as their parents paid for; so that the children of the poor grew up in blackest ignorance and illiteracy. Now, just as the court, the highway, and the school have been socialized so that they are open to all without charge, so, some believe, the day will come when all can have medical attention and advice and the neighborhood or community clinic will make no more charge than the university clinic now does. Gradually the conception is growing up that health service should be a charge upon the community to be given where needed and paid for by taxes or by philanthropic contributions. It is not proposed that private practice be forbidden or that the well-to-do should not have as much medical attention as they care to pay for; the point is that an increasing proportion of medical

attention be available to all who need it. The health insurance systems of England and Germany have this advantage. There are lists of "panel" doctors, as they are called, who are paid out of insurance funds and who treat free of charge cases coming under the system.

We see medicine socialized to a certain degree whenever a factory, a school, or a lodge hires a doctor to look after its employees or students or members. The service is given not according to ability to pay but according to need. This principle has the effect of putting medical service within reach of many who sorely need it but who would try to get along without it if they were required to pay fees and so drift beyond help before consulting a physician.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How do dependent families compare with other families in their burden of illness?

2. Show how sickness may produce complete shipwreck of a family.

3. What great diseases have been put practically out of business in advanced societies?

4. At what varying rates has human life been lengthening in recent centuries?

5. What does a state health department undertake to do? a county health department?

6. What do you understand by "clinic"? "health center"? "infant welfare station"?

7. What is the argument for "socializing" medicine? the argument against it?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Would you account for the fact that the dependent have nearly twice as much illness as others on the principle, "Illness begets dependency," or on the principle, "Dependency begets illness"?

2. From the mortality statistics published by your state, figure the extent of the decline of the death rate in fifty years and see which diseases have been most subjugated in this period'

3. To what extent have medical attention and advice been made available in your community to those unable to pay for them ?

4. To what extent are medical advance and public health measures contributing to the degeneration of our race by aiding the unfit to stay alive and leave children like themselves? (See Ross's *Principles of Sociology*, Revised Edition, Chapter 4.)

5. Is the Volstead Act proving itself to be a public health protection in your community? (See L. I. Dublin, *Health and Wealth*, Chapter 14.)

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. What can be done to enlist a larger element of the public in the war on disease ? (Read E, pages 63-65.)

2. What "health demonstrations" have been conducted and what results have come from them ? (Consult F, pages 236-240.)

3. Why is old age becoming more and more a *social* problem? (Read A, Chapter 7.)

4. Seek to learn from your local public health officer and from representative physicians what are the best things your state board of public health is doing and what opportunities to promote the public health it is neglecting.

DEBATE

Resolved, That the State should undertake to bring medical advice within the reach of all as it has brought knowledge within the reach of all.

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CHAPTER TEN

EDUCATION

- I. Peaks and potholes of educational opportunity
 1. The states vary greatly in making sacrifices on behalf of popular education
 2. Difficulty of education in certain sections
- II. The amazing progress of education
 1. Growth of secondary education
 - a. Growth in the breadth of education in its middle range
 - b. Equalization of opportunity the aim of the free-high-school movement
 2. Growth of higher education
- III. The motives of society in promoting education
 1. Popular education a bulwark of people-rule
 2. Fitting for citizenship
 3. Imparting skill
 4. Teaching the dignity of labor
 5. Developing a regard for the welfare of society

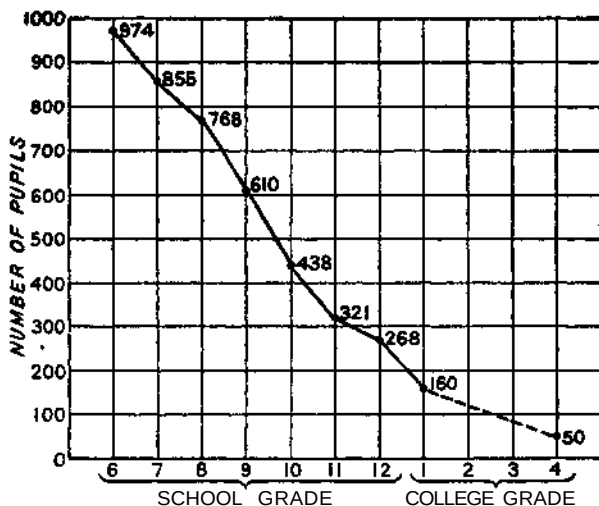
Considering that upward of thirty millions of young people, near a quarter of the entire population, are enrolled in school, one must pronounce education to be the greatest single spiritual enterprise in America. Our army of a million teachers is twice as large as that of all who devote themselves to religion, charity, law, art, and literature; it exceeds the number of employees in the manufacture of machinery, the coal industry, the lumber industry, or the iron and steel industry. The yearly outlay on education is two and a quarter billion dollars.

Peaks and potholes of educational opportunity. It is the states, not the nation, that maintain schools, and some of the states leave the matter pretty much to the local units of government. Hence, there is a shocking unevenness in school opportunities. Thus a school year varies from four

months to ten months. In one state only an eighth of the elementary school teachers have been properly trained for their work, while in another seven eighths have such training. In 19£8 the average pay of teachers in New York State was more than four times that of Mississippi, and New York laid out for current school expenses five times as much per pupil as Georgia.

We cannot expect such contrasts to disappear of themselves. In an ignorant community illiterate parents argue, "What was good enough for me should be good enough for my children." Poor schools may become hereditary in a region. A shut-in people may become tainted with ignorance, as a soil becomes infected with hookworm. Nevertheless, the intelligent sections of the state have to submit to being governed in part by representatives from the dark-minded districts. To avoid this, the state sets up minimum educational standards binding on every community, or else tries to level up educational opportunities by extending financial aid. Many, indeed, are so shocked at the backwardness of education in some states that they would have the Federal government set up minimum standards for all states or else offer Federal financial aid. A nation can hardly endure half-lighted and half-benighted.

In the South it was for many years difficult to get ahead with education, owing to the large element of backward Negroes, who cared little for schools, and to the impoverishment of that section by the Civil War. Nowhere, however, has the cause of education lately inspired more enthusiasm or made greater progress than in some of the Southern states. In other parts of the country education is held back by the presence of great numbers of non-English-speaking immigrants, many of whom do not appreciate how much good schools can do to help their children get on. Although many American commonwealths attain a high uniform level of edu-



Data supplied by U. S. Office of Education

The school future of a thousand pupils entering the first grade of the public schools. Is the dropping out due chiefly to want of interest, to lack of ability, or to the necessity of earning money?

cation for their children, it was found that a quarter (24 per cent) of the young men drafted into the army in 1917-1918 could not read nor write a letter. We learned that our actual illiteracy was more than twice what the answers to the census inquiries had led us to expect. That a fourth of our young men could not read was so shocking and humiliating a discovery that the demand that the national government get behind education has been greatly strengthened.

The amazing progress of secondary education. National education, in every country, may be thought of as a lofty mountain, broad at the base and tapering upward into a peak. The peculiarity of American education is not *breadth of base*, for there are countries which are more successful than the United States in getting their children into the public elementary schools. It is not *height of peak*, for American

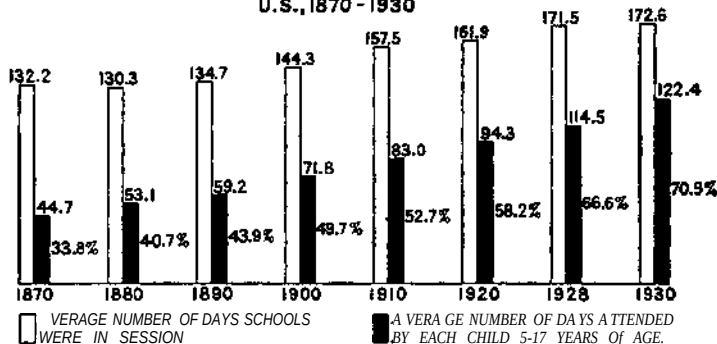
universities stand no higher than those of certain other countries. But it is *breadth of education in its middle range* — say from the seventh year of instruction to the twelfth — for nowhere else does so large a proportion of the children receive secondary instruction as in America.

Not always has it been so. A generation ago in many parts of the country free education consisted of the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic, together with a little history and geography. Now, however, it is indeed a small and poor place that does not provide a free high school. In thousands of American communities the finest building you see is the home of the high school. It has come to be taken for granted that twelve years are required — that is, until the eighteenth year of age — to give an individual a proper education.

These public high schools, which were formerly little more than gangways to college, are now attended by multitudes of young people who have not the slightest prospect of pushing on to a higher education. Perhaps not one in five who complete the high school will ever win a college degree. This means that these schools are becoming the universities of the people, in which the son or the daughter of the motorman or the mechanic may hope to gain preparation for some well-paid calling and a rather broad outlook on the world.

The enthusiasm of Americans for bringing this grade of education within the reach of young people may be gauged by the fact that the number of public high schools is now eighteen thousand — three times as many as there were thirty years ago, eight times as many as there were forty years ago. Or consider how the boys and girls hasten to avail themselves of these opportunities. Now not less than 3,500,000 pupils are in our public high schools — a seventeen-fold increase since 1890, although in this forty years the population has but doubled.

SCHOOL OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED AND SCHOOL OPPORTUNITY USED
U.S., 1870 - 1930



Data supplied by U. S. Office of Education

School opportunity provided and school opportunity used in the United States from 1870 to 1930.

When the incomes of municipalities began to feel the effects of the economic depression that followed the stock market crash of 1929, there was started a curtailment of educational opportunity that has amounted to a major social disaster. Even when local governments again have plenty of money to spend, hard fighting will be necessary in order to get our schools back to where they were. The wisdom of such economy as this is very doubtful.

Education as a social equalizer. One aim of the free-high-school movement has been social democracy. Thoughtful Americans realized that, so far as possible, all young people should have an even chance to show what they can do in the race of life. Hence, society should adopt the policy of equalizing opportunities. We do not yet see just how to correct the inequalities arising from the inheritance of property, business, or family influence. But a system of public education which is free clear to the top will do much to open doors to the poor man's children. So, at least, it is working out in America. Probably nowhere else does the bright boy

of the day laborer face such a prospect of rising. Nowhere else does the clever son of the farmer or the machinist have so good a chance of getting into a profession.

To be sure, though we provide instruction without cost, this is but a part of the expense of education, for the pupil has to have food and clothes while he is in school. The power of the children of the poor to contend for the prizes of life on equal terms with the children of the well-to-do is limited by the inability of the poorer parents to keep their children in school. It is true that friendly hands are many and the bright youth who reaches college will be helped through. Still, only one in eight of those who enter the public schools finishes the high school and only one in fifty-three graduates from college. It is likely that more pupils drop out of school from lack of means than from lack of ability. If we are resolved to equalize educational opportunities, we should see that no capable child has to break off his education on account of poverty. To realize this ideal, we may have to spend twice as much on education as we do now.

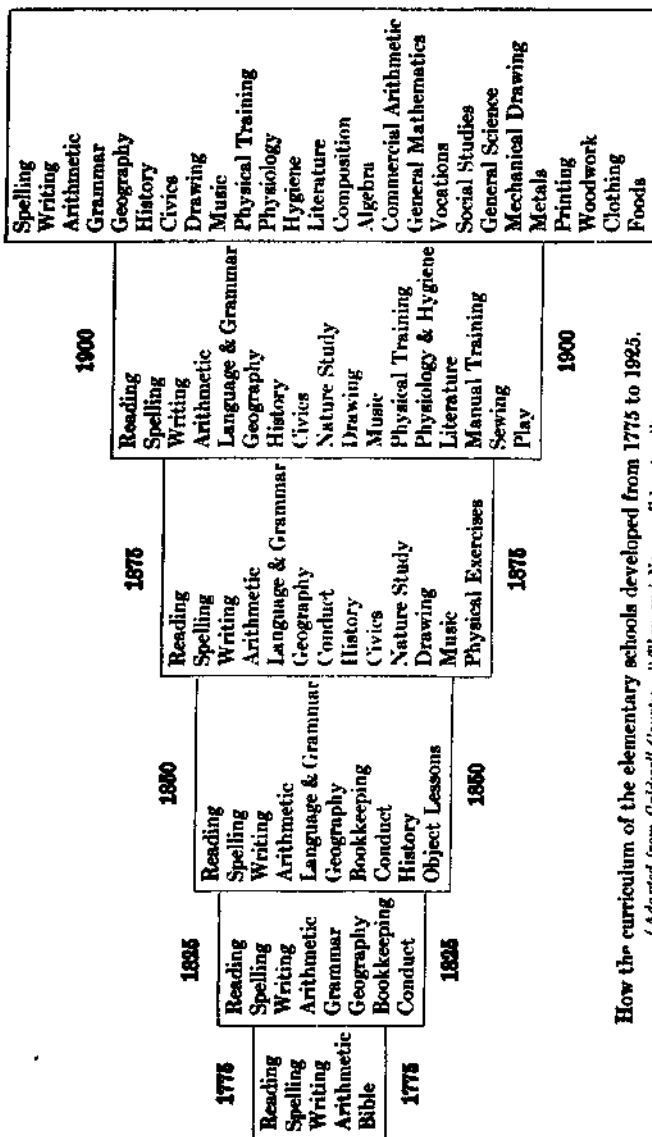
University extension is another stroke on behalf of democracy. The university which the American state maintains is not content with teaching a few thousand students in its halls. What of the tens of thousands kept away by the stern necessity of earning their living? The university reaches out to them by extension courses, which they can take without coming to its classrooms. By means of correspondence courses and traveling lecturers, the university campus is made as wide as the state itself. Nearly 300,000 men and women are now enrolled in such courses. One state university, which has three times as many students out of sight of its dome as there are within sight of it, has sent its agents through the shops and factories and organized groups of artisans to study under the direction of traveling instructors, who teach them on employers' time.

With so many public fountains playing everywhere, who will go thirsty for knowledge? One reason for the cheerful tone of American life when times are not bad is that few early aspirations are utterly thwarted. Where else in the world dares youth so revel in hopes and dreams? Not only do most of our young folk have a try at the prizes of life, but democracy sees to it that, though the big prizes are not so big as they are in the Old World, there are a far greater number of middle-sized prizes. Thanks to free education, nearly every able ambitious youth *gets something*, and has, besides, the respect of himself and others.

The growth of higher education. In 1874 the regents of a certain state university asked the legislature for two buildings, stating that if these were provided all the future needs of the institution would be met. Now there are over a hundred buildings on its campus. In 1868 when Lincoln, the capital of Nebraska, was being laid out and land could be had for the asking, the regents of the University of Nebraska were satisfied to reserve four blocks near the center of the city. Forty years later, in order to obtain building room, they had to acquire at great expense five built-up blocks and tear down the structures upon them. In those days no one dreamed of state universities with an attendance of from ten to thirteen thousand students.

Our intellectual leaders receive their training in upward of fourteen hundred colleges, universities, and professional schools attended by over a million youths, of whom more than two fifths are women. Three out of five of these institutions are on a private basis and are kept going by gifts and by income from endowments. In a recent twenty-year period the gifts and bequests to higher education in this country amounted to half a billion dollars. In the school yea' 1929-1980 they totaled about a hundred and forty million dollars. The states are dealing so generously with their own universities

1925



1925

How the curriculum of the elementary schools developed from 1775 to 1925.
(Adapted from Caldwell-Courtis "Then and Now in Education")

that approximately one college student out of two is attending a public institution.

Motives of society in promoting education. Education, of course, should help one make the most of himself in body, mind, and heart, but this is not the sole motive of society in laying out such princely sums on schools. Society has certain quite definite purposes of its own. Let us see what these are.

Popular education a bulwark of people-rule. In the old days when their own farms supported most families, if the people lost control of the steering wheel of government they paid for it chiefly by high taxes. Today they would pay for it not only by high taxes but by high prices for most things they have to buy. More and more, business has to be watched and regulated by the government. Woe then to the people if they are not clever enough to make the government obey their will. The intelligence of the American voters of a century ago sufficed to insure them a certain control over their government; but the voters of today must needs be much better informed. Greater intelligence is demanded of the citizens as our government tackles the heavy tasks which economic and social development thrusts upon it. Education of the people is necessary to maintain rule by the people. As H. J. W. Hetherington, the English educationist, says:

Democratic government at least demands an educated people. For government of any sort requires authority; and authority attaches to a decision or decree only when it has some definite authentic will behind it. Plainly, it is easier to secure singleness of aim and action with few rulers than with many. Hence, a democratic community is sometimes apt to be hesitating in counsel or a prey to the danger of inner dissension. Its safety in such a condition lies only in an educated community. Men may be reluctant to be persuaded of a truth, but it is the only thing of which, in the long run, they will be persuaded, or on which they will agree. Unanimity, therefore, or that measure of harmony of mind and will

which makes possible effective common action, depends upon the wide diffusion of a sense of truth and of the candor which will abide by the truth. It is a product of education and nothing else.

Education for citizenship. For a long time various parts of the country were flooded with unlettered European peasants who had little notion of what democracy implies. The low politician promptly took these green voters in hand and proceeded to persuade them that a political party is a mutual-benefit association; that the Constitution should not be allowed to stand between friends; that to be independent in voting is to be a traitor to your party; that the first commandment is "Vote 'er straight"; and that it is weak-minded not to use the power of office to reward your friends and punish your enemies.

In the period 1860-1900 this produced such a shocking degradation of the government of our large cities — and sometimes of the states — that about thirty years ago a widespread alarm as to the country's future led to a demand that the schools really train for citizenship. So there is a growing effort to acquaint pupils with community teamwork and with such fundamentals as the principles of liberty, freedom of speech, obedience to law, majority rule, the place of party, and the sacredness of the ballot.

The imparting of skill. The old way of handing down the skill of a craftsman was that the father taught it to his son; but today a young man does not take up an occupation merely because it happens to be his father's. Then came the apprentice system. Young fellows were bound out for a period of years to a workman who would teach them his trade. This system, in turn, broke down. The skilled workman today is working usually for another man and is not free to teach his art to whom he will. As for the employer, he may not deem it worth while to take apprentices into his plant and provide them with opportunity for learning their trade.

So it looks as if the handing on of skill will more and more devolve upon the school.

After the school has developed the trade skill, there is the job of getting the youth into the right place. When one knows what aptitudes each trade calls for, and when it is possible to test the aptitudes and limitations of the pupil, the school will be able to discover which applicants have and which have not the traits requisite for success in a given calling. Then it will be charged with the responsibility of guiding into their vocations the youths whom it has trained.

Federal encouragement of vocational education. In 1917 Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Act, establishing a Federal Board for Vocational Education. This board promotes the vocational type of education in cooperation with the several states and looks after the Federal aid granted to the states under the Act. Each state which ties into the system must provide a state board to control its vocational schools. Evening, part-time, and continuation schools offer instruction in agriculture, industry, commerce, transportation, and the professions. Each state must appropriate, either through the state or locally, an amount of money for teachers' salaries equivalent to the sum received from the Federal Board. The state must also provide proper buildings and meet the running expenses. In 1935-1936 the states received about \$10,000,000 from the Federal government in support of vocational education.

Teaching the dignity of labor. One of the most crippling social diseases is the stigma on honest work, but the school can help cure it by teaching the dignity of labor. Formerly the subjects taught in secondary schools came down from a time when schools were for the children of fine folk, who would never have to soil their hands. But to the sons of farmers and laborers the school seemed out of touch with life, and many quit it just as soon as they could. Only within

this generation have educators recognized that the schools must come closer to farm and workshop if they are to hold the three out of five whose lot it will be to earn their living by the sweat of their brows. The best of our school buildings are now equipped with shops and kitchens, so that hand and eye may be trained along with the mind.

Yet how hard it has been to make the schools a place for handwork! A mysterious force resists our endeavor to make schoolgirls deft with foods and fabrics, schoolboys skillful with machines and materials. *This force is simply the prejudice against manual labor.* Even the plain people feel a lack of gentility in tools and secretly are ashamed to have handwork going on in our schools. But it is the making of useful things with the hands that will save the young people from the same false idea.

Developing a regard for social welfare. A century ago our forefathers were convinced that individuals who intelligently pursue their private interests were promoting the social welfare. In accordance with this theory, the aim of education was *individual success*. The school was to develop the powers of a youth so that he might run well in the race for the good things of life. It was supposed that any community is bound to thrive which includes a large number of individuals well able to take care of themselves.

But about fifty years ago there was such an increase in social and political evils and fierce discontents that thoughtful men began to doubt this rosy social philosophy. They noticed that there are a number of important social interests which do not run parallel with individual interests; and whenever the two types of interests clash, the social interests should be preferred. For instance, the social interest in the preservation of the forests runs counter to the desire of lumbermen to make large profits. The social interest in health vetoes smoke production and stream pollution by manufac-

turers. The social interest in natural beauty will not allow manufacturers to disfigure dells, glens, and hillsides with their huge billboards. The social interest in morals suppresses many "stunts" and shows which would make money for producers of amusements.

We now see clearly that not only every profession, but every business and pursuit, should be conducted always with due regard for the welfare of society. To open the eyes of young people to the truth that one's calling should be followed as a means of *service*, and not simply as a means of gain, is the supreme mission of a system of public education.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why do educational opportunities vary in the different states?
2. What is the strong point of American education in comparison with other countries?
3. How do the chances for education today compare with those of thirty or forty years ago?
4. What has been the aim in the free-high-school movement?
5. Does free tuition suffice to provide equal educational opportunities for youths from poor families and from well-to-do families?
6. Trace the growth of higher education.
7. Set forth the motives of society in spending large sums on schools.
8. Prove that more than ever it is vital for the people to control government.
9. What can the school do to promote social welfare?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. What is the most valuable subject you are studying? Why?
2. Does your high school have self-government or faculty-government? What are the merits of each plan?
3. How many pupils withdrew from your high school last year? Would a scholarship fund have helped keep them in school? If so, what can you do to promote such a fund?
4. Is there danger that too many young people may get a high school education?

5. Show that, as a greater proportion of young people attend high school, it becomes more important that the high school should offer vocational courses.

6. Which can do more to change a wild boy into a normal boy — classroom instruction or supervised team play?

7. Does your schoolhouse serve the community in any way other than the education of pupils? How could it be used as a community center?

8. Out of every 100 children who enter the first grade of the public schools, only 77 graduate from grammar school, 27 from high school, and 5 from college. What are the reasons for this — poverty? ill health? lack of ability? dissatisfaction with school?

9. The following table embodies the results of a study made in New Orleans some years ago. What do you get out of it?

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS	PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN THE GRADES				
	VI	IX	X	XI	XII
Professional services	8	9	10	13	19
Clerical services . .	4	5	5	8	4
Building trades . .	18	13	8	5	3
Common labor . .	10	4	£	1	0

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Investigate the provisions of your state constitution in regard to education; the costs of education in your state; the rank of your state in literacy, in public education. Account for these conditions.

2. Compare the educational training of boys and girls today with that of (a) Greek children, (b) Roman children, (c) children in America in colonial days. (Read D. Also Johnson's *Private Life of the Romans*, Chapter 4, and Gulick's *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, Chapter 7.)

5. Make a study of the educational activities of the Federal government; of the duties of the United States Commissioner of Education; of the Office of Education. What important publications have they issued during the past year?

4. Find what proportion of high school graduates in your city or state carry their education further.
5. Discuss the significance of Horace Mann for public education.
6. Discuss the significance of Booker T. Washington for Negro education.

DEBATE

Resolved, That school attendance should be made compulsory for all children of normal ability under sixteen years of age.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

STANDARDS OF SOCIAL DISTINCTION

- I. Struggle for prestige
- II. Standards for valuing men
 - 1. Personal prowess and virtue
 - 2. Conspicuous Expenditure
 - a. The pecuniary standard makes the rich the best
 - b. The pecuniary standard corrupts character
 - 3. Conspicuous Leisure
 - a. Harmful results of the stigma on labor
 - 6. Origin of the stigma on labor
 - 4. The battle of the standards
 - 5. Pecuniary standards among different peoples
- III. **How** America might lose her soul
 - 1. Ostentation as a ruling motive
 - 2. General acceptance of luxury
 - 3. Causes of the decay of the Roman state
- IV. **How** America may save her soul
 - 1. Measure worth by service to society
 - 2. Ways of working to this end

Most people, especially young people — unless they have become discouraged and lost their morale — crave to be or to do something which others regard as fine. This ambition is a drivewheel of progress. It is one of the traits which lift man above the brute, for no animal craves the recognition of its fellows. Still, this ambition, if misdirected, may do vast social harm.

The struggle for prestige. The economist interprets to us the *struggle for wealth* going on in society. The sociologist undertakes to interpret the *struggle for prestige* — the struggle for social standing, for the respect of others. To some extent the one struggle overlaps the other; for one man wants *prestige* in order to gain more wealth, while another wants *wealth* in order to gain more prestige.

Of course, the struggle to get food, a coat to one's back, a roof over the head, and a bed to lie on is dictated by one's bodily necessities. But after a man's elementary needs are met, he continues the struggle for wealth in order to gratify his desire for social prestige. In other words, *vanity* and *pride* become master motives.

As people of shallow, conventional ideas become well-to-do, they spend their money with an eye to improving their social standing rather than with an eye to comfort. How they will lay out their money depends upon what wins the most recognition with their society or social class. The things that a well-off Arab, Chinese, or American will do with a sudden windfall are so different that we can account for the difference only by the great contrast among their respective societies in the ruling notions as to what is most worth while. In other words, Arab society, Chinese society, and American society differ immensely in approved means of gaining good repute.

A standard for valuing men. The striving to cut a fine figure in the eyes of one's fellows is good or bad according to the standard by which individual worth is measured. On the whole, it is a good thing so long as practically everybody in the community works for his living. But when a class of rich has grown up, ideas and standards develop which may spread like poison through the community. Every element in society, of course, would like the social yardstick by which all of us are measured to be just the one thing it is strongest in. The brawny would like to see *physical strength* the basis for valuing men, for that is their "long suit." The light-footed would like *fleetness* to be the test. The handsome rejoice when *personal beauty* is the thing that counts most. The clever are happiest if *mental nimbleness* is the standard by which people are rated. And so it goes; each favors that test by which he comes out best.

The standard desired by the rich. Now, the one superiority of the merely rich is in their wealth; so they would like to see all men rated according to wealth or according to what wealth will buy. For this standard of measurement insures their coming out at the top of the social heap, where they really have no right to be. So they set up expenditure as a convenient measure of a man's wealth and an index of his personal worth. A multitude of people are gradually beguiled into giving up their common-sense ratings of men according to personal qualities and begin to appraise them according to standards based upon clothes, style of living, or scale of expenditure. In grading their fellows, they lose sight of the man himself and notice chiefly the tinsel that surrounds him.

In other words, the material accessories of life — trappings, furnishings, decorations, glitter — count rather than the actual traits of the man or the woman. People are brought to think that broadcloth is much nobler than blue jean, silk than homespun, an Oriental rug than a rag carpet, silverware than pewter, orchids than hollyhocks, a Rolls-Royce than a Ford. Thus, little by little, one's natural judgment is corrupted until a heavy-jowled, paunchy man in broadcloth, with a diamond pin and a fat purse, seems humanly superior to a straight, hard-muscled, broad-browed idealist in working clothes who lives in a cabin and has a flat purse.

The stigma on cheapness. People are *educated* to these false judgments, not in school of course, but elsewhere. Advertising, for example, suggests that clothes make the man; it harps on "quality" or "class," claims that this costly car or silver chest is the one preferred by "people of refinement," insinuating thus that those without it or with a cheaper kind are wanting in refinement. Years ago Senator Harrison, who afterward became President of the United States, met the argument that the protective tariff makes our

clothes dearer with the remark, " A cheap coat makes a cheap man." When we are shopping, the clerks sometimes try to make us feel that we are " cheap " if we buy the less expensive things. Most young people would prefer to be called almost anything rather than " cheap skates."

The pecuniary standard makes the rich the " best." In any kind of rivalry it is good tactics to *shut out your competitor*. Now, this is precisely what people who have money *and nothing else* aim to do. Since their sole superiority is in their wealth, they would free themselves from the competition of those brighter or wiser or finer than they are by setting up *possessions* as the one passport to social esteem. If they can have their way, they will raise the standard of dress, furnishings, housing, entertainment, and hospitality to such a pitch of costliness that everybody of narrow means will be clear " out of the running," not " in it." They and their sort will pose at the apex of society as " the superior," while all others will be oppressed with a sense of being " inferior."

It is not that the rich form a circle of their own — no great harm in that! — but that their circle should be accepted as *the best circle*, all other circles being graded according to their nearness to that of the rich in respect to display. The effect of this is that all through society your social standing depends on your might as a spender. So people pinch and scrimp in secret, save or give away less than they ought, in order to " put up a front," " keep up appearances," or live in a way that is considered " fashionable."

It is strange that people who strive for higher things than mere wealth should accept a standard which belittles them. It is as if athletes should agree that the proper measure of a youth's excellence is his skill in playing chess; as if the bald-headed should agree that the right standard for judging men is the abundance of hair! The reason why some sane people let themselves be caught in this snare is that wealth

is so generally coveted that there is a tendency to envy and look up to those who have attained it. Besides, the pecuniary standard is in a thousand ways interwoven with the philosophy of life which comes down to us from the past.

The pecuniary system as a corrupter of character. The system of appraising individuals according to their scale of spending is the *pecuniary system*, and it acts on society just like a poison; it makes character rot. Ambitious persons of simple tastes, who do not in the least care for luxuries, feel themselves obliged to get more money somehow in order to "be in the swim"; that is, to move in the social circles they feel they ought to move in. Those greedy by nature are reinforced by great numbers of naturally generous people who have been made avaricious by the requirements of life among those by whom they wish to be respected.

Not only does the pecuniary system make the good-natured grasping and hard-hearted, but it strengthens the temptation to get money by sharp practice, trickery, and graft, to quit the safe and honorable highway for some short cut or crooked bypath to riches. Matrimony, friendship, social intercourse, and even religion are all more or less tainted with the motive of "getting on" in a worldly way. Thus the pecuniary system is a moral blight which dwarfs or kills the finer impulses of the human heart.

The stigma on labor. Besides this standard of Conspicuous Expenditure, there is a kindred toxin which we may call the standard of Conspicuous Leisure. Its root idea is that you raise yourself in the social scale in the degree that you show that you do not work productively. When there has sprung up a class of people who have inherited so much wealth that they never need to do anything for a living, they are likely to arrive at the notion that productive work is disgraceful, that no true gentleman will exert himself except in sport or in some form of unpaid public service. By such

members of the idle-rich class, all those whose lot it is to do useful work are looked down on — they are not persons of real standing or consequence.

To the thinker, of course, any able-bodied and able-minded person, be he rich or poor, who willfully loaf through life, consuming regularly but never producing, is contemptible. But the stigma on work is designed to bolster up the self-respect of the idle rich and their parasites. More than that, it actually infects many of the useful people, making them contemptible in their own eyes and ready to resort to any scheme in order to avoid visible work. That the good for nothing should be able to win over the good for something to a standard so silly seems unbelievable; but it is sometimes so. It happens because this standard is time-hallowed, having been handed down from a thousand years ago, when the ancestors of the feudal nobles were triumphant warriors who despised the working masses because they were able to bully them and take as much as they pleased of the fruits of their labor.

Harmful results of the stigma on labor. It would be hard to imagine a more corrupting idea than this notion that work is a disgrace. Most of us — certainly 98 per cent of us — will *have* to work for a living. Very few can dodge work in their hale years if we are to live on a modern plane of comfort and decency. Savages, to be sure, do very little work, and we might confine work to a small portion of our lives if we were willing to live in the dirt and discomfort of savages. The facts are, however, that standards of living are rising and population is growing, so that most of us will work; and our children and grandchildren, while they may live better than we do, will not work less.

This being the case, what can be more toxic than the standard which makes people who have to work blush for it? It is as if Satan should persuade us to be ashamed of eating, or breathing, or yawning, or any other natural function.

The harm that results from accepting this false standard is plain. Under its influence, persons who earn their living by useful and interesting occupation and might be happy enough in it, may come to hate their work and rebel at having work to do. The contented may be made discontented and unhappy — all for nothing. Again, the clever who have come to imagine that work is disgraceful, concoct a great variety of schemes for living "by one's wits." They crowd into all sorts of shady occupations — gambling, "playing the races," swindling, get-rich-quick schemes, hanging on the coat tails of the rich — anything to escape the ignominy of working.

Origin of the stigma on labor. It would be unfair to blame the rich of our day for the existence of these fool notions. Mostly they are an inheritance. They have come to us from Europe and from the feudal age. Shakespeare's plays are full of aristocratic contempt for those who work with their hands. For two hundred years most romances and "society novels" have portrayed heroes and heroines who never had to count pennies or roughen their hands, and the leading characters represented on the stage have been members of the leisure class. The traditions of "society" have carried down the false ideals from generation to generation.

By no means all our rich accept the ideas which underlie snobbery. Many of them understand very well that if America stands for anything great in the world, it is for the gospel of "A man's a man for a' that." Then, too, those who have made a fortune by excelling others in energy, courage, or originality are rarely snobs. They respect gifted individuals, whatever their pecuniary condition, and laugh at the airs fools assume just because they have the means of outshining others. It is the rich with no superiority but their wealth who wish to set up the barbaric standard of valuing everybody according to his capacity to spend.

Nor are these rich the only ones to blame for the presence

of this toxin. Without knowing it, a great many useful and hard-working people carry latent in their souls the germs of snobbery. They have caught them from shallow-minded friends, from conventional dramas and novels, from the "society" columns of newspapers, from the luxury advertisements and shops. Should a big run of luck come their way, the quickness with which they will cast off their old friends and try to "get in with" rich idlers shows that their hearts were already corrupted. This is why an unexpected stroke of good fortune is a wonderful revealer of character. If a person has it in him to despise work and admire idleness and extravagance, a burst of prosperity brings this tendency to the surface.

The battle of the standards. All over our country and all the time a warfare is being waged between the upholders of wholesome, democratic standards and the worshipers of the Golden Calf, between those who would have human beings rated according to the service they render to society and those who would apply to all the yardstick of Conspicuous Expenditure and Conspicuous Leisure. On the one side are thinkers, preachers, teachers, educators, statesmen, labor leaders, and most of the farmers, bankers, and financiers. On the other side are the idle rich, the "smart set," the "swagger set," the "society" people, the club people, the social climbers, the luxury advertisers and dealers, and (alas!) many of the women folk of professional and business men. The thoughtful, the farsighted, the public-spirited, the patriotic, the social-minded, fearful lest the fiber of American character rot, champion sound standards of manhood and womanhood. On the other hand, the shallow, the frivolous, the fashionable, the pleasure-loving, the selfish, the short-sighted, put into circulation base ideas of human worth which would make this country not a democracy but a snobocracy.

Generally institutions such as church, school, social settlement, community center, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls throw their influence on the right side. But formal social functions, social clubs, the theater, the popular stories and novels, the shop windows, and the exclusive amusements help the other side.

Standards among different peoples. Nothing could be more mistaken than to suppose that we Americans have strayed farther than other peoples from sound ideas of wealth and work. The fact is, hardly any people have resisted the toxins which diffuse from the pleasure-seeking leisure class so well as we have. In China and Malaysia the well-to-do wear the finger nails of the left hand long in order to advertise that they do not work with their hands. Frequently the nail is six or eight inches in length, supported by a silver case, and on some fingers it reaches a growth of twenty inches. To the Oriental mind, what offends most is work that soils the hands. A copyist or clerk will starve rather than turn to begriming tasks. A professor of engineering in an American mission college in China has to speak sharply to his surveying students to get them actually to carry chain and drive stakes. They complain of it as "coolie work."

All through Spanish America everybody "who is anybody" keeps away from bodily labor as if it were smallpox. In Argentina the American machinery expert setting up steam threshers made in the United States has to check his impulse to take off his coat and show the stupid peons just how to put the parts together. If he did so, he might be put off with them in the barn that evening instead of sitting at the ranchman's supper table. In Peru the university seniors in mining engineering, when taken through an up-to-date mine by its American engineer, may refuse to follow him in putting on overalls and operating the greasy mine

machinery with their own hands on the levers. Their idea of how a gentleman learns to work a mine is to stand by in nice clothes, watch the machine go, and take notes while the expert explains its operation. A high school professor of chemistry in Peru finds great difficulty in inducing his pupils to perform laboratory experiments with their own hands. They think the job ought to be turned over to the janitor!

In Mexico the moment the train stops, a score of porters storm the first-class coach, each hoping to earn a few cents by carrying a passenger's satchel; for no Mexican gentleman would consent to being seen carrying his luggage. Fortunately the leaders of education since the Mexican revolution are trying hard to change those attitudes. All through Spanish America in hotel or club the guest is more respected by the servants if he insists on much service. Should he black his own shoes or brush his own clothes, he will be despised as "no gentleman." People are so ashamed to be seen waiting on themselves that there does not seem to be a future there for the cafeterias and "automats" which are such a success in this country.

An eminent foreign visitor once found President Lincoln in the White House basement wielding the shoebrush. "Why, Mr. President!" he exclaimed, "do I find you actually blacking your own boots?" "Well," replied the great emancipator, with a twinkle in his eye, "whose boots *should I black?*"

When the Americans took charge of Cuba and the Philippines, they found that the stigma on all labor which soils the hands caused the clean-cuff occupations to be crowded, so that the country was "long" on clerks and "short" on skilled mechanics. Since then, by setting a good personal example and stressing the dignity of labor, the American officials have done much to encourage more wholesome ideas.

How America might lose her soul. Daniel Webster was not only the greatest American orator, but he had the gift of vision. In his reply to Hayne, in his address at Plymouth on the second centennial anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, in his oration at the laying of the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill monument, we hear the voice of a seer. But never did he show rarer insight into the factors influencing the destiny of nations than when someone asked him to forecast the future of America. After a moment's reflection he replied, "Abundance, luxury, decline, desolation."

In a catalogue issued by a famous firm of jewelers are listed certain of its wares. Among them we notice gold pepper box, \$225; hot-water kettle, \$2600; gold clothes brush, \$95; shaving brush, \$85; shoe buttoner, \$138; diamond mesh bag, \$3550; card case, \$725; gold porringer for children, \$350; child's gold breakfast set, \$1800. We find also pearl scarfpins at \$7500, diamond brooches at \$4500 and upward, diamond bracelets \$14,500 and upward, and so on. The ruling motive for acquiring such things is, of course, not *adornment* but ostentation. They are wanted because of their costliness.

Here, certainly, is luxury the most unheard-of and inexcusable. From a purely economic point of view we Americans can stand a good deal of foolish expenditure. The waste of national resources on things not really beautiful but prized chiefly because of their costliness may not pinch us worse than a July drought in the corn belt, the boll weevil in the cottonfields, a series of great forest fires, or an aggressive battleship program. The nation survives such drains as these. Among the persons with great spending power, there will probably always be some who wish to grasp gold when they brush their clothes. We cannot stop their flinging money about in this fashion. Perhaps social ridicule mid better education will lessen the number. It is unfortu-

nate that not only the rich but many other classes of people are led into extravagant ways of living which tend to weaken their moral fiber.

It is, then, not the *wastefulness* of luxury that may bring about national decay, but the *general acceptance of the standards which express themselves in luxury*. If only the ignorant or harebrained surround themselves with the costly just because it *is* costly, while the rest of the wealthy set the example of quiet living, generous giving to public causes and institutions, and appraisal of their fellow citizens in terms of personal worth, then our young people will press toward worth-while goals and our civilization will keep sweet.

If, on the other hand, those who are merely rich tend to draw apart into a well-defined hereditary social class, developing its scale of values, and if the great body of useful workaday folk become corrupted by the false notions oozing out from this class of the merely rich, then greed will be intensified, Mammon will become a reigning god, the *doing* spirit will give way to the *grabbing* spirit, the stubbornly honest man will look like a fool, social and public life will become corrupted, and society will rot down.

Cause of the decay of Roman character. In their early days the Romans showed a great reverence for manly traits of character. After he had saved his country, Cincinnatus returned to his farm and resumed plowing. Most of the families had a farm and cottage, where parents and children worked together. Their clothes and simple implements they made for themselves at home. The famous epitaph of Claudia praises her that she "kept well the house and spun the wool."

In the course of four hundred years the spirit of the Romans was completely changed, owing to certain poisonous ideas which had spread out from the wealthy class raised up as a result of the huge conquests of the Roman

state. One was the notion that *it is disgraceful to take money for work*, which put a gulf between the working man and the landlord or manufacturer, between private and officer, between clerk and magistrate. Akin to this was the idea that *labor is not respectable*. This idea aggravated the discontent of the masses and made the descendants of the sturdy old Roman farmers willing to stoop to vile methods of getting money in order to avoid work.

Finally came the idea that *human worth is measured by the scale of consumption*, not by achievements or personal qualities. This made the effort to outspend, outshow, or outshine others the chief form of rivalry and begot in the rich an insane luxury, such as drinking precious pearls dissolved in vinegar and eating dishes composed of the tongues of trained, singing nightingales! The lust for wealth reached the pitch of folly and madness, while the worth of everything else was lowered in comparison with wealth. Says Mommsen, the great German historian, of the age of the Roman republic :

To be poor was not merely the sorest disgrace and the worst crime, but the only disgrace and the only crime; for money the statesman sold the state and the burgess sold his freedom; the post of the officer and the vote of the juryman were to be had for money. . . . Men had forgotten what honesty was; a person who refused a bribe was regarded, not as an upright man, but as a personal foe.

Gibbon, the author of the famous *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, thus sums up the thousand years of Roman history :

During the first four ages, the Romans, in the laborious school of poverty, had acquired the virtues of war and government; by the vigorous exercise of those virtues, and by the assistance of fortune, they had obtained, in the course of the three succeeding centuries, an absolute empire over many countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The last three hundred years had been consumed in apparent prosperity and internal decline.

The mad prodigality which prevails in the confusion of a shipwreck or a siege may serve to explain the progress of luxury amidst the misfortunes and terrors of a sinking nation.

How America may save her soul. Now we need not draw a close parallel between the American republic and the Roman republic. But, as Daniel Webster foresaw, abundance and luxury are here, and their evil consequences are sure to overtake us if we fail to develop the intelligence and moral force necessary to cope with them. As civilization advances, problems become more complex, calling for a higher order of intelligence and character to solve them. For the American people of this generation there is no graver problem than that of bracing themselves to meet the ever increasing strains which greater wealth and complexity of life place upon them.

As compared to Rome, we have a great deal in our favor. We are without the plagues of conquest and slavery. We have a social religion, the public schools, printed books, the newspaper, the radio. Then, too, we know a lot more about the diseases which destroy nations than the Romans did. We may well hope that if wise steps be taken in time the moral atmosphere of the American people may be even more wholesome in the year 2000 than it was in the year 1800. The main thing is to make general among us the habit of *measuring the worth of a man or a woman by service to society* and not by costliness of style of living. Some ways of working to this end are the following:

1. Young people may despise the attitude of looking down on honest work.
2. They may guard against letting his good clothes and free spending beguile them into chumming with a cad, a sneak, or a fool.
3. They may hold their heads high when their acquaintances see them at work or in working clothes.

4. The public may honor the key men — the inventors, discoverers, initiators, heroes, great thinkers, artists, and writers — paying no attention to whether they wear frock coat or overalls, live in a cottage or a palace.

5. The public may rate men in terms of good citizenship rather than of wealth.

6. By admiring bodily development and prowess in some form of popular sport, we may detract from the good repute which attaches to lavish spending.

7. The well-to-do may seek social prestige by excellence of conduct and character rather than by lavish outlay and display.

8. The influential may scorn to follow fashion when it prescribes the ugly or the extravagant, and set an example of self-restraint and good taste in style of living.

9. School authorities and the students may keep social affairs from becoming so costly as to shut out the self-supporting.

10. Educators may dignify work by building into the education of all — rich and poor alike — training in the skillful making of useful things by labor which soils the hands.

11. Colleges may be established in which the tuition fee will be not money but a certain amount of productive labor each week from every able-bodied student.

12. Public officials may combine dignity with simplicity in public ceremonies and social functions.

13. Leaders may exalt the personal standard above the pecuniary, as Theodore Roosevelt did with his slogan, "Don't flinch, don't foul, hit the line hard."

14. Society may adopt Roosevelt's suggestion that a year of compulsory industrial training be exacted by the state of every able-bodied young man, whether his home be a hut or a mansion.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What are some of the standards by which people might be valued?
2. Why do the merely rich desire us to rate everybody by the standard of Conspicuous Consumption?
3. How does advertising educate us to this standard?
4. Why do many of the not-rich adopt and apply this standard?
5. Show how the pecuniary system corrupts character.
6. Whence comes the stigma on manual labor?
7. Show the harmful results wrought by the general acceptance of the wrong attitude toward work.
8. Whence comes support of democratic standards of human work? of snobocratic standards?
9. Wherein lies the chief social harm of luxury?
10. Show how Roman character decayed.
11. How may we work to establish the right standard of measuring people?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Compare high school girls with high school boys in their tendency to apply pecuniary standards. Give reasons.
2. Review the steps by which a Boy Scout or a Girl Scout rises from rank to rank and show how they stress personal achievement.
3. Why should the girls of a graduating high school class agree to wear at Commencement each a dress made by herself and not costing more than a modest sum?
4. Do you notice any difference between bankers and luxury-merchants in attitude toward Conspicuous Consumption?
5. Why should a public school hold an exhibition of the handiwork of its pupils in shop and kitchen and honor those whose product is the best?
6. Is it a good thing that one should enjoy a higher social standing on account of some patriotic deed by an ancestor in the American Revolution?
7. What general facts support the following estimate of the French pastor, Charles Wagner, author of *The Simple Life*?
"In what is the best of her, America loves the life that is genuine and substantial, the life in which the things most highly valued are

moral qualities, uprightness, energy, and kindness, as well as those fundamental family sentiments that are the cement of society."

8. What general facts support this estimate of Professor Miinsterberg, a German ?

"The true American despises anyone who gets money without working for it. Money is not the thing which is considered but the manner of getting it. This is what the American cares for and he prizes the gold he gets primarily as an indication of his ability/"

9. Show that, from their nature, poetry and eloquence will not glorify pecuniary standards.

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Study the advertisements in periodicals intended for the well-to-do and see to what extent they suggest the possession of the costly as a standard for judging self and others.

2. Report on the relation between handwork and social standing as developed in Ross's *Principles of Sociology*, Revised Edition, Chapter 34.

3. Report on the references in the index to Ross's *The Changing Chinese* under "The Stigma on Labor."

4. Gather passages from the Bible showing how religion abhors pecuniary standards of human worth.

5. Report on pecuniary standards of taste as developed in Chapter VI of Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*.

6. Make a study of the wages given laborers in your town and compare these wages with the wages received for the so-called "white-collar" jobs. Does this comparison throw any light on the way people look upon labor ?

DEBATE

Resolved, That all public school pupils of the seventh to tenth grades inclusive should be required to do productive work with their hands.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

SOCIAL DEFENSE AGAINST CRIME

- I. Extent of crime
- II, Cost of crime
- III. Means of lessening crime
 1. How to lessen crime next year
 - a. Making punishment more swift and sure
 3. How to lessen crime in the next decade
 - a. Reformatory treatment for young offenders
 - b. Suspended sentence and probation for adult first-offenders
 - c. Indeterminate sentence with release on parole
 - d. Prison reform
 3. How to lessen crime in the next generation
 - a. Through the school
 6. Through the playground
 - c. Through juvenile organizations
 - d. Through the Children's Court
 - e. Through destruction of the breeding places of criminals
 - f. Lumping *versus* individual treatment
 4. How to lessen crime a century hence
 - a. Improving heredity

Civilization is impossible without peace and security; so organized society bans not only acts which injure it but also acts which injure its individual members. In early times such acts were regarded as the concern of the injured person or his kinsfolk. It took ages to arrive at the principle, "An injury to one is the concern of all," and at the policy of forbidding by law this, that, and the other type of wrongful or harmful act. The Ten Commandments are an early instance of a ban upon conduct deemed wrong or anti-social. We now have in the complete criminal code a long series of descriptions of various acts, each with its name or number, such as "arson," "highway robber," "No. 1047,"

etc. Such an act becomes thus " a criminal offense " for which the offender must be made to smart. One function of the court of justice is to find whether or not an accused person is guilty and, if he is, to mete him out punishment.

The extent of crime. Strange to say, we have nothing better than a guess at the amount of crime among us. In the United States in 1929 those in prisons and reformatories numbered 116,626. The number confined for crime has fluctuated as follows: 1880, 98 for every 100,000 population; 1890,106; 1904,99; 1910,107; 1923,100; 1929,99. Over a fourth of these punishments were for drunkenness, which is more folly than wickedness. The number of human lives taken by fellow men appears to have risen from 3.2 per 100,000 population in 1885 to 10.9 in 1906. At the beginning of this period there was one hanging for 17 homicides; at the end, one for 76 homicides. In the period 1923-1929 the homicide rate in 31 American cities with about 25,000,000 inhabitants was double that of 1900-1904. While murders increase in frequency, the number of murderers convicted is decreasing.

Are we gaining or losing in our struggle with the evil-disposed? We cannot answer the question, for so many factors come in to complicate the matter. We are told not how many *crimes* have been committed, but how many persons have been *convicted* of crime—which is quite a different matter. *More convicts* may mean not *more crimes*, but *better success in catching offenders*. Then, too, we constantly add to the list of crimes. We pass laws forbidding the tapping of telegraph wires, the stealing of rides on a railroad train, the getting on or off cars in motion, the killing of game out of season, the selling of cigarettes to minors, the soliciting of divorce business by advertising, the tampering with an electric meter or automatic ballot machine, the use of a bakery for sleeping purposes, the misbranding of goods, the harmful adulteration of food. Thus new crime mingles with the old,

until it is impossible to say whether the proportion of law violators is increasing or diminishing.

The cost of crime. Crime is a heavier ball-and-chain for society to drag at its heels. Even in 1900 an expert estimated that there were then a quarter of a million persons in this country living more or less from crime and that they extracted from us \$400,000,000 a year, besides obliging us to lay out half as much more in catching, trying, and punishing them. Then there is the property destroyed, the loss of labor and life, and the private expense incurred in running down criminals, to say nothing of the cost of the locks, vaults, watchmen, and burglar alarms. A later estimate arrives at an annual total well above three billion dollars. Such estimates, of course, omit the *fear* and *apprehension* caused by crime. For every belated suburbanite held up and robbed by footpads, there must be hundreds who avoid being out in the evening, or whose hearts sink every time they meet a stranger on a lonely street late at night. One burglary a week will scare hundreds of housewives and cost them thousands of hours of sleep. Yes, crime is a curse to the law-abiders, a blight upon the general prosperity and happiness. No social problem is more worthy of study than how to throttle the flow of crime.

It is a pity that so often good people misunderstand and oppose one another. "The devil must laugh" to see how the friends of decency and justice squabble among themselves. This is because the sewer of crime has many distinct feeders; those who think they see how one of these feeders may be stopped have small patience with those intent on controlling some other feeder. Those working for greater efficiency in catching and punishing rascals may sneer at the champions of boys' clubs, public playgrounds, and Scout troops. On the other hand, those intent on starting the new generation right may take no interest in the better detection

or surer conviction of law-breakers. Let us shun all such narrow-mindedness, for crime prevention calls for a great variety of policies, according as we aim to lessen crime a *year* hence, a *decade* hence, a *generation* hence, or a *century* hence. You adjust your field glasses to the distance of the object you look at. Likewise, our choice of policies for crime reduction depends on the remoteness of our objective.

How to lessen crime next year. We can't create a pure heart on short notice, so there will be about as many crooks next year as this. For a speedy reduction of crime, then, our chief reliance will be *detering bad men from committing crimes by convincing them that crime does not pay*. We do this only by making punishment more swift, certain, or severe. Sometimes what is needed is severity. A ten-dollar fine for speeding is a joke to the rich motorist. Add a jail sentence and the effect is magical. Moderate fines will squelch hall thieves and shoplifters, but not smugglers, rum-runners, prize-fight promoters, or price-fixers, for their illicit gains may run into five or six figures.

For the old crimes our punishments are generally severe enough; but we do not see to it that punishment is swift and sure. The penniless, friendless offender quickly feels the heavy hand of the law, but the procedure of our courts seems often as if designed expressly to give the rascal with the clever lawyer the greatest number of chances to escape his just deserts. We ought to simplify our procedure as the English did half a century ago, but so far the lawyers' associations have been able to block reform.

Sometimes crooks gain control over society's guardians. The Crime Committee in one of our largest cities declares:

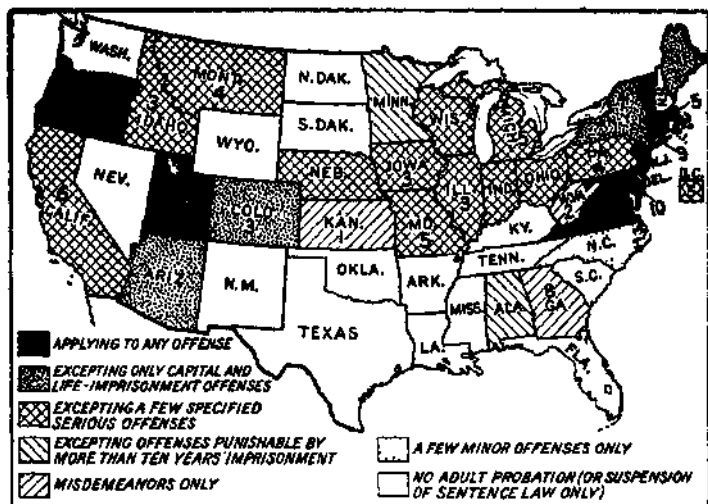
There can be no doubt that one of the chief causes of crime here is that members of the police force, and particularly of the plain-clothes staff, are hand in glove with criminals. Instead of punishing the criminal, they protect him. Instead of using the power of the

law for the protection of society, they use it for their own personal profit. They form a working agreement with pickpockets, prowlers, confidence men, gamblers, and other classes of offenders. The basis of this agreement is a division of profits between the law-breaker and the public official.

A study made of the outcome of 114 killings in the latter half of 1912 shows 85 doing time in penitentiary, one paroled, one fined, and one hanged. The rest of the killers were uncaught, set free, or awaiting trial. Perhaps this is why the United States is one of the most homicidal countries in the world. In 1922 Chicago had an eighth more slayings than England and Wales together, which have fifteen times the population of Chicago. Our homicide rate in 1928 was seventeen times that of England and Wales and seven times that of Canada. For every robbery or assault with intent to rob in 1920 in London, there were 17 such crimes committed in Cleveland. Although Cleveland has more such crimes per year than all Great Britain, its record is not bad in comparison with other American cities. In 1921 the number of prisoners in all the prisons in Canada was just the same as in a single penitentiary in Illinois.

How to lessen crime in the next decade. Over and above making law-breakers smart, we should so treat them that they will not become chronic law-haters and enemies of society. Several policies have been found effective for this purpose.

1. *Reformatory treatment for young offenders.* Because he is not so "set," there is vastly more hope of redeeming a bad man of twenty than a bad man of forty. Hence, it has been found wise to separate from other convicts young offenders of normal mentality between sixteen and thirty years of age and keep them in a reformatory, where special attention is given to physical training, education, and the acquiring of industrial skill.



1. Minors may also be placed on probation on first conviction of felony, except for specified serious offenses
2. Minors may also be placed on probation in felony cases, except capital offenses.
3. Except also defendants previously convicted of a felony.
4. Except also defendants previously imprisoned for crime.
5. Except also defendants convicted of felony for the second time (Exception applies only to district courts in Massachusetts)
6. Except also defendants previously convicted of specified serious offenses
7. Except also defendants convicted of felony for the fourth time, or of committing a felony while armed
8. Also felonies reduced to misdemeanors by court or jury
9. Except defendants committed to the state prison or reformatory, or convicted of felony for the third time, or of driving while intoxicated for the second time within six years.
10. Law applies to Baltimore City only.

Data supplied by National Probation Association, Inc.

Adult probation laws in the various states. Provision for adult probation only in the juvenile courts as contributing to the delinquency or dependency of children is not indicated on this map.

2. *Suspended sentence and probation for adult first-offenders.* Often the law-breaker is not really a menace to society. He may have been tempted or goaded to commit crime under circumstances which are not likely to recur. Such a man may be converted into a hardened criminal by the corrupting influence of association with the depraved during a prison term. So, all over the world, the practice is spreading of

allowing the judge to suspend the prison sentence of a first-offender and give him another chance. He is allowed to go his way freely, though in charge of a probation officer who watches to see that he goes straight. The sentence hanging over him comes into effect only in case it appears that he is not worthy of the confidence which has been placed in him.

3. *Indeterminate sentence with release on parole.* Is not sentencing a man to so many years in prison like sentencing a patient to so many months in the hospital? The patient is, of course, released when he is well. Why should not the convict be let out when he seems resolved to go straight and will probably give society no further trouble? So there is a tendency to sentence a convicted person "for not less than —years or more than—years." When such a sentence is pronounced, there is always, of course, a state parole board to watch closely the behavior of the convict, release him when he seems fit for it, help him get employment, and keep a record of his after-career in order to see whether the release was justified.

4. *Prison reform.* Many prisons are managed with so little brains and heart that, instead of being places where characters are built, they are really places where souls are murdered. The convict may come out broken, his courage and self-respect gone forever, because a stupid, mechanical prison discipline has crushed the most human thing about him—namely, his *personality*. Those who understand psychology perceive this soul-killing going on, but dull, unimaginative people do not see it at all. There is ground for hoping that one day prisons will be very differently run. We shall no more intrust the management of a prison to an ignorant, untrained, inexperienced man than we intrust the management of a hospital or a high school to such a man' Perhaps the prison will be split, the mental defectives going

into one institution, the well-behaved normals into another, while the genuine "toughs" will be kept by themselves under iron discipline.

How to lessen crime in the next generation. Nothing is of more importance to society than starting youngsters right. We must make sure that normal boys and girls shall not grow up into criminals owing to neglect or bad surroundings. Of course, it is chiefly the home which develops good character or bad, but the private home is something hard to get at or control. The church also is a factor of importance. But, apart from home and church, society can do several things to lessen crime in the next generation.

1. *The school.* The child should be held out of industry and kept at school until sixteen. If this cannot be, let him take a job in the years from fourteen to sixteen on condition that he spend a certain number of hours a week in school. Many children quit school at the first opportunity because the school work is too bookish and does not interest them. Therefore, let the school offer more industrial work, leading up to the skilled job. The school may help also through pupil self-government, which teaches the child the reasonableness of rules and laws to promote the common good and helps him realize that the law-breaker is not "playing the game."

2. *The playground.* Playing competitive team games under proper supervision should make one willing to be sportsmanlike, respect the rights of others, abide by the rules of the game, and obey the captain. The life of the ball team is a thumb-nail sketch of the life of the community, and the boy who is a success in the one will rarely turn out a failure in the other.

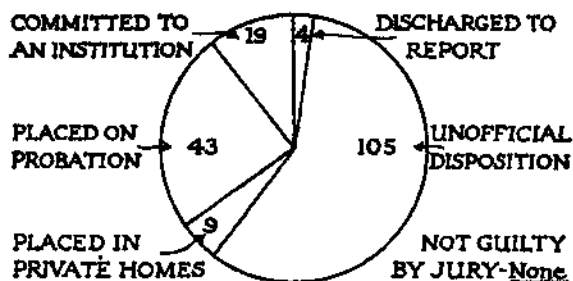
8. *Juvenile organizations.* Boys' clubs, troops of Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, and other organizations for youth associate high ideals of conduct with delightful outdoor

experiences, which appeal particularly to the young. It has been found that training in a Scout troop under a good leader decidedly raises the ability of young people to meet tests of honesty, trustworthiness, and reliability. In an experiment performed at Columbia University the boys with Scout training came 22 points nearer perfection (100) than other boys of like age and schooling but without Scout training. Hence, the mischievous, cop-teasing street "gangs," from which boys often graduate into a career of crime, should be forestalled by boys' clubs with headquarters in some social center, by athletic teams in which boys who would have become terrors at thirteen and criminals at eighteen may develop good sportsmanship and finally become the pride of their neighborhood.

It is such influences that settle whether an unintellectual but energetic lad with initiative, brought up in a narrow home amid poor surroundings, will become a "tough" or a good citizen. He may develop either way, and often it doesn't take much to decide.

4. *The Children's Court.* Its herding together of old and young and its lack of reformatory measures make the ordinary jail a nursery for criminals. So a special court for children has been set up which is not bent on *punishing* the youthful offender, but on *saving* him. To the boy who has committed his first offense the judge says: "You are guilty and deserve jail, but I am going to send you back to your home and to school; still, for six months or a year you must report to me regularly what you are doing." Or he may say: "I will send you to a good home or the State Industrial School, but I will keep you out of jail."

In thirty years the Children's Court, or Juvenile Court, has found favor in nearly all civilized countries. It examines youthful trouble-makers at a time and place quite apart from the ordinary court and is less formal in its proceedings. It



What was done with trouble-giving children in the Juvenile Court of Sangamon County, Illinois, in 1981.

avoids publicity, investigates the home life of the offender, and attempts by wise and kindly treatment to guide him back into a wholesome, honest life. Probation officers, the eyes and feet of the judge, sift the facts of each case in advance of the hearing and do their best to herd the strayers back into the fold.

5. *Destruction of the breeding places of criminals.* The proverb, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," applies to crime as well as to other diseases. Unenlightened folk question the power of surroundings and insist that a person goes wrong from "instigation of the devil," from "pure cussedness," or because he deliberately chooses evil; so generally society has been willing to spend millions in fighting crime, but nothing for prevention. We let bloom and ripen the thistles whose seeds will be blown all over our garden. We leave undisturbed the breeding places of criminal impulses. Society ought to tear out vice haunts, hang-outs, and low resorts as ruthlessly as we tear out the nests of pests in our fruit trees. It is weak-minded for us to be tender with low film theaters and low dance halls. Posterity will marvel at the way parents of this generation have allowed vulgar, greedy film producers to pollute their children's minds.

6. *Lumping versus individual treatment.* In dealing with trouble-givers, our chief sin has been *lumping them together*. We pride ourselves that Justice is "no respecter of persons." The bandage over the eyes of the figure of Justice means that she cannot see whether the one before her is a magnate or a waif. In the trial courts the great question to be settled has been, "Did he commit the offense?" without much heed to who *he* is, or why he did it, or his state of mind when he did it. All found guilty are thrown, as if they were clinkers, into jail or workhouse or prison. Coming out, they all find themselves branded "jailbirds," and few will give them a chance to earn an honest living.

We know now that it is stupid and cruel to lump offenders together this way. We recognize that there is little or nothing in common between boys who transgress and men who take to kidnaping, swindling, jury-fixing, or other mercenary crimes. This is why the Children's Court has been set up. We see, too, that one who, misled or under great provocation or temptation, commits an offense for the first time is by no means such a menace to society as the man who deliberately chooses to follow profitable crime as his regular profession. The one ought not to be shut up with the other and under the same discipline. He certainly should be let out long before the other. No doubt, law-breakers are as different from one another as the rest of us. If society's aim is not to get even with them but to have the least future trouble from them, it should no more treat them all alike than the wise doctor lumps together his patients and gives them all the same medicine.

How to lessen crime a century hence. With time and a long look ahead we ought to find means of getting rid of those human stocks which have crime, as it were, in the blood. It is known that at least a quarter, perhaps even a third, of serious offenders inherit some defect which predisposes them

to misconduct. Goddard, the great authority on feeble-mindedness, estimates that from 25 to 50 per cent of all our prisoners are too weak-minded to manage their affairs with ordinary prudence. The superintendent of a New Jersey reformatory found 46 per cent of the boys "not bright." Dr. Healy of the Municipal Court of Chicago found that of 620 young "repeaters" a quarter were distinctly below the class he terms "poor in native ability." The authorities of the Elmira Reformatory report that to the unpracticed eye of the layman at least a third of their inmates are mentally defective, while the physicians of the institution estimate mental defectives among the inmates at a much higher figure.

Men do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles. They will not get good law-abiding citizens from families cursed with a strain of weakness or viciousness. Our horses are mild in disposition because in the past no one would breed from ill-tempered horses. Our best breeds of dogs are affectionate and faithful because of a careful weeding out of the vicious through hundreds of generations. The same process has made over the ancestral wild cat into our gentle domestic tabby. Now, good and bad traits are inherited in mankind just as they are in our domestic animals, and, if our race is to improve, some means will have to be found of preventing the tainted stocks from having as many children as the sound stocks. But this leads over into eugenics, which is a subject calling for special study.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What is a crime? What is the function of the court of justice?
2. Why is it that more convicts need not mean more crimes committed?
3. What is the cost of crime in the United States a year? What two important factors does the estimate of the cost of crime omit?
4. How can we convince bad men that crime does not pay?

5. Why is it that the old crimes are punished more severely than the newer crimes ?
6. Give reasons why ours is one of the most criminal countries in the world.
 1. What policies have been found effective for lessening crime in the next decade ?
 8. What are the means of lessening crime in the next generation?
 9. What general principle should govern the treatment of criminals ?
 10. What can we do to lessen crime a century hence ?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. What kinds of conduct are forbidden by law in your community which would not be considered wrong except for the law ?
2. Should life imprisonment be abolished in prisons today and the indeterminate sentence take its place ?
3. What is the parole system ?
4. Should the reformatory be used as a place for trying out experiments in vocational education ?
5. Why are labor unions opposed to contract labor in prisons ?
6. What are the weak points in our present criminal procedure ?
7. How do these punishments defeat their own purpose: definite sentence ? prison life ?
8. List the reasons for punishing a criminal.

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Visit your county jail and report on the treatment of those confined there.
2. What does John Howard stand for in the history of the treatment of prisoners?
3. Study the correctional institutions in your state and find what type of offenders are sent to each.
4. Study the doctrines of Lombroso and the Positive School. What are the fallacies of the doctrines ? (Read G, Chapter 13.)
5. Report on the use made of probation in the United States. (Read G, Chapter 10.)
6. What do you learn from Goddard's *The Kattikak Family* as to the relation of heredity to crime ?

DEBATE

Resolved, That capital punishment should be abolished in the United States. (Read Shurter and Taylor's Both Sides of One Hundred Public Questions.)

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POVERTY AND ITS RELIEF

- I. Who are the poor ?
 1. The devil's poor
 2. God's poor
 3. The victims of neither misconduct nor misfortune
 4. Heredity *versus* environment
- II. The relief of the poor
 1. Almsgiving as a mode of relief
 2. Charitable societies
 3. Charity organization
 4. Scientific giving
 5. Specialized institutions replace the poorhouse
- III. The prevention of poverty
 1. Industry
 2. Public health
 3. Public education
 4. Thrift
 5. The anti-liquor fight
 6. Insurance

The stretching of a helping hand to the distressed has always been regarded as beautiful. The higher religions make much of the relief of suffering. The practice of charity has been supposed to find great favor in God's sight. Yet for more than a century thoughtful men have been questioning whether the open hand does much good after all. "Charity," it has been said, "causes half the suffering she relieves; but she cannot relieve half the suffering she has caused." Some charge that unwise charity is responsible for half the world's pauperism. Readiness to give alms opens a way to live by whining instead of by working, and always there will be beggars enough to absorb all the alms people can be wheedled into giving. Wherever many are willing to drop the coin without knowing the need, there you will find able-bodied beggars who have money in the bank.

The devil's poor. To stimulate giving, the poor have at times been called " God's poor." But there is a type who might well be called " the devil's poor." Of this sort are the needy who loaf when they might work, who spend foolishly what they might save, who squander their earnings trying to get something for nothing, who spoil themselves by drink or dope, who are too tricky, cross, or untrustworthy to hold down a decent job. t/For the tender-hearted to relieve the distress of such persons is to encourage them to keep on as they are. Moreover, the barely-self-supporting are tempted to struggle less hard to " make both ends meet " when they see what " easy marks " the charitable are. To reward the worthless with undeserved aid is no way to encourage poor people to be honest, hard-working, and thrifty.

God's poor. But nothing is meaner than to try to brand aH"the destitute as more or less weak or vicious — to insinuate that the poor are the " unfit," that the out-of-work are the "unemployable." What of the victims of a fire, an earthquake, a grasshopper plague, a series of crop failures, the flooding of valley farms, hard times throwing countless willing and competent workers out of employment? How unfair for those outside the zone of such calamities to look down on these unfortunates as less worthy than themselves! Then there are blows of fate which topple individual families into poverty. The prolonged sickness of the bread-winner, his crippling by an accident due to no fault of his, the loss of the home by fire, the loss of savings by robbery, burglary, or the misconduct of those in charge of savings institutions — any one of these may plunge a worthy family below the line of self-support. There is hardly one of us whose family might not have needed relief in case both father and mother had been crippled at just the critical moment when none of the children were old enough to earn anything. Opportunity to insure against such emergencies has come only in recent

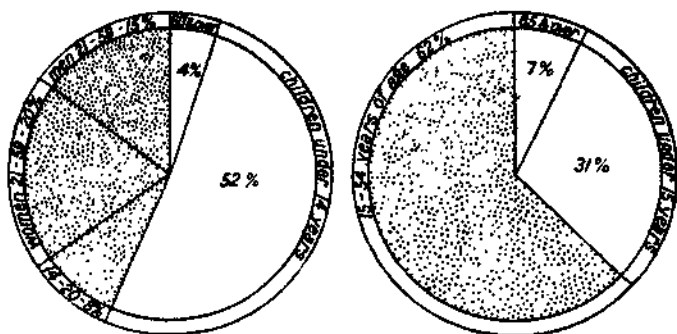
times. So we see why there have always been " God's poor," whom it is our duty to assist without patronizing. Generosity toward such well deserves the name " sweet charity."

Neither God's poor nor devil's poor. Not all the poor fall into one or the other of the two groups, victims of their own misconduct or victims of misfortune. There is an intermediate class which will always have difficulty in making a living because of some defect in their make-up. They may have inherited dullness, or lack of vitality, or some physical handicap. They haven't it in them to win a steady, honest living by their own efforts.

A study made fifty odd years ago of the " Jukes," a poor stock in rural New York, showed among them eight times as large a proportion of paupers as for the rest of the people of the state. An investigation of two family trees in a small Massachusetts town shows " how much crime, misery, and expense may result from the union of two defective individuals ; how large a number of the present court frequenters, paupers, and town nuisances are connected by a significant network of relationship."

In another study of a degenerate rural community 1795 persons of the " Nam " family were investigated. Comparing the offspring of two groups — the lazy and the industrious — it was found that 90 per cent of those having industrious parents were industrious, while 76.5 per cent of those with lazy parents were lassy. Does this show that laziness is catching, or that it is inherited, like eye color? A branch of this family migrated to Minnesota in an early day and it might be expected that in this new and better environment they would " make good." But the same traits which handicapped the Nams in New York show up in the Minnesota branch, thus proving that " blood will tell."

Consider the " Tribe of Ishnaael " of Central Indiana, descended from Ben Ishmael, whose three sons about a century



Warner: "American Charities"

How dependency is related to family size. Age composition of 1527 families in charge of the Charity Organization Society (left circle), and of the aggregate population of New York City (right circle). The dark segment indicates roughly the proportion of the population of wage-earning age; the white segment the proportion which is naturally dependent.

ago married three sisters from a pauper family. " Since 1840 this family has had a pauper record. They have been in the almshouse, the House of Refuge, the Woman's Reformatory, and the penitentiary, and have received continuous aid from the townships. They have intermarried with other members of this group and with over two hundred other families. . . . They are generally diseased. The children die young. They live by petty stealing, begging, and ash-gathering. In summer they ' gypsy ' or travel in wagons."

Dr. Goddard, who deems half of our almshouse inmates weak-minded, describes how such people become paupers:

When children in school, they cannot learn the things that are given them to learn because through their mental defect they are incapable of mastering abstractions. They never learn to read sufficiently well to make reading pleasurable or of practical use to them. The same is true of number work. . . . Thus they worry along through a few grades until they are fourteen years old and then leave school, not having learned anything of value

or that can help them to make even a meager living in the world. They are then turned out inevitably dependent upon others. A few have relatives who take care of them, see that they learn to do something which perhaps will help in their support, and then these relatives supplement this with enough to insure them a living.

A great majority, however, having no such interested or capable relatives, become at once a direct burden on society. . . . Those who are phlegmatic, sluggish, indolent, simply lie down and would starve to death if someone did not help them. When they come to the attention of our charitable organizations, they are picked up and sent to the almshouse if they cannot be made to work.

Heredity versus environment. For half a century a great debate has raged over the question, "What makes us what we are?" One school of thinkers contends that paupers and criminals are chiefly the product of bad *surroundings* during early years. They came from broken homes or bad homes, missed a firm parental hand, ran with bad companions, got little schooling, never acquired skill, or let liquor master them. But the thinkers who stress *heredity* deny that environment molds our destiny. They insist that most paupers and criminals never had the "right stuff" in them. They point out that all the time individuals of a finer grain come up out of those hard conditions which are supposed to make failure certain; that numbers of slum-bred withstand the evil influences and temptations which lead to crime. They account for the fact that few crooks or ne'er-do-wells come out of good homes by pointing out that parents who make good homes have well-endowed children.

So the friendly battle goes on. Out of the records of poor-houses and jails the champions of heredity dig a mass of data which seems to support their view. The champions of the power of environment come back with encouraging statistics of redemption from reformatories and state industrial schools. They point to investigations showing that the "poor whites" of the South, once supposed to be constitutionally lazy, are in

reality victims of hookworm. Of the two schools, the environment school is the more hopeful. Some look forward to the eventual abolition of poverty among persons not feeble-minded. When you consider that through 1928, a good year, in nineteen American cities with four and one half million population 2 per cent of the people were being helped by the social agencies, it is evident that we have some distance to go.

Almsgiving as a mode of relief. In the country neighborhood or little village, where everyone is well known, the begging impostor has no chance. But elsewhere, when people are charitably inclined, there is a fine opportunity for the tricky and shameless to live without work. The fakers, in fact, get most of the alms, for, when it comes to telling a moving hard-luck story, the lying professional can always beat the genuine victim of misfortune. The public hear about the frauds, but they want to help those who are really distressed. So they refuse no one lest they should be guilty of denying aid to a deserving person, and they give no one more than a trifle lest that beggar should be an impostor. But random coppers can never help to his feet one who is down. Here is a poor man who has "walking typhoid" and needs hospital care, who is going blind and needs an operation for cataract, who has lost his leg and needs an artificial limb before he can earn a wage, who has a job waiting for him a hundred miles away and needs railroad fare, who has been robbed of his tool kit and needs a new kit before he can follow his trade again. What mockery to hand him the careless dime — enough to demoralize him but not enough to restore him to self-support!

Charitable societies. Better results are secured when the charitable organize, open an office where the distressed may apply, and maintain a worker to look into the individual case. But then arises the difficulty of overlapping. The societies may be extremely specialized and each ignorant of

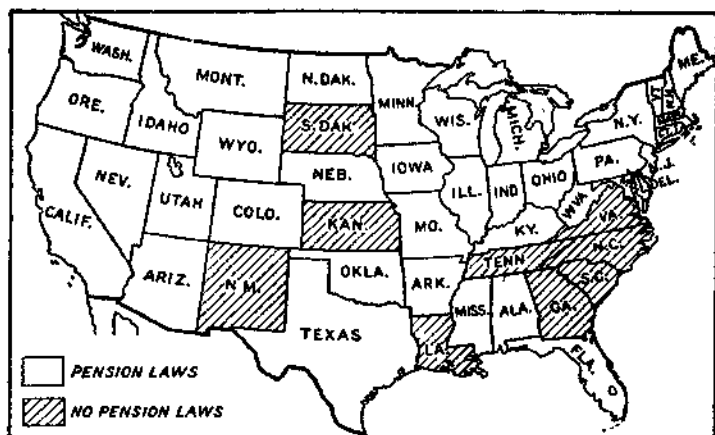
what the others are doing. An indigent person may "work" several societies. An unworthy woman may be getting relief from the church of which she is a member, from a society to look after the widows of Confederate soldiers, from a St. Andrews Society looking after persons of Scotch ancestry, from a sewing society which gives away clothing, and from another agency which provides groceries for empty larders.

Again each society may be too specialized to see a case through. Here is an instance of such a state of affairs recorded in Philadelphia:

A poor colored woman, a widow, had two children, aged six and three, who had never walked. Before we could get this woman's difficulties straightened out and the legs of the children straightened too, our district superintendent and our volunteer visitor had sought either the advice or the active help of the following agencies: the district doctor, the woman's former physician, the Orthopaedic Hospital, the Philadelphia Research and Protective Association, the Children's Aid Society, the Sunday *Ledger*, St. Christopher's Hospital, the Hahnemann Hospital, the Woman's Hospital, a medical inspector of the Bureau of Health, an employment agency, a public school principal, the Octavia Hill Association, the Department of Charities, and the House of St. Michael and All Angels. ... In this particular record, which is by no means the longest, ... it appears that our district superintendent and her assistant paid 76 visits, wrote 21 letters, and held 41 interviews in the office.

Charity organization. In many American cities have been formed Charity Organization Societies or Associated Charities to bring about cooperation among relief agencies, investigate thoroughly each case, see that relief is prompt and adequate, and show up humbugs. Many have adopted as their motto "Not alms but a friend" and enlist "friendly visitors" who come into close human relations with needy families.

So much skill is needed to extricate people from the morass of dependence that in the last two decades a new profession.



Data supplied by Bureau of Labor Statistics

Status of old-age pension laws in the United States.

that of social worker, has sprung up and several thousand college-bred and professionally trained young people — mostly women — are following it. The ignorant sometimes remark that these societies dispense few groceries but pay salaries to "a lot of trained workers who do absolutely nothing for the poor" — and indeed, they do *nothing*, save to hunt a job for the out-of-work, overhaul the plumbing which has produced disease, arrange for the removal of the ailing family to a better neighborhood, persuade the landlord to wait for the rent, stand off the holder of the chattel mortgage, teach the mother to cook or earn, put the boy to a trade, or entice the children to the social settlement, where they will get aspirations instead of alms!

Public welfare departments. Centralization has worked so well that there is now a strong tendency to bring together all local organizations for social welfare, whether private or public, under the direction of a single county officer called the County Superintendent of Public Welfare. North Caro-

Una, Missouri, Virginia, and Minnesota have moved in this direction. The idea is to coordinate and weld into one system with one set of records all agencies working for the poor, the criminal, and the defective, and all general work for the improvement of social conditions. Moreover, county work for the social welfare can be hitched up with that by the state, and the help of state boards and institutions may be had in the solving of local problems.

Principles of scientific giving. Society is learning that to relieve the wants of the destitute without at the same time demoralizing them calls for science and skill. Promiscuous almsgiving is no longer considered something to admire; but one need not hold back in doing good to the distressed, provided certain principles are observed. The helpless must be taught to help themselves. All persons should be given a chance to work to the extent of their working power. Indiscriminate giving is dangerous and should be avoided. Every gift should be for the purpose of permanently helping the recipient. Relief, when given, should be adequate but should be carefully supervised. The rehabilitation of the dependent family — nothing less — should be one of the goals of scientific charity; the other should be the prevention of poverty.

Specialized institutions replace the poorhouse. Once each locality had its poorhouse or almshouse, where the uncared-for poor might at least find food and a roof over their heads. For a while it served as a catch-all. " Idiots, epileptics, incurables, incompetents, the aged, abandoned children, foundlings, and a considerable number of the insane, the blind, find the deaf and dumb were all dumped together into some old farmhouse that had been bought by the authorities and put to this use." Presently there began a process of drafting out of the almshouse those who did not belong there, As this readjustment goes on, those requiring scientific treat-

ment, such as the deaf and dumb and the blind, are drawn off into special institutions. Then the state begins to care for the insane in special hospitals. The feeble-minded and the epileptics are collected in a state asylum or colony. The poorhouse is such a dismal place to raise a child that the dependent children are collected in institutions for children or placed in families that can give them a good home. Tramps and other bad characters are sent to the workhouse or reformatory rather than to the poorhouse. So the poorhouse becomes a home for the decent aged poor, and with good management and kindly attention it may be relieved of the gloom and disgrace which used to brood over it.

The prevention of poverty. But how sad it is that people should come into such straits that they must appeal to strangers for aid! How inspiring is the vision of a society entirely made up of persons who are able to take care of themselves! In the last twenty years tens of thousands of charity applicants have been investigated, and so much light has been shed on the cause of poverty that experts are beginning to cherish hopes of draining this ancient morass. To achieve this, there will have to be constructive work on many lines.

1. *Industry.* There will have to be compensation granted for industrial accidents and diseases. Employment must be stabilized or else workers must be insured against unemployment. A living wage is another insurance against dependency and, now that immigration has been restricted, there is hope that even the unskilled will get it.

2. *Public health.* Sickness is so often a cause of poverty that it should be looked upon as a public enemy and attacked at the public expense. Intelligent, well-directed measures have already done wonders in lessening sickness and it is expected that they will yet do much more.

3. *Public education.* If every normal girl were kept in school until she is sixteen and went out from it with the

knowledge of *how* to make a good home, if every bright boy remained in school until this age and left with the skill for making a good living, few of such graduates would ever come into poverty. The effort to give a practical slant to schooling is wholesome and wise,

4. *Thrift.* In our time institutions to set the saved dollar to work have greatly multiplied and never before have they been so well looked after. Now that the poor man's savings have been made so secure, the next step is to build up thrift habits in the young, so that, as a matter of course, as long as they are earning they will put something aside for the future.

5. *The anti-liquor fight.* The influence of intoxicating liquors is a big factor in wasting income and in destroying one's earning power. Liquor is always a waster, and often a destroyer of mental, moral, and physical vigor. It interferes, in the long run, with industrial efficiency and is a frequent cause for discharge from employment. Experience shows that in those places where prohibition is enforced it brings an increase of well-being to innumerable poor families.

6. *Insurance.* Never before has it been so easy to hire a competent organization to shoulder nearly every kind of ordinary risk. Why should the self-supporting take the chance of being made pauper by some stroke of fate when by means of life insurance, fire insurance, tornado insurance, or disability insurance, they can pay a premium and let the company do the worrying?

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What type of the destitute should not be encouraged?
2. What conditions may cause poverty for which the victims are in no way responsible?
3. Describe the class of dependents that is the victim of neither misfortune nor misconduct.

4. Describe the debate over the relative power of heredity and environment.
5. Why is petty indiscriminate almsgiving a poor way of relieving distress?
6. How can charitable societies be "worked"?
7. Show how such societies become too specialized to take full charge of the individual case.
8. Is it anything against a Charity Organization Society that all its money goes for service and none for groceries?
9. What are the principles of scientific giving?
10. Show how scientific treatment is replacing the poorhouse.
11. What are the chief policies for preventing poverty?

CLASSROOMDISCUSSION

1. How may defects in government contribute to dependency?
2. What is it to "pauperize" a person?
3. Why do free meals pauperize, but not free libraries?
4. Show why a free dispensary, where the sick poor may for nothing get medical attention, does not pauperize as a free soup kitchen does.
5. What should we do when street beggars ask us for money?
6. Does the spending of big sums on the poor prove that they are receiving proper treatment?
7. Should a charitable society provide a large dependent family with additional aid every time another baby appears in it?
8. What are the motives which today lead people to give to the poor?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Outline the plan of public relief provided for in the laws of your state.
2. Make an estimate of the extent of poverty in your own community. If you live in a small place, you can get the information by going to the town and county relief officers.
3. What is your community doing to prevent poverty?
4. What is your community not doing, which it might do, to cure and prevent poverty? Visit the poorhouse and report upon conditions there. List and classify the types of institutions which care for dependents in your state.

DEBATE

Resolved, That in our community bad surroundings and conditions account for more dependency than bad heredity.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE SOCIAL SIDE OF BUSINESS AND THE PROFESSIONS

- I. What we expect of business
 - 1. Business is under a code
 - 2. The square deal for the consuming public
 - 3. Correction of the evils of commercialism
 - 4. Commercialization
- II. What we expect of the professions
 - 1. The need of professions
 - 2. The professional spirit
 - a. Service motive
 - b. Protection of the patron's interests
 - c. Willingness to do free work
 - d. Protection of society's interests
 - e. No advertising
 - 3. Protection of the professions
- III. How a calling may become a profession
 - 1. The rise of new professions
 - 2. Limits to the extension of the professional spirit

By "social side of business and the professions," we mean what society has a right to expect of business men and professional men.

What we expect of business. Business is, of course, the system for producing and getting to consumers the goods or services they are willing to pay for. The pursuit of business involves a great variety of man-to-man relations: primary producer and buyer, shipper and carrier, jobber and dealer, dealer and consumer, advertiser and reader, banker and depositor, promoter and investor, officer and stockholder. In every one of these relationships something is due from each party to the other; every individual has obligations which he should live up to. A business man without a sense

of honor, without a sense of right and wrong in business matters, is a public menace.

Business is under a code. Under criticism a man may plead "business is business." In a way, of course, this is perfectly true. Business is not a "learned profession"; it is not religion, nor charity, nor sport. We do not think less of the business man who admits he is out to make money, but we *do* think less of the preacher, teacher, or politician who avows such an aim.

This is not to imply, however, that "anything goes" when one is seeking a profit. Most business men realize that their dealings with one another must come up to a standard. They agree that it is "crooked" to forge a signature, "doctor" a contract, deliver goods not up to sample, pay with a bad bill or a bad check, get credit on the strength of a false balance sheet, conceal assets from creditors, or lie about business affairs when seeking a loan. What wrongs other business men receives the instant condemnation of all decent business men.

Business and the consuming public. A like code is now in the making to define what the business man owes his patrons. It is agreed that the customer is entitled to goods' as-represented; so the more honorable merchants and the spokesmen for the consuming public have persuaded Congress and nearly all the legislatures to pass laws to punish harmful adulteration, misbranding, and fraud. Commissioners have been appointed to see that the purchaser actually gets the thing he pays for. Since, moreover, there is no reason to restrict the "square deal for buyers" to food and drugs, a truth-in-fabrics movement is afoot. Then, after learning that the buyer of butter is entitled to butter and the buyer of silk or linen is entitled to silk or linen, the public wonders why the buyer of stocks or bonds (securities) should so often get "insecurities."

If pure drugs, pure food, pure fabrics, why not pure advertising? Deceptive advertising wrongs not only the customer who buys on the faith of it, but also the dealer too honest to misrepresent his goods. Either the honest merchants must put the liars out of business, or else be forced out of business themselves by the deadly competition of the liars. Accordingly, since 1910, there has been a growing movement for truth-in-advertising. Many newspapers and magazines are refusing to print bad advertisements. Not a few tell their readers that every advertisement they publish has been looked into and can be relied upon. Some manufacturers offer their advertising subject to the condition that it shall not appear on the same page with objectionable advertising. Since 1912 the Associated Advertising Clubs of America have had a Vigilance Committee with a large membership distributed all over the country, whose purpose is to locate crooked advertisers and see that they get what they deserve. This committee has done splendid work in lifting the moral level of advertising. Moreover, in the principal cities " Better Business Bureaus " have been organized, controlled by local business men aiming at the harrying of men and methods which would rob the public of their money and their confidence.

In some states laundry owners have organized and adopted the plan of " certified " laundries. Any laundry, whether a member of the Association or not, which scores 70 out of a possible 100 on an inspection by three experts is given a certificate for one year which authorizes it to call itself a " certified laundry " and use the copyrighted Association seal. The Association's advertising warns the public of the risk it runs in patronizing non-certified laundries.

By the end of 1926 more than 300 business and professional codes, most of them adopted since 1921, existed in the United States. Many trade associations too have put out high-

sounding declarations to flatter themselves and please the public but have done nothing to back up their fine gestures.

In 1932 the National Industrial Recovery Act was passed, providing for the appointment of Federal boards to examine the practices of industry and to pass judgments on codes governing its conduct. In the first ten months of its existence the National Recovery Administration brought about the formulation and adoption of codes for three hundred branches of business. Although government control of these codes had to be abandoned when the Supreme Court declared the N.I.R.A. unconstitutional, some industries showed themselves eager to maintain certain practices established by the codes.

Commercialization. Various motives may enter into the furnishing of goods or services to the public. Among them are:

1. Pride in the goodness of one's product
2. Hatred of sham or humbug in one's work
3. Desire not to disappoint or defraud the customer
4. Hope of a profit

When hope of profit becomes everything, we say that the calling has been *commercialized*. Now, certain changes are going on which favor this process. One is that the modern producer is not producing for a known person, but for the "public" or the "market." Another is that more and more business concerns are corporations, and corporations do not feel responsible as a person will. Finally, in some arts or professions so much capital is needed that the power of money is becoming more prominent and this tends to make profits the supreme motive.

This last factor is illustrated in what is known as "the commercialization of the stage." As the theatergoing public become accustomed to more costly stage-effects, the actor-manager gives way to the capitalist-manager. Now, unlike the successful actor turned manager, the capitalist-manager

is not likely to think of the drama as a great and uplifting social force. He is not trying to see how much Shakespeare he can get the public to listen to. His one question is "What will the public like?" and often he answers it according to the tastes of its lower elements.

The same sort of thing is happening to newspaper publishers. So much capital is required that less and less often is the paper owned by the editor with an editor's ideals and dreams. The owner is a capitalist who hires the editors he needs. The capitalist-owner is apt to run the newspaper as he would run a store or a hotel — that is, to make money; and less often than the editor-owner does he see it as a great social instrumentality. The commercial spirit gets another grip on the newspaper from the fact that newspapers more and more depend on the sale of advertising. What they get from readers does not even pay for the white paper. The advertisers, in many cases, appear to exercise a growing secret censorship over the newspapers.

Another bad tendency is the commercialization of amusement and recreation. Formerly young folks' fun was self-made, home-made, church-made, or school-made. That meant that usually someone was present — parent, school-master, Sunday school teacher, pastor — who would not allow it to become low. Now, however, young people tend to *buy* their amusement rather than make their own fun. As never before, recreation is being *supplied for money*. It is the nature of entertainment to lift people up or to pull them down. Commercial amusements are likely to tend downward because in many cases more money can be extracted from young people by offering them the spicy and unwholesome than by offering them the pure and elevating.

One remedy is the *regulation* of commercial amusements; for example, the censoring of shows and the supervising of dance halls. The only policy, however, which holds much

promise is the *non-commercial provision of recreation*. This is why in the last quarter century there has been a wonderful growth in the recreation facilities provided by churches, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., social settlements, social centers, public playgrounds, public libraries, and similar organizations.

The need of professions. If you hire a carpenter to do a job for you, you are supposed to be able to look out for yourself. Generally you can tell whether his work is poor; if it is, you don't have to pay for it. But how about services of which you are not qualified to judge? The patient can't well form an opinion as to the merits of his doctor's treatment. The client is a poor judge of the value of the advice his lawyer gives him, nor can he know whether his cause is being skillfully presented to the court. The student cannot plumb his teacher's learning, nor can the creditor verify the findings of the public accountant as to the affairs of a bankrupt. We should be afraid to intrust our interests to such men unless we could feel sure that they are worthy of trust. So, centuries ago, it was seen that certain callings should be followed only by men of honor acting with reference to a high standard of conduct. The means found for bringing this about was to *derate the calling into a profession*.

How a profession is made. The expert cannot raise the tone of his calling unless he is shielded from the competition of bunglers and quacks; so the first step toward creating a profession is to *shut out the unfit*. This can be done only by setting up some kind of board which is empowered by law to examine and pass upon the fitness and character of those who seek to practice the profession. Along with this goes often the power to expel any practitioner who falls below the standard.

It is not enough, however, to bar out unworthy persons. Somehow the calling must be made attractive to persons of good breeding and fine spirit, for this is the type which will do the most to set up and fix a high standard of professional

conduct. For this purpose society has generally accorded a profession some special *recognition and privileges*. The physician is not required to tell on the witness stand the secrets of his patients, nor is a priest forced to divulge what he has learned in the confessional. The "liberty of the press," provided by our Constitution, makes a newspaper man a privileged character. In the laws concerning business firms and companies a great deal of recognition is given the public accountant. As for the lawyer, he is called upon to play a part in the court of justice almost as important as that of the judge himself.

The professional spirit. The natural effect of fencing off the field and attracting into it men of a superior type is the growth of the *professional* spirit, which is just the opposite of the *commercial* spirit. This spirit implies several things.

1. The ruling motive in the practice of a profession is not to make money but to *render service*. Hence, the practitioner will have only one grade of work — namely, his best. The physician would be disgraced who, from haste or carelessness, should botch a charity case. It implies, too, that he will be loyal to the interests of his patron, even to the extent of opposing his patron's wishes. If the latter insists upon a dis-service rather than a service, the practitioner throws up the case.

2. The professional spirit requires one to *protect the patron's interest* in various ways. It forbids one to take advantage of the patron. The lawyer will not hasten to buy for himself a property which he learns is necessary to his client. The architect will not take a commission from a contractor. In his specifications for a building he will not name any material or device he is financially interested in without first getting his client's consent. The consulting engineer will not take a royalty on any patented article or process used in his client's work without first explaining everything to his client.

3. The putting of service above gain means willingness to do some *free work*. The good physician stands ready to treat the sick poor. The good lawyer will take up the cause of the penniless victim of injustice.

4. Society honors professional men and in return they are bound to practice with due regard to *the interests of society*. The physician should not run away from a pestilence. The clergyman should apply Christian principles even if it costs him his pulpit. The newspaper should print news of public importance, no matter who may be wroth. The architect should not find his client a way to beat the building code, nor may a lawyer show his client a crooked path around a statute.

5. Professional men cannot bear to scramble with one another for business like cabmen when the train conies in. They *do not advertise*. Their code frowns upon notoriety-seeking, peddling one's services, "drumming up" custom, underbidding, and everything else which lowers the profession to the level of a trade. No professional practitioner can advertise himself without losing his professional standing.

The protection of the professions. The public is so easily fooled that the practitioner who is loyal to professional standards cannot always hold his own with competitors who stoop to commercial methods. In time the latter might get most of the patrons while the former would starve. So it is necessary to make all practitioners live up to the code of their professions. Lawyers are "disbarred" for bad practices and in some states physicians, trained nurses, public accountants, or realtors may for "unprofessional" conduct lose their license. The members of every profession should organize, draw up and publish its code of ethics, and create a standing "committee on ethics" to investigate all complaints regarding the professional conduct of a member.

This committee should have the right to recommend for the offender penalties all the way from exposure and reprimand up to expulsion from the profession. This is the only way to strike terror into the hearts of the shysters, ambulance-chasers, and jury-fixers who hang on the skirts of the law, or the charlatans and quacks who wriggle into the practice of medicine. Just to preach high standards without punishing violators of them is to play into the hands of the unscrupulous. In every profession the good men should organize themselves in order to expose and drive out the bad men who are in it.

The rise of new professions. In order that a calling shall become a full-fledged profession, the following are necessary:

1. A special knowledge or skill
2. Instruction for imparting this knowledge or skill
3. A state examining and licensing board
4. Organization of the practitioners into an association
5. A code of professional conduct
6. A committee on ethics to observe whether the code is being lived up to
7. Means of punishing or expelling from the profession the practitioner who persists in violating its standard

In general, when the practice of a calling has become too specialized for the patron to know whether or not he is getting what he pays for, the time has come to turn it into a profession. The selling of real estate to home builders has reached that point, so that even now we can watch it in the act of becoming a profession. Counseling people as to life insurance calls for so much knowledge and conscience that an effort is being made to organize life-insurance solicitors and set up standards of practice. Some even look forward to a time when advertising, banking, and hotel keeping will be professions, each guarded by a state board.

Limits to the extension of the professional spirit. Some are so fascinated by the possibilities of carrying the splendid spirit of service into new fields that they lose sight of the conditions which cause it to thrive. It is too much to expect a person to put service above gain when he is the hired man of someone who himself may put gain above service. Usually the hired man will have to do his work according to the ideas of his employer. Therefore, when in the production of any service capital comes to be so big a factor that the capitalist hires many laborers, instead of one laborer's hiring a small unit of capital, we shall have conditions that hamper the best ethical spirit.

Just here may be one of the difficulties of elevating the profession of journalism. In the last quarter century nearly fifty schools and courses in journalism have come into existence in the United States. Many hope that newspaper offices will be filled with well-trained men and women imbued with the highest professional spirit. But very few of these will ever come to own a newspaper upon which they can put their own stamp. Most of them will work as salaried employees of some newspaper owner who may be largely actuated by the commercial spirit.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How do "right" and "wrong" apply to business?
2. What is meant by the expression "Business is business"?
- by "Business is under a code" ?
3. What is the process of commercialization ?
4. Set forth the service ideal of business.
5. What kind of callings need to be made professions ?
6. Describe the professional spirit.
7. What will happen if the unworthy are not expelled from a profession ?
8. What are the steps by which a calling becomes a profession ?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. What instances have you noticed of natural scenery's being marred by advertising signs?
2. How do you account for the fact that among us the word *success* generally means "business success" — that is, making money?
3. In your community who are counted among the "men who do things"? Does the phrase extend to successful professional men or representative farmers?
4. Do any of your state's educators complain that the state's provision for vocational education seems intended to benefit the employers of labor rather than to educate the young people?
5. Have you known any instance of merchants' being lined up against a sound moral or civic movement by the cry that it would "hurt business"?
6. How are unworthy persons barred from becoming clergymen?
7. Why is the medical profession so hostile toward the patent medicine manufacturers?
8. Why is it held "unprofessional" for one member of a profession to "knock" another member to a possible patron?
9. Should you like to see the playing of athletic games professionalized? Give reasons.
10. Would it be well to set up in your state a state examining and licensing board for realtors?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Compare the different churches of your community in respect to their providing or supervising recreation for their young people.
2. Ascertain the percentage of your daily newspaper devoted to business and advertising. Compare your results with those set forth in *The Independent*, March 1, 1924, pages 117-118.
3. For what occupations has your state set up conditions of entrance, for the benefit of the public?
4. Study the code of ethics binding upon lawyers, doctors, architects, and realtors. In each case, see which of its requirements are for the benefit of other practitioners and which are for the benefit of the patrons.
5. Find what nationally organized branches of business have made themselves a code of ethics. (Read C.)

6. Make a study of the professions during the time of the Roman empire. Compare them with those of today. (Read Johnson's *Private Life of the Romans*, Chapter 11.)

DEBATE

Resolved, That no lawyer should take a case he does not believe in the justice of, except at the request of the court.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF BUSINESS

- I. Introduction
- II. Fields of regulation
 - 1. Banking
 - 2. Insurance
 - 3. Investment
 - 4. Advertising
 - 5. The quality of goods
 - 6. Prices and rates
- III. The cost of regulation
- IV. The tendency of regulation

Probably not one dollar in a million that cross the counter' is bogus. Our government has taken the greatest pains to protect the purity of the circulating medium by ferreting out and punishing counterfeiters and false-coiners. But a government which insists that the dollar must be just what it purports to be long showed no concern whether or not the goods or services exchanged for such dollars were what *they* purported to be. To the buyer it commended the old maxim of Roman law, *Caveat emptor* — i.e., *Let the buyer look out for himself*— but it never said *Caveat vendor*, never invited the seller to look out for himself; it did everything it could to save him from being imposed upon. No doubt one reason for this partiality is that manufacturers and merchants had much more influence upon governmental policy than ultimate consumers, who were weak because unorganized. The latter-day regulation of business by government amounts to an assertion of consumer interest in the face of stubborn resistance from the side of business. Since the subject is too many-sided to be dealt with adequately here, all that we can hope to do is to glance at a few typical fields of regulation.

Banking. In 1927, savings banks deposits totaled above eight billion dollars, while the savings deposits in other banks came to twenty billions. The banks — eight thousand of them operating under national charters and nineteen thousand under state charters — are the chief caretakers of the people's money, and it is right that they should be supervised. Let no one suppose that regulation started as one man's bright idea. The chief steps along this path were taken after the collapse of institutions, sweeping away the savings of multitudes of depositors, had impressed thoughtful men with the need of obliging *all* banks to operate under the policies worked out and followed by the *best* banks.

In order that losses may be held at a minimum, banks are restricted by law as to the forms of property or security they may invest in. Then they are regulated as to the size of their reserves. Laws prescribe the proportion the bank must maintain between reserve and deposits, the purpose being to prevent such a tying-up of funds as might render the bank unable to pay its depositors their money on demand. The lending operations of a bank are restricted by law in order that its money shall not be lent to its officers or directors, or lent on poor security or in excessive amounts. Credit being a necessity to modern business, as air is to man, safeguards are set up to make sure that banking shall not be centralized in a few hands. Essential to the regulatory process is the periodical bank examination by national or state examiners. These not only prevent resort to unsafe banking practices; they make bankers more careful, acquaint individual bankers with approved practices, attract new depositors to whom inspection is a guarantee of soundness, and build up in the banking system as a whole that public confidence which is of course essential to the operation of banks.

The regulation of banking, which benefits bankers fully as much as depositors, has been so long established that

opposition to it has died away and it is generally accepted as a matter of course.

Insurance. No state government is without a " division " or " department " regulating the business of insurance, which now involves a total of eighty billions of dollars. Most goods or services are delivered to you *at or about the time you pay your money*. But, according to the contract of insurance, you pay annual premiums for the sake of being reimbursed *if and when* your house burns down. You pay premiums half your life in order that your family may receive the value of the policy *irhen* you die. This opens up a lush field for the kind of company that is very glad to take your premiums but will not have your money ready for you when, years later, its obligation falls due. The policyholder cannot get inside his insurance company to observe its wheels go round and, if he could, he would not know the meaning of what he saw. So, on behalf of its millions of citizens who are trying to protect their families by keeping up insurance, the state gets together examiners, accountants, and actuaries to scrutinize the inner workings of insurance companies and see that they do the things which two centuries of experience have shown to be necessary if solvency is to be maintained. Not only are its investments regulated and its reserves prescribed, but the insurance company is restrained from offering the public any kind of trick policy its clever lawyers and actuaries may have cooked up. The policy might be full of loopholes and jokers which the ordinary reader would not notice. So, in the interest of the public, the experts have worked out " standard " policies which are just as fair to the company as to the insurer and no company is allowed to write any other kind. The best-managed and most conscientious companies are all in favor of intelligent state regulation, for it protects them from having to compete with " wildcat " companies.

Even the *price* at which insurance is offered may be regulated. The Supreme Court of the United States, in upholding a Kansas statute of 1909 fixing the rates of fire insurance companies, said:

The price of insurance is not fixed over the counters of the companies by what Adam Smith called "the higgling of the market" but is formed in the councils of the underwriters, promulgated in schedules of practically controlling constancy which the applicant for insurance is powerless to oppose and which, therefore, has led to the assertion that the business of insurance is of monopolistic character and that it is illusory to speak of a liberty of contract.

The court goes on to say that the legislature could regard it as of much moment to the public that they who seek insurance should no more be constrained by arbitrary terms than they who seek transportation by railroads, steam or street, or by coaches whose itinerary may be only a few city blocks, or who seek the use of grain elevators, or to be secured of a night's accommodation at a wayside inn, or in the weight of the five-cent loaf of bread.

Not always, however, are the companies in a position to tell the public, "Take it or leave it." Hence, another reason for regulating insurance companies is the fact that at times they may be sucked into a vortex of mad competition, so that the solvency of individual companies may be endangered by their being prompted to cut their rates below the point of safety.

Investments. The platform of the Progressive Party in 1912 contained the demand:

The people of the United States are swindled out of many millions of dollars every year through worthless investments. The plain people, the wage earner, and the men and women with small savings have no way of knowing the merit of concerns sending out highly colored prospectuses offering stock for sale, prospectuses that make big returns seem certain and fortunes within easy grasp. We hold it to be the duty of the government to protect its people

from this kind of piracy. We, therefore, demand wise, carefully thought-out legislation that will give us such governmental supervision over this matter as will furnish to the people of the United States this much-needed protection.

This reform is coming along various lines. In connection with their job of regulating rates the Interstate Commerce Commission and the state utility commissions supervise the issuance of stocks and bonds by railroads and public utility companies. The snaring of innocents has been curtailed by "fraud orders" of the Post Office Department barring the use of the mails to the worst investment schemes and by prosecuting for criminal misuse of the mails. Even as it is, the Department estimates that the public is swindled out of a billion dollars annually by fraudulent appeals through the mails. Despite the familiar cackle against "meddlesome legislation," "shackling freedom of enterprise," and "coddling the investor," over forty states have passed laws aiming to prevent the sale of worthless "securities." They are popularly known as "blue sky" laws because promoters were cajoling credulous persons into swapping their money for properties no more substantial or productive than patches of blue sky. Before an investment company may go to offering securities for sale in a state which has a "blue sky" law, it must furnish some state department with certain information from which security values may be judged, and receive a permit. Under such legislation it is usual to classify securities according to their value as investments. For certain classes of securities the subscription blank must bear the warning, "This is a speculative venture."

Advertising. Legitimate advertising has a useful place in the business world, and the general tone of it is being constantly improved; but it needs careful government regulation if it is to be a blessing instead of a curse.

One of the great pests of modern life is *intrusive* adver-

tising. The moment you step out of your door you may be the lawful prey of anyone who has something to sell. Your mail box may be stuffed with circulars, your pavement littered with handbills, your highways lined with billboards. As you travel in beautiful country, your eye is almost continually distracted by reminders of someone's cigarettes or toothpaste or toilet soap. Millions are spent to make us "hat-conscious/" "shoe-conscious/" "shirt-conscious," "collar-conscious," or "tire-conscious," when we want to be left free to enjoy life. No people in the world is more pursued and pestered by brazen, intrusive advertising than the Americans, because the class from which advertising emanates — the business element — is in a commanding position here. Ordinarily newspapers and magazines will voice public grievances when they become acute, but precious few of them will swat the advertising nuisance, because they are loath to offend the element from which their chief revenue comes.

Occasionally citizens club together to rescue their scenery from profanation, and in some places associations of outdoor advertisers, conscious of the rising resentment of the public, have enacted restraining rules of their own and set up means of enforcement. There is a healthy movement afoot to have the state remove billboards from the highways and from along the railways and to let the municipality clear them from the residential sections of cities.

Over forty states have made it a misdemeanor to put out an advertisement "which contains any assertion, representation, or statement of fact which is untrue, deceptive, or misleading." A national law requires that editorial or other reading matter in a periodical, for the printing of which pay has been received, shall be plainly marked "advertisement." The Federal Trade Commission has branded the following competitive practices as "unfair":

The use of false or misleading advertisements.

Passing off products or business of one manufacturer for those of another by imitation products, dress of goods, or simulation of advertising or of corporate or trade names.

Misbranding of fabrics and other commodities respecting the materials or ingredients of which they are composed, their quality, origin, or source.

Preventing competitors from procuring advertising space in newspapers or periodicals by misrepresenting their standing or by other misrepresentations calculated to prejudice advertising mediums against them.

Circulating false or disparaging statements respecting competitors' products, their businesses, financial credit, etc.

On these principles the Commission has struck down some of the grosser impositions on the public. For example, a soap cannot be advertised as "naphtha" unless at least one per cent of it is from naphtha. Goods made in Anytown, U. S. A., may not be advertised as "imported." Cotton goods may not be advertised as "all wool," non-silk goods as "silk," Chinese lace as "Irish lace," nor zinc washboards as "aluminum." Furniture made of cherry or maple is not to be given out as "mahogany" or "walnut." Nor will a middleman be allowed to masquerade as "Scioto Mills" in order to fool the buyer into thinking that he is dealing directly with the manufacturer.

Such barriers cannot possibly hurt the kind of business we are all interested in promoting; viz., the smooth flow of serviceable objects from producers to consumers. The buying public is entitled to a square deal *everywhere and all the time*. There is no reason whatever why every advertisement should not be required to be as truthful as, for example, the announcements of a high school or a college are forced by

public opinion to be. For the restraining of liars is the salvation of their truthful competitors.

Standardization of quality. The great bulk of the things we buy have never been put through any impartial test but, as Stuart Chase puts it, "advance upon us from behind a great smoke screen of advertising." In just one state the farmers wrested political power from the business group, with the result that the state of North Dakota leads in supplying the consumer with information about the goods he buys. "It has established full and comprehensive food, drug, and beverage inspection laws, with specifications defining color, freshness, potency, and other essential characteristics" —again Mr. Chase's words. "The state laboratory provides the unusual service of publicly listing the results of tests on milk, and of giving numerical scores based on excellence to all places dealing with food. The restaurant that fails to post its score is regarded by patrons with suspicion. The published tests of gasoline are so frank and pointed that when companies discover an especially bad shipment they shunt it off to some neighboring state that doesn't much care how its citizens are imposed upon."

In most municipalities the public health department inspects and controls the quality of milk offered the public.

Thanks to the Federal Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906, benzoate of soda content must be declared in soft drinks, sugar substitutes may not be used in candies unless declared on the package, the extent of preservatives in food or medicines must be stated on the label. But while the Act will not allow "false and misleading statements" to appear on the label, it ignores falsehoods in advertising, and most patent medicines are bought on the strength of advertising. Also, the Act applies only to interstate shipments. Only state laws can reach the manufacturer who sells within his own state.

The Federal Trade Commission was set up not so much to

protect consumers as to protect business men from "unfair competition," particularly "independents" from dirty trust tactics. It never moves of its own accord but only when somebody complains — and a complainant is almost always a competitor. Furthermore, it can touch only goods which enter into interstate commerce.

The Bureau of Standards, set up in Washington thirty years ago, has eight hundred scientists and technicians on its staff and is engaged in testing all sorts of wares as a basis for the purchase of \$300,000,000 worth of goods a year by the United States government. Spending two millions of dollars, it saves the government near \$100,000,000 a year on its supplies and equipment. Then, too, it has made great savings for private industry. Its work on builders' hardware is calculated to have saved the building industry \$10,000,000 a year. On automobile tires, brakes, and fuel the total waste eliminated by the Bureau's work is placed at \$155,000,000. But the Bureau's data as to the relative merits of competing brands is not available to the ultimate consumer, although it has been estimated that a saving of at least a billion dollars a year would follow the release of the information to the public.

Prices and rates. The transportation business tends to become a monopoly. Most towns are served by but one railroad. Thousands of places that once enjoyed competitive rates have lost them because their competing railroads were consolidated. Half a century ago many cities had competing street car companies; but in time they merged and the public was charged "all that the traffic will bear." When it comes to the distributing of gas or electricity a municipality is simply foolish when it awards franchises to rival companies in order to assure its citizens good service at low rates. Needless duplication of plants and mains results in high charges to the citizens, which, of course, continue

after the weaker companies have been swallowed by the stronger. A thousand times it has been shown that forcing competition in such fields is uneconomical, even ruinous. About forty years ago it became clear to thoughtful men that such a business is *by nature* a monopoly. For each community there should be *one* traction system, *one* telephone system, *one* source of light; the endeavor to keep rates low by encouraging rival systems is like trying to make water run up hill.

So certain businesses have come to be recognized as "affected with a public interest" and therefore subject to regulation. These are known as "public utilities." Among them are steam and electric railways; carriers by water; wharf and dock companies; terminal companies; express companies; telephone, telegraph, and wireless companies; water, gas, electric light, and power companies; canals; ferries; irrigation companies; stockyards; boards of trade; grain elevators; and hotels. Generally a regulated business is bound to provide "reasonably" good service, not to discriminate arbitrarily among patrons, and to charge the public "reasonable" rates; i.e., such as afford only a fair return for the service it renders. To this end it must furnish such reports as will make its inside workings clear. A public utility may not build up an excuse for overcharging by "padding" its "operating expenses" with items which have no business there; e.g., excessive salaries for officials, outlay for lobbyists, contributions to party funds, or "milking" by subsidiaries. Then it is entitled to earn dividends only on the actual capital it has invested, not on stock it has "watered" in order to conceal the smallness of its real investment nor on the volume of securities it paid dividends on before it came under regulation nor on the market value of such securities.

Owing to court decisions the determination of the "rate

base " is a very ticklish thing. Thus some courts have decided that a public utility may charge rates that will yield it 8 per cent on its capital. Suppose the utility represents an actual investment of \$1,000,000, \$500,000 of which was raised by the sale of 5 per cent bonds, while \$250,000 is in 6 per cent preferred stock and \$250,000 in common stock. Is just the common stock entitled to earn 8 per cent? Or is *all* the capital entitled to earn 8 per cent, in which case the holders of common stock will be getting 16 per cent a year! If the rate base is sought by valuing the physical plant as a going concern, shall the standard be *original cost*, or its cost if it were reproduced *now*? Taking 1914 prices as a standard the Interstate Commerce Commission found the value of all physical property used for transportation purposes in 1919 to be eighteen billion dollars. But the application of the current-reproduction-cost doctrine would have added the equivalent of the national debt in 1919 to the base upon which the railroads were entitled to earn " reasonable " dividends!

The future of public utility regulation is by no means clear. If " conservative " court decisions load intolerable charges upon patrons and the banded public-utility companies achieve success in " regulating the regulators," there will be a great growth of public ownership and operation of such businesses. But this policy, while offering marked advantages, is open to grave objections which we cannot go into here.

Cost of regulation. Rich, powerful, and unscrupulous interests constantly try to make regulation unpopular by harping on its " cost." The fact is, the bigger men in the field of regulation are *paid from a third to a fifth* of what they would receive had they chosen to take service with a corporation instead of throwing in their lot with the public. Scores of former regulators are now in the employ of private companies at greatly enhanced salaries. Or compare the plain accommodations of the Interstate Commission and the state

titility commissions with the luxurious offices and board rooms of many of the companies which they regulate!

In 1926 the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission added up the cost of all the regulatory commissions in the country and found that they came to less than \$12,000,000. Then he totaled the gross receipts of the principal regulated companies — namely, the steam railroads, electric railways, express companies, telegraph and cable companies, telephone companies, electric light and power companies, and gas companies — and they came to \$10,456,547,000. Simply put, this means that for every \$871 the public pay for the services of such companies they spend one dollar to make sure that they will get their money's worth. If the commissions are able to lower *by one eighth of one per cent* what the companies charge the public, they are profitable. Doubtless they save at least one hundred times their cost.

Regulation and private capitalism. We Americans live under a system which implies private ownership of the capital required for production and distribution, and freedom of individual initiative in the economic sphere. Its rival is the system of public capitalism which prevails in Soviet Russia. Now, regulation, which aims to make business fulfill its obligations to its customers or patrons and give them a "square deal," is in no wise a disloyalty to the principles of private capitalism. The cry that its leaders have Communism as their goal is raised by crooks. Regulation is a century-old American policy and was in full swing decades before Communism had even begun to make a noise in the world. Moreover, it is based upon policies which the courts of England had worked out three or four centuries ago. Far from being the foes of private capitalism in America, the regulators are, in truth, its best friends, for, like a wise surgeon, they cut away ulcerous growths which would raise up for it hosts of enemies and might in the end kill it.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What dements in society favored the old maxim, *Let the buyer look out for himself*?
2. Show how regulation may put no pressure whatever on the better-managed banks.
3. The public look out for themselves when they enter a clothing shop; why not when they make a contract with an insurance company?
4. Show that a "blue sky" law is not "meddlesome legislation."
5. Is it an advantage to the public for advertisers to make them "hat-conscious" or "shoe-conscious"?
6. What advertising practices has the Federal Trade Commission declared "unfair"?
7. What is being done to standardize the quality of goods offered the ultimate consumer?
8. What difficulties crop up in arriving at a "rate base" for a utility company?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Do you see any reason for the maxim *Caveat emptor* other than the self-interest of vendors?
2. Should standards for insurance policies be worked out by actuaries in the state's employ, or by these together with company actuaries?
3. Will a "blue sky" law hinder speculative ventures from attracting as much capital as they ought to get if economic progress is to be rapid?
4. Would a smaller volume of goods be bought by the public if no deceit whatever were used by vendors? Would the profit be less?
5. Should public utility rates be changed as the purchasing power of the dollar changes?
6. Should a state forestry department be empowered to have some control over the cutting of trees in privately owned forests?
7. Is a citizen inconsistent when he champions the regulation of utility companies in the public interest, yet opposes public ownership and operation of such utilities?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. What encouragement has government given to cooperative marketing? (Head B, Chapter 25.)
2. What has been the history of anti-trust law enforcement, and what is the present situation? (Read A, Chapters 2, 3, 4.)
3. What protection does Main Street now give the consumer? (Read C, Chapter 3.)
4. Cite concrete examples of the "unfair competition" the Federal Trade Commission was devised to curb. (Read E, pages 458-463.)
5. Contrast rate regulation during a period of falling prices with its regulation during a period of rising prices. (Read F, pages 422-424.)
6. Look into the functioning of the public utilities commission of your state and find what measure of control over rates it is exercising.

DEBATE

Resolved, That publicly owned and operated electric light plants give better results for consumers than privately owned and operated plants under regulation.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SPEEDING UP SOCIAL PROGRESS

- I. Causes of lag in social progress
 1. Mental laziness
 2. Control by the old
 3. Veneration for precedent
 4. The notion that society is static
 5. Self-interest an obstacle to progress
 6. The dominant social class resists change
- II. How we may speed up social progress
 1. Commit the helm to younger men
 2. Get the able into high political places
 3. Preserve to the individual the freedom of initiative
 4. Apply critical scholarship to the history of institutions
 5. Test results by measurement

In olden days our common schools were closed during the growing season in order that the farmers might have the help of their children. Thus originated the long summer vacation, and as the cities established their school systems they adopted it without question. There are many ways in which school buildings and grounds may be used during the summer to keep children happy and usefully occupied. But although over half our population is urban, every June in most of our cities we close the schools and turn millions of children into the street.

Why social progress lags. In an early day in the level West the practice struck root of laying out roads on the section lines. Later this plan was adhered to even in rough country, where it would have been more rational to lay out the roads according to the contour of the land so that they would follow the water courses or the water partings. Today millions of loads are needlessly hauled over hill after hill on their way to market, and thousands of hillside roads are washed away every season because men blindly follow precedent.

This is why after a social practice or institution has run on for some generations it is no longer based on reason. The first users are willing to change or drop it if it does not prove to suit their purpose. But after it has been taken over by a later generation, which has a sentiment for it, it hardens, turns to bone you might say. This process may be termed *ossification*. Let us consider the main causes of ossification ; i.e., obstacles to social progress.

Mental laziness. It must be confessed that most of us hate to put our minds on a stretch for any length of time. We love to loaf mentally. Hence, we balk at recognizing that situations may have changed since our conduct in regard to them was first determined and we ought to rethink why and how we are doing what we do. Lazily we roll along in the rut of habit until a stone in the rut throws us out of it. Absorbed in their daily round, few ever pause to ask themselves: " Is this thing of any use ? " " Am I doing any real good ? "

Control by the old. When the control of society is in the hands of the older people, the played-out thing will longer escape notice and be longer tolerated than if the young are at the helm. If the school studies fall out of step with life, if the law fails to note the development of new human relations, the young, being open-minded, will realize it first and will demand changes which the old see no reason for. Gowin found, on reviewing modern history, that in ten epochs of reform or revolution the average age of the dozen leading men in each epoch ranged from 32 years to 46 years. But the average age of their chief opponents and of the leaders of quiet epochs ranged from 54 to 66 years. So those who took the lead in adapting laws and institutions to changed situations have been from 15 to 20 years younger than the champions of things-as-they-are.

Veneration for precedent. The long-established becomes a sacred thing which we fear to lay hand on. Perhaps our

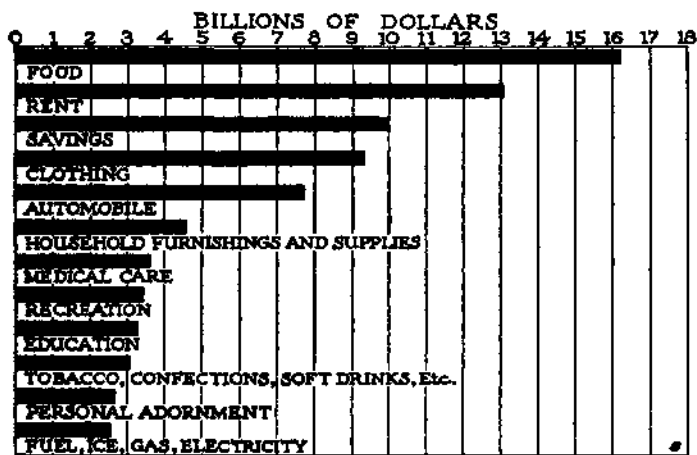
forefathers fought and bled for it. It has inspired heroic deeds, poetry, and eloquence. We cannot imagine that a thing so cherished has become a stumblingblock. The Monroe Doctrine, the avoidance of "entangling alliances," the principle that taxation must be "uniform," the "open-door" for immigrants, inspire devotion long after their value has become doubtful. Veneration for precedent, the desire to follow an example set long ago, checks many needed reforms.

The notion that society is static. Most people imagine that society keeps to its planned course until some large visible force — say a war, a revolution, a law, a religious movement, or a great invention — starts it on a new tack. The truth is that the very base of society is constantly being shifted by the results of numerous small imperceptible changes — new methods of tillage, expansion in manufacturing, cheaper haulage, the opening of new channels for foreign trade, immigration, population increase, the unequal growth of geographic regions, the vanishing of the frontier, the rush to the cities, the access of women to jobs. Silently these unnoticed processes make society into something else than we suppose it to be, so that some of the wisdom of the past becomes folly for us, and perhaps some of its folly becomes wisdom for us. This is why each generation ought to look over the institutions it inherits and consider of each whether it is still at its peak of fitness. But this will never be done until we recognize that society is *not static*, not fixed in the course it has long followed. We must realize that society is *dynamic*, full of drive, energy, motion; in one way or another social conditions are always changing.

Examples of new policies or institutions that have come about because men recognized a change in social conditions are forest reserves, the income tax Amendment to the Constitution, the Federal Reserve system, the separation of city

elections from those of state and nation, the city manager, the "community chest," state highways, workmen's compensation for industrial hazards, direct primaries, parcel post, the power district, the social center, the public playground. The stiff-minded fought every one of these and in many cases delayed it for years after the time was ripe for it.

Self-interest an obstacle to progress. Persons become dependent on an institution and therefore resist proposals to abandon or alter it. Teachers of Greek protest as the courses of study for youth are reformed in the modern spirit. Here and there we find groups of workers whose self-interest is an obstacle to progress. Certain persons have specialized in good faith and they are in danger of losing their occupation. It is indeed hard. One cannot well expect them to admit that they are not needed. They are like players who protest against the game's being changed to their disadvantage while they are playing it.



Comparative outlay of the American people in a recent year. Medical care, including cost of services of physicians, dentists, nurses, hospitals, medicines, and sick-room supplies, and of all public-health work was very little more than the amount that went for tobacco, candy, soft drinks, etc.

The dominant social class resists change. The dominant social class naturally has great power to influence social progress. In affairs of government, industry, and other fields, when the dominant class is afraid of being interfered with, it is likely to resist any changes that may be suggested, no matter how good they might be for society as a whole.

It is *the weak* who present chronic social problems, for a social problem presented by the strong does not go unsolved for long. When some difficulty is encountered by a dominant element, the proper remedy is quickly found and applied, so that no long struggle is necessary. Problems arising in connection with currency, banking, trademarks, railroad consolidation, trade associations, are solved before people generally have become alive to their existence. The wishes of a dominant group are usually enacted into law, provided they can agree among themselves as to what they want, and provided their demands do not excite too much opposition from other groups. But proposals aiming to relieve bad conditions suffered by working children, factory girls, pawnshop-borrowers, Negro tenants, convicts, or aliens cannot be brought about without long, tedious agitation of public opinion.

How tardily a remedy comes when it is opposed by the dominant element may be seen from the history of workmen's compensation in the United States. In the period 1850-1870 industry went over from hand tools to machinery, with the result that there was an increase of accidents for which the workman was not to blame. Disinterested thinkers agreed that the costs of such accidents ought to be borne by the industry and passed on to the consumer of its products. Yet so weak was the element demanding the change in our laws and so strong the element opposing it that this country was one of the very last nations to enact accident-compensation laws. It was not until the period 1912-1922 that the

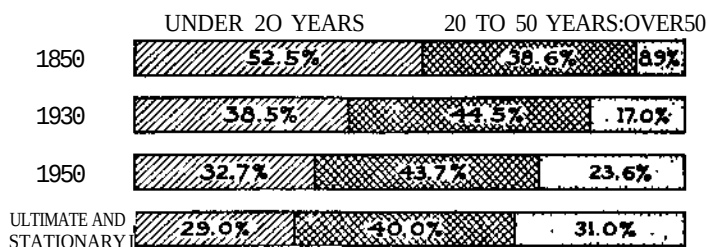
states generally adopted this reform, whereas the need for it arose in the period 1850-1870. In other words, *the remedy arrived about fifty years behind the time.*

There occurred in American industry in 1913 about 25,000 fatal accidents and 700,000 accidents which laid up the worker for more than four weeks. It is safe, then, to say that in the half century of delay hundreds of thousands of families had to endure poverty and misery, owing to the loss of a breadwinner, when under our present laws they would have had it made up to them. Millions of workers lost wages and paid doctors' bills for crippling accidents which now entitle one to compensation. There is bound to be some lag in the application of a social remedy, but it is sad that with a free and intelligent people the application of the remedy should be delayed as much as half a century.

How we may speed up social progress. What can be done to save society from being clogged with out-of-date customs and institutions? Here are five basic principles which are urged by those who are working for social progress.

Commit the helm to younger men. It is foolish to suppose that only the elderly can preserve society, whereas the young would run it on the rocks. A group of fifty-five persons averaging less than thirty years of age abolished the old order in Japan in 1857. Probably we should be better off if the majority of those in key positions were under the age of fifty rather than above it.

Get the able into high political places. Men cling to lifeless precedents because they lack imagination and the power of constructive thought. To take things as he finds them and to do things as they have always been done is the method of the slow-witted wight in office. Therefore, we ought to man all important political posts with the capable. This means that many posts will be filled by appointment, for the common run of voters are in no position to weigh qualifica-



Data supplied by Census Bureau

Shifts in the age make-up of the American people.

tions. It is their job to pick the men who will do the appointing. It may be that mental testing will be so perfected that the time will come when no one will be allowed to hold an office if his intelligence does not come up to a certain rating.

Preserve to the individual the freedom of initiative. A single daring innovator may start something which will hearten others to break their bondage to past customs. The principle that the individual can do what he likes with his own, can make as many mistakes as he pleases provided he does not infringe on the rights of others or hurt the community, encourages initiative and speeds up social progress. One weakness of communal landholding in old Russia was that farming became hide-bound because a clever peasant was not free to till his strips of land according to his own ideas.

Let competent persons examine and criticize institutions. If an institution was founded on an error, or if the circumstances under which it arose or the situation to which it was adapted has changed, we may be sure that scholarly men will find it out and tell us about it. Therefore, *preserve the right of free inquiry*. No institution is entitled to claim immunity from examination. Nothing should be so "sacred" that it may not be criticized by competent persons, at the proper time, and in a seemly manner.

Test results by measurement. Just as cost accounting brings to light the weak spots in a business, so the exact measurement of results brings to light the weak spots in social organization. We have, perhaps, rival methods of reforming bad boys, of teaching a trade, of old-age insurance, of poor relief, of factory discipline, of highway administration, of financing social welfare agencies. How shall we find which is better? Argue till doomsday? No, measure and compare their results. The social survey, which does just that, is scarcely more than twenty years old, yet all the time its methods are improving and it is being introduced into new fields. In conflicts between old and new, there should be constant endeavor to substitute measurement for guesswork.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe a custom or practice that illustrates ossification.
2. Name and explain the main causes of delay in social progress.
3. Mention examples of new policies or institutions which arise from recognition of change in social conditions.
4. Which cause of ossification does the history of the workmen's compensation in the United States illustrate?
5. Name and explain the ways in which we may speed up social progress.
6. How^r can we get the able into high places?
7. What value will result from preserving the right of fret' inquiry?
8. What is the service of the social survey?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Can you improve on this rule: "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good"?
2. It is said that in a certain Southern city no new family has been admitted to the highest circle of society since 18^v24. What is the good side of this exclusiveness? the bad side?
8. Why are we better off with the Common Law than we should be if our law were based on the Bible?
4. Shall we some day have religious surveys, morals surveys, and family-life surveys of communities, as now we have health surveys and school surveys?

5. What relation has progress to happiness ?
6. To obtain progress shall we have to change human nature?
7. To what extent will the development of mental tests help social progress? What are the dangers in the application of mental testing?
8. Point out some important but little-noticed process which tends to transform the society of which you are a member.
9. What effect does the interchange of students from all parts of the world have on world progress ?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Consult a medieval and a modern history textbook and show how the Church during the Middle Ages and early modern times both helped and retarded social progress.
2. What progress has been made in social legislation in your state during the last fifty years ?
3. What are the standards of judging progress? Compare your idea with that in Chapter 7 of Todd's book, *Theories of Social Progress*.
4. What are the tactics of your state agricultural college to get the habit-bound type of farmer to open his mind to farm problems?
5. What are the tactics of the cleverest librarians to get the public to reading better books?
6. Study the Omaha platform of the People's Party in 1892 and see how many of its twelve demands have been fulfilled.

DEBATE

Resolved, That poverty is a greater obstacle to social progress than ignorance.

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PART THREE

MAJOR CIVIC PROBLEMS

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

PERSONAL FREEDOM

- I. History of freedom in America
 - 1. Early-American jealousy of authority
 - 2. Democracy lessens mistrust of authority
- H. How new knowledge calls for restrictive measures
 - 1. The war on disease
 - 2. The war on crop pests
 - 3. The war on vice
- III. How people-rule calls for restrictions on personal freedom
- IV. Restrictions the future may have in store

Man has an instinct against close restraint. If even the caged wild animal pines, how much more must a being who possesses imagination suffer! Some of the highest flights of poetry and eloquence appeal to this inborn craving for freedom. If, as some insist, the drift today is away from personal freedom, then many of us are going to be unhappy and restless, no matter what comforts and pleasures social progress brings within our reach.

The early-American jealousy of authority. Our forefathers deemed it a simple matter to make the individual secure in his freedom. Curb authority and our liberties will be safe. Hence, they separated Church and State so that the citizen might *be* free to join any religious body or none. Then they hedged the authority of the state over the individual. Their ideas were expressed in the doctrines, government is "a necessary evil"; "that government is best which governs least"; the right maxim for government is "let alone" (*laissez-faire*); the proper job of government is just that of a policeman — namely, to restrain ill-disposed persons from over-riding the rights of others.

As for restraints for the good of society in general, for the people as a whole, our forefathers in the eighteenth

century hardly perceived that there is such a thing as *society*, for which the interest of the individual might have to be sacrificed. Everything focused on the rights of the individual. They had been bred on the false notion of Blackstone that "The public good is in nothing more essentially interested than in the protection of every individual's private rights." So lovers of freedom coined a wealth of noble phrases exalting the God-given rights of the individual.

Democracy dispels the old mistrust of government. At this period the champions of the common people believed in this limited scope of the government because they dared not trust a state which was practically in the hands of the propertied class. Moreover, amidst the simple problems of their day they saw no need for government to do more. Since the people did not control government, the best thing to do, they thought, was to tie it down.

In this country, however, there has been a marked advance in people-control since the early part of the nineteenth century when the let-alone philosophy of the state was at its height. Nowadays, when the bulk of the plain folk insist upon having some new service from their government, there is no keeping it from them for long. As they observe that the official is behaving as servant of the people rather than as master, their mistrust of authority fades away. They are willing to charge the official to do more things for them and to clothe him with the needful powers. Times have changed since the days of George III.

Rarely today is it the government official who bullies or robs the common people; it is more likely to be the unregulated corporation, the irresponsible trust, oil-stock swindlers, or quack practitioners. In vain do concerns which dread regulation by law try to revive the old jealousy of government and scare Mr. Plain Citizen with warnings dating from the days when the commoners were struggling against king and

nobles. Mr. Plain Citizen has learned to look to the government for help and protection in matters too big for him to cope with. Modern science and invention menace him with new dangers and have created new ways in which the state can serve him. He knows nowhere else to appeal than to government when he seeks to be protected from speedsters, racketeers, food adulterators, sellers of dope to children, labor spies, election crooks, grade crossings, defective boilers, unguarded machines, and malarial mosquitoes.

New light on disease makes new social requirements. Modern discovery has shown that nearly every disease that torments us comes from some species of microbe infesting the human system. This knowledge opens a glorious vista of a life without sickness, reaching into a green old age. But the benefits of this discovery may not be reaped without restraining ignorant, careless, or selfish persons from broadcasting the germs of their diseases. So we get quarantine of the home which harbors a contagious case, enforced fumigation, the banning of houses not fit to be lived in, compulsory vaccination, the banishment of the common drinking cup and the roller towel, the inspection of places where food is prepared or sold, and the testing of dairy herds. As war measures in the fight against microbes, the law punishes the nurse who fails to report a case of sore eyes in a new baby, the baker who bakes bread in a basement, the hotel keeper whose sheets are not long enough to protect the bed covers, and the street-car passenger who spits on the floor or fails to cover up a cough. Public health legislation somewhat hampers the freedom of the individual, to be sure, but it is made up to him a hundred times over in his prospect of being free from the inroads of microscopic enemies quite as cruel as Apache Indians.

Restrictive measures in the war on crop pests. Our new knowledge of the diseases of plants leads to similar precau-

tions. How a man treats his fruit trees is of community concern when a whole valley lives by an orchard crop. The law allows a man to breed dangerous animals, even rattlesnakes, *provided he keeps them on his premises*. But if a man allows his apple trees to become breeding grounds for noxious insects, how can he keep these crawling or flying pests on his premises? So, if his orchard becomes a menace to his neighbors, an officer enters it, chops down and burns up his infected trees, *and the owner must pay for the work*. It may seem arbitrary to bar a man from importing fruit or nursery stock from abroad, until you learn that millions of dollars' worth of damage has been done in this country by foreign insect pests brought here in just this way.

Restraints imposed in the war on vice. The victim of a habit-forming drug is no more free than a man in the coils of a python. Is any bondage worse than that of the drug addict who knows that his habit is ruining him yet "can't let it alone"? How free are the wife and children of the breadwinner who is demoralized by his abuse of liquor or opium? Nothing is more false than the charge that the warriors against these poisons care naught for human freedom. The temperate man, who can "take it or leave it alone" and therefore is in no danger from alcoholic beverages, will, if he is socially-minded, forego his glass of wine or beer for the sake of the crusade against one of the most terrible of social scourges. The passion some people fly into at being called upon to make this trifling sacrifice is a blot on human nature. How we should despise a person unwilling to forego his coffee or tea if it could be shown that the social ravages of these beverages were as great as those of strong drink!

The prize fight has become a social pest and most of our commonwealths outlaw it, although honest boxing exhibitions are not interfered with. No one objects to speed contests, but the time comes when horse racing is nothing but a

"blind" for betting and is put under the ban for stimulating the dangerous spirit of getting "something for nothing." Probably the regulators, the urgers of such restrictions, are of bigger brain and heart than the average. On the whole, no doubt, they wear bigger hats than the resisters and would score higher in intelligence tests. *They see something the resisters are blind to.*

Film censorship. There are undoubtedly many picture-play producers who insist that every child with the price in its fist shall be permitted to see any film that is shown, no matter how saturated it is with sex and crime. Such men are out for profits and care nothing about the effect that vicious films may have on the children who see them.

On the other hand parents, teachers, child-welfare experts, and other socially minded persons are deeply troubled by the multiplying signs that the mental and moral health of many children is being undermined by the influence of lurid and unwholesome films.

There is no doubt that children under fifteen years of age should be barred from performances of certain picture plays that are offered to the public; but in view of the propaganda resources of the film producers to combat any such attempt it is not at all certain that laws providing such protection for society can be passed.

Interference with other people's pleasures. Nevertheless, among the regulators are some who are not really concerned about the social welfare, but are displeased at seeing other people take their pleasure in ways which do not appeal to them. They are like the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, who, according to Macaulay, put down bear-baiting "not because it gave pain to the bear but because it gave pleasure to the spectators." They would like to see tobacco prohibited from sale as alcohol is in some places, although tobacco does not unchain the beast in man and intemperate

smoking has never maddened a man to the point of braining his family with an ax. They would lay the ban on ways of spending Sunday which they do not approve of, ignoring the fact that for multitudes Sunday is the one opportunity to relax from the strain and monotony of machine-tending. So the friends of society have to fight on both wings, opposing both those whose innocent individual actions are connected with some menace to the social welfare and those who, in their concern for public morality, would suppress the pleasures of the public which they do not like.

Pioneer individualism not suited to the present stage of society. In a dense, close-knit society, one's freedom will never be as complete as that of the backwoodsman. Full well we know what his freedom costs in the end. The pioneer slashes the upland forests till the soil covering vanishes and the rain runs off the hillsides as off a roof. So the streams become floods after a downpour and are dry the rest of the time; that is, they are spoiled for beauty or sport or navigation. The pioneer converts the steep slope into a cornfield. Presently the thin layer of humus has been washed down to the stream, which, becoming choked, spreads over the bottomland. Hence, the cultivation of the mountain slopes results in drowning the crops on the rich valley floor. Game is hunted until there is nothing left to shoot at. If farmers assume the right to live as they please, the creek may become an open sewer, a menace to public health. If dairymen, claiming the same freedom as the pioneer, ignore advice as to the cleansing of their milk cans and hands, city consumers of their milk may be given typhoid or tuberculosis.

Thus the pioneer idea of freedom makes claims which cannot be allowed. It may be nobody's business how I drive my horse on a lonely country road; but on a highway where a thousand vehicles pass in an hour, how I speed my car is

a matter of public concern. Hasn't a man a right to live in a pig-sty if he chooses ? Perhaps, if you leave his children out of account. But if a thousand assert that right in one place, you get a slum, a physical and moral plague spot, oozing inky streams of contamination. So the wiser cities require one to live decently in a habitable dwelling or go elsewhere. Like shortsightedness is seen in mountaineers who bitterly resent their being no longer allowed to fire the adjacent national forest in order to clear away the undergrowth so that the pigs may find their mast. It never occurred to the farmers that the annual fire kills the seedlings which should replace the forest when the existing trees are gone.

Restrictions safeguarding the people's control of their government. Constant watchfulness is necessary to safeguard the people's government. One might think that it is none of a citizen's business how much transportation a railroad company gives away. But in 1913 the Interstate Commerce Commission found a single small railroad issuing -22/255 passes of the value of \$209,420, of which 16,580 went to legislators and other public officials and 1310 to newspaper men. Is it any wonder that such wholesale issuance of passes has been suppressed by law ?

To the unthinking it might seem as though it is none of the public's business how much money I spend in running for office, provided that I spend none of it in improper ways. But experience shows that the unlimited use of funds in hiring halls for speakers, getting up imposing political demonstrations, and circulating campaign literature helps the rich man, or the candidate of the big moneyed interests, to win and thus tends to destroy the people's control of their government. Accordingly, the law limits campaign expenditures for each grade of office and requires sworn statements of such expenditures to be filed with some state official. We have found out, too, that the outlay of the " friends " of a candi-

date as well as that of his political party must be subject to these restrictions.

Restrictions the future may have in store. No age can foresee what a later age may consider necessary in order to safeguard the social welfare. A century ago it would have seemed tyranny to force a father to let his child be infected with cowpox, or to force him to send the child to school until he reached the age of fourteen. On the other hand, three centuries ago our principle that the state shall do nothing whatever for religion would have horrified anyone who really cared anything for religion. In the future there will probably be curtailments of liberty which would look monstrous today; yet they will be intended to promote the social welfare as then understood. Let us try to anticipate some of them.

We see newspapers that are unfaithful to their readers, owing to the fact that the newspaper is doing two things which do not go well together; viz., *publishing news and opinions* and *selling advertising*. Since the advertising finances, most of the costs of getting out the paper, newspaper publishing tends to come into secret bondage to the business class to which advertisers belong. In order that the editor may be as free to be loyal to the truth as is the ordinary engineer, physician, or clergyman, the time may come when advertising will be confined to announcements and will occupy a much smaller proportion of the total space if the newspaper is to retain its present privilege of being carried in the mails for much less than the service costs.

The right to marry and to have children has always been looked upon as one of the most sacred rights of a human being. But so much has been learned as to the inheritance of feeble-mindedness and epilepsy that the right to "hand on the torch of life" may be denied to those of tainted heredity. It is possible that society will decree: "These defectives shall not have children with my consent."

More real liberty today. That we are setting up more thou-shalt-nots does not signify that we prize liberty less than did our pioneer forefathers, but that we realize it differently. What they were concerned about was freedom from the orders and prohibitions of men. They never dreamed of being free from the tyranny of distance, of sickness, of bad habits. In their time the stumps, mudholes, swamps, and streams were virtually the walls of a prison. Then at last came good roads and the automobile, giving the settler's great-grandson access to the world's opportunities and beauties. But in return he must obey traffic regulations. Is he, then, less free? The pioneer groaned under the yoke of malaria, smallpox, cholera, and other dreadful diseases. Modern medicine releases his great-grandson from this yoke, but for it he must pay a trifle in the way of conforming to public-health regulations. Has his liberty suffered? Mechanization of industry and the resort to cheap power from falling water hold out promise of such an abundance for all of us as once was only vaguely dreamed of; but we cannot ever have this abundance unless there is a greatly extended government control over business. It is not fair to say that we do not love freedom when we make laws thus designed to bring greater health and happiness to all the citizens of our country. By its effort to do away with fear, ignorance, and lack of skill, our democracy is really trying to make the common people free as they have never before been free.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What was the early-American idea as to what the government should do?
2. Why have the plain people lost much of their former mistrust of government?
3. What are the chief new perils we seek protection from?
4. What invasions of individual liberty may be found necessary in the case of fruit growers?

5. Show that those who would put down the traffic in habit-forming drugs and beverages are not foes of human liberty.
6. What ruinous results to society flow from the independent actions of the pioneer?
7. Cite regulations intended to prevent the people from being balked in their endeavor to control government.
8. What new types of restriction may arise in the future?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. What is a railroad rebate, and why has the payment of a rebate to a shipper been forbidden by law?
2. If an attempt were made to exhibit in this country the bullfight as it is known in Spain or Mexico, ought the authorities to interfere? Why or why not?
3. Is it any business of the community or the state if a logging company sees fit to operate on a seven-day week? Why or why not?
4. Physicians will have nothing to do with a doctor who advertises. Does this ban of the profession upon advertising restrict or enlarge the physician's liberty?
5. Should a man who makes a living by taking the jobs of strikers — the professional strike-breaker — be condemned by public opinion?
6. Is liberty lessened when a mining company is prevented by law from paying wages in the form of an order on its store?
7. Have you noticed any restraints of the kind E. D. Martin has in mind when he writes (*The Behavior of Crowds*, page 245) thus:

"The process of keeping one another in line is carried much further than is necessary to preserve the social order. It is insisted upon to the extent that will guarantee the survival, even the dominance, of the spiritually sick, the morally timid, the trained-animal men, those who would revert to savagery, or stand utterly helpless the moment a new situation demanded that they do some original thinking in the place of performing the few stereotyped tricks which they have acquired; the dog-in-the-manger people, who because they can eat no meat insist that all play the dyspeptic lest the well-fed outdistance them in the race for life or set them an example in following which they will get the stomach-ache."

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Find the number of traffic ordinances enforced in your city today; five years ago; ten years ago; fifteen years ago. Interpret this growth.
2. By sampling every fifth year, show the twenty years' growth in your state of laws and regulations aiming to conserve the purity of food and drugs.
3. By sampling at five-year intervals, show the twenty years' growth in your city or state of laws or ordinances intended to promote the public health.
4. Make a study of the amount of freedom a person has today compared with the amount he had in colonial times. Suggest a list of reasons for the change.
5. From Chapter 6 of W. G. Sumner's *Folkways*, show that the slave's freedom varies greatly from age to age and country to country.

DEBATE

Resolved, That the vaccination of all children should be made compulsory.

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

WILLING OBEDIENCE TO LAW

- I. The laws of ruled peoples upheld chiefly by force
- II. The laws of free peoples largely obeyed from good will
- III. Obedience to law in a free people
 - 1. Necessity of reverence for law
 - 2. Contempt for law is catching
 - 3. Responsibility resting on the prosperous and the educated
 - 4. Disapproval of a law no proper ground for disobedience
 - 5. Free speech makes obedience binding
 - 6. When disobedience to law is conscientious
 - 7. Building respect for law

When Socrates lay in prison under sentence of death for impiety, his friend Crito visited him and offered to help him escape and to smuggle him out of the country. Socrates refused because it seemed to him that the Laws of Athens were saying:

Is it your purpose by acting in this way to destroy us, the Laws, and the whole city, so far as your influence extends? Do you think it possible for a city to exist and avoid utter ruin in which the decisions of law do not stand valid, but are set aside and nullified by individual citizens?

After reminding him how for seventy years he had had their benefits, the Laws go on to say :

We bestowed upon you life and nurture and education; we gave you and the other citizens a share in all the good things we possess; and, still more, we announce and give authority to every Athenian, when he has come of age and has seen the laws and administration of the city, to take his property, if we do not please him, and depart whithersoever he wishes. . . . If after this any man remains, having seen in what way we administer justice and the other affairs of the city, then we affirm that such a man has by his very act ratified an agreement with us to do whatever we command.

So Socrates stayed voluntarily in prison and drank the hemlock.

Free peoples compared with ruled peoples. The attitude of Socrates toward the laws of his city is truly the right stand for the citizen of a free, self-governing state. Under the rule of king or nobles a great number of soldiers, policy and spies are maintained in order to scare the common people into obeying the laws that uphold the privileges of the favored classes. In Russia under the tsars, for example, a vast and cunning organization of terrorizing agencies was maintained to overcome the natural reluctance of the people to obey laws which were not framed in their interest and to which they had in no way given their consent.

Under the rule of the people, on the other hand, the laws for the most part reflect the opinion of the public as to what is fair and reasonable, so that the amount of force put behind the laws is, perhaps, not a fifth of the force which is put behind law under class rule. Soldiers are rare, and their job is to defend their country rather than overawe their fellow countrymen. The police are few, and they are denied the use of many high-handed practices which are open to them under governments maintained by force.

In a democracy the chief thing behind law is not a man with a club or a gun, but *the will of the good citizens*. Even if no one is looking, the great majority will do what the law requires *just because it is the law*. This leaves sheriff and constable and police and detectives free to center their attention on the small minority who will beat the law if they can. Laws in harmony with public sentiment and citizens willing to obey them cheerfully enable a people to live as *a free people*. Most persons, then, in the entire course of their lives never bump up against the law-enforcing machinery or have reason to fear constable or policeman.

No people remains free without reverence for law. This living as a free people is one of the most precious things in the world. Hundreds of thousands have risked their lives to

secure government by consent of the governed, and it is only persons ignorant of what the other thing is like who think small of it. In 1917 I saw Russians behaving like intoxicated men in their joy at being rid of the organization of Cossacks, police, and spies which had made most of them feel like serfs. Necessary laws, of course, will be upheld by one means or another; so the more citizens there are who break the law if it bothers them, the more sheriff's deputies, secret agents, and police must be used to enforce the law. Hence, every citizen who breaks what he knows is a good and necessary law, just because for the moment it stands in his way, is helping to swell the number of law-enforcers and to make his people less free. The sweets of freedom will not long be tasted unless most citizens make law obedience a matter of conscience.

Contempt for law is catching. Disobedience to law is like blood poisoning — it spreads. The more I see my fellow citizens flout laws which get in *their* way, the readier am I to flout a law when it gets in *my* way. One has to be a civic hero not to reflect, "Everybody's doing it; why not I?" Hence, law-breaking which is open and brazen is more hurtful than law-breaking on the sly. Thousands, especially young people, are looking eagerly for an excuse to their conscience and to their friends for violating some law, and the example of the prominent unpunished law-breaker furnishes them with the coveted excuse. A President of the United States had this fact in mind when he said in a message to Congress:

It is the partial indulgence which challenges the majesty of the law, but the greater crime is the impairment of the moral fiber of the Republic. The resentful millions have the example of law-defiance by those who can afford to buy [whisky, etc.] and are reckless enough to take the risk, and there is inculcated a contempt for law which may some day find expression in far more serious form.

Worse yet is the law-breaking which can be indulged in with safety because those charged with the duty of enforcing

the law impartially on all are bribed to shut their eyes to what is going on. Officers who have been corrupted once lose their self-respect and are no longer of any use to the commonwealth. In fact, they may become a positive danger because, once their morale is shattered, they use their power of prosecution not to enforce the law but to line their pockets by blackmail and graft. As such vile practices leak out and become known to honest folk, they bring into contempt not only the officers of the law but the law itself. The man with money who bribes himself free of the laws whenever they lie across his path is like a dairyman with tuberculous cows who lets the drainage of his barnyard find its way into the community's reservoir of drinking water.

On the prosperous and the educated rests a special responsibility. More, perhaps, than any other elements, the well-to-do and the well-informed should feel keenly their responsibility for showing reverence for law. The wage earner with only a cottage and a few sticks of furniture has nothing to excite the cupidity of bad men. His chief asset is his working power, and no one can steal *that* from him. No burglar or forger can make anything off him. But the man of means is debtor to the law every day he lives. Nothing but the widespread respect for law makes him secure in his possessions and enjoyments. ' He certainly should justify the protection which the law gives him by showing every respect for law and its enforcement. For the well-to-do or the well-informed to flout and rail at those laws which come between him and his pleasures, such as drinking, gambling, and speeding, is to weaken the very structure which supports him. *He is like the fool who saws off the branch he is sitting on.*

At times we see some headstrong magnate hold himself above the law — patronize bootleggers, dodge taxes, shoot deer out of season, employ children under the legal age, and violate laws against combination and price-fixing. Yet if

the disgruntled workmen of his factory put emery dust into the oil cups of his machinery to spoil the bearings, or beat up non-union workers, he raises great outcry against "lawlessness." Loyal Americans will despise the man who, after trampling on all laws which annoy him, turns around and insists upon the obligation of everybody to obey those laws which work to his benefit.

Labor and law-breaking. At times short-sighted labor leaders have thought to advance the interests of workingmen by attacks on non-unionists who get in their way and by the destruction of the employer's property. Such lawless tactics have won many labor disputes, but in the end they have proved a boomerang. No doubt the cause of organized labor would be now much stronger in public confidence and would have secured more of its ends by legislation if unionism had never resorted to unlawful violence. The peaceable and legal exercise of economic power alone would have sufficed to improve the lot of labor. Law-breaking on its behalf has furnished its opponents with good talking points, which they have not failed to use.

Private judgment and obedience to law. The good citizen will not only obey a necessary law when it happens to annoy him, but he will obey a law which he considers useless and meddlesome. The reason is that we are headed for anarchy if each is at liberty to judge for himself whether a particular law is beneficial and entitled to his obedience. You may be greatly interested in upholding a law which I deem foolish, while I may set great store by a law which you deem foolish. I cannot claim the right to use my personal judgment about the law which annoys me without conceding to you the same right with respect to a law which annoys you. So A cannot ignore the game laws as needless without indulging B in smuggling immigrants across the Canadian border if B deems our immigration laws unfair, and indulging C in bootlegging

it C considers the Volstead Act an invasion of personal liberty. It is easy to see where we should come out. If we proceeded on this principle, it would not be long before the fabric of law would be weakened in all its parts and our civilization would get a sad set-back. So for the good citizen the only safe policy, if he can see no good in a law, is to obey it *just because it is the law*. That he shall not feel like a fool while doing so, he should have the right to tell his fellow citizens just how stupid he thinks the law is and urge them to repeal it.

Free speech as ground for scrupulous obedience to law. It is just because he is at liberty to agitate to have a law repealed, in a country in which in the long run the will of the majority prevails, that we can insist on the citizen's obeying laws he deems stupid, even at great inconvenience to himself. The existence of free speech is therefore the ground on which we can put it up to a man's conscience to obey even laws he considers no good. But for his freedom to register his "kick," we should hardly know how to argue with him.

There are radical groups strong for the right of free speech, whether one talks sense or nonsense, which also defend a man's right to use his own judgment as to which laws he is under moral obligation to obey. There are conservative groups which insist upon the citizen's duty to obey all laws without exception, but would restrict free speech to the utterance of ideas which are not in their view "subversive" or "of vicious tendency." Both groups are half wrong and half right. The good American will obey all laws, even those he thinks vexatious, and will tolerate the utterance of all opinions, even those which he loathes.

Law-making cannot always await the ripening of public sentiment. The doctrine that you are to obey even laws you may not believe in is very essential in a society like ours, changing rapidly and constantly coming into situations which call for new restraints. For it is not the old time-hallowed

laws which good men are tempted to disregard. No decent man questions his duty to obey laws against stealing, smuggling, arson, counterfeiting, or bigamy. On these matters public sentiment has had time to become *ripe*. It is the laws directed against mischievous conduct not yet generally recognized as bad, which good men may rebel against. Thirty years ago food dealers hardly regarded adulteration as criminal. Thirty years hence all will recognize it as such. Meanwhile, for the sake of the public, we have had to enact pure-food laws before all the people concerned see the facts dearly. Likewise, we cannot wait to bar young children from the mills until every manufacturer regards the sacrifice of the child's schooling as a shame. We have to prohibit misleading advertising before all business men can see that it is wrong.

So, after a certain amount of public sentiment has been built up against it, the anti-social practice is prohibited by law, although men who are by no means bad fellows are not ashamed to follow the practice. In a few years very likely most of them will fall in line and condemn it. In the meantime, however, society has to say to them : " So you consider this a fool law, eh ? Well, obey it anyhow."

Conscientious disobedience to law. There are laws which are worse than useless in that they require the citizen to do what may be against his conscience. In American history the most famous instance is the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which obliged the citizen, when called upon, to assist in catching and returning runaway slaves to their masters. Thoreau, one of the great lights of American literature, went to jail rather than pay taxes to a government which would command such a thing. Wendell Phillips advocated disregard of the law, and his statue is in the Public Gardens of Boston. The abolitionists believed that bad laws may be so powerfully supported that the only way to obtain their

repeal is to violate them. Likewise, in the United States, England, and Russia, there are religious bodies which teach that it is never right to take the life of a fellow man. When drafted to fight, some of these "conscientious objectors" will endure any punishment rather than go against their conscience.

Now, such disobedience should not be classed with ordinary law-breaking. Nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of law-breaking is from unworthy motives; but the abolitionists and conscientious objectors, regarding slavery or war as against God's law, are not violating the law from low motives but from very high motives. So long as it exists, the law has to be enforced on them as upon lower types; but we are not entitled to look down upon them and rebuke them as ordinary law-breakers.

Building respect for law. Since reverence for law is so precious in a democracy, what can we do to promote it? Never has a better answer been suggested than that of Abraham Lincoln:

Let reverence for the law be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books, and almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation.

Besides building up this spirit of reverence, there is another resource — to make the people better acquainted with the social purpose of those younger laws which have not yet been sanctified by time. Most persons will not knowingly do things which finally harm others, and if the outworkings of their acts can be made plain to them, their resistance to law vanishes. So, along with the passage of a compulsory education law should go a campaign to make the benighted parent realize how he handicaps his child in letting him grow up ignorant. A little acquaintance with

the germ theory of disease produces willing obedience to public health regulations. "Safety first" propaganda is a great support to traffic rules. To make the citizen acquiesce in the punishment of vote-buying or ballot frauds, he should be shown the dire consequences of the people losing confidence in the purity of elections. A law punishing the forging of voters' names to an initiative or referendum petition should be coupled to a definite effort to call public attention to the dark possibilities which lurk in this practice. The banning of untruthful advertising should follow an exposure of the gigantic frauds committed on the public by this means. In a national forest a "caution" notice about the danger from neglected camp fires has been found to have more effect than a "warning" of \$25 fine.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What is the attitude of the ordinary citizen toward law under "government by the consent of the governed"?
2. Show that contempt for law is catching.
3. Which is the least infectious form of law-breaking? Which is the most infectious?
4. Why does a special responsibility to respect the law rest on the well-to-do and the well informed?
5. Why may not the citizen use his own judgment as to which laws do and which do not promote the social interest?
6. Show that free speech and obedience to all laws, even the foolish ones, logically go together.
7. Why cannot law-making always await the ripening of public sentiment against harmful practices?
8. Should the motive of the law-disobeyer be taken into consideration when you come to deal with him?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Why is it well to repeal a law which, owing to lack of popular support, has come to be merely a "dead letter"?
2. Why did President Grant say, "The way to get rid of a bad law is to enforce it,"?

3. Justify the saying of President Coolidge : "It is the duty of a citizen not only to observe the law but to let it be known that he is opposed to its violation."

4. How did the Boston Tea Party differ from ordinary law-breaking?

5. Compare in their effect upon one's willingness to obey an inconvenient law

a. Knowledge that others are breaking it in secret

b. Knowledge that other' are breaking it openly by bribing the officers of the law

6. Does a general disregard of law' by ray fellows demoralize me as much as their disregard of the particular law which I am thinking of disobeying?

7. A conscientious agitator di.sobeys a police order not to speak in public in a hall he has hired and then delivers himself up to pay the penalty in jail. Is he a bad citizen? Give reasons.

8. Am I a bad citizen if I smash a bootlegger's stock of contra-band liquor when I happen upon it?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Report on the requirements of the Fugitive Slave Act and the ways in which anti-slavery men reacted to them.

2. What are the hindrance' to the development of the law-abiding spirit in our foreign-born fellow citizens? (Read A, C, E.)

3. How do the different elements in our population act with regard to the Volstead Act? (Read H, page 10,5.)

4. Relate the events that showed to the miners in California in 1848 that laws are necessary. (Read I), F.)

5. To what extent does lynching go on in the United States today? Are there circumstances which justify rioting and lynching? How can it be stopped? (Read B and H, page 106.)

6. Report on the types of American conscientious objectors in the World War, grounds of their objection, and their treatment. (Read H.)

DEBATE

Resolved, That the illegal consumer of liquor as well as the illegal manufacturer and seller should be punished by law.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

CROWDS AND MOBS

- I. Formation of the crowd self
 1. Results of suggestions striking the throng
 - a. The crowd mood extends to unsympathetic **persons**
 - b. The crowd emotion becomes intensified
 - c. The spirit of sympathy develops
 2. The crowd self takes time to develop
- II. Traits of the crowd self
 1. The crowd self is short-lived
 2. The crowd self is unstable
 3. The crowd self is credulous
 4. The crowd self is simple
 5. The crowd self is primitive
- III. **How** to avoid the crowd spirit
 1. How the deliberative assembly saves itself
 2. How the court of justice saves itself
 3. Crowd phenomena in the political conventions
 4. The lynching mob

In a crowd very dangerous tendencies are likely to show themselves. Being squeezed in a dense throng, unable to move one's limbs or change one's position, wilts a person's sense of himself as an individual. Indeed, the individuality of the average person is a fragile thing, easily crushed in the pressure of a crowd.

Formation of the crowd self. If now, when their *self sense* is deflated, the people in a crowd are worked upon by a powerful stream of suggestions all tending one way, there is likely to appear the *crowd self*. To produce this, there must be a narrowing and riveting of attention. When a crowd is massed together, you hear of "strained attention," "sea of upturned faces," "bated breath," "ominous hush," "a silence such that you can hear a pin drop." Then, too, there must be a state of excitement to pave the way for the coming

of the crowd self. Excitement undermines the reasonable self and predisposes people to accept suggestions in line with their dominant emotion. Scared people are peculiarly susceptible to warnings, angry people to violent abuse, yearning people to promises, anxious people to rumors. An agitated gathering is tinder easily set on fire, and the throngs that form in stirring times easily become mobs.

In a crowd people tend to "loosen up" and give free rein to the expression of their feelings so that there is no lack of emphasis. To be heard, one does not speak; one yells. To be seen, one does not simply show one's self; one shakes a clenched fist or flings the arms about. The merriment, or wrath, or enthusiasm of a crowd is expressed in boisterous laughter, ferocious threats, frantic cheers. Such extravagant signs of emotion are very likely to produce in beholders exaggerated states of mind. Gradually the mental temperature of the throng rises, so that what seemed hot now seems lukewarm, what seemed tepid now seems cold.

This being so, whenever a powerful impulse or suggestion — whether from an occurrence or from a leader — strikes the throng, three things are likely to happen.

1. *Extension.* By sheer contagion the impulse or suggestion extends to unsympathetic persons. Thus by-standing scoffers have been drawn into a revival maelstrom; law-abiding persons have been sucked into the vortex of a brutal lynching. An English prison matron confesses that sometimes when she hears the women under her care break out and commence smashing and destroying everything they can get hold of, it is as much as she can do to restrain herself from joining in.

2. *Intensification.* Each individual who is impressed *feels more intensely* when he perceives that so many others share his feeling. Hence, a secondary wave, a reverberation, runs through the crowd.

3. *Predisposition.* Each time the members of the crowd realize that they are vibrating together, they feel a sympathy which makes it easier to respond to the next impulsion.

The crowd self takes time to develop. Since each fulfilled suggestion raises the emotion of the crowd, the development of the crowd self usually *takes time*. No matter how brilliant his work in the earlier scenes, the great actor will not get the wildest demonstrations from his audience until well on in the play. It is not a single blow but a quick succession of shocks that throws troops into a panic. There are always several steps in the transformation of an orderly crowd into a lynching mob. In all these cases the consciousness of the individual contracts until it covers only the present moment, and the volume of suggestion needed to overmaster him becomes less and less. He may end in a state akin to trance.

The traits of the crowd self. Now, what are the traits of this crowd self which displaces the individualized selves of those who make up the crowd?

1. *The crowd self is short-lived.* Not for long can the crowd self occupy the seat of one's private everyday self. The straining of attention tires the mind, lessens the power of responding to fresh suggestions. Sensations of hunger or bodily weariness become so clamorous as to break the spell. After a while the members of the crowd "come to themselves" and disperse. Mobs have been broken up by a downpour or an alarm of fire. Napoleon recommended dispersing a mob with grapeshot; the humane psychologist advises turning the fire hose on it. You can tell whether a riot is an impulsive outbreak or a matter of intent by noticing whether the crowd returns to the charge the next day. If it does, there is more behind it than mass psychology.

2. *The crowd self is unstable.* The word *mob* comes from *mobile*; its hero one moment may be its victim the next.

It may pass abruptly from reckless courage to base fear. Little things turn it. Taine tells of a street mob bent on hanging a supposed profiteer. By some words uttered on his behalf, it was brought to embrace him, drink with him, and make him join in a mad dance about a liberty pole.

3. *The crowd self is credulous.* The doubting "show me" attitude is a product of experience, for by nature most of us are so open to suggestion that we believe anything we hear reiterated with fire and passion. It is the built-up, habit-based self, the outcome of years of experience and reflection, that says "no" to the suggestions of the fanatic, the faith healer, or the demagogue. But when men are swallowed up in the crowd self, they are "out of themselves." Then the past no longer exists. They have no use of their reason and common sense. *The faculties they doubt with are asleep.*

4. *The crowd self is simple.* Like children and savages, the crowd self cannot form a judgment while holding in mind several factors or aspects of a thing. In 1884 a Cincinnati mob, outraged by the acquittal of a brutal murderer, burned the Court House when balked of their lynching purpose. Their idea was to rebuke tricky lawyers by destroying a building which had become a den of corruption rather than a temple of justice. It never occurred to them, as it would to any man in his senses, that by burning the records in the Court House they would produce enough litigation to fatten the hated lawyers for a generation.

The fact is that victims of the crowd self simply *cannot think*. Men are leveled down so that the philosopher thinks not a whit better than the street-sweeper. When his hearers are under this spell, the mob orator can make the wildest statements and utter the rankest fallacies without calling forth a word of protest. Anything goes, provided it is in line with the mood of the crowd.

5. *The crowd self is primitive.* Under the spell and cloak

of numbers, there is utter collapse of the restraints which habit and regard for appearances impose on the animal self. Those less respectable impulses which the civilized man keeps locked up in the cellar break out and ride him. Impulses of smashing, of fighting, of brutal tormenting; passions of envy, jealousy, and hate, get their innings. At times the mob may show rare pity or courage, for there are such strands in human nature. In general, however, the crowd has no morality, for most virtues are *thought-out* conduct. Now, thronging paralyzes thinking, so that, while a crowd may be sentimental or heroic, it will lack the virtues born of conscience and self-control—truthfulness, honesty, prudence, respect for another's rights, reverence for law.

Nothing constructive can come from crowds. There can be no question that crowds range below the average of their members in conscience and intelligence. That people should indulge in this kind of spree means a going down hill. The crowd can never shed light, frame something new. If at times it has furthered progress, it is because the mob serves as a battering ram to smash some moldering institution and clear the ground for something better. That Something Bette' will be the creation of gifted individuals or of small deliberative bodies, never of big anonymous crowds. Crowds may overthrow despotisms, but they never build free states.

How the deliberative assembly saves itself from the crowd spirit. A free people settles many matters of common concern in assemblies. But the big assembly is ever on the edge of the slippery incline which leads down to crowd madness, so that guard rails in the form of certain procedure are needed to save it from a misstep. The parliamentary Rules of Order wrought out in the British House of Commons are means of keeping a meeting cool and deliberative. The rules requiring that a meeting shall have a chairman, that the chairman shall not take part in debate, that no one shall

speaking without being recognized by the chairman, that the speaker shall address the chairman and not the assembly, that remarks shall pertain to a pending motion, that personal allusions shall not be permitted, and that members shall not be referred to by name — what are they but so many devices to keep the honey-tongued or brazen-throated crowd leader from springing to the center of the stage and beginning to weave his baleful spells? The rules that the hearers shall be "in order," that they shall remain seated, that they shall forbear to interrupt, that they shall patiently listen to all speakers recognized by the chair, that signs of approval or disapproval be decorous — are not these so many guard rails to help the assembly get safely by certain dizzying moments?

How the court of justice saves itself from the crowd spirit. The contagious, irresponsible crowd spirit menaces justice as much as it menaces reason. So the court of justice must be safeguarded in various ways. The court is presided over by the judge and he is clothed with large authority to punish disturbers. Good order is insisted on, and demonstrations of feeling from onlookers are forbidden. The jury is a sample of the community, but the jurors are carefully picked, sworn, and kept apart from the spectators. Witnesses and pleaders are required to address the jury and not the audience in the courtroom. The trial develops, not in a haphazard fashion, but under rules sanctioned by centuries of experience.

Crowd phenomena in nominating conventions. Thoughtful men have grave doubts about our method of nominating a President of the United States in a national convention, where a thousand delegates are surrounded by fifteen thousand spectators. The situation affords great opportunity for schemers to stage demonstrations of delirious enthusiasm for a particular candidate in order to affect the voting of the delegates. That many delegates are bound by "instructions" or are too hard-headed to be stampeded by a machine-

made hullabaloo does not justify their exposure to such influences. The political historian finds plenty of instances in which hysteria and crowd contagion have been used to control the choice of the governor of a state or the President of the United States.

The lynching mob. "Popular justice" had its place on the frontier before good courts were available. A generation ago Professor James Bryce could testify that in the United States lynch law "is very seldom abused and its proceedings are generally conducted with some regularity of form as well as fairness of spirit." One wonders what he would say now of the fact that 4000 persons appear to have been lynched in this country in forty years, most of them in long-settled communities where courts stand ready to punish crime. Fortunately the disease is on the decline. From 255 victims in 1892 the evil has decreased to 21 in 1927, to 9 in 1928, to 10 in 1929, and to 21 in 1930. Originally aimed at the authors of atrocious crimes, the lynching spirit went from bad to worse until human beings were being done to death in hideous ways for unproved or minor offenses.

These barbaric outbreaks constitute the darkest blot on American civilization. No doubt they have done more to discredit and retard the spread of American political ideas in other countries than any other feature of our social life. All over the world the champions of kings, nobles, and the privileged class have at their tongues' tip the sickening details of our lynchings and use them with telling effect to hurt our country's reputation. Every good patriot will, therefore, turn with horror from every form of mass lawlessness, whether it be "running out of town," terroristic night-riding, tarring and feathering, or lynching. If he finds himself in a crowd that is beginning to take the bit in its teeth and threatens to run away, he will get out of it as if the plague were after him.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why are dangerous tendencies likely to show themselves in a crowd?
2. How does excitement pave the way for the coming of the crowd self?
3. What three things are likely to happen if a powerful impulse or suggestion strikes the throng?
4. Why does it take time for the crowd self to develop?
5. What are the five traits of the crowd?
6. Why are the members of the crowd unable to think?
7. Why is it that crowds overthrow despotisms but never build free states?
8. Show how the parliamentary Rules of Order save the deliberative assembly from the crowd spirit.
9. Why is it necessary for the judge to keep strict order in the courtroom?
10. How may the crowd spirit influence the nomination of a President?
11. Has lynching decreased or increased in recent years? Why is lynching the darkest blot on American civilization?

CLASSROOMDISCUSSION

1. Show that the popular orator is acting according to some psychological characteristic of the crowd when he adopts these rules:
 - a. Vigorously affirm and reiterate with fire and passion
 - b. Make each imagine you address him. By eye, voice, attitude, and action rivet attention and keep the spell unbroken
 - c. Never argue or follow out painstakingly the links of a logical chain
 - d. Use figures of speech, metaphors, emblems (flag, group symbol, etc.), and shibboleths (family, home, the fathers, Our Country, Our Cause, the Right)
2. Compare in susceptibility to craze a hopeful, prosperous people with a hopeless, miserable people.
3. Why is the country mind more stable than the city mind?
4. How does the ownership of property hinder the development of mob mind?

5. Should the capital of a state be its chief city or some centrally located town? In which place will the legislature be less likely to be influenced by crowd spirit?

6. Why do football men desire to have a large audience at a game? Why is it easier to play at home than away from home?

7. Why does a crowd deny free speech to those who differ from it?

8. Why are more people converted at revival meetings than at regular church services?

9. Is the moral character of an "onlooker" at a lynching affected?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Study the religious currents of the Reformation epoch, and find by what means certain sects were able to escape the follies, fanaticisms, and crazes of the time and become the parents of the great Protestant denominations.

2. Make a study of Negro lynching in the last forty years.

3. Show how the English women suffragists utilized the spirit of the crowd to help win their cause. (Consult a modern history text.)

4. Study the I.W.W. strikes in the West during the World War and show how some of them were due to the crowd or mob spirit. (Read C. H. Parker on the I.W.W., *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1919, pages 651-654.)

5. Show that many of the most important events of the French Revolution exemplify crowd spirit. Consult a modern history text.

6. Study cases of mass movements: war-time psychology; gold fevers of 1848; crowd at a big convention; Mormon migrations; the Treks of the Boers.

7. Cite the phenomena of mental contagion in the development of the First Crusade.

8. Give personal experiences of yourself or friends which will illustrate mob psychology.

DEBATE

Resolved, That the spreading of education to all classes of people will weaken mob tendencies.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

INDEPENDENCE

- I. Elements in American independence
 - 1. Rights of the job-giver
 - &. The master-servant relation
 - 3. Demand for subserviency
 - 4. Spirit of independence in wage earners
 - 5. Attitude of the public
- II. Un-American practices
 - 1. The spoils system
 - 2. Sabotage

The farmer working up his produce for the needs of his own family has always been vaunted for his independence. Since no one has any control over his bread-and-butter, he speaks and acts as a freeman. But the time has come when not over a quarter of us live by farming, and most of these grow for the market and have to find a buyer for their stuff. As for the rest of us, some can be independent because they have a business of their own. Some — such as lawyers, doctors, and dentists — are independent because their patrons are so numerous that they do not depend greatly on any one of them. On the other hand, teachers, professors, actors, newspaper men, engineers, and office workers, as well as most of the wage earners, are dependent on the good will of the job-giver. If they lose their job, they will soon come into straits unless they find another job-giver. In each field, of course, the best workers are likely to be snapped up quickly when out of a job, so it is easy for them to keep their shoulders square in the presence of the boss and hold their heads high. But most of us are commonplace and, while it may mean little to the boss whether we go or stay, it may mean a lot to us. In this great and growing army of persons whose livelihood for the time being depends on the

will of one man or one board, the problem of achieving a manly independence of manner and conduct becomes serious.

The rights of the job-giver. When a person sells his services, he is bound, of course, within reason to render the kind of services the buyer desires. It is altogether right and proper that the employee should have his work cut out for him. If he is paid real money, not counterfeit, he owes real service, not counterfeit. If most of those who take employment should become too heady and self-willed to be diligent, faithful, and obedient to orders, it is certain that the field of employment would shrink and there would be a terrible lot of people out of a job. Nearly everybody realizes this, except a few persons who feel above their work, and they soon learn it "in the school of hard knocks." Americans, even those of the most independent upbringing, such as the mountaineers of the southern Appalachians, understand this quite well and, when they take a job, there is little complaint that they will not do the work according to the wishes of the employer.

The master-servant relation. We sometimes find, however, a type of employer who is not satisfied when he gets the services which he is paying for, but feels *entitled to something more*. He expects subserviency. He imagines that along with the employee's services he has bought his personality, so that the employee ought not to cherish any ideas, habits, or friends distasteful to the job-giver. The old English term for the employer-employee relation — master and servant — shows what was implied. The theory was that the master's pay bought much more than certain services. It bought cap-touching, bowing and scraping, agreement with everything the master said, and the master's right to pry into the private and family affairs of the servant, to dictate his manner of life, associations, and expressions of opinion.

The demand for subserviency. These things are, of course, not implied in a wage contract between equals. The freeman does not consider he is selling his soul when he hires out. The doctor, for example, may render the most intimate bodily services to his patient, yet the latter is not allowed to imagine that he is paying for the doctor's personality. These master-servant ideas reflect the time when "masters" were members of the dominant class in England, while "servants" were members of a humble class, with no votes or influence and with an inherited sense of inferiority. When the industrial era arrived, bringing an immense expansion of employment, mill owners and railway companies felt themselves heirs of the "master" class, while they looked upon their mill hands and trackmen as heirs of the "servant" class. So, many European employers and a few American employers feel that the payment of wages entitles them to have the employee entirely under their thumb.

However, it is foolish for them to expect this. It was one thing to exact servility two centuries ago when perhaps twenty per cent of the people, the most ignorant and humble element, went "into service." It is quite another thing when economic society has developed in such a way that sixty per cent of the people have to hold down some kind of job or position. Now the employed include so many persons of education, ability, and inborn pride that it is impossible in a democratic time like ours, when all are equal before the law and have votes, for them to regard themselves as "servants." Everything about the relation which savors of the old-time class domination in Europe is bound to go.

The practical situation of the wage earner. Most of those who earn wages are not in a strong economic position. They have not much money laid up; to be out of a job for long means ruin to them. Their income stops when they lose their job and there is no telling when they will get another.

Therefore, they are in a more or less dependent position, and if an employer has a domineering spirit, he is inclined to take advantage of the fact. He may expect the employee to be very respectful in approaching him, never to cross him in anything, and never to "demand" anything of him, but to accept meekly whatever conditions the employer imposes. For the employee to "kick" openly against any of his requirements is a form of "insolence" and results in the dreaded words: "You're fired." At times the domineering type of employer goes so far as to dictate where the employee shall live and how he shall spend his money, to threaten to "fire" him if he joins a labor union, walks in a certain parade, attends the meeting of a radical party, or refuses to sign a certain petition. If the employee endures it, he is allowing his very real dependence on the job to make him less of a freeman and a citizen.

The spirit of independence. Some insist there can be no real freedom so long as most of us have to get our living by permission of a private employer. They say that the only remedy is that all private concerns should be "socialized"; that is, taken over by the cooperative commonwealth. If this were so, the outlook for personal independence would be dark indeed, because we have good reasons for doubting if socialism will work. Fortunately, it is simply not true that the job-holder is bound to be made servile. In this respect there is the greatest imaginable difference between different peoples. A Japanese servant may need his wages just as much as his grandfather did; nevertheless, this son of New Japan has come to feel a pride which prompts him to throw up his job the moment he is mistreated. No one is quicker to resent an insult or a bullying manner than a Japanese servant.

In central Europe, if a works manager beckons to one of his workmen, the man comes running. But no English or

French workman will run. He needs his job just as *muck* as the other fellow, but he has developed a self-respect which forbids him to come running at the beck of his boss. The basis of the difference is not economic dependence but *spirit*.

A Welsh mining engineer of wide experience in many lands, who is managing a Mexican mine, said to the writer in 19£2:

This is a new Mexico. Economically the Indian miner is a little better off, but psychologically he is altogether different. It is dangerous now to beat or kick or curse him. You have to speak to him and treat him as if he were a British Columbian miner. He is no longer a cowed man.

In the same way the attitude of the Hindu mill operative was in the course of three years completely transformed, owing to the agitation of the great national leader, Gandhi. An English foreman of a Bombay cotton mill remarks: " We used to kick and curse these fellows to show them their place, but now if you raise your hand to one of them the whole roomful will pile on to you in a minute! " In Ceylon, where recently there has been a great spread of organization among the workers, the new temper of labor prompts all the nearest laborers to thrash the boss who kicks or cuffs an inoffensive workman.

Before the World War the Russian employer expected his men to be grateful to him for giving them work. The workers were treated in a harsh spirit and it was common to search them, men and women alike, on their leaving the factory premises. Cuffs and kicks were so freely dealt out that the Russian factory inspectors of 1913 cited *nine thousand* charges of physical ill-treatment brought against employers in a single year. The workers stood this, not from fear of losing their job, but because they were under a cruel government which obeyed the will of their masters.

Immediately after the downfall of this government in 1917 such abuses disappeared. Then, too, the new-born sense of

self-respect in the serving people brought about the overthrow of the tipping system in Russia. In nearly all restaurants and hotels the servants struck for and gained the addition of a percentage, usually fifteen per cent, to the patron's bill, to be divided among them. Then "No Tip" signs were hung up, and waiters and chambermaids firmly declined gratuities. It was predicted that service would become poor, but it did not.

The influence of mass protest and public sentiment. How much the employer may domineer depends on the spirit of the work people *as a body*. The resistance of the individual avails little. Unless he is a key man, his employer can simply give him his walking papers and hire another in his place. The high-spirited man then trudges the street hunting for work. Unless he can somehow get into business for himself, a few such experiences break his spirit and he learns to knuckle down like the rest. Wage earners will find that they can gain their independence from domineering employers only by following the few bold spirits who are willing, to take the risks on behalf of all. The thing which counts here is *mass action*. If all resist together *and if they are supported by public sentiment*, it is the employer's will to domineer that will be broken.

.The American spirit. In spite of the fact that so many of us have quit the farm and are on a wage or a salary, American townspeople are not noticeably less independent in manner than country people. One reason is that the spirit of resistance to dictation from the job-giver is strong and widespread. The determination is general that democracy shall prevail in this country. Probably nowhere are men more willing to starve, if need be, rather than fawn or truckle. This American spirit is in employers too. Most of them hate being cringed to, prefer level speech with a competent, decent man on their pay roll, and have no desire to control the lives of their employees after working hours.

The attitude of the public is a big factor. In the heated Free Silver Presidential campaign of 1896 a few employers so far forgot themselves as to dismiss workmen who voted for Mr. Bryan. The public condemnation of such a violation' of the citizen's rights was so prompt and general that they hastened to take back their men. In 1924 a circular letter sent to the employees of a large concern implied that it would be worse for them if they failed to sign petitions being circulated on behalf of Secretary Mellon's tax proposals. Although he had made these proposals his own, President Coolidge from the White House denounced this as un-American. The company hastened to withdraw the letter and to dismiss the officer responsible for it.

The Ford Motor Works put into effect in 1914 a plan of supplementing wages with a share of the profits, provided the worker and his home came up to certain standards of cleanliness and citizenship; but this plan had to be given up. Says Mr. Ford :

Nothing paternal was intended. A certain amount of paternalism did develop, and that is one reason why the whole plan and the social welfare department were readjusted. But in the beginning the idea was that there should be a very definite incentive to better living and that the very best incentive was a money premium on proper living. A man who is living aright will do his work aright. . . . The standards insisted on were not petty — although sometimes they have been administered in a petty fashion. We had about fifty investigators in the social department. The standard of common sense among them was very high indeed, but it is impossible to assemble fifty men equally endowed with common sense. They erred at times — one always hears about the errors. . . . There were objections to the bonus-on-conduct method of paying wages. It tended toward paternalism. Paternalism has no place in industry. Welfare work that consists in prying into employees' private concerns is out of date.

Who are Americans? Dr. Henry van Dyke brings out the true American spirit when he says:

My guides in the backwoods of Maine and the Adirondacks regard me as a comrade who, curiously enough, makes his living by writing books, but who also shows that he knows the real value of life by spending his vacation in the forest. As a matter of fact, they think much more of their own skill with the ax and the paddle than of my supposed ability with the pen. They have not had a touch of subservience in their manner or talk. They carry their packs, and chop the wood, and spread the tents, and make the bed of green boughs. And then at night, around the camp fire, they smoke their pipes with me, and the question is, "Who can tell the best story?"

The American who admires and is pleased by this relation between the sportsman and his guide has in his heart the kernel of our national character. The one who is offended by it and would like to see it broken down is not fit to bear the name *American*. It is cheering that here and there an employer appreciates how sound and American is the craving of his workmen for independence as well as for good wages. We see some employers deliberately encouraging the formation of works' councils, which impose a wholesome check on the spirit-breaking tyranny of the foreman.

The tradition of independence is a birthright of infinite value. Every young American ought to be proud of it and vow never to do anything to weaken it. One ought to be ready at all times to stand up for this time-hallowed freedom without heed to the consequences to one's self.

The un-American Spoils System. It might be supposed that persons in the public service would be freer from dictation than the employees of private concerns. The fact is that during the height of the Spoils System, 1830-1880, they were less free. The public pay roll came to be looked upon as an asset of the political party in power. Everyone on this pay roll was under obligation to give liberally — sometimes to give a fixed proportion of his pay — to the campaign fund of his party. Moreover, he was expected to give much of his spare time, perhaps even much of his office time, to work

on behalf of the success of his party. If he failed to meet these requirements, he was liable to have his position taken from him and given to a more zealous party worker. No matter how well a public servant performed the duties attaching to his post, he must give money and time to his party or be displaced. It is fortunate that the merit system now seeks to protect public servants from such demands and gives them security in their posts so long as they perform faithfully and well the duties attaching to them.

Sabotage. "Striking on the job," or sabotage, is a cowardly and treacherous way of asserting one's self against the employer. Instead of quitting in manful fashion, one stays on the job but slyly does all possible harm to the machinery or materials. This is not the place to settle who is chiefly to blame for the resort to sabotage. In any case, the spread of this alien practice marks the abandonment of the open manly resistance of the self-respecting wage earner to the will of his boss. Sabotage is to the walk-out what the knife thrust from behind in the dark is to a stand-up fight with the fists.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What are the rights of the job-giver?
2. What is there in the master-servant relation that is not in the employer-employee relation?
3. How did subserviency get into the master-servant relation?
4. What does the employer sometimes require over and above services?
5. Can wage earners under private employment enjoy freedom?
6. Show that the spirit of independence in the wage earners makes a great difference in their treatment.
7. Show the influence of mass action.
8. Show the importance of public sentiment when the workers resist as a body.
9. Show that the treatment of the public employee under the Spoils System is un-American.

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. How do newly arrived immigrants differ from Americans in their attitude toward the job-giver?
2. Why do housewives generally prefer foreign-born girls as kitchen "help"?
3. Is a youth tackling his first job likely to be too independent — or not independent enough?
4. Name some ways in which the American wife is likely to show a greater independence than the wife of the foreign-born, newly arrived.
5. Why do the followers of the political boss do just as he tells them to do?
6. What is the difference between a political boss and a political leader?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Read Johnston's *Private Life of the Romans*, Chapters 5, 6, and Gulick's *Lives of the Ancient Greeks*, pages 66-70, and compare the master-slave relationship in those days with the condition in our South before the Civil War. Also compare with the employer and employee relationship today.
2. Consult a medieval history text and compare the status of the serfs under the feudal system with that of our workingmen today.
3. What influence does industrial welfare work have upon the independence of workers? Workmen's Compensation Acts? Unemployment Insurance Acts?
4. Trace the development of the struggle for woman's political independence. Will she ever be able to gain economic independence? (Consult E, page 114.)
5. Look in the earlier reports of the United States Civil Service Commission for instances of improper demands made upon civil servants.

DEBATE

Resolved, That effort should be made, by means of law and public opinion, to abolish the tipping system in public places.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

- I. Treasures in our political heritage
 - 1. People-control of government
 - 2. The Supreme Court as arbiter between states
 - 3. Personal freedom
- II. Criticism of our heritage by radicals
- III. Denial of freedom of speech
- IV. Free speech as a social concern
 - 1. No freedom to utter wisdom without freedom to utter bosh
 - 2. Sound institutions can stand free discussion
 - 3. Free speech a social safety valve
- V. Policy of true friends of free speech

There are certain American institutions which will be held dear by anyone who knows what they are doing for us.

People-control of government. Every grown-up can vote now, but this was by no means the case when our forefathers revolted from England and entered the path of independence. In nearly all the thirteen original states voting and the holding of office were hedged about by religious and property qualifications. For example, in one state the governor was required to own property worth at least one hundred pounds; in another he had to have five hundred pounds; in another, five thousand pounds; and in South Carolina, ten thousand pounds. The ballot was only for those who had some property and could meet certain religious tests.

Now one votes in virtue of being an adult citizen. If many voters are so stupid as to let themselves be caught by buncombe, if they are fooled into voting for crooks, if they fail to use their ballots to promote common interests instead of the interests of public enemies, that surely is not the fault of those who fought to win the ballot for every citizen.

Another precious heritage is *the habit of cheer/id aoqui'escence in the registered will of the majority*. A generation ago there was much more ground for questioning the result of an election than there is today. On approaching the ballot box the voter was handed tickets by rival party workers, and they could watch which ticket he dropped into the box. This made it easy to scare or bribe men into voting a certain ticket. Advance registration of voters, the official ballot, and the voting booth have pretty well blocked the old games of intimidation of voters, vote-buying, repeating, ballot box stuffing, and crooked counting. Never was the ballot better guarded than today, and never did an election so truly reflect the voters' decisions. As a result, the defeated party never dreams of defying the verdict at the polls. Some years ago ex-President Andrade of Venezuela told the writer : 

In the election year 1896 I was in your country and, as I saw the intense feeling which developed on the issue of free silver, I said to myself: "Whichever side wins the election, the other side will take up arms. There will be party fighting of the kind we are so familiar with in Mexico and tropical South America." But on the morning after election I read in the newspaper the telegram of congratulation sent by Mr. Bryan to his victorious opponent, Mr. McKinley, and in it I noticed the words, "The people have spoken. to whose will we all must bow." As in a flash I saw the secret of your political tranquillity. You have been brought up to identify the verdict of the majority with the will of the people and to regard this will as supreme.

Our Union is a league to enforce peace. Another institution we have reason to be thankful for is a Supreme Court able to settle disputes between states. For example, the state of Kansas claims that the citizens of Colorado absorb in irrigation entirely too much of the water in the Arkansas River. The state of Colorado denies the charge. Were they sovereign states, each might arm against the other, as European states have been wont to do. But, being members

of the Union, they never dream of a resort to force. In due course the controversy comes before the Supreme Court of the United States, which after hearing all the parties declares : " We are not satisfied that Kansas has made out a case entitling it to a decree."

When the Chicago drainage canal caused the sewage of Chicago to pour into the Mississippi River only forty-three miles above St. Louis, that city complained that the river was polluted, and an issue arose between the state of Missouri and the state of Illinois. Fortunately, " the Court has jurisdiction and authority to deal with a question of that nature between two states which, if it arose between two independent sovereigns, might lead to war." Hence, no citizen loses a night's sleep over the controversy. Not another musket is bought, nor another man put into uniform. The matter is thrashed out among sanitary engineers and bacteriologists before a tribunal whose impartiality no state questions.

The bringing of the states under the authority of such a tribunal was not done in a day. In 1809 the governor of Pennsylvania called out the state troops to resist an attempt to enforce a decree of the United States Supreme Court. Both New York and Massachusetts at different times refused to recognize the Court's jurisdiction. As late as 1832 the state of Georgia snapped her fingers in the face of the Supreme Court. Henry Daniel of Kentucky voiced a sentiment that was more than local when he said:

Nearly every state in the Union has had its sovereignty prostrated, and has been brought to bend beneath the feet of the Federal Tribunal. It is time the states should prepare for the worst and protect themselves against the assaults of this gigantic court.

Whatever one may think about the Supreme Court's declaring excellent laws " unconstitutional" by a bare majority, there are citizens who, when they observe the

Balkan peoples embittered by interstate controversies which might easily be settled in a court of law, exclaim, " Thank God for the Supreme Court! "

In what sense Americans are freemen. Another institution which should command our affection is *personal freedom*. In 1865 we put an end to African slavery in the United States. In 1867 peonage was outlawed. In colonial times great numbers of persons convicted in England for petty offenses were brought into the colonies and " bound out " for a term of years. They were sold like so many cattle, were worked hard, and might be flogged as often as the master or mistress thought necessary. If they ran away, at least two days might be added to their time of service for each day they were absent. This practice was uprooted long ago, as well as the practice of immigrants' selling themselves into service for years enough to provide the money to pay for their passage. In 1829 it was estimated that 75,000 persons were annually imprisoned for debt in the United States. This condition is gone, as well as the seaman's obligation to stick to his ship, no matter how badly he is treated.

Were there space, we might go on to mention other precious features of the American social order, such as *the separation of Church and State*, which spares us the bitterness between churches that existed when the State favored one form of religion; and *universal education at the public expense*, which gives millions of young people their chance to " make good " and to rise in life. With such a priceless heritage, our plain duty is to cherish it and never allow it to be encroached upon or destroyed.

The manner of thinking of radicals. There are, nevertheless, some thousands of earnest, socially minded Americans who regard this heritage with very critical eyes. They are struck with the fact that within the last century and a half machine production has displaced the old handicrafts

in all the advanced countries. Thereupon there develops a class of capitalists owning nearly all the means of production, and a multitude of men possessing nothing of value save their labor power. So, in the last two generations, the labor question has advanced upon us with the speed and fury of a typhoon. Since the middle of the last century there has been a great spread of the socialist doctrine that the capital assisting in production should not be owned by private persons but by the community or the state.

With socialism goes often the idea that, in spite of our having votes for all, an honest ballot, and a fair count, our society — like every other society that has gone over to machine production — is secretly dominated by the capitalist class. To socialists, our farmers and wage earners are like children who think that, because they hold the lines, they are driving the horses, and never dream that behind them strong, unseen hands control the team. We can see why men with such notions urge that all the workers arise, disfranchise the capitalists, take from them their mills and mines, and oblige these people to work for their living like the rest of us. Persons with such views are known as "radicals," and the question has often been raised whether they shall enjoy complete freedom of speech.

Freedom of speech. Ever since the adoption of our Constitution in 1789, Americans have considered freedom of speech as settled as anything in this world can be settled. The First Amendment to the Constitution declares: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Our forefathers had free speech so much at heart that every state constitution forbids the legislature to interfere with it.

But from time to time conditions have led to the denial

of freedom of speech. Before the Civil War, in some parts of the country, one was not allowed to oppose or even to question the institution of African slavery.

Before the World War high-handed attempts were sometimes made by employers to gag the spokesmen of labor. In these cases, it was not the chiefs of the big labor unions, wielding hosts of votes, who were most interfered with, but the champions of weaker groups, such as the unemployed, working women, foreign-born mill hands, migratory, voteless, seasonal workers, and miners in isolated, company-owned camps. It was not so much legislatures and judges who trampled on free speech, but mayors, chiefs of police, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and officers of the state militia on duty in a strike zone. It has happened that the mayor or sheriff who had been freely chosen by the people was found, when the test came, to be a mere tool of the employers.

Federal law never made *utterances*, however violent, a crime until the World War. Since then the Supreme Court of the United States has sustained many state laws defining "sedition" and "criminal syndicalism" in terms of mere utterance. Even a remote tendency to violence at some future date is held proper ground for sustaining such statutes. So the voicing of certain theories and beliefs, even membership in an organization holding forbidden beliefs, is now a punishable offense. No wonder many thoughtful men consider that free speech no longer has the protection it enjoyed under the Constitution for a century and a quarter.

The public has been led to suppose that free speech has been denied only to those who advocate violence. Yet lynching of suspected Negroes is openly advocated in some states with utter impunity. No excited employer or professional patriot has ever been jailed for publicly urging violence against labor organizers or strikers. In a single state an official investigation cited over two thousand cases

of mob violence; yet not a single person committing or inciting these violent acts has ever been punished. Therefore what is under the ban is not *advocacy of violence* but *advocacy of violence by supporters of certain political doctrines*, which means that there is henceforth no free speech for radicals.

Why free speech is a social concern. No one deems it socially important that individuals should be free to utter smut from the public platform, pour forth profanity, call people vile names, or insult the nation or its flag. Such things make the speaker a nuisance to others, like the person who keeps pigs in a city, drives livestock through crowded streets, or practices the trombone at midnight. What it is necessary to protect is the citizen's right to *express ideas about matters of public concern*.

" But surely," it may be said, " it is not in the social interest that radicals should preach views which cause their hearers to think small of our institutions, or should propagate ideas which are false and unworkable, ideas which strike at the very foundations of the social order we live in ! " Yes, freedom of speech means just that. It means that we should not curb any public discussion of our institutions and our social order with a view to changing them in any lawful way. But if the discussion clearly tends to stir people up to immediate unlawful acts, it has passed beyond the rightful bounds of " free speech."

In England and her colonies, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, two different views of the relation of rulers and people were in conflict. According to one view, the rulers are the superiors of the people and therefore must not be talked about in a way that will lessen their authority and prestige. According to the other view, the rulers are servants of the people. The people may therefore find fault with them for their acts and policies and discuss their punishment or dismissal. It was the latter view our Revolutionary

ancestors acted on when they denied government any power to abridge freedom of speech.

" But," it may be urged, " granting the citizen shall be unhampered in saying harsh things about officials, why should we tolerate the propagation of opinions which attack the basic institutions of society itself, such as religion, marriage, property, etc. ? "

The answer is found in Thomas Jefferson's preamble to the Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom :

To suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he, being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own.

There is just the same objection to checking the propagation of sociological or political opinions on the ground of their supposed bad tendency; namely, the only standard for judging their badness is in the mind of the judge. No free people leaves so much power to a judge. Suppose that the legislature, instead of enacting hundreds of laws forbidding this, that, or the other thing, should set up just one sweeping law, " Bad men shall be imprisoned." Would the citizen enjoy security ? No one has invented a gun which will kill the wolf in sheep's clothing but will miss the sheep; nor has anyone devised a sedition law which will hit the mischief-maker but miss the reformer. Give the men in power the gun, and we may be sure that some of them will fire it at those who ably champion changes they dislike.

Free speech means the right to say, not only things which a court might consider bad, but things which *are* bad. In the words of Judge A. B. Anderson, "Free speech means the right to say foolish things as well as the right to say

sensible things." Trying a member of the Non-Partisan League accused of speeches "tending to array class against class," Judge Amidon remarked:

I have never known of any great reform being carried through where the people whose established condition would be disturbed by the carrying out of the reform did not say that the people who were trying to bring about the reform were stirring up class against class. This is an argument that I know to be at least 3500 years old, from my knowledge of history, and it is repeated in every effort to change an existing condition.

Nor is free speech to be limited to polite criticism. The greater a man's grievance, the more likely he is to get excited about it and to use harsh, intemperate language. Under government responsible to the people, the proper ground for curbing speech is, not that it is bad in tendency or temper, but that there is strong likelihood that it will stir up the hearers to unlawful acts. No matter with what vehemence a man denounces the established, he should be given free course so long as he is for correcting it *in the appointed way*. *But if plainly he is setting his listeners up to disobedience, then he has passed the boundary line of free speech.*

Sound institutions can stand free discussion. No reasonable man would let noxious ideas circulate if he really believed they might gain such headway as to destroy social order. We know full well that there are cranks and fanatics propounding doctrines as poisonous as strychnine. But the friends of free speech do not interfere, because they have faith in the common sense of the average citizen. They do not regard him as a baby to be kept in swaddling clothes. They do not expect him to be taken in by the first wild-eyed agitator he listens to.

Nearly three centuries ago John Milton could write: "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously,

by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength." How much easier it should be for us to share his faith in these days of much schooling! Jefferson declared, "Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." And Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Supreme Court said:

When men have realized that time has upset many fighting faiths, they may come to believe, even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct, that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas; that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market; and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out. That at any rate is the theory of our Constitution. It is an experiment, as all life is an experiment.

Free speech makes for social safety. Certainly repression of free speech is no experiment. It has been tried a thousand times and, if persisted in, it has led to immense, destructive social explosions, such as the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution. In the words of President Wilson, "The seed of revolution is repression." Under free government no big social explosion can occur, for the forces making for social readjustment *are not pent up*. Even a democracy has periods of unemployment and suffering, when gases may be generated which would do mischief if confined. Free speech is the open window which lets them escape harmlessly.

In London, Hyde Park has always been utilized for open-air meetings by all sorts of oppositions — even those which preach violence. During the war an American asked a policeman in amazement whether the authorities were not going to stop a Sinn Fein meeting then in progress before his eyes. "No," said the bobby, "hit don't 'urt us and hit does 'em good to git it out of their systems." After drastic efforts to gag I.W.W. agitators, the city of San Diego, California, saw the same point. "We have learned," writes a

citizen, " considerable from the affair and I may say that the lesson briefly is this: street speaking should be allowed so far as possible, where it does not absolutely interfere with traffic, so as to give the agitator the right to give Vent to his feelings if he desires. It is safer to let him talk than to shut him up."

In New York City, during the hard times of 1914, the police had been breaking up Saturday afternoon meetings in Union Square, where the speakers urged radical remedies for the current distress. On a certain occasion there had been some clubbing; bad blood developed between the crowd and the police; and bitter threats were made that, since the police " had acted like agents of the capitalists," the crowds would come next time prepared to answer clubs and revolvers with bombs. But a new police commissioner, Mr. Arthur H. Woods, took hold and he followed a different policy. He ordered the police on the next Saturday to let the speaking go on and to interfere only in case of violence, or language inciting to it. He testifies: " The change of method was almost unbelievably successful. There was no disorder; the crowd was very large but very well-behaved, and at the end of the meeting, when everything was over and many had gone home, three cheers were proposed and given for the police."

True friends of free speech. No one deserves credit for tolerating the utterance of opinions he is indifferent to. The test is whether he tolerates the propagation of ideas he detests and dreads, *when he has it in his power to suppress them*. In old Prance a great philosopher wrote to an opponent, " I detest what you say, but I will fight with my life for your right to say it." There speaks a genuine believer in free speech.

If such a one thinks an agitator is leading people astray with bad ideas, he will not favor gagging him, but will follow

on his trail and try to show him up. If he can't speak in public, he will seek out someone who can and give him open support. This is, to be sure, a roundabout and expensive way of dealing with cranks; but it is the way of a true American and the experience of a hundred and forty years shows that it really works.

The security of our government and our Constitution is and ever has been, not the application of the gag, but the immense number who love them and will not let harm come to them.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. By what means has the purity of elections been protected?
2. Why is it that we have no fear lest a controversy between states of the Union should give rise to hostilities?
3. What are some of the great advances that Americans have made toward personal freedom?
4. What social developments cause some to become radicals?
5. Is free speech upheld chiefly for the speaker or for the listeners?
6. Show that the curbing of the utterance of "bad" opinions endangers social and political progress.
7. What is the inevitable result of a policy of repression?
8. What is the proper and American way of combating noxious agitation?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Why is it that all losing sides dread and shrink from open discussion?
2. Show that free assemblage, free speech, and free press are "the rights preservative of all rights." (See Ross's *Social Psychology* Page 309.)
3. Why is it that freedom of speech has so many enemies among us, whereas freedom of conscience seems to have none?
4. Is a person who persists in interrupting with questions the speaker at a public meeting within his constitutional right of free speech?
5. Discuss the argument, "Liberty is not license; the right to use free speech does not include the right to abuse it."

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Make a study of the United States Constitution and your own state constitution to see what they say about freedom of speech.
2. Read John Milton's argument for freedom of the press in his *Areopagitica*.
3. Report on the story of John Wilkes's fight for liberty of utterance in England in the eighteenth century.
4. Look up the story of the expulsion of the five socialist assemblymen from the New York legislature in 1920. (See G, pages 279-283.)

For Topics 3 and 4 consult Chafee's *Freedom of Speech*.

DEBATE

Resolved, That the exhibitor of a motion film should enjoy as much latitude as the publisher of a book.

(See *The Outlook*, February 14, 1923, pages 296-298, and May 16, 1923, pages 882-883; *The Nation*, December 20, 1922, Vol. 115, page 680; *The Forum*, April, 1923, Vol. 69, pages 1404-1414.)

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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

PERSONAL COMPETITION

- I. Caste *versus* competition
- II. The intensity of competition depends upon
 - 1. The degree of personal liberty
 - 2. The rate of social change
 - 3. The efficiency of the selective agents
- III. Competition should not be allowed to run wild
 - 1. Elimination of unfair competitive practices
 - a. In commerce
 - b. In politics
 - c. In the professions
 - 2. Difficulty of drawing the line between proper and improper
 - 3. Deciding a contest by the relevant
 - 4. Competition and morals
 - 5. Competition and sympathy
- IV. The limits of competition

Ours is a society in which any man or woman can aspire to any place. No one is born with his life work cut out in advance for him. No one's task and lot are fixed by his father's task and lot. In the later Roman Empire the well-placed families "dug in" by enacting a law that no one might aspire to a calling above his father's. Every social grade and every occupation from the senator to the waterman on the Tiber or the sentinel at a frontier post were practically hereditary. Says Dill:

The tendency of the later Empire was to stereotype society by compelling men to follow the occupation of their fathers, and by preventing a free circulation among different callings and grades of life. The man who brought the grain of Africa to the public stores at Ostia, the baker who made it into loaves for distribution, the butchers who brought pigs from Samnium, Lucania, or Bruttium, the purveyors of wine and oil, the men who fed the furnaces of the public baths' were bound to their callings from one generation

to another. It was the principle of rural serfdom applied to social functions. Every avenue of escape was closed. A man was bound to his calling not only by his father's but by his mother's condition. Men were not permitted to marry out of their guild. If the daughter of one of the baker caste married a man not belonging to it, her husband was bound to her father's calling. Not even a dispensation obtained by some means from the imperial chancery, not even the power of the Church, could avail to break the bond of servitude.

In Prussia a little over a century ago both lands and occupations were caste-bound. " Noble " land could not be bought by non-nobles, or " peasant " land by non-peasants. Neither noble nor peasant could take up occupations which belonged to the townspeople. In India today the principal occupations are in the hands of hereditary castes, and it is expected that the son of the village smith or accountant or priest will succeed to his father's office.

Caste *versus* competition. This tying of the son's fate to the father's so clashes with one's natural eagerness to get on and is so grossly unfair that it could never have grown up but for the scheming of those in the higher places to shield their own children from the competition of bright children from the thatched huts. Now, from the beginning our forefathers would have nothing to do with this principle of caste. Our ideal has been a *democratic* society; that is, a society in which each finds his place by tryouts and by matching himself with others. Since we do not come into the world with our future calling and station in life stenciled on the forehead, we discover what we are fit for by experiment. In a series of competitions we test the impression we make on others, size ourselves up, and find out whether there is any use in our trying for the higher occupations or posts.

The intensity of competition. How much effort people will spend in getting themselves placed depends on —

1. *The degree of personal liberty.* If the individual is free to roam about, set up in this or that calling, try for the better-

paid or more honorable offices and get a decision on his merits; if one is not discriminated against on account of race, birth, or religion; if customers or clients or patients or subscribers are prompt to give some of their patronage to the new storekeeper, lawyer, doctor, or editor — under such conditions the well-established will be put more on their mettle to save themselves from being ousted by newcomers.

2. *The rate of social change.* Social change opens doors to many who had supposed themselves settled. In twenty years the automobile industry has absorbed more than a million Americans, few of whom inherited their jobs or stumbled into them. In the same time the new profession of play-supervisor has recruited ten thousand young men and women, nearly every one of whom got the job after comparison with others. The building of our vast army for the World War set thousands of young Americans vying to see which of them should win an officer's commission.

3. *The efficiency of the selective agents.* The more quickly, economically, and accurately the applicants for a post are sifted, the less is the intensity of competition. Compare the energy spent trying for an office under the old system — when the applicant sees or writes to all his friends and gets them to use their "influence" for him — with that spent in writing a two-hour civil service examination. Rival candidates for an elective office will sometimes go so far as to spend on a contest as much as the salary for the entire term and waste many weeks of their time electioneering.

Competition should not be allowed to run wild. Like fire, competition is a good servant but a bad master. Unless fenced in by rules or standards, it assumes vicious or extravagant forms. The courts condemn certain practices of "big business" as "unfair" because they tell against those who are giving the public the most for its money. You must not cut prices in localities where the "hide-

pendents " are competing with you and recoup by maintaining monopoly prices everywhere else. You must not operate bogus " independent " concerns to lure customers away from the real independents. You must not exact from the railroad company rebates on your shipments; refuse to sell to the retailer unless he signs an ironclad agreement to handle only your goods; spy upon your competitor; or hire people to break their contracts with him.

In other fields as well you have to hold competition within bounds. You can't have a decent political contest unless dirty tricks are put under the ban. Among things outlawed in the best states are vote-buying, betting to influence an election, providing conveyances to take voters to the polls, buying good will by contributing to churches and charities during a campaign, intimidating one's employees, lying to illiterate voters as to how to mark the ballot, spreading false statements that the opposing candidate has withdrawn, getting someone to impersonate your opponent and behave so as to disgrace him. These and other practices have been forbidden because they drive good men out of politics, or enable the choice of the minority of voters to win the election from the choice of the majority.

Then, too, the struggle for appointive posts has to be very strictly guarded. We can't allow places in the post office, the city schools, or the water department to be filled with relatives of the appointing official, with his personal friends, with his political henchmen, with those who have contributed to his campaign fund, with those who agree to turn over to him or to his party a percentage of their salary. Such practices go with the " spoils system," so-called from the slogan " To the (political) victors belong the spoils." The merit system of selecting public servants, under which the applicants are rated for training and experience and marked on proficiency as revealed in a written examination, has brought

about a great improvement in the quality of officeholders. Many bright young people who stood no chance under the spoils system now try for places, while low and ignorant "heelers" and party-workers have little hope of appointment.

The organized professions have laid their ban on certain methods of competition. No honorable doctor or lawyer will advertise, solicit employment, pay commissions for business, undertake a case on a contingent fee, show a client how to beat the law, or give him advice which is immoral or anti-social in tendency. Some of these restrictions may, indeed, make it hard for the beginner to get a start in his profession, but in the long run they are best for both the practitioners and the public.

Tactics in competition. It is far from easy to draw the line between proper and improper tactics of competition. For example: May rival colleges in their circulars call attention each to the weak points of the other? Is it proper for the theater owner to notify the public of the greater fire risk in a rival place of amusement? Is it "hitting below the belt" for a baking powder manufacturer to cast justifiable doubt on the wholesomeness of other brands? Is the applicant for a post guilty of a "foul" if he submits truthful matter which damages the prospects of another applicant? The answer is that in such cases a man's judgment is likely to be so warped that he had better put forth no comparisons between himself and his competitors. Generally, "war to the knife" between rivals is ruinous to both good morals and good manners.

Deciding a contest by the relevant. That which *belongs* is relevant. Now, it is a good rule to follow that *a contest ought not to be decided by the irrelevant*. It is a shame if a joint debate is won not by argument but by funny stories, if a job is landed not by qualifications but by wire-pulling,

if election to an honorary society goes not by scholarship but by handshaking, if the scholarship or cadetship is awarded according to "pull" rather than merit. We resent having a contest won by some other prowess than the one called for. A race should be decided by speed, a tennis match by skill in playing. We are disgusted by the fight that becomes a "foot race" and by the foot race that becomes a fight; by the slugging match that becomes a "joint debate" and by the joint debate that becomes a slugging match. All the good rules governing a competition are intended to insure that the outcome shall be determined by the *relevant*.

Competition and morals. It depends on the kind of practices tolerated whether competition shall run on a high plane or sink to a low plane. In the latter case it will lower high-minded people to take part. If regularly what wins is the paid "puff," blowing your own trumpet, kowtowing, and "cheek," then the field will be abandoned by all who will not stoop to such methods. The greater the number of attractive fields in which such tactics prevail, the greater the proportion of ambitious young people who will cast aside the high standards they were taught and descend to playing the game in the way it is being played. This is why it is of little use for parents and teachers to plant high moral principles in the young if in many of the alluring arenas of competition success is seen going to the impudent and tricky. Hence, one of the best ways of lifting character to a higher standard is to *raise the plane of competition*.

In the early frontier communities biting and gouging were accepted methods of fighting. In old-time American political contests "rough-and-tumble" was the rule, while rival newspapers blackguarded each other without limit. This was because society was young and had not yet learned how to bridle competition. But as society gets older and wiser, the socially recognized forms of competition are hemmed in

by standards, so that in most arenas honorable young men may compete without hurting their self-respect. These standards originate in the minds of the better elements of society — the capable, the sensitive, the high-spirited. But it takes a generation or two for them to agree among themselves on these standards and to get them accepted by the bulk of the people.

Competition and sympathy. Are those who compete bound to become hostile to one another? No! In a society like ours, where any man may try to be anything, there will be much disappointment, but not necessarily much hard feeling. For example, a graduate of the law school joins the bar of a town which has a score of lawyers. At the end of a year or two he may have to give up, but very likely he cannot hold any particular competitor responsible for his failure. He may quit on good terms with all his fellow lawyers. So is it with business men. The unsuccessful may realize that he has been squeezed out by general conditions rather than by a rival.

Even when the loser knows who won, he will hardly feel "sore," provided the competition has taken place under reasonable rules which have been loyally observed. Bitterness springs up only if the beaten believes that the rules have not been lived up to by his rivals, or that the judges have been biased against him. In large organizations there will be bad blood if it is suspected that promotion goes by favor. But if it is really the best man who is promoted, the congratulations and good will of his competitors may go with him as he rises. In school sports the keenest rivalry to "make the team" will not generate personal bitterness, provided the coach is competent. In case justice rules the competitive struggle, persons who have absorbed the spirit of good sportsmanship will lay their failures to something in themselves,

The limits to competition. In Japan the code of the *jinrikisha* (sulky) men forbids one runner to pass by another going in the same direction. The young runner is not to dash past the old lest the latter be so much the sooner thrown on the scrap heap. When you have had a house built in Japan, you have entered into a relation which cannot lightly be broken off. Whatever repairs may be needed during the life of the house must be arranged for with your builder, never with anybody else. None but he may send for the plasterer, the roofer, the tinsmith. So is it with a garden. The maker looks after it season after season, and no other gardener can be hired to touch it unless assured that the original relation has been ended by mutual consent. Such muffling of competition survives from the old communal organization of Japan. Ruthless competition is welcomed only in a young society that has not yet learned to take the long view. With ripeness comes the recognition of limits to competition. Certain great American railroads have deliberately adopted the policy of not replacing elderly men with younger and more vigorous men but retaining them until they retire on a pension. Some of their employees are past their peak of efficiency; but by holding out the prospect of a life career, these companies attract a higher grade of ability than the same money would command under a ruthless system.

Society will reap about all the advantages of competition if every man up to thirty or thirty-five years of age is liable to be passed or ousted by a better man. But after this testing period, it is well to consider a man's fitness for his post as settled and to let him feel safe from displacement so long as he continues to "make good."

The intimate confidential relation which grows up between patient and practitioner — resulting in the trusted "family physician" — muffles competition, to be sure, but few would

care to see it disappear. The same is true of permanency in the relation between pastor and flock. No doubt the clergyman who, after some experience, settles into a life pastorate is happier and gives his parishioners better service than if he held a quick succession of pulpits. On the other hand, professional men and women without a permanent or responsible employer — such as newspaper workers and stage people — are exposed to the full force of competition with the young, and after their powers begin to wane their lot is often tragic.

As more and more it is taken for granted that the employer is to keep a person so long as he "makes good," the "dead line" begins to appear. The employer feels that he can hardly afford to take on a person who has passed the age which constitutes the "dead line." If clergymen and others find increasing difficulty in obtaining a good post after the age of forty-five, it is not that the employer is harder-hearted but that employment carries heavier responsibilities. If it is a matter of course that the employer — church, university, corporation, or state — will retain the faithful servant during his declining years, the employer will naturally insist that it must in return have him for most of his prime.

Old-age pensions or allowances follow quite logically upon the policy of undisturbed tenure. The time comes when it is cheaper to retire the old employee on a pension of half or third pay than to continue paying his former salary for services of little worth.

Is not the tempering of competition on behalf of those who have got themselves established a discrimination in favor of age and against the more efficient youth? It looks so, but should not the youth regard this delay in his advancement as the payment of an insurance premium to protect him in his own inevitable period of decline? For example, the young scholar at thirty might well take over the professorship

of the scholar of sixty. But the older scholar holds his chair until he reaches the age of sixty-five, and the young man continues five years more as assistant professor before the chair falls to him. When he, in turn, reaches the point of declining energy, the rule will now work to his advantage. Viewing his life as a whole, one can hardly doubt that he makes a good bargain when, by foregoing his early supplanting of the older man, he saves himself from being supplanted in turn at a time of life when discouragement may be fatal.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How is one's place in society settled in a caste system?
2. What is the great service of competition in a democratic society?
3. Upon what three things does the intensity of competition depend?
4. What practices among business competitors are deemed unfair?
5. What practices have been banned so as to encourage good men to enter politics?
6. Contrast the merit system with the spoils system.
7. How have the organized professions restricted competition among their members?
8. Show that it is hard to draw the line between proper and improper tactics.
9. Cite cases where irrelevant matters tend to affect competition.
10. Why doesn't fair competition make "bad blood"?
11. Why should competition be tempered when the young are competing with the old?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Is it admissible to "knock" your rival so long as you stick to the truth?
2. Under what circumstances will those who fail to "make the team" feel "sore" at those who do?

3. Is it fair for a working man to ingratiate himself with his boss by bringing him presents (game or cigars)? by making valuable suggestions about the work in hand?

4. What are the advantages of promoting on the basis of seniority of service? the disadvantages?

5. Is there any type of competition into which considerations of family have a right to enter? How about "affairs of the heart"?

6. Would you want clergymen to compete more sharply with one another than they do?

7. What do you think of the saying, "The only competition worthy a wise man is with himself"?

8. How does the law's protection of trade-marks and business good will work for clean competition?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Trace for your state the growth in the number of campaign practices declared illegal. (Consult Revised Statutes.)

2. Find out the means of ascertaining the fitness of applicants for appointment, which have been worked out by the civil service commission of your city or your state.

3. Report on the measures taken by the newspapers, the advertisers, or the legislature of your state to suppress untruthful or misleading advertising.

4. What are the Federal Trade Act and the Federal Trade Commission doing to put an end to "unfair competition" in business?

5. What efforts are made by your state to equip the blind for competition in life? (Read H.)

C. Report on the United States program for the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers. (Read A.)

DEBATE

Resolved, That in army, navy, and civil services seniority of service is the safest basis of promotion.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

THE AVOIDANCE OF SECTIONALISM

- I. Causes of American sectionalism
 1. Unlikeness of climate and resources
 2. The presence of the Negroes in the South
 3. The nearness of the Pacific slope to the Orient
 4. The concentration of manufacturing in the East
 5. The recent settlement in the West
- II. Causes of the decline of sectionalism
 1. Disappearance of the frontier
 2. Growth of manufacturing
 3. Improvement of transportation
 4. All sections read the same matter
 5. Dread of clash between sections
- III. Remedies for sectionalism
 1. Proportional representation in government
 2. Proportional sharing of benefits from government
 3. Proportional sharing of burdens of government
 - I. Sectional bearing of legislation should be considered
 5. Each section should be willing to listen to the leaders of other sections
 6. What part the individual may play

"THE United States is imperial in area. If we lay a map of Europe upon a map of the United States constructed to the same scale, the western coast of Spain would coincide with the coast of southern California; Constantinople would rest near Charleston, South Carolina; Sicily near New Orleans; and the southern coast of the Baltic would fall in line with the southern coast of Lake Superior. Thus in size the United States is comparable not with a single nation of Europe, but with all of Europe, exclusive of Russia. It is also comparable with Europe in that it is made up of separate geographic provinces; each capable in size, resources, and peculiarities of physical condition to be the abode of a European nation, or of several nations."

Nature must bear the blame for some American sectionalism. The words of Professor Turner quoted in the preceding

paragraph are true. Our country is so huge and reaches through so many climates that it embraces regions which differ as much as Ireland and Italy. There is the Atlantic seaboard, which is occupied with foreign commerce, ship-building, and fisheries. Back of it are the mineral-bearing Alleghenies, the home of industries based on coal, iron, and steel. The " Corn Belt," the " Wheat Belt," and the " Cotton Kingdom " pivot their prosperity each on a leading crop. The feature of the " Great Lakes country " is a chain of inland seas which provide a wonderful opportunity for water-borne traffic and the rise of cities that live by commerce. In the Northwest are vast forest areas which make lumbering a master industry. Then there is the mineralized Rocky Mountain region, pitted with mines, and the arid region, where all farming hinges on the capture and control of water. The Pacific slope not only has climate and products all its own, but it looks out across the sea to the Orient.

Thus nature herself dictates to us *sectionalism*; that is, *feeling and thinking in terms of the section instead of the nation*. There are parts of the country in which it is hard to get the citizen to lift his eyes from the doings and concerns of his section and fix them upon the achievements and interests of his country. He lives in his section and knows it first-hand. It has a life and needs of its own, which are before him all the time. But it takes an effort of the imagination for the stay-at-home citizen to realize the life and needs of remote sections which are very unlike his own.

Other bases of American sectionalism. Other things have come in to strengthen the sectionalism dictated to us by nature. Long ago in colonial times Negroes were brought in to work in the lowland South, where the heat puts the white worker at a disadvantage. The tending of the cotton plant is well suited to ignorant slave labor, and as cotton growing spread through the South, slavery came to be the very

corner stone of that section's prosperity. While elsewhere in the civilized world slavery was dead or dying and no one spoke up for it, in the South it was daily striking its roots deeper and reaching for more territory. Abraham Lincoln saw that "The Union cannot endure half slave and half free." The awful Civil War, resulting in the complete uprooting of slavery, proved that sections so unlike as slave society and free society cannot live at peace within the same nation. Slavery has gone, the bitter memories from the Civil War have faded away, but the Negroes remain; and so long as the South alone has to wrestle with the problem of what shall be the relations between the whites and the blacks, the South will think of itself as a unit. But if the Negroes come to pervade the whole country, they will cease to arouse sectionalism.

The settlers upon the Pacific slope perceived sixty years ago that if Orientals were allowed to come in freely, there would be little chance there for our American civilization. Far away from the scene and anxious to keep on a friendly trade footing with the Orient, our East pooh-poohed the danger and was inclined to sentimentalize over the Asiatics streaming into California. The Far West had to build up an intense feeling on the question and present a united front in Congress and in party conventions before it could obtain a Federal law against immigration from China. So long as there is any doubt about maintaining the dikes which keep out the Oriental flood, the people of the Pacific slope will act as a section.

New England and the Middle States form what is known as "the East." It is the region in which there has been the greatest development of manufacturing industries and in which live the owners of an immense amount of capital loaned to or invested in other parts of the country. These elements dominate in that section, hence the East has its own attitude on many questions. It is strong for national defense,

a protective tariff, " sound " money, and conservative banking. It is apt to be unfriendly to government ownership of railroads, anti-trust policies, the regulation of " big business," barriers against immigration, a Federal income tax, and a Federal inheritance tax.

Another section has been " the West "; that is, the zone of recent settlement. Whether " the West " lay on the upper Ohio River in 1800 or on the plains in 1900, it was likely to stand for certain things. Settlers hate to tie up a part of their scanty capital in a metallic medium of exchange — that is, " hard money " ; so the West has often fought for paper money or the free issuance of bank notes. It has been for a " liberal " policy in the distribution of public lands. It has wanted the national government to play a big part in transportation — Federal canals and turnpikes first, then Federal grants of land to stimulate railroad building, and finally government regulation of railroads. Usually its temper has been more democratic than that of the older commonwealths. It has led in the fight to do away with property qualifications for voting or office-holding, to fill offices by election rather than by appointment, to give the people a check on their legislature by means of the initiative and referendum, and to elect United States Senators by popular vote. The Democracy of Jefferson and Jackson, the Republicanism of Lincoln, the Granger movement in the 70's of the last century, the People's Party of the 90's, the Bryan type of Democracy, and the Progressivism led by Roosevelt were strong in the West before they gained a following in the East.

Since free public land is gone, the frontier is a thing of the past, so the old line-up of " wild and woolly " West against the " effete " East is little more than a memory. The region toward the setting sun is becoming nearly as steady and conservative on economic matters as the East.

Moreover, as manufacturing industries spread into the South, that section is no longer so solid against the protective tariff; and as the Negroes drift north, more Northerners are able to get the Southern white man's point of view on the race question.

Section-mindedness is on the wane. Not only are the sections becoming more akin in their economic interests, but each is less shut up in itself than of yore. Such isolation as the railroads have not brought to an end seems likely to be wiped out by automobiles, good roads, aviation, and radio. No longer has a section much chance to stamp men's minds with an impress all its own. Aside from their home newspapers, people in all parts of the country have nearly the same reading matter — the same magazines, the same books. The makers of the great magazines intend they shall be read everywhere; and although these men live in New York or Boston or Philadelphia, they recognize their need of getting out at least once a year and "taking a bath in the United States."

The national magazines help to give us a common stock of thoughts, while their advertising pages tend to standardize our clothes, kitchens, dinner tables, and house interiors. The motion films revolving in their circuits from Maine to California and Washington to Florida, get us all to giggling or crying at the same pictures. As for radio, what it may do toward overcoming section-mindedness staggers the imagination.

Everyone dreads a clash between sections. The Civil War drove home the political lesson that sections must never be allowed to become enemies, or even strangers. Every body with brains enough to succeed in politics understands this very well. In the legislature a majority hesitates to ride rough-shod over a solid block of votes from a protesting section of the state. Whenever a section plainly shows sore'

ness over its treatment, public men get worried and hasten to smooth it down. If it is out of the question to give the section the particular thing it wants, they offer it something else it will like. No end of bargains are made in Congress and in the legislatures to keep this or that section contented. Almost never does a politician voice in public the ire of his section at having had "a raw deal"; it is too much like striking a match in a powder mill. There is plenty of plain speaking as to what the section wants or feels, but it goes on behind the closed doors of the committee rooms of the legislature, Congress, or the party convention.

How to preserve good will; proportional representation in government. There are various time-tested means of keeping sectional feeling and loyalty from cutting into national feeling and loyalty.

In the colonial period of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, bitter strife grew up between the lowland or "tidewater" country and the upland country, settled by people who came down the mountain valleys from Pennsylvania, because the upland regions could not get a square deal in politics. Even after they were outnumbered, the slaveholding lowlanders kept their grip on political power by denying the quick-growing upland counties any more representatives in the legislature than had been fixed in their state constitutions, adopted perhaps fifty years earlier. Out of this long experience of minority rule developed the principle of *equal representation of equal numbers*, and the provision that seats in the legislature or Congress shall be reapportioned after every census.

Proportional sharing of the benefits from government. Care should be taken that the people of no section miss a share of the good things which come from our common government. A manufacturing section must not expect to have all the tariff protection; the infant industries of other

sections will clamor for some of it. There should be a fair distribution of such things as trunk roads, fish hatcheries, state institutions, public buildings, government experiment stations, navy yards, aviation fields, national forests, and postal facilities. This does not mean, of course, that state asylums or normal schools should be badly located, or that naval stations should be maintained in harbors too shallow to float our latest type of war vessels. Nor does it imply that we should fail to make extra outlay to carry the mail through snowdrifts to small, remote mountain settlements or to set up health stations in districts suffering from hookworm, trachoma, or malaria.

Proportional sharing of the burdens of government. The revenue system should never be such as to allow the people of one section to think that they are being bled in order that other sections may escape paying their fair share of the common expenses of government. The Whisky Rebellion of 1798 broke out because the new Federal tax on spirits bore hard on the people west of the Alleghenies, who were accustomed to concentrate the value of their corn into whisky in order to carry it to distant markets. Before the Civil War the South became very sore over the protective tariff, which obliged it to pay more for its goods in order to stimulate the manufacturing industries of New England and Pennsylvania.

Each section should be willing to listen to the leaders of other sections. To swallow bitter medicine when you ought to, to give a hearing to opinions you don't like — that is to play the man. If we are to avoid misunderstanding among the parts of our dear country, no section should be allowed to sulk in a corner, nursing its grudge. Nearly forty years ago great bodies like the New England Society of New York and the Boston Merchants Association got the eloquent Henry W. Grady of Georgia to interpret to them the New South and the South's race problem. That is the right sort

of thing to do. If in St. Paul a big man claims that the Northwest is not getting a square deal from the nation and his people shout, "That's so," then influential groups in Boston and Atlanta and elsewhere ought to make a point of inviting that man to stand up before them and tell them why. Chambers of commerce, merchants' associations, bankers' gatherings, farmers' congresses, labor conventions, educational conventions, church conferences, and university bodies should take it as a part of their job to give the chosen spokesman of a disgruntled section a chance to tell them its wrongs, real or imaginary. In this way we can avoid forever that sectionalism which springs from isolation, misunderstanding, and prejudice.

There remains, of course, that sectionalism which grows out of the divergence of the real interests of different sections of the country. But wise leaders should be able to keep such sectionalism within bounds. In the words of Professor Turner: "It is a statesman's duty and his great opportunity to lift his section to a higher and broader, a more farseeing conception of its interests as a part of the Union, to induce his section to accept the compromises and adjustments which he arranges with the leaders of other sections, in the spirit of reconciliation of interests in the nation as a whole/'

What part shall the individual play? As for you, the individual citizen, here is the line to take:

1. Make the effort to know your nation as well as your section.

2. Quit any political leader who harps on the interests of your section so much that he misses the national point of view.

3. Never allow yourself even to entertain the thought that the people of this country can have any other future than that of citizens of one nation.

4. Be willing to listen to spokesmen of some other part of the country who express views you do not like.

5. When you are thrown with someone from another part of the country, look for his strong points in comparison with your own people rather than his weak points.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How has nature laid a basis for sectionalism in this country?

2. Show that mental isolation is likely to be less in the future than it has been in the past.

3. Show that the pulling and tagging of sections against one another now goes on mostly behind the scenes.

4. What was the cause of the sectionalism that developed in the southern seaboard colonies ?

5. What are the benefits of government which should, so far as possible, be "passed around"?

6. By what means can we prevent misunderstanding growing up between sections ?

7. What is the statesman's job in this matter of the opposition of sections ?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. What is the effect upon sectionalism of corporations operating upon a national scale ?

2. What is the effect upon sectionalism of labor organizations which have members and locals in every part of the country ?

3. Is it good policy for the United States post office to carry newspapers and magazines at less than it costs ?

4. Is this sentiment uttered in the Senate by Senator Vest of Missouri in 1883 sound ?

"While I am a Senator of United States, I am not here to take care especially of Massachusetts or Pennsylvania, when they have Senators upon this floor who, more ably than I can possibly do, look to those interests. I believe as a Democrat that the ligament which binds these United States together to a common prosperity and a glorious union is the ligament based upon state interest, local interests, and the fact that every local interest is represented upon this floor and in the chamber of the other house."

5. Does the following sentiment of Henry Clay uttered in the Senate in 1848 clash with that of Senator Vest?

"I have heard something said about allegiance to the South. I know no South, no North, no East, no West, to which I owe any allegiance."

6. Is Washington's plea for the Union, in his Farewell Address, 1796, as sound today as when he uttered it, or is it antiquated?

"While, then, every part of our country thus feels that immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments."

7. Was Daniel Webster in his reply to Hayne, 1830, justified in making the following complaint about his opponent? He charged that, in order to make out that anti-Union sentiment had at times existed in New England, Hayne had "stretched a dragnet over the whole surface of perished pamphlets, indiscreet sermons, frothy paragraphs, and fuming popular addresses, over whatever the pulpit in its moments of alarm, the press in its heats, and the parties in their extravagances have severally thrown off in times of general excitement and violence."

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Show how the settlement of the West inevitably gave rise to an East-West sectionalism. (Read B, Chapter 7.)

2. What led John C. Calhoun of South Carolina to make this statement? "I never use the word *Nation* in speaking of the United States. I always use the word *Union* or *Confederacy*. We are not a nation but a union, a confederacy of equal and sovereign states."

3. From American history show that to some extent the earlier oppositions between the parts of this country have been due to the fact that they were settled by people of different racial stocks,

4. Study a number of recent magazines and make a list of some contemporary political conditions which indicate an East-West sectionalism.

DEBATE

Resolved, That delegates to a national party convention should be apportioned according to the votes cast for the standard bearer of the party at the last presidential election.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

THE PROMOTION OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND PEACE

- I. How religious toleration has been obtained in America
 1. Result of belief in religious freedom for the individual
 2. Religion can flourish without state-support
 3. Religion modified by people-support
- II. What the separation of Church and State implies
 1. Freedom of religious beliefs and worship
 2. No religious test
 3. No church may take away anyone's citizen rights
 4. No public money for support of religion
 5. No teaching of church doctrine in public schools
 6. Ministers do not try to control church members in voting
- III. Trouble follows the withdrawal of state-support; what America has escaped
- IV. Means of avoiding sectarian strife
 1. The Church should stay out of politics
 2. Religious affiliations should not decide fitness for office
 3. Seek none but spiritual advantages from religion
 4. One church should not pull members away from another
 5. Put character above creed
 6. Promote helpful cooperation between churches
- V. What the individual may do on behalf of religious peace

One of the best developments of modern times is the general giving up of the conviction that God is pleased when we wipe out those of other faith than our own. From the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century Europe was torn by terrible wars over religion. After a hundred years of bloodshed and horror it became plain to most men that *it doesn't pay* to try to force others in matters of conscience. There is, indeed, no limit to the misery human beings may inflict upon one another if they follow *that* path. For more than two centuries it has been well understood among the level-headed that the only safe policy is to tolerate religious differences.

Religious freedom for the individual. Among the original settlers in America in the seventeenth century were religious groups which had long suffered persecution in the Old country and sought in the New World a place where they might be by themselves and worship God as they thought fitting. Of the religion of the New England and the Middle colonies the British statesman, Edmund Burke, said in 1776 in his great speech in Parliament " Against Coercing America ":

All Protestantism, even the most cold and passive, is a kind of dissent. But the religion most prevalent in our Northern Colonies is a refinement on the principle of resistance; it is the dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant religion. . . . The colonists left England when this spirit was high and in the emigrants was the highest of all; and even that stream of foreigners which has been constantly flowing into these colonies has, for the greater part, been composed of dissenters from the establishments of their several countries, who have brought with them a temper and character far from alien to that of the people with whom they mixed.

Religious toleration in America. Among people of this sort the only possible basis of peace was a toleration of religious differences. Agreement to dwell in friendship with those of other confessions and to overlook religious difference in all matters of citizenship came to be a vital part of true Americanism. In Americans who know well their country's past the dread of sectarian strife is so ingrained that they shun as a leper anyone who strikes the old jarring note that God is displeased at some people's beliefs and observances and will be grateful to His followers if they spare Him this displeasure.

Religion can flourish without state-support. Even after giving up the policy of persecuting religious minorities, most European states continued to give recognition and public money to one church, known as the established church.

Even citizens who had no faith in the established church were taxed to help support it. It was left to America to discover that religion does not decay and perish when the government does nothing whatever for it. Our American experience shows that religion flourishes better here, where church and state are separated, than it does in countries with a costly state church. European visitors declare they have never found a churchman in America who would like to see the state take care of religion. It seems as if people never discover how much religion means to them until the state ceases to support it and they realize that if it is to be kept up at all it will be kept up by their own efforts and sacrifices.

How people-support modifies religion. When religion must depend on the contributions of the faithful, it undergoes changes which bring it nearer to the people. In a way it is democratized. The ministers are less independent and dictatorial. They have to pay more attention to the wishes and feelings of their flock. Then, too, they have to present religion as something simple and graspable. Nearly a century ago the French traveler De Tocqueville, who wrote a famous book *Democracy in America*, testified thus:

I have seen no country in which Christianity is clothed with fewer forms, figures, and observances than in the United States; or where it presents more distinct, more simple, or more general notions to the mind.

When the people support religion, the congregation usually takes more share in worship. In state-supported churches in Europe one sometimes finds splendid services being conducted, although scarcely anyone is there but the officiating clergy. But when it is the people who pay for it all, they will have more voice and part in the worship of God. Nor do they care so much for the costly adornment of the church, for the human heart is regarded as the real seat of worship, rather than a sanctified place in a building.

In a state-supported church the clergyman's whole duty may consist in going through the proper religious rites on the appointed occasions. But when his salary is made up by the free-will offerings of his parishioners, he is expected to serve them in more ways. He spends fewer hours in the pulpit or before the altar and more hours in giving comfort or advice or instruction to the one who needs it. No other communicants get so much spiritual help in the trials of life as those who feel that their minister belongs to them because it is they who take care of him.

A people-supported religion, too, is likely to exhibit a practical spirit. It is not content to benefit only its members. It wants to spread the gospel; it takes to heart the general welfare of the community. A great Protestant Episcopal bishop, Phillips Brooks, voices this practical spirit when he says:

The mystery of the Holy Trinity appears insignificant in comparison with the enormous amount of moral and social work to be done by the American churches. Let everyone enjoy his liberty and his own beliefs; the essential thing is what the church can do for its neighbors and the country.

What the separation of Church and State implies. You get full religious liberty and complete separation of church and state only when —

1. Men are free to hold and profess their religious beliefs and to worship God as they choose, provided in so doing they do not violate morality or disturb the public peace.
2. There is no religious test imposed for naturalization or voting or office-holding.
3. No church may take away anyone's citizen rights, nor may one dodge his citizen duties by pleading religious views.
4. No public money is devoted to the support of religion.
5. No teaching of church doctrine goes on in the public schools or state institutions.

6. Ministers do not try to control the church member in the exercise of his citizenship.

Americans established these forms of religious liberty early in our history, and in the last half century this American idea has been spreading rapidly over the Christian world. It appears now as if before long it will win everywhere.

An Englishman's tribute. We shall appreciate better what this policy has done to preserve among us the spirit of peace and good will if we mark what the famous English clergyman, Sydney Smith, wrote about us a hundred years ago :

It is hardly possible for any nation to show a greater superiority over another than the Americans, in this particular, have done over this country. They have fairly and completely, and probably forever, extinguished that spirit of religious persecution which has been the employment and curse of mankind for four or five centuries — not only that persecution which imprisons and scourges for religious opinions, but the tyranny of incapacitation, which, by disqualifying from civil offices, and cutting a man off from the lawful objects of ambition, endeavors to strangle religious freedom in silence, and to enjoy all the advantages, without the blood and noise and fire of persecution. What passes in the mind of one mean block-head is a general history of all persecution. "This man pretends to know better than I. I cannot subdue him by argument; but I will take care he shall never be mayor or alderman of the town in which he lives. I will never consent to the repeal of the Test Act or to Catholic Emancipation. I will teach that fellow to differ from me in religious opinions!" So says the Episcopalian to the Catholic — and so says the Catholic to the Protestant. But the wisdom of America keeps them all down; secures to them all their just rights; gives to each of them their separate pews, and bells, and steeples; makes them all aldermen in their turn; and quietly extinguishes the fagots which each is preparing for the combustion of the other. Nor is this indifference to religious subjects in the American people, but pure civilization — through comprehension of what is best calculated to secure the public happiness and peace — and determination that this happiness and peace shall not be violated by the insolence of any human being, in the garb and under the sanction of religion.

Trouble follows the withdrawal of state-support. What strife we missed by starting right may be guessed from certain laws which have been found necessary when the State separates itself from a long-established church. In France, according to the Law of Separation of 1905, buildings used for worship belong to the public; no political meeting may be held in a church; no religious sign or emblem may be fixed on monuments or in any public place save buildings used for worship, cemeteries, and monuments of the dead. The clergyman is prosecuted who in church insults or defames a public official or stirs people up to resist the execution of the law or the legal acts of public authorities.

In Mexico by the Constitution of 1917 the Church is forbidden to own real estate; to own church buildings or any other buildings; to possess invested funds; to maintain convents or nunneries; to conduct primary schools; to administer charitable institutions; to solicit funds outside church buildings; to hold religious ceremonies outside church buildings; to clothe its ministers with a distinctive garb. Ministers of religion may not publicly criticize the government or officials. They may not vote, hold office, or assemble for political purposes. No political assembly may be held in a place of public worship. No religious periodical may comment on political affairs. Official permission must be obtained before opening a new temple of worship for public use.

The idea behind these laws is not to persecute but to keep clergymen from meddling with politics. We can get along without such harsh measures only because it is understood and accepted by all intelligent Americans that Church and State should go their separate ways and attend each to its own job.

Means of avoiding sectarian strife. If religious peace is a precious heritage, then we ought to think what we can do to safeguard and protect it. Here are some suggestions.

1. Nothing provokes sharper resentment than for a church or a group formed on a religious basis secretly to control politics; that is, manage parties, dictate nominations or appointments, shape public policies. A church, of course, has a right to support or oppose a measure which vitally affects it, but it should do so openly and state its real motives.

2. When a person is being considered for public office, his religious convictions or church affiliations should neither help nor hinder. They ought to have no weight one way or the other. Good citizens ought to resent any emphasis on a candidate's religion. In the words of ex-President Roosevelt before the Knights of Columbus:

It is a cardinal sin against democracy to support a man for public office because he belongs to a given creed or to oppose him because he belongs to a given creed. It is just as evil as to draw the line between class and class, between occupation and occupation, in political life. No man who tries to draw either line is a good American. True Americanism demands that we judge each man on his conduct, that we so judge him in private life and that we so judge him in public life. The line of cleavage drawn on principle and on conduct in public affairs is never in any healthy community identical with the line of cleavage between creed and creed or between class and class. On the contrary, where the community life is healthy, these lines of cleavage almost always run nearly at right angles to one another. . . .

I have always found myself fighting beside, and fighting against, men of every creed. The one sure way to have secured defeat of every good principle worth fighting for would have been to have permitted the fight to be changed into one along sectarian lines and inspired by the spirit of sectarian bitterness, either for the purpose of putting into public life or of keeping out of public life the believers of any given creed.

3. It is bad policy for church members to give their custom, their patronage, or their votes to a merchant, professional man, or candidate just because he is a fellow member. A pastor is tempted to urge: "Let us help one another. Brother A will do just as well by you as other merchants;

why give your trade to an outsider? Brother B is a good dentist; why not patronize him and he will be able to give more to our church? Brother C is running for office; let's all vote for him." This looks like building up the church, until other denominations begin to do the same thing. Then the pastor realizes that nobody is for Brother A or B or C but his church brethren, while the community is split along sectarian lines. Religion will be purer if there are no advantages from church membership except spiritual advantages. Besides, the feeling among the churches will be better.

4. The churches ought not to try to pull members away from one another. Let them center their efforts in kindling the spirit of religion in new places.

5. Now that there is a wholesome tendency to put character above creed, those who revive and stress points of doctrinal difference among the churches, instead of emphasizing their common treasure, should be sent to the rear.

6. The churches ought to seize upon every opportunity to cooperate helpfully with one another in moral, civic, and social welfare movements. They may well bear in mind the closing words of Cardinal Gibbons, spokesman for the Roman Catholic Church before the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago during the World's Fair in 1893. To representatives of the world's chief religions and of every considerable denomination of Christians he said :

Though we differ in faith, thank God there is one platform on which we stand united, and that is the platform of charity and benevolence. . . . Never are we more like to God than when we cause the flowers of joy and gladness to bloom in souls that were dry and barren before. "Religion," says the Apostle, "pure and undefiled before God and the Father, is this: to visit the fatherless and widow in their tribulation and keep one's self unspotted from the world." Or, to borrow the words of pagan Cicero, "There is no way by which men can approach nearer to the gods than by contributing to the welfare of their fellow creatures."

What the individual may do on behalf of religious peace. Certain maxims should guide one who loves the great American tradition of religious liberty and State neutrality in matters of religion.

1. Let your mind dwell not on the religious differences between you and your fellow citizens, but rather on what of religion you have in common.

2. Never jeer at or make mock of the sincerely held religion of another.

3. Do not flaunt the peculiarities or claims of your religion in the faces of those of other faiths.

4. Do not tell others how much better your religion is than theirs; show it by your manner of life.

5. Revere your religion too much to make it a cloak for your schemes for getting customers or patrons or votes.

6. Never try to get your fellow churchman into office for no other reason than that he is your fellow churchman.

7. Do not feed the spirit of bigotry; starve it.

8. Make no attempt to get public money for your church or any institution it supports.

9. Allow no one to dictate to you from the pulpit how you shall vote.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Show that the northern American colonies were settled by people very independent in their religion.

2. Why was the practice of religious toleration indispensable in early America?

3. Show the differences between people-supported religion and state-supported religion.

4. What does the separation of Church and State imply in respect to religious freedom?

5. Why is it bad policy for church members to stand by one another in worldly ways, just because they belong to the same church?

6. What may we do to avoid religious strife?

7. What may we do to promote religious peace?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION-

1. Is it American for an applicant for a teaching position in a public school to be asked about his church affiliations?

2. Does this plea of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, make a good argument for religious liberty?

"If it be just and reasonable for men to do as they would be done by, then no sort of men should invade the liberties and properties of other men, because they would not be served so themselves."

3. In his Farewell Address, Washington said :

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports . . . and let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion." Why did he draw the conclusion, "Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge"? Why did not he say, "institutions for the general diffusion of religion"?

4. In the English House of Commons in 1847 Macaulay said:

"Did those brave exiles [the Puritans] think it inconsistent with civil or religious freedom that the State should take charge of the education of the people? No, sir; one of the earliest laws enacted by the Puritan colonists was that every township, as soon as the Lord had increased it to the number of fifty houses, should appoint one to teach all children to write and read, and that every township of one hundred houses should set up a grammar school. Nor have the descendants of those who made this law ever ceased to hold that the public authorities were bound to provide the means of public instruction, nor is this doctrine confined to New England. 'Educate the people' was the first admonition addressed by Penn to the colony he founded. 'Educate the people' was the legacy of Washington to the nation he had saved. 'Educate the people' was the unceasing exhortation of Jefferson."

How do you account for this widespread American belief in the value of the public school to society?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Tell the story of the fight for religious freedom in Virginia led by Thomas Jefferson.

E. Make a study of the historical significance of conflicts between religious groups. (Read H. H. Powers's *The Things Men Fight*

For, pages 28-30. Also medieval and modern history texts for the Protestant Reformation.)

3. How many religious denominations or religious bodies are there in the United States, and how may they be grouped in respect to conflicting interests? How do they compare in regard to strength of membership, male and female? (Read J. Dowd's *Democracy in America* pages 275-281. Consult Census Special Report, 1980, *Religious Bodies: 1926, Vol. I.*)

4. What methods and tactics do religious groups use against one another?

5. Make a study of the steps which have separated England from the Roman Catholic Church. (Consult medieval and modern history texts.)

DEBATE

Resolved, That all children receiving elementary education should be required to attend public schools at least half the time.

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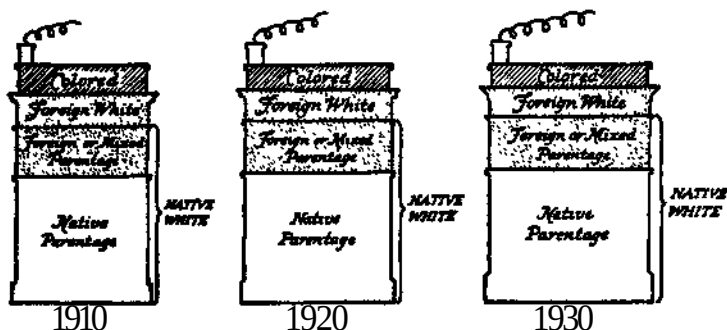
CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AMONG NATIONALITIES

- I. The secret of America's power of assimilation
 1. Policy of toleration
 2. Effect of individualism
 3. Worship of progress
 4. Policy of easy naturalization
 5. Policy of compulsory schooling
- II. Revelations of the World War in regard to the foreign-born
- III. Means of promoting peace among diverse nationalities
 1. Discriminate at the ports of entry
 2. Prevent race problems
 3. Make the naturalized citizen an "insider"
 4. Let nationalistic organizations shun politics
 5. Give immigrants a square deal

No other country save Argentina has absorbed so large a proportion of aliens as the United States. In seventy years more than thirty millions from overseas have cast in their lot with us. During the first fourteen years of this century thirteen millions of strangers came through our gates. At the outbreak of the World War not less than a sixth of the population of this country were foreign-born and three eighths were foreign-born or of foreign parentage.

The secret of America's power of assimilation. Through the latter half of the nineteenth century the United States afforded the most striking example in all history of rapid assimilation of a multitude of strangers of the most various backgrounds. Among those immigrants who got out upon the land, there to neighbor with native Americans and settlers of other racial stocks, the process of building the soul of a patriotic American went on at a wonderful rate. The reasons seem to have been these:



Composition of the population of the United States at the last three censuses. The native white population has in each case comprised fully three fourths of the total, the foreign-born white population something more than an eighth, and the colored population something less than an eighth of the whole.

1. *Toleration.* The American people have left the foreigner in their midst free to speak his native tongue, associate with members of his own race, form his own church or lodge, and amuse himself as he likes. Had there been any pressure on him to lay aside his Old World ways, it would surely have aroused his resentment and made him balk at the process of being changed into an American. Observed a Polish priest in America: "For a hundred and fifty years the Germans tried to force us to be Germans; so we are still Poles. The Americans do not care; we shall soon be Americans."

£. *Individualism.* The summons of our democracy to the victim of Old World oppression — "Stand up like a man!" — has an electrifying effect upon him. It gives him courage to see his rights as an individual in a democratic country and to defy the bidding of those who uphold tradition.

3. *The worship of progress.* The custom-bound immigrant finds himself among a people who do not revere "the good old times." We ask him playfully if he wants to go back to the flail, the tallow dip, the spinning wheel. We teach

him not only that nearly everything which makes us safe and comfortable is of recent origin, but that *whatever we have now will some day be surpassed*. We bid the newcomers forget their pasts, so filled with the roots of dividing prejudices and hatreds, and lift their eyes to the future, which together we are building.

4. *Easy naturalization*. Liberality in bestowing the franchise gives us many "green voters," but it does set in motion Americanizing forces. Once Josef or Pietro has a vote, he finds himself an object of interest. His neighbors try to "talk him over." He is invited to join this or share in that, all because of that morsel of political power in his hands. Owing to the knowledge it demands, the interest it excites, and the responsibility it involves, voting has a magical effect in making the foreign-born feel "This is *my* country."

5. *Compulsory schooling*. Tolerant as America is, on one point she puts her foot down. "Dress as you please, worship as you please, speak what you please, but you *must* send your children to school." And the school saves the young from being cast in the mold in which their fathers were cast and makes them our helpers in Americanizing their parents.

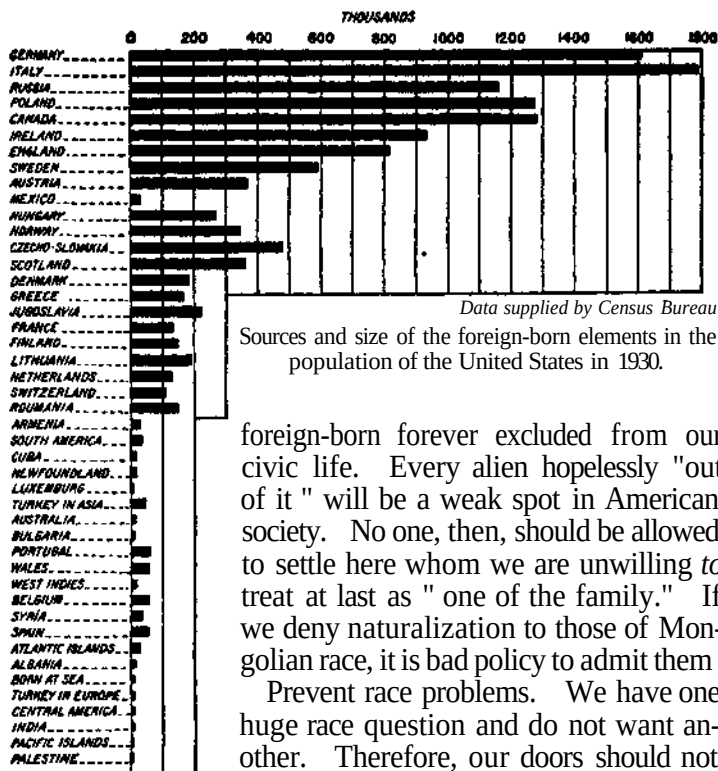
Revelations of the World War. The immigrants who plunged into the thick of our life were generally made over into new men with a new allegiance. But this was not true of those who lived in some "colony" of their own countrymen — a Ghetto or "Little Italy" or "Little Hungary" — which was just a piece of the Old World dropped down in this country. The way many of our citizens of foreign extraction reacted to the World War showed that they had not been Americanized at heart. Numerous enemy aliens cropped up among the American-born children of immigrants. In the hearts of naturalized citizens old feelings stirred, yearnings to plunge into the struggle not as Americans, but as Lithuanians,

Czechoslovaks, or Yugoslavs. Strong racial groups developed into hostile factions. Heads were broken in American streets because of hatreds born centuries ago and worlds away. It looked as if to millions of job-seekers from the Old World this country was not a home, but just a big boarding house, where one comes and goes without responsibility. We were tending to become, as Theodore Roosevelt put it:

A tangle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans, or Italian-Americans, each possessing its separate nationality, each at heart feeling more sympathy with Europeans of that nationality than with other citizens of the American republic.

It was these revelations, rather than narrow-mindedness, which prompted the federal government to pass laws greatly cutting down the number of aliens who may be admitted in any one year. We cannot Americanize people as fast as they can come, so it is wise to restrict immigration until common ideas and common purposes possess the hearts of the millions of strangers already here. In the meantime we should think deeper into the problem of immigration policy and of fostering the greatest possible good will among the many diverse elements in the American people.

Discriminate at the port of entry. We should concentrate at the ports of entry all the discrimination we intend to make against the alien. No one should be let in whose deficiencies are such that we are unwilling to extend him citizenship in due time. Admission to the United States should imply that we are willing to become fellow citizens with this man, willing to accord him equal rights in the ownership and handling of property, in engaging in business, in taxation, school facilities, and the like. No one here should feel that he can never have a share in the great spiritual adventure we are making together. We cannot afford to have among us



Data supplied by Census Bureau

Sources and size of the foreign-born elements in the population of the United States in 1930.

foreign-born forever excluded from our civic life. Every alien hopelessly "out of it" will be a weak spot in American society. No one, then, should be allowed, to settle here whom we are unwilling to treat at last as "one of the family." If we deny naturalization to those of Mongolian race, it is bad policy to admit them

Prevent race problems. We have one huge race question and do not want another. Therefore, our doors should not stand open to those so different from

ourselves in racial characteristics that there is likely to be a bar to intermarriage. For this implies a "color line," splitting groups and cutting off helpful relationships. The feelings on each side of such a line mock the democratic spirit. If the American when he sees the immigrant coming down the gangplank reflects, "Not for worlds would I have my child marry his," that may be mere social prejudice. But if he cannot endure the thought of his great-grandchild marrying the immigrant's great-grandchild, theu

his feeling is not *social prejudice* but *race antipathy*-, a far more lasting barrier.

Hence, it is unwise to admit black, or brown, or yellow people; not that they are lower, but that they are so *different* in racial characteristics. We concede, of course, that they would be equally justified in barring out white people on the same ground. We are trying to realize here a brotherly and kindly social system known as democracy, the spread of which is checked by the existence of color lines. Sad experience makes us loath to have any more color lines than we now have. In time nationality currents — Irish, Welsh, Norwegian, Polish, Greek — mingle and so disappear from American life. But distinct race elements, prevented from commingling by color lines, will not disappear, but will plague and weaken our posterity as much as they plague and Weaken us.

Make the naturalized citizen an "insider." Once the immigrant has been naturalized, he should not be discriminated against. Could anything be less American than to have two grades of citizens — one the native-born, privileged and preferred; the other the foreign-born, viewed askance and mistrusted? The growth of good-fellowship and mutual confidence will be speediest if birthplace or nationality is made neither asset nor liability in politics. A candidate's origin should not weigh at all; we should favor or oppose him solely according to his brains, character, and what he stands for. The practice of putting one man on the party ticket to capture the Scandinavian vote, another to win the Italians, etc., without heed to their fitness, is thoroughly bad. It is just as improper for a man's friends to make capital for him out of his foreign nationality as for his opponents to use it against him.

Let nationalistic organizations shun politics. If native Americans thus play fair with the naturalized, the latter

should meet them halfway. Bodies of foreign-born citizens — a St. Patrick Society or a St. Olaf Guild or a St. Stanislaus Brotherhood — should make no endeavor secretly to control parties, nominations, elections, or appointments. Such attempts would solidify the natives against the foreign-born and bring about the very thing we should fear — the forming in this country of sects, parties, or classes along racial or old-country lines. •

Give immigrants a square deal. A growing proportion of the immigrants of the last thirty years have found themselves not *in* America, but *under* it. They may live here for years in the service of some big employing company, seeing only the seamy side of industry, without one kind word or friendly hand expressing the good will which really does lie behind our institutions. Professor Jerome Davis drew out what Russian workmen and priests think of the spirit of America. Their answers are surprisingly alike:

"No heart in American life."

"**Busy** and business."

"Each help self."

"Rich man's land."

"Money."

"Love of self."

"There is no sympathy here."

One priest, in order to illustrate his conception of America, went to the door and pointing to the mountain of coal dust and cinders at the mouth of the mine near by said, "That is the heart of America."

Some expressed the conviction that America for them at least was bad.

"If money in pocket, Americans like you; if not, don't care and swear at you."

"America place like heaven for rich, but like hell for foreign worker."

"As a wild animal or bird in a cage, so lives the Russian here."

"America is not free for the workers. They are beasts like horses."

Professor Davis questioned nearly one hundred and fifty Russians arrested at different points in the 1919-1920 drive of the United States Department of Justice. He asked each man whether during his stay in America he had ever met any American who had helped him. Only five had ever received such aid. On the other hand, every one of them had met many who had cursed them, foremen who had called them "Russian swine," bosses who were continually swearing at them. America, according to their stories, had been for the most part one constant struggle against adverse industrial conditions and exploitation.

The former head of the Russian work of the Young Men's Christian Association in America, after speaking in the various Russian colonies, says:

At practically every place I have visited, I have been hailed as one of the first Americans to come to him [the Russian] extending a friendly hand. Sometimes he has shed tears, while occasionally he has cursed America, and included me along with her.

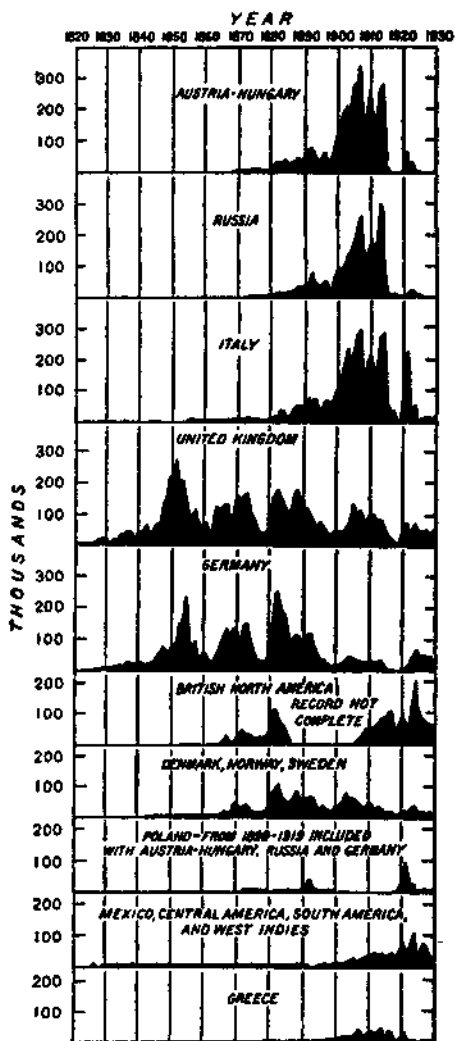
No wonder ex-President Roosevelt said publicly in 1915, "We cannot afford to continue to use hundreds of thousands of immigrants merely as industrial assets while they remain social outcasts and menaces."

No wonder the publication, *Americanization*, of the United States Department of Education, asks:

What should be said of a world-leading democracy wherein ten per cent of the adult population cannot read the laws which they are presumed to know?

What should be said of a democracy which sends an army to preach democracy wherein there were drafted out of the first two million a total of two hundred thousand men who could not read their orders or understand them when delivered?

What should be said of a democracy which permits men and women to work in masses where they seldom or never hear a word of English spoken?



Data supplied by Census Bureau

A century of immigration, according to countries of origin. Do the peaks and hollows match with fluctuations in this country? or with fluctuations in the "old country"?

One remedy is for the local school system to accept the non-English-speaking immigrants as a part of its responsibility. It should seek them out and form adult evening classes for the study of English and citizenship. It is suggested also that we pass a law prohibiting manufacturers from employing any alien unable to read and write English unless the manufacturer establishes in his plant, on company time, a class of such aliens under the direction of the local board of education.

Owing to their ignorance and misunderstanding, many immigrants are so outrageously exploited that there ought to be a government information bureau for aliens in each important center of the foreign-born. One of its prime functions would be to assist the alien in the assertion of his legal rights. Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes, in stressing the work of the New York Legal Aid Society, of which he was president, declared that "it promotes respect for American justice among those who are least familiar with our institutions." No doubt multitudes of aliens become seriously embittered against the country which allows them to suffer injustice without putting them in the way of securing any redress.

Splendid work has been done by private organizations, such as the Immigrants' Protective League. When the flood of immigration was at its height, there was a feeling of hopelessness at the host of injustices and impositions of which immigrants were victims. There was, too, a certain irritation at the crowding in of aliens who could but lower the standard of living of those natives with whom they came into competition. Now that the inflow is firmly held down to a quarter or a fifth of the pre-war figure, it may be that socially minded people will unite to extend help in order to save the immigrant from being disillusioned and alienated by the non-redress of his wrongs.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What per cent of our population was foreign-born at the outbreak of the World War?
2. In what ways are the American people tolerant with the foreign-born?
3. What effect does compulsory schooling have upon the lives of the children of immigrants?
4. What revelations regarding the foreign-born did we gain from the World War? How have these affected the policy of the federal government?
5. Why should we concentrate at the ports of entry all the discriminations we intend to make against aliens?
6. Is it desirable to have more than one colored race in a country? Why or why not?
7. Give the reasons why nationalistic organizations should shun politics.
8. What do we mean when we say that immigrants have found themselves not *in* America but *under* it?
9. What are the remedies for the evils suffered by immigrants?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. How can immigrants from southern Europe lower the standard of living of our wage earners?
2. Why do immigrants settle in cities? How have they affected the cities?
3. How far back do you have to trace your family tree to find immigrants? How many different nationalities are represented in this schoolroom?
4. How are foreigners looked upon in your community?
5. Should we expect an immigrant to give as much to America as America gives him?
6. Should any foreigner who refuses to be naturalized be sent home?
7. Should immigration policy become a party issue in America?
8. What are the benefits of immigration to the country?
9. What is meant by the term "Americanization"?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Report on Japanese immigration and the reasons why the Californians object to the Japanese in that state. (Read E, pages

241-352; L, pages 273-275; F. Also L. H. Gulick's *The American-Japanese Problem*, pages 3-27.)

2. What is the provision for a literacy test in the immigration law of 1917? (Read L, pages 272-273; K, pages 283-284.)

3. Study the history of immigration to the United States. Distinguish between "old" and "new" immigration. What were the causes for the old immigration? What are the causes for the new immigration? (Read K, pages 264-276.)

4. Report on the economic aspects of immigration. (Read H, pages 195-227; K, pages 276-282; M, pages 242-328.)

5. Report on the social aspects of immigration. (Read H, pages 228-256; M, pages 329-368.)

6. What are the educational problems of immigration?

7. What are the political aspects of immigration? (Read H, pages 259-281; K, pages 282-283.)

8. What effect did the World War have on immigration?

9. Make a study of our present immigration laws.

10. Dramatize the naturalization of a foreigner. (Read Jenks and Smith's "*We and Our Government*" Chapter 5.)

DEBATE

Resolved, That the national government should have the power to prevent racial discrimination by the states.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

THE LABOR-CAPITAL STRUGGLE

- I. Causes of industrial strife
 - 1. Influence of machinery upon industrial relations
 - 2. Influence of mass production upon industrial relations
 - 3. Influence of business combination upon industrial relations
 - 4. Workingmen and employers form ever larger bodies
- II. What the industrial conflict is about
- III. Ways to lessen industrial strife
 - 1. The extension of social control over industry
 - 2. The growing share of workers in political power
 - 3. The movement away from autocracy in industry
- IV. The labor-capital issue a challenge to wisdom and good will

In a lifetime, industrial struggle has sprung up like Jonah's gourd. Before 1835 we know of only 24 strikes in American industry. From 1835 to 1880 there is a record of 300. In the course of the twenty-five years from 1880 to 1905 there were 38,303 interruptions of work (strikes and lockouts) which lasted more than a day. There is a break in the records from 1905 to 1915; but from 1916 through 1933 there is a record of 32,557 strikes. Such troubles are getting to be a chronic disease of industry.

Who is to blame? Some lay the growth of industrial unrest to agitators who go about stirring up contented workmen. But there have always been men glad to make an easy living by agitation. Why is it that nowadays agitators find a hearing and reap a success which did not fall to their forerunners of a century ago? Why have workmen become more susceptible to such appeals? Others lay the blame to "greedy capitalists," who bear down harder and harder on their workmen until they strike back. But is there any reason to suppose that the capitalists of today are

more greedy than those of fifty years ago? or a hundred years ago? The fact is that never were there so many broad-minded employers as today.

The simple truth is that nobody is to blame for the rise of the "social question." It is a by-product of the development of industry and has been inevitable. If anyone is responsible for it, it is the inventors of steamships, locomotives, and labor-saving machines; but certainly we must acquit them of any intention to raise up classes and bring on angry social strife. There is no use, then, in looking for a scapegoat; our part is to make out the causes of industrial strife and then see what may be done about it.

Influence of machinery upon industrial relations. Until about 175 years ago industry was carried on everywhere by handicrafts such as we see flourishing today in the Orient.

Little stalls line the streets of an Oriental city, each occupied by a worker in ivory, lacquer, silk, or brass. The worker owns the shop, the tools, and the materials, and naturally he owns the product. Here there is no room for strife between labor and capital. But in modern industry the worker works in another man's factory, under another man's supervision, with another man's machinery, on another man's material. The product belongs to the other man, the worker having no other claim than to wages. Here is the root of the vast issue which has grown up in modern society.

As the amount of capital invested in the business grows, there is a larger stake between the parties. A century ago a striker cost the mill owner the use of, say \$200, so long as the strike was enforced. Now the striker costs him the use of \$2000, and there are industries in which a striker makes \$35,000 unproductive. Naturally, the faster a man is losing money, the more he is tempted to resort to strong measures. The capitalist of today may really be conducting his busi-

ness on broader and better principles than the capitalist of two generations ago, but he is in a more trying situation. Workingmen, in turn, may be inclined to resort to more desperate measures in order to prevent their strike from being broken. Thus both parties come to the point where they are more willing to trample upon morals and violate the law in order to avoid defeat.

Influence of mass production upon industrial relations. Consider how the relation between workman and employer is affected by the wonderful growth in the size of the business unit. One hundred years ago the average wagon shop employed ten men; now it employs a hundred. In the old days if the worker in one of these shops had a grievance, he got a sympathetic hearing, for if he quit he took with him *ten per cent* of the producing capacity of that shop. Now the disgruntled worker who quits takes with him *only one per cent* of the producing capacity of the shop. He is only *one tenth* as important as the worker used to be. The individual protesting worker has become a pygmy in the eyes of the employer.

On the other hand, in the olden days the workman who quit might walk around the block and find another job just as good. Now, with shops so much bigger, there are fewer of them, and the workman may have to look for weeks or remove his family to another town before he can get a job in his line. Thus, while the individual workman has become a pygmy in the eyes of the boss, the boss has become a giant in the eyes of the workman.

Here is the motive of the immense movement all over the modern industrial world (the movement embraces 80,000,000 workers) toward the organization of labor and the substitution of collective bargaining for individual bargaining. Such organization may assume either of two forms. Suppose that a capitalist makes with a committee of his organized

employees a single bargain for all of them for the coming year. This in a measure equalizes them with him. He can cut off their income if they balk at *his* demands, but they can cut off his income if he balks at *their* demands. However, notice this. If the capitalist owns his plant, he can borrow money on it even if it is idle, so that it will be long before his family comes to want; whereas the workmen, not being capitalists, are sure to come into straits after a few weeks of idleness. The workers try to overcome this handicap by forming *wide* unions. If the men in this shop are linked up with those in forty other shops, then, if the union approves their strike, they may be supported during the strike by contributions from the workers in the forty other shops. Thus the holding-out power of workmen becomes nearly equal to that of their employer. The employers realize this; and hence many of them, while accepting the principle of collective bargaining with representatives of *their own* organized employees, refuse to deal with the representatives of a wide union.

Influence of business combination upon industrial relations. On the other hand, a development has been going on which makes for peace between capital and labor. Forty years ago, in the heyday of cut-throat competition, when the profits of even a successful manufacturing concern were likely to be doubtful, it was natural for the hard-pressed manufacturer to save his business by slashing his prices, hoping to make up for the cut by reduction of wages. When the workers found themselves with their backs against the wall defending their standard of living, they hit back with bitter, hard-fought strikes attended with rough treatment of the "scab" and strike-breaker. Since then ruthless price-cutting has become the exception. The claws of commercial competitors have been trimmed. Good understandings, quiet price-fixing, "live and let live," have become the order

of the day. As business units have been combined into bigger units, these huge concerns enjoy greater control over the market. The practice of cutting prices, expecting to take it out of the workers, has been largely abandoned.

Workingmen and employers form ever larger bodies. In the earlier industrial disputes workingmen and employers did not think of themselves as members of distinct and opposing social classes. But there is a tendency for the struggle in the individual shop to reach out and draw in more persons until in the end you have something like a class line-up. Just as after the First Battle of the Marne the Germans and the Allies, each fearful of being outflanked by the other, extended their lines until they touched Switzerland on the one hand and the Channel on the other, so there is a tendency on the part of labor unions to extend their organization into the unorganized plants and fields. When this has occurred, the "independent" employer realizes that he is at a disadvantage; so the employers within the field are likely to unite in an association such as the National Founders' Association, the National Erectors' Association, or the National Metal Trades Association with its thousand employer-members. Organization on both sides expands until a nation-wide block of labor confronts a nation-wide block of capital.

The soft-coal operators in West Virginia are in sharp competition with the soft-coal operators of Illinois. The clothing manufacturers of New York are competing with the clothing manufacturers of Rochester and Chicago. If the soft-coal miners of Illinois win something from the operators, the latter cry out that they cannot compete with the operators of West Virginia so long as the miners there work on the old terms. The workers of one garment-making center cannot feel sure of a gain unless the garment workers of other centers can be roused to exact like terms of *their* bosses.

But the product of coal miners does not compete with the product of iron miners or silver miners, so there is no tendency for the line-up in industrial battle to cross the frontiers between industries. The workers in one industry do not combine for economic action with workers in other industries, nor do employers in one industry make common cause in an industrial contest with employers in other industries.

Class against class. Now and then in some one-industry place, such as a mining town, a lumber town, or a seaport, there has occurred very bitter class strife. Perhaps a Citizens Alliance confronts a Central Labor Union or the Industrial Workers of the World. Then would-be neutral citizens are obliged to come into the fray on the side that can control their bread and butter. No attention is paid to the law, and there is a naked struggle for physical mastery, sometimes of the most ruthless and destructive character. The dark occurrences at certain spots in West Virginia, Illinois, Colorado, Arizona, and other mountain states open a horrifying vista.

In view of the startling forms which industrial strife has assumed in recent decades, in view of the increasing difficulty of the position of those who wish to investigate and consider without identifying themselves with either side, one may well wonder where the process of consolidation is to stop. If everyone should be obliged to take sides, there would be no neutrals left to mediate between the infuriated classes, and society would be wrecked by real social war.

What industrial conflict is about. When we realize clearly what the trouble is about, there is no need of taking a dark view of the future. The field of struggle is widening, to be sure, and the combatant forces face each other in ever larger bodies. But there is ground for hoping that means may be found of making the struggle less bitter. A century hence posterity will recognize that our troubles today

arise from the necessity of adjusting industrial relations to the immense changes brought about by the widening of the market, machine production, and the greater size of the producing unit. The old-fashioned manufacturing which went on in little workshops was as private as gardening or poultry raising. There was no call for society to notice it or regulate it. But when the needs of the consuming public are supplied from huge concerns which have it in their power to determine the degree of workers' risk, the menace to their health, the hours to be worked, the quality of housing of the workers' families, then the workers are going to have something to say and the law is going to have something to say. That matters so vital should be settled in a one-sided way by the representatives of capital is an out-of-date idea. It is likely that all big establishments will be dealt with as "public utilities," like a railroad or a water company. In the words of a wise conservative, ex-president Hadley of Yale University, "Property owners and their counsel must accept the idea that private property is in the large sense a public trust, and that the rights of the property owner depend on the extent to which the perpetuation of the trust contributes to the purposes for which it was created."¹

The extension of social control over industry. There are a number of lines along which the law is extending control without hurting industry and with great benefit to the workers and to the general public. Laws requiring employers to indemnify workers injured in the course of their duties have led to a great lessening of accidents in industry. In the hundreds of industrial codes being set up, working conditions that threaten health or morals are being outlawed, and special protection is thrown around working women. Immigration has been restricted so as to protect American workers from the competition of strangers who may have a lower standard of

¹ A. T. Hadley, *Economic Problems of Democracy*, page 189.

the political remedy and renders them less disposed to attempt the use of strikes.

The movement away from autocracy in industry. But all that law can do is much less than can be done by the spokesmen of labor and of capital tackling the problem on their own account. Among employers the conviction is spreading that the structure of industry will have to be modified in such a way as to bring the workers more completely into the enterprise than they have been. The one-sided settlement of things which affect labor by the autocratic will of the executive bids fair to become the exception rather than the rule. Means will be found for giving the organized workers a voice in those decisions which affect their welfare. The forward-looking employer does not scoff at plans for sharing profits with the workmen, for making it possible for them to come easily into the ownership of shares of stock in the enterprise, or for running his organization by conference and cooperation instead of by undiscussed orders.

The labor-capital issue is a challenge to wisdom and good will. The greatest obstacle to preserving industrial peace is that so many on both sides seem ready to rush into class war. Each shakes his fist at the other side and shouts to his comrades, "Come on, we'll show these fellows where they get off. Let's lick 'em to a frazzle!" This spirit illustrates the truth that when the blood is hot, the brains are out. Since the Civil War every intelligent American has an intense fear of sectionalism and takes the greatest care to avoid it. He is also haunted by the dread of sectarian strife and will do almost anything to keep the religious issue from being injected into politics. But in labor-capital disputes the reckless, unreasoning spirit too often holds sway. Shall we have to suffer a dreadful tragedy before we learn that change in the relations between employers and workmen to suit the new age is not a matter to be left to fools and hotheads?

False guides should be thrust aside in order to let sober-minded judicial men tackle the question. The eventual solution will be one which will appeal to the wise, broad-minded, and humane men on both sides of the labor-capital controversy.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Compare the number of strikes in 1835 with the number today.
2. Who is to blame for this increase in strikes ?
3. Compare the working conditions of a craftsman 170 years ago with those of today.
4. Why will the capitalist go to greater lengths today to put down strikes than he would two generations ago ?
5. How has the growth in size of the business unit affected the capital-labor struggle ?
6. What have been the causes for and motive of the movement toward the organization of labor and collective bargaining ?
7. How does business combination help to bring about peace between labor and capital ?
8. Trace the development of the feeling of solidarity among both workers and employers.
9. Give examples of the extension of social control over industry. How will this help to bring about industrial peace ?
10. Mention two other ways to lessen industrial strife.
11. Show how the labor-capital issue is a challenge to wisdom and good will.

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Will the sharper restriction of immigration aggravate or mitigate the labor-capital struggle in this country ?
2. Is the control of government as much a goal of the laboring class in America as it is in Europe ? Give reasons.
3. A clergyman writes me: "What proportion of my sermons should be devoted to current social questions?" What shall I answer ?
4. Why has democracy advanced farther in the field of politics than in the field of industry ?

5. What objections do (a) employers and (b) organized labor have to welfare work and to profit-sharing?
6. Has a person a right to run his business as he pleases? Defend your position.
7. How does a strike sometimes affect a great many more people than the strikers and their employers?
8. What effect did the World War have upon the relations of labor and capital?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Study the causes and extent of strikes and lockouts in the United States. (Read K, pages 237-240; J, Chapter 14.)
2. Find out about compulsory arbitration in New Zealand and Australia. (Read J, pages 422-430.)
3. Is there a board of arbitration in your state? If so, secure a copy of its reports and ascertain what it is doing in the way of settling labor disputes.
4. What is the work of the American Federation of Labor? (Read J, pages 44-473.)
5. Make a study of the trade-union movement in the United States. (Read B, E.)
6. Why do employers favor shop unions whereas the spokesmen for labor generally oppose them? (Read J, pages 449-473; B, pages 110-124, 340-364; I, pages 72-75.)
7. What is "the use of injunctions in labor disputes," and to what extent has it handicapped labor? (Read G, pages 146-160.)

DEBATE

Resolved, That the organization of labor in the United States has promoted the economic advancement of the country.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

THE SUPPORT OF GOVERNMENT

- I. Government has changed its character
 1. The *service* side has gained on the *compulsion* side
 2. A people-controlled government never exhibits such extravagance as do some of its citizens
- II. What government does with our money
- III. Size and trend of the tax burden
- IV. How the money is raised
 - V. The shifting of taxes
- VI. Justice in taxation
 1. As between poor and rich
 2. As between farmers and others

Often there crops out among Americans a suspicious, carping attitude toward government, traceable to the liberal thinkers of the eighteenth century who saw government everywhere in the hands of the privileged, possessing classes and judged that every expansion of the powers or functions of government would be bad for the producing classes. Such maxims as "*laissez-faire*," "the best government is that which governs least," date from this period. Since then government has been brought to respond in large measure to the people's will, the old-time slogans have lost their point, and we ought to approach without prejudice questions as to the cost and worth of government.

There are two contrasting aspects to government; namely, *compulsion* and *service*. Now, government has been growing fast but not chiefly along the line of compulsion. In spite of some ugly postwar laws and court decisions curtailing our ancient heritage of free speech, Americans are still entitled to feel themselves a free people. The main growth of government has been along the line of *service*; e.g., schools, highways, parks and playgrounds, disease fighting, fire fighting, forestry,

the postal system, etc. Some things that government provides—e.g., *safety* (by means of army, navy, policemen, fire-fighters, health officers, and food inspectors)—are as essential as any private thing we spend money for. On the other hand, our government *never* squanders our money for such luxuries and extravagances as those some of the very rich indulge in. Here, for example, is a passage from a Paris letter printed in the *Los Angeles Times* of December 14, 1928. It relates to a Mrs. D who has been famous as "the best-dressed woman in the world."

"At the openings of the collections," began Mrs. D, "I go and I love everything. I order several dozen dresses. They all need special hats, shoes, stockings. Then I fit and fit, until I am worn out. At Chanel, I stand for hours. Then at Reboux, my *vendcuse* tries on hat after hat. There is a long process of cutting the felt an inch over my eye, pulling it down over my ear. The clothes come home. I haven't the time to wear them all. By then I have seen other clothes that I like better. I order them. It is most discouraging."

"It costs a tremendous amount of money to be among the best-dressed women in the world/" she said. "Most of those women spend at least sixty thousand dollars a year."

"No, my dear," interrupted Mr. D, "at least seventy-five thousand."

"Yes," agreed Mrs. D, who is reputed to spend even more, "that is without jewels or furs. A decent sable wrap costs fifty thousand dollars, and you simply can't get a mink coat that you would wear under 'twelve thousand. The Baroness Eugene de Rothschild spends more than that. Why, Mrs. James O'Donohue bought an emerald chain for four hundred and fifty thousand." So you see."

Seeing how some of our finest social servants—school teachers, welfare workers, health workers, forest rangers *i*—are underpaid, one wishes that government took from such wasters more of their swollen income than it actually does.

What government does with our money. In 1924 about 18 per cent of all expenditures by government in this country

were for *protection*; i.e., police, army, and navy. Count in with this the outlay for the national debt — incurred from our engaging in the World War — and 26.7 per cent of all governmental expenditures went for *protection*. Add to the 19 per cent which went for schools the cost of taking care of the state and local debts incurred for building schools and you have about a fourth of all public money spent for education. No wonder foreign visitors say, "Faith in education is the national religion of the American people." Then the automobile manufacturers and owners have shoved ahead the good-roads movement, with the result that nearly one fifth of all the government spends goes for highways. Only about one fourteenth of all expenditures are for general administration. If we cared less for good schools and good roads and had not entered the World War, our taxes might be less than half what they are.

When revenue questions are up, a certain element which has great influence with the newspapers raises a loud hue and cry about "governmental waste and extravagance," the object being not to spot and cut out waste, but to keep taxes low so that these people shall have more to spend on their private diversions and luxuries. Usually the cry is dishonest, for as a matter of fact government pays more modest salaries than the corporations and gets more for its money when it buys. In recent years some of the big concerns have been arranging things so that their president draws down *twenty-five times as much* as we pay the President of the United States. Nor do the newspapers tell their readers that a few years ago — an investigation by the Federated American Engineering Societies put the normal annual waste in the printing trades of this country at \$225,000,000; in men's clothing, at the same figure; in the metal trades, at half a billion dollars; in textiles, at 51 per cent of the costs. In shoe factories bad touting alone was held responsible for a waste of \$65,000,000

a year. The loss from industry's supplying far more sizes and styles than are really required has been estimated at \$10,000,000,000 a year. So, as far as waste is concerned, the ill-paid, overworked, faithful public servants might well retort to the carping captains of industry, " First cast out the beam out of thine own eye."

Size and trend of the tax burden. The tax collections in the United States in 1930 amounted to \$83.33 per capita, or over \$204 for every " gainfully employed " person. Of course, much of this is hidden in the prices of what we buy, so that we pay taxes when we least realize it. It is calculated that 12½ per cent of the national income is taken by government of all kinds — national, state, or local. Before complaining, we should note that in Great Britain the tax burden amounts to about 22 per cent of the national income, in Italy to about 19 per cent, in France to about 17 per cent.

The share of our total income spent by government is increasing. Back in 1890 we paid \$13.88 per capita, which took about 7 per cent of national income. But let no one terrify you by pointing out that the burden on the people increased from \$875,000,000 in 1890 to \$10,266,000,000 in 1930. The dollars of 1890 had nearly twice the buying power of dollars of 1930; so the actual growth has been but a little more than half what it appears to be. Moreover, the ability of our economic structure to carry tax burdens has greatly increased.

How the money is raised. Practically half the taxes paid in this country are collected by local communities; i.e., municipalities, counties, and school districts. About a sixth are collected by the states, and a third by the Federal government. But they are not spent in just the same proportions. To encourage the states to put more money into good roads and education the Federal government makes grants or " subsidies " to the states. Then because the state govern-

ment is better able than the local unit to find, reach, and tap the springs of revenue, some of the collections of the states are turned over to the local communities. Contrary to the general impression, the demands of the Federal government are *not* soaring up above those of the states and local communities. Between 1890 and 1930 the change in proportions was as follows:

	PER CENT IN 1890	PER CENT IN 1930
Federal	42.7	33.8
State	11.0	17.3
Local	46.3	48.9

From these figures it appears that "centralization" is an overworked bogey.

A generation ago the government at Washington was kept going chiefly by receipts from customs duties and from taxes on liquor and tobacco. But, in order to discourage the importation of foreign-made goods, the tariff has been lifted far above the point of maximum revenue, while the Volstead Act cut off the immense receipts from alcoholic beverages. So now it derives nearly two thirds of its revenue from taxes on corporate and personal income. Of the revenue of the states 28.48 per cent comes from property taxes, 17.83 per cent from business and other licenses, 17.81 per cent from motor vehicle taxes, and 17.53 per cent from gasoline taxes. Cities, counties, and school districts raise practically all their revenue from property taxes.

The shifting of taxes. The gasoline tax, which has been levied in all the states, is paid in the first place by distributors of gasoline, but it is passed on to buyers in the form of a rise in price. As a rule, a tax on a commodity finally lands on the ultimate consumer. Taxes on tobacco hit smokers. The taxes on alcoholic beverages, which once paid a large part of the cost of our national government, were a neat way of

rolling tax burdens on to poor men on the excuse that drinking is a vice anyway and it serves a man right to be taxed a few coppers every time he takes a glass. Special taxes on business licenses are probably shifted to consumers in the form of higher prices. About the only tax of this kind not so shifted is a tax on the profits of a monopoly. The monopoly is already charging the price that will yield it the maximum profit, so it would lose money if it raised the price. Therefore it does not raise its price.

However, this idea of tax shifting is worked as a bogey to scare the voters away from trying to lay tax burdens where they can best be borne. Tax reform is discouraged by warnings that nothing will be gained by making the big fortunes or the big incomes pay their due share, since all taxes finally land on consumers anyway. If the rich really believed this, would they offer such desperate resistance to taxes they can pass on to others? The experts agree that inheritance taxes, personal income taxes, taxes on unimproved land, and taxes on excess profits or on corporate incomes cannot be shifted.

Justice in taxation. Economists agree that the support of government is a concern of all and that no class which has any margin above the current standard of living should be tax-exempt. How demoralizing it would be if a majority of the citizens might go on voting themselves more services from government without incurring any sacrifice, because all the taxes came from the pockets of a minority! On the other hand, citizens differ vastly in their ability to pay taxes; so it is inevitable that the well-to-do will have to contribute much more than the poor. Most economists believe that the principle of distributing public burden *according to ability to pay* requires not only that the rich should pay at *as high* a rate as the poor, but should pay at *a higher rate*, which is known as "progressive" taxation. In practice this might

mean that a man with an income of \$3000 would be taxed £ per cent of what remained after deducting \$1600 of income exempted from taxation owing to family needs. One with an income of \$5000 might pay the same plus 4 per cent on his extra two thousand, while a man with an income of \$40,000 might pay 6 per cent on his income between \$5000 and \$20,000 and 8 per cent on the rest.

Of all the moneys collected by government in our country half are derived from taxes on property and less than one ninth from taxes on personal income. The property tax is chiefly a tax on real estate and comes down from the time when land with its improvements was the principal source of unearned income. For fifty years experts in taxation have pointed out that our property tax is antiquated and unfair, but still it stands because the big-income element has bent every effort to block the adoption of the income tax or to keep it a minor feature in the tax system. In 1928 only twelve states collected income taxes, and their yield amounts to only 3.7 per cent of the tax revenue of all the states. This shows that for the people to possess political power gives no assurance that they will be shrewd enough to save themselves from being victimized by aggressive elements who know exactly what they want and are able to pay clever and unscrupulous agents to get it for them. The policy of the representatives of the wealthy class is to divert the public's attention from taxation, to keep the people stirred up and divided over such "moral" issues as prohibition, Sunday closing, and "movie" censorship, while themselves never once losing control over a tax distribution so greatly to their advantage. Moreover, they "throw a scare" into the public by picturing competitive business as migrating to adjacent states with no income tax and men of wealth removing their places of residence to commonwealths more considerate of them.

How much the big-income people benefit themselves by their control over party organization and over the organs which mold public opinion appears from the findings of a high research authority, the National Industrial Conference Board, supported by trade associations of manufacturers, as to how state and local taxes in 19£4 bore upon the various income groups. For selected income groups it was as follows:

INCOME CLASS	PER CENT OF PERSONAL AND INDIVIDUAL TAXES TO TOTAL INCOME
Under \$1000	16.32
\$5000 to \$6000	4.22
\$10,000 to \$11,000	3.61
\$50,000 to \$60,000	3.38
\$100,000 to \$150,000	3.04
\$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000	2.37
\$5,000,000 and over	1.47

For two thirds of the total tax burden the multitudes of " little fellows " with incomes of less than a thousand dollars were paying *from 5 to 12 times as much* out of their dollar as those with incomes of one hundred thousand dollars or more. And yet any least move to correct this gross injustice is met by deafening outcries that " confiscation " is proposed and that the rich and successful will be " ruined." It is noteworthy that the Federal government is far more successful in making the wealthy contribute according to their ability than are the state and local governments. Perhaps the former stands less in awe of millionaires than the latter; maybe bigger men are sent to Congress than to the state legislatures and they are better able to see through schemes of the big-income class to dodge their fair share of tax burdens. It is significant that many of the big-city newspapers continually slur Congress in order to bring it into popular contempt and ridicule.

Justice as between farmers and others is a pressing taxation

problem. The farmer uses a costly instrument, the land, and it cannot be hidden or taken out of the country. Hence, throwing so much of the cost of state and local governments upon real estate is hard on the farmer. During the year 1927, taxes took 32.1 per cent of the net income of certain Iowa farms studied. An Ohio study shows 12.8 per cent of net farm income absorbed by taxes 1915-1928. In Massachusetts taxes took an average of 27.6 per cent of the income from farms in Middlesex and Berkshire counties in the years 1920-1923. In Pennsylvania in 1925 farmers had 3.68 per cent of all income, but they paid 5.25 per cent of the taxes. In Dane County, Wisconsin, in 1924 the farmer paid nineteen cents in direct taxes for every dollar of income received, while the average city and village man had twice as much income and paid but thirteen cents in direct taxes for every two dollars he received. Such facts afford one more reason for backing away from property taxes and leaning more on taxes on personal income.

Administration. In Illinois, township assessors are paid from \$5 to \$10 a day, with a maximum of \$1000 a year. Think of men willing to take such a job attempting to estimate the just value to put upon the property of a public utility, a big manufacturing plant, or a bus line! The states which have made marked progress toward justice in taxation have set up a state tax commission constituted of high-grade men paid good salaries. Aided by experts, such men cannot easily be fooled or bluffed by the smooth agents of the big corporations. The work of assessment of properties or incomes should be placed in the hands of full-time, well-paid, competent men, selected according to their performance in a civil service examination and able to count on a permanent job. If assessment is to be a full-time job, the township assessors should be replaced by county assessors. They should be appointed by the state tax commission and should be subject to removal by it in case they fail to make good.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why were eighteenth-century friends of the common people so suspicious of government?
2. Which side of government is growing faster — the *compulsion* side or the *service* side?
3. What share of our total tax burden goes for education?
4. Compare governments with private corporations in respect to what they get for their money.
5. How did sharing of taxes among the three grades of government change between 1890 and 1930?
6. Give an example of the shifting of taxes.
7. What proportion of all money raised comes from income taxes?
8. How do tax burdens fall upon the different income levels?
9. How can we improve the administration of tax laws?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. What do you suppose Professor T. S. Adams of Yale University means when he says: "The two forces — democracy and capitalism — are irreconcilable without some corrective or equilibrating machinery, such as progressive taxes"?
2. Figure out why some states no longer collect an annual tax from land devoted to growing timber, but wait till the forest crop is cut and then exact a tax of 10 per cent on the value of the stumpage cut.
3. Why do some states distribute to local communities as educational aids, highway aids, and charitable aids nearly half of the money the state collects?
4. Why should the Federal government tax income from personal exertion ("earned income") at a rate 25 per cent less than the rate on "unearned" income (i.e., rentals, dividends, interest, etc.)?
5. Consider the merits and demerits of the proposal made by an Italian economist that the tax on an estate left at death should be graduated according to the distance the fortune has passed from the person whose activity or saving first accumulated it. Thus the tax might be 20 per cent at the first transmission, 40 per cent for the second, 60 per cent for the third, and 80 per cent for the fourth.

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. If your state has an income tax, find out what are the rates and what proportion of the total revenue of your state it yields.

2, If your state has no income tax, find out what attempts have been made to adopt such a tax and by what arguments or tactics they were defeated.

3. What attempt, if any, is being made in your locality to find and tax "invisible" personal property such as stocks, bonds, mortgages, promissory notes, etc ?

4. In some states it has been found that the ratio of assessed value to true value steadily falls as one goes from the little properties to the bigger properties. Find whether data on this point are available for your state.

DEBATE

Resolved, That in this state (or county) farmers bear more than their fair share of the burdens of government and receive less than their fair share of the benefits from government.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

THE PLACE OF PARTY

- I. Hostility to political parties due to the excesses of partisanship
- II. Essential services which the political party renders
 1. Nominates candidates for office
 2. Conducts campaigns
 3. Formulates issues
 4. Instructs the voters
- III. The party organization or machine
- IV. The perversion of party
 1. Influence of economic development upon political parties
 2. The wresting of party control from the hands of the people
 3. When the organization became corrupt
 4. Civic responsibility for party corruption
 5. The exaggerating of party loyalty "
- V. Important steps in the war on corrupt politics
 1. The extension of the merit system
 2. The Australian ballot
 3. The spread of the spirit of independence
 4. Separation of municipal from state and national elections
 5. The direct primary
 6. Legal regulation of campaign funds
- VI. Services of a third party

A political party is a voluntary association of voters for the purpose of influencing elections to public office. They are supposed to be intent on advancing the public interest according to certain principles on which they are agreed. If it is not the public interest which they seek to promote, but their own selfish interests at the expense of the public interest, then we have something lower than a political party, say a "faction" or a "gang."

When our government was formed, no one foresaw that it would be worked by parties. No one dreamed of organizations of voters so comprehensive, powerful, and durable as parties have come to be. It has been quite the custom among writers on American politics to beseech the citizen to free himself from the shackles of party and vote as an independent. Only within the last thirty-five years has a tendency shown itself to accept political parties as something indispensable for working popular government.

Reasons for hostility to political parties. The chief offense charged against the political party is that, coming between the citizen and his country, it captures for itself much of that love and loyalty he owes his country. Party spirit usually splits the body of voters into two groups, not very unequal in intelligence, character, and patriotism, who may come to mistrust and even hate each other for no other reason than that each group threatens the political success of the other. At times party feeling runs so high that good men of opposing parties can hardly bear to be neighborly, or have fellowship together in church or lodge, or allow their children to intermarry. The growing-up of such senseless animosity between citizens equally worthy cannot but harm society.

Look at this matter of partisanship from another angle. Consider the long series of predictions which the spokesmen of each of the great national parties have made as to what disasters would happen to the country in case the other party gained or retained power. Half of these predictions, of course, have been put to the test of fact, for the party they were directed against *did* win the election and gained some opportunity to carry out its designs. Now, what proportion of these predictions have been fulfilled? Half? A third? No, probably not a sixth or an eighth. No independent European observer has ever remarked that

the shift of power from Republicans to Democrats or vice versa is regularly followed by a very decided rise or slump in the quality of government. There is, to be sure, some difference in principles — for the Democratic party generally is more mistrustful of extending the authority of the Federal government than is the Republican party — but certainly there is no such contrast in intelligence, morality, and patriotism as the party prophets lead their followers to expect.

Thus we see two organizations, each doing much to spread among its members false and damaging opinions as to the character and designs of the other. This surely is no way to preserve good feeling and keep the peace. Are we not already enough split by race, nationality, religion, and social class, without adding this artificial spirit of party?

Essential services which the political party renders. Nevertheless, since no large free country is without organized parties, is it not likely that, after all, the party renders necessary services? Such, in fact, appears to be the case.

1. *The party nominates candidates for office.* If it were not for party nominations, the voter in large constituencies would be confronted by a list of candidates unknown to him and would have no means of finding out whether they stood for or against the policies he is interested in.

2. *The party conducts campaigns.* It is the party which circulates literature, arranges public meetings, prods voters out of their apathy, and stirs them up to take an interest in the election. It hustles to "get out the vote" on election day. But for the parties, the number of slackers would be much larger, and the side with the more money to spend could get more of them to the polls. The power of newspapers to sway unthinking voters by harping on certain strings would be greater if it were not for the party organizations, which not only have their own means of reaching the voter's mind but insist on a hearing for their views in the press.

3. *The party formulates issues.* Who envies those South American countries where regular parties do not exist, where each candidate nominates himself and announces his platform? They are not supposed to be *ahead* of us in people-rule, but *behind* us. The building of the party platform brings certain issues to the front, defines them, and dresses them in phrases which, even if tricky and delusive, fix men's attention on certain points. In the strife of the party convention to get this plank into the platform or keep that plank out, we see a necessary process in arriving at a program of action that will have a wide appeal. If the convention is not dominated by money or bosses, platform building gives men of brains a lever by means of which they can lift multitudes to the height of having convictions on public questions.

4. *The party is a teacher.* No doubt the party floods the voters with a dreadful lot of twaddle and "buncombe." Nevertheless, hosts of ignorant citizens receive a sort of education. It is broadening for people who know nothing of this great country save only their own little cranny, to hear questions discussed always with reference to the rights, needs, welfare, or future of the *nation*. Determined to have followers in every one of the three thousand counties in this country, each party preaches nationalism and the country-wide view of issues as against the parish view.

The party organization or machine. To accomplish this fourfold purpose of the political party, certain instruments of political machinery or organization have been developed. The necessity for nominating candidates has brought into existence nominating conventions and direct primaries. There is a national nominating convention to nominate the President and Vice President, to formulate the political platform, and to elect the members of the national committee. There must be a state nominating convention or state primary

elections, or both, to nominate state officers for the party, draw up the state platform, and elect the state officers of the party, generally known as the "state central committee." Then the congressional districts, county, city, and other election districts have their primaries or conferences for the purpose of nominating the local officers pertaining to the districts and for the purpose of electing local representatives of the political parties. Each political party generally has a congressional committee, a county central committee, and a township or precinct committee or committeeman.

Thus we have a wide range of party gatherings, from the precinct meeting to the national convention, and an army of party officers, from precinct committeemen to the national central committee. The function of these committees is to raise money for campaign expenses, to send out literature and speakers on behalf of their candidate and platform, and to carry on the vast undertaking of getting the voters out to the polls in all the precincts of the country. This system of committees or officials is generally known as "the organization" or "the machine," and is, of course, necessary to enable the party to perform its functions.

Along with this machinery of conventions and primaries, of party committees and officials, we have the leaders, or bosses, as they are called. Sometimes these bosses are the party chieftains and the chairmen of the central committees, In other cases they are men not officially connected with the party, men who have made politics their business and have built up a tremendous influence within the party, by virtue of their knowledge of practical politics and their skill in dealing with men.

Whether or not this organization and these leaders perform their work well and serve the country by nominating the best candidates and putting forward the best platforms that they can devise depends very largely upon the attitude of

the party members. If the party members, rank and file, are indifferent and attend only to their own affairs, they are likely to leave the party leaders and the party organization to do as they please. Thus there is an opening for selfish and corrupt men to seize control of the party organization and to become its masters.

The influence of economic development. As our country developed, the stakes fought for by political parties grew to huge proportions. Thanks to the development of railways and industries, there was a great demand for charters, franchises, and special legislation. The political party which controlled the legislature had it within its power to grant privileges of almost priceless value. The agents of corporations began to bargain with the leaders of the political organizations and there began to be "millions in it" for whoever could deliver the political "goods." With such a gold mine in sight, the manipulation of party primaries and conventions in such a way as to procure control of the government became a fine art.

Most alluring were the stakes of the struggle for control of government in the rising cities. Not only was there a long city pay roll to be fought for, but — still more tempting — franchises were to be granted for street railway lines, waterworks, gas and electric light plants, telephones and telegraphs, elevated railways, and subways. The masters of political power in the municipality could form a connection with the privilege-seeking private interests which might and often did make them millionaires. Then, too, there were the saloons, willing to do their part in lining up voters for the party which would give them licenses and immunity from Sunday-closing laws.

The loss of party control by the rank and file was most general in the period 1875-1905, although the peak of corrupt boss rule was reached at different times in different places.

At some time in this period nearly all the large cities and eight or ten of the states experienced grave political corruption.

The wresting of party control from the hands of the people. How the party machinery was twisted out of the hands of the rank and file has been well described by Professor Beard in *American Politics and Government*:

With the development of powerful national, state, and political machinery, there came innumerable specific abuses. In order to secure pliant tools as delegates to conventions and members of committees, the political directors frequently devised practices which excluded the honest voters from participation in the party primaries. They instituted the "snap primary"; that is, one held without proper notice, or unexpectedly, or at some unusual date. They packed primaries with their henchmen, who would drive out or overwhelm any dangerous opponents. They padded the rolls of party members with the names of dead men, or men who had long ago left the community. They stuffed the ballot boxes and they prepared the slates which were forced through the nominating conventions in the face of opposition. They entered into alliance with railway and other corporations, from whom they received campaign contributions or levied tribute in other forms. It was thus that Jay Gould was able to declare with a note of triumph: "I wanted the legislatures of four states, and to obtain control of them, I made the legislatures with my own money; I found this plan a cheaper one." Municipal councils and state legislatures all too frequently granted the franchises, special laws, and innumerable privileges without regard to public welfare or the future of the country, generally under the dominance of political leaders who had sold out to the privileged seekers.

When the organization became corrupt. There came about, then, a close organization of selfish, unscrupulous men. Its high-sounding declaration of principles and appeals to the past were but a "front" to fool the simple-minded, thick-and-thin party men. The corrupt politician would act as a broker between legislatures, courts, and officials on the one hand and, on the other, wealthy private interests

which would pay well for the favors they received. His compensation would be in the form of bribes, "graft," "boodle," public offices, jobs with the "interests," and contributions to campaign funds.

Civic responsibility for party corruption. The great majority of voters, being honest, would never approve of such a perversion of party, but they were frequently too indifferent to oppose it effectively. In the states where party corruption was the worst, the party rank and file did not make much effort to attend the conventions, primaries, and caucuses. They did not take their party responsibilities seriously but left the politicians to do as they pleased. Furthermore, when occasionally the membership rose in revolt, the corrupt organization politician found many ways of defeating such sporadic efforts. It was only seldom that the party membership became sufficiently aroused and determined to fight the game with a persistence equal to that of their opponents and thus to drive corrupt leaders from power.

Again, political corruption was aided by the unwillingness of the party members to vote against their party. Had they been willing to do that, they could have compelled the party organization to cleanse itself in order to secure their support. For it must be remembered that party chieftains cannot get the chance to practice corrupt politics unless they can elect their candidates. If politicians have to choose between being driven from power and giving a decent administration, they will prefer the latter every time. But, so long as they know that the great majority of their followers will vote the party ticket "straight" regardless of how corrupt the candidate may be, they feel that they can flout the public conscience with impunity.

Exaggerating party loyalty. The corrupt bosses held their followers in line by keeping them fooled. The machine

under the Democratic label recalled a long line of worthies from Thomas Jefferson down, while the machine operating under the Republican label boasted Abraham Lincoln and how he freed the slaves. Members who could not be hoodwinked were held in line by appeals to party loyalty. One who rejected the offerings of the boss was denounced as a "traitor" and lost entirely his party standing. No one retained influence in the party organization who could not boast publicly that he had never "scratched" or "bolted" the ticket; that is, had never set patriotism above partisanship. In one Presidential year voting was so blind that among politicians this was known as "the yellow dog year"; i.e., the party men would vote for even "a yellow dog" if his name appeared on the party ticket.

The war on corrupt politics. The disease of political corruption spread in the years 1875-1905, but by the end of this period many of the people had had their eyes opened. Under a series of great leaders the period 1905-1914 was marked by the wrecking of party organization and rebuilding on lines more decent and patriotic. The party membership began to bestir itself to cleanse the party from within; and when they could not succeed, there were enough independent party members to defeat their organization at the polls. In the war on political corruption the high lights have been:

1. *The extension of the merit system.* Beginning in 1883, the merit system has been extended in the Federal Civil Service until about two thirds of the 600,000 posts are filled by competitive examinations adapted to 1700 kinds of positions. Ten of the states have adopted this plan. Not quite half of the 3,000,000 public civilian employees of the country are selected under the merit system. The tests of fitness are applied almost wholly to the privates in this huge civil army. The officers are appointed on a political basis'

The loss of so many salaried posts has greatly curtailed the resources of the party organization for rewarding its henchmen.

2. *The Australian ballot.* The general adoption of this method of secret voting ended vote buying on a large scale because the buyer cannot know that the vote has been delivered as bought.

3. *The spread of the spirit of independence.* Continually the proportion of party members who can be led about by the nose is smaller. Knowledge of the tricks and aims of corrupt bosses is general, and party "regularity" is far from being the virtue it once was.

4. *Separation of municipal from state and national elections.* In municipal elections the national party label on a candidate signifies nothing as to his fitness for office, and the habit of voting for candidates as Democrats or Republicans plays right into the hands of local bosses. By holding municipal elections at times when men's minds are not stirred by national questions, we get a choice among candidates which is based more upon fitness.

5. *The direct primary.* By safeguarding the selection of *candidates* in the primary just as we do a regular election, about three fourths of the states have rendered harmless the tricks by which control of the party was wrested from the honest voters. The direct primary has created new problems, however, and it may be necessary to seek some other device for safeguarding the control of the party by its membership.

6. *Legal regulation of campaign funds.* In order that the great profit-seeking interests shall not be able to control the government by means of their secret control of party, the sources and expenditures of party campaign funds are being restricted and bared to the light by "pitiless publicity."

Thanks to these and other measures, such as the short

ballot, the closing of the saloon, the Federal regulation of railroads, and the regulation of local public utilities by state commission, machine rule is much more restricted than it was twenty years ago.

The citizen's relation to the party. The man who takes no interest in public questions and gives no thought to the welfare of his country is *below* party. He would be a better citizen if he could be stirred to the point of becoming a loyal and enthusiastic fighter in the ranks of a party. On the other hand, there is a type of man who is *above* party. For example, a student of affairs regards issues *a, b, c, d, e, f, g*, as the most important for the future of his country. On *a* and *b* he likes best the position of the Republican party; on *c* and *d* he prefers the stand of the Democratic party; while neither of the parties is awake to the importance of issues *e, f*, and *g*. How can such a man work through a party? Naturally, he will battle independently for his views on the big issues of the day.

But the ordinary citizen will find his most effective civic activities in party membership, accepting fully the responsibility that goes with it and seeking at all times to perfect the ideals of party service. In doing so, however, he should not become so partisan that when the competing political organization puts up a better candidate or a better platform, he will fail to give it the benefit of his support. For it is only in this competition for the vote of the intelligent citizen that political parties will be driven to their highest efficiency.

What is the good of a third party? If a vital issue comes up which neither of the old parties will touch, the question arises whether a third party ought to be organized. If the issue is one of great moment, as was the extension of slavery into the territories in the fifties of the last century, the third party is likely to grow so fast that the question must be taken up by the old parties or else the third party itself becomes

one of the dominant parties, as did the Republican party in 1856. But unless this occurs soon, it is fair to conclude that either the issue is not of prime importance, or else the issue is being raised ahead of its time. In such case, the unselfish citizens who labor year after year to get their ideas accepted should ponder whether they are not throwing away their efforts, and whether they might not do better to re-enter the two-party conflict, which is settling public policy and in which their blows would count.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What is a political party ?
2. What are the chief indictments against the political party ?
3. What are the essential services which the political party renders ?
4. Show how the economic development of the country affected the power of political leaders.
5. How has party control been wrested from the hands of the people ?
6. What is the political boss ? How did he gain his power ?
7. Who is responsible for party corruption ?
8. During the years 1905-1914, what were the high lights in the war on corrupt politics ?
9. What is the difference between a citizen who is *below* party and one who is *above* party ?
10. What is the good of a third party ?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Why is it that generally there have been but two important political parties in the country at any given time ?
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of nomination by petition ?
3. What are the legitimate purposes for which a party needs money ?
4. Should a party be allowed to spend as much as it likes, provided the money is spent for legitimate purposes ?

5. Does a voter who votes the ticket of a third party throw his vote away? Did one who voted for the party which was defeated throw his vote away?

6. The party you voted for wins by 5000 majority. Did 4999 of you throw your votes away?

7. Is it better to have political parties founded on differences of economic or political views or on social distinctions and religious issues? Why?

8. If you were a voter today, which party would you join? Why?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Dramatize the process of nominating a Presidential candidate in convention.

2. What were the chief differences in the platforms of the national political parties in the last Presidential election? (Consult the most recent *World Almanac*.)

3. State the political doctrines characteristic of Alexander Hamilton; Thomas Jefferson; Theodore Roosevelt; Woodrow Wilson.

4. Find out about Tammany Hall and its influence in New York politics. (Consult Gustavus Meyers's *History of Tammany Hall*, pages 267-298. Also L, pages 401-402.)

5. Report on the place of the following parties in our political history: Federalist; Democrat; Republican; Progressive; Socialist.

6. Make a study of four outstanding national political leaders of dissimilar tendency.

DEBATE

Resolved, That candidates for President of the United States should be nominated by direct primaries and not by national conventions.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

PUBLIC OPINION

- I. Relation of public opinion to
 1. Morals
 2. Laws
 3. Voting
 4. Control of government
- II. The improvement of public opinion depends upon
 1. Spread of discussion
 2. Lessening the use of veiled propaganda
 3. Freedom of discussion
 4. Obtaining the facts
 5. The guiding of public opinion by capable leaders

When opinions about someone's conduct, about a law, a practice, or a custom, run together and become a social force, we have *collective opinion*. When this is the opinion, not of a sect, class, section, or segment, but of the great majority of those taking any interest in the matter, it is called *public opinion*.

Public opinion and morals. In an aristocratic society, the member of the higher class despises the masses and cares naught what they think about his conduct. It is the opinion of his *social set* that he worries about. But as the notion dies out that the gentry are of better blood or clay than the common herd, even the man of "class" is unable to hold his head high when the broad layers of people scorn him. Even the proud duelist crumples when he realizes that he is an object of general execration. So the advance of democratic ideas causes individuals to pay less heed to the opinion of their own set and more to that of the general public.

Public opinion is not, to be bribed or browbeaten, but, unless enlightened, it is a poor guardian of the social welfare. It idolizes the jockey, the bruiser, or the screen star, rather than the saint, the patriot, or the philanthropist. It is more

furious at the vivisector or the grave-robber than at the food adulterator, the "dope" peddler, or the briber of public officials. The few on the hilltop see the light first, while the mass of the plains-dwellers are slow to catch the significance of conduct. The handful of thoughtful men protest against the carelessness that starts forest fires, the marketing of explosive kerosene, and the slaughter of song birds, while the silly mob is gnashing its teeth at vaccinators.

Public opinion and the law. Not all laws require the support of public sentiment. The customs of excise duties are collected, no matter how unpopular they may be. Once the money is appropriated, the harbors will be dredged, the warships built, whatever the state of public feeling. In such matters as public works, forest conservation, and the organization of courts, the law is everything, while the state of the social mind is unimportant. There are laws, however, which are a dead letter unless the public is for them. In England in the old days smuggling could not be checked because the bold smuggler was a hero in the eyes of every coast village. Fish and game laws are useless unless the public mind has been prepared for them. They have "teeth" in them only when most people deem them reasonable. A "dry law" is a "dud" unless at least four fifths of the people regard liquor as a social blight. Speed laws will be a farce if most drivers regard them as unreasonable and vexatious. Statutes providing for the inspection of factories are futile unless backed by influential bodies. Even if social workers or health officers get certain things prohibited by law, juries will not convict for such offenses if the plain people see no harm in them. It is vain, then, to enact laws against common practices or habits without first making the public understand what the laws are for.

· Public opinion and voting. In its early days the ballot box was denounced on the ground that it "equalized Socrates

and Sambo." It was said that, in giving equal value to all votes, democracy sins against the light, for the opinion of one sage is worth more than that of ten thousand ignorant men. This objection would be fatal except for one thing; namely, that voting records not so much *individual opinions* as *Public opinion*. Suppose today the doctors project a state laboratory for the study of cancer and tomorrow the citizens vote on the proposal. What is the ordinary citizen's opinion on the matter worth? Just nothing at all; so the verdict of the polls will be worth nothing. But things are never settled in such fashion. A vote is not taken until there has been time for discussion and the maturing of a public opinion. Nearly every citizen looks for guidance to certain persons who are authorities in his eyes. Every editor, banker, capitalist, railroad president, employer, clergyman, or labor leader has his following. He in turn has *his* authorities. Public opinion is organized from centers and sub-centers. The average voter responds to several such centers, and when they agree on a particular question he is almost sure to accept their guidance. At its best, then, an election may register *a state of public opinion*, in the forming of which the sage has a million times the influence of the field hand.

The direct action of public opinion on government. The control exercised over government by popular elections is far from perfect. When parties are of nearly equal strength, the outcome of an election may be determined by a little knot of voters with an ax of their own to grind. For the most part, too, elections record the preference of the voters for *persons* rather than for *policies*. An election registers the will of the voters at a given moment, but in the interval between elections there may be changes which materially affect the views of the voters, or new issues may come up. It is fortunate, then, that government is coming under a new and higher control — that of public opinion.

The action of public opinion on politicians is *continuous*, while that of voting is *intermittent*. *It is harder to steal public opinion than to steal an election.* Public opinion gives a politician guidance on matters that had not come up when he was running for office. Men of brains and vision are able to guide public opinion, while dunderheads and boobies count more in an election. This is why Lord Bryce says: "In the formation and expression of opinion, the essential spirit of democracy rises above machinery and the trammels which machinery imposes, and finds a means of applying its force more flexible, more delicate, more conciliatory and persuasive than is the decision given by the counting of votes."

Gossip and discussion. This watchful public opinion is possible because more citizens are now taking notice of matters that count. Almost always and everywhere, personal, family, and neighborhood affairs have been the staple topic of conversation. About government people neither knew nor cared until it touched them on the raw. Even after they gained the right to choose their representative, the people gossiped and left their representative free to do as he would. But this condition has changed very fast. Each generation gossips less and reads more. A century ago on matters with a public bearing, people were like a huge, ill-chosen jury, a few paying attention to the proceedings, the rest dozing, chatting, or playing cards. Now nearly half of this huge jury are noticing what goes on in the courtroom. In fifty years perhaps two thirds of the people will be alert; in a century nearly all except the morons. What is waking them up is newspapers, public speeches, open forums, inter-scholastic debates, civic sermons, and propaganda literature. Steady hammering has made millions of dull, unimaginative folk realize that some things going on in the city hall, or in the state capitol, or at Washington, will make a big difference to

them or, in any case, to their children. So every year we have a little more of the kind of public opinion that a man in office has to take into account.

Public opinion and propaganda. Big selfish interests that are scheming to control the action of government on some matter, instead of having things their own way are now continually coming up against fresh obstacles. Men in public life are more honorable. Elections are cleaner, the ballot box is well guarded, and the count of votes is honest. What is there left for them to do but fool the people? So in recent years there has been an immense growth of veiled propaganda intended to give a certain twist to the voter's mind.

For example, a committee of the senate of the California legislature reported in 1923 that on the seven "most strenuously contested" initiative and referendum measures voted on in the state election of 1922, \$1,082,000 was spent, and *in every case that side won which spent the most money.* "The power of money in influencing public opinion, the ability to carry popular elections through vast expenditures for propaganda, literature, advertising, and organizing campaign workers was made strikingly manifest in the investigations" of this committee.

The tactics of certain of the banded public utility companies, popularly known as the "power trust," as brought out in the 11,258 pages of testimony and exhibits printed by the Federal Trade Commission, reveal a new technique for getting control of public opinion. Billions of dollars in public utility securities have been issued, a considerable portion of which has no property behind it. These may appreciate if fair regulation of utilities is neglected or made a sham; they may depreciate if fair regulation becomes effective or the policy of public ownership and operation of utilities prevails. The plan of these most unprincipled elements in the power

trust, as revealed by the investigations of the Federal Trade Commission, is to gain control of the great opinion-forming agencies — press, forum, and school — regardless of what methods have to be used. For example, newspaper favor is sought by spending annually millions of dollars for advertising electric stocks and appliances, so that newspaper "good will" will be secured and lead to a censorship of the views and editorial columns. Bright speakers in the secret pay of the power trust seize every opportunity to address clubs and other influential bodies. Whatever their theme, they contrive to get in a "dig" at public ownership. Debates on public utility policy are fomented between high schools, and the team supporting the power-trust view has at times been furnished with data and helped to win. University professors have been engaged to make "investigations." Researches thus made by supposedly independent authority show public ownership to be a failure, or on the way to failure, and the reports are given wide circulation. Sometimes textbook "surveys" are made which result in revision of the offending text or the substitution of one preferred by public utility executives. In an effort "to change and direct the economic thought and the economic practice of the American people" they seek to reach the minds of twenty million school children, many times by subterranean channels. On the laudable pretext of furnishing information, a "catechism" or other pamphlet prepared and furnished free by power trust publicists is slipped into the high schools or grade schools where school heads are innocent enough to allow it. Women employees are trained for platform work and placed in grade schools to train children to regard private ownership of public utilities as synonymous with the American system of government and to fear the results of public operation. Such women often join clubs and attend social affairs as a part of their day's work and spread power trust propaganda without

any knowledge on the part of their associates that they are on the secret pay roll.

The irony is that the public, when it settles with any of the unscrupulous public utility companies its bill for electric light or power, furnishes the funds, charged to "operating expense," for all this bamboozlement and befuddlement.

Public opinion and freedom of discussion. Nothing kills crooked propaganda like *exposure*. Hence, those who build a vast engine for fooling the public turn with savagery upon anyone who by conspicuously showing up their motives or methods threatens to wreck their engine. They pull wires to get him turned out of his job, create difficulties for his business or spread some calumny that will discredit him with his public. Before the World War they would falsely charge him with being an "atheist" or "free lover"; since the War they falsely charge him with being a "Bolshevist" or "in pay of Moscow." Unless the exposé is very well and favorably known, such tactics get him out of the way of the propagandists.

The struggle to get the facts. Information is the raw material of opinion. If the information is poor, the opinion will be worth little. The means of obtaining information on current happenings is the newspaper, which we consider under the most sacred obligation to give us unbiased information. We are furious when we discover that the newspaper is "doctoring" or "killing" news to suit its owners, creditors, or advertisers; yet it is not the reading public that pays the newspaper's bills. The buyer of a newspaper gives two cents for what cost perhaps seven cents. The other five cents are paid by the advertisers; yet he expects the newspaper to be as loyal to the truth as the church or the school is. He pays a fourth of the cost of the service but demands to be treated fairly as the client of the doctor, the lawyer, or the engineer, who pays *all* the cost of the service.

More than thirty recognized schools or courses of journalism are training young people to follow newspaper work as a profession. Nevertheless, the dependence of the newspaper upon advertising steadily grows and we do not see how the two tendencies can be reconciled. Never were there so many newspaper men trying heroically to do the right thing by their readers; but no one can be sure how it will all turn out.

Under the circumstances it is wise for the public to scrutinize the sources of news and opinion. Much light on live questions is to be gained from reliable government bulletins, which the citizen can get for nothing. The public library is full of periodicals and books which give the truth without bias. Our "open forums," where the hearers look the speaker over and quiz him afterwards, provide an ordeal honest men can face better than disguised propagandists. The countless clubs which eat together, then listen, afford a new channel for the truth. The public debates between colleges and between high schools ventilate things which the newspaper may ignore. There is every indication that the spoken word is gaining on the printed word, so that bright young people who aspire to influence the public should learn to express themselves on their feet.

The guidance of public opinion. What is the worth of the judgment which the average man will emit offhand on such public questions as the care of the feeble-minded, the treatment of boy law-breakers, divorce, water power policy, public ownership, means of preserving international peace? Just little or nothing. So, if public opinion is to give intelligent orders to the representatives in the legislature or the men in public office, it must be guided by trained intelligence. If the people cannot tell a good man when they see him but accept as gospel the rant of the demagogue or the vaporings of the fanatic, then it will be considered praiseworthy for a politician to defy such misguided public opinion.

Fortunately, there never were so many experts qualified to direct opinion, and most of them will give disinterested guidance. The *clergy* are superior in brains, character, and education and rarely prove disloyal to the interests of the people. The *learned professions* will almost always give wise guidance on the questions which fall within their field, although they are not always free from selfishness. The *scholars* in the colleges and universities worship truth and will generally give a reliable leadership on questions which need to be settled in the light of science. The spokesmen for *organized interest groups*, such as merchants, shippers, workingmen, fruit growers, and farmers, are well worthy to be heeded if one allows for their class bias. Perhaps the ideal guidance is given by a *permanent society* of public-spirited persons engaged in furthering some neglected or endangered social interest. Such are the Anti-Child Labor Committee, the Civil Service Reform League, the Forestry Association, the Parent-Teacher Association, the Anti-Tuberculosis Association, the Immigration Restriction League, the Population Association, the Eugenics Society, and the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. When do we have collective opinion? When, public opinion?
2. How has the advance of democratic ideas influenced the privileged to pay attention to the opinion of others?
3. What kinds of laws require the support of public sentiment to be effective?
4. Does voting record individual opinions or public opinion? Are the sage and the field hand equal in deciding the election?
5. Why is it harder to steal public opinion than to steal an election?
6. Show how gossip is lessening and discussion of public questions increasing.
7. How can propaganda be used to give a twist to the voter's mind?

8. What is the danger of veiled propaganda ?
9. How can people obtain the facts? Why do the newspapers often fail to represent the facts as they really are ?
10. How should public opinion be guided ?
11. What classes of people are capable of guiding others?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Which has the greatest influence upon public opinion: the press, the church, or the school ?
2. Why is the formation of a public opinion a slow process ?
8. Do you expect that a generation hence the opinion of the politician's constituents on questions as they come up will influence him more than they do nowadays ? Why ?
4. Does your local paper present both sides of a public question ?
5. Does your clergyman discuss public questions from the pulpit?
6. How was public opinion shaped during the World War ?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Consider the relation of public opinion to law. (Consult Forman's *The American Democracy*, Chapter 29.)
2. Study leadership in a democracy. (Read B, Vol. 2, Chapter 76; I, pages 521-523.)
3. What are the defects of public opinion in regulating personal conduct? (Read G, pages 96-101; I, pages 525-527.)
4. Show the process of manufacture of popular consent. (Read D, pages 234-249; H, pages 362-367.)
5. Show how a strong-willed President backed by public opinion has imposed his will on Congress. Consider Jackson, Roosevelt, Wilson.
6. Cite instances in your community of veiled propaganda on public questions.

DEBATE

Resolved, That all communities should provide accommodations for open forums for the consideration of current public questions'

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CHAPTER THIRTY

THE CITIZEN AS VOTER

- I. Responsible voting
 1. One's vote should register an act of judgment
 2. Personal bias should be avoided
 3. Public interest should be preferred to party interest
 4. One's vote should safeguard the interests of the weak
- II. The purity of elections
 1. Safeguarding an honest ballot and a fair count
 2. A square deal in the preelection campaign
- III. Good sportsmanship in politics
 1. How the minority should behave
 2. How the majority should behave

No good citizen will imagine that he has discharged his whole duty by casting an intelligent and disinterested ballot. He ought to have certain principles or policies so much at heart that long before election day he will go out and try to impress his political convictions upon others. In case he has no gift of tongue or pen, he may give money to help keep in the field some sincere person who *can* voice his convictions. There is no harm in this, provided it is all "aboveboard." To abstain from preelection political activities on the ground that politics is "low" or "filthy" is to despair of the Republic.

The nature of a vote. Voting is not just the expression of a private preference, as when one chooses between desserts at luncheon. It cannot be private, for, in case mine were the decisive vote, all my fellow citizens would be bound by it; so they have a right to demand that my vote shall *register an act of judgment*. If I have no judgment to register, but am following a mere "hunch" or whim, I am not doing my duty at the polls. For me to stay away from the polls is no remedy, for many votes will be cast by voters actuated by a

selfish interest; they will record a judgment, even though it be a prejudiced one. So, unless citizens take the pains to form and to register judgments that are honest and intelligent, they leave the decision to those who have a selfish or improper interest.

What should my vote express? The juryman well knows that his vague impressions or personal bias ought not to affect his ballot in the jury room. The thoughtful citizen, too, knows that the self he expresses at the polls should be broader-minded, farther-sighted, and more magnanimous than his ordinary everyday self. The French voter takes off his hat when he votes, and the good American votes in the mood such a gesture betokens. He would be ashamed to vote for Candidate Brown because they were in school together or against Candidate Black because of the color of his hair. He knows well that his choice ought to rest on grounds of public welfare, ought to reflect the candidate's fitness for office and not the voter's personal likes and dislikes. It is not living up to my civic duties to be swayed by personal friendship or enmity, by the fact that the candidate does or does not belong to my church, lodge, or social club. "Vote for your friends" is a false ideal. With this slogan the worst gangsters of our great cities have induced the innocent, inexperienced foreign-born voter to cast his vote according to the wishes of the ward boss, who sends him a turkey at Christmas, provides conveyances when there is a funeral in his family, gets his son a place on the city pay roll, and uses his influence with the judge when the naturalized citizen comes into collision with the law. The true maxim, of course, is, "Vote not for *your* friends but for *the public's* friends."

If the citizen does not understand, or has no opinion on, a certain measure submitted to the electors, he will do better not to vote on it at all. "When in doubt, vote no, sounds

sensible but is really a bad slogan. Its aim is to line up all the ignorant or doubtful on the "anti" or conservative side, to block progress with ignorance.

Partisanship in Toting. The good citizen puts public above party when he sees that the interests of the two conflict. Rabid and unscrupulous partisanship is, indeed, one of the worst diseases which attack popular government. A party venerable enough to have become an object of sentiment has been compared to a bottle. Any poison may be poured into it, yet the voters will swallow it if they see the old familiar label on the bottle. Nothing beats party spirit for converting an excellent man into a bad citizen. It causes each side to suspect all proposals from the other, prevents a consideration of each issue on its merits, and discourages independent thought. It prompts a party to put forward programs, the aim of which is not to help the country but to catch votes; and when one party plays this game, the other has to follow suit.

The citizen ought to work with some political party if he can. But he should remember that the party is merely a means to an end, and that that end is to secure better government. He should therefore pay strict attention to his party duties and never ignore any party meeting, primary caucus, or convention which he has the right to attend. He should fight unceasingly to get his party to nominate better candidates, to draw up better platforms, to wage campaigns of a more educational character, and to promote a nobler type of man to high place in the party.

But here his work as a party man ends. When he goes to the polls, he should go not as a Republican or a Democrat but as an American; and he should vote for the party or candidate that in his best judgment will give the better service to the people. As a good party man, he will have done his best to make his party worthy of his conscientious sup-

port. As a good American, he will vote for political opponents if his judgment tells him they are more deserving of support. It is this competition between party members to make their parties better servants of the people and this willingness to support the party which does the better, regardless of party membership, that will make for permanent improvement in our political life.

Chivalry in voting. Should a man always so vote as to promote his own interests, or the interests of his group, as he understands them? No, not when his judgment tells him that the public interest leads in a different direction. Often the wider interest — that of Society or the Nation — will be sacrificed unless citizens are socially minded or nationally minded when they vote. It is a mistake to suppose that all the important interests are protected by self-interested voting. How can *children* protect their interests at the polls? the feeble-minded? convicts? aliens? How about the interests of *posterity* — in protecting game, in conserving natural resources, in preserving purity of race — if each voter feels at liberty to consider only his own interest? The unborn are not here to vote, yet their fate may be at stake. No, the good citizen will be actuated by a spirit of chivalry and will not fail to use his ballot on behalf of those unable to take their own part.

The purity of elections. The safeguarding of an honest ballot and a fair count is of cardinal importance. Citizens who have hired crooks to steal the election for them may seek to justify themselves by pleading that "law and order," or "public credit," or "national honor" was at stake. This is a lie. *When such things are really at stake, it is not necessary to steal elections.* Their real motive is to promote the financial interests of themselves or their class. We shall never be safe politically until we put the purity of elections above every other political issue.

How is it possible to persuade the barely defeated to submit cheerfully to the verdict of the polls unless they believe that the election has truly revealed which side is in the majority? If there is widespread doubt whether the election returns disclose the will of the majority, the defeated may feel free to resort to guns, as is customary in some countries of tropical South America. An election under general suspicion of having been carried by violence, or intimidation, or vote-buying, or ballot box stuffing, or miscounting, is as valueless as an inaccurate clinical thermometer or false scales in a government mint. Fortunately such elections are uncommon, especially in recent years.

The defeated will not feel bound by the verdict at the polls unless they had a fair chance to present their cause in the preelection campaign. If their posters have been torn down, their literature confiscated by the police, their speakers mobbed, their candidates persecuted, their parades and meetings broken up, they feel free to upset the results of the election if they can.

Good sportsmanship in politics. It is the sacred duty of the defeated to accept loyally the verdict of a clean political contest and not to whimper or become noisy when the successful, installed in office, proceed to carry out the policies which have been approved at the polls. The minority should not spitefully throw obstacles in the path of those chosen by the majority, but with good grace should let its political opponents reap the fruits of victory.

On the other hand, the majority, which now speaks with the authority and acts in the name of "the people," although, in fact, it may constitute no more than 51 per cent of the people, is morally bound not to abuse its triumph. It is not to imagine that it has won a mandate to subject the political minority to any law or policy which may seem good to it. Not only does the Constitution secure certain rights of

the individual and of the minority against the power of the majority, but good morals do the same thing. Nor is it entitled to bring up and settle in a ruthless way important issues which did not figure at all in the campaign, concerning which it has received no mandate from the voters.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What are the duties of a good citizen before election day?
2. What are the duties of a good citizen on election day?
3. What is voting?
4. In voting, what should a person's choice rest upon?
5. Should a person vote for his friend just because he is a friend?

Give reasons.

6. What is the true maxim in voting?
7. What is meant by partisanship in voting? Should this be followed?
8. What is meant by the spirit of chivalry in voting?
9. What makes it possible to persuade the barely defeated to submit cheerfully to the verdict of the polls?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Should an illiterate be allowed to vote?
2. Why is the ownership of property no longer a requisite for voting?
3. Shall we regard voting as a right, a duty, or a privilege?
4. Why is the blanket ballot better than separate party ballots?
5. What is gained or lost by holding the local election at a different time from the state and national election?
6. How is the long ballot a hindrance to self-government?
7. Why are voters required to register in advance?
8. Why is the discussion of politics in the polling place forbidden?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. What percentage of the qualified voters in your city or town exercised their right to vote in the last election? Account for this.
2. Study the Massachusetts ballot system. How does it compare with the party column ballot? What kind of ballot is used in your state? (Read C, pages 114-115.)

3. What efforts are made by political parties to gain the vote of the naturalized immigrant? (Read E. A. Ross's *The Old World in the New*, pages 266-270, and R. E. Park's *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*, pages 377-390.)
4. What laws has your state enacted against corrupt practices at elections? (Read D, pages 202-302.)
5. What were the steps in the extension of suffrage in the United States?
6. How do we compare with European countries in regard to the diffusion of the privilege of voting? (Consult American histories and European histories.)
7. Give the history of the woman suffrage movement in England. (Consult a modern history text.)
8. What are the election laws in your state?

DEBATE

Resolved, That any person who is found guilty of betting on an election should lose for a certain term the privilege of voting.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

DEMOCRACY

- I. Advance of political democracy
 1. Americans in 1789 more democratic in theory than in practice
 - £. Gradual realization of democracy
 3. Recent laws breaking down the "invisible government"
- II. Why capital was so little controlled in the nineteenth century
 1. Scarcity of capital in a new country
 2. The philosophy of individualism
 3. Growth of natural monopolies
 4. Rapidity of our industrial development
- III. Democracy a reality not a sham
 1. Slowness in correcting evils not due to weakness of the people
 2. The irresistible power of the people
 3. New devices for people-rule

The Declaration of Independence insisted that

1. All men are created equal.
2. All have been endowed by their Maker with certain inalienable rights of which they cannot be divested by any power and of which they cannot lawfully deprive themselves.
3. Among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It follows that " government is constituted among men for the sole purpose of protecting these rights," and that all governments " derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

These principles are just as truly the foundation of " government of the people, by the people, for the people " (to use Lincoln's phrase) as the divine right of kings is the foundation of autocratic monarchy.

Yet the men who so fittingly set forth these principles of democracy were not members of a real democracy. Religious prejudices, the distinctions of learned and unlearned, which had come down from colonial times, still held sway. There was a governing class, not at all narrow or oppressive in comparison with ruling classes elsewhere, but still a *class*.

The advance of political democracy. Thirty years after the founding of the United States in 1789, a generation had reached manhood which had been bred on the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. What had been a phrase to the fathers was an article of faith to the sons. Besides, the interior section, the then West, was being settled by an American-born population under liberal land laws, so that here the sort of equality held up in the Declaration of Independence was in large measure realized. From these new commonwealths, which had never been colonies, never known class rule and crown governors, democracy blew steadily like a trade wind.

Moved by the frauds in the Presidential election of 1888, the states provided (1888-1890) for secret voting. The revelations of the "epoch of exposure" (1901-1908) excited general alarm and led to a series of measures designed to break down the "invisible government" which was being substituted for the rule of the people. Chief of these measures were acts punishing corrupt practices in elections, limitation of the expenditures on political contests, compulsory publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures, the nomination of candidates by secret ballot of all party members, the election of United States Senators by the people of the state instead of by the legislature, popular law-making by means of the initiative and the referendum, and giving the people the right to oust an official by a vote of recall. Thanks to these new bulwarks of democracy, the American people now believe they are masters in their house.

Why capital was so little controlled. But if democracy has been a reality in America and not a "fake," how did it happen that property gained that special protection — against progressive taxation, against even legislative enactment — which it enjoyed through most of the nineteenth century? The explanation is that the ownership of their farms made the settlers in the West conservative. Since most of the voters owned productive property or *looked forward to owning it*, they were against paring down the rights of property. During the development period of the country, capital was singularly favored. There were no usury laws to hold down the rate of interest, no acts protecting factory workmen. There were free banking, strict enforcement of money contracts, ease of incorporating joint-stock companies, giving away of public utility franchises. There were princely land grants to encourage railroad building, and no regulation of the charges of railroads and public service concerns. The cause was not, as European visitors are apt to suppose, the veiled domination of capitalists so much as the scarcity of capital in a new country and the resulting rivalry of young states to attract capital to themselves.

The philosophy of individualism. Then, too, in bringing the new forces under law, the people were hampered by a heritage of false doctrine. Early in the last century thoughtful Americans generally held an individualistic social philosophy and the rest absorbed it from them. In the days before there were public schools, parks, playgrounds, clinics, and health centers, they could argue that government is "a necessary evil." Government, they thought, should lay no hand on business, because in the long run competition will protect the customer from being gouged. Natural resources owned by government should be got as speedily as possible into private hands. State interference was considered "meddlesome," except when it aided the business man to

make money faster. Aside from security and order, there was no concern for social welfare, save the protection of personal freedom and the rights of property. From this point of view there can be no labor question, for the working man who does not like his wages or his treatment is at perfect liberty to quit his job and seek another.

This philosophy looked reasonable enough at the time. In the past the plain people had suffered more from government than from any other agency, so that, very naturally, they were on their guard against it. No one foresaw the path economic development was to follow. Thus it happened that many of our wisest men of the period 1800-1870 spread among the people a philosophy which was later to prove a snare.

Backing off from the philosophy of individualism. Now, the impositions suffered by the public at the hands of railroads, gas companies, electric light companies, traction companies, insurance companies, "trusts," food adulterators, and owners of bad tenement houses can be ended only by the intervention of government. So, in order to obtain relief, the people had to give up their inherited faith in the natural harmony between private interest and public interest and their old suspiciousness of government. The about-face was made earliest among working men, farmers, and shippers, who from bitter experience had learned where the shoe pinched. In 1933 the industrial depression had reached such a depth that a fifth of the American people had no regular income. At this point government intervention in industry was generally recognized as necessary to distribute employment among larger numbers of people. It is safe to predict that from now on our industrial system will be much more regulated by government than it ever has been before.

The roots of our economic problems. The evils dealt with so tardily had their source not in original flaws in our institutions, but in economic developments for which no one person

deserves blame. The strife of working men and capitalists grew out of the widening of the market and the growth of large-scale industry. Certain public service agencies which have sprung up — such as railroads, street railways, telegraphs, telephones, and distributors of water, gas, or electric current — are monopolies *by nature*. The railway consolidations which made the ordinary shipper a midget were inspired by the prospect of great economies from systematized transportation. Steam haulage was made so cheap that the manufacturer's local market was invaded by distant manufacturers; and this brought on the ruthless price-cutting, which gave rise to the movement toward combining all competing producers of the same thing into a "trust."

Do not forget either that, under the stimulus of freedom and the first chance at the natural resources of half a continent, our industrial development has gone on at a great rate. We have run through the series of modern economic changes at high speed. This is why problems have presented themselves *not one or two at a time, but in battalions*. Admitted evils have been allowed to spread root simply because the people cannot watch many things at a time. Confused by the calls upon their attention, the citizens at first listened to political quacks rather than to experts. The years 1890-1905 were nearly wasted in this way.

The people may own their government, yet be slow in correcting evils. That social ills go untreated does not prove that the people are indifferent or are too weak to apply the proper remedy. *They may be unable to make up their minds as to what steps to take*. Many maladies have already been cured, and others will be cured as soon as we shall be agreed on a remedy. It is one of the faults of democracy not to nip evils in the bud, but to attend to them only after they have waxed big and mischievous enough to arrest popular attention.

Then, too, one thinks longer before cutting a cataract off the eye than before opening an abscess. In respect to a plain wrong like peonage, the public lottery, racetrack gambling, railroad discrimination among shippers, loan-shark extortion, tax dodging, vote buying, public-land frauds, the public has demanded action as soon as it realized what was going on. But evils like low wages, "speeding up," Sunday work, industrial conflicts, crushing of trade-unionism, combination of competing concerns, waste of natural resources, and the growth of tenancy are connected with vital economic organs or processes, and the people hesitate to call for the use of the knife lest awkward surgery injure the system of production and distribution. The people fear lest the attempt to cut out certain noxious growths will do more harm than good. Or else they are bewildered by conflicting advice. Thus for years William Jennings Bryan, Democratic party leader, insisted that all "trusts" are bad; Theodore Roosevelt, Republican leader, held that some are good and some bad; while Eugene V. Debs, on behalf of the Socialist party, proclaimed them inevitable, and good if the public owns them.

The American people are masters in their own house. The irresistible power of the people, once they are aroused, is shown by the fate that befell the railroad "magnates." Until about twenty-five years ago the consolidation of lines into great railroad systems and the linking-up of their management with big industrial and banking interests were creating real railway empires. In 1904 a majority of the boards of directors of all important roads east of the Mississippi River could be selected from a group of thirty-five persons. At his death Harriman controlled twenty-five thousand miles of railway and had large influence over fifty thousand miles of other railway. Railway management had become a colossal game, in which the rights of small shippers and small investors were ignored.

Then, one by one, came the measures that changed this state of affairs. In 1908 the Elkins Act struck at secret and discriminating rates. The merger of competing roads was held unlawful in 1904. In 1906 the Hepburn Act separated transportation from other business, gave the Interstate Commerce Commission rate-making powers, and widened its jurisdiction. The next year there was a great outburst of railroad-curbing by the states and more than three hundred railroad measures were passed. Two years later forty-one state legislatures enacted nearly seven hundred laws affecting railroads. The next year the Mann-Elkins Act gave yet more power to the Interstate Commerce Commission. In 1913 Congress provided for a physical valuation of railway property to obtain a basis for just rates. Five years later the government took over the railroads as a war measure, and their administration under government control proved an interesting experiment, which ended with the return of the roads to the owners after the close of the war. If the " trusts " have not likewise been brought under control, it is not from want of power but only because the leaders of opinion have not been clear as to the course that ought to be followed.

New devices for people-rule. About twenty years ago a movement arose to make the control of the people over their affairs more close and effective. This is known as *direct legislation*, and is worked by means of the initiative and the referendum. The initiative provides that on a petition from a certain proportion of the voters, say one twelfth, a measure which the legislature will not pass must be submitted to the voters at the next election. The referendum provides that on a like petition a measure which the legislature has passed must be submitted to the voters. The initiative gives the people an opportunity to adopt what their legislature denies them; the referendum gives them the opportunity to reject

what their legislature offers them. In most states, too, the legislature is required by the constitution to submit to the people certain kinds of questions; for example, bond issues.

About one third of the people of the country are in the twenty states which provide for direct legislation. In the twenty years after the beginning of these forms of direct legislation 550 measures were placed upon the ballot by popular petition while 442 were submitted by the legislature. On the average, the voters had five measures to consider each election and three fourths of them voted on these measures.

A study of direct legislation in 1922 shows 135 measures brought before the people of sixteen states. Of these 42 were proposed by initiative petitions; 31 were acts passed by the legislature and carried back by referendum petitions to the voters for final decision; and 62 were submitted by the legislatures. Of the 135 measures, 72 per cent were rejected and 28 per cent enacted. On the 109 which had a progressive side and a conservative side, the people voted progressively nearly four fifths of the time. In 1924, 87 measures were brought before the people of sixteen states. Of these, 26 were proposed by initiative petitions; 15 were carried to the voters by referendum petitions; 46 were submitted by the legislatures. On the 64 measures voted on in the special elections of 1923 and the general election of 1924 which appear to involve attitude toward change, the people voted progressively 46 times and conservatively 18 times. Of course "progressiveness" is a matter of judgment, and a conservative might arrive at quite different figures.

Although on a great variety of pretexts many proposals have been submitted to do away with these new tools of democracy or restrict their use, the majority of the voters have always rejected such proposals. Direct legislation has nowhere lost ground, and there are indications that the movement may before long make its way into the East and South.

The opponents of direct legislation point out that, by diminishing the power and responsibility of the legislature, the initiative and referendum are likely to degrade rather than improve that body. Men of a high type will not be attracted to a law-making body shorn of much of its power and dignity, while the more the voters rely upon the initiative and referendum, the less pains they will take to choose honest and capable legislators.

It must be said, however, that the friends of direct legislation do not expect the people ever to take a hand in making many laws. As heretofore, most of the law-making is bound to be done by the legislature. The initiative and referendum are looked upon as "the gun behind the door," which the people seize in a moment of imminent danger.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What did the Declaration of Independence hold as regards the relation of government to the people?
2. Why were the young Western states more democratic than the older states of the Atlantic seaboard?
3. As an index of the people's will, how do the results of an election today compare with the results of an election forty years ago?
4. Does absence of control over capital in the laws of seventy years ago show that capitalists were in control of government? What does it indicate?
5. What was the philosophy of individualism?
6. Was anyone to blame for starting our economic problems? Explain your answer.
7. Does delay in remedying social ills prove that the people do not really control the government?
8. What is the initiative? the referendum?

CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

1. Should the legislator regard himself as a representative of his constituents or their delegate?"
2. Is lobbying or log-rotting used to any extent in your state legislature?

8. Does it retard progress for the Supreme Court to be able to declare unconstitutional a law passed by Congress?

4. Should all citizens who neglect to vote be fined for not voting on election day?

5. Is reference to the people likely to give as good results on state questions as on local questions? on national questions as on state questions?

6. If mental testing were perfected, would you want to see the suffrage denied to adults below the mental age of an eleven-year-old child?

7. Would it be reasonable to allow persons who can pass a good examination on American history and civics to vote as soon as they are eighteen?

8. What did President Wilson mean when he said, "The world must be made safe for democracy"? Whence came the peril to democracy?

9. There are two theories of what is going on in the state that has initiative and referendum. One is that small minorities are pestering the voters with radical proposals which the big majority do not want. The other is that the people are getting action on a lot of things their legislature is not ready for. From the votes on the measures submitted to the people in 1922, which theory is the more plausible?

INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Find out the names of the Congressmen from your district and the Senators from your state. On what platform were they elected? Has their record in Congress squared with their platform?

2. Consult history textbooks and tell the story of the passage of each amendment to the Constitution. What amendments are proposed today?

3. Find how many of the planks of the Populist party platform in 1892 and of the Prohibition party in 1888 have been realized. (Consult Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*.)

4. What is the recall of elected officials? To what extent has it been applied? (Bead D and H.)

5. What is your state railroad commission doing on behalf of complainants, which they could not do for themselves save by suing the railroad company?

6. Find out about the results of the use of the initiative and referendum in Switzerland.
7. Describe the system of proportional representation and set forth the advantages claimed for it.
8. Find what a legislative reference library can do to improve the product of legislatures.

DEBATE

Resolved, That the term for President should be seven years with no eligibility for reelection.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

A LAST LOOK

A PARTING look at the problem of the citizen's duty reveals certain general truths which need to be stressed.

Wide interests should not be sacrificed to narrow interests. One thing which surely throws society out of plumb is *letting the interests of a few prevail when they conflict with the interests of the many*. Particular groups — pot-hunters, hydraulic miners, wool manufacturers, racetrack owners, or pea canners — insist upon some practice or policy which will be to their advantage but will prove costly to the rest of us, or all of us. Smelter owners, for instance, may fight regulations that aim to protect crops and forests from being ruined by the arsenic fumes which pour from the chimney stacks of the smelters. A knot of capitalists may scheme to capture rich natural resources by getting our government to pursue a high-handed policy with respect to weak countries lying to the south of us.

In such cases the special interest, while narrow, is highly concentrated, so that time and money are spent in seeing that its claims are presented in the most persuasive way to the key people at the critical moments. But the threatened general interest may find nobody with enough at stake to amuse him to take much trouble on its behalf. Being unorganized, this general interest has no corps of speakers; no advertising space is bought, no propaganda is put forth, no deputations wait on officials, no high-priced lawyers are kept to lobby for it. Unless many citizens are so shrewd that they recognize a special interest at sight and are so wise that they oppose it whenever it clashes with the general interest, we have a fight between a whale and a swordfish, with the odds on the swordfish.

Deep interests should not be sacrificed to shallow interests. There is danger, too, in letting shallow interests

have their way as against deep interests. Thus *amusement* is a shallow interest in comparison with *morals*. If the city fathers, when they have it in their power to do so, refuse to lop off certain demoralizing features of public dances or stage shows or street fairs on the plea that nothing should interfere with the people's fun, they are guilty of letting the shallow interest override the deep interest. From this point it is not far to the public prize fight and the bull ring. *Money* is dross in comparison with *health*; so it was poor statesmanship to let industrial accidents and industrial diseases go on unchecked for decades on the ground that to require compensation for them would interfere with money making. *Selling goods* is a matter of trifling importance in comparison with *preserving public confidence*. Hence, the movement and laws to compel truth-in-advertising illustrate the defeat of a shallow interest in conflict with a deep interest.

Permanent interests should not be sacrificed to tempo'rary interests. Sometimes society, like Esau, is tempted to forego its birthright for a mess of pottage. In the crusade to insure every child its chance in life, we see the short-term interest in making dimes out of the child in the mill or the film theater pitted against the long-term interest in having the next generation composed of the best possible men and women. Theodore Roosevelt made for himself a high niche in American history by standing for the long-time view of our forests and mineral resources against the short-sighted endeavor to coin them into money as fast as possible. Friends of the long-look-ahead are those who fight to conserve fish, game, and natural beauty; who favor enforcing *all* laws, not just those they like; who would punish lynching as any other form of murder; who champion building more schoolhouses and public playgrounds rather than more almshouses and jails; and who want to curb the use of money in elections without regard to its effect on the success of their own party.

Only from a hilltop can one see far ahead; hence, it is to individuals of rare thoughtfulness that we must look for leadership in safeguarding permanent public interests.

Chivalrous citizenship. None of our institutions has hands and tongue with which to defend itself. Yet each of them has enemies ready to trample it down because it comes between them and something they want. In the shadows lurk unscrupulous, determined men looking for a chance to sandbag the secret ballot, the honest count, majority rule, free speech, the right to work, the independence of judges. One would expect every decent citizen to rush to their aid, for they are in truth the very underpinning of our common welfare; but multitudes of us are too ignorant, short-sighted, or careless to realize what is going on. Moreover, our noblest institutions are just those which safeguard the interests of the weak, the handicapped, children, the unborn; and these have small influence. This is why our institutions, if they are to be saved at all, will be saved not by those who owe them most, but by their *disinterested friends*.

Such friends should come from the ranks of those who understand them well. Young people who have traveled the ground covered in this book and know what blessings good institutions hold in store ought to have a chivalrous feeling toward them, ought to stand ready to spring to their defense, especially when they are attacked from base motives. If generous impulses do not stir in the hearts of those instructed as to our institutions, where will these institutions find defenders?

Intelligent love of country. Some imagine we cannot make young people patriotic unless we fool them into thinking that this nation is the strongest, wisest, bravest, noblest, on earth. So they hide our national faults and failures, ignore the virtues and belittle the achievements of every other people, and make our nation outpoint every other by

the simple trick of drawing only those comparisons which are to our advantage. They will not let the pupils know how much the Canadians beat us in handling the Indians, the Germans excel us in municipal government, the English surpass us in law enforcement, the French distance us in fostering the fine arts.

This, of course, is pure childishness. The patriot does not love his country because he is made to believe that it is ahead of every other. He loves it much as he loves his mother. The son does not wait to love his mother until he learns that she surpasses all other mothers. It is enough for him to know *what she has been through and what she has done for him*. So, to kindle love of country in the hearts of young people, it is not necessary to lie their country up or to run other countries down. It should be enough to show them that *our institutions have cost heavy sacrifices by noble men and they still are menaced*.

There is hardly one of the institutions we prize which has not a thrilling story back of it. Take one that seems tame and drab — the merit system of selecting public servants. Explore its fight with the spoils system in the last two decades of the last century and you come upon pure melodrama — Public Spirit or Principle stands confronting Greed. You get battles between trickery and crime on the one side and patriotic heroism on the other. It would take a book, too, to tell of the good men broken, the fortunes lost, the businesses wrecked, the careers ruined, in the struggle to establish the principle that public utilities are subject to regulation. The city or state which slothfully allows that principle to be set aside is not keeping faith with the civic heroes who set it up at great cost to themselves.

Behind the right of free speech, behind the newspaper's right to criticize public officials, behind the stamping out of peonage, behind the secret ballot, behind the banning of the

issuance of free passes by railroads, lies a stirring story. Not one of these but ruined certain of its champions, and some of them boast a long roll of martyrs. What, then, can be baser than for citizens to hold them lightly and to allow any of them to fall victim to the sinister powers watching for the chance to break or warp an institution which stands in their way!

The willed and the unwilled. Finally, let us beware of trying to love our country *in the lump*. It is necessary to make a distinction between what the American people will and what goes on against their will. Many of the things the foreign visitor most sharply criticizes — things we blush for and would fain hide — are not willed by us collectively; they register only the baseness of certain elements among us. A race riot, a vice district, a bootlegging traffic, a crooked political ring, or a stolen election is not *willed* by the community as it wills our schools, social centers, public health clinics, and national forests. It is merely a public calamity, like a blizzard or a pestilence. If every child being taught at the common expense is a credit to the community, then is not every youngster trifling about the streets or toiling in the mill equally a discredit to the community? No, for children who ought to be in school are playing truant or working for wages only because society has not yet found a way to prevent it.

Courts, schools, and child-saving institutions testify to the justness and largeness of heart of our fellow citizens, but whisky joints, opium dens, and sweatshops reflect upon none but those responsible for them. They besmirch the good name of the community only in case the community well knows how to get rid of them but deliberately chooses not to do so.

Such blots as vice, crime, fraud, and extortion owe nothing to the desire or connivance of organized society. They are

here not because of, but in spite of, the general will. That moral plague spots may last does not prove that society is indifferent. Its attention may not have been called to them; it may hesitate which remedy to apply; perhaps no remedy has been brought to light; or those charged with the application of the remedy may have proved faithless to their trust. Exposure, "lid-lifting," "muck-raking," "pitiless publicity," therefore, do not turn our hearts away from our city or our country. They may, in fact, quicken our love with sympathy for the victims of rascals.

For love of country is not a plant that blooms in the dusk; it can flower in broad daylight.

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