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SOCIAL CHANGES IN 1931

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SOCIAL CHANGES IN 1931

Reprinted from

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME XXXVII

MAY 1932

NUMBER 6

POPULATION

TRENDS IN AGE COMPOSITION AND IN SPECIFIC BIRTH-RATES, 1920-30

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ABSTRACT

From 1920 to 1930 the proportion of the population in the older age groups increased considerably, particularly among the foreign-born. Specific birth-rates declined in most cases. The declines usually were greater in those areas having the highest rates; and within each area they varied directly with age.

The changes that occurred in the age distribution of the population between 1920 and 1930 are of great significance. Figure 1 shows in pyramid form the size of each age period on the two census dates, and the gains or losses during the decade. The 1920 pyramid, outlined in white, has a broad base and tapers rapidly to the peak. The 1930 pyramid, outlined in black, is narrower at the base than higher up and comes to a peak by more gradual steps. It is considerably more like the beehive shape that described a stationary population and has the drawing in at the base, which represents a marked step toward the Egyptian mummy-case shape of a declining population.

The 1930 census was the first in the United States to show fewer children 0-4 than 5-9, 10-14 or 15-19, or than 0-4 in the preceding census; but the 1940 census will show additional signs of an approaching era of a decreasing population. There were about 10 per

cent fewer births in 1930 and 1931 than in 1925 and 1926, which makes it practically certain that in 1940 there will be fewer children 5-9 than 10-14. And unless the decline in births which has been going on almost without a break since 1921 is soon checked, the 1940 census will show fewer children 0-4 than 5-9. The 10-14 age period is sure to be smaller than the period 15-19 in 1940, since in 1930 there were fewer children 0-4 than 5-9, hence each five-year age period would be smaller than the one above it up to 15-19.

While the population under 5 declined from 1920 to 1930, that of older age periods became larger. In general, the older the age period, the greater was the rate of increase, the number of persons 5-9 being 10.6 per cent larger in 1930 than 1920, but the number 75 and over going up 30.2 per cent. This is a situation which has held true for several decades, and is likely to be intensified in the next few decades. A discussion of the chief causal factors—declines in birth-rates, death-rates, and immigration—has been presented elsewhere.¹

While Figure 1 and the accompanying discussion deal with the situation of the total population, they also apply fairly well to the native-white and Negro groups. Among the foreign-born, however, the situation is quite different, as may be seen from Figure 2. Here there is no pyramid, but something like a spinning top. Whereas Figure 1 for the total population shows a decrease in only the 0-4 age period from 1920 to 1930, Figure 2 shows a decrease in each five-year period up to and including 30-34. The main cause here, of course, is the smaller immigration since 1914 than for preceding years, the decrease at first being due to the World War, and later to the quota basis of restriction. A figure of age distribution for 1940 will probably be as much more top-heavy than that of 1930 in Figure 2 as 1930 is more top-heavy than 1920.

Comparing the urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm portions of the population, the shifts to the older age periods were greatest in the rural farm and least in the rural nonfarm. Movement off the farm was large during the decade, the farm population declining from 31,400,000 to 30,100,000 in spite of a large rural excess of births over deaths; and among those leaving the farm were relatively more

¹ P. K. Whelpton, "Increase and Distribution of Elders in Our Population" (read at the annual meeting of the American Statistical Association, Washington, D.C., December 29, 1931).

young adults than elders. Furthermore, the decline in specific birth-rates was greater in agricultural than in industrial regions, as will be shown later, which cut more heavily into the proportion of farm children under 10.

The changes in age composition should have important economic and social effects from a long-time standpoint. Considering consumers' goods, for example, the size of the market has been expanding most rapidly for things used primarily by elders and will continue to do so for some decades. At the other extreme there has been an actual contraction in size of market for things used by infants and young children, with indications of further contractions or a sta-

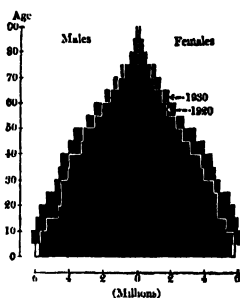


FIG. 1.—Total population, 1920 and 1930, by five-year age periods.

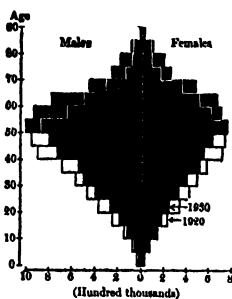


FIG. 2.—Foreign-born whites, 1920 and 1930, by five-year age periods.

tionary condition in the future. This does not mean that the effective demand may not increase due to a rise in per capita income and in standards of living, but it should emphasize the entire dependency on this factor in the infant-young children's market when this group of the population fails to gain in numbers.

School facilities and teaching staffs will be affected by this age shift. In some parts of the country the number of children under school age was much higher in 1930 than in 1920—in Detroit, Los Angeles, Hammond, White Plains, Newton, and part of rural Massachusetts, for example. Here, the problem of how to build schools and hire teachers fast enough may continue for some time, since there will be more children entering school from 1931 to 1936 than there were from 1921 to 1926. A more common situation, however, will be that of Boston, Chicago, Bay City, and most of the farming areas of the United States where the number of children below school

age is declining. These places should soon be able to abandon certain obsolete buildings or ease crowded conditions, and to weed out some of the less able teachers. A complicating factor in some cities, however, is that while there may be fewer children to enter school now than ten years ago, they are quite differently distributed within the city boundaries. New York furnishes a striking example, children under 5 in Manhattan decreasing 45.8 per cent from 1920 to 1930, while in the Bronx they increased 35.2 per cent.

Space does not permit further discussion of the effects of changes in age composition that have been going on and are likely to continue. The soundness of pension systems, the attitude of industry toward employing older workers, and many other questions merit careful study in connection with age trends.²

BIRTHS AND BIRTH-RATES

The number of births reached the high mark of 2,950,000 in 1921, after which there was an almost unbroken decline to 2,506,000 in 1929.³ Since there was an increase to 2,564,000 births in 1930, it has been argued that the decline may have ended, and that births may remain at about the 2,500,000 mark. Preliminary figures for 1931 indicate only 2,450,000 births, however, a smaller number than in 1929, in spite of the increase of over 2,400,000 in the population during the two years. Whether this last falling-off of births is due to the beginning of the depression remains to be seen, though such an assumption appears reasonable judging from the work of Hexter and others.⁴ According to this hypothesis, births in 1932 should show considerable reduction from 1931, and the first portion of 1933 should be on this lower level.

Although the number of births fell considerably during the decade, the birth-rate dropped still more because of the increase in popula-

² Cf. Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, "A Nation of Elders in the Making," *American Mercury*, XIX, No. 76 (April, 1930), 385-97.

³ P. K. Whelpton, "Trends in Population Increase and Distribution during 1920 to 1930," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI, No. 6 (May, 1931), 867, Table I. This table has been revised somewhat, as a study of age data from the 1930 census has indicated that the improvement in completeness of birth registration within the Birth Registration Area was not as rapid as had been assumed by the writer.

⁴ Maurice Beck Hexter, *Social Consequences of Business Cycles*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1925. Pp. 206. Contains references to several studies on the effect of economic conditions on the birth-rate.

tion. Thus, births in 1931 were nearly 17 per cent fewer than in 1921, but the crude birth-rate was 19.8 per thousand instead of 27.2, a drop of over 27 per cent. Changes in rates can be analyzed more accurately, however, if specific rates are used. These can be computed for the registration area for years near the date of census-taking. Births by age of mother from the 1928 and 1929 *Birth Statistics*⁵ may be divided by the number of women in that age group on January 1, 1929, estimated by interpolation between the 1920 and 1930 censuses. Since the 1920 census was taken as of January 1, births by age of mother in 1918-21, inclusive, may well be used. In this period, 1919, a year of low birth-rates due to mobilization during 1918 tends to offset 1921, a year of high birth-rates due to demobilization, so the average would seem to be fair. In order to compare identical areas, the 1919 registration states need to be used. They are a good sample of the United States with respect to foreign whites, but the high birth-rate areas of the South are not sufficiently represented in the native-white group, although having too much weight in the Negro group.

Specific birth-rates for 1928-29 and for 1918-21, together with the percentage increase or decrease, are shown in Table I. For the 1919 registration area as a whole, the birth-rate declined in every case, except Negro women 15-19, where it rose slightly. Among native whites, the rate for women 15-19 was practically unchanged, but decreases occurred at older ages, varying from 11 per cent at 20-24 to 20.9 per cent at 35-44. Birth-rates of foreign white women fell considerably more, over one-fourth at ages 15-19 and about one-third at older ages. Negroes came nearest, on the whole, to maintaining the 1918-21 level; but here, as with native whites, the declines increased decidedly with age, and at ages over 25 they were greater than those of native whites. It is safe to say that the immediate cause of these declines is the increased practice of birth control, and these rates indicate that this has taken place on a rising scale as women pass through the childbearing period. For native whites and Negroes, at least, the inference might be that the increasing decline

⁵ Births by age of mother for 1930 have not been tabulated by the Division of Vital Statistics at date of writing (February 15, 1932), perhaps because the Bureau of the Census has concentrated its efforts on the 1930 census. If 1928-31 could be used instead of 1928-29, the rates would be lower, since there were fewer births in 1930 and 1931 than in 1928 and 1929.

in rates at older ages reflects a tendency to prevent additional births in the four- to six-child family to a greater extent than in the one-

TABLE I
BIRTH-RATES, 1918-21 AND 1928-29

1919 BIRTH REGIS- TRATION AREA*	PERIOD†	BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN AGED					STAND- ARDIZED BIRTH- RATE‡	
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44		
Native-born white women.....	{ 1918-21 1928-29	42 42	137 122	138 119	105 89	50 40	89 77	
Pct. change.....		-.2	-11.0	-13.7	-15.4	-20.9	-13.1	
Foreign-born white women.....	{ 1918-21 1928-29	68 50	224 149	217 146	165 112	79 51	141 95	
Pct. change.....		-26.0	-33.4	-32.4	-31.8	-35.5	-32.5	
Negro women.....	{ 1918-21 1928-29	86 93	152 140	128 108	101 83	55 42	99 88	
Pct. change.....		+8.3	-8.3	-15.6	-17.5	-24.6	-11.1	
SELECTED STATES*	PERIOD†	STANDARDIZED BIRTH-RATE‡						
		N.H. and Vt.	Mass., Conn., and N.Y.	Pa.	6 North Central States§	5 South- ern States	Utah	Wash., Ore., and Calif.
Native-born white women.....	{ 1918-21 1928-29	88 84	70 64	92 83	90 81	122 98	139 112	71 59
Pct. change.....		-4.7	-9.3	-9.6	-10.3	-19.5	-19.3	-17.4
Foreign-born white women.....	{ 1918-21 1928-29	136 112	131 90	181 120	146 104	133 88	168 130	119 70
Pct. change.....		-17.8	-31.7	-33.4	-28.6	-33.5	-22.7	-40.7
Negro women.....	{ 1918-21 1928-29		73 71	76 84	70 73	113 99		
Pct. change.....			-3.6	+10.1	+3.5	-12.2		

* Excluding Maine because age of mother not given; and excluding New Hampshire, Vermont, Utah, Washington, Oregon, and California from Negro groups because of small Negro population.

† Rates for 1918-21 are obtained by dividing the births registered in these years by women in the 1920 census. For Oregon, California, and South Carolina, which were added to the Birth Registration Area in 1919, the ratio of 1919-21 to 1918-21 for the balance of their group was used to estimate 1918 births. Rates for 1928-29 are obtained by dividing by the number of women on January 1, 1929—estimated by interpolation between the 1920 and 1930 censuses.

‡ Standardized to the age distribution of the total female population 15-44 in the 1930 census.

§ Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Kansas.

|| Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Kentucky.

or two-child family. But additional data are necessary to establish this tendency and to measure it accurately.⁶

From a geographic standpoint, the declines in native-white rates were least in the northern states and greatest in the southern and

⁶ Cf. Frank W. Notestein, "The Decrease in Size of Families from 1890 to 1910," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Milbank Memorial Fund*, IX, No. 4 (October, 1931), 181-88.

western states. In general, the lower the 1918-21 rates, the smaller the decline between 1918-21 and 1928-29. Thus, Utah and the southern states, which had the highest rate in 1918-21, showed declines of over 19 per cent; while the northern areas, which stood well below them, declined 12.1 per cent or less. The Pacific states were the exception, having rates about half those of Utah, yet declining relatively as much.

Among foreign whites it is difficult to see any relation between size of birth-rate in 1918-21 and extent of the decrease during the decade. The largest percentage decline occurred in the Pacific states, which had the lowest rates in 1918-21, but nearly as large a decline occurred in Pennsylvania where the rates were highest.

The 1918-21 rates for Negroes were much higher in the southern states than elsewhere, and the declines to 1928-29 were considerably larger. It is probable that the composition and living conditions of an important portion of the northern Negro population was still quite abnormal in 1918-21, owing to the recentness of the large northward migration which had occurred. The stability of this group has no doubt increased with its stay in the North and has had an upward influence on birth-rates, which has partially offset the causes making for the greater general practice of birth control.

Do the data on births and birth-rates indicate that rates are about at the bottom and that a period of stabilization is near? It is evident that the decline which may continue in the birth-rate of foreign white women will not pull down the birth-rate of the total population as has occurred in the past, since foreign-born women in the child-bearing ages are decreasing in actual numbers, and their specific birth-rates are much nearer the lower level of native-white rates than was formerly the case. But the future course of native-white and Negro rates is not so clear. It is true that, on the whole, the states with lower birth-rates in 1918-21 showed lower relative declines during the decade, and that specific rates in the first half of the childbearing period decreased relatively less than those in the last half. But the declines in the specific birth-rates of native whites in the Pacific states and of Negroes in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York, in the face of the low rates of these groups in 1918-21, seem to the writer to indicate that the bottom is considerably below present levels, and that stabilization is still several years in the future.

NATURAL RESOURCES

GEORGE OTIS SMITH

Chairman of the Federal Power Commission

ABSTRACT

Balancing supply and demand.—Contrast between plenty and poverty. Adjustment slow. *Wealth in natural resources.*—Basic values remain unaffected by the ticker tape. *Electric power industry stable.*—Not overbuilt. Capacity relatively well adjusted to demand. *Curtailment of mining.*—Metals and coal suffer from overdevelopment. *Petroleum industry successful in self-control.*—New view of leaders. *More attention to distribution.*—Need of co-ordinating demand and supply; an engineering task.

In the industries directly related to natural resources the year 1931 recorded further progress in balancing supply with demand. The process of adjustment is necessarily slow and painful, and in a world of unsatisfied wants some doubt must arise whether "under-consumption" does not describe the economic condition better than "overproduction." A traveler in Australia writes, "Here is the great tragedy of the world. There are millions of naked bodies in a world which can not sell its wool, and stomachs are feeling the pressure of hunger in a world which can not market its wheat."

In the United States, while fortunately the contrast between plenty and poverty is less striking, the same breakdown in the smooth operation of the law of demand and supply has affected far too many items of our natural resources by reason of impotent demand. It has become almost a commonplace to contrast the over-supplies of foodstuffs with the inadequately fed millions of our people; the warehouses are crowded with stocks of cotton and wool while children go poorly clad; the inventories of metals and timber are far too large for their owners to contemplate with profit; and the home-construction program lags far behind the actual needs of the people. It is this phase of the national economic problem that calls for solution rather than any immediate resumption of the development program.

Severe as have been the business changes incident to this readjustment, the result has been in the line of restoration to industrial health. Indeed, in some respects the adjustment has been less radical than it seemed. In most items other than automobiles and

building materials, consumer trade, as measured by quantity rather than by dollars, was barely 5 per cent below the peak volume of 1929. Moreover, there is nothing in this aspect of the situation of the United States, with respect to material resources, to change the fundamental fact of the country's natural wealth or to discount the ultimate benefits flowing from the possession of adequate stores of the raw materials that are absolutely essential to modern progress. The quotations on a ticker tape are not indicative of variation in the country's basic values. A striking illustration is found in the Department of Agriculture's report on the decline in inventory value of live stock, amounting to a billion and a quarter dollars in 1931 alone, while the total flocks and herds increased 2 per cent in the same year. This type of national inventory of natural resources is not truly measured by the fluctuations of the market-place.

The broadest classification of natural resources is that of energy resources and industry's raw materials, and it is by reason of its wealth in energy resources that the United States stands out among the nations—here we truly appear self-sufficient for a long future. Both in the quantity of power now used and in the energy stored up for future use the United States is pre-eminent. This abundance of mechanical energy, with which to lengthen and strengthen the arm of human labor, both increases the demand for industrial raw materials and increases our supply of metals, for instance, through reducing the mining and metallurgical costs. Herein lies the greatest stimulus to inventive genius, and the result is to make us not only greater producers but greater consumers. These advantages continue, whatever the stock market quotations may be.

Probably the brightest spot in the economic picture of 1931 was the electric light and power business, for no other great industry has exhibited a like resistance to the general economic influence of this period. As described in the report of the Federal Power Commission¹ the characteristics of the power industry are its remarkable growth, its noteworthy stability, and its happy adjustment of capacity to demand.

¹ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Federal Power Commission* (1931), pp. 5-7.

The stability of this industry in these times of widespread and severe testing has been demonstrated by the maintenance of earnings for the industry as a whole. And this exceptional record, among the major industries, is clearly to be credited to the favorable relation of demand and supply. What other productive industries are now seeking, this electric utility already possesses.

Generating capacity has been kept fairly well adjusted to market demand. As a modern power plant can not be planned and built in a year, new construction continues even in a period like the present, and thousands of kilowatts are added each month to the generating capacity of the country. Indeed, the records of output in these two years of general industrial depression plainly indicate an expanding market for electricity. The temporary falling off of wholesale demand by the industrial users has been offset by an increase in retail sales to domestic and other small users, so that the revenues at present are essentially the same as two years ago. New customers are being found, while old ones have simply reduced their demand.

That the electric business of the country is neither overbuilt nor overproducing is a benefit that must, in large part, be attributed to the fact that the industry is treated as a regulated public service monopoly. This highly favorable advantage of being a balanced industry, able to adjust capacity to demand, is due in part to the fact that the indispensable nature of the service rendered, together with the new uses constantly added, tends to augment that demand, but it should also be observed that the monopoly of market allowed to the electric utilities creates a high degree of stabilization that is beneficial to both the public and the industry.

To these economic advantages, not shared by most other productive businesses, should be added the geographic expansion of the larger units in the power industry, a type of growth that differs in some respects from that of other basic industries.

The interstate commerce in electricity has become national rather than regional in scope. Indeed, under similar geographic conditions in continental Europe, an international network of transmission lines is already coming into being over there. Coal power and water power are being exchanged across national boundaries in the interest of efficiency and economy.

It is this interconnection, both physical and financial, of power systems that has given to some water powers practical value that they would not have if operated alone. This economic relationship is promoting the development of a great natural resource even while the competition of steam has greatly increased.

Some years ago the statistics of output of electricity by the public utility plants seemed to promise to become one of the most sensitive of business indicators. Unlike many other "barometers" of business highs and lows, the production of power is simultaneous with its con-

sumption, so that the production curve is actually a consumption curve. However, the lesson of 1931 is that the notable increase in domestic use of electricity largely veiled the serious drop in industrial demand. Yet, the addition of many new customers of the residential type and the general increase in consumption per customer together indicate the larger contribution that is being made to comfort in the home, even in a year of lower incomes.

The continued lack of demand for the products of the mines of the country made curtailment of operations even more widespread. Statistics for some of the metals show outputs lower than for any previous year in a decade or even two decades. In the case of coal, there was a decrease in demand due not only to the conditions of other industry and transportation but also to the continued serious competition by the two other mineral fuels—oil and gas. A further loss in employment in this industry is chargeable to mechanization. The coal industry's struggle with the perennial condition of overdevelopment is probably its most serious trouble. Self-regulation, interstate compacts, co-operative state and federal price-fixing boards are plans proposed at the international conference on bituminous coal at Pittsburgh—all in the effort to stop the sale of coal below cost, a trade habit that results from overproduction.

For the first time in recent years the petroleum industry effectively checked its spendthrift career. Many items can be cited to the credit of this industry. In spite of the opening up in Oklahoma, Texas, and California of three of the largest producing fields the country has known, there was actual curtailment in number of wells drilled and in the output of the wells in these fields and of other highly productive wells. The number of wells completed was smaller than for any other year in this century, and the production of 850 million barrels, as reported by the Bureau of Mines, was the lowest since 1926. Stocks of crude oil were also reduced nearly 48 million barrels. This measure of economic control is a significant contribution to the larger subject of conservation.

In Texas and New Mexico there were increases in output of 41 and 5 million barrels, respectively, thus adding to the difficulty of curtailment elsewhere. Though martial law was necessary in Oklahoma and Texas, self-restraint accomplished the same result in

California. Even greater progress toward balancing of supply with demand seems promised in the general acceptance by the leaders of the oil industry not only of the principle of proration but also of the plan of unit or common development of flush pools. This adoption of the idea of an equitable participation in the output of a pool, based primarily upon each owner's acreage holding, should lead to legislation and field practice quite in contrast with the old rule of ownership based only on reducing to possession. It was the premium upon haste, entailed by this old rule, that was most productive of waste, both physical and economic. Under such long-established precedents conservation of oil and gas was well-nigh impossible. Now, however, the United States Supreme Court, passing on the California conservation law, has established the constitutional right of the legislature to legislate against waste and unreasonable production of oil and gas to the extent that they may infringe the correlative rights of owners. A later decision in a federal court has upheld the Texas oil law.

Another great natural resource in which the United States has been rich since the beginning of things also presents the picture of oversupply: a crop of overripe timber awaits a delayed harvest time, and lumber yards are piled high with stocks awaiting a more active market. As those best qualified to speak are pointing out, the once feared shortage of timber has retreated into a more distant tomorrow, in that today a fifty-year reserve is in sight with no allowance for the annual increment through growth. As was suggested last year in this review, the corner seems to have been turned in forest conservation. The unpredictable item of waste by forest fires, however, remains to give us pause.

Fifteen years ago, a group of economists—Professors Ely, Hess, Leith, and Carver—published studies in the conservation of national resources under the title: *The Foundations of National Prosperity*. The purpose of these students was to bring together human resources and natural resources in the necessary reactions that will contribute to nation-building. Since the publication of these studies, much has been accomplished in bringing about a larger appreciation of the public interest in utilizing the nation's resources. Even the

recent adversity has contributed to this end—another illustration that red ink is an effective catalyzer of ideas.

It is in the field of the industries that utilize natural resources that the need of making common endeavor to balance supply with demand gives best promise of bringing about a rational program of production. The attention paid by the responsible executives in the petroleum industry to the forecasts of demand issued under the auspices of the Federal Oil Conservation Board has been, perhaps, a major factor in the exceptional restraint now exercised in the production of crude oil. If the refiners would exhibit similar self-control in avoiding excess accumulation of gasoline, the petroleum industry might claim leadership in a new business era, wherein the common good is placed ahead of individual benefit; indeed, the two may be found not antagonistic.

One of the lessons of the past two years is plainly suggested in the opening paragraphs of this chapter—the need of more attention to the processes of distribution. That need has long existed, and the following appeal for the application of engineering methods to this problem was written just before the world was rudely awakened from its dreams of wealth.

The hour has struck, therefore, for the engineer to turn his hand to the betterment of distribution of the products of his machines. There is a call for him to explore the other hemisphere of economics—to study demand as well as supply. High-powered salesmanship seeks to create demand rather than to discover it; but isn't it true that this world is all too full of unsatisfied needs, of actual hunger, for us to waste time or energy in inventing new appetites? The fact that modern distribution of the products of the factory as well as of the fruits of the land costs so much more than their production is a plain indication that engineering is needed to co-ordinate demand and supply.²

² George Otis Smith, "International Engineering"; address at banquet given by American committee to Japanese and other delegates at World Engineering Congress, Tokyo, 1929.

INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES

S. C. GILFILLAN

Research Committee on Social Trends, Chicago

ABSTRACT

Our chief aim is to foresee the social effects of the new inventions. Though we hesitate to name these, they can really be more easily predicted than the success of particular inventions already realized. The success of an invention depends on its superiority to all and any rival means for accomplishing the same ends. The final effects have a wider, less chancy basis, more predictable by trend. The most socially significant advances of the past year are briefly discussed.

In reporting each year the most significant discoveries and inventions of the previous twelvemonth, our chief interest is to foresee their social effects. Yet to propound these we are little inclined, for fear of mistakes. It is much safer to quote precise and already accomplished facts, or allegations of fact, from responsible and named sources. It is much harder to say what inventions will succeed. A little study the writer made for Professor Ogburn, of the success of past prophets in the field of marine invention, indicated that even an admiral can predict ships wrongly, absurdly and persistently. But it appeared that if one knows ships and their history thoroughly, and if one uses caution and the extrapolative method, projecting forward the observed trends of the past, and predicting results rather than the means of reaching them, one can land in the bull's eye with satisfying frequency.¹ The Panama Canal is a brilliant, though not unusual, example of this kind of prophecy, having been planned in 1906 for such ships and traffic as did not then exist, with many millions staked on predictions since well justified.

If we carry the reasoning a step farther, to predict, not method nor even direct accomplishment, but social effects, our argument may not be weakened by its increasing steps, but strengthened by reaching a broader base of causation, more varied and suitable for statistical projection. Thus, if we foretell that aircraft will land on roofs through using de la Cierva's autogiro, we are predicting that this particular engineering principle (and we are not engineers) will always be found better than any rival device now or hereafter in-

¹ Cf. the author's "The Size of Future Liners," *The Independent*, March 6, 1913.

vented. If we predict that airplanes will land somehow on roofs, we shall be on safer ground. And if we say that some way or other there will be very rapid transit between centers of cities, with social effects of more international finance, language, government, etc., we shall be safest of all. Will the reader, therefore, please take the following list of inventions and discoveries, not as predictions that these particular processes will be used, or are necessarily even good, but rather as suggestions of what human values the general trend of civilization—technologic, economic, and broadly social—is marching to bring about, and which last year (if not well before) were rather proved possible, through the discovery of an apparently feasible means.

PHYSICS

X-ray machines are making rapid progress toward higher voltages and hence shorter, more penetrating rays, verging upon those of radium. One machine of 900,000 volts has been built on the cascade system (which is capable of much greater use), and one to withstand 2,600,000 volts by Drs. F. Lange and A. Brasch, of the University of Berlin (S).² At the same time a thermionic valve of 2,000,000-volt capacity has been produced by the Carnegie Institute (A, June), and a frictional electric machine, by Dr. R. J. Van de Graaff, of Princeton, yielding 1,500,000 volts, and it is hoped soon a 20,000,000-volt machine (S, G). An X-ray tube which shows no sign of wearing out after 11,000 hours is presented by Dr. W. R. Ham, of Pennsylvania State College; and at the same time M. G. Reboul, of Montpellier, has produced X-rays without tubes (G). Dr. A. H. Compton, of the University of Chicago, successfully developed a technique for measuring the length of waves down to one five-hundredth of the diameter of an atom (G). Dr. G. W. Hull, of the General Electric Company, measured a current of about .000,000,000,000,000,3 watt, or only 30 electrons per second (G). Models of molecular vibrations, constructed by Dr. C. F. Kettering and his associates in the General Electric Company typify the constant advances in making easily

² Letters in parentheses refer to the principal sources used, as follows: A—*Scientific American* for the month stated; G—compilation of "Scientific Progress in 1931" by the National Geographic Society, published in the *World Almanac*, 1932, pp. 141-51; P—*Popular Science Monthly*; S—compilation of *Science News Letter*, in its issue of December 26, 1931.

comprehensible the successive discoveries of science, however recondite (G).

The most powerful microscope is now that of R. R. Rife, of San Diego, magnifying 17,000 diameters (G, P, June, and February, 1932).

The neon light has been adapted to domestic illumination, offering a large, soft light of white or certain colors, encouraging designs of broad lines rather than spots of light (G).

COMMUNICATION

Short radio waves have been developed for great possibilities of small apparatus, secrecy, beam wireless, and great multiplication of the number of communications which may be on the air at once. Senator Marconi in particular used a beam system of 45 centimeters wave-length, for distances of about 50 kilometers (G).

The new Newfoundland-Azores cable can transmit 1,200 letters per minute in one direction, or 1,400 in both (G).

Phonograph records of paper have been invented, costing a cent or two, and of double playing time, using a photo-electric cell (P, February).

Microscopic print, with a machine for the reading of it which may be held in the hand, so that a book could be of leaflet size, sold for 15 cents and published at little cost beyond that of neatly type-writing it, is offered by the distinguished American inventor, Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, author of *Invention, the Master-key to Progress*.

The blind man's reading machine of R. E. Naumburg scans along the lines by six photo-electric cells, and transliterates the dark and light not into musical tones, as before, but into raised marks along an aluminum tape, which a blind man can read (P, July).

Composite photography impossible to detect, by which moving actors may be superimposed upon a still or moving background taken at a different time and place, have been given us by a seventeen-year old boy, Dodge Dunning, with his father's help. It is especially useful in talkies, wherever sound, as well as actors, need to be inserted later.

The future "home theater of 1930" which I described in 1912,³ has

³ *The Independent*, October 17, 1912.

now arrived in its electric, as well as its record, form through numerous inventions, especially in television, which has now attained large enough screens for public-hall, as well as home, performance. But too sanguine and ill informed were my dates of 1917 for the electric theater in halls, and 1932 for the majority of homes; and I totally overlooked radio.

AËRONAUTICS

This field naturally continues a rapid progress, especially in the most needed direction—safety. A 68-minute service between New York and Washington has been established (A, December); 207 people were carried on one 500-mile flight by the airship "Akron" (P, January, 1932); a 16-kilometer height was reached by Professors Piccard and Kipfer by balloon with closed car (P, August); airplanes on the same principle, with cabins and air pumps able to maintain normal pressure in the near vacuum of the stratosphere, are being built in Germany and France, to obtain the great speed, clear sky, smoothness and constant, strong west winds which can be had at high altitudes (P, January and March, 1932); in the mundane sphere 415 miles per hour has been reached by airplane, and 84½ hours without refueling (S). The queer tailless type of airplane, safer from stalling and safer in a crash, attracts several inventors.

To achieve safety, two problems have been particularly attacked, viz., that of landing in a small or rough field (a solution useful also for reaching city centers), and that of flying and landing in fog. The developing autogiro may satisfy the first need, especially if an invention succeeds of having the rotating wing two-bladed and able to be fixed while in steady flight, improving the speed. The helicopter, able to rise and descend quite vertically, has at the hands of d'Ascanio risen 19 meters and flown for 8 minutes, while being safe from falls by adoption of the autogiro principle. The demon of fog has been attacked notably last year by an automatic route guide and stabilizer (G); by a sonic altimeter from the General Electric Company which measures 50–1,000 feet distance from the ground by echo (A, April, November); by a chain of flashing beacons, whose light might be invisible to the human eye, yet picked up and distinguished by a photo-electric cell sensitive to long, infra-red rays,

with a tuned selector, ascribed to the great Langmuir, of the General Electric Company (S); and by a landing system using three radio beams, which move visual indicators, enabling a pilot to land correctly on an airdrome in thickest fog, developed by the Aëronautic Research Division of the Department of Commerce (A, July). But if all should fail, the United States Air Corps is making the first experiments with a big parachute to yank the cabin right out of a plane, giving the passengers time to don their personal parachutes.

OTHER TRANSPORTATION

Aviation is influencing the railways, encouraging stream-lining of cars, and the air-propeller drive. Such a train made 106 miles an hour between Berlin and Hamburg (G, P, July).

Similarly, automobile influence upon the street car has cut the noise in half on new cars for Detroit's municipal system—through reducing the unsprung weight, and using worm-gear drive, rubber, and other automobile features (A, August).

Navigation by the sun, despite cloudy skies, is claimed for the sextant of P. H. MacNeil, which locates the hidden orb by an element sensitive to the infra-red rays (G).

The longest pipe line has been opened from Texas to Chicago, nearly 1,000 miles (S).

The first double-deck elevator has been built by Otis engineers for the Cities Service Building of New York. It will enable eight shafts to do the work of fourteen, and suits the numerous class of tall buildings having two ground floors (P, January, 1932).

POWER

A wind-power plant invented by Julius D. Madaras, of Detroit, is actively proposed, to consist of Flettner rotors, cylinders 70 feet high rotated in the wind, pushing themselves around a circular track 1 kilometer in diameter (P, January, 32).

Electric power in small amounts is being got directly from radiation—by photo-electric cell from the sun and by thermocouple and kerosene lamp cheaply enough to run a radio set.

A tidal power plant on the Bristol channel contains the novel feature of power storage between tides through heat put into water by churning it (S).

CHEMISTRY

Synthetic albumen was produced from coal by Professor William Gluud, of Bochum (G).

Silk from strictly synthetic material was announced by the du Pont company (G).

Rubber has been produced commercially from the guayule desert plant in the United States. The du Pont Company is building a plant to make synthetic rubber (G).

The Eastman Kodak Company demonstrated a new method of photographing in darkness (G).

Aluminum plating on iron has been developed by Harry Johansson, of Stockholm; and tungsten plating by Colin G. Fink, of Columbia, producing a beautiful luster and very hard surface (A, August, October).

MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

What is called the best advance in bacteriology since Pasteur is the discovery by Dr. Arthur I. Kendall, of Northwestern University, of a method of feeding bacteria human proteins, so as to make grow large enough to be observable, especially with the new Rife microscope, certain species, previously ultramicroscopic, of influenza, typhoid, poliomyelitis, streptococcus, and staphylococcus (S).

Other progress has been made with poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis), breeding six generations of the organism outside the human body, learning that it attacks through the nose, developing a preventive inoculation in monkeys (S), and measuring the amount of immunity substance in the blood stream (G).

Tularemia has been found to affect a number of mammals, and to be carried by the same fever tick responsible for the deadly Rocky Mountain spotted fever (now found in the East and being spread by fleas too) (S, G).

Athlete's foot, or ringworm of the feet, has been spreading alarmingly, and is now suspected of creating hypersensitiveness to this and that. However, a remedy is found in sodium thiosulphate, by Dr. W. L. Gould, and a preventive in sodium hypochlorite by Dr. E. D. Osborne and Miss B. S. Hitchcock (A, November).

Diphtheria and asthma have been combated through high-frequency electric waves.

Tooth decay has been prevented most positively by Dr. E. V. McCollum, of Hopkins, and University of Wisconsin investigators. It appears to depend mainly on a diet in youth having proper quantities of absorbed calcium, with vitamin D or sunshine, and phosphorus (A, March; S, January, 1932).

Pernocton in childbirth is reported safe, almost painless, and without possible ill effects on the baby (G).

Significant progress has been made in the cure or understanding of, among others, bowlegs, cancer (three discoveries), deafness, distress after operations, coastal erysipelas, hookworm, insanity, leprosy, leucemia, multiple sclerosis or creeping paralysis, pellagra, radium poisoning, ill effects from serums, scurvy, silicosis, smallpox, tuberculosis, and typhus (G, S).

A carbon-monoxide combustion indicator for automobiles, invented by Dr. Miller Reese Hutchison, of New York, enables elimination of this prevalent urban poison, and increases the automobile's power by proper adjustment of the feed (P, February).

VITAMINS, ULTRA-VIOLET-RAYS AND BIOLOGY

Rickets is prevented by feeding cows irradiated yeast, increasing the vitamin D content of their milk 20-30 fold (A).

A concentrated form of vitamin C has been prepared from lemon juice at the University of Pittsburgh (G).

Ultra-violet lamps suitable for rather ordinary illumination appear on the market.

Protein crystals of great digestive power were isolated from trypsin by Drs. J. H. Northrop and M. Kunitz, of the Rockefeller Institute (S, G).

Joint sterility when neither human mate was normally sterile was discovered in some cases by Dr. R. Kurzrok and Professor C. C. Lieb, of Columbia.

AGRICULTURE

A tobacco plant containing no nicotine has been bred at a research institute of the Ministry for National Economics, Germany. Its leaves may be used for salad; but in smoking, their flavor is normal (P, February, 1932). Nicotine has also been reduced by sun curing, by K. R. Natarajan, of Madras (A, October).

Eggs oiled under a vacuum keep in storage ten months as if but a day or two old, through a process by T. L. Swenson and associates at the Bureau of Chemistry and Soils (A, July).

MISCELLANEOUS

An oil well 10,030 feet deep has been drilled in California. In 1915 the record was 2,000 feet. Progress has come largely through metallurgy and is greatly increasing the accessible oil resources of the world (P, December).

An automatic grocery has been opened in New York with twenty-four-hour service, unattended at night (A, April).

A mechanical bookkeeper, a card reading and sorting machine on the photo-electric principle, was devised by D. A. Young, of Westinghouse, on request of a company which received so many stubs from customers that sorters could hardly be found to stick at such a monotonous task (A, November). Such jobs are the easiest field for invention; but this practical reading machine is peculiarly portentous.

The sphygmomanometer, or lie-detector, based on recording both pulse and breathing, has been used thousands of times without an error. Also, sodium amytal brings the most reserved person readily to discuss his or her private affairs (G). This sort of thing is socially the most revolutionary of inventions, tending that all men be used according to their deserts, not according to their lies or others' guesswork.

PRODUCTION

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ABSTRACT

The record for 1931 is one of sharp decline in industrial production and in construction activity, but crop output was greater than in 1930. *Manufacturing*.—The early months of 1931 witnessed substantial improvement in manufacturing output; but by the middle of the year, decline had again set in, and in the closing months activity was at the lowest levels since the business depression of 1920–21. *Mining*.—Mining activity decreased almost continuously throughout the year, and production of the major industries was curtailed sharply. *Construction*.—Activity in general fell to extremely low levels although governmental efforts to stimulate construction, and thus furnish employment, increased certain classes of public works. *Agriculture and animal husbandry*.—Last year's increase in crop production, following the poor yields of 1930, occurred despite a reduction in acreage harvested. Production of live stock and live-stock products showed comparatively little change from the preceding year.

During the early months of 1931 industrial activity showed improvement from the low levels reached toward the close of 1930, manufacturing output in particular making substantial gains. While this improvement was under way in the United States, however, a monetary crisis developed in Europe during the second quarter of the year; and mainly because of this crisis, the revival of business in the United States was cut short. The announcement of the moratorium on intergovernmental debts in June was followed by some temporary improvement; but by late July, the financial situation abroad had become more acute and business activity continued downward.

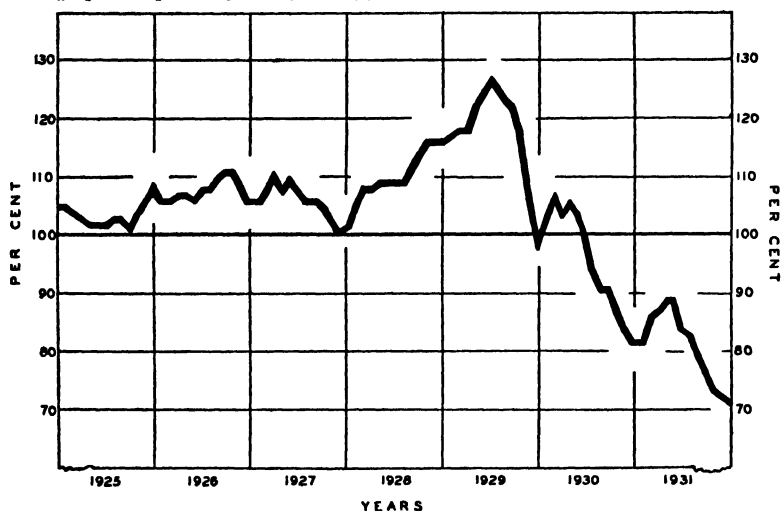
The temporary improvement in industrial production during the opening months of 1931, and the subsequent decline, are clearly shown by the Federal Reserve Board index on Chart I. This index, based upon output in important manufacturing and mining industries, has been corrected for seasonal variations, but the long-time growth element has not been eliminated. Mainly because of increases in general manufacturing output, the index rose from the low figure of 82 (1923–25 average = 100) in December, 1930 to 89 in April of the following year. The decline that followed, however, carried the index to 71 in December, the lowest level reached since 1921. The sharp decline in construction activity, as pictured on

Chart II, also gave clear evidence of the results of business depression.

For the major crops, output last year increased considerably, following the very poor yields, due to the drought, in 1930. In spite of this increase in volume, however, the sharp decline in commodity prices—more severe in prices of farm products at the farm than in

CHART I
INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

(Federal Reserve Board index adjusted for seasonal variation; 1923-25 average = 100. From the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, September, November, December, 1931, and mimeographed report of January 25, 1932.)



wholesale markets—reduced considerably the farm income from crop production; and live-stock products, also, while showing little change in volume of production, brought considerably smaller income.

MANUFACTURING

In 1931 the volume of manufacturing output was reduced sharply to the lowest levels since the business depression of 1920-21. During the early months of last year, as in 1930, activity on the whole made a fairly substantial rise; but in the second quarter decline was renewed, and this decrease continued with little interruption through the remaining months. For the year as a whole, the decline was most

severe for those industries supplying commodities primarily industrial, like iron, steel, and cement, and for those manufacturing certain consumers' goods, among them automobiles. For certain other consumers' goods, such as cotton and wool textiles, boots and shoes, and gasoline, output was either greater than in 1930 or comparatively well sustained.

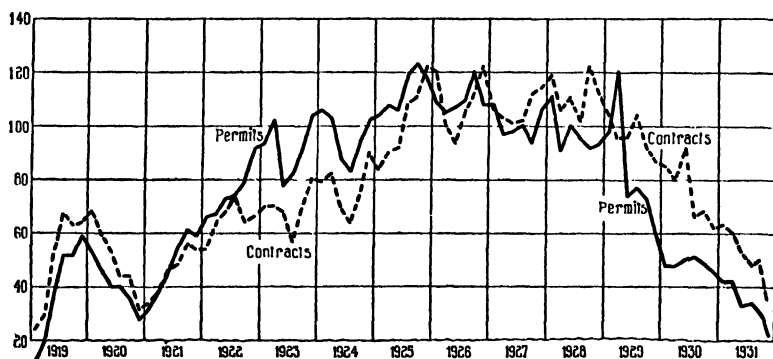
The steel industry operated at an average rate of less than 38 per cent, reflecting sharp declines of activity in the major steel-con-

CHART II

INDEXES OF THE VALUE OF CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS AND OF BUILDING PERMITS

(Bimonthly averages corrected for seasonal variation; 1924-29 average = 100.)

NOTE.—Basic data for contracts used through courtesy of the F. W. Dodge Corporation. Contracts figures for 1919-24 based on twenty-seven northeastern states; for 1925-31, on thirty-seven eastern states. Permits index based on Bradstreet's compilations. Chart from Harvard Economic Society, Inc., by permission.



suming industries. Steel-ingot production amounted to 24,900,000 tons, a decline of about 37 per cent from 1930 levels and the smallest tonnage in ten years. Pig-iron output decreased even more sharply, from 31,399,000 tons in 1930 to 18,275,000 tons last year—a drop of almost 42 per cent. United States production of automobiles, which fell to 2,389,730 motor cars and trucks, was 29 per cent under that of 1930, and 55 per cent below the record high year, 1929.

Conspicuous among those industries that last year showed improvement over 1930 was wool textiles, in which activity rose substantially until late in the summer. While sharp declines occurred in the closing months, output for the year as a whole averaged well

above that of a year earlier. In the cotton branch of the textile industry, output differed little from that of 1930; both sales and shipments, however, were greatly in excess of production. Output of boots and shoes was 4 per cent larger in 1931 than in 1930. This improvement in shoe manufacture was reflected to some extent in the output of cattle upper leather, which increased nearly 9 per cent. Sole-leather production, on the other hand, was reduced sharply.

Among other important manufacturing industries, cigarette production, which had been increasing steadily for many years, declined 5 per cent; cigar output dropped 10 per cent; and manufactured tobacco and snuff declined 9 per cent. Wheat-flour production is estimated to have decreased 5 per cent, and sugar meltings were 13 per cent less than in 1930. Cement output, reflecting the sharp drop in construction activity, was the smallest since 1922.

MINING

The sharp decline in mineral output that occurred in 1930 was continued last year; in fact, the downward movement from the high levels reached in 1929 has been fairly continuous during the past two years. In 1931, production was the lowest since 1922, when labor difficulties in the coal fields caused sharp declines in mineral output as a whole.

The decrease in coal mining last year reduced output of bituminous coal 19 per cent below 1930 levels; and that of anthracite, 14 per cent. Bituminous coal production, estimated to have been slightly more than 378,000,000 tons, was the smallest annual output since 1908; and the amount of anthracite produced (somewhat less than 60,000,000 tons) was the lowest since 1922.

Petroleum production for 1931 is estimated at 850,275,000 barrels, compared with 898,011,000 in 1930, and 1,007,323,000 in 1929. In the second quarter of last year, production rose quite sharply, reflecting to a large extent the opening of oil fields in East Texas. By July, total output had risen to 77,961,000 barrels, the largest monthly total in more than a year. In August and early September efforts were made to curtail the overproduction of petroleum, and the oil fields first in Oklahoma and later in East Texas were shut down under martial law. Although by the middle of September the fields

were reopened, output in that month and the remaining months of the year was held down by strict proration enforcement.

Among the principal metals, slab-zinc output last year was 40 per cent below production in 1930; silver output was reduced 37 per cent; and refined lead showed a decline of 30 per cent. For copper, monthly statistics of output were not published after September, as certain producers failed to release their figures; but during the nine months for which figures were available, a reduction of 26 per cent from the corresponding nine months in 1930 occurred. Estimates place domestic mine production for the year as a whole at about 500,000 tons, compared with 690,471 tons in 1930. Total shipments of iron ore from the Lake Superior district during the 1931 season were nearly 50 per cent less than in the preceding year, and the smallest since 1921.

CONSTRUCTION

The decline in construction activity during recent years is clearly illustrated on Chart II, which presents indexes, adjusted for seasonal variation, of the value of construction contracts and building permits. Last year, the downward movement of both curves was practically uninterrupted, and by December the two indexes had fallen to the lowest levels since 1919 or 1920. For the entire year 1931, the value of contracts awarded for all classes of construction in the thirty-seven states for which figures are reported by the F. W. Dodge Corporation was \$3,092,849,500, compared with \$4,523,114,600 in 1930—a decline of about 32 per cent; and the permits values (Bradstreet's figures for 215 cities) indicate a decline of about 31 per cent—from \$1,672,182,351 to \$1,158,963,273. The decrease in the figures for construction contracts last year was much more severe than in 1930, when a drop of 21 per cent occurred; for permits, last year's decline of 31 per cent compared with a decrease of 43 per cent in 1930.

Among the various classes of construction, the contracts figures indicate that non-residential building declined 37 per cent from 1930, residential building dropped 26 per cent, and public works and utilities showed a decrease of 23 per cent. Among the constituents of the non-residential group, commercial and industrial construction declined sharply; but certain classes of public building, notably

post-offices, increased considerably. Similarly, in the field of utilities, private building showed a sharp decrease, but governmental construction of this type held up well as a result of efforts to furnish employment.

The mileage of federal-aid highways completed during the year was more than 45 per cent above that in 1930 and the greatest of any year since 1925. New orders for concrete pavements, however, in 1931 averaged less than a year earlier and were the smallest since 1927 (according to reports of the Portland Cement Association).

AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY¹

Total crop production in 1931 increased, despite the fact that the acreage harvested was about 2.6 per cent lower than in 1930. Exclusive of fruits, the acreage harvested in 1931 was 350,672,000 acres, a decrease of 9,255,000 acres from the year preceding. This reduction reflected to a great extent decreases due to drought and crop failure in California and five states in the northern Great Plains. For the country as a whole, however, favorable growing conditions brought crop production close to the average of the preceding ten years. Crop yields per acre harvested last year averaged 11.7 per cent higher than the very low yields of 1930, and 4.1 per cent above the yields of 1929.

Among the important crops that were substantially larger than a year earlier were cotton, winter wheat, corn, buckwheat, and apples. Tobacco, rice, potatoes, and hay showed comparatively small changes; while sharp reductions occurred for oats, rye, barley, and flaxseed. For cotton, the acreage harvested is estimated at 40,495,000 acres, a reduction of 4,596,000 acres from 1930; but the yield per acre increased 36 per cent and the cotton crop, estimated at 16,918,000 bales, was the second largest ever produced in the United States. The record crop to date was that of 1926, when 17,977,000 bales were produced. For corn, the yield per acre rose 20 per cent; for buckwheat, 45 per cent; while for tobacco, rice, and potatoes, increases of less than 3 per cent occurred.

¹ *Crops and Markets* for December, 1931, and *The Agricultural Situation* for January 1, 1932 (publications of the United States Department of Agriculture), are the principal sources on which this section has been based.

The acreage for winter wheat was 1,500,000 acres greater than in 1930, and the yield per acre increased more than 25 per cent. The total acreage harvested for all wheat, however, was reduced 6,189,000 acres, the decline due entirely to decreases in the spring-wheat acreage. The yield per acre of spring wheat dropped sharply below that of 1930. The decline in the yield per acre for oats amounted to 13 per cent; rye fell off 19 per cent; barley, 28 per cent; and flaxseed showed a reduction of 16 per cent.

Among the major classes of live stock, federally inspected slaughter of all but cattle was larger in 1931 than in the year preceding. The greatest increase was shown by slaughterings of sheep and lambs, which rose more than 8 per cent; hogs showed an increase of slightly more than 1 per cent; and calves, between 2 and 3 per cent. Slaughterings of cattle were about 1 per cent smaller than in 1930. Aggregate production of meats from federally inspected slaughter differed little from that of a year earlier. Creamery butter output showed a small increase (1.9 per cent), while cheese production declined slightly (1.6 per cent). Total milk equivalent of butter, cheese, and canned milk was practically the same in the two years.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

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ABSTRACT

Foreign policy is determined and controlled by the interplay of political forces within the state and by the traditionalized behavior patterns which have developed out of past contacts between the state and other states. The Monroe Doctrine, the policy of isolation from Europe, and the principle of the open door in China represent such traditionalized behavior patterns in American foreign policy. While the exigencies of a changing world, plunged in economic depression and acute international rivalries which can be ameliorated only through international collaboration, demand a new orientation of foreign policy for the more adequate protection of American interests abroad, popular allegiance to inherited policies and attitudes tends to paralyze the efforts of the administration in this direction. American endeavors to contribute toward world peace, disarmament, and financial and economic rehabilitation have been rendered ineffective by this circumstance.

The foreign policies of any state are intelligible only when viewed in terms of the determining and controlling forces which limit the discretion of its diplomats and fix the general goals and directions of their activities. These forces are inherent in the geographic, strategic, and economic relations between the state and other sovereign political communities, and also in the juxtaposition of social classes, political parties, pressure groups, and special interests of all kinds within the national society. State action in a world of competing territorial sovereignties and conflicting nationalisms is at all times directed toward the enhancement of state power, the protection and promotion of the state's interests, the more adequate realization of the state's personality. The United States as a unit in the Western state system is necessarily engaged, because of the nature of that state system, in a more or less competitive contest for power and prestige with other states. The forms and purposes of its activities in the international arena are conditioned by the fixed and traditional behavior patterns or "policies," such as the Monroe Doctrine, isolationism, the Open Door, and the like, which have developed out of past experience in dealing with other sovereignties. The specific content of these permanent policies at any given moment of time will reflect the interests and attitudes of the groups within the state

which are politically effective in imposing their views upon the prevalent conception of the state's interests.

Foreign policy is thus shaped by the interaction between these internal and external forces. Their complex interrelationships as they play upon the president, the secretary of state, and Congress determine the direction of American foreign policy in each situation as it arises. If foreign policy often appears to be lacking in logic, consistency, and common sense, the cause is to be found in the conflicting views and interests of those who strive to control decisions and in the political impossibility of rapidly adjusting inherited behavior patterns to the exigencies of an ever changing present.

International developments in the Western hemisphere during the past year led to several significant restatements of American policy toward the immediate neighbors of the United States. In December of 1930, Secretary of State Stimson, in justifying his refusal to recognize a revolutionary régime in Guatemala, reasserted the adherence of the United States to the principle, incorporated in the Central American treaty of 1923, of refusing to recognize governments set up by unconstitutional means. On February 6, 1931, however, he declared that the United States, while adhering to the policy announced with respect to Central America, would recognize all *de facto* governments in South America, regardless of their mode of origin. At the same time he defended the imposition of an arms embargo in favor of established governments threatened by rebellion, and asserted that the Monroe Doctrine was "a declaration of the United States versus Europe, not of the United States versus Latin America." In April, following the killing of a number of American citizens by Sandino insurgents in Nicaragua, Stimson announced that the American government would not protect its nationals by forcible intervention.

These statements, as well as that of May 9, in which the Secretary of State reiterated his intention not to employ force for the collection of debts, were designed to put an end to Latin American denunciations of Yankee imperialism and to recast American recognition and intervention policies in the light of the Hoover-Stimson orientation. The "new" policy is based upon the hope of winning Latin American good will as a means toward further development of market possi-

bilities. It contemplates the preservation of American hegemony in the Caribbean by methods less distasteful to the southern republics than those adopted in the past. Its success remains to be demonstrated.

American policy toward the European powers was dominated throughout the period by the dilemma in which the administration found itself as a consequence of being forced by the logic of events into courses of action which were highly inexpedient from the point of view of domestic politics. While habit, tradition, and the popular fetish of isolationism dictated an attitude of indifferent aloofness toward transatlantic problems, the steady decline of trade, the increasing insecurity of the huge American investments in Europe, and the palpable impossibility of European governments meeting their debt obligations required vigorous co-operative action to avert disaster. After representations by bankers and consultations with Congressmen of both parties, President Hoover announced a plan on June 20 for a one-year moratorium on all intergovernmental payments. After protracted, and at times painful, negotiations with France, the moratorium was accepted by all parties in time to avert financial catastrophe in Germany. The larger problem of a revision of the debts was left in abeyance, however, and the world financial crisis compelled Great Britain, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and other countries to abandon the gold standard and to resort to measures which contributed further to the progressive paralysis of world-trade. The visits to Washington of Premier Laval of France in October and of Foreign Minister Grandi of Italy in November effected no significant changes in the situation, apart from revealing more clearly the irreconcilability of the American and European policies toward debts and disarmament.

Throughout all these negotiations effective action on the part of the American government was made difficult by popular opposition to debt cancellation and to any further political commitments of the United States in Europe. President Hoover, in deference to this sentiment, reverted to time-honored formulas in his message to Congress of December 10, urging legislative approval of the moratorium: "Reparations is necessarily wholly a European problem with which we have no relation. . . . I do not approve in any remote sense of

the cancellation of the debts to us." He nevertheless urged the revival of the World War Foreign Debt Commission to re-examine the debtor's capacity to pay. Congress refused to act upon this suggestion, and the joint resolution which approved the moratorium asserted, "It is hereby expressly declared to be against the policy of Congress that any of the indebtedness of foreign countries to the United States should be in any manner cancelled or reduced, and nothing in this joint resolution should be construed as indicating a contrary policy, or as implying that favorable consideration will be given at any time to a change in the policy hereby declared." This position rendered futile, for the time being, all further negotiations over debts and reparations.

American policy in the Far East during the year continued to be directed toward the protection of American commercial interests through diplomatic efforts to preserve peace and maintain the "open door." The outstanding political development of the year in the Orient was the progressive military occupation of Manchuria by Japanese forces during the autumn. This action was viewed with dismay in Washington as constituting a threat of war and a resort to coercive action in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of existing international engagements for the pacific settlement of disputes. The situation was likewise deplored as foreshadowing an enhancement of Japanese power in the Far East, and as indicating a possible intention on the part of Japan to convert Manchuria and other areas of China into an exclusive Japanese sphere of influence in violation of the Open Door principle.

The policy adopted by the State Department to maintain peace and protect American interests was described as one of "independent co-operation" with the League of Nations. This policy has been unsuccessful up to the time of writing in accomplishing its purpose. While it brought the United States into closer collaboration with the League of Nations than ever before, it led to increasing Japanese resentment at American interference. The Japanese government persisted in the course upon which it had embarked, and later attempted to break the Chinese boycott by forcible measures, in disregard both of the resolution of the League Council and of Secretary Stimson's repeated protests. The controversy reached an acute stage with the

outbreak of hostilities at Shanghai at the end of January. The resulting international crisis, still unresolved in mid-February, appeared to be fraught with dangerous possibilities of increasing anarchy in China and of open conflict between the powers.

The nature of the central problem of American foreign policy during the past year and at the present time has already been suggested. A successful and far-sighted foreign policy is impossible for the United States so long as the persistence of isolationism and provincialism paralyzes the efforts of the president and the State Department to protect American economic and political interests throughout the world by close, regularized co-operation with the powers of Europe and Asia. The American government is placed by this circumstance in a peculiarly anomalous position, because it is the custodian of larger interests abroad, in terms of commerce, investments, and loans, than those of any other nation, and at the same time it is the spokesman of a national community in which traditionalized inhibitions to international collaboration are more deeply rooted than elsewhere.

In consequence of this situation, no progress whatever was made during the past year toward a reduction of tariff barriers which, upon American initiative, were elevated to unprecedented heights. Nothing was done to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. No progress was made toward a revision of war debts and reparations, aside from measures of palliation and postponement. The United States participated in the General Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations, which opened at Geneva in February of 1932, but no significant steps had been taken toward reaching such preliminary understandings as are always indispensable to the success of conferences of this kind. While France and her allies insisted upon "security" as a prerequisite to further disarmament, the state of American opinion forbade the State Department to discuss any type of security pact or consultative arrangement. In all of these respects the United States, which is inextricably entangled in European peace and prosperity, is largely prevented from making any effective contribution toward the protection of its own interests and is constrained to adopt a purely negative and obstructionist rôle.

The whole problem, in its simplest terms, might be regarded as a

phenomenon of "cultural lag." Popular attitudes fail to keep pace with the exigencies of a changing world. The dogmas and doctrines of national self-sufficiency, state sovereignty, and exclusive pursuit of national interests by self-help persist into a century in which technology and economics have created a world-society which can only attain its own destruction by adherence to these relics of a pre-industrial age. The United States, with a larger stake in that world-society, with more to lose from a continuation of international anarchy than almost any other state, is, more than others, reluctant to play its part in the institutionalization of the procedures of political collaboration between states. It is, more than others, committed to the ancient ways which offer so little of hope for the salvaging of a sick acquisitive civilization composed of self-seeking national communities. That these inhibitions are explicable in terms of geography, political traditions, and the dead hand of the past makes the present maladjustment no less tragic in its implications for the future. Whether a transformation of attitudes and values can be effected in time to avert still greater disaster must appear dubious even to optimists.

LABOR

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ABSTRACT

All labor activities were influenced by the depression. Strikes increased and were mostly participated in by the poorly organized and unorganized. Most of the strikes were lost. The weakened condition of the old unions has brought rival unions into prominence. The order of the day is wage reductions. Even the relatively strong railroad unions accepted a wage reduction. The weakened unions are unsuccessful in maintaining national agreements and in securing conferences with employers. Some unions have taken drastic wage reductions as a means of ultimately strengthening their position. Will this new strategy bring the desired results? As the year progressed, organized labor developed a keener interest in positive legislation and political action. The talk of a "third" party is more persistent. A growing interest in independent political action is evident from the results of the elections. The hunger marches also indicate serious unrest. A "third" party venture seems to be in the offing.

The long depression has gripped the labor movement as effectively as it has the rest of society. Consequently all important activity is now influenced by the chaotic economic situation.

STRIKES

This second year of the depression has witnessed an increase in strike activity over the previous two years. As compared with 1930, this year shows, for the available eleven months, an increase in strikes from 653 to 760, and in the number of workers involved from 158,114 to 272,980. When the December figures are released, the number of workers involved will exceed 100 per cent over 1930. This increase is traceable to the resistance of organized and unorganized workers to wage reductions, rebellion of poorly paid workers, who because of part-time work were reduced close to a starvation level, and other causes induced by depressed economic conditions. The spectacular strikes involving the largest number of workers again consisted of the poorly organized and unorganized. Most of these strikes were an outgrowth of conditions imposed by employers without consulting the workers, or of unbearable conditions which the employers refused to improve. The strongly organized usually composed their differences with the employers through negotiations, not infrequently accepting wage reductions.

This year, coal divided the honors with textiles in so far as strikes were concerned. There were a number of "outlaw" strikes in the anthracite region called by insurgent members of the United Mine Workers because of dissatisfaction over distribution of work so as to give all miners an opportunity to earn something. Two of these strikes involved 20,000 miners in each. These "outlaw" strikes terminated in a comparatively short time through the intervention of union officials and the promise of the operators to consider the grievances. The strikes of a more serious nature occurred in the practically unorganized bituminous regions of West Virginia, Kentucky, western Pennsylvania, and eastern Ohio. Most of these strikes were caused by the inability of the miners to keep body and soul together on the meager earnings. In all these areas the striking miners found themselves confronted with the stiff opposition of the operators backed by machine guns, gun men, the police authorities, and injunctions. Killings and woundings occurred on both sides, arrests were made by wholesale, and assertive immigrants were deported. Evicting of families from company-owned houses became so common that tent colonies, deserted hovels, and other equally uninhabitable shelters were taken over by the strikers. Generally the strikes of the poorly organized and unorganized were lost and the victimization of the active workers has added to the hardships. Reports from all sources agree that the miners of these areas are in dire want.

In contrast with the textile strikes of the past two years, those of this year occurred primarily in the north. They were chiefly confined to the Central Atlantic and New England states. The important strikes consisted also of poorly organized and unorganized workers. They were largely attempts of the workers to resist wage reductions. The largest number involved was over 23,000 in the October Lawrence, Massachusetts, strike. There were the usual violence, arrests, deportations, and so on, as in the coal areas, except not on as large a scale. Most of the strikes were lost. Where the workers had organizations before the strike was called they usually succeeded in getting compromise settlements.

With the weakening of the old unions the union situation has become confused. Thus, four rival unions participated in the coal

and textile strikes. In the coal industry there are now the United Mine Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Communist-led National Miners Union, the I.W.W., and an independent West Virginia Mine Workers Union. In the textile industry the following unions participated in the strikes: the United Textile Workers, affiliated with the Federation, the Communist-led National Textile Workers Union, and three independent unions, that is, unions having no affiliation with a national trade union center.

WAGE REDUCTIONS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

In contrast to the general profession at the beginning of the crisis that there must be no wage reductions, the order of the day now is wage reductions. And even the strongest unions, although still protesting, are beginning to accept reductions. To be sure, there are still instances where unions have thus far succeeded in staving off wage reductions either through negotiations or strikes. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that most of them will find it necessary to capitulate. The procedure of the twenty-one "standard" railroad unions is indicative. Their negotiations with the managers were drawn out over two months, beginning in New York and ending in Chicago. Labor's case was most intelligently presented. The union representatives offered various compromises and asked concessions that would assure greater security for their members. Although the representatives protested that "labor cannot be called upon to pay a dole to idle capital," they finally agreed to a 10 per cent "deduction" for a year, with the basic rate remaining as at present. The roads in turn merely promised to do everything possible to stabilize employment. These negotiations were epochal, affecting over 1,500,000 workers. It is the first national wage negotiation involving virtually all railroad unions and railroads of the country.

The strength of the railroad unions is attested to by their success in securing a national conference and agreement, since the managers preferred to adjust differences either by individual systems or regions and through negotiations with the different union groups rather than with all unions at one session. Unions have always aimed for national agreements and for a time were successful. But since they

have been losing in strength, the tendency has been in the other direction. There was a time when most of the important industries operated under national union agreements. The situation has so changed that either the unions have lost out completely as in the metal trades or the jurisdiction of the agreements has been narrowed down to cover the least important part of the industry as illustrated by the steel, pottery, and flint-glass industries. Nor are unions so successful in getting employers to negotiate with them. Since the United Mine Workers lost their national agreement with the bituminous coal operators, as a result of the disastrous 1927 strike, they have strained themselves to get these coal operators to meet in national conference. The luring bait was the offer to co-operate in restoring the health of this sick monarch by stabilizing the industry. Not even the intervention of President Hoover and his secretaries of Commerce and Labor has budged the operators in their determination not to meet with the union. The operators insist on themselves doctoring the ailing patient. Perhaps if the miners were as well organized as the railroad workers the operators would regard their proffer of co-operation in a different light.

The inability of the unions to organize the unorganized has led two unions to experiment with a new strategy. They have decided to accept such large reductions that the wages of their members would be lower than those paid to most non-union workers. The ultimate strategy is to force non-union employers to reduce wages to a point where the workers will rebel and turn to the union for succor. The immediate purpose is to hold on where the union already functions, or to get a foothold where it is not yet established. Last October the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, an autonomous branch of the United Textile Workers, renewed their national agreement by accepting wage cuts for the different classes of workers running as high as 45 per cent. So far there is no evidence to indicate whether this drastic act has brought results. However, a number of the local unions defied the decision by engaging in "outlaw" strikes. With the co-operation of the employers the national union officers succeeded in bringing pressure to bear upon their recalcitrant followers to submit to the new conditions. The United Mine Workers also are trying out this new policy. In northern West Virginia

the union last May accepted a cut so as to reduce the wages of those miners who thus came under their jurisdiction to a point much lower than that of those employed by the non-union operators producing a large part of the tonnage of this area. In October the union accepted a further reduction of 25 per cent. The union leaders frankly admit that this procedure is a gamble. They also partly justify their action on the ground that with a checkweighman their members earn more than the miners in most non-union operations. The result so far has been a wage cut of 25 per cent by those non-union coal companies that pay above the union scale, which still gives their workers a higher rate than that of the union miners. On the other hand, those operators that paid below the union scale raised the rates. The net effect has been a wage reduction for most of the miners of this region, and an increase for the poorer paid, thus somewhat stabilizing labor competition but not increasing union control or membership. In the Pittsburgh area the United Mine Workers last July succeeded in "muscling in," while the Communist-led National Miners Union was conducting a strike, by signing with one of the large coal companies below the union scale with the hope that thereby the union might re-establish itself in this field. The only outcome thus far has been another wage reduction by this firm in violation of the union agreement. The union has advised its members to submit.

In the past, the unions boasted that their members were better paid than the non-union workers. Can they afford to reverse the order? And will starvation wages direct the workers toward a union that they know has contributed to their plight by having accepted wage reductions beyond those originally earned by them? In view of the fact that rival unions are coming into existence, may not such a policy serve as a boomerang in driving the underpaid workers into these new unions?

POLITICAL ACTION

Since this was an off election year, labor's interest in legislation attracted more attention than its political activities. However, because of the continuing depression, labor developed both a keener interest in positive legislation that would alleviate conditions and in political action. Sentiment for unemployment insurance is grow-

ing among the unions. This subject received more attention than any other at the Federation of Labor convention. Some of the conservative leaders representing powerful unions advocated compulsory unemployment insurance. So strong was the sentiment that something must be done that President Green promised to appear before Congress and demand that "millions, billions if necessary, be appropriated for relief without delay." The resolution indorsing unemployment insurance was finally defeated. The railroad unions have also indorsed legislation for federal accident compensation, old-age pensions, and unemployment insurance for railroad workers. The miners are demanding federal regulation of coal mines. Demands for positive legislation by organized labor are usually the forerunners to some form of independent political action.

Since Congress has convened, the talk of a "third party" has been more persistent. There seems to be a revived interest among the unions in independent political action. The leaders of some of the prominent national unions have talked about it, and union groups are again organizing local labor parties. Likewise among the agricultural elements that are accustomed to co-operate with labor in independent political action, there also is a renewed interest. Townley, who was the guiding genius of the Farmers' Non-partisan League, is again active, this time advocating independent political action. The old Populist elements are once more banding together in the newly formed Liberty party, headed by "Coin" Harvey, their former famous propagandist. An interest in independent political action is also manifesting itself in religious circles that are usually sympathetic to labor.

The results of the elections—mostly municipal—also indicate a growing interest in independent political action. The various labor parties have again registered an increase in votes and have elected more of their candidates. Although the Socialist municipal ticket was defeated by a fusion ticket in Reading, Pennsylvania, the vote polled by the Socialists was much larger than that which carried them to victory in the previous election. In the western Pennsylvania coal mining town of Nanty-Glo, they elected a city councilman, a justice of the peace, and an assessor. In Bridgeport, Connecticut, their mayoralty candidate ran a close second, and they

ected some of their minor candidates. In Wisconsin the Socialists made additional gains. They added to their representation on the school board, elected the mayor of Racine, re-elected the mayors of Manitowoc and Iola, and ran second in a Congressional by-election of southern Wisconsin, increasing their vote 800 per cent. In other sections of the country the Socialists also made gains, even increasing their vote in Virginia. The Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota has added the mayor and four aldermen of Minneapolis to its list. The Communists have devoted more energy to organizing political demonstrations and hunger marches than electioneering. Nevertheless they did not ignore the elections entirely and in common with the other groups featuring independent political action they also gained in votes. In the coal and steel regions of western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio, where their Communist-led miners' union conducted a bitterly fought strike last summer, they were rewarded by an increase in votes and the election of a councilman in Yorkville, Ohio.

The municipal, state, and national hunger marches conducted by the Communists, and the one led by Father Cox, as well as the unemployment demonstrations and marches of other elements, are more indicative of the unrest than the political results. Nothing similar has occurred since the 1892 depression.

Events would seem to indicate that a third party venture is in the offing. While considerable depends on the nature of the federal relief legislation that will be enacted, whom the Democratic party selects as its standard bearer, and whether business improves in spring, nevertheless it seems that the liberal and most of the labor forces are likely to combine in forming a new party. Whether the radical elements will join them depends on whether they can agree upon a minimum program that lays the foundation for genuine social reconstruction.

THE EARNINGS OF LABOR

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ABSTRACT

Unemployment, part-time work, and wage reductions have seriously impaired the economic position of the workingman during the depression. Average money earnings of employed manufacturing wage-earners in 1931 were 18 per cent below 1929; the decline in real earnings was 8 per cent. Money earnings of railroad employees in 1931 were 5 per cent below 1929, but real earnings have increased 7 or 8 per cent. Money earnings declined in 1931 for eight of nine non-manufacturing groups, but increased slightly for public utilities. Earnings of employed clerks and sales persons have apparently declined relatively little from 1929. Wages of farm laborers for 1931 were 30 per cent below the 1929 level.

The precipitous industrial decline which began late in 1929 has continued practically without interruption for more than two years. The decrease during 1931 compared in severity with that during 1930, and, at the close of the year, available evidence indicated that the end had not yet been reached.

The economic position of the workingman has been seriously impaired during the depression. The unprecedented increase in unemployment has cut off millions of workers completely from their regular source of income. Other millions have suffered sharp reductions in earnings through part-time work. Wage cuts, especially during 1931, have reduced the earnings of hundreds of thousands of workers.¹ Living cost reductions have only partly offset the losses.

The data available for a study of the earnings of workingmen in the United States are sharply limited in value. They are not sufficiently detailed, are not always entirely comparable, and leave out of account many important classes of workers. It must be borne in mind that the figures here presented give an incomplete picture of changes in the economic situation of the working class. They deal only with the earnings of *employed* workers in certain industries.

¹ The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics requests manufacturing firms reporting on employment to report wage-rate changes. During 1931, an average of more than 2,800,000 wage-earners were covered by the monthly reports. Wage cuts were reported for more than 600,000 of these wage-earners—over 20 per cent of the average number employed. The average wage cut was 10.5 per cent. (Computed from data presented in *Monthly Labor Review*.) Apparently relatively few railroad employees received wage cuts during 1931, but these employees accepted a 10 per cent cut early in 1932.

Their most serious weakness is their failure to take into account the influence of total unemployment.

The average weekly earnings of employed wage-earners in 54 manufacturing industries in the United States were \$22.43 in 1931, about 12 per cent below the 1930 average of \$25.43, and about 18 per cent below the average of \$27.42 for 1929 (see Table I). An index of average weekly earnings expressed in terms of a 1926 base

TABLE I
AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED WAGE-EARNERS
IN FIFTY-FOUR MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1929-31*

Year and Month	Average Weekly Earnings	Relative Weekly Earnings (1926 = 100)	Index of Living Costs (1926 = 100)	Relative Real Earnings (1926 = 100)
1929				
Average	\$27.42	103	98	105
1930				
Average	25.43	95	95	100
1931				
Average	22.43	84	87	97
January	22.40	84	90	93
February	24.01	90	89	101
March	24.30	91	89	102
April	24.12	91	88	103
May	23.88	90	87	103
June	22.90	86	86	100
July	22.11	83	86	97
August	22.05	83	86	97
September	20.83	78	86	91
October	21.07	79	85	93
November	20.68	78	84	91
December	20.74	78	83	94

* Computed from data presented in *Monthly Labor Review*, issued by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The industries covered are those used in the employment and pay-roll indexes of the Bureau.

indicates that, whereas in 1929 earnings were 3 per cent above 1926, in 1930 they were 5 per cent, and in 1931, 16 per cent below 1926.

Between December 15, 1930, and December 15, 1931, average weekly earnings in the 54 manufacturing industries declined approximately 13 per cent. The decline from December, 1929, to December, 1931, was 22 per cent. Each of the industries shared in the decline reported during 1930,² and each again shared in the decline during 1931.³ The losses between December, 1930, and December, 1931, ranged from approximately 1 per cent for automobiles to 28 per cent for iron and steel. Among the twelve groups of manufacturing industries covered, the heaviest losses were experienced by

² See *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1931, pp. 925-26.

³ See *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1932, p. 426.

iron and steel products, metal products other than iron and steel, lumber products, and stone, clay, and glass products.

Since living costs decreased during the year, real earnings for 1931 declined less than money earnings. Translating the money earnings shown in Table I by means of a cost of living index,⁴ we obtain an index of real earnings for manufacturing industries. According to this index, real earnings of employed workers for 1931 were 3 per cent below 1930, were nearly 8 per cent below 1929, and were 3 per cent below 1926.

The average monthly earnings of employees on Class I railroads in the United States, their relative money earnings compared to the 1926 average, and their relative real earnings compared to 1926 are shown in Table II. Money earnings of these employees for the year 1931 were about 3 per cent below 1930 and 5 per cent below 1929. These losses, however, were more than offset by the decline in living costs. In 1931, real earnings of employed railroad workers were 15 per cent above 1926, 7 or 8 per cent above 1929, and 6 or 7 per cent above 1930. The 10 per cent wage reduction accepted by railroad employees early in 1932 will apparently leave their present real earnings slightly above the 1926 level.

Average money earnings during 1931 for nine groups of non-manufacturing industries are presented in Table III. In five of the seven groups for which data for 1929 are available, average weekly earnings for 1930 increased over 1929. These groups were much less seriously affected by the depression during 1930 than were the manufacturing industries. During 1931 the influence of the depression on most non-manufacturing groups was much more noticeable. Average weekly earnings in eight of the nine groups decreased from the 1930 level. The four mining groups reduced earnings more sharply for 1931 than did manufacturing. In the anthracite coal mining group, earnings declined over 14 per cent, in quarrying and non-metallic mining over 15 per cent, in metalliferous mining more than 18 per cent, and in bituminous coal mining 19 per cent, compared to approximately 12 per cent for manufacturing. The canning and

⁴ In constructing the monthly cost of living index, the semi-annual index of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has been used. The relatives for intervening months were found by interpolation, using the monthly index of the National Industrial Conference Board. The resulting index has been expressed in terms of a 1926 base.

preserving group reduced earnings 12 per cent. Earnings of employees in retail trade declined approximately 2 per cent, in wholesale trade 2 per cent, and in hotels 6 per cent. Public utilities, which

TABLE II
AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS OF EMPLOYEES ON
CLASS I RAILROADS, 1929-31*

Year and Month	Average Monthly Earnings	Relative Monthly Earnings (1926=100)	Index of Living Costs (1926=100)	Relative Real Earnings (1926=100)
1929				
Average.....	\$141.97	105	98	107
1930				
Average.....	139.12	103	95	108
1931				
Average†.....	134.68	100	87	115
January.....	138.80	103	90	114
February†.....	129.27	96	89	108
March.....	139.43	103	89	116
April†.....	136.60	101	88	115
May.....	135.53	100	87	115
June†.....	134.07	100	86	116
July.....	136.32	101	86	117
August.....	134.24	99	86	115
September†.....	131.89	98	86	114
October.....	136.02	101	85	110
November†.....	128.75	95	84	113

* Computed from Interstate Commerce Commission data, as presented in *Monthly Labor Review*. Earnings of executives, officials, and staff assistants are excluded.

† Eleven month average; December data not available.

‡ The decline in earnings during these months seems to have been due, at least in part, to the fewer days in the months.

TABLE III
AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED WAGE-EARNERS IN VARIOUS
NON-MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1929-31*

Year and Month	Anthracite Coal Mining	Bituminous Coal Mining	Metal-liferous Mining	Quarrying and Non-metallic Mining	Public Utilities	Wholesale Trade	Retail Trade	Hotels†	Canning and Pre-serving
1929									
Average...	\$30.85	\$25.00	\$30.12	‡	\$29.56	\$30.19	\$23.80	\$16.88	‡
1930									
Average...	31.41	21.93	28.13	\$24.76	30.22	31.24	23.87	16.98	\$17.43
1931									
Average...	26.89	17.77	22.99	20.95	30.51	30.61	23.44	15.97	15.34
January.....	28.63	20.01	24.25	20.73	30.11	30.78	23.97	16.55	16.55
February.....	31.93	19.08	25.42	21.77	30.47	31.54	24.11	16.05	17.91
March.....	25.14	18.86	25.21	22.26	31.50	32.24	24.06	16.61	16.62
April.....	25.63	17.51	24.41	21.95	30.45	30.84	23.59	16.15	17.15
May.....	27.50	17.03	24.01	22.14	30.45	30.86	23.64	16.23	17.95
June.....	25.42	17.37	23.42	22.17	30.70	30.69	23.83	16.03	14.76
July.....	23.96	17.07	22.33	21.05	30.32	30.47	24.09	15.68	13.03
August.....	24.32	17.00	22.04	21.08	30.18	30.02	23.82	15.51	13.35
September.....	23.55	17.32	22.08	20.36	30.25	30.25	23.25	15.50	13.13
October.....	30.47	17.90	21.23	20.02	30.34	29.99	22.92	15.45	13.05
November.....	27.68	17.42	20.56	19.50	30.50	30.05	22.67	15.69	14.51
December...	28.49	16.72	20.91	18.45	30.86	29.55	21.35	15.60	16.02

* Computed from data presented in *Monthly Labor Review*.

† Cash payments only; does not include room, board, or tips.

‡ Data not available.

increased average weekly earnings for 1930 approximately 2 per cent over 1929, reported an increase of 1 per cent for 1931 over 1930.

The four non-manufacturing groups which reduced earnings less than the manufacturing industries were less seriously affected by the depression than was manufacturing.⁵ In some of these groups, notably public utilities, it appears that, compared to manufacturing, larger shares of reductions in industrial activity have been made by laying off workers, and smaller shares by means of part-time work. This would tend to maintain the earnings of workers remaining on pay-rolls.⁶ The general tendency in times of depression to lay off workers of less than average efficiency (whose earnings also tend to be below the average) operates to increase the average earnings of workers continuing in employment. A tendency in many industries to lay off a larger proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled (lower-paid) workers than of skilled (higher-paid) workers also operates to increase the average earnings of employed workers. These factors probably account for the increase noted for public utilities.

The average weekly money earnings of unskilled male laborers employed in manufacturing establishments declined for 1931 more than 16 per cent below the 1930 average and more than 24 per

⁵ The percentages of change in employment and pay-roll totals for various industrial groups for 1931 compared with 1930 follow. The telephone and telegraph, power, light and water, and electric railroad groups combined constitute the public utilities group. Data from *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1932, pp. 427 and 440.

	Employment	Pay-roll totals		Employment	Pay-roll totals
Manufacturing	-15.3	-25.0	Telephone and telegraph . .	-11.5	- 8.9
Anthracite coal mining . .	-13.8	-20.9	Power, light and water . .	- 7.2	- 7.3
Bituminous coal mining . .	-10.9	-29.3	Electric railroads	- 9.3	-10.8
Metalliferous mining	-29.0	-42.6	Wholesale trade	- 9.8	-12.8
Quarrying and non-metallic mining	-20.0	-32.7	Retail trade	- 6.8	-10.0
			Hotels	- 7.3	-13.3
			Canning and preserving . .	-22.1	-31.7

⁶ Some of these non-manufacturing groups employ larger proportions of clerical and sales employees than do manufacturing groups. As is noted below, the earnings of such forces appear to have been affected much less than the earnings of manual employees. No uniform practice is followed among firms in either the manufacturing or non-manufacturing groups regarding the inclusion in reports to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics of clerical and sales forces, but a preliminary investigation indicates that, on the whole, a larger proportion of clerical and sales employees is included in reports from non-manufacturing than from manufacturing establishments. Thus, average earnings in some non-manufacturing groups would tend to be more stable than manufacturing earnings.

cent below the average for 1929 (see Table IV). These declines were considerably sharper than the corresponding declines for all manufacturing employees. Average hourly earnings of unskilled male laborers declined nearly 7 per cent below 1930, and were 8 per cent below 1929, indicating general reductions in wage scales for these workers.

TABLE IV
AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS AND AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS
OF UNSKILLED MALE LABORERS EMPLOYED IN
MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1929-31*

Year and Month	Average Weekly Earnings	Average Hourly Earnings
1929		
Average	\$25.37	\$0.501
1930		
Average	†22.89	.494
1931		
Average	19.19	.461
January	19.77	.473
February	20.89	.471
March	20.78	.474
April	20.46	.470
May	20.75	.467
June	19.55	.464
July	18.92	.462
August	18.86	.465
September	18.19	.458
October	18.05	.452
November	17.07	.440
December	17.00	0.435

* Data secured from *Service Letter on Industrial Relations*, issued by the National Industrial Conference Board.

† Revised.

Little information is available concerning the earnings of clerical and sales forces in the United States. The average monthly earnings of professional and clerical workers employed by Class I railroads⁷ were \$146.75 for 1931 (11 month average), showing little change from the 1930 average of \$147.21 and the 1929 average of \$146.19. Average weekly earnings of office employees in New York State factories were \$35.49 in October, 1931, a decline of more than 5 per cent from October, 1930 (\$37.48), and a decline of approximately 4 per cent from October, 1929 (\$36.94).⁸ Employed non-manual workers in Wisconsin received average weekly earnings of \$34.96 in

⁷ This classification includes clerks, stenographers, typists, etc. Executives, officials, and staff assistants are not included. Averages computed from Interstate Commerce Commission data, published in the *Monthly Labor Review*.

⁸ These figures include clerical help in factory offices, omitting high-salaried executives and officials. Data from *Industrial Bulletin* (New York), November, 1931, p. 43.

1931, compared to \$34.49 in 1930, and the average weekly earnings of retail sales forces in Wisconsin were \$18.65 in 1931, \$19.96 in 1930, and \$19.93 in 1929.⁹ The information available thus indicates that the money earnings of employed clerks and sales persons have

TABLE V
AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGES OF EMPLOYED
FARM LABORERS, 1929-1931*

Year and Month	Average Monthly Wages
1929 Average.....	\$40.30
1930 Average.....	44.48†
1931 Average.....	34.45
April.....	37.42
July.....	36.04
October.....	33.25
January, 1932.....	29.52

* Computed from data presented in *Crops and Markets*, issued by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

† Revised.

declined much less than the earnings of most employed manual workers during the depression, and that they have remained, in many instances, at or near the 1929 level.

Employed farm laborers suffered serious decreases in wages during 1931. The data presented in Table V¹⁰ indicate that the average monthly wages of farm laborers paid entirely in cash were, for 1931, nearly 23 per cent below 1930 and 30 per cent below 1929. Although reliable cost of living data for rural areas are not available, it appears that the real wages of farm laborers have also declined.

⁹ Data computed from *Wisconsin Labor Market*. The earnings of non-manual workers given above are the average earnings of such employees in the following industries: manufacturing, mining and quarrying, construction, communication, wholesale trade, and miscellaneous professional services. The non-manual workers appear to be almost exclusively clerical workers.

¹⁰ Data secured from *Crops and Markets*. The U.S. Department of Agriculture issues quarterly reports for four classes of labor: (1) monthly workers without board, (2) monthly workers with board, (3) day workers without board, and (4) day workers with board. As it is difficult to estimate the monetary value of the board received, only classes (1) and (3) have been considered here. The earnings of day workers were reduced to a monthly basis by multiplying by 20, the average number of days per month worked on farms as estimated by the Department of Agriculture. The wages of day workers and monthly workers were combined, giving them weights of 4 and 6, respectively, according to estimates of the Department of Agriculture of the number of each type of workers employed on farms. A weighted yearly average was computed from the quarterly averages.

EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND RELATED CONDITIONS OF LABOR

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ABSTRACT

The total cost of living of workingmen's families declined about 10 per cent between the end of 1930 and the end of 1931. Hence commodity purchasing power diminished less than did money income. The monthly course of factory employment in 1931 was almost continuously downward, but in general at a slightly slower rate than in 1930. The new building employment index reflects a seasonal ebb and flow in 1931, but throughout the year it was lower than in any of the three previous years.

The quantitative evidence available indicates pretty clearly that 1931 was not only a worse year than 1930 as regards general business and industrial activity, but also worse relatively than any other year in at least three decades. The impact of this unusual depression upon various indices of labor conditions during 1931 are briefly reviewed in the following sections.

AGGREGATE MONEY INCOME OF LABOR

Unemployment, part-timing, and wage-rate cuts all contributed to bring about a very considerable reduction of aggregate money income in 1931, continuing the changes described a year ago as having taken place in 1930.¹ Considering all classes of labor for which the data seem even tolerably acceptable, we estimate that their combined money income in 1931 was approximately seven-tenths of 1929. However, the real economic well-being of the labor groups was not affected quite so severely as that, because declining cost of living exerted a partial "shock-absorbing" influence.

COST OF LIVING, AND THE REAL INCOME OF LABOR

Between the end of 1930 and the end of 1931, total cost of living for workingmen's families declined between 9 and 10 per cent; from the peak month in the summer of 1929 to the end of 1931, the total declined about 15 per cent. The decline was almost continuous, ac-

¹ "Employment, Unemployment, and Income of Labor in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1931, pp. 933-48.

according to our interpolation of the semiannual figures collected by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics—which are the best available, despite certain important technical faults.² However, for the purposes of this special annual review, it is more pertinent to show how the yearly averages compare. The total cost of living averaged in 1931 approximately 152 per cent of its 1913 base, as compared with 171 per cent for the average of 1929—a decline of nearly 20 points, or 11 or 12 per cent.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that foods, a most important class of items in the workingman's family budget, are also the class which has shown the most striking decrease between the two years—from about 155 to 125 per cent of pre-war, a decline of 30 points or approximately 20 per cent; while clothing costs in 1931 averaged 145, as compared with a 1929 average of 160—a decline of 15 points or 10 per cent. Rents are off 8 per cent, fuel and light 5 per cent, and house furnishings about 10 per cent. The large group of miscellaneous items shows a negligible decline.

For factory workers—the numerically strongest labor group in the country, Chart I shows how, after discounting the changes in living costs, the monthly volume of purchasing power compared with the volume of monetary income;³ both indexes are expressed in relation to the yearly average for 1923–25.

Purchasing power naturally fluctuates within a narrower range between the “peak” and the “trough” of the business cycle than does the volume of money wages. That is because the declines in productive activity, wholesale prices, etc., which mark the transition from a boom to a depression, always bring in their wake declines in living cost, even though the latter often fail to appear so promptly, and never in proportion to the extent of declines in wholesale prices,

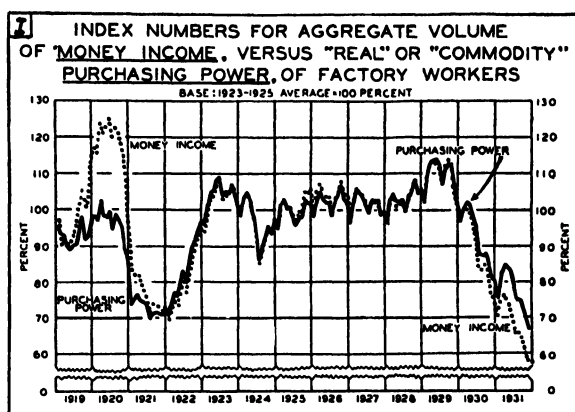
² For some observations appraising this cost-of-living index, and the family-budget data used as weights in constructing it, see articles by Louis I. Dublin (*New York Sunday Times*, May 10, 1931) and William A. Berridge (*The Annalist*, July 17, 1931, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 965, p. 89). These articles have appeared as a joint reprint of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

³ Money income is the Federal Reserve Board's index of factory pay-roll disbursements to 1927, adjusted to the biennial Censuses of Manufacturers from 1919 to 1927 by that organization; the figures since that date are our own (preliminary) adjustments of the Board's index to the Census of 1929.

etc. Because living cost does, nevertheless, decline during business depressions, real purchasing power shrank far less drastically than did money income, between the boom year 1920 and the depression year 1921, for example.

Similar, though much less striking, discrepancies have appeared during the present depression. The dot curve representing money income declined from a 1929 monthly peak of nearly 115 to a low of 57 at the close of 1931. But the solid line representing purchasing power, while it starts from about the same point in 1929, declined only to 67 at the close of 1931.

CHART I



EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURE, BUILDING CONSTRUCTION, AND OTHER LINES OF ACTIVITY

How the number of factory workers on pay-roll has varied, month by month during 1931 and the three previous years, is readily ascertained by a glance at Chart II. This is the Federal Reserve Board's index, which we have adjusted to the data of the 1929 Census of Manufactures.

This index of factory employment averaged in 1931 approximately 78 per cent as compared with approximately 92 per cent in 1930—a decline of 14 points or about 15 per cent of the 1930 level. The monthly course of factory employment is seen to have been downward almost throughout the entire year, slipping from above 80 to a little over 70 in the twelve months, but 1931 witnessed a slightly

slower rate of decline than was registered by the corresponding monthly figures during 1930.

CHART II

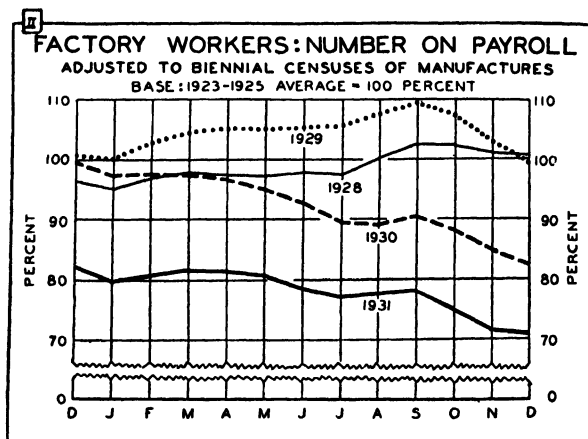
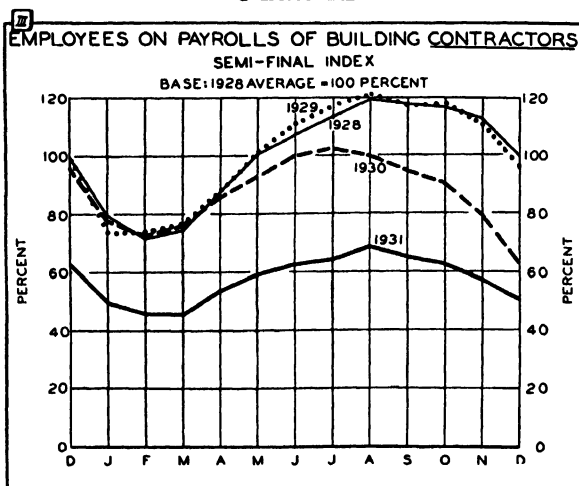


CHART III



There is more than a little resemblance between this factory-employment index and the building-employment index shown in Chart III—partly because both types of activity are, in common, subject to fundamental cyclical forces of much the same type, and partly because building itself contributes in no small degree to the

state of activity or inactivity prevailing at any given time in the manufacturing industries. The 1930 Census of Occupations, released late in 1931, shows 2,561,541 gainful workers attached to the "Building Industry" in a rather strict sense. If we add to this large figure approximately 1,000,000 persons who find employment in industries manufacturing building materials and supplies, and a further estimate to cover those engaged in the quarrying or mining of such materials, it seems probable that roughly 4,000,000 persons customarily look to construction or its auxiliary industries for employment. In other words, out of the 49,000,000 persons recorded as having gainful occupations, eight out of every hundred are attached to the construction industry directly or indirectly. The new index of employment in building construction, shown in Chart III, was set up some time ago from rather fragmentary data collected by local organizations in six states.⁴ It has now been found to agree more closely than had been expected, with partial results received recently from the United States Census of Building Contracting but until the results of that census are available in their complete form, the tests cannot be regarded as wholly conclusive, and the index should therefore still be regarded as only semifinal.

The new building employment index naturally reflects a seasonal ebb and flow of substantial proportions; in 1931, it ranged from a low of about 45 before the spring revival to about 70 at the August peak, falling rather rapidly from that point to a figure of about 50 in December. In the much busier years, 1928 and 1929, the February low was about 70 and the August high about 120, followed by a much more moderate easing-off to just under 100 in December. The fact that most months of 1929 tended pretty generally to equal or slightly exceed the corresponding months of 1928 is not necessarily inconsistent with the fact that building contracts (whether on a value or on a floor-space basis) were greater in 1928 than in 1929; 1929 might well be expected to show up better on an employment basis than on a building-contracts basis, because of the natural "lagging"

⁴ The more widely distributed sample of building employment, established about the end of 1930 by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, was still in the growing stage during 1931; changes in the size of this sample were so great as to render it inadequate for studying fluctuations of employment during that year.

tendency of the peak in actual building operations after the 1928 peak in contracts.

Incidentally, this new index of building employment agrees rather well, as to general contour, with the (inverted) American Federation of Labor index of unemployment in building-trade unions (not here charted). Both show 1929 to have been slightly busier than 1928, and of course 1931 much worse than either 1929 or 1928, while 1930

TABLE I
EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES DURING 1931, AND 1930,
AS COMPARED WITH 1929

Annual levels are measured by the monthly average for each year, the 1929 monthly average being taken as equal to 100.

	1929	1930	1931
All labor*	100	90.0	80.0
Factories.....	100	87.8	74.8
Railroads, steam.....	100	89.6	75.8
Railroads, electric†.....	100	93.4	84.7
Building construction.....	100	86.0	56.9
Bituminous coal mines.....	100	93.4	83.2
Anthracite mines.....	100	93.4	80.6
Metal mines.....	100	83.2	59.1
Quarries and non-metal mines.....	100	84.3	67.4
Oil wells, etc.....	100	87.4	65.7
Power, light and water.....	100	103.0	95.6
Telephone and telegraph.....	100	97.9	86.6
Retail trade.....	100	95.9	89.4
Wholesale trade.....	100	96.0	86.6
Hotels.....	100	99.2	92.0

* I.e., all classes of labor for which reasonably valid estimates can be made.

† Exclusive of car shops.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics; Federal Reserve Board; Interstate Commerce Commission; computations of Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

occupies an intermediate position. The only important discrepancy between the two indexes is that 1930 shows a stronger bulge in the summer, and a steeper decline in the autumn and winter, in employment than in the inverted unemployment index; a minor discrepancy is that, in every year, the seasonal peak of activity is shown a little later in the employment than in the unemployment index.

How lines of employment other than building and manufacture fared in 1931 may be seen in the accompanying table. The year's average for each individual line of activity showed a decrease during 1931 as compared with the average for 1929 and 1930. The full year

1929 has been taken as equal to 100 in each case, in order to indicate how much the depression year 1931 (as a whole) falls short of the last busy year in the current business cycle.

Thus we have metal mines, quarries and non-metal mines, oil wells, etc.—as well as building employment, which has just been discussed—making the poorest showing for 1931 among the various lines listed in Table I; each of the activities mentioned averaging lower than 75 per cent of its 1929 average, but higher than 50 per cent. Employment on steam railroads and also in factories averaged approximately 75 per cent during 1931 as compared with 100 in 1929; for the other lines of employment shown in Table I, the 1931 figures ranged from 80 to about 95 per cent.

Our tentative estimate of numbers employed in the combination of all classes of labor for which reasonably valid estimates can be made shows that the 1931 average is about 80 per cent of 1929, while 1930 averaged roughly 90 per cent.

SOCIAL AND LABOR LEGISLATION

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ABSTRACT

All states but Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia held regular sessions of their legislature in 1931. There were special sessions of the state legislature in several of the larger states to deal with public relief of unemployment. Major interest in social legislation was centered in unemployment insurance measures and in relief. Old-age pensions made progress and child-labor legislation was added to in many states.

FEDERAL ACTION INDICATES NOTEWORTHY TENDENCIES

When Secretary of Commerce Robert P. Lamont, on March 20, 1931, in a special census report announced that on January 1, 1931, there were 6,050,000 citizens out of jobs, the optimism of officialdom was over. The preliminary period of "muddling through" the depression was ended. The announcement startled, because the census of April, 1930, had estimated 2,800,000 lacked work. At any rate official figures were a basis of measuring the spread of unemployment. The heroic period of strategy in attacking the depression had to be inaugurated. Past mistakes in estimating the crisis were forgotten. President Hoover on August 18, 1931, appointed Walter S. Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, to head a national committee "to co-operate with public authorities and re-enforce national, state and local agencies which will have responsibilities for the relief activities." The expenditures by Congress for unemployment relief are important to mark. No federal funds have been used for *direct* unemployment relief, but it is declared officially that "the expediting of the federal public-works program and the granting of drought relief loans "may perhaps be considered as *indirect* contributions" for relief of the unemployed in the present emergency."¹ According to the latest available statement, federal construction, maintenance, and drought relief expenditures for the calendar years 1930, 1931, and for the first half of 1932 (estimated) have been as follows: 1930, \$452,301,000; 1931, \$787,587,000;

¹ Communication to writer from the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, February 6, 1932.

1932, \$373,593,000. Of the above figures for 1931, \$47,000,000 constitutes the amount loaned to farmers in the drought areas.

Students of social legislation see at once the significance of a federal expenditure from the beginning of the depression in 1929 to the first half of 1932 of over \$1,500,000,000. This does not include the large sums raised by over 300 community chests, and the direct appropriations of city and state governments. New York state was first, appropriating \$20,000,000, and this in addition to the \$15,000,000 appropriated by the city of New York.

It is necessary to point out that the concerted drives for funds all over the United States assumed the character of a *compulsory* giving. Pressure was everywhere exerted upon officials and employees to give a percentage of their earnings. This has undoubtedly created a powerful sentiment for responsible action through legislation by the state and federal governments. A direct reaction was the changing official attitude of the American Federation of Labor. The 1931 Convention plainly marked a decided change in sentiment. The federation declared against any form of compulsory unemployment insurance as contrary to American ideals and needs and a menace to the labor movement. But the report to this same Vancouver convention showed that the large sum of \$3,311,279.50 had been expended for the year ending August 1, 1931, in direct relief. Tobin of the teamsters and Mahon of the street-car workers, old opponents of unemployment insurance, came out in its favor.² Although still opposing unemployment insurance, the American Federation of Labor strongly appealed for federal funds for relief purposes, asking for nearly \$400,000,000.³ The continued debates and public hearings on unemployment and national social planning, centered in the hearings of the La Follette Committee on a national economic council, the Herbert Senate Committee on unemployment, and the La Follette-Costigan Bill for direct federal aid for relief purposes, have had a far-reaching effect on public opinion. This has been seen in the discussion of the plan of Mr. Gerard Swope, of the General Electric Company, and the attitude of the large national trade unions. Some of

² *New York Times*, October 15, 1931.

³ *New York World-Telegram*, December 30, 1931; and *New York Times*, February 9, 1932, for statement by President William Green.

the larger national unions have found it necessary to advocate measures of social legislation. One may find, also, a spirit of co-operation among the unions that has been lacking in the past. The twenty-one railway unions, for instance, have united on a bill to be introduced in Congress, providing for a federal system of retirement pensions for railway workers. With 500,000 railway workers out of work they have had seriously to consider unemployment. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, with over 100,000 members, favored unemployment insurance at its 1931 convention. When unionism revives, especially among the coal miners, a much more aggressive policy with regard to social legislation may confidently be expected. The rank and file of labor best express themselves through central bodies, state federations of labor, and the local unions in their craft. An increasing number of these have declared for a wider legislative program, with particular emphasis, of course, on unemployment insurance.⁴ The membership in the American Federation of Labor was reported in 1930 to be 3,461,096, and in 1931 it was 2,889,550.

The wide appeal of the Swope plan to industrialists and to students of unemployment was revealed in articles and discussion. It is worth recording in a survey of noteworthy tendencies in social legislation because of its proposed administrative organization. The chief feature of the Swope plan is the requirement that legislation be enacted to require all industrial and commercial companies with fifty or more employees to form trade associations within three years and to work toward establishing a balance between production and consumption through control of production within the associations. The principle of federal control is introduced. It would be required that each company be obliged to adopt a uniform accounting system and submit quarterly and annually financial statements to a *federal supervisory body*. Each trade association would form a general board of administration, to consist of nine members, three to be elected by the employees, and three representing the public to be chosen by the federal supervisory body. This modified syndicalist program is in its tripartite administrative organization much like

⁴ The files of *Labor's News* for the past eighteen months provide the record.

the administrative principle in post-war social and labor legislation in France and England.⁵

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE LEGISLATION IN STATES

The widespread interest in unemployment legislation is evidenced by the fact that thirty-three bills proposing state systems of compulsory unemployment insurance were introduced in seventeen state legislatures during the 1931 sessions. They were California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Wisconsin. Bills in the majority of these states were based on the American Plan for Unemployment Reserve Funds which was the tentative draft of an act submitted as a basis for state legislation by the American Association for Labor Legislation. Senator Robert F. Wagner similarly introduced in Congress a bill providing for federal assistance to states setting up systems of unemployment insurance. Legislative committees to study unemployment insurance were provided for in California, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin. A committee for this purpose was appointed in the United States Senate under the chairmanship of Senator Herbert of Rhode Island. None of the states passed the proposed legislation, but there has never been in this country a question of social legislation on which more alert public interest has been aroused.⁶

OLD-AGE PENSIONS AND RELIEF

Next in importance to the national crisis in unemployment as it affected social legislation, the subject of old-age pensions received major attention. Five states—Delaware (H.B. No. 28), Idaho (H.B. No. 22), New Hampshire (Chapter 165), New Jersey (Chapter 219, P.L. 1931), and West Virginia (S.B. No. 4)—enacted old-age pension laws in 1931, making a total of seventeen states and one territory

⁵ See author's *Social Politics and Modern Democracies* (New York, 1931), Vol. I, pp. 355-58; Vol. II, pp. 74-96.

⁶ The December, 1931, issue of the *American Labor Legislation Review*, pp. 409-68, provides a complete summary of legislation and administration acts of labor legislation of 1931, with analysis by subjects and states.

which had old-age security laws on their statute books by the end of that year. The states of California, Colorado, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New York, Utah, Wisconsin, Wyoming, and the territory of Alaska had previously passed such laws. The laws of Colorado (Chapter 131, Session Laws 1931), and Wisconsin (No. 50 A), were strengthened in 1931. Legislative committees to study the subject were appointed in Connecticut, Illinois, Maine, and Oregon. The legislatures of Missouri and Pennsylvania passed on constitutional amendments permitting the enactment of pension laws which are to be submitted to the voters of these states. The subject of old-age pensions was discussed in thirty-eight state legislatures in 1931. A number of bills providing for federal aid to states enacting old-age pension laws were presented in Congress.

The New York Old Age Security Act (Chapter 387, 1930) went into effect January 1, 1931. Relief under this law is granted to persons seventy years of age and over who are unable to support themselves and who have no children or other near relatives able to support them. They must be citizens of the United States, residents of New York for ten years, and residents of the county for one year. No maximum rate of pension is fixed, the amount granted in every case being determined by the local city or county welfare officials.

Applications in New York in the first eleven months totaled 79,702. Of the 71,767 applications acted upon, pensions were granted to 49,400 persons. By December 1, 46,164 persons were receiving pensions, the rest having been dropped on account of death and other causes. The total paid out in November was \$1,215,289, and the average monthly grant was \$26.33. New York City accounted for 22,271 of the total pensioners; the average given in the city was \$32.07.

The Massachusetts law (Chapter 402, 1930) went into effect July, 1931. By December 14, 8,778 aged persons were receiving assistance. The average grant was \$5.83 per week. Pensions are given to needy persons over seventy years of age, provided they are citizens of the United States and have lived in Massachusetts twenty years. As under the New York law, no maximum rate is set by the law.

California, which began its payment of pensions in January, 1930, was aiding 9,297 persons by December 1, 1931, and the average monthly amount was \$23.04. The age limit in this state is seventy years; citizenship for fifteen years is required, and the pensioner must have resided in the state fifteen years and in the county one year. A maximum of \$1.00 per day is set.

At the end of 1931 approximately 70,000 aged persons were receiving pensions in the entire United States. In addition to the above enumerated states, pensions were also being paid in Delaware, Maryland, Minnesota, Montana, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. The New Jersey act will become operative in July, 1932.

Eight states (Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Maryland, Nevada, Utah, West Virginia, and Wyoming) set the pensionable age at sixty-five years. Alaska sets sixty-five years for males and sixty for females. The other nine states fix the minimum age at seventy years.

The maximum pension is set at \$1.00 a day in eight states. New Hampshire fixes the maximum at \$7.50 per week; Wyoming sets it at \$30.00 per month. Delaware, Idaho, Montana, and Utah set it at \$25.00 per month. Alaska provides a maximum of \$25.00 per month for men, and \$45.00 for women. Kentucky has a yearly maximum of \$250.00. No maximum is set in New York and Massachusetts.

In Delaware the entire cost of pensions is paid by the state. In Alaska the funds come from territorial appropriations. In New Jersey the state is to pay three-fourths of the cost and the counties one-fourth. In New York and California the state and counties each pay half. In Wisconsin and Massachusetts the state pays one-third and the counties two-thirds. In the eleven remaining states the entire cost is borne by the counties.

There have been no court decisions regarding old-age pension legislation in 1931.

CHILD-LABOR LEGISLATION

Legislation enacted provided in the most part for protection of children from premature work or from dangerous or unsatisfactory conditions of work. The chief were: *Alabama*: Work Permits (No. 356), Workmen's Compensation (No. 357); *Connecticut*: Work Permits (No. 249); *Delaware*: Canneries (Minimum wage from 12 to 14)

(S.74), Dangerous Occupations (H. 1369), Educational Requirement (H.19), Hours of Work (H.933); *Massachusetts*: Apprenticeship (C.304); *Michigan*: Workmen's Compensation (Public act 58); *Nebraska*: Night Work (H.172); *New Jersey*: Educational Requirement (S.102), Migratory Child Survey Commission (Chapter JR 4); *New Mexico*: State Labor Commission (C.9); *New York*: Hours of Work (C.509); *North Carolina*: Dangerous Occupations (H.287), Hours of Work (S.194), Labor Department (S.447), Night Work (H.306), Street Trades (S.182); *Oregon*: Apprenticeship (C.101); *Pennsylvania*: Migratory Children (C.309 and C.130), Workmen's Compensation (C.29); *Rhode Island*: Hours of Work (H.841), Theatrical Employment (H.779); *South Dakota*: Child Welfare Commission (S.46), Enforcement (H.46); *Texas*: Workmen's Compensation (S.357); *Vermont*: Penalties (S.12), Vocational Training (S.16), Work Permits (H.123); *Wisconsin*: Workmen's Compensation (C.42). The most notable achievements were the marked improvements in the laws of Alabama and North Carolina. The Federal Child Labor Amendment was ratified by the Colorado legislature in 1931, making the sixth state which has ratified the amendment. Also the American Federation of Labor approved the Amendment by resolution at the 1931 convention. The excellent results of the President's Conference on Child Welfare continued to be seen, especially in the holding of White House Conferences in several of the states. The President's Conference on Housing held in December inaugurated a new nation-wide approach to this problem.

MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

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ABSTRACT

The effects of unemployment on the nation's vitality were not evident in various mortality rates, and there were few significant indications of upward trends in morbidity rates. Doubtless, however, the resistance of certain groups of people has been lowered, and an increase of ill health may follow in 1932 or later. Special measures were undertaken by federal, state, and local health organizations to improve the public health; private health agencies appear to have been increasingly effective in their work; the number of physicians, dentists, and nurses increased, probably at a greater rate than the population. Experiments in organized medical service and the provision of medical care on a monthly basis were increasingly evident.

Probably the most important question in the minds of many people regarding developments in medicine and public health during 1931 pertains to the effect on the nation's vitality of unemployment and the economic depression. It has seemed best, therefore, to consider this problem carefully, and to give in this report relatively less attention to other aspects of the general subject.

THE EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Appalling pictures have been drawn of the effects of unemployment on the health of the people, particularly children. "One learns that the suicide rate has nearly doubled in the past year," stated a contributor in one magazine early in 1932, "that insanity cases are multiplying, that there is a heavy increase in child mortality from ailments induced by malnutrition, that thousands of girls are being driven into prostitution. . . ." What are the facts? It is difficult to secure all the important data and to harmonize apparently conflicting information, but an attempt should be made to do so.

The mortality rate for 82 large cities of the United States for 1931 was 11.7 per 1,000, which was 0.2 less than for the year 1930. Among approximately 19,000,000 industrial policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the 1930 and 1931 rates were virtually the same. The infant mortality rate among 70 large cities was definitely lower than in any preceding year on record. The Metropolitan report indicates a presumably significant increase

in suicides during both 1930 and 1931, the rates being 10.2 and 10.0, respectively, per 100,000. During the previous five years it varied from 7.0 to 8.7. The death-rates from six important causes—tuberculosis, diphtheria, whooping cough, pneumonia, diarrheal complaints, and puerperal conditions—were lower in 1931 than ever before. Although one might expect an increase in the tuberculosis death-rate under existing economic conditions, the drop among these policyholders was greater in 1931 than the average year-to-year decline of the past decade. The new high death-rates for cancer, diseases of the heart, and diabetes, are in line with trends of several recent years.

Morbidity reports do not indicate an alarming increase in disease. There were two important epidemics. In January sickness and mortality due to influenza and pneumonia increased noticeably, particularly along the Atlantic seaboard. In the summer occurred the most extensive epidemic of poliomyelitis since 1916, but, fortunately, it was not accompanied by nearly as high a case-fatality rate as in 1916. There is no evidence that the depression was an important cause of either epidemic. A summary of weekly telegraphic reports from state departments of health to the Public Health Service reveals an increase in the number of cases of measles and scarlet fever and a decrease in malaria and smallpox, compared with the previous year. Replies to a special telegram from the surgeon general to the state departments of health at the beginning of 1932 indicated definitely unfavorable conditions in Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, and Delaware, and certain unfavorable conditions in Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, West Virginia, Kansas, and Wyoming. An increase of prostitution would have an obvious bearing upon the public health. Although few significant statistics are available, prostitution has probably increased and an increase in the venereal diseases will follow in 1932 unless energetic measures are taken.

On possible changes in mental health there are as yet insufficient data. A number of mental hospitals report an increasing number of patients. One superintendent writes that elderly people with mild mental disturbances, who live in small apartments, now lack proper care because of crowded quarters, that young men and women out of work and worried over finances are tending to develop mental disturbances more readily, and that psychopaths, who under favorable

conditions float from job to job, have been taking more readily to crime than ever before. The Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene reports that three times as many people applied to the organization for aid on mental problems in 1931 as in 1930. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, however, states that inquiries do not reveal a general rise in hospital admissions "that can be readily interpreted in terms of the depression." Results are expected to appear later, however. There is "a feeling that the effects of the depression will not be apparent for some time to come—not until certain factors that usually enter into the precipitation of mental disorders have had time to operate."

Medical relief through public clinics and hospitals has evidently increased greatly in many sections. In Cincinnati, Ohio, according to the Executive Director of the Community Chest, the relief work of the City Health Department increased over 300 per cent. In Chicago all dispensaries were overcrowded, the Cook County Hospital was full to overflowing, and private hospitals reduced the number of free beds because of insufficient funds to operate them. One branch of the Chicago Medical Society established a free clinic, and others were contemplating such action because of the greatly increased demands upon members of the Society, by people unable to pay. This trend may indicate a deflection of calls from private practitioners to public relief agencies, rather than an increase of sickness.

Welfare agencies and other organizations dealing with underprivileged people present more alarming reports. "Two years of financial depression and unemployment have taken their toll in undernourishment of children and young mothers," states a report of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, based upon replies to a nation-wide questionnaire among nursing agencies. The report cited a health center in New York City where the percentage of undernourished children had been carefully determined for three years and where malnutrition had increased from 18 to 60 per cent since 1928. One state board of health stated that physicians conducting prenatal consultations reported that about half the women coming to the clinic report unemployment and show evidence of insufficient essential foods, such as milk, meats, eggs, and vegetables; many families are subsisting almost entirely on potatoes. The American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia discovered in connection

with its relief work that 99 out of 100 children in one school were underweight. A study by this organization shows a steady decline in health conditions in the coal mining regions of West Virginia and Kentucky. Some health officers already report tuberculosis as on the increase, states the Family Welfare Association of America, and in one county where pellagra has not heretofore been a menace it is now appearing. Generally speaking, food-relief orders in these mining counties contain no milk of any description and are greatly lacking in the so-called protective foods which are indispensable for nutrition, and especially for the growth processes of children. Reports from New York City and certain communities in Illinois tend to indicate that milk consumption has decreased about 20 and 30 per cent, respectively.

How may these two strikingly different groups of reports be reconciled? There is, of course, no justification whatever for the supposition that hard times and good health go hand in hand. While among many families a reduced diet might improve health, no evidence has been presented indicating a marked reduction of food consumption among families accustomed to over-eating. Two important conclusions, however, may be suggested. First, private practice has evidently suffered greatly from the depression, while the demand upon public agencies providing medical care has markedly increased; thus, in a sense, the extension of "state medicine" has been forced upon many American communities. Second, and much more important, lack of proper nourishment has greatly lowered the vitality of many people in the United States during the past year. Furthermore, there has been a marked strain in thousands of homes on persons with neurotic tendencies and unstable constitutions. While the proportion of these various persons to the total population may not be sufficient greatly to affect morbidity and mortality rates, an upward trend, at least in morbidity rates, may perhaps be expected for 1932 or 1933—and perhaps for several years following. If more cases of sickness are not reported, the reason may be the inability of poor people to secure medical aid.

SPECIAL MEASURES AND MAJOR TRENDS

The Public Health Service received in February an appropriation of \$2,000,000 for emergency health work in drought-stricken areas.

By the end of June, 333 field organizations, including projects covering 395 counties, were operating in 16 states within the drought areas. At the beginning of 1931 the number of counties with permanent health departments having a full-time health officer had increased to 557. A plan was formulated by the Service for the establishment of a morbidity reporting area.

The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, held in 1930, continued its influence through a considerable number of state and local conferences in connection with which attempts have been made to apply the findings of the Conference to local problems.

The Massachusetts Department of Public Health, aided by a grant from the Commonwealth Fund, inaugurated a movement to make antipneumococcus serum available to rural areas through selected hospitals, in an effort to prevent deaths from those types of pneumonia which respond to serum treatment.

The Health Department of New York City received an appropriation of several million dollars to develop a health district and health center plan in an effort to localize health-department activity. A grant from the Milbank Memorial Fund was utilized in getting this movement under way.

The American Public Health Association developed an appraisal form for rural and county health work based upon an extensive survey of some 300 counties. This Association for some years has been assisting the United States Chamber of Commerce in conducting Inter-Chamber Health Conservation Contests. Awards for the 1930 contest, in which 246 cities participated, were presented in 1931 to the following cities: class one, Detroit, Michigan; class two, Newark, New Jersey; class three, New Haven, Connecticut; class four, Racine, Wisconsin; class five, Alhambra, California; class six, Chestertown, Maryland.

Mental hygiene problems continued to receive a great deal of attention. A program of psychiatric education was launched by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene with the aid of the Commonwealth Fund, the New York Foundation, and the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene. The Bureau of the Census was authorized to "annually collect and publish statistics relating to crime and to the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes." Child

guidance activities continued to flourish, and attention to mental hygiene in teacher-training institutions increased strikingly throughout the United States.

In the field of cancer control, surveys were conducted in Wisconsin, Colorado, and Oregon, in St. Louis, and in St. Louis County—the first comprehensive efforts ever made to evaluate this problem as a whole and to make specific recommendations concerning diagnostic and treatment facilities.

In social hygiene, emphasis was given by the American Social Hygiene Association to community organization. The New Orleans Social Hygiene Association began effective work. The San Francisco Social Hygiene Committee was reorganized, and efforts inaugurated in other cities in California. Special attention was also given to the prevention of congenital syphilis and to social hygiene work in industries.

The number of physicians in the United States, according to the American Medical Association Directory, increased from 152,503 in 1929 to 156,440 in 1931. Graduates of medical schools increased from 4,565 in 1930 to 4,735 in 1931.

The number of dentists probably increased. Dental organizations have shown an increased tendency to conduct research work, both in the technical and social phases of dental practice. The American Association of Dental Schools was given a grant by the Carnegie Corporation for a study of dental education. A committee on dental economics of the American Dental Association completed three important studies.

The number of trained nurses in 18 states and the District of Columbia increased 78 per cent since 1920, compared with a 7 per cent increase for the total population. A nation-wide survey of the administration and practice of public-health nurses was inaugurated by the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, with the aid of a grant from the Commonwealth Fund.

In the hospital field, a special effort has been made to encourage the early diagnosis of cancer. Out-patient departments were enlarged. A Congressional act approved in May authorized an appropriation of over \$20,000,000 for additional hospital beds and other accommodations for World War veterans, making a total of ap-

proximately \$37,000,000 appropriated by the 71st Congress for this purpose.

Experiments in organizing medical services were increasingly evident during 1931. While the group clinic movement began some years ago, in recent years there has been some tendency to expand the service to include home care as well as ambulatory and hospital care. In California, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas experiments have been carried on in providing medical services on a monthly basis. A few hospitals have offered "hospital insurance," providing hospital care, with certain qualifications, to those paying a regular monthly fee.

The legislatures of 44 states met in 1931 and considered over 3,000 bills having medical interest. A review of the more important of these measures required a publication of some 36 pages, which cannot be abstracted here for lack of space.

The foundations during 1930 (according to a report of the Twentieth Century Fund made available in October, 1931) provided grants for activities in medicine and public health totaling over \$18,627,000, constituting about 35 per cent of the total paid out by over 100 foundations canvassed. The Rockefeller Foundation again gave considerably more money to the general field of medicine and public health than any other foundation. The Milbank Memorial Fund inaugurated a new policy of experimentation in administrative methods and research, and continued its support of the diphtheria prevention campaign of the New York City Department of Health. A school for public health nursing for negroes at Hampton Institute was established with money provided by the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The work of other foundations has already been referred to.

The volume of biological and chemical research probably increased during the year, although there were fewer striking results than in former years.

We are witnessing a race between poverty and ignorance on the one hand, and militant medical science on the other. Medical science may need reinforcements of money and personnel if improvement of the people's health is to continue at the rate of the last few years.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

LEROY E. BOWMAN

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ABSTRACT

During 1931 the "community" in America was very weak. Due to the continued economic crisis, relief resources in many cases have been exhausted and standards of living and relief standards lowered. Community relief has come largely from public or governmental sources. An "unemployment" psychology prevails, evident in lack of unity of purpose, spontaneous leadership, or effective community organization. Interest has centered around the concept regionalism. Consolidation in rural fields and the "situation" approach in urban activities have been emphasized.

THE COMMUNITY IN AMERICA IS IN FORMATIVE STATE

Indexes of changes in communal forms would be found in the lists of inventions of recent date or the rearrangements of population. Tables I and II, prepared by R. D. McKenzie for the Washington Round Table on Regionalism, give a statistical picture of one aspect of the well-known fact that communal relations are unstable as people shift about.

Two striking bits of evidence indicate that the community in America in 1931 was very weak. One was the accounts of racketeering. Fred D. Pasley, in *Muscling In*, estimates the toll of the racketeer in New York City at \$600,000,000; in Chicago, \$200,000,000 (R. I. Randolph, retiring president of the Chicago Association of Commerce, puts it at \$165,000,000); in Philadelphia, \$100,000,000; Detroit, \$75,000,000; Los Angeles, \$50,000,000; Cleveland, \$25,000,000; Pittsburgh, \$25,000,000; and in the nation at \$1,119,000,000. The second is the lethargy and lack of moral indignation aroused by the revelations by a state legislative committee of official "corruption" in New York City. The pastor who led a campaign a generation ago calls for a crusade, and the newspapers herald every new item; but there is every indication that the mass of New York voters are still loyal to Tammany. Not only is their psychology that of fidelity to their crowd rather than to the new, large, amorphous and un-understood community (the city), but there are countless evidences that individuals and firms of all parties are quite in the habit of gaining their ends from governmental authorities by the very same

methods that the investigators are denouncing. Instead of corruption to be blamed on city government, it would be more accurate to call it lack of civic or community loyalty that permeates the metropolis. This lack in turn is more a matter of social change than of moral dereliction.

1931, A COMMUNAL SETBACK

The economic crisis in 1930 sapped the community in America: relatives, friends, neighbors, "took in" the unemployed; the corner

TABLE I*

POPULATION CONCENTRATION IN A ZONE EXTENDING APPROXIMATELY 50 MILES
INLAND FROM THE OCEAN AND THE GREAT LAKES, 1900-1930

Census Year	Population within Zone	Percentage of Total U.S. Population in Zone	Increase within Zone since Preceding Census	Percentage of Total U.S. Increase within Zone
1900.....	27,842,288	36.64	5,495,247	42.12
1910.....	35,633,796	38.74	7,791,508	48.76
1920.....	43,865,221	41.49	8,231,425	59.91
1930.....	55,413,567	45.13	11,548,346	67.67

* Table is computed on county units, list of which is available on request.

NOTE.—Area of zone, 435,863 square miles, 14.65 per cent of total land area of the United States.

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION IN DIFFERENT TERRITORIAL
CLASSIFICATIONS, 1900-1930

Territory	1900	1910	1920	1930
Total urban territory.....	40.0	45.8	51.4	56.2
Cities of 8,000 or more.....	32.9	38.7	43.8	49.1
Metropolitan zones.....	36.9	40.5	44.0	48.2

grocery and meat market gave credit; and to meet the much smaller but pressing problem of organized relief, public and private agencies exceeded previous records. In 1931, however, the community is stunned. In vast numbers of cases resources of friends, neighbors, and relatives are exhausted. Whole communities, especially those dependent on a single industry, can be found in which there were none employed; and the towns were altogether unable to meet the need. In such a situation the slogan that "each community shall provide for its own" obviously does not apply. Hence there are in-

stances in which direct state aid has been given, and at least some progress made toward a realization that community of interests must subsume a larger geographical and social basis than heretofore.

The hearings before the subcommittee on unemployment relief of the Committee on Manufactures of the United States Senate revealed a conviction among social work leaders that the cities and states (in both public and private capacity) are unable to meet the crisis and that the federal government must assume some of the responsibility for relief. From the testimony before this committee and from the relief bulletins of the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation, it is now clearly established that the public agencies are the major part of the community in its charitable function, despite the assumptions of some of the leaders in private charitable work.

The crisis has varied greatly in its severity; some communities have not been affected fundamentally, while others have been overwhelmed. Particularly distressful has been the lot of the transient families in California, Florida, Georgia, Arizona, and New Mexico. The beginning of a satisfactory code of treatment was arrived at for the migratories in all parts of the country by a Committee on Transportation of Allied National Agencies representing 834 agencies, and the usual tendency of one community merely to pass on the transient to the next has been somewhat counteracted.

Certain standards have been lowered in some communities, and in many communities among vast numbers of people standards of living have dropped. According to the research bureau of the Welfare Council in New York City, the monthly wage loss is between eighty and ninety million dollars and the largest sum given in relief for one month was four million dollars; the difference must be accounted for largely in loss in standard of living. Figures from the Jewish Charities in Chicago show the same ratio. Free clinics and free beds in the hospitals are reported full, with more applicants than can be cared for. Relief standards have been seriously lowered. Curtailment of social service functions has occurred in some cities, and more drastic measures are in immediate prospect in others. In the Cook County Renters Court it is reported there are 250 dispossession cases a day. In Brooklyn, New York, there are an average of 100

dispossess cases a day in each of eight municipal courts. Search indicates that the majority of the families involved "double up" with other families already in crowded quarters.

There is, however, little change in the habitual thinking of ordinary citizens due to the depression. The community has not pulled itself together to take care of its own distress, and there has been no consideration of the fundamentals of community organization. American life has not been ordered by the community thinking for itself, and in a crisis that heavily burdens the community it has no habits nor instrumentalities of resourceful activity. Nicholas Murray Butler and others have said there is a comparative lack of national leadership; there is almost complete lack of it in communities.

There are larger groups attending liberal lectures than in previous years, but there are no revolts. The "rent strikes" in a very few instances have turned out a couple hundred feeble protestors at the eviction of a family for non-payment of rent, while many hundred of the curious look on. There is a psychology of "unemployment" somewhat as there was a "war" psychology. It consists of effort expended in dozens of community organizations for relief.

Parents' associations by the thousands are dabbling in relief. Teachers are urged to give part of their salaries, and police raise funds for the unemployed. Social agencies devoted to more educative programs, such as settlements, urban leagues, etc., feel a strong pressure to let their chief work go and undertake relief. As a result, much amateur work is done and the agencies equipped to do relief are not given the support they should have. Pressure in many ways is brought on the individual to give to these efforts even when he is not able to give. The leaders deny universally any desire to exert pressure, but there are many unquestionable proofs that if one does not give, his hold on his job may be less secure, or the opinion of the neighbors may be marshaled against him, or the political party in which he seeks preferment looks more kindly at the generous citizen. Even in the crisis, which is a matter of community-wide interest, pressures and sanctions have been of a factional or small group nature.

The way in which the crisis has been met has been along the same general pattern as in previous years, with the exception that an

effort by social work leaders has been made to enlist the aid of larger governmental units. A study of the reports of visits of district representatives of the American Association of Community Chests and Councils to over four hundred communities shows that the community efforts were led by a few more or less socially minded successful business men and the women of their class. Often the chamber of commerce took a leading part, and the other "service clubs" were often active. Occasionally, stimulation was very effectively applied from the headquarters of the American Association, and in many instances help and advice of expert kind from that source was given. Three characteristics of American community life are very apparent, however, in these records: (1) lack of a unity of purpose or common understanding among agencies and factions in many communities, (2) in scores of instances lack of able lay leadership, (3) in many cases failure to engage adequately trained personnel or to make effort to ascertain the standards in social work universally agreed upon. The chests raised their quota of over \$80,000,000; but it must be understood that only 35 per cent of it is intended for relief, and the community chests made no pretense that their funds were to meet the total need in the crisis.

EMPHASES IN COMMUNITY CONCEPTS

In the discussions of community changes—rural, urban, and rural-urban—the greatest interest continued to center around the concept of regionalism. In the conferences and writings on rural organization, from many different quarters came a re-emphasis on the theme of consolidation of counties, of churches, schools, fire companies, hospitals, recreation facilities, libraries, electric service, into larger and more effective units. In particular, the Vermont Commission on Country Life urged larger local units of all kinds, including consolidated villages and towns.

There was special consideration given in more than one field to the whole social situation in which the work is being done. Ada Sheffield urged the "situation" as the unit of family case study in true "Gestalt" fashion. The settlements in national conference re-dedicated themselves to the attack on social problems, not by application to specific evils as such, but through the strengthening of the

whole complex of neighborhood relations. In progressive educational circles, thinking swung away somewhat from techniques of teaching to integration of all agencies in the neighborhood dealing with the child. The studies of Shaw and McKay in Chicago furnished further evidence that juvenile delinquency is a reflection of disorganized community influences.

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CITY LIFE¹

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ABSTRACT

There has been an increased rate of growth for very large cities and for suburban areas of these cities, with decreased rate for cities in general and even positive decreases for down-town areas of many cities. Political problems have centered about: the rural-urban tension over the question of reapportionment and the minority dominance of urban by rural communities; financial and administrative difficulties of certain very large cities; control of the increasing criminality in city life. Zoning and housing legislation proceeded apace; additional housing projects were sponsored by philanthropic and semi-philanthropic agencies.

Inasmuch as this discussion of social change in city life marks the first appearance of a section dealing with such a topic in the series of publications on social change, it has seemed best to take into account the biennium, 1930-31. Limitations of space preclude more than incidental reference to the sociology of city life outside of the United States.

I. POPULATION CHANGES

The decennium ending April 1, 1930, marked a continuation of the steady trend toward urbanization that has been evident in the United States since the taking of the first census.² The 1930 census showed that there were approximately 69,000,000 out of a total of 122,700,000, or 56.2 per cent, of the population in the United States resident in territories classified as urban. In 1920 the percentage was 51.4. The rapidity of the urbanization movement may be inferred from the fact that as recently as 1880 only 28.6 per cent of the population was assigned by the census to urban areas.

The rate of increase of the urban portions of continental United States during the 1920-30 interval was 26.9 per cent, comparing with 28.8 per cent for the preceding decade, and 38.8 per cent for the decade ending 1910.

¹ The material entering into this article has been gathered with the assistance of Miss Ida M. Cheplowitz, of the Reference Staff of Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, New York.

² Unless otherwise noted, statistics entering into this portion of the discussion are taken from the *Fifteenth Census of the United States* (1930), Vol. I, *Population*, "Number and Distribution of Inhabitants," pp. 7-46, inclusive.

Because of the insistence on the part of the census authorities to classify, as urban, areas with as few as 2,500 inhabitants, the gross population figures for urban communities are not so significant as those for larger agglomerations of 100,000 or more. In the year 1930, there were in the United States 93 such communities, having a total population of 36,325,736. In 1920 there were 68 cities of 100,000 or more, numbering 27,429,326; while as recently as 1890 there were only 28, with a total population of 9,697,960. The percentage of increase for this group was 32.4, as compared with 24.9 in 1910-20. This increased rate of growth for very large cities, as contrasted with the decreased rate of growth for cities in general, is of considerable interest, suggesting, as it does, that the urbanward trend is directed toward cities of metropolitan proportions rather than those of moderate size.

The decade just closed has witnessed a significant development in connection with population change within the largest cities of the country and their adjacent metropolitan areas.³ In the 93 metropolitan areas having cities of 100,000 or more analyzed by the Census Bureau, 30.6 per cent were found to be residing outside the city limits.⁴ This extra-urban growth has been marked by a rapid increase of certain suburban areas, together with a very small rate of increase, or even a positive decrease, in the "down-town areas" of many cities. Thus, the borough of Manhattan in New York City decreased from 2,284,103 to 1,867,312, or 18 per cent, between 1920 and 1930; whereas the semi-suburban borough of Queens, Long Island, increased from 469,042 to 1,079,129, or 130 per cent.⁵ The village of Bronxville in the outskirts of the New York area expanded from 579 in 1900 to 3,055 in 1920 and 6,387 in 1930.⁶ Similarly, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, increased only 7 per cent in the decade 1920-30 (1,823,779 in 1920; 1,950,961 in 1930), whereas Camden County, New Jersey, which is directly across the Delaware

³ The Census Bureau classification of a metropolitan area is those areas surrounding the city proper, having a population density of not less than 150 per square mile.

⁴ *New York Times*, October 11, 1931, Sec. I, p. 21.

⁵ Niles Carpenter, *Sociology of City Life* (New York, 1931), p. 134, quoting *Fifteenth United States Census*.

⁶ *New York Times*, September 6, 1931, Sec. XI, p. 2.

River from Philadelphia, increased by 32.4 per cent in the same period (190,508 in 1920; 252,312 in 1930).⁷

A minor feature of the census enumeration, which is of considerable interest for the sociologist, is the fact that for the first time the urban population of this country showed an excess of females over males. The ratio of males to females for urban areas was 98.1 males to 100 females, as contrasted with the ratio of 108.3 males per 100 females in rural areas.⁸ In 1920 there was a slight excess of males over females in urban areas, although this excess was much greater in the rural than urban areas. This excess of females over males in urban areas marks the beginning of the end of the distorting effect on urban population composition of large-scale immigration from overseas,⁹ and the falling into line of American cities in this respect with urban populations in general.

2. THE EMERGENCE OF CERTAIN SOCIOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The two-year period ending December 31, 1931, was marked by a number of events which, while disparate in significance from most points of view, nevertheless possess one common feature when considered sociologically. They are all symptomatic of the emergence into popular notice of a number of tendencies which have for many years been in the background of overt political action.

A. *Urban-rural tension*.—Conflict and jealousy between urban and rural communities is a chronic occurrence in any urbanized society. The 1930-31 period served to throw this antagonism into high relief in that it forced the Congress of the United States and the legislatures of the several states to consider the question of reapportionment. Inasmuch as such reapportionment would have to take cognizance of the shift of population from country to city, and therefore automatically swing the balance of power away from rural toward urban communities, the question of reapportionment has shaped itself into a more or less straight-out fight for political control between rural and urban areas.

⁷ *Fifteenth United States Census* (1930), Vol. I, *Population*, "Number and Distribution of Inhabitants," pp. 713 and 932.

⁸ *New York Times*, October 20, 1931, p. 15.

⁹ Among the foreign-born white in cities there was still a ratio of 111.0 males to 100 females.

In February, 1931, the Congress of the United States passed an "automatic reapportionment" bill marking the end of a deadlock which had extended over more than a decade. Despite the express constitutional provision for reapportionment following the decennial census enumerations, no reapportionment had been made after the 1920 census. This failure to reapportion was the first to occur in 130 years of the republic's history.¹⁰ Although a major animating factor was the quite human unwillingness of certain Congressmen to deprive themselves of the prospect of re-election by voting for a reapportionment bill which would reduce the representation of a number of states, congressional debates and newspaper comment indicated that there was also an unwillingness on the part of rural constituencies to give over their traditional balance of power in favor of the urban communities which, since the year 1920, have enjoyed a numerical superiority in the population of the United States.

Even more clear cut has been the urban-rural conflict as epitomized in reapportionment struggles in several of the individual states, many of which have not to date (February, 1932) reapportioned federal or state representation for either the 1930 or 1920 enumerations. In certain states, such as Illinois and New York, great metropolitan areas are suffering from real minority domination on the part of the rural neighbors. The import of such minority domination to city life became obvious during the closing days of the year 1930-31, when the rurally dominated legislature of the state of Illinois adjourned without passing financial legislation designed to save the city of Chicago from the bankruptcy into which it appeared to be drifting.¹¹

B. *The narrowing margin of income over expenditure in the financing of public services.*—The foregoing reference to the financial situation in Chicago calls attention to the approach to insolvency of a number of cities including two of the three greatest cities in the

¹⁰ *Science*, Vol. LXV (1920), 581; *New York Times*, February 28, 1931, p. 6, col. 8.

¹¹ *New York Times*, December 27, 1931, Sec. III, Part 5, col. 5. The state of Illinois has had no general reapportionment since 1901. That is to say, three census periods have gone by without any change in representation. Late in 1931, however, some slight adjustment was made by assigning the two congressional representatives of the state at large to the city of Chicago (*Literary Digest*, July 11, 1925, p. 14; *New York Times*, November 10, 1931, p. 19).

United States. For a number of years the city of Chicago has been approaching financial disaster, and in the closing weeks of 1931 it seemed about to tumble over the brink. City employees were far in arrears on their salaries or were being paid in scrip; some of the city's bonds were in default; and the city administration was being forced to consider such desperate measures as the giving of compulsory vacations of one and one-half months to city employees and the peddling of tax-anticipation warrants among its citizens.¹²

At the close of the year 1931, Philadelphia found itself in similar, though by no means so desperate, straits. In November the city had to borrow to meet its pay-roll obligations. Three weeks later city employees remained unpaid following the inability of the city to raise money by a further loan, and payment by scrip had to be resorted to.¹³

While in every instance specific causes are alleged for the financial plight of these and other cities—such as political corruption, faulty tax administration, and the shrinkage of revenue due to the business depression—nevertheless, these circumstances serve at least to call attention to the enormous expense involved in securing the goods and services necessary to administer the modern city, and they serve further to raise the question of whether, even with as good administration as is humanly possible under local self-government, the great cities of this and other countries may not have reached a point beyond which further expansion is of dubious economic expediency.

C. *The percolation of criminal and semicriminal activities into all ranges of city life.*—Fully as attention-compelling as the financial distress of certain great cities has been the political corruption and the rising tide of crime and “racketeering” that have appeared in their midst.

In Chicago a wave of reform amounting to a political revolution has proved itself only partially able to cope with the congeries of corruption and violence that have been responsible for scores of kidnappings, assaults, and murders. In fact, only by calling in the federal government to prosecute its “public enemies” for offenses only indirectly related to their criminal activities (bootlegging, in-

¹² *New York Times*, December 4, 1931, p. 15, col. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, December 16, 1931, p. 1, col. 5; *ibid.*, December 17, 1931, p. 13, col. 1.

come-tax violation, and illegal presence of immigrant aliens) has the city been able to cope with them.¹⁴

In New York City developments have been less sensational. Beginning with a magistrate's court inquiry early in 1931, the investigation has broadened into a legislative inquisition into every phase of the administration of New York City.¹⁵ Particularly noteworthy have been the revelations to the effect that exorbitant lawyers' "fees" have been paid as a matter of course by a transatlantic steamship corporation as a means of facilitating the lease of a city-owned pier and by a large-scale real estate operator as an aid in securing the approval of deviations from municipal building and zoning codes.

Here again, the surface explanations for such governmental breakdown in these and other cities is "politics" and corruption. Of deeper significance, however, is the evidence which such events furnish of the extreme difficulty that the modern urban community is experiencing in securing even tolerably effective self-government, of the extremes of arbitrary authority which such complicated administration and political mechanisms as modern cities must, of necessity, intrust to their officials; and also of the reaching-out of criminal and semicriminal activity into fields that have traditionally been within the domain of legitimate business enterprise.

3. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PHYSICAL SETTING OF CITY LIFE, THROUGH PLANNING, ZONING, HOUSING PROGRAMS, AND SLUM CLEARANCE

During the biennium 1930-31, zoning and housing legislation has proceeded apace. In June, 1931, the federal Secretary of Commerce reported that there are forty-seven states besides the District of Columbia which had authority to pass zoning legislation.¹⁶ Zoning ordinances were reported to have been in operation in 1,000 municipalities in the country, including 9 counties and 47 townships, and 82 of the 93 cities of the country having a population in excess of 100,000.

The 1930-31 biennium witnessed an addition to the number of

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, October 18, 1931, p. 1, col. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 25, 1931.

¹⁶ *Nineteenth Annual Report of Secretary of Commerce* (for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931), pp. xxvi-xxvii.

housing projects sponsored by philanthropic and semi-philanthropic agencies. In 1931 the Buhl Foundation of Pittsburgh commenced construction of a housing unit designed particularly for "white-collar" workers of moderate means. The first unit will contain 128 houses. The completed project will provide for 300 dwellings. The Buhl Foundation hopes to secure a net return of about 5 per cent on its investment.¹⁷

The year 1931 also witnessed the appearance of the concluding volume of the most exhaustive study of urban growth and city and regional planning that has yet appeared in this country, namely, *The Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs*, financed by the Russell-Sage Foundation.

In the closing days of the year 1931 there was held in Washington a Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership under the chairmanship of the president of the United States. Its thirty committees, including outstanding authorities in the fields of housing and city-planning, conducted researches, and drafted reports in advance of this conference; and more than 4,000 individuals attended it.¹⁸

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC TECHNIQUES FOR ANALYZING AND GUIDING SOCIAL TRENDS IN CITY LIFE

Late in 1931 the call was issued for another conference of significance to the student of urban sociology, namely, the Fifth Congress of the Union Internationale des Villes to be held in London in May, 1932.¹⁹

During the two years 1930-31 university departments of sociology and the American Sociological Society have evinced a growing interest in the city. Examination of the catalogues of 41 colleges and universities for the years 1930-31 show that one or more courses in urban sociology was offered in 19 of these institutions.

¹⁷ C. F. Lewis, "A Moderate Rental Housing Project in Pittsburgh," *Architectural Record*, Vol. LXX, No. 4 (October, 1931).

¹⁸ Copies of the preliminary reports may be obtained by writing to the secretary of the president's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, New Commerce Building, Washington, D.C. Revised reports and their accompanying appendixes are now in process of publication.

¹⁹ The head of the American delegation will be Dr. S. Gulick, 261 Broadway, New York City.

RURAL LIFE

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ABSTRACT

The trends in rural population shifting for the decade 1920-30 became known through the publications of the Census Bureau during the year, and two significant facts were that rural non-farm population increased greatly within the decade, and migration from the cities to the country became larger than the reverse movement within the year previous to the taking of the census. During the year 1931, prices for farm products declined to exceedingly low levels. In turn, lacking money to spend, the farm people resorted to their own initiative in community activities and family life. Such self-reliance in community and family affairs indicates a psychological change on the part of rural people in that they have turned to rural life for their satisfactions rather than continued dependence on the cities. Two events that indicate trends respecting rural life were discussions on rural government at the meeting of the American Country Life Association and the work of the Committee on Farm and Village Housing of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership.¹

A treatise on social change in rural life for one year, though necessarily limited in measurable data, can indicate noticeable trends and designate information that has come to light within the year, and can record events that have transpired. This paper attempts to follow these lines. Emphasis is placed upon social rather than sociological changes, and only a few sociological interpretations are made.

Population.—Figures on population for 1930 were published by the Federal Census Bureau during the year from which the significant population changes for the previous decade could be deducted. The total population of the United States increased 16.1 per cent from 1920 to 1930. Of the total 122,775,046 population, 56.2 per cent was urban and 43.8 per cent rural, in contrast to 51.4 per cent and 48.6 per cent, respectively, in 1920. The urban population increased for the decade ending in 1930, 27 per cent; for 1920 the increase for the previous decade had been 28.8. In contrast to these trends, the rural population increased 4.7 per cent from 1920 to 1930 and only 3.2 per cent from 1910 to 1920.

The rural population is composed of two groups—farm and non-

¹ In writing this article, the author acknowledges obligation for significant facts given, both written and verbally, by many members of the United States Department of Agriculture.

farm. According to the last census, 56 per cent of the total rural population was farm population and 44 per cent non-farm population. The farm population declined by over 1,200,000 during the decade, while the non-farm rural population increased over 3,600,000.

All evidence indicates that the movement from urban centers to the farm continued during the year 1931 as in 1930. Abandoned farmhouses in many sections were reoccupied during the year. In some sections of the South, families have moved into such homes without the knowledge or consent of the owners. In addition to that fact, in many cases, they are now (January, 1932) trying to secure a mule and a plow to cultivate a small plot of land for food.

Economics.—Prices for farm land and farm products steadily declined during the year of 1931. Using the average price for farm products for the years from August, 1909, to July, 1914, as an index, during 1931 butter and poultry products alone remained above the index. Using the average for the period mentioned as 100, the relative prices received by farmers for a number of farm products for December, 1931, were: cotton, 44; corn, 54; oats, 58; wheat, 50; potatoes, 66; hogs, 52; cattle, 84; lambs, 51; sheep, 55; eggs, 119; butter, 114; wool, 72; horses, 39; and chickens, 122. On the other hand, the relative prices of goods the farmers bought remained relatively high. Taking 100 as the index for the average prices, 1910-14, paid by farmers, and comparing their purchase prices, the relative cost for December was as follows: food, 116; clothing, 146; furniture and furnishings, 173; building materials for house, 154; feed, 91; machinery, 153; fertilizer, 121; building materials other than for the house, 143; equipment and supplies, 109; and seed, 176. The indices may the better be interpreted if a few specific prices for farm products for the United States as of December 15 are quoted. These are as follows: wheat, 44.1 cents per bushel; corn, 34.5 cents per bushel; cotton, 5.5 cents per pound; hogs, \$3.76 per hundred-weight; and beef and cattle, \$4.38 per hundredweight.² There were certain dates upon which these prices may have been somewhat lower, but to anyone familiar with the price levels of 1930 the great change that has occurred can easily be realized.

² U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Crop and Livestock Estimates: *Farm Prices. Average Prices on Farm Products Received by Producers, December 15, 1931, with Comparisons.*

Groups.—Data cannot be fully secured to show the many changes in schools, school attendance, churches and church attendance, and other groups. It seems that the consolidation of rural schools has largely ceased excepting in special cases. With the rural churches, the coming of good roads, automobiles, and the population movements of the past decades have tended toward rural church disintegration, particularly respecting the strongly sectarian church, leaving many localities without organized religious influence. If the writer may make a guess, it seems altogether likely that a condition of this kind presages a revival of some strong religious movement in rural America within the next few years.

Rural localities turned to their own resources for social and recreational life during 1931. The lack of money made it impossible for the farm population to continue to patronize urban commercialized activities as previously, with the result that they have resorted to their own efforts for amusement and social life. The home-talent play and the neighborhood visiting have increasingly come into vogue. The increased dramatic interest has been accompanied by greater interest in music. In the Middle West many choruses and orchestras were formed and plays presented with the definite objective of offsetting the depression complex.

One manifestation of a movement toward specific community organization (though financed from within the community) is the planning of the Hartland Area Project in Livingston County, Michigan. This project seems to have taken definite form during the year, though it was under way for some time previous, and is continuing. However, "thirty-one tentative activities have been outlined, four major ones, besides the original broad school curriculum, are functioning at the present time—the ministry of music, better health, helping teacher service, and character and leadership councils."³

The community cannery has come into prominence in some sections. A room was set apart in a number of Tennessee rural high schools and used by the women for canning. Assistance was given by the home demonstration agents in co-operation with the school. The expenses of room upkeep are paid for by the toll system of one quart out of a certain number canned. By using the foods thus ac-

³ Ila A. Leonard, "Hartland Plans Ideal Rural Community," *Michigan Farmer*, October 31, 1931.

quired by the school, fruit and vegetables have been furnished for school lunches.

Activities.—Rural people have apparently taken a stoical attitude toward the economic depression and, instead of manifesting strong displeasure with conditions as they are, have decided to meet them by resorting to their own resources. For example, the Texas farmers increased their garden products 45 per cent for 1931 over 1930, trebled their canning, and, whereas few farmers formerly grew their own meat, approximately 75 per cent came to do so during the year. In other states similar efforts have been expended. What has been accomplished is well shown by a few facts gleaned from the reports of home demonstration agents. The rural women of Arkansas canned 40,000,000 quarts of fruits and vegetables, and marketed \$1,114,802.00 worth of garden, poultry, and dairy products, which constituted the surplus above their own family needs. In the same state 37,323 families utilized sugar, flour, and feed sacks to make 299,733 articles of clothing. In the states of Montana and Utah homemade soap, hand lotions, and furniture polish are coming into use. Women are carding the wool and making comforters, comforter bats, rugs, blankets, and sweaters.

The situation that has evolved during 1931 is shown by the home demonstration slogan adopted in California for 1932, which is, "Keeping up appearances." "This applies to the yard, the outside of the house, the interior, better food preservation, better table service, more care of clothing, and personal appearance." Quoting further from the same source:

At a state conference in Ohio, October 21 to 23, the discussion of general economics took about one-third of the time. One particular thing, however, commented on by a great many of the county agents, was the optimism on the part of the older people—the belief that everything will come back to normal in due time. In the meantime they are economizing just as they did back in 1893 to 1900. These older people did a great deal to create a spirit of optimism among the younger farmers.⁴

The men on the farm seemed to have come to a realization, as never before, that dollars are not an adequate measurement of successful rural life; and they, as well as the women, have increasingly become interested in music, recreation, landscape-planning and

⁴ *Current Extension Information.* Reported by members of the Staff of the Office of Co-operative Extension Work, U.S. Department of Agriculture, November, 1931.

planting, and in making the home more comfortable and satisfying. During the year minor repairs about the houses and yards, the addition of inexpensive shrubs and plants, and the making of flower boxes were especially noticeable in some sections.

One is led, in considering social change, to raise a question. Will rural life be reorganized, and an amplified and enriched rural culture emerge from the hardships of the economic depression?

Special events.—The annual meeting of the American Country Life Association, held at Cornell University in August, holds a valuable suggestion concerning social change. The subject around which the discussion revolved was rural government. Such a program denotes an interest in a vital problem prevalent in rural life. It connotes a realization that county government is antiquated, being part of our social heritage from the pioneer days. Various signs have arisen pointing to improvements in rural government--the agitation for such is becoming increasingly widespread.⁵

A second event of special importance to rural life was the holding of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, of which one of the largest committees was the Committee on Farm and Village Housing. A primary idea motivating the Conference was to bring the techniques of science that have been in operation in many fields to bear upon housing. The work of the Committee on Farm and Village Housing was to analyze the problems of rural housing and to direct and stimulate effort toward the solution of the problems. It may be that this special work has come at a most appropriate time to aid rural people to put new values on the house as a place for living.

Conclusion.—To designate exact changes that occurred in rural life during 1931 is quite difficult, and the author feels that statements on the subject are inevitably unconvincing. Also, the foregoing discussion has implied that the changes are psychic as well as social. Psychological changes on the part of many individuals can find expression in group organizations only with the passage of time. It is, then, into the next few years that we must look to see the results of the more significant changes, the psychological, that occurred in 1931.

⁵ Howard P. Jones, "Rural Municipalities of Tomorrow," *Survey Graphic*, October, 1931.

THE FAMILY¹

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ABSTRACT

The most important influence in American life during 1931 has been the depression. It has revealed the strength of the family, multiplied its problems, and led to readjustment. The educational activities related to marriage and family interests have continued to increase. The most important development has been in the field of home economics in public schools and colleges. In religious circles divorce, birth control, and education for marriage and parenthood have received most interest and discussion.

DEPRESSION

The most significant event in the history of the family during the last year has been, of course, the prevailing depression. Attention was called to the growing unemployment and the increasing need of family relief in the report two years ago. It is interesting to note that the present economic disturbance was foreshadowed by the experience of family welfare societies before its coming was generally detected. It was a major family problem in 1930, but during the last year its significance has been so great as to push everything else pertaining to the family far into the background. The recorded expenditures for direct family relief in sixty-six large cities of the United States for the first nine months of 1931 show an increase of 127 per cent in the money given. This direct relief to families does not include all the expenditures to assist the unemployed, but it does suggest the economic burden under which the American family during the last year has been staggering.

From all quarters comes the common verdict that the family has shown a vitality in meeting its crisis certainly not exceeded by government, federal and state, by industry, commerce, or church.

The following are the chief effects of the depression on family life. Families in trouble have been assisted by their relatives and have been taken into the more fortunate families. This grouping of families has not only led to overcrowding and the lowering of standards but also, in the case of those recently married, has caused the break-

¹ The author wishes to thank his correspondents in various sections and countries who have made this composite picture of family experience possible.

ing-down of marriages which under normal circumstances prophesied success. Many people have lost homes bought on some form of instalment payment. Pressure has come to some couples without children to break up their homes, each to return to the house of his or her parents because, on account of the economic need of families with children, there has been reluctance to help childless couples. There has been during the year a temporary emphasis of the economic functions and productive activities of the family which for some years past have had a decreasing importance, not only in the rural sections where the "live-at-home" program has had influence, but also in the village and city family where a new interest in careful purchasing, inexpensive dieting, canning, dressmaking, and the like, reveal the housewife's effort to do her part in meeting the present emergency. There appears to be a lessening of tension between parents and youth on account of the greater stability and seriousness of the latter as well as the stronger feeling of responsibility of the former. There is a growing demand from housekeepers for more accurate information, through labels or guides, in household purchasing, that they may know what to expect in quality; and a greater appreciation of counsel that comes from such agencies as the Consumers' Research and home economics departments of state colleges and universities. The suggestive type of advertising has had less power to affect sales.

In addition to other adverse influences, family worry and family crowding have increased the difficulties of psychopathic personalities. Because of household congestion and economic stress, mentally ill individuals that formerly would have been cared for at home or sent to private institutions have been turned over to public hospitals already overcrowded.

The depression has stimulated the demand for efficient, legally authorized birth-control information. Unquestionably, by discouraging motherhood on the part of some, it is tending to lower the birth-rate not only temporarily but for some time to come. There is a belief, among those close to the problem, that the unemployment of young women has added to the menace of prostitution by giving it an added economic motive. As to the extent to which young women have responded to this, we are at present statistically uncer-

tain. In this connection it must also be remembered that the curtailment of income of some men has meant a lesser expenditure in vice. An example of this is the decreased vogue of the night club of the large cities.

EDUCATION

The family record of the past year, from the point of view of educational standing, is an impressive one in spite of the economic depression. Interest in the conservation of marriage, the training of children, and education for family life have continued and along some lines increased. Some of the events of interest to students and friends of the family are the following: The influence of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection has spread during the year. This has been shown by the continuing conferences held in various states and the circulation of the reports of the committees whose findings have been published. One of the most influential of these has been the report on the *Child and the Home*. An Institute for Family Guidance, emphasizing educational preparation, has been started under the direction of Dr. Meyer Nimkoff at Louisburg, Pennsylvania. The Institute of Family Relations, under the direction of Dr. Paul Popenoe, Los Angeles, has enlarged its service by greater emphasis on its educational activities. The nature of the problems presented by its first two thousand clients is revealed by Table I. A ten days' course in education for parenthood and marriage was carried on at Pullman, Washington, under the auspices of the Washington Congress of Parents and Teachers. A series of lectures on marriage, open to men and women between the ages of eighteen and thirty, was organized for the young people of Cincinnati by one of the churches of that city and was largely attended. A series of conferences held at cities on the Pacific Coast, by representatives of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, emphasized family and marriage problems.

There has been no lessening of the emphasis upon social hygiene. The variety and spread of such work appears in the recent report of Dr. Exner on *Sex Education in the Colleges*. In spite of necessary reorganization of the Family Relations Section of the American Social Hygiene Association, on account of the death of Mrs. Spencer, its program has continued and increased. Family matters from the world point of view were emphasized at the International Home

and School Conference at Denver. Everywhere there is evidence of a disposition to consider the problems of the family as products of our modern social situation.

There is evidence also of the trend toward better organization of the educational forces relating to the family. At Boston a Parents' Council has been formed to co-ordinate the activities already in process.

Possibly the most important educational development is appearing in public-school education, especially in departments of home economics. Under the direction of federal and other national leaders, teachers of home economics have been stressing the interests of the family, and especially the housekeeping contributions of the home

TABLE I

Education.....	796
Family maladjustment.....	394
Child welfare.....	269
Miscellaneous.....	194
Pre-marital.....	145
Sex.....	141
Heredity.....	66
Legal.....	15
Total.....	2,000

in the present economic emergency. Valuable work along this line has been stimulated by the Federal Board for Vocational Education. One of its undertakings has been an analysis of courses relating to the family and its improvement among schools for Negroes, Spanish-Americans, and other foreign-born groups. Another extremely important contribution under the leadership of this board has been the introduction of courses on the family in teacher-training institutions. The Board has also encouraged the adding of an individual responsible for parent education on state vocational staffs.

It is interesting that courses for boys in home economics in the high schools and for young men in the colleges are increasing and are meeting with favorable response. The idea of family counseling is most certainly growing. It bids fair to become a recognized professional service. At present it forms a considerable part of the work of certain psychiatrists, but it is not exclusively confined to their profession. Already there is evidence that the charlatan and pseudo-

scientist have discovered the virgin field of this idea of giving advice to those vexed by family and marriage problems, and there is the greatest need of popularizing the dangers of irresponsible counselors in the field of marriage and the family.

Of no small value is the growing recognition, on the part of those who consider marriage problems seriously, that youth's present accidental methods of forming social contacts before marriage, especially in the cities, is ineffectual as a mating policy. We are still maintaining the program for the getting acquainted of young men and women which grew up in the rural and village communities and which only in a similar social environment is at present satisfactory. One of the methods of lessening the hazards of unwise mating and the danger among some of not marrying is the organizing of more conscious and selective opportunities for the meeting of like-minded unmarried men and women.

MEETINGS

In addition to the meetings and conferences already referred to, the following need to be recorded in the history of the family for 1931: The Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, brought about by the leadership of President Hoover. Its reports are stimulating interest in one of the lines of family welfare sadly neglected in this country. At the conference of the American Home Economics Association at Detroit special emphasis was given to education for family life, and a new division was formed to be concerned with the family and its relations. This same interest in the family and its problems appeared in other educational organizations which met at the same time in Detroit and at other times and places throughout the year. In 1931 the First National Conference on College Hygiene was held in which sex education for marriage received attention. Another important meeting during the year was a special conference of the National Council of Parent Education, which was held at Detroit preceding the meeting of the American Home Economics Association.

INTEREST OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

There has been a marked interest in the problems of marriage and the family on the part of church organizations, and relatively even more so among individual pastors and priests. It appears that

at least twelve theological seminaries are at present giving definite courses on the family. One of the major events during the year 1931 was the amending of Canon 43 of the solemnization of holy matrimony by the general conference of the Protestant Episcopal church at Denver. Section 6 provides for the declaring of a marriage already annulled or dissolved by civil court null and void by the church under certain conditions. In the report of the special commission on marriage, divorce, and remarriage, adopted by the general assembly of the Presbyterian church, special emphasis is given to a program for the education for marriage and for parenthood. A statement on the moral aspects of birth control issued during the year by the Committee on Marriage and the Home, of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, received attention throughout the world. This report, given last year, attempting to define the moral status of birth control, included a majority and minority statement.

There has been marked increase of interest in education for family life among American Roman Catholics. Dr. Edgar Schmiedeler has, during the year, become director of the Family Life Section of the Social Acts Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. He has also provided text material for Roman Catholic instructors of college classes and large groups. Family problems and education for family life appeared on the program of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Catholic Rural Life Conference, and the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems. The National Council of Catholic Women during the year has taken a notable interest in parenthood education.

LEGISLATION

There has been a great deal of legislation passed during the last year which has indirect relation to the family. These laws have to do with the juvenile court, delinquent and dependent children, child-placing and child-caring agencies, recreation, unemployment, and the like. Doubtless these will receive attention in the section of this volume to which they are definitely related. The interests of the family are so wide that if all the legislation that concerned it indirectly were reported, it would include a great part of both federal and state laws. Arkansas liberalized her divorce law, shortening the period of required residence to five months. Nevada made divorce

easier, and the residence requirement six weeks. A five-day period between notice of marriage and the issuance of license, subject to a judge's discretion under certain conditions, was legislated in Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wyoming. California authorized the court in divorce proceedings to decide the custody of the child according to his best interest. Maryland enacted a provision that agreements respecting property rights between husband and wife should not be a bar to divorce. Maryland, Texas, Wyoming, Minnesota, North Carolina, California, Idaho and Massachusetts passed or modified non-support and desertion legislation, generally strengthening the law.

MISCELLANEOUS

There is a growing interest in the family-wage idea. It is the belief of some experienced observers that there has been a marked increase in sale of pornographic material during the year, also that there is in cities a tendency to divert week-end taxicab parties to small neighboring communities in the interest of local prostitution and speak-easies. There is belief also, which the author shares, that homosexual practices are increasing among men and growing toward a major vice.

The most arresting report from Europe comes from Germany. The divorce statistics for 1930 have only now been made public. They show a steady increase of divorces, with a total of 40,622 in the whole Reich, or 700 more than in 1929 and 2,800 more than in 1928—the latter figure an increase of 10 per cent. Marriages that had lasted ten years or more made up the lion's share of the 1930 figures, and those of fifteen years' duration and more increased over 10 per cent above the 1929 figures. The year 1931 was marked by a determined effort of the Socialist and Communist members of the penal committee of the Reichstag to report favorably a provision placing concubinage on the same footing as marriage. The proposal was defeated only by 14 to 12 votes, the supporters of marriage being the members of the National Socialist (Hitler), German National, Landvolk (agrarian), and German People's parties.

The author regrets the necessity of recording the death of Anna E. Richardson, of Washington, leader in the field of home economics, who made a country-wide contribution to parenthood education.

THE CHILD

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ABSTRACT

Census figures for 1930 made public in 1931 indicated a stationary birth-rate, and a decreased infant mortality rate, but reports from various sources gathered in 1931 seemed to indicate that the depression was beginning to show on the physical condition of children and that a considerable increase in malnutrition in school children was becoming evident. The largest number of child-welfare measures in recent years was introduced in the 44 state legislatures which met in 1931, but the economic and financial policy resulted in tabling many measures entailing increased expenditures. "Back to School" and "Stay in School" campaigns were organized during the year to keep children from leaving school for work and train them for increased usefulness.

VITAL STATISTICS

The latest figures of the United States Bureau of the Census are for 1930. The birth-rate for 1930 was 18.9. Table I shows the trend for 1921-30. The infant mortality rate, for 1930 was 64, lowest since establishment of the birth-registration area.

TABLE I
BIRTH-RATE FOR EXPANDING REGISTRATION AREA OF THE
UNITED STATES, 1921-30

Year	Births per 1,000 Population	Year	Births per 1,000 Population
1921.....	24.2	1926.....	20.7
1922.....	22.3	1927.....	20.6
1923.....	22.2	1928.....	19.8
1924.....	22.4	1929.....	18.9
1925.....	21.5	1930.....	18.9

Figures for 1930 are not available in regard to causes of infant deaths. Table II shows the trend of infant mortality for different causes from 1921 to 1929 in states in the registration area during that period. The greatest decline is in deaths from gastro-intestinal diseases, presumably due to promotion of better methods and knowledge of infant feeding.

Maternal mortality has not declined at the same rate as infant mortality. The maternal death-rate for 1930 is not yet known. The rate for 1929 was 70 per 10,000 live births. In states in the area

from 1921 to 1929 rates declined from 67.3 to 63.7. Table III shows the trend in maternal mortality from different causes.

OFFICIAL STUDIES OF MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH

Studies of maternal and child health made by the Federal Children's Bureau neared completion in 1931. Some preliminary findings were made available. The study of maternal mortality in 15

TABLE II*

INFANT MORTALITY RATES (DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS),
BY SPECIFIED GROUPS OF CAUSES, IN THE UNITED STATES BIRTH-REGISTRATION
AREA OF 1921,† EXCLUSIVE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1921-29

Cause of Death	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
All causes.....	75.0	75.7	76.2	70.3	71.8	73.6	64.0	67.0	65.7
Natal and prenatal causes‡.....	36.0	35.9	35.6	35.0	34.9	34.9	33.5	33.9	33.5
Gastro-intestinal diseases§.....	14.8	12.6	12.3	10.0	11.9	10.2	8.0	7.9	7.4
Respiratory diseases**.....	10.3	13.7	13.8	11.9	12.2	14.3	10.3	12.9	12.8
Epidemic and communicable diseases††	4.6	4.0	5.4	4.4	3.7	5.0	3.5	3.6	3.5
External causes.....	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1	0.9	0.9	0.9
All other causes‡‡.....	8.3	5.9	5.8	5.7	5.9	5.7	5.3	5.4	5.3
Unknown or ill-defined diseases.....		2.6	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.4

* Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

† Including California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia. These are the states that were in the birth-registration area every year from 1921 to 1929.

‡ Includes premature birth, congenital debility, injuries at birth, other diseases of early infancy, congenital malformations, syphilis, tetanus.

§ Includes diseases of stomach, diarrhea and enteritis, dysentery.

** Includes bronchitis, bronchopneumonia, pneumonia, influenza.

†† Includes measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough, diphtheria, erysipelas, meningococcus meningitis, tuberculosis of the respiratory system, tuberculosis of meninges, other forms of tuberculosis.

‡‡ Includes convulsions and other causes of death.

states, covering 7,537 deaths, furnished corroborative evidence of the known fact that deaths from puerperal albuminuria and convulsions may be reduced by good prenatal care.

A study of neonatal mortality and morbidity undertaken by the Children's Bureau in co-operation with the pediatrics department of the Yale University School of Medicine and the New Haven Hospital continued during the past year, with analysis of records of 1,001 births and follow-up examinations of as many infants as could be found. The figures of this study bear out the generally recognized fact that prematurity is the largest single cause of neonatal deaths.

MATERNITY AND INFANCY LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS

Efforts to secure renewal of legislation providing for federal and state co-operation in the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy were continued. The original Sheppard-Towner Act expired in June, 1929, and several bills were introduced in the Seventy-first Congress to renew federal and state co-operation. The Senate bill (S. 255), after being amended, passed the Senate January 10, 1931, by a vote of 56 to 10. The House substituted for the Senate bill H.R. 12995 which, with amendments, passed the

TABLE III*

MATERNAL MORTALITY RATES (DEATHS FROM PUERPERAL CAUSES PER 10,000 LIVE BIRTHS), BY CAUSE OF DEATH, IN THE UNITED STATES BIRTH-REGISTRATION AREA AS OF 1921,† EXCLUSIVE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1921-29

Cause of Death	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
All causes.....	67.3	65.4	65.8	64.0	64.3	64.6	62.3	64.2	63.7
Accidents of pregnancy.....	5.7	6.5	6.8	6.0	5.0	7.0	5.9	6.9	6.6
Puerperal hemorrhage.....	7.2	6.5	6.6	6.6	6.6	7.0	6.9	7.0	7.2
Other accidents of labor.....	6.7	7.6	7.6	6.7	7.1	7.5	7.0	7.8	6.7
Puerperal septicemia.....	27.1	23.6	25.0	24.0	24.2	23.6	24.1	23.5	24.4
Puerperal albuminuria and convulsions.....	17.4	17.8	16.1	17.0	17.1	16.2	15.1	15.8	15.0
All other causes.....	3.2	3.4	3.6	3.8	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.2

* Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

† Including California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia. These are all the states that were in the birth-registration area every year from 1921 to 1929.

House on February 27, reaching the Senate in the closing days of the session. The conference report on this bill was before the Senate as privileged business when Congress adjourned. There was, thus, in both houses a substantial majority in favor of these bills. Early after the convening of the Seventy-second Congress, similar bills were favorably reported in both House and Senate (H.R. 7525 and S. 572).

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Sensational statements are made regarding juvenile delinquency in this country. Until recently no official statistics were available. Since 1927, however, the Children's Bureau has secured the co-operation of an increasing number of juvenile courts for uniform

reporting of delinquency statistics. While the annual reports point out that the delinquency which comes to the attention of the courts may be only a small amount of the total in any community, and may not be a reliable index of the actual delinquency situation, they have, nevertheless, provided information fairly representative for the United States regarding the nature of the problems dealt with by the juvenile courts, the sex, ages, and social characteristics of the children, and the types of treatment.

Cases of fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children constitute the largest group in courts of each age jurisdiction under eighteen years. Offenses of boys and girls differ. Stealing or attempted stealing, and acts of carelessness or mischief, predominate in boys' cases, whereas running away, ungovernable or beyond parental control, and sex offense predominate in girls' cases. Table IV shows juvenile delinquency rates, in certain localities from which comparable reports have been obtained by the Children's Bureau for a four-year period.

A serious delinquency problem is presented by juveniles violating federal laws. The Attorney General has requested the assistance of the Children's Bureau in developing plans for state and federal co-operation in dealing with these young people. The Department of Justice and the Children's Bureau have assigned personnel to work on this problem.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND CHILD WELFARE

The experience of past periods of depression indicates that children suffer permanent losses as a result of industrial depression. Evidence is at hand that 1931 will be no exception. Reports from many parts of the country where local relief has been inadequate during the winter of 1930 tell of the suffering of children. According to reports of a nation-wide survey among public health nursing agencies received by the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, "two years of financial depression and unemployment have taken their toll in undernourishment of children and young mothers." At a health center in New York City where the percentage of undernourished children has been carefully determined for three years, malnutrition was found to have increased from 18 to 60 per cent since 1928. In Pennsylvania, fairly complete data of fall school inspection among children indicated a state-wide increase of mal-

TABLE IV

TOTAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE 1930 CENSUS AND DELINQUENCY RATE FOR BOYS AND GIRLS PER 1,000 ESTIMATED POPULATION OF JUVENILE-COURT AGE* OF THE SAME SEX AND COLOR FOR 1930 AND THE PERIOD 1927-29 FOR SPECIFIED COURTS REPORTING TO THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU EACH YEAR OF THE PERIOD 1927-30.†

COURT AND COLOR OF CHILD	TOTAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO 1930 CENSUS	DELINQUENCY RATE			
		Boys		Girls	
		1930	1927-29	1930	1927-29
Connecticut: Bridgeport.....	146,716	28	27	5	5
District of Columbia.....	486,869	41	43	6	8
White.....		23	26	2	3
Colored.....		86	87	16	17
Indiana:					
Lake County.....	261,310	10	11	7	5
Marion County.....	422,666	15	17	8	8
White.....		11	14	7	7
Colored.....		42	48	16	21
Minnesota:					
Hennepin County.....	517,785	16	17	4	4
Ramsey County.....	286,721	14	10	3	3
New Jersey:					
Hudson County.....	690,730	23	21	4	4
White.....		23	21	4	3
Colored.....		62	65	10	10
Mercer County.....	187,143	21	16	1	1
New York:					
Buffalo (city).....	573,076	18	16	2	1
Erie County (exclusive of Buffalo)....	189,332	10	10	1	1
New York City.....	6,930,446	12	11	2	2
White.....		11	10	2	2
Colored.....		38	29	9	7
Westchester County.....	520,947	10	17	2	3
White.....		9	16	2	3
Colored.....		27	44	9	15
Ohio:					
Hamilton County.....	589,356	25	22	11	†
White.....		20	18	7	†
Colored.....		68	66	38	†
Mahoning County.....	236,142	49	47	11	11
White.....		46	44	10	9
Colored.....		101	101	32	30
Pennsylvania:					
Montgomery County.....	265,804	4	2	§	†
White.....		3	2	§	†
Colored.....		19	7	3	2
Philadelphia (city).....	1,950,961	34	30	5	4
White.....		29		4	
Colored.....		78		16	
Virginia: Norfolk (city).....	129,710	47	47	10	11
White.....		33	34	7	7
Colored.....		75	72	14	17
Washington: Pierce County.....	163,842	8	6	2	2

* The ages of jurisdiction over delinquent children in the states in which the eighteen courts are located are as follows: under sixteen years in Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania; under seventeen years in the District of Columbia; under eighteen years in Minnesota, Ohio, Virginia, and Washington; and under sixteen for boys and under eighteen for girls in Indiana.

† Includes courts serving cities or counties having 100,000 or more population in 1930 reporting each year of the period 1927-30. Color is shown for courts serving cities or counties of this size having at least 10,000, or 10 per cent, colored population.

‡ Girls not reported in 1927 and 1928.

§ Less than 1 per 1,000.

|| Color not reported in 1927 and 1928.

nutrition varying from 10 to 15 per cent over 1930. In some of the coal-mining districts studied by the Children's Bureau in 1931 it was the opinion of physicians and nurses working in the schools that the percentage of undernourishment among children in 1931 had increased.

Family relief expenditures reported to the Children's Bureau by 65 large cities in 1931 increased 327 per cent during the past three years. The amount spent was \$46,200,000 in 1931 as compared with \$22,900,000 in 1930 and \$10,800,000 in 1929. Most of this money came from public funds and did not include pensions to the aged, veterans' relief, or allowances for mothers' aid.

A survey undertaken in 1931 by the Children's Bureau on the extent of public aid to dependent children in the United States under mothers' aid, or mothers' pensions, indicated that in some counties inability to collect taxes caused a decrease in the number of families aided or in the amount of aid and even discontinuance of such relief during the year.

Past studies of unemployment and child welfare have shown the tragic paradox of children leaving school for work. The same thing is happening in this depression. In September and October of 1931, 5,549 boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen years took out first working papers in New York City alone. In Philadelphia the corresponding number for September was 1,182. "Back to School" and "Stay in School" campaigns have been undertaken to combat this situation. Census statistics of school attendance show that over 1,300,000 boys and girls of school age, seven to fifteen, inclusive, were not enrolled in any school during the year 1929-30 and that nearly 2,000,000 boys and girls of sixteen and seventeen had already severed school connections. The President's Organization on Unemployment Relief is urging that every advantage be taken of this period of industrial depression to encourage preparation for future usefulness by keeping children in school and providing adequate facilities for them.

The amount of child labor decreased in the decade 1920-30 but is still far too large. Recently published Census Bureau figures indicate that, in 1930, 1 out of every 12 children between the ages of ten and fifteen were employed in the 33 states and the District of

Columbia for which figures are available. Of boys and girls fourteen and fifteen years of age, 1 out of 7, and of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds, 1 out of 3, was employed in that year.

CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION IN 1931

Legislative sessions were held in 44 states in 1931. Owing probably to the stimulus of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, the number of child-welfare measures proposed was much greater than in recent years; but in some states this impetus was checked by an economic and financial policy that resulted in tabling all matters entailing increased expenditures or appropriations for new items.

The proposed child-labor amendment to the federal Constitution was considered by the legislatures of eight states and ratified by Colorado. Several states passed emergency legislation to meet increasing need for public relief. Laws relating to public aid to children in their own homes were enacted in 12 states. New Mexico and Alabama, two of the four states without such laws, passed acts authorizing aid from county funds for dependent children in their own homes. Maryland and Utah revised their state juvenile court acts, and Maine enacted a law making special provision for dealing with juvenile delinquents. State child-welfare commissions were active in 1931 in 8 states, and new commissions were created by legislative act in Alaska, Connecticut, and Oregon.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP

The activities resulting from the Third White House Conference on Child Care and Protection, held in 1930, continued throughout the year. Indiana was the first of several states to have a White House follow-up conference, and in some instances plans have been made for county follow-up conferences.

WOMEN

CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE

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ABSTRACT

During the past year attention has centered on the economic situation. In April, 1930, 4.7 per cent of the women in gainful occupations were unemployed. These women have heavy financial and family responsibilities. In the professional and semi-professional occupations, 2.5 per cent of the women were unemployed. Those in manufacturing, commerce, and transportation were most affected.

Opposition to the employment of married women has been evident.

Legislation has been on relatively minor points, and there have been few women elected or appointed to important offices.

During the past year attention has centered upon the economic situation. As far as unemployment figures are available, they indicate that the present depression has affected women more rigorously than has any previous crisis. With the increasing number in industry and with somewhat more diversified fields of employment, this was to be expected.

In April, 1930, the census of unemployment showed nearly one-twentieth (about 4.7 per cent) of the women in gainful occupations in the United States without work. Their financial responsibilities are indicated by the fact that nearly one-tenth of them were heads of families; and another one-fifth were classed as lodgers and thus, no doubt, forced to rely chiefly on their own resources.

About 10 per cent of the entire number in certain of the food and textile industries were out of work, as were over 7 per cent in clothing manufacturing, and between 4 and 5 per cent in certain iron and steel industries and in printing, publishing, and engraving.

Surveys in various cities indicate the same trends. In Baltimore a house-to-house canvass in February or March in 1928, 1929, and 1930 showed that the proportion of women unemployed had increased at each date and in 1930 had reached 15.3 per cent.

The federal figures for 1930 show nearly 43,000 women in the professional and semi-professional occupations unemployed, 2.5 per cent of all the women in that class. Women in the fields of recreation and amusement were especially hard hit, almost 8,000 of them, or more than 6 per cent, being unemployed.

The American Woman's Association in February, 1931, made a detailed survey¹ of unemployment among its members. This group represents the highly trained woman well placed in business and the professions in and around New York City. In February, 1931, 6.2 per cent were unemployed. In manufacturing, commerce, and transportation the proportion of unemployed was between 11.5 and 14.3 per cent, while in non-commercial occupations it ranged from 0.0 to 4.2 per cent. Those vocations serving primary needs, such as food and shelter, and those considered indispensable to the community's welfare and for which public funds are appropriated or endowments provided, offer security to the trained woman in hard times.

Of every ten unemployed women, four were unable to find any tide-over job, three found employment lasting three months or less, and three secured employment of longer duration.

There was relatively more unemployment in this group among women under thirty-five years of age than among the more mature, until forty-five was reached, when the proportion unemployed increased.

Unemployment was higher among the women with smaller earnings, and decreased as salary increased up to \$7,000. Women who had earned more than that amount suffered most from unemployment. It should be noted that for the entire group of 1,937 women the median earnings were \$3,030, while 10 per cent of the group reported earnings of over \$5,000. This indicates the unusual level of success attained by these women.

It is to be regretted that no organization of highly trained men comparable to the American Woman's Association has surveyed the situation among its memberships.

Space does not permit a detailed comparison of unemployment among men and women. The 1930 census figures showed that, of just over 38 million men and not quite 11 million women ordinarily employed, two and a half million men and 370,000 women were unemployed and wanting work. The difference in occupational distribution would largely explain the relatively smaller amount of unemployment among the women.

¹ *The Trained Woman and the Economic Crisis* (New York: American Woman's Association, 1931).

Perhaps the women who have been most singled out for discussion in relation to the economic crisis are the married women who are working outside of their homes. Their numbers have increased from census to census; but, as yet, there is little understanding of their need or right to work.

It is not necessary to repeat here the list of bulletins of the Woman's Bureau in which evidence has been piled on evidence to show that these women are working because of economic necessity. The same story is told by the Children's Bureau.²

In the industrial sections of Philadelphia included in this survey, 21 per cent of the white mothers with husbands and one or more children under sixteen years of age living at home were gainfully employed in 1928, as compared with 14 per cent of the same type of married woman gainfully employed in 1918-19. The findings show, without qualification, that the women were working to obtain sheer necessities for their families.

The attack on the married woman gainfully employed has been made in the name of protecting the family or of giving work to those who need it, the assumption being that the married woman is adequately cared for and that her earnings go for luxuries while her home is neglected. Facts as noted above for the woman in industry and available elsewhere for women in business and the professions have not been considered, nor has the uniqueness of solving unemployment by discharging one group to make room for another caused much comment. Nor has it been explained how the elimination of the purchasing power of one group, forcing them to dispense with the services of domestic helpers, laundries, etc., can balance production and purchasing power.

Evidences of the attitude toward the employed married woman are too numerous to list. One of the most spectacular was the decree of the mayor of Syracuse dismissing all married women in the city's employ who had husbands earning, and recommending the abolishment of civil service positions from which the married women encumbrants refused to resign.

In Seattle, Washington, a proposed amendment to the city's

² *Children of Working Mothers in Philadelphia*, Part I, "The Working Mothers," Bureau Publication No. 204 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931).

charter would prohibit married women on the city pay-roll. During the past sessions several state legislatures, including North Carolina, Connecticut, California, and Wisconsin, heard proposals to dismiss all married women whose husbands were earning a given amount—\$100 a month was the North Carolina suggestion. In Nebraska a bill was introduced to bar married women from teaching in the public schools of the state if the combined income of husband and wife were in excess of \$2,000 a year. In the House of Representatives during the reading of the Agriculture Appropriations Bill for 1933 an amendment was offered that "no part of the money appropriated . . . pay the salary of the dependent wife of any Federal employee who receives an annual salary in excess of \$2,500." None of these amendments and proposals has become law, but their recurrence over the country is worth noting.

The North Dakota State Board of Administration which controls the state educational institutions has ruled that after September 1, 1931, no married woman shall be employed on faculties of state educational institutions, including the University, State Agricultural College, and state normal schools.

Numerous local school boards have adopted this same policy, and only in those states where there is a state tenure-of-office act may a teacher in most communities marry and have any security in her position.

Two interesting findings concerning the employed married woman must be noted. The Bureau of Efficiency of the County of Los Angeles, California, referring to a proposal that married women whose husbands are earning in excess of \$150 a month be requested to resign or take an indefinite leave of absence, recommended that, in view of the state constitution, in making new appointments "if the candidate is a man and his wife is working, either in the county service or elsewhere, this fact should be considered, as well as the case of a woman whose husband is similarly employed."

Again in December, 1931, the Maryland State Department of Education ruled that a woman teacher in the public schools of the state could not be dismissed from her position on account of marriage. This ruling also declared that a clause in a teacher's contract reading: "If a female teacher marries in any school year she will be

expected to resign at the close of the school year" was in conflict with the state school law which provides no ground for discrimination on account of sex. Nor does it differentiate between married and single teachers.

The women teachers in public schools have some legal protection in certain states if they marry in service; but in the matter of new appointments, they are often barred from their profession. Private schools and colleges are more liberal. Barnard College, for example, has just announced a system of maternity leave with pay.

Illustrations of dismissal of their married women employees by railroads and large corporations cannot be cited here, but many might be given. The point which involves many queries is the questioning of these women on their family income and the decision by the employer, based on the size of the family income, as to whether or not a certain member of a family group may earn. While, of course, it is not equitable for one group to be in comfort while another group starves, it seems difficult to make an argument in equity for the dismissal of married women, usually on small pay, when inherited wealth and unearned increment is untouched.

The married woman, as the newest recruit to wage-earning, is in an unfavorable situation. Not only in industry is her position uncertain and is she forced to take the lowest paid work, but among business and professional women her earnings are lower than are those of the single women.³ Whether this is due to lack of opportunity, pressure of public opinion, or inherent weakness in her situation can only be decided after much more evidence is accumulated.

In 1930, 76.2 per cent of the male population ten years old and over and 22.1 per cent of the female population were gainfully employed. In 1920 the corresponding figures were 78.2 per cent of the male population and 21.1 per cent of the female population.

Among the women gainfully employed, 29.2 per cent were in domestic and personal service, 22.4 per cent in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 16.4 per cent in professional service, mainly in teaching, 15.9 per cent in trade, and 8.5 per cent in agriculture. Since there has been some change in the classification used, close

³ See for example, *After College—What?* (Greensboro, North Carolina: Institute of Women's Professional Relations, 1931), a study of the work of 6,665 college women.

comparisons with 1920 may not be made until further figures are available.

In 1931, legislatures met in all but four states, and many bills directly affecting working women were considered.

North Carolina replaced its old hour law with one applying only to women, continuing the eleven-hour daily provision but reducing weekly hours to a maximum of fifty-five. Louisiana reduced women's hours to nine a day and fifty-four a week.

In New York an amendment to the overtime provision of the law relating to women's hours of work in mercantile establishments assures better means of enforcement, reduces amount of overtime allowed, and provides flexibility for the merchants.

Two orders having the force of law and affecting women in the motion-picture industry were issued by the California Industrial Welfare Commission. One provides a basic eight-hour day for "extras" (those who receive a wage of \$15 or less a day, \$65 or less a week) with regulation of pay for overtime allowed in case of emergency up to sixteen hours; and the other, a basic eight-hour day, six-day, forty-eight-hour week for all other women employed in the motion-picture industry who are receiving \$40 a week or less.

In Congress two bills which have been introduced interest the women's organizations—the Connery Bill, which would make it illegal to transport goods manufactured by women from one state into another state which has more restrictive laws for women in industry; and H. R. 5869, which has been referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, to exempt from the quota husbands of American citizens.

The Supreme Court of Illinois held unconstitutional a referendum vote of last year which established jury service for women. On January 11, 1932, the United States Supreme Court refused to review the decree in the case of *Massachusetts vs. Welosky*. Genevieve Welosky appealed from a conviction for possessing liquor illegally on the grounds that women were excluded from the jury list from which her jury was drawn, women being denied jury service in Massachusetts. The case was pressed by certain organizations on the ground that, had the Welosky appeal been won, jury service for women would have been secured in every state.

Being an off-year for elections, little is reported for women in office. Mrs. Hattie W. Caraway, widow of the Senator from Arkansas, was given an interim appointment by the governor and then elected to fill her husband's unexpired term.

Mrs. Norton, New Jersey, is the first woman to become chairman of a committee of the House of Representatives. This being the District committee, she likewise becomes the first woman "mayor of Washington, D.C."

The appointment of President Mary E. Woolley as an American delegate to the World Disarmament Conference at Geneva was widely applauded.

Of the books on women, perhaps three might stand out above the others in interest. In *On Understanding Women*,⁴ Mary Beard has written a history of civilization from the point of view of the oft-forgotten fact that women have been present throughout the ages.

Schmalhausen and Calverton⁵ have edited a brilliant series of essays tied together by a general philosophy to the effect that social environment and tradition must be changed before it is possible to judge what women can do.

Recently psychiatry has been influenced by the work of women, such as Dr. Olga Knopf, author of *The Art of Being a Woman*.⁶ She has some extremely practical points to make against the prevalent conception that sexual maladjustment is the one great original cause of disharmony between men and women. Her discussion of the development of inferiority in little girls if absorbed by child-study groups might work a revolution in the attitude of women of the next generation toward their rôle in life and form the basis for a new philosophy of feminism.

⁴ New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931.

⁵ *Woman's Coming of Age: A symposium* (New York: Horace Liveright, Inc., 1931).

⁶ Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1931.

CRIME

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ABSTRACT

This article calls attention to the efforts under way for the improvement of criminal statistics. It reviews the major aspects of the development in housing and treatment of prisoners, especially in New York State and in the federal prisons. Attention is called to the appearance of training schools for prison officials and police workers, to major researches in progress or just completed, publications of the year, and miscellaneous items of interest.

STATISTICS OF CRIME

The statistics compiled by various federal bureaus enforcing criminal justice are so deficient and incomparable as to render impossible the answering of a single important question about crime. So said the investigators of "Criminal Statistics"¹ for the National Committee on Law Observance and Enforcement, and added that most reports of state and municipal agencies are so lacking in comparability as to be unworthy of collection for unified presentation, and, further, that large elements of local crime statistics are not reported on a basis that insures accuracy. These statements, however, merely summarize the opinions of many investigators who feel that statistics of crimes reported, of arrests, court dispositions, probation, commitments, volume of different types of crime, and cost of crime are of little value because of the lack of uniformity in definitions of crime, because of the close relation between police work and politics, because of the lack of comparability among categories employed in reporting, because of varying police policies, and because of the absence of centralized reporting.

Centralized reporting.—Recent years, however, have witnessed several attempts to inaugurate policies of collecting data that will provide complete, comparable, and useful materials. Among the first of these was the widely hailed *Uniform Crime Report* of known offenses in cities and other population units. The growth of the registration area has been rapid. Between March, 1930, and December, 1931, the number of reporting cities of more than 10,000 population

¹ Report No. 3, prepared by Sam B. Warner and Morris Ploscowe.

increased from 394 to 770. The increase in the ratio of the population represented to the total population of the cities in the group (58,340,000) increase from 46 to 80 per cent. Additional smaller cities bring the population of the registration area to 51,000,000.

Considerable criticism has been directed against these summaries on the basis that they do not always represent complete reporting and that their publication by a government agency implies a degree of accuracy that does not exist. Notwithstanding this criticism, the reports have indicated the value of uniform classification; and during the year a committee representing official and private groups interested in criminal statistics was organized to plan a uniform classification for use in penal, judicial, and police statistics.

Congress' recent authorization of the annual collection of statistics of the inmates of prisons and reformatories has enabled the Bureau of the Census to place this activity on a permanent basis. Shortly after the authorization the director of the Census called a conference of twenty-five specialists to discuss the scope of the program. An advisory committee to the Census was appointed, and Thorsten Sellin became consultant for criminal statistics.

The reports on the statistics of federal prisoners, issued by the new Bureau of Prisons, have been broadened to include an analysis of federal prisoners in jails. The first of these reports appeared in 1931 for the year 1929-30, classifying the prisoners by offense, age, sex, and nativity.

Recommendations for improvement.—Looking toward the improvement of criminal statistics, Warner and Plascowe recommended to the Wickersham Commission: (1) that the Bureau of the Census assist the states in setting up machinery for annual crime-reporting; (2) that the Bureau of the Census publish the reports of the states attaining an established standard of completeness; (3) that national crime statistics should be reported by one Bureau, preferably the Census; (4) that the federal government should not attempt to obtain statistics of offenses known to the police; (5) that most statistics of persons arrested should come from the courts and not the police; (6) that the federal government should not attempt to collect statistics of adult probations until they have been standardized; (7) that annual reporting of prisoners should be extended to those in jails.

HOUSING AND TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

With rapid increases in prison population and added experience in the treatment of criminals, experiments in housing, classification, occupational programs, and the substitution of trained, for politically appointed, guards continue to go forward. Notable among the programs of 1931 were the cases of New York State and Federal Bureau of Prisons.

New York State's program.—On the basis of the estimated increase in the prison population, and after a classification of the present inmates, the New York Commission To Investigate Prison Administration and Construction recommended: (1) the building of no more fortress-type prisons; (2) the designation of two institutions as reception prisons for examination, periodic case review, and work assignment; (3) the building of one medium security prison in 1931; (4) the extension of prison road camps; (5) the expenditure of \$125,000 for experiment in prison housing to determine the possibility of developing pre-parole groups.

With the opening of the new prison at Attica late in 1931, that institution and Sing Sing were designated as receiving prisons for the state. The population has been divided into five groups: (a) colony groups (25 per cent), (b) temporarily restricted (35 per cent), (c) prolonged restricted (22 per cent), (d) psychiatric (16 per cent), and (e) hospital (2 per cent). Work has already been started on a medium security prison in Ulster County, and recommendations have been made for additional institutions including a unit for defective delinquents and another for psychiatric cases.

The program of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.—The United States government has under construction several projects representing new types of housing and extending segregation. Work was begun on the Northeastern Penitentiary in Pennsylvania to accommodate 1,200 inmates. Diversity of housing will provide for all types of men—from those who can live under almost normal outside conditions to those who require maximum restraint. Authorization of funds made it possible in 1931 to commence work on the Southwestern Reformatory in Oklahoma. The original unit will care for 600 men but can be readily expanded to provide for double that number.

Midway in the year plans were well under way for the construction

of a hospital for defective delinquents. The hospital, to be located at Springfield, Missouri, will provide 850 beds, distributed 500 for insane and psychopathic, 150 for tubercular, and 200 for chronic medical cases.

Two narcotic farms, one at Lexington, Kentucky, and the other near Fort Worth, Texas, will soon be completed, and will relieve the federal prisons of from 1,500 to 2,000 drug addicts.

In addition to these institutions the federal government has planned or has under construction seven new jails in widely scattered parts of the country. This program will be extended to insure the detention of federal prisoners in jails that meet the standards established.

The Bureau of Prisons is developing its educational and employment programs and is securing individualization of treatment through the appointment of fourteen additional wardens' assistants to assemble social histories of the inmates.

The new and enlarged Parole Board completed its first year of work in 1931 with the review of 9,450 cases. The Board is planning to sit in smaller units in order to give each parole applicant a more extended hearing. Provision was made that federal probation officers add to their work the supervision of parolees. The improvement over the old system of leaving supervision to individuals and social agencies has led to recommendations for the extension of the federal unit.

Training prison employees.—New types of prison architecture and treatment programs have called for the use of trained personnel. This new demand has led to the establishment of several training schools. In 1927 the Keepers' Training School of New York City was opened for training officers for local prisons.

The United States Training School for Prison Officers was opened late in 1929 as a part of the reorganization of the Bureau of Prisons. Conducted in a federal institution, the school provides opportunities for first-hand experience in addition to courses on the history of punishment, causal factors in crime, nature of the criminal, the work of the psychologist and psychiatrist, etc. The results after two years are: (1) elimination of one-sixth of the recruits as undesirable; (2) greater usefulness of graduates; (3) smaller turnover; (4) promotion

of interest in the work with greater likelihood of its regard as a lifetime interest.

The State of New Jersey Officers' Training School opened in March, 1931.

The Institute of Criminal Law of Harvard University announced a two-year course for those expecting to go into penal and correctional institutions, and into public and private agencies dealing with delinquents and criminals.

RESEARCH IN CRIME

Another inauguration of the year 1931 was the *Criminological Research Bulletin*, issued by the Bureau of Social Hygiene. Although stated to be incomplete, the *Bulletin* lists 107 separate projects in progress in April, 1931. A second report is scheduled for publication early in 1932. Some of the larger projects listed here and elsewhere are indicated below.

Professor J. J. Robinson, Indiana University, is engaged in a compilation of "Recent Legislation concerning Crime" for the American Bar Association.

The report of the Chicago Citizens' Police Committee, the only existing study of a large police force, contains a working outline for the organization and management of an urban police unit. Some of the suggestions are now being adopted there under the direction of Bruce Smith, one of the authors of the report.

Surveys of criminal justice have recently been conducted in several states. The University of California has launched a six-year project; the preliminary report on the Oregon study appeared early in 1931, as did the report of the Montana Crime Commission. *Criminal Justice in Virginia*, by Hugh N. Fuller and others (Century Company), and *Criminal Procedure in North Carolina*, by G. R. Sherrill (University of North Carolina Press), were published during the year.

Attempt is under way to develop "A Uniform Classification of Types of Disposition of Cases in Criminal Courts for the Purpose of Facilitating Uniform Judicial Statistics." The work is under the auspices of the Johns Hopkins Institute of Law and the Western Reserve University Law School.

The National Society of Penal Information is completing its triennial survey of prisons and reformatories.

Louis N. Robinson completed a survey of "Prison Labor in the United States."

Under the auspices of the Behavior Research Fund and the Social Science Research Committee, E. H. Sutherland and associates are completing a statistical and case study of first- and second-generation immigrants from Sweden, Ireland, Italy, and Germany who have criminal records in the United States.

The Bureau of Rehabilitation in Washington, D.C., is making a study of parole and probation with reference to the case work of social agencies.

The reports of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement deserve greater attention than space permits. Attention is called to those dealing with *Crime and the Foreign Born*, *Causes of Crime*, *Lawlessness in Law Enforcement*, *The Child Offender in the Federal System of Justice*, *Costs of Crime*, *Penal Institutions*, *Probation and Parole*, and *Prosecution*.

A recent bulletin of the University of Utah contains a study of indeterminate sentence, probation, and parole in that state, and makes certain recommendations concerning segregation, use of case histories, etc.

J. L. Gillin's book *Taming the Criminal* details penal practices in the United States and elsewhere, notably in Japan, Belgium, and Switzerland.

Bennett Mead of the United States Department of Justice is engaged in developing a method of evaluating the results of correctional treatment. Institutional records are being devised which are expected to show the educational, working skill, physical, and mental status of offenders at various stages of, and following the period of, treatment.

A study based on a considerable volume of hitherto unused material is that of the coal and iron police, railroad police, private-detective and watch agencies in the state of Pennsylvania.

Ernest A. Hooton, Harvard University, is collecting anthropometric, sociological, medical, and psychiatric data on 17,000 inmates in the institutions of ten states and on a civilian sample of 3,000.

Hastings H. Hart and Fred V. Lettow completed the first comprehensive study of detention prisons in the United States in "A

Statistical Analysis of the Commitments to Police Lockups during the Six Months of 1930."

Under the auspices of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, Bruce Smith is making an examination of the older and newer rural police and judicial agencies under the title "Study of Rural Crime Control."

Thorsten Sellin and E. H. Sutherland edited *Prisons of Tomorrow*, a volume comprised of articles by specialists in all practical fields of prison and post-prison work. The book criticizes present efforts and looks toward improvement.

NEW ORGANIZATIONS IN CRIMINOLOGY

Three organizations concerned with various aspects of crime and penology have recently come into existence. The American Association of Public Welfare Officials, organized in 1930, held its first annual meeting in Minneapolis in June, 1931.

The Chicago Academy of Criminology was founded to bring together into a single scientific body all those interested in the science and practice of criminology in all its phases.

The National Institute on Mercenary Crime composed of business and scientifically trained men was organized for the purpose of examining the social and economic causes of crime for profit.

With the increasing appreciation of the need of trained men for the handling of criminals, police training schools are appearing in all parts of the country. Recently the Junior College at San José, California, announced a two-year course to provide training in the basic elements of the profession for students planning to make police service their life-work. The Northwestern University Crime Detection Laboratory has added courses of instruction in scientific methods to its program. Police training schools have been established at Willamette University, in Jacksonville, Detroit, New York (Police Academy), and California (Academy of Police Science).

RELIGION

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ABSTRACT

This article attempts an interpretation of the social significance of certain developments within religious bodies of the United States. Increased relief activities were everywhere in evidence. The depression forced severe financial readjustments, particularly upon local organizations which overbuilt and overexpanded in 1927-29. A National Interfaith Conference on Permanent Preventives of Unemployment was an outstanding event. Controversies over birth control continued. Peace education went on, with an especial interest in the disarmament conference. A steady interest in research and inquiry was evident. It is still difficult, however, to interpret the major trends and counter-trends within organized religion, and particularly the social influence of religious institutions. This must wait for more intensive and extensive research.

The year has been one of crisis and readjustment for many individuals and social groups. The economic adjustments through which the world is going could not but affect organized religion. Well-informed social workers have stated that in 1931 the unemployment relief burden in many communities was roughly double that of 1930. The response of the churches has been to increase relief activities, both directly and indirectly. Many emergency relief committees have been created by parishes and synagogues. Two local churches on Long Island gave assistance to nine hundred men. The Riverside Church of New York employed two trained workers who are co-operating with the Charity Organization Society. In Rochester, New York, the clergy contributed portions of their salaries and took an active leadership in the organization of relief. Sixty-eight branches of the Young Women's Christian Association reported organizing free classes for unemployed girls and women. At one theological seminary having one hundred and fifty students \$5,033 was raised as a relief fund. These are illustrations from many reports. Perhaps co-operation with community agencies has been as extensive as direct relief. Special efforts of the churches were made in behalf of flood and famine relief in China. The Friends Service Committee established food and clothing stations in the most needy bituminous coal areas. Here unemployment is stated to have been the most serious. Appeals to the American Red Cross on behalf of the miners were refused on the ground that the Red Cross specializes

on the relief of disasters caused by "acts of God." This statement occasioned considerable public discussion, including the inquiry if war was also an act of God. (Early in 1932 the decision of the Red Cross seems to have been reversed, without any explanation as to whether "acts of God" have been redefined.)

JOINT EFFORTS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

The unemployment situation has been the occasion for numerous interfaith activities. For example, a joint statement on what should be done about unemployment was issued late in the year by the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The statement declared that federal appropriations would be needed in order to meet needs; that present efforts at relief were but "a temporary dole—a palliative, not a solution"; that present relief is "grossly inadequate to prevent tragic demoralization of individuals and family life." The statement goes on to say that "we are entering the third winter of severe unemployment without . . . any statesmanship or constructive program to provide work for any but a small minority of the idle"; a shorter work week is favored; unemployment insurance is declared to be "an indispensable part of sound social policy and the most self-respecting form of relief"; protest is made "against the misleading use of the word 'dole' to describe systems of unemployment insurance."

The same organizations sponsored in January, 1931, a national conference of permanent preventives of unemployment attended by over four hundred persons from twenty-three states. The speakers included employers, economists, government officials, labor representatives, and church leaders. There were discussions of methods of stabilization, unemployment insurance, public works and construction programs, moral and ethical implications of the prevention of unemployment.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

In St. Louis, an Interfaith Commission on Social Justice, composed of twenty-four persons, mainly clergy, investigated the disturbed relationships between organized dairymen and a large city

milk-distributing company. In a report published in full on December 17 in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, the Commission found that a contract offered by the milk company to individual farmers was "morally indefensible"; it further declared in favor of the right of farmers to bargain collectively in the marketing of milk, and that farmers who had lost their markets were entitled to justice.

In Portland, Oregon, there was a milk strike in the summer of 1931. A citizens' committee appointed by the mayor arbitrated and Rabbi Henry J. Berkowitz was appointed as the permanent arbitrator.

BIRTH CONTROL

There was probably more public discussion of birth control than during any recent year. On January 8, Pope Pius XI issued his encyclical on Christian marriage, a long document, widely published, which declared birth control to be "intrinsically vicious." The position on birth control, except by abstinence, was uncompromising, opposing it under any and all circumstances.

On March 21, the Committee on Marriage and the Home of the Commission on the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of Churches, issued a report on birth control. It represented the result of several years' work by a group of twenty-eight persons, including church leaders and specialists in social hygiene and social work. It contained both a majority report, holding that "the careful and restrained use of contraceptives by married people is valid and moral," and a minority report upholding "the standard of abstinence as the ideal."

Considerable public discussion followed within and without organized religion. Several constituent bodies of the Federal Council specifically declared their dissent from the birth-control statement at their official assemblies held during the summer, although the Federal Council statement was never labeled or intended to be an official pronouncement. One denomination withdrew from the Council over the issue, while another specifically commended the action.

DISARMAMENT—PEACE EFFORTS

Various religious bodies were active in the effort to create public opinion in favor of disarmament. The circulation of petitions went

on extensively. The literature on peace education issued by the churches is now extensive. There is said to be considerable opposition on the part of the church leaders and bodies to compulsory military training in colleges and to any military training in high and preparatory schools.

The Supreme Court's decision in the *Macintosh* and *Bland* cases, involving conscientious objection to military service by aliens applying for citizenship, has become the occasion for frequent discussions and for resolutions by a few of the major religious bodies. Several have declared in favor of revising the naturalization laws.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference established a Latin-American Bureau for the purpose of developing contacts and understanding between the Catholics of Latin America and those of the United States.

RESEARCH

The International Missionary Council (Protestant) established at Geneva, Switzerland, a Department of Social and Industrial Research and Counsel. A comprehensive and independent inquiry was being made by a group of laymen, assisted by specialists, of the foreign missionary movement in China, Japan, and India (including Burma).

The Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches, New York, published in pamphlet form a report entitled *The Public Relations of the Motion Picture Industry*, dealing specifically with the activities of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, popularly known as the "Hays organization." The report stated that, although the organization had achieved some results in establishing standards for films, some of its publicity and public-relations methods were such as not to create public confidence in the organization.

The Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York, published in June a study of areas with a low proportion of church members, entitled *Hinterlands of the Church*, written by Elizabeth R. Hooker. It began in 1931 two uncompleted projects: one a study of "The Church in Southern Mountain Areas," the other, extensive fact-finding for the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry. Progress was made in 1931 upon other projects previously authorized, as

follows: "Trends in Organized Religion in the U.S.A."; "The Effect of Changed Conditions on the Rural Church"; "A Study of Theological Education"; "Problems and Programs of Religious Education"; "Church Unity in Canada"; "Church Unity Movements"; "Strategy in City Church Planning"; "Representative Negro Churches"; "Protestant Home Missions to Foreign Populations"; "The Physical Effectiveness of Missionaries as a Factor in Withdrawals"; "The Field and Personnel of Foreign Missions."

A thorough and independent study of the foreign work of the Christian Associations of the United States and Canada, directed by F. Ernest Johnson, was published by the International Survey Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York. It contains an appraisal of the membership, leadership, program, and finance of the foreign services of the Young Men's and Young Women's Associations of North America, and conclusions and recommendations of the survey staff.

The National Conference of Catholic Charities (Washington) sponsored a study made by E. R. Moore, entitled *The Case against Birth Control* (New York: The Century Company). The National Conference published the results of a study entitled *Catholic Charities in the United States—History and Problems*, by John O'Grady.

The *Christian Herald* (New York) published in May an annual statement on the total membership of all religious bodies, as compiled by G. L. Kieffer. The total for 1930—the latest year available—was 50,037,245, an increase of 88,350 over the previous year, stated to be a small increase.

The reports of the fifty-two denominational groups for which totals are reported are not comparable, however. For example, ten did not report for 1930, and 1929 figures were used. In the case of three small groups, 1926 religious census figures were used. The methods used by the various bodies for compiling statistics of membership vary greatly.

SOME IMPORTANT EVENTS

Three Catholic scholars stated to the writer that they regarded the issuance by Pope Pius XI in May of the encyclical "Reconstructing the Social Order," forty years after the famous encyclical by

Pope Leo XIII "On the Condition of Labor," as the outstanding event within the Catholic church. It reiterated many of the historic Catholic social and economic teachings in terms of the present situation. The letter of the pope on October 4 on disarmament, calling upon the nations to disarm, and stating that money being used for armaments might well be used to purchase food and clothing for the unemployed, also received considerable public attention. Late in the year the pope called upon Protestant Christians to reunite with the church of Rome, an encyclical which was discussed by Protestants without any apparent willingness to return to Rome. In November, the Catholic bishops of the United States met in Washington and declared in favor of the appropriation of federal funds for unemployment relief.

Within Protestantism, the holding of the Church Conference of Social Work; the effort to raise \$10,000,000 to refinance local churches that cannot meet their indebtedness; an apparently increasing use of the radio; continued evidences of mergers and integrating movements along with the historic divisiveness; the holding of the convention of student volunteers (students interested in missionary service) attended by over 2,000 persons—are all mentioned by persons consulted as outstanding events and trends.

Regarding Judaism, the author received reports of the following: continued interest of synagogues in relief for Jews in Eastern Europe; readjustments of budgets due to the depression; an especial concern over religious teaching in public schools because of the danger of the injecting of sectarian teachings; insistent opinion that religious institutions must share in the reconstruction of the social order; defections from the synagogue in favor of new cults emphasizing spiritual healing, etc. A pertinent work is entitled *A Rabbi Takes Stock* (New York: Harper and Brothers), by Solomon Goldman, of Chicago. It is a frank and critical appraisal of Judaism, some conclusions being that the vital movements in Jewry are now without the synagogue, that the synagogue is forced to reconsider its ideology and methods if it is again to have the leadership which it once had.

RACE RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Race relations during the year have evidenced little change. Negroes have been the first and most severe sufferers during the economic depression. Steady reduction in immigration has gone hand in hand with intensification of restriction and increasing deportation of "undesirable" aliens. During the first nine months of 1931 emigration exceeded immigration by 22,769. The Exposition of Indian Arts has been the outstanding event in Indian affairs.

For a period such as the last year, one marked by violent stress in so many phases of life, we find little change in race relations from conditions of the recent past. Such trends as have been visible have continued their development in a manner to be expected on the basis of earlier happenings. As far as the composition of the general population of the United States is concerned, there has been only a slight disturbance in its racial proportions. Such conflicts as have their roots in the traditional frictions of the so-called "racial" groups in this country have continued much as before. In spite of the fact that the tension attendant upon strained economic conditions might lead one to expect that ordinary points of friction might become more pronounced, this has not been the case. Instead, such trends in racial relations as one fancies have been discernible over a short-term period have continued their equable development.

As usual, it is possible to consider the problem of race relations in the United States from the point of view of the immigrant European, and from that of each of the two non-Caucasoid stocks found in this country, the Negro and the Indian. There are certain landmarks which identify the places where each comes into conflict with the others, or where any one of them may come within the hostile regard of the remainder of the population; and to these we may turn our discussion.

There have been important repercussions of the present economic crisis among Negroes. As is the case with any underprivileged group, we find what easily might have been predicted, that in a period of economic strain the less established the group financially the more

it suffers. Thus, Negroes have found themselves, as casual workers, the first out of their jobs, and as members of the lowest-paid classes of laborers among the first to have their already scanty wages reduced. As a result, there has been more than the usual amount of poverty among Negroes living in cities, to which distress has been added the acute poverty of those Negroes who, in the South, live in regions that have suffered from the considerable floods which marked the end of the year. It is not only the Negroes in the lowest rungs of the occupational ladder who have suffered, however, for even those Negroes who are in such comparatively well-remunerated occupations as are open to men of this group have suffered. Thus, in the case of the Pullman porters, not only have the wages of these men, as paid by the Pullman Company, been reduced, but the porters have suffered severe losses in income because of the fact that with railway travel lighter than usual, the amount received from tips, on which they ordinarily count to make up the major portion of their income, has shrunk materially, both because of the smaller amounts given by individual travelers and because of the shrinkage in the total number of travelers a given porter serves on a given run. Because of their vulnerable economic condition, even in the best of times, Negro groups have made enormous numbers of calls on relief organizations, which, as in the case with calls from the general population, it has not been possible adequately to meet. In many cities the evictions of Negroes from their homes have greatly increased in number. And in some cases, notably in Chicago, this eviction policy has so stirred Negroes that there have been "rent riots" as a result. There is, however, nothing essentially racial in these manifestations. Indeed, it is said that, in the main, such revolt against conditions as Negroes have shown—Communist demonstrations, for example—has been largely under the leadership of white organizers.

Let us turn to those aspects of Negro life which are, strictly speaking, in the realm of Negro-white relations. Here there is not much which shows direct reverberation of the economic debacle. Lynchings continue much as always, somewhat greater in number, perhaps, and presumably with about the same degree of ingenuity on the part of the lynchers as to how the executions are actually consummated. The causes of lynching are also about the same as they have been:

charges of rape (which have been shown, incidentally, in the report of the Interracial Commission, to be unfounded in the main); charges of incivility toward whites; of murder of whites by Negroes; the resentment of economic advantages which it is thought ought not to accrue to the Negro. The most dramatic incident of the year has been the Scotsboro case, which has attracted great attention and which has to do with a sentence to death of several young Negroes after a trial which it has been stated was not a fair one, a sentence which, at the present writing, is under appeal. The case has had reverberations the world over and has caused numerous demonstrations by workers' groups in foreign countries. In this connection, the manner in which affiliation may be more important to those concerned with interracial matters than the case in hand is illustrated by the organization of the defense in the appeal to be made for the accused Negroes in this case. Both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Communist group hastened to aid the accused, with the result that two noted attorneys engaged by the former organization withdrew from the case when it became apparent they would have to be associated with lawyers engaged by the Communists.

In the matter of trends, what has been said of the Negro may also be said for the immigrant. Mass immigration, as was reported in this place a few years ago, is something that is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The stream of immigration, at one time such a mighty torrent, has become a mere trickle, the size of which has been more than counterbalanced during the past year by the other stream composed of those returning to their native homes after having lived here. This stream, which used to go almost unnoticed, has become correspondingly more prominent from year to year as, maintaining its volume, it has come gradually to equal the incoming stream in size. Now, for the first time, it has become the greater of the two. According to a bulletin of the National Industrial Conference Board, during the first nine months of 1931 emigration was 22,769 greater than immigration, although for the year ending June 30, 1931, there was a net gain to our population of 35,257.

The policy of agitating for an ever greater intensification of restriction has become more pronounced. In practice, such restriction

as is not provided for by statute has been carried out by administrative decrees. Thus, before a visa is now authorized to the prospective immigrant, he must pass a strict examination before the American counsel to whom he applies for his permit. From the decision of this counsel there is no appeal; and hence, although in many cases there were more than the quota number of applicants, many national quotas were not filled. One may quote the report of the National Industrial Board referred to:

The results of more vigorous administration were evident first in the case of net Mexican immigration, which as early as August, 1929, fell below 1,000 per month, and by June, 1930, had become a negligible quantity. Provisions of the law with regard to physical and mental defects, literacy, and the probability of the would-be immigrant becoming a public charge were rigidly enforced.

Certain items in the reports and recommendations of officials during the year show the official attitude. President Hoover in his message to Congress on December 8 stated,

I recommend that immigration restrictions now in force under administrative action be placed upon a more definite basis by law. The deportation laws should be strengthened. Aliens lawfully in the country should be protected by a certificate of residence.

In the annual report of Secretary of Labor Doak to Congress, he states the purpose of the immigration law:

- (1) To protect the social and political structure of American civilization from persons who seek to come here with strange new doctrines of government which threaten the institutions and practices that we in this country regard as essential to the onward progress of our people, whether native born or naturalized; and,
- (2) To give economic protection, particularly as to available employment to those who for both legal and moral reasons should receive first consideration in the blessings of the workaday life.

The increasing agitation for the registration of aliens, carried on by those who have to do with the administration of naturalization, is also reflected in official documents. The Commissioner-General of Immigration, Mr. Harry E. Hull, says, "We absolutely require the general and periodical registration of aliens for the proper enforcement of our immigration and naturalization laws," and he adds, with an eye to those who have criticized this proposal, "and the alien who is lawfully here will have nothing to fear therefrom, and will find it a measure of protection." We also learn that "by administrative

regulation" a start in this direction has been made, since for the past three years an identification card has been issued to every alien admitted for permanent residence. Commissioner Hull's twenty-sixth recommendation in his report is that Congress provide for such registration. We also find the following in the annual report of Secretary Doak:

I think also that the statute should more completely protect the newly-made citizen by proper safeguards. Outstanding among these is the use of fingerprints upon naturalization papers, also the right to cancel certificates should be reserved to the government of the United States.

And, in this connection, Secretary Doak recommends that eligibility requirements of applicants for United States naturalization be raised so that they be required to possess the equivalent of knowledge imparted to children up to the age of fourteen in American schools.

One development that has come into public attention as an extension of routine practice is the deportation of "undesirable" aliens. During the year ending June 30, 1931, 18,142 aliens were deported. There has been a large amount of protest to this policy on the part of those who, through the processes of cultural lag, have held to the more traditional views on the right of persons admitted to this country to remain here. This protest has been sufficiently strong that it received notice by Secretary Doak who, in his annual report, denounces the actions of "un-American organizations of American citizens," who "by persistent propaganda are hampering the deportation of alien enemies of the country."

Though for the first time in many years immigration totaled less than one hundred thousand (the figure is 96,139), such immigration as we are receiving is being assimilated by the various sections of the United States in much the same fashion as in former years. Of the number who came here, 68 per cent were absorbed by New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, 35,867, or 37 per cent, being absorbed by Pennsylvania alone. Of those who came, 13,813 were Germans, 12,703 English and Canadians, 12,239 South Italians, and 10,814 Irish.

The administration of matters concerning the Indians continues in accordance with the plans announced by the reorganized Bureau of Indian Affairs when the new commissioner took over his duties

some three years ago. One instance of the manner in which his intention to make American citizens out of the Indian wards of the nation has been taken seriously by Indians is seen in the recent action of the Council of the Seneca Indian Nation, who asked the New York State Educational Department to give preference to qualified Indians when employing teachers for Indian schools. Sentiment for the preservation of racial integrity is marked among this group, and it is their contention that Indians themselves should be trained and employed, as far as practicable, to teach Indians. This, according to their statement, reflects progress in the general elevation of the population.

As far as events of significance of racial relations between Indians and whites is concerned, perhaps the most important single happening of the year has been the Exposition of Indian Arts which, showing at the Grand Central Galleries in New York during the month of December, is being sent as a traveling exhibit through the country. The exhibit of pottery, basketry, ornamented costumes, carved wood and stone, toys, ceremonial objects, jewelry of turquoise and silver, and water colors, made by members of thirty tribes, has attracted large attention. An example of the manner in which this showing was greeted as a source of inspiration for American artists is illustrated by one comment which says,

Modern Mexican and Central American artists may justly claim as their own the marvelous Mayan heritage; African Negroes possess a rich background in the tribal cultures of the past; the American Indian today finds himself similarly blessed. We know how extensively the modern art of Europe has drawn upon Negro sculpture. Are we about to witness an enthusiastic borrowing on the parts of artists in this country, so alive just now to our American background?

An editorial writer in the *New York Times* states,

In the picturesque richness of Indian craft now brought to our doors . . . the visitor may discern a yet comparatively untapped source of decorative inspiration. While we have had our eyes turned to Europe with its momentary vogues, this authentic native American art has been overlooked. . . . The Exposition . . . should be inspiring to our designers as well as suggestive of the great aesthetic charm and practical usefulness of the variety of objects shown.

That American Indian cultures are more and more affecting the work of American artists is apparent to those who have followed the subjects which American painters have depicted during the last few

years. It is found that scenes from Indian life have increasingly found place in exhibits, while recently paintings of Indian art objects have appeared. It is quite conceivable that this interest on the part of the artist and those interested in art may indicate a tendency on the part of the American people to recognize one phase of excellence in the hitherto neglected Indian civilizations. And if this recognition is made, it is possible that it will possess sufficient momentum to carry over into a further recognition of the excellence of other aspects of Indian life. It may thus mark the beginning of a movement that will bring the people of the United States to a realization of the necessity for more sympathetic treatment and more careful consideration of Indian susceptibilities than has hitherto marked the relations between the dominant European population of this country and such of its aboriginal stocks as still exist.

EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

The financial depression has caused a general reduction of educational budgets and has led to the curtailment of various activities in educational institutions. The National Advisory Committee on Education rendered its final report to President Hoover. This report recommended a novel type of federal department, which is being subjected to frequent editorial criticism. The "new plan" of the University of Chicago has been in successful operation since October 1, 1931. An international conference on the form and social influence of examinations assembled in May, 1931, at Eastbourne, England. The American Association of University Professors has undertaken a study of college teaching. Several important educational surveys were launched in 1931. The apparent oversupply of teachers was made a subject of inquiry by the Research Division of the National Education Association.

CURTAILMENT OF EDUCATIONAL BUDGETS

The problem which, more than any other, engrossed the attention of educational administrators during 1931 was the problem of conducting the institutions for which they were responsible on drastically reduced budgets. Shrinkage in revenues available for the conduct of public schools amounted in some cases to as much as 20 per cent. A canvass of public-school systems made in the middle of the year showed that there were practically no cases in which increases in resources could be reported and that in 40 per cent of the school systems school revenues were reduced below the level of the year preceding. Many of the systems which escaped reduction in their budgets during 1931 are quite certain to experience curtailment during 1932.

There is no uniformity in the methods adopted to effect retrenchment. In most centers there is a disposition to maintain, as far as possible, the schedules of teachers' salaries. In a few cases salaries for the year have been reduced either through the closing of schools for a period or through consent on the part of teachers to serve for a time without pay. Economies of minor types have been very common. The supervisory force has been reduced. Summer schools have been abandoned. Classes for adults have been closed. More fundamental changes have been introduced in the form of reorganization

of classes. Classes have sometimes been increased in size, and periods of instruction in laboratories and shops have been shortened. It is doubtless true that some of the changes will be found to be so harmless that they will outlive the depression.

In the college world the depression has resulted in a number of mergers of institutions which were competitors. There will undoubtedly be more mergers in the future and complete suspensions of institutions which are financially weak. The small liberal-arts colleges have opened a campaign which aims to convince the public that it will be a major social disaster if the small college is eliminated from the American educational system.

Nicholas Murray Butler president of Columbia University, suggests that colleges which find it difficult to offer advanced courses unite with neighboring universities and, while preserving their individuality, provide their students with opportunities that only the stronger institutions can supply.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

On November 16, 1931, President Hoover released, without comment, the report of the National Advisory Committee on Education. After two years of labor this committee succeeded in preparing a report which was adopted with very little opposition by its members. Such opposition as the report encountered in the Committee came from three sources. The members of the Committee who were closely related to the Federal Board for Vocational Education voted negatively on all sections of the report. The members of the Committee who belonged to the Catholic clergy filed a minority report, opposing a recommendation which they believed would lead to federal control of schools. The three Negro members of the Committee favored the principles of the report but contended that the federal government owes a special duty to the Negroes in those states which maintain dual school systems.

The report of the National Advisory Committee on Education contains (1) a vigorous statement of the traditional American policy of state and local control of education, (2) a clear account of the gradual development of bureaucratic interference with the autonomy

of the states and local school districts through specification of the types of education to be aided by federal grants and through the imposition of direct federal supervision over certain types of teaching, and (3) an argument for the creation of a strong headquarters for education presided over by a cabinet officer.

Many of the editorial comments on the report have asserted that the recommendation of a strong federal headquarters is in fundamental opposition to the earlier sections of the report which argue that the traditional policy of local control is the truly American policy and one which should be continued. The report is explicit in its declaration that the federal headquarters recommended is not to be endowed with administrative powers or duties. It will require time and careful consideration of the novel character of the recommendation to secure complete understanding of its significance. The people of this country are so accustomed to administrative departments that they cannot grasp at once the idea of a purely service branch of the federal government.

THE "NEW PLAN" OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The University of Chicago received in October, 1931, the first class of undergraduate students who are to be educated under the "new plan." These students began preparation for the comprehensive examination which most of them will take in June, 1933. A few of them who are highly competent and industrious will have the opportunity to take the examination at an earlier date. The comprehensive examination will assume (1) that the student has acquaintance with four fields, or divisions, of knowledge—the biological sciences, the physical sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities; (2) that he can write clear and correct English; (3) that he has made some progress in the direction of mastering the tool subjects, such as foreign language and mathematics, necessary for the pursuit of some specialty; and (4) that he has more than an introductory acquaintance with the field in which he intends to specialize.

As aids in preparing for the comprehensive examination, courses in each line are provided; but students are not required, as students in most colleges are, to follow any strict routine of class attendance.

Among the courses provided are four new orientation, or general-survey, courses in the fields enumerated in the preceding paragraph. The individual student is also given as much guidance through personal conferences with instructors as he cares to accept.

It is too early to venture any estimate of the success of the plan. It is quite certain that the students have not, up to the present, abused their freedom. Indeed, so anxious have they been not to fail, and so uncertain have they been regarding the character of the comprehensive examination to which they will be subjected, that they have attended classes with at least the usual degree of regularity. The chief complaint which the students make is that the new plan imposes on them heavier labor than they have been accustomed to perform. Some of the readings which they are encouraged to undertake overtax their immature minds. On the whole, the new plan has not produced any of the shocking abnormalities of human behavior that critics feared would appear. There seems to be an increase in personal responsibility as compared with the results produced in earlier years by the assignment-and-recitation plan.

The graduate classes of the University have felt to some extent the influence of the new plan. Indeed, it may be said that in very large measure the new plan is but a generalization of what has long been common in well-conducted graduate classes. There has been, however, in graduate courses further relaxation of formal requirements. There are fewer term papers and more free reading. There are opportunities outside the field of narrow specialization. A student is encouraged to think of himself as related to a division made up of a number of departments rather than hemmed in by the boundaries of a single department. The Division of Social Sciences has gone so far in extending the range of its offerings as to provide certain divisional lecture courses summarizing, for all who are interested, the essentials of some field of knowledge.

THE EASTBOURNE CONFERENCE ON EXAMINATIONS

During the closing days of May, 1931, there assembled at Eastbourne, England, in response to an invitation from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the International Institute of Teach-

ers College, Columbia University, a group of educators from Germany, France, Switzerland, England, Scotland, and the United States to discuss the form and social influence of examinations. The Conference was an extension of the work which the Carnegie Corporation and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching have been doing in this country in improving methods of examining college students and secondary-school pupils. The desirability of holding an international conference was suggested by Sir Michael Sadler and Professor Carl H. Becker, both of whom had visited this country and had observed with interest the experiments in formulating tests of various types, including comprehensive examinations.

The Eastbourne Conference led to the organization of several national committees which will carry on experiments in their own countries and will in due time publish reports of their findings. The Conference itself was devoted to discussions of the present practices and problems of each country represented. It became evident in the course of the discussions that one problem which confronts every nation is that of selecting the leaders who are competent to direct national policies. The French representatives were in favor of reliance on a single test of clarity and fluency of expression. The German representatives called attention to the advantages of the individual examination, which has always been typical of Germany. The English representatives were very desirous of overcoming the undesirable formalization of education which they believe results from the examination system enforced by the older English universities. The Scotch representatives were enthusiastic advocates of the new-type examination and the tests which, in common with American experimenters, they are perfecting. The American and Swiss representatives were somewhat less favorable to selective examinations and were more favorable to tests which furnish the basis of guidance and placement.

Perhaps one of the most profitable features of the Conference was the opportunity which it supplied for a frank interchange of national ideals of education among representatives of the leading civilizations of the Western world.

A STUDY OF COLLEGE TEACHING

Announcement was made at the annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors held in November, 1931, that the Association is to undertake an investigation of college teaching. The Association has been largely absorbed in establishing academic freedom. It has even been charged with so much devotion to the defense of professors that it has become virtually a trade-union. The new line of inquiry which is now being launched attacks so broad a problem and one which is of such general importance to all colleges and universities that the Association must be recognized as having a far more objective and general purpose than does any trade union.

The chairman of the committee which is to direct the study of college teaching is Professor William B. Munro, of the California Institute of Technology. It is expected that a field agent will be appointed who will gather information under the supervision of the committee.

The grant which makes this investigation possible was made by the Carnegie Foundation.

EDUCATIONAL SURVEYS

Several surveys were inaugurated during 1931 which promise results of national interest. One of these is being carried on in North Carolina. The legislature of that state passed a law making the three state institutions of higher education into a single administrative unit. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the North Carolina College for Women at Greensboro, and the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering at Raleigh, like all separate state institutions, have developed their programs in such ways as to produce certain duplications. The state is attempting to eliminate wasteful duplications and promote efficiency by making all its institutions part of a well-conducted system.

The Carnegie Foundation has accepted the invitation of the governor of California to conduct a comprehensive survey of the two universities, the normal schools, and the public junior colleges of the state with a view to co-ordinating the activities of these several institutions.

The United States Office of Education has begun the survey of

educational finance for which Congress made an appropriation of \$300,000. Professor Paul R. Mort, of Teachers College, Columbia University, has been appointed director, under the Commissioner of Education in charge of the survey.

The American Association of Dental Schools has for some years been discussing the desirability of organizing a general survey of dental education in the United States. Such a survey has been launched with the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. The technical advisers are Floyd W. Reeves, of the University of Chicago, and W. W. Charters, of Ohio State University. The executive secretary of the survey is L. E. Blauch, of the North Carolina College for Women.

APPARENT OVERSUPPLY OF TEACHERS

In many of the larger centers of population there seems to be an oversupply of teachers. The Research Division of the National Education Association has made an elaborate study of this apparent oversupply and has reached the conclusion that a part, at least, of the surplus is due to the fact that states do not require school districts to employ trained persons as teachers. The most general statement contained in the report of the Research Division is the following.

Apparently, however, there was a surplus of persons with teaching licenses in 1929-30 in a number of the states. If the supply could be restricted to persons with two or more years of professional training, a teacher shortage would exist in many states. The soundest conclusion to this chapter is: State departments and other interested parties should get the facts before trying to deal with the "apparent" teacher surplus.

GOVERNMENT

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ABSTRACT

Unemployment measures were not as numerous as might have been expected. The federal government set up a stabilization board of Secretaries to provide for long-term planning of public works. New York and New Jersey organized temporarily to encourage employment and aid the unemployment on the basis of local units supervised and financially aided by the state. The principle of executive responsibility through single-headed departments is gaining ground in state administration; though for minor purposes, especially the regulation of trades and professions, the board holds its own. The interest in improvement of parole administration did not flag in 1931.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In the federal administration there is only one important development. The interest in long-term planning to relieve unemployment resulted in Public 616, which creates a federal employment stabilization board of the Secretaries of the Treasury, of Commerce, of Agriculture, and of Labor. The board has no money to spend and no power to take action; it is an advisory council to warn the president of the trend of employment and of the existence or approach of periods of business depression and unemployment. When, on recommendation of the board, the president finds there exists, or is likely to exist, a period of business depression or unemployment, he is requested to transmit to Congress supplementary appropriations for highways and other authorized construction projects. He is further authorized to direct construction agencies to accelerate construction already authorized during the depression. So that there may be work ready for the emergency, the construction agencies of the government are required to prepare a six-year program and estimates of cost for the various kinds of federal work. This program must be kept up to date by annual revision.

STATE GOVERNMENT

Executive organization.—The general movement toward centralization of the executive government of the state under the governor and in favor of single-headed departments of the state for administrative work, frequently with advisory boards, appears to be

in the ascendent, although the several-headed commission as the head of a department has not altogether lost the adherence of legislatures in some states. The most comprehensive administrative reorganization was in Maine, where, by chapter 216, twenty-eight agencies, mostly boards, were consolidated into four departments, each under a single head appointed by the governor and council for three-year terms. The principle of concentration of authority within the department is carried out by allowing each commissioner to appoint his principal subordinates. North Carolina develops centralized administration. A director of personnel (chap. 277) is authorized to be appointed by the governor with a term coterminous with the governor's, and subject to removal at his pleasure. It is the duty of the director to investigate the needs for personnel service in the departments and bureaus, to classify the number of employees. The director must approve new appointments and check all payrolls against budget allotments before payment. The director is also to make a survey of the personnel needs of the political subdivisions, with the exception of the schools, and make a report for the information of the local governments. Chapter 261 sets up a division of purchase and contract in the governor's office under a director appointed and removable by the governor. The position may be combined by the governor with that of the director of personnel, subject to the approval of the advisory budget commission. The director contracts for purchase of supplies for the government and state institutions, and leases any necessary buildings. He establishes and enforces standard specifications. To aid the director and to adopt standard specifications for supplies, an ex-officio standardization committee of seven is to be appointed, with the director as chairman and as members a state highway engineer, a representative of the schools and of the state department, and two members of the advisory budget commission, all designated by the governor. With these two offices a high degree of centralization of the control of state spending will be created, and the governor will have in his hands machinery to make real his financial responsibility. Of another type is the commissioner of banks, to be appointed by the governor and senate (chap. 243). The commissioner is not part of the personal staff of the governor, as are the two directors. He is

appointed for a four-year term and has the administration of the banking laws. An advisory commission aids him, consisting of the state treasurer, attorney-general, and three members appointed by the governor—two practical bankers and one business man—for two-year terms. The commissioners serve without compensation.

Another agency for making real the financial responsibility of the governor—the budget bureau—appears in Georgia (Part I, Title III, No. 5, Ex. Sess.) and Delaware (chap. 81). In Georgia the governor himself is made director and the state auditor assistant director. The budget is prepared in the usual way, and the governor submits it with a budget message. Georgia has been experimenting quite extensively with the budget. It started with the state examining commission of the governor and attorney-general, superintendent of education, and the chairman of the appropriation committee of each house, followed with an investigating and budget commission of the governor, controller-general, chairmen of ways and means and appropriations, and the attorney-general. The state has finally come around to the principle of executive responsibility. Delaware still sticks to the idea of a board. There are three budget directors appointed by the governor, one to be the secretary of state. They serve during his term and at his pleasure. The governor makes such changes as he deems necessary in their recommendations and submits the bill to the assembly for their consideration.

A very interesting suggestion is contained in Wisconsin (chap. 361), creating a committee on business economics to be appointed by the governor from the executive council. Realizing that a committee is not apt to do much work, the executive council is authorized to appoint an executive secretary and other necessary employees. The duty of the committee is twofold: to keep in touch with business conditions, investigate depression and means of remedying it, investigate ways and means of improving business, enlarging markets, and stimulating employment; and the more novel duty of investigating individual businesses at the request of their managers, and, in case of a business reported by the tax commission to be operating at a loss, to offer its services. Arizona (chap. 104) sets up a highway patrol within the department of state highways, under a superintendent appointed by the state engineer with the

approval of the highway commission. The superintendent appoints his patrolmen with the consent of the commission and has the important duty of establishing speed limits and other restrictions on travel. This power of making regulations is not often vested in the police authority.

The commission as head of a department appears in Minnesota (chap. 186) and in Hawaii (Act 284). The Minnesota department of conservation is under a commission of five, appointed by governor and senate, with six-year overlapping terms. The commission formulates the policies, makes regulations, and employs a commissioner as an executive officer. Under him are divisions in charge of directors whom he appoints to serve at his pleasure and who, in their turn, appoint their own deputies. This device puts between the political head of the state and the administrative officer a commission which the political head of the state cannot control because of the device of overlapping terms. New Mexico (No. 9) adopts the principle of the board. The governor and senate appoint two of the three members of the labor and industrial commission to serve two years, one of whom is a representative of employers and the other a representative of employees. These two choose the third, who must be a representative of neither class. The commission then appoints the labor commissioner, who is the administrative officer. The board gets a per diem, but the commissioner is a salaried official.

Boards and commissions.—The inveterate American habit of depending on a board or commission to carry out semi-administrative and semi-judicial functions and the widespread development of self-government in trades and professions are much in evidence in the legislation of 1931. The two themes occur in their greatest development in the regulation of the bar by chapter 48, Utah. A board of seven commissioners is elected by the members of the bar from different geographical divisions, to determine rules for admission to the bar and to exercise certain disciplinary and regulatory powers. The bar may fairly be said to be a self-contained regulatory body, since the only review of the action of the commission is through the supreme court, a group of lawyers, who approve rules of admission to the bar and have a right of review over the disciplinary action of the commission. There are a large number of boards created for a

long list of professions or trades, including architects, engineers, veterinarians, barbers, and plumbers. The striking point of these boards is the requirement that their members be practitioners. A temporary citizen board to spend state money is created by North Dakota (chap. 205), which intrusts the adoption of plans, bids, and the construction of the state capitol to a board of three, who have the power of appointing their own superintendent of construction.

The long-tried device of overlapping terms to secure continuity is general; membership, as is also common with American commissions, is unpaid; the governor appoints; and where the group to be regulated is considerable, there is provision for a paid secretary, appointed by the board to do the administrative work. New Jersey (chap. 187) sets up self-government in the shell-fish business by putting the department of shell fishing under a board to be appointed by the governor and senate, of persons all of whom are actually engaged in the shell-fishing industry. The board has direction of the industry and protection of fish and may make necessary rules and regulations and regulate the different parts of the industry. Two unusual commissions are created: Oklahoma (chap. 24, Art. 3) establishes the commission of twenty-one members to review the entire constitution and submit recommendations and changes. North Carolina (chap. 98) is noteworthy. It creates the commission for improvement of the law. The commission is to study the laws and recommend changes before each regular session of the assembly, with drafts of proposed bills and reasons for them. It is refreshing that, while most of the members are lawyers, two are from other occupations.

City planning is familiar; county and even regional planning boards exist; but Wisconsin went a step farther by providing, by chapter 124, for a state regional planning commission of ex-officio members, with a director of regional planning as the executive officer. The commission is to plan for future development of roads and parks and parkways and to co-operate with local planners.

A reason for the increase of state employees and state governmental functions appears when one considers the enormous mass of regulatory legislation which floods the statute books. Through licenses, through establishment of standards, through regulation of condi-

tions, or preparation, of goods or products, the duties of administration are steadily expanding in the field of business regulation. Space fails for even a list of instances of such regulation, and they are mentioned here only because of the importance in considering the increase of state government cost, which is very large, brought about through the demand for regulation of branches of business in one way and another by the public authorities. Each such extension of government duty means an expansion of government personnel and duties.

Quasi-judicial power.—A quasi-judicial power of no small importance to the persons concerned is that given to the professional licensing boards to pass on the qualifications of candidates and to cancel or suspend the licenses. Questions of competency and of moral qualifications are submitted to the trial of these boards, subject to the control of the courts. The judicial side of this function is elaborately provided for in California (chap. 578), which authorizes the director of the department of professional and vocational standards to appoint a registrar, a deputy, a secretary and investigators to serve at the director's pleasure. The procedure on complaints before the registrar against licensees, charging acts which are causes for revocation or suspension, is made to approximate court procedure more closely, and the registrar may issue subpoenas. Here, again, there is an appeal to the court. The Arizona contractors' regulation act (chap. 102) also provides for a registrar who must, however, be a contractor, for a term coterminous with the governor's. This act, like the California law, expressly authorizes individuals to make complaints to the registrar of faults which would authorize cancellation of the license. The Arizona administrative court is, like the others, only a first instance; and an appeal is permitted to the law courts. Another type of administrative court is created by California (chap. 313). The Golden State, to protect the reputation of its ripe olives, has authorized seizure of fruit not conforming to standard. To assure fair and uniform application of the law, there is set up an appeal board of seven citizens, appointed by the director of the department of agriculture, with the approval of the governor, to hear appeals from seizures by enforcement officers. The members of the board must be citizens experienced in judging the quality and grade

of canned olives. At least three members may conduct a hearing, one of whom must be an olive-canner. One of the powers of the advisory commission of banks in North Carolina (chap. 243) is to hear appeals from the commissioner; and under New Mexico (chap. 9) the industrial commission forms an appeal board from the decisions of the commissioner, with subsequent appeal to the district court of the county in which the controversy arose. A very interesting form of an administrative court is North Carolina (chap. 277), creating the office of director of personnel, who has a very considerable control over the budgets of the bureaus. It is easy to see that disputes may arise between him and the bureau heads; and in case they do, they are to be settled by the Advisory Budget Commission.

Penal reform.—The movement for more efficient administration of probation which was so noticeable last year did not lose headway in 1931. The most important act was that of Ohio (sec. 2211, General Code), which replaces a two-headed board of clemency by a board of parole of four full-time members, paid \$6,000 a year. The board is appointed by the director of public welfare, with the approval of the governor, and may be removed in the same way as they were appointed. The board has the complete power of parole and release of prisoners and, to carry out its duties, must hold meetings at each penal institution. It also decides on the fate of parole-breakers on their arrest. In addition to its control over parole, the board has the duty of making recommendations to the governor in respect of pardons or commutation of sentences. Oregon (chap. 397) takes the step of centralizing parole under an unpaid board. Hawaii (Act 126) centralizes the control of its prisons in an unpaid board of prison directors who are also given general control over parole in the Territory.

The state is taking a larger share in the suppression of non-social action. The tendency is marked in Oregon (chap. 139), which sets up a department of state police under a superintendent appointed for four years by the governor and removable after hearing. The superintendent appoints a deputy and members of the force. There is the usual requirement that the department shall not interfere in labor troubles, and it is worth noting that the state prohibition officer is done away with and his duties vested in the state police.

The superintendent is authorized to maintain fingerprint records and other information, a state function which is being very much extended, usually, however, going farther and setting up bureaus of identification. These bureaus seem to be making good. Several states—Kansas (chap. 178), Montana (chap. 151), and Illinois (p. 464)—created bureaus in 1931; and several other states extended the work of those already existing. The national share in crime detection is indicated by the usual direction to the bureaus to co-operate with the national bureau of criminal identification at Washington and with the bureaus of other states.

Unemployment.—The serious unemployment arising from the present emergency caused some legislative action. The theory of the two comprehensive acts is that emergency relief should be distributed through local governments under state supervision. New Jersey (chap. 394, establishes a temporary state emergency relief commission to remain in effect until January 1, 1933. The administrative authority set up is a state director, who may appoint county directors. A committee, consisting of the commissioners of institutions, of labor, and of municipal accounts, administers the relief under the director. New York (chap. 798) also sets up a temporary state agency under a commission of three, to be appointed by the governor and to serve during his pleasure. It is to make a survey of the situation and administer the special appropriation of twenty million dollars. New York, like New Jersey, depends on local administration and makes each city, and each county outside the cities, separate districts to be administered by their local authorities, which are authorized to make appropriation for relief and to issue notes for not more than a three-year period. A few states provide for free employment offices, and Tennessee (chap. 1) has a novel notion of dividing the surplus coal taken from the state mines among the mayors of the various cities to be distributed to unemployed. It is a recognition of an important relief principle that the mayors must employ recognized charitable institutions or civic clubs to secure information on which distribution to individuals is based.

