Excerpts: April 3, 1920 - September 15, 1920

THE SURVEY

April 3, 1920 25 Cents a Copy $4 a Year

THE FIRST BOOKS TO ARRIVE AT THE "HOMESTEAD" LIBRARY

Under the Orange Sign

The Spirited Story of the County Library Service in Santa Barbara

By Rebecca N. Porter

"A library as near every home in the country as the public school."

THIS is the slogan of the California county service, and in two instances in Santa Barbara county the library arrived first. The county library is not a new organization. Single counties scattered here and there over the country, such as Washington county, Maryland, with its wagon- (or is it now auto-?) load of books, have done splendid work. But, entering this field of service in 1909, California has the distinction of making a state-wide use of the county as a library unit.

The obstacles conspiring against such a record are chiefly those which may be termed "natural barriers," of which mere distance is reckoned the least. An obstacle far more difficult to surmount is the matter of topography. Some of California's counties are divided by precipitous mountain ranges which necessitate literally hundreds of miles of extra transportation, innumerable extra hours and an ever alert resourcefulness. A scattered and highly diversified population, largely intermingled with foreign and migratory elements, has contributed to make the problems of California's county librarians difficult, but intensely interesting.

Santa Barbara county alone, with a population of 35,000, an area twice the size of Rhode Island and with only three incorporated towns, circulated during the month of January of this year, 21,885 volumes.

The process of starting a county library is almost wholly devoid of red tape ceremonial. Its technique, reduced to the simplest terms, may be expressed thus: First, some dweller in a region remote from a library feels the desire for books in his life; then he enlarges this desire to include his neighbors. The next step is a letter to (or when possible a call upon) the librarian in the nearest town. Here he presents his informal petition, describes the personnel and industrial environment of his community, guarantees a custodian and proper housing for the books, with at least seven hours of library service, and has someone, usually one of his supervisors, vouch for his reliability. Here his responsibilities end and those of the county librarian begin. She selects the books, arranges for and pays their transportation and a small wage to the custodian, makes exchanges whenever requested, replies to "special requests," and sends fresh volumes as often as possible. Books are returned not by collections but by volumes whenever they have served the community. A book may live out its life in one branch of the service or it may serve its limited special use in branch after branch and before it is discarded have gone the rounds. Very cut-and-dried and professional all this. There is no better way of making the wheels of the big machine go 'round and its various cogs and bolts "come alive" than by applying the spark of a true story. The tale of how the people at the X settlement secured their library shows both ends of the line at its best and busiest.

Mrs. X is sixty-seven miles from the railroad in her county and forty-seven from the one in the next county. On her annual shopping trip to her nearest town she visited the library and heard for the first time of its extension service. In response to her eager petition she was given the name and address of her county librarian. To her she immediately wrote, ending her appeal with the Macedonian cry:

Please help us. Nobody needs books more than us. We want books of stories, books for children (for we have no movies or schools) and books on dry farming.

When the librarian requested some more detailed information upon the personnel and environment of the community in order to make the first shipment of books as helpful as possible, she received what she has termed "the most illuminating letter I ever had." Mrs. X, eager and efficient, supplied her appeal for data with full measure running over. Not a member of the approximately forty of her settlement, covering a radius of five miles, escaped her census. The summary in each case was something like this:

Mr. and Mrs. George Smith; look about 26. She used to be a trained nurse; he came from Ohio. They have a ranch and two children.

Her communication read like an excerpt from the great register. The first collection of books, shipped in a box which could serve later as a case, was forwarded in the early part of February. If packages could only be sent "as the crow flies" the distance, in this instance, would have been about seventy miles. But nothing in the way of "crow" service has yet been devised for librarians' use, and the shipment had to go by parcel post, east and south and north and then southwest via Ventura, Los Angeles and Kern counties two hundred miles in order to reach Maricopa, from which point it still had more than forty miles of stage journey.

Other obstacles besides distance contributed to the transportation difficulties of the X "homestead" library. During the heavy winter rains the bottom fell out of the roads and it was impossible for anything on wheels to make the trip to the post office. By means of a horseback carrier a frantic entreaty was sent to the county librarian:

Please tell the post office people that the things in that package are books, and that they won't spoil and we'll send for them just as soon as we can travel. It would break our hearts to have them sent back.

They were not sent back, but it was April before they arrived at the little cabin of the X family, which was to be the library. Their appearance was a dramatic event, and the county librarian, being a person of imagination, recognized its significance in the annals of county library service and asked Mrs. X to send her a picture of a representative group in the homestead library together with the antiquated stage which had brought up the books.

To receive an idea and to act upon it are almost simultaneous processes with Mrs. X, a veritable Mrs. Wiggs type, of that stern stuff which obstacles stimulate rather than depress. The county librarian was puzzled when weeks passed and there was no response to her request. But at last it came, the photograph reproduced on page 21, accompanied by one of those refreshing letters in which the writer explained that as soon as the heavy storms abated she had driven into town, a distance of twenty-seven miles, for the photographer. By the time they had reached home there was heavy snowing and it was impossible to take a picture even if the subjects had been able to come out for it. So the photographer had stayed all night at her home, and the following morning (which was Sunday and the library's busy day) those who lived nearest had had their pictures taken in company with the first shipment of volumes. "But," Mrs. X ended her letter with her characteristically charming human touch, "we didn't put the stage-coach in because we have an auto now and the people wouldn't like to have that old wagon represent us."

A few months later she wrote again apologizing for not returning some of the volumes earlier because "We found a new reader who lives fifteen miles away and we knew you'd want her to have a chance at the books too."

For resourcefulness, adaptability and the zeal of the true missionary Mrs. X deserves to rank among the nation's spiritual leaders, and the story of her Homestead library has been given here in some detail because it so well epitomizes the technique, the problems and needs of the county service and makes it more concrete than any table of statistics could possibly do.

THE PLATFORM

"THE enlarged program of the American Library Association points to a time when books will be fully accessible to every man, woman and child in America."

This platform, quoted from the cover of one of the recent circulars of the A. L. A., outlines in a nutshell their splendid program in which, as nation-wide crusaders, they will endeavor to break down the barriers of distance, mountains, rivers, language and whatever other obstacles are depriving isolated citizens of America of their right to read. According to statistics compiled by this organization, whole sections of the country are now without libraries.

The libraries of the nation receive an income of only $16,500,000 while an adequate income would be six or seven times that amount. Thirty states serve less than 50 per cent of their populations, six serve less than 10 per cent and one less than 2 per cent.

In antithesis to these dismally inadequate figures it is a pleasure to report for California that of her fifty-eight counties, forty-four have established a library service which means books "for every man, woman and child" in the county.

Just as interesting as this library group in a remote mountainous district, but presenting slightly different problems, are the readers on the oil leases. The zealous custodian on one of these discovered that the usual two-week circulation period would have to be stretched beyond all traditional bounds to meet the needs of part of her community because it took the oil tankers' crew forty days to make their run to the islands and back. "And so," she wrote to the county librarian, "I just changed my rubber stamp to read forty days, because I thought I got your idea that what you really want is for the people to have the books." She had caught exactly the library spirit of adaptability to local conditions.

Then there are the desert-dwellers, oil workers too, whose homes are transient so that they cannot acquire their own books. One woman out here sent in an appeal which would have emboldened the librarian to requisition the government aviation corps if no other means of transportation had been available.

We haven't anything beautiful out here, and not enough of anything, but stars. Send us books, especially books on astronomy.

The services of the aviation corps were not necessary in this case, but in one instance a county librarian has resorted to air conveyance, for at the tunnel workers' library, when the water gets too high to ford, the patrons receive their books by air trolley. Thus the county library service keeps pace with the most modern transportation facilities. This group of tunnel workers requested books on engineering, nature-study and fiction. A good professional library is maintained here by borrowing from the state library at Sacramento. The fiction most universally popular in such sections is naturally the western story. But this must be genuine, a cross-section of life cut from such experiences as are typical, not exceptional. Authors of such literature, who receive the approbation of this audience, are practically assured of success. For with a never erring accuracy they are able to detect at once the "real stuff" from those western stories which they refer to contemptuously as having been "written east."

The task of supplying books to the types of readers so far described is a more or less homogeneous one. It is the prosperous agricultural communities with their wide range of readers that tax the resources of the library service from tip to tip. For these include every kind of book-lover from the ranch hand, who may be just acquiring the reading habit, to the college graduate (in one case an Oxford university man) who demands super-intellectual menus. It is catering to the needs of the people in such districts that furnishes a study of the city library desk in miniature.

One woman on an isolated ranch wrote:

I used to be a teacher, and I can't raise my children without books. I've tried ordering from the publishers, but the magazine reviews are so disappointing. I think I've discovered just what I want in one of them, and then after I've ordered and waited and traveled to get them from the express office, the books are so often not what I would have the children read for anything.

It is the aim of the county library to make its service as highly individual, either for the specific book requested or the special subject of interest, as though the patron could personally apply at the desk.

A treatise on any form of social service is hardly complete now without some mention of Americanization. This is rapidly becoming one of the vital functions of the county library. In one of the southern counties of the state where a group of miners are at work, the library custodian discovered that out of the 400 men employed, 70 per cent were Spanish. So she established a night school in connection with the library. There are other similar ones in the state, and one expert teacher, who has a class of adult Portuguese, wrote:

The first tool of Americanization work is the colored picture book. For here the age and sex of the student need not be considered. Notices which I send home in market baskets and milk bottles are wasted so far as the Portuguese are concerned unless they are written on gay-colored paper. Color is our only common language.

And so the county library has specialized in these colored picture books.

Concerning the work in rural schools we confront here, of course, a vital part of the service. No school can afford to own all the reference books needed. With free access to the county library and through it to the state, supplemental texts and other material are available. The latter include maps and stereographs. If there is no county branch that can serve adults, the schools establish a service for them. One little girl with a pony supplies books to eight families.

So far this article has been concerned merely with the history, technique and scope of county library service. But all these are as the loose threads of a fabric until woven into the spiritual warp and woof of community life. In the psychological aspect of the subject lies its deeper significance.

Without exception the first impulse toward books in all these groups was prompted by the craving for relaxation—the primitive cry, as old as humanity itself, for something to relieve the monotony and grind of existence. And then later came the hunger for something deeper, for a world not only of physical but of intellectual adventure. The county library readers wanted to know. Here again dead assertions must be quickened into life by the true story.

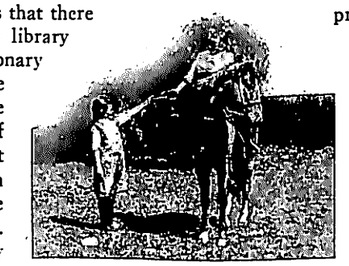
It was the custodian on one of the oil leases who, in conversation with a county librarian assistant, took up a volume of Tower's Story of Oil and asked in tones of deep-dyed disgust, "Why did she send us this thing? Doesn't she know that we get enough of that greasy stuff all day without readin' about it too?" And then, after an anxious pause: "You see, the fellers resent its taking up the room on the shelf that a ripping western story might have. Do you think it would hurt her feelings if we sent it back?"

Assured that it wouldn't Towers was dishonorably discharged from the service. But in three months he was recalled by insistent and unanimous vote. And in six months there appeared at the oil lease, in response to the eager appeal for "the best thing out on oil," a fifteen dollar copy of Redwood's three-volume work on petroleum. It was one of the

3:30 FRIDAY: LIBRARY BOOKS FOR OVER SUNDAY

county library's favorite jokes. No doubt the oil workers saw the humor of it too, but while they laughed they read.

Most beautiful of all the achievements of this service is the pass-it-along spirit which it engenders in every community that it reaches. A supervisor, a rancher, an oil worker on a visit to a neighboring county discovers that there is not anywhere in that district a county library sign. No cabin or tank house or stationary freight car shows in its window the orange colored card with the words County Free Library California encircling a shelf of books. Inquiries may reveal the fact that these neighbors have never heard of such an institution; that they have no knowledge of what might be theirs for the mere asking. But they are speedily and enthusiastically informed. The news of county library service is too good to keep, and the patrons of one county become the ardent missionaries in another. In this way five other county libraries of the state have been started. The county work has now grown from an enterprise in which the librarian gave out everything, both inspirational and material, to the stage where the county people themselves take the initiative, express their desires and suggest plans for fulfilling them. The librarian now acts almost entirely on the supply end of the line. The problem of creating a demand for her wares is managed by eager agents working unofficially throughout the counties.



One school girl carries books to eight families up the cañon

Thus the county service of California is already realizing the ambition of the American Library Association. No mountain settlement, no oil lease, no mining community, no desert-dwellers of the state are so remote that they need starve for books. Wherever a man can go, a book can go. Wherever there are voices crying in the wilderness for "something to read," the orange-colored sign is hoisted, and for countless rural Americans this has become the modern symbol for the lamp in the window.

Teamwork in Cleveland's Garment Industry

By John W. Love

LABOR union and management in the women's garment industry of Cleveland have set out together to make over their whole scheme of production. The union leadership, endorsing "scientific management," has deliberately announced an ambition to increase output. Week work with an incentive for performance will be substituted for piece work. A bureau of time studies will be established by the employers and the union, who will cooperate in both the expense and the control.

The employers on their part are undertaking as far as possible to spread the work period uniformly throughout the year and to eliminate the slack seasons that aggravate the labor problem in the garment industry. They even hope to stabilize the styles of cloaks and suits, through conferences with retailers and through advertising appeals to the women who buy the "readymades."

Frankly casting overboard their old hatred of "efficiency," the six Cleveland locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have assumed half, or $10,000, of the expense of a study of the industry in Cleveland by a New York firm of industrial engineers. The engineers are instructed to rearrange the wage scale on a basis of a protected minimum yearly income, to introduce economical methods of operation in place of traditional wastes, and to devise a plan for joint managerial and union control of standards of production.

The other half the cost of the renovation will be paid by the Cleveland Garment Manufacturers' Association. This includes 35 concerns, the largest among the 120 in the city. The trade employs about 6,000 men and women, about 75 per cent of whom are on piecework. Jews, Italians and Czechoslovaks predominate, though some descendants of the old Western Reserve Yankees remain.

These new and ambitious projects compose an effort to carry out the terms of an agreement signed by the association and the union December 18 last, by which the principle of week work was approved, leaving definite arrangements to be worked out jointly under the direction of the referees. The three referees, sometimes looked upon as representing the public in the industry, are Judge Julian W. Mack, Chicago, chairman; Samuel J. Rosensohn, New York, and John R. McLane, Manchester, N. H. The arrangements, the agreement read, "shall have due regard to the productive value of the individual worker, based on fair and accurate standards."

The findings of the engineers will be submitted to the manufacturers and the union representatives in occasional reports during the study and as fast as they are approved by both interests, the new methods will be set in motion. Where union and manufacturers cannot agree, the dispute will be left to the referees. The referees are represented in Cleveland by F. H. Doolittle, resident impartial chairman, who came from Detroit March 1, 1920.

In three months how complete a revolution in the affairs of the Cleveland industry! The union entered December with plans matured for a general strike on December 24, the date of the expiration of the agreement signed in August, 1918, under pressure from the war department. The union had never had recognition and the strike of the summer of 1918 had not obtained it. Wages had been advanced, but through a stoppage of work or threat of one. Not comprehending the industry nor the restless, cosmopolitan working forces, and wary of pitfalls laid by publicity men on both sides, city editors and reporters handled the news with rubber gloves, which meant that nobody in the city had a chance to understand. Suddenly the union's manager, Meyer Perlstein, stopped talking strike and made frequent trips to see the referees in New York. For the other side, Hugh Fullerton,

The SOUTH *and the* NEW CITIZENSHIP

TRUST the South to lend glamor to good works—however much they may be cast in modern form. The G. A. M. and the D. A. S. do not stand for those jaw-breaking eleemosynary titles that have been coined so laboriously in the cities of the North; but for the "Good Angel of the Mountains," as the hill people of an Arkansas district call a nurse who "sticks" when she could so readily "go outside;" and for the "Darling Attribute of the South"—as old Mammy Rachel calls one new Red Cross secretary.

THE National Conference of Social Work meets this month in New Orleans and just in advance of it the SURVEY is bringing out this bit of a symposium on the South and the New Citizenship. Here and throughout the country generally, are judges, preachers, physicians, educators, county agents, social workers—men and women who are putting the old wine of public spirit into new bottles of constructive service to their towns and countrysides and states. So a handful of Southerners were asked each to take such a one as text and without using his name or giving the name of his city, to tell the story and adventure of his part in the new citizenship. The list is not inclusive in any sense—merely a very human and promising sampling—sort of personal letters of introduction which one might write to an old friend in another part of the country. In each case the writer was asked to tell enough about the community to show the background against which the man or woman labored, as the case might be; the obstacles he had had to overcome; the public spirited backing given him; enough of his temper and purpose to show what he is driving at; enough of his contemporaries to show that he was being interpreted as a type and not merely as an individual, but enough of incident to give the reader the feel of knowing this particular citizen.—THE EDITOR.

Introducing

the Teacher
the Public Health Nurse
the Health Officer
the Manufacturer
the Preacher
the Negro Business Man
the Social Worker
the Red Cross Volunteer
the Factory Inspector
the Public Official
the Negro Citizen
the University President
the Farm Demonstrator
the City Missioner

A Symposium

The Teacher

SOMEONE said, "He has an affidavit face." As you look at him you think of cattle breeding associations and farm machinery, and if it were in the North or West you might think of silos and barns. With that, he is dean of a school of liberal arts in a southern university. He has been professor of sociology, he has investigated rural conditions, studied Negro problems, and organized classes in educational psychology among the men and women of the community. It takes you some time to adjust yourself to hearing occasional polysyllabics roll out of that farmer's face, but they are just as natural to him as sizing up a prize bull. In fact, it is hard to determine whether his first choice would be raising a special breed of cattle, propaganda or soap-box work to create a social conscience in the community, a scientific and statistical study of the anthropological and industrial life of the small town, or terracing a garden in his back-yard. He builds men and women in the class room, in the office, and in chapel. Righteous indignation at social evils and a boyish joy in the goodness of man are in harmony in his jovial, almost happy-go-lucky smile and bulky, lumbering body. One never knows how it is that people love him, and that he makes men and women better as individuals and more productive as social units. One is reminded, though in a different way, of "Pippa Passes." With all that, he knows the technique of social publicity, of effective advertising and money raising, and the manipulation of human weaknesses for social good. He is one of the makers of the South.

PHILLIP KLEIN,
[Director, Bureau of Educational Research, Southern Division, American Red Cross.]
Atlanta, Ga.

The Public Health Nurse

IT all came about through the Presbyterian minister's asking that a nurse be sent to his little hill village. It was something of a task to select the right person, for it is a real test to ask a young woman to go to a little village of twenty houses, fifty-five miles from the nearest railroad. The natives speak of this trip to the railroad—a three-day trip in bad weather—as "going outside." Finally we found just the right Red Cross public health nurse. She had been in social work among the Indians in Alaska, and she had also served with our armies in France and Germany. The story of the village interested her and she accepted the opportunity. She started with a health crusade for the children and her first step was to tell all the girls of the school that they must bathe once a week. The next morning one of the girls said to her, "My mamma says you don't know nothin'; she says that if you wash all over in winter, you'll catch cold and die." But the idea took hold and she was soon able to carry through the whole health crusade. Finally she got courage to attack the chewing tobacco habit. Everybody chewed. Not only the men, but the women also, and many of the boys start chewing at four or five years of age. You can imagine what a joke her new campaign was in the eyes of the mountaineers. I think one of them hit it off just about right when he said: "We always been a-used to chewin' and spittin' where we like; it's the custom." Incidentally, he correctly diagnosed the attitude of a good many other communities.

I was looking over her report the other day, and she is rapidly developing her children's program, realizing that therein lies the hope of the whole community. She has two

classes in hygiene each week and a class of mothers, and she has also found time to teach two classes in sewing. One day's report showed that she attended at the birth of a baby early in the morning, the doctor arriving six hours after the baby was born; assisted at the birth of another baby the same day; taught a girl's sewing class at the church, and rode horseback twelve miles out upon a mountain road to treat a woman with an abscess on her shoulder. I remember another case where she attended a boy who had fallen from a horse and fractured his shoulder. The doctor was twenty miles away and he came two days later. The doctor operated as soon as he arrived. It was dusk and this "Good Angel of the Mountains" (for so the natives have termed her) held a flash-light so the doctor could see. The poor boy died the next night.

The "Good Angel" loves her work, and her quaint settlement; and although she could "go outside" but sixty miles and find a college community, with water and sewer systems, bath tubs, telephones, electric lights, and all the other conveniences, she prefers to stay where her people are being introduced to tooth brushes and baths all over once a week even in winter.

There has been a tremendous awakening in public health nursing all through our Southwest, and hundreds of communities are now vitally interested in the kind of work this new kind of nurse is doing. You don't know where we can kidnap about two hundred all ready for service, do you? We can place them easily, but of course, not all of them will have the good fortune to be located in a community so interesting as this one.

ALFRED FAIRBANKS
[Manager, Southwestern Division,
St. Louis, Mo. American Red Cross]

The Health Officer

SOME years ago a good, gray-haired doctor served with faithful devotion as secretary of a more or less hypothetical state board of health. In time he went out and found for his successor a young man who measured up to his conception of the needs of the state which was beginning to conceive in a very limited way the idea of public health service. Two great men, the one governor and the other pioneer of higher public education for women in the state, had infected the commonwealth with a revolutionary idea of popular education. Upon this foundation, in a state typical of a section having no records of births and deaths and disease, no knowledge of public measures for the prevention of typhoid, malaria, hookworm or what not, the young doctor began the building of a state and county structure for public health service which has been the most wonderfully successful factor in the making over of a whole state.

During the past eleven years, under the leadership of this one man, North Carolina has been admitted into the registration area; her death-rate from typhoid fever has been cut down more than 200 per cent; her sanitorium for tuberculosis together with the extension service to outfield patients is one of the best. The state laboratory of hygiene, ranking in equipment and personnel second to none in America, makes and distributes free smallpox and typhoid vaccine and diphtheria antitoxin, saving hundreds of thousands of dollars and hundreds of lives each year. Twenty-three of the state's one hundred counties have organized health departments with whole-time health officers. Seventeen of these are on a co-operative basis with the State Board of Health. A score of public health nurses are at work in as many counties under the supervision of the board. The state through the medical inspection of schools department of the Board of Health was one of the first in the Union to institute free dental treatment for rural school children, commenced in July, 1918. From five to ten dentists are in the employ of the board all the time, treating from fifteen to twenty thousand school children a year. A half dozen special school nurses give all their time to the work. More than a thousand operations a year are held in clinics conducted solely by the board. A state law was enacted in 1919 requiring a sanitary privy in practically every home. This is only a small part of the record. The facts speak louder than words. Such is the achievement under one man having wisdom, understanding and a zeal for service. And the state stands solidly behind him. It is said that the legislature never turns down any measure for which he asks.

R. F. BEASLEY
Raleigh, N. C. [State Commissioner Public Welfare]

The Manufacturer

THE changing attitude of the manufacturer toward those who work for him and his feeling of desire to make his business contribute to the community in which he lives is nowhere more evident than in the great cotton mill industry. Its pioneer days—days when in order to make it permanent and earn even a small dividend for stockholders it seemed incumbent upon the management to exploit both the producer of the raw material and the laborer who made the goods—are past. Today the planter has come into his own, and now we find in the new generation which is taking over the conduct of the mills, men of vision—men who see in the cotton mill hands human beings to be reckoned with.

Mr. X is a fine type of the new manufacturer and has grown up in and through the hard pioneer days. Do you know the cotton mill type of laborer—ignorant, without ambition or desire for betterment and absolutely unrelated to other groups of labor or even to other communities of his own class? This was the material with which our manufacturer was confronted, no obstacle to his work greater than the dense ignorance of the people themselves. The progress made by surrounding groups of workers and the pervading spirit of progress in the community has had almost no effect upon his people. He proposed to make the mill work for the workers who have come in from the hills to work for the mill. He takes the boys to his own home to teach them how to play. He said to me, "Did you know these people have no idea of what is *fair* in games? They never have grasped clean play." He goes on camping trips with them and makes himself one of them in an endeavor to awaken in them a desire for the good things to which he introduces them. There has always been a stigma attached to being a cotton mill boy. Recently Mr. X was approached by some organization for a subscription for a boys' camp with the promise by the solicitor that his boys could have the privileges of the camp. They got the subscription. But none of his boys went. Why? He did not want them to. He knew the slights they would receive at the hands of other boys. But he said: "What I am trying to do—all I am working for—is to make a cotton mill boy as good as any other boy. That day is coming fast."

"Do you know why Mr. X has all these people crazy about him?" asked a member of the office force. "Well, I'll tell you. A man comes in here with a hard luck story—down and out; we listen—any of us—we are sorry and we say so; we go on then and forget it. But when a man comes to Mr. X with such a story he does something; does not talk, he works."

His work is bearing fruit; the people are becoming educated. The visiting housekeeper goes on her rounds teaching them how to cook and to care for their homes; the visiting nurse how to keep their children well, and the simple rules of sanitation and health; the various clubs for adults as well as for the children function in their midst, and one sees a changed people and realizes that the next generation will show the effect of the work of this new type of manufacturer. His work has been, and still is, a great adventure—thrilling, exhilarating, inspiring, making men of new stature.

He caught a vision of what it would mean to his community if all who labored while at their work should be so directed, so taught and so stirred by newer ideals of life, that they would become valuable citizens, and day by day he is making real that vision. From all over the South come tales of similar work—new ideals of service to one's country—and it is believable that light is breaking through the cotton mill industry into the lives of the "poor white" of our hill country.

NELLIE K. MURDOCH,
[Chairman, Alabama Child Labor Committee.]
Birmingham.

The Preacher

MY preacher is not an ordained minister, but a preacher to preachers. He is a Y. M. C. A. worker, has been so for years. Before the war thousands of boys in southern colleges annually heard his call to Christian life and duty. He does not intellectually believe in the possibility of such life and duty without belief in Christian dogma, but, paradoxically, he is willing to leave the dogma to grow out of the life and the duty. Those he preaches, and Christ is his sufficient example. He feels keenly the need for combining the social worker's method with the religious motive and soul purpose. He built a great hall surrounded with family cottages, in the mountains of North Carolina, where each summer he brings together college Y. M. C. A. girls and boys by the hundreds. Coming with them are parents and ministers, and all together they spend a week or two of recreation and inspiration, and study about society as it is and as it might be—if they would exemplify Christ's life in the twentieth century.

During the war his "summer school" was turned into an all year round training camp for Y. M. C. A. workers. Since the war it has been turned into an all year round training camp for Christian reconstruction. Leading laymen and ministers by the hundreds have come at his invitation to learn what the application of Christianity to industry and to community problems and to race relations means. They have learned much, for he knows that better social methods are essential to better Christianity, and he has freely drawn upon the assistance of social experts in his educational enterprises. He believes the church has the surest foundation and the greatest potentialities for human welfare. His efforts have been directed fundamentally to rousing the ministry to realize and prepare for such a destiny. He has declared to priests that they must nurture the whole human personality if they expect to reap a perfected soul. He has helped many of them to interpret such nurture in terms of working programs. He has analyzed Christianity to them with respect to relationships with the Negro, and has brought many groups of white and colored leaders together to discuss that problem.

Undoubtedly, he feels within himself a power in the combination of religion and social knowledge. His friends have seen its exhibition through years of unfaltering effort and growing leadership. I have chosen him for this sketch because his is not a voice in the wilderness. Many able and sympathetic helpers have shared purposes and leadership with him. Most of them have been preachers. From that fact I leave for inference the part which the ministry will play in the promised reconstruction of the South.

JOSEPH C. LOGAN
[Assistant Manager, Southern Division,
Atlanta, Ga. American Red Cross.]

The Negro Business Man

THE tendency of our civilization is citywards. The forthcoming census will certainly show an urban majority of the population of the United States. The Negro follows in its train. The tide of northern migration during the past five years has been the most significant factor affecting the Negro population. This movement has been directed wholly to the cities. The rural Negro population of the northern states is rapidly declining with the passing decades. The city Negro's function is limited essentially to menial service and manual labor. The emergence of a small professional class is calculated to produce a wide chasm between the professional and laboring elements of the race. There is lacking the middle class of merchants and tradesmen connecting the two extremes. This gap is being bridged by the rapid development of business and practical enterprises in all the large centers.

I have in mind an instance which perhaps had better be described as a type rather than a person. Every statement of fact, however, is based upon the actual case in mind. "John Smith" (were that his name) was born in Virginia fifty-one years ago and had three months' schooling—the month of January for three successive years. At early manhood he found his way to a large city and secured employment as a hod carrier. He finally gained influence and standing among his fellow-workmen and was made their walking delegate. Appreciating the value of united effort he organized a building and loan association through which over fifty members have been able to secure their homes. He then organized an industrial savings bank which at present has over six thousand depositors with resources listed at nearly five hundred thousand dollars. He has also erected an apartment house and hotel for colored people at a cost of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which is conceded to be the best equipped institution of its kind to be found anywhere in the United States. Mr. "Smith" has in mind still larger projects for the welfare of the race. He believes implicitly that the Negro laboring man possesses great potential industrial and economic power which can be developed and given practical expression by proper encouragement and efficient control. Though almost wholly without formal education he has good sense, sound judgment and enjoys the largest confidence of white men with whom his business connection brings him in contact. The laboring people upon whom he relies trust him implicitly and follow his leadership gladly. Not unlike Booker T. Washington, he has a clear vision of the things he sets out to do and is unswervable from his main purpose. May it not be that in this confused and tangled situation of the city Negro, "John Smith" points out the way, and points the way out?

KELLY MILLER
Dean, Junior College, Howard University.
Washington.

The Social Worker

IF I were to label this sketch accurately, I should call it the short story of one worker, born in Geargia, trained in the arts and social sciences and in public law, devoted to the purposes, ideals and plans of social work, and known to every social worker of major experience in the National Conference. The narration of details would constitute a most human story, centering around a most human sort of dean of southern social workers, in the midst of human interests with many a keen analysis of social groups.

Of late, I have been thinking much of the development of social work in the South, in its growing power, the increasing recognition of the trained worker, the stronger grasp and broader scope of public welfare work, and the overcoming of difficulties that have beset the pioneer and social worker of other days. It matters little whether we begin by evaluating the unusual record of social work during the war period just closed; or whether we go back more than a decade and study the persistent, determined and unbroken efforts of able leadership; or whether in the interim between we compare the steady and faithful application of the true principles of scien-

tific welfare work to social service and community problems—the impression is the same. It is a record of substantial achievement wrought out gradually through difficulties. In the recent war work, with its tremendous task of organizing and interpreting new and difficult problems of personal and social service, and of community welfare, the record shows distinctive and gratifying results in the quality of work done, in the training of social workers, and in the degree to which the ideals of social work have permeated the entire territory involved. I have seen here growing up new principles and applications that are bound to affect the whole of social work and the methods of teaching the social sciences in college and university. If, on the other hand, we contemplate what we may call the beginnings of social work in the South, as typified by the early organization of the work in the Gate City, the record is striking in that, beginning with small groups, extending to special circles and interests, persisting in time of acute difficulties, it has won out through larger applications and broader contacts. And the story, from the beginning, has been the same: now working out essential problems and applications; now leavening the whole lump; now meeting disaster of fire or flood; now promoting community organization and service with far-reaching effect; now contributing to the sum total of the knowledge and theory of social work.

Here, then, is the excellent setting for this representative social worker: Studying facts, making them applicable to folks with human interests and social instincts, utilizing methods, principles, convictions, persistently and almost stubbornly, single-minded, he has achieved results, both small and large, in local, state and sectional applications. He has given himself heedlessly to the work, nevertheless with pride of personality, genius of foresight, a sort of subtle power and ability to "put across" his plans, and a fearless and insatiable ambition for the cause for which he labors. Among his many other characteristics is his ability to influence leadership in varied fields—the men and women interested in civic endeavor, the capitalist interested in philanthropy, leaders in labor reform, the law makers of the land, college professors, university presidents. And with extensive knowledge of movements and men is also the love of quiet philosophy, typical of the just reward of the worker in social welfare who would also become a dreamer. Would that we might chronicle the work of all who have worked with him—of their past, their present, their future—for of such is the new story yet to be told.

HOWARD W. ODUM
Atlanta, Ga. [Dean, Emory University]

The Red Cross Volunteer

SHE is a Red Cross institute graduate, twenty-two years old, pretty, bright, perhaps a little spoiled and stubborn, but the "Darling Attribute of the South" says old Mammy Rachel. Since early in 1918 she has been secretary of a chapter in a mountain county of North Georgia, a county from which a goodly number of people annually attend grand opera in Atlanta, and a smaller number the enclosure at the same place for the compulsory entertainment of illicit distillers. The county's politics are turbulent—it has gone Republican—and the most famous lynching in the history of America occured within its bounds. Government is rather incipient. The suppression of the social instinct is comparable only to its violence when aroused.

She first volunteered her services. Nobody recognized the need for any social work, even for soldiers' families. When the division supervisor who preceded her started to work, the chairman of the chapter felt so sorry for her idle and isolated position that he paid a little Negro boy a quarter to find a couple of Negro women whose allotments had not been received to give her something to do. In a month our secretary had seventy-nine active cases under her care. She found one of them suffering from typhoid fever in a neighborhood where it had thrived for years. She told her committee of it and brought about the inoculation of the entire neighborhood and the eradication of the source of infection. Not many months had passed before she persuaded the chapter to pay her a salary, not primarily for her remuneration but for "discipline and stability." Next, she raised the funds independently of the chapter treasury for the salary of a nurse. Then the two of them lobbied the state health law through the Grand Jury and secured a $5,000 appropriation from the county commissioners for the first year's work. The nurse is now on the public payroll and "stabilized."

Then she got herself appointed attendance officer under the state law. She receives $3 a day when engaged in that work, and credits it on her salary. She has made good as attendance officer. Opposition to the law was centered in one conspicuous instance of a father who threatened to shoot anybody who "messed in his private affairs." When she drove up to the village store in the neighborhood where he lived, a group of citizens excitedly heard her mission, and refused for her own safety to direct her to where the man lived. But she found him, and the would-be murderer, after fiercely looking her over, burst out laughing: "Wal," he exclaimed, "I've said the President of the United States caint make me send my chilluns to school; the United States army nor the mayor nor the sheriff caint make me do it, but you aint nothing but a little old gal and caint make me do nothing and I dont care if I do send 'em." Two days later he appeared at the office of the secretary and with her assistance purchased shoes and clothing and books for the prospective students.

Now that more children are to attend school, she has inspired the women to inaugurate organized recreation, and has secured the services of an expert playground director to make a month's demonstration to the community. Rachel, who calls her the "Darling Attribute of the South," is an old Negro woman whom she recently coaxed to nurse a family of ten who were all down with the flu. Rachel didn't want to do it, and when told it would be a meritorious action replied, "Yes'm, but I'se already done so many good deeds." "I feel like that myself sometimes," says our subject—but there is no end to well-doing.

JOSEPH C. LOGAN
[Assistant Manager, Southern Division,
Atlanta, Ga. American Red Cross]

The Factory Inspector

IN 1905, among other modernities, the factory inspector was an unintroduced personality in southern industry. Child labor claimed the acceptance always accorded necessity. It was a habit of mind. The average working parent, having disposed of his child's spiritual welfare, considered that the parental duty next in line was that of seeing him settled in life, the sooner the better, with the result that, every day, children as young as eight years were thus disastrously "settled"—for life, so far as joy and achievement went.

Through her work for the "charity society," one southern woman saw these broken-down products of precocious industrialism; wondered why men and women who gave their ages as twenty-five or less should look forty. "Why don't you work, instead of piling into the charity office?" she asked them, not without a swiftly comprehensive glance for the ruin of sunken chests and teeth gone and pallor of unwholesome skin. And always the answer came, "I can't work any more; I've lost my speed. The mills won't keep me." Scrapped at twenty-five. "Charity" work was like locking the stable after Dobbin has frisked his tail in good-bye. Just one thing, aiming straight for the roots, could save the next generation—the passage of a law prohibiting the employment of children under the age of 14. With one of the city clubs as medium, this woman succeeded in having passed in 1906 a child labor law. One serious omission invalidated all her work—there was no provision for a working certificate. Since the statement of the parent or guardian was all the age-guarantee

asked, the evaders of the law could disregard it entirely with a little amateur perjury. "I think all the boys and girls in town were born fourteen or over," said the inspector in despair. Before another legislature convened, the inspector learned thoroughly the economic conditions in her city. During that summer, she went into more than five hundred working-homes, and there discovered that peculiar habit of mind, that warped psychological twist that made parents send their young sons and daughters into a mortgaged life. In very few cases was the $1.25 earned by children necessary to the family weekly budget; such extreme cases were met by the establishment of a scholarship fund which paid to the school-child every Saturday the amount formerly in his pay envelope.

Manufacturers and so-called labor leaders fought bitterly; but in 1908 the legislature passed the child labor law at present active in the state. Figures from the last report of the factory inspector tell in brief the story of the movement this one woman started. In 1907, there were 2,355 boys employed in the city, and 2,473 girls. Today, there are only 639 boys, 1,899 girls. Much still remains to be accomplished. Since 1908, the work has not gone forward with the steady swing necessary to keep up with industry. There is still only one inspector, with three times the number of women to inspect; and the same small office staff carries on the work. A state child welfare department is needed; and to bring the law up to the requirements of life in 1920 it must be amended to include stricter physical qualifications, and—most significant of all for reducing illiteracy in the state—there must be educational qualifications, such as Alabama has recently adopted. But the most difficult work of all, veering the attitude of parents right-about-face, work that meant years of slow establishment of confidence, has been accomplished; nothing now can block the march of the new citizenship through the South. As one work-worn mother said to the inspector the other day, "I used to go on my knees to God to curse you for taking my Georgie out of the factory. And now, I goes on 'em to thank Him."

New Orleans. MARGARET SAMUELS.

The Public Official

THAT man lacks perspective (and probably lacks information) who is not keenly alive to new and tremendous stirrings of the social conscience in many fields of endeavor in the South. In particular a new vision, a new statesmanship, and a new leadership in the field of race relations give promise of many forward steps of great significance to the whole nation. This does not mean that the South has completely attained. But who shall say that even the North or the Negro has attained to a just policy and a right spirit? In the resolution of the important problems of race and group relations it is much more important to know where we are heading than it is how far we have gone. If the eyes of the leaders are on better goals than in the past, if their ears are not stopped, and if their tongues are no longer silent, everyone everywhere ought to take courage, rejoice, and go forward. Social progress is always conditioned on the relatively slow changing of the minds of men, on the relatively slow adjustment of man with man and of group with group. Significant signs of such progress are found in all parts of the South. The South is proud of a new moral leadership in these fields, a leadership that can not fail to carry the whole nation a little nearer to the goal of right relations.

There are scores of southern men who burn the English language with the vitriol of denunciation of the iniquity of lynching, and yet their voices are drowning in the louder chorus of southern citizenship that will shortly wipe this particular form of mob violence out of existence. (In the first two months of this year we are told that only one lynching occurred in the whole country.) Governors, too, are found in these days able and willing to put the full power of the state between the criminal and the mob—willing and able to put their own bodies across the path of the crowd. Educators are assuming their rightful leadership in social and racial questions. The Southern University Race Commission has long led in the study of race relations, including in its membership veritable prophets of southern good-will, who in study, comprehension, oratory and practical wisdom bid fair to represent the best of the South in its newly awakening determination to do the utmost for the Negro. But I take for my special subject a public official—a governor who has expressed and roused the social conscience of a state. Elected upon his pledge to stand for law and order, he has secured legislation, used executive power, and by his voice and personality in every part of the state, so educated its people that Tennessee today stands firmly committed against the possibility of mob violence. His position is not purely legal. He is interested in the formation of law and order leagues and interracial committees in every part of the state. His liberality of views is attested by his trip to the North to speak in behalf of higher education for the Negro. His heart is so truly in this work that he has won the hearts of the colored people. He has denied some of their most earnest desires and yet has held their respect and good-will. New courage or the courage of new convictions is taking the helm at many points in the South. Courage and conscience are ever the truest signs of a better day.

F. A. MCKENZIE
Nashville, Tenn. [President, Fisk University]

The Negro Citizen

THE opportunities for education open to Negroes and the conditions and demands of the present day are developing a type of Negro citizen little known a generation ago. He is intelligent, self-respecting, able and willing to assume his full share of civic responsibility, devoted to the welfare of his own people and cooperating with the white people for the common welfare, but unwilling to seek advantage by the old methods of white patronage and favoritism. The man of whom I write is of this type. He was born in a country town in Georgia and received his education at Atlanta University. His experience since graduation has been chiefly in banking and insurance. For some years he was cashier of a Negro bank. He later became secretary and treasurer of a successful life insurance company, a position which he held for about ten years and has only recently relinquished. He has helped to stimulate among the colored people of his city an earnest determination to improve their economic and social conditions. He believes that it is the duty of the city to provide for the colored people just as good opportunities as are provided for the white people in the matter of public schools, parks, sanitary living conditions, etc. The old method of obtaining public favor—a method not altogether abandoned—was for the colored petitioner, with proper humility, to seek the aid of an influential white man and retire from the scene. The new Negro citizen welcomes the aid of the white citizen but does not seek it as a suppliant. He believes in the use of the ballot as a method of gaining his reasonable share of public benefits.

Within the past year there was a city election to decide on a bond issue to raise money for improving the public schools and for other needed purposes. White opinion was divided. A strong association of Negro voters was organized. As a member of its executive committee this man did much to direct the organization. He put the case lucidly before the colored voters and before the representatives of the city government. He said that the colored people would vote for the bond issue if they had adequate assurance that they would receive a reasonable amount of the benefits to be derived. The Negro voters held the balance of power. Unfortunately, they felt that they did not have adequate assurance, and their votes killed the bond issue. It might be supposed that a man advocating such independent political action for the Negroes must be entirely out of sympathy with the whites. But this is not the case. In his conferences with the city authorities and with other white citizens, his manner

is so straightforward and convincing and his sincerity and earnestness so evident that even those who disagree cannot be offended. When it comes to a definite task for social betterment in which the white and colored people can work together he is willing and glad to cooperate. His committee work for the Anti-Tuberculosis Association is a case in point. The secretary of the association has recently written of him, "He has not only given helpful advice and aided in carrying out programs which were arranged by himself and some of the other colored people, but devised methods and furnished inspiration for securing financial support from five leading colored insurance companies for the employment of an educational agent to work among the colored people in this city. I can recommend him very highly for good business sense, ability to inspire others and to make good impressions on both races in his presentation of his subjects." This testimonial from a southern white woman with whom he has worked in the fight against tuberculosis suggests the possible value of the Negro citizen to the South.

EDWARD T. WARE

Atlanta, Ga. [President, Atlanta University]

The Farm Demonstrator

YES, we were much like any other rural community, farmers, land, crops, and all growing poorer, or just holding their own. The boys and girls never for a moment thought of farming as a career. "What are you doing since you left school?" would bring forth the answer, "Nothing," and the next question would show that the big boy was working on the home farm, a work considered only as a necessary stepping stone to something else. The school in the community had been like other rural schools, a school planned for city children, with little or no connection with the home farm, and so not a place where agricultural enthusiams could be manufactured. When agriculture was put into the school, we began with a school farm, a farmers' fair held every autumn, classes in agriculture, any number of agricultural pamphlets, talks, and any amount of enthusiasm.

Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, the great organizer of demonstration work in the United States, came to our county. When he saw the old corn stalks, planted four feet apart each way, said he, "Make your attack right there," and "right there" we started. The people listened gravely and well to our lessons and warnings. But they did not believe. The boll weevil surely could not cross the rivers to reach this section. After a few years they began to realize the importance of the "Bo' Evil," proved by the fact that they began to think of him in terms of size. "I done yeady (hear) Mr. —— has one of dem bo' evils on de school farm, and I pray he ain't let him out to eat up my childern."

Our experience is typical of many rural districts. When the demonstration agent has gone out, not only to preach corn, but to show how it can be raised at a profit, when his work has closely connected itself with the local schools, education has become a family affair, and the community has raised itself by its own boot straps.

Our people were terribly afraid! Eight men thought they could risk one acre and try the new methods, but finally they begged off for a half acre, and only six of them were daring enough actually to "come through." When results were measured, some dark glasses came off, and there was no more trouble in securing men to take the acre. This particular region means for the demonstration agent a great deal of travel in deep sandy roads, rides across tide rivers in a bateau, where tides can leave you stranded for hours with great mud flats and marsh between you and home, unless you learn to calculate carefully; it means hours of travel under a very hot sun, for the corn loves the sun, whether the demonstrator does or not. South Carolina farmers raise an average yield of 17-19 bushels per acre, and one of the farmers in the demonstrator's big class has raised as much as 72 bushels and they have made an average of 30 bushels per acre. Instead of six men, sixty have been visited, and these located so that the influence of the work could be felt as far as possible. But do you know, you can't hope to have it extend much more than a mile, even when neighbor farmers see the crop with their own eyes? There is always a reason why James can do what John can't.

Our farmer-teacher had been to Hampton and had taken the full agricultural course, so although he seemed like a "boy" to the gray-heads who had farmed here all their lives, he knew how to turn the trick and they soon realized that he had lessons to teach them. The young man who must now meet the situation is also a Hampton graduate. He came to the school when agriculture was first introduced, and faithfully walked his eight miles a day from his home farm, and now as he goes out among his own people, he goes as one who has come through their own experiences, to pass on to them the gift that his larger education has given him.

Demonstration agents work at night as well as during the day. Often the evening meetings, held in remote places after a long day's work, try his mettle and enthusiasm. He must get the farmer's ears as well as his eyes. The war served as a helpful agent, for many a cotton farmer wanted to respond to the patriotic call for more food. Hundreds of extra acres were planted in the South, and many of them were directly due to the demonstration agents.

Last summer the boll weevil actually reached this region, and in one season took three-fourths of the crop, the cotton, our money crop since the memory of man. Even the merchants felt stunned. It was more of a clean sweep than the prophet demonstrator had predicted. Said one farmer, "We sure has a satisfying affliction." The sceptics had to believe; the demonstrator had proved his case. But there is no resting of the case! The people may be afraid once more, but not of the plans proposed by the agent. Today you can see him working early and late as before, advising the farmers on their home acres so that each one on his list may plan his farm crops according to his own ability, and the land he plants; meeting the farmers in large and small groups; often traveling with the merchants who are earnestly eager to help the people succeed in this crisis. In one sense the demonstration agent has won out on the boll weevil! The young generation of farmers will not have the cotton handicap; the boll weevil has devoured his temptation to put all his best land, best fertilizer, best effort into cotton, and when the farmers learn to meet the situation they are bound to be better men. Poor land, poverty, illiteracy, abound in the cotton producing states. The demonstration agent, as a bridge between schools and home acres in all rural districts has tremendous obstacles to overcome and must be a rural missionary. His is a rare opportunity to convert to higher aims and accomplishment, and those who are inspired for their work are helping to make men for the country.

ROSSA B. COOLEY

[Principal, Penn Normal Industrial and Agricultural School.]
St. Helena Island, South Carolina

The City Missioner

IN my part of the world, we sometimes introduce our friends to each other by saying informally, "Mr. Smith, shake hands with my friend, Mr. Jones." In somewhat the same easy spirit I would request the readers of the SURVEY to shake hands with "Mr. Reverend." All his friends do not, it is true, know him by this name. Some of the other social workers, indeed, sometimes call him the Spoon, because they say wherever he goes he always stirs things up. Yet he may be galloping across the Capitol Square of the southern town in which he is one of the city missionaries (and I use the verb advisedly, because he is nearly always in a hurry) when from an open window will come distressful cries of "Aw Mister Reverend!" emitted by some colored citizen in the clutch of the law, and crying out to him for aid and comfort.

When did this city missionary first take up social work? Almost immediately, I should say, upon his arrival in the world. He was born with an amazing delight in the opportunity of living, and with an abounding interest in and affection for humanity, qualities which early generated the desire to help. He was, however, a school teacher for a time, and then a lawyer, before he took up institutional work as superintendent of one of the state schools for deaf and blind children. Always interested in children and educational problems, he was peculiarly drawn to these handicapped scholars, and flung himself whole-heartedly into the work for them. In this field, he rendered excellent service for several years, and then went into the ministry, for which he had always had a longing. Upon notifying his bishop of his intention to do so, the latter put him in immediate charge of a church, so that he found himself with a parish on his hands, and some half-dozen preaching appointments a week, before he had much more than opened his books on theology. All his life, however, he has been devouring information just one lap ahead, so to speak, of having to give it out (he early finished up a law course supposed to take two years, and was admitted to the bar inside of four months, though to do so he confessed that he went to sleep repeating the crimes against property, and woke up reciting those against persons). He was duly ordained, and later made city missionary in one of the larger cities of the South. Here he finds wide scope for all his powers, and his reserve knowledge of education and of the law, to say nothing of his wide experience, stand him and the people he tries to help in good stead.

What does he do as city missionary? Well, he is called upon for every activity in which either religion or social service plays a part, and there are few undertakings in which one or the other does not come in. He visits and preaches in almost every public institution in the city and nearby country. The different courts, particularly the juvenile court, know him well. He is as much at home in the jail as he is in the various churches, or in any of the homes for old ladies.

One of his chief aims is to introduce the people of the churches to some of the various institutions of their city. For instance, in his visits to the girls' reform school, where he goes regularly not only to preach—and no other minister was giving a thought to the spiritual welfare of these girls—but to bring them as well some form of entertainment, he makes it a point whenever possible to take with him two or three visitors from the city, that they may gain some knowledge of the very excellent work being done for their state's wayward girls. In the same way, with all the other institutions, it is his constant endeavor to bring them and the private citizen into sympathetic touch. He has also a faculty for utilizing spare moments. There was a quarter of an hour at noon in the sheds of one of the large construction shops of the city, after the men had had their lunch and before they went back to work, which he seized upon for a series of services. "But here," he said, "you have to attend strictly to business. You chat with the men for about two minutes, pray for three, preach for ten, and then the whistle blows."

It is impossible to touch on all his activities, but I cannot close without a short word as to his work in the jail. "What do you do there—do you pray with the men?" an earnest brother inquired. "Well, yes, sometimes, but I usually play a game of checkers with them first," was his answer.

It is this friendly and personal interest that probably makes for the city missionary's success in this field. Within reason, he is glad to enter into the point of view of those he helps, and was ready to welcome the suggestion of an ex-convict who said, "If you want to take 'em presents in jail, take 'em onions." For a time after that I had a mental picture of the city missionary hastening down to the jail, his Bible in one hand, a bunch of onions in the other, ready to give comfort with either. This was no doubt a grotesque vision. Nevertheless, I wonder if it does not to some extent sum up what the city missionaries all over the country are doing; standing, that is, for a combination of body and soul. They are, I think, the go-betweens of the churches and the institutions, endeavoring to bring religion into social work, and social work into religion.

MARGARET PRESCOTT MONTAGUE.

White Sulphur Springs Va.

The University President

THERE is a story to tell in the very recent past and the very vivid present of one of the oldest and greatest of the southern state universities. In fact, in point of actual service it is the oldest state university in existence; in point of extended service to its state, in the quality of its faculty, and in its programs of culture and democracy, who shall find its superior? The story—constituting perhaps the most distinctive chapter in educational administration in southern universities—centers around two leaders, both of the new generation. In these leaders were common, to a remarkable degree, the qualities of young manhood, loyal service, simple living, genuine and sincere motives, and calm but resolute purpose.

The one, the lamented and beloved university president of yesteryear, leaving a remarkable heritage and notable inspiration, finds his eulogy written by the President of the United States "as one by gift and character alike qualified to play a distinguished part and playing it to the admiration of all who knew him." The other, the president of today and tomorrow, confident, clear-eyed, passionately devoted to the ideals and service of a great state university, dreams dreams of a living democracy and plans for its realization through better education and the new citizenship. The one, the university's own son, "giving himself freely, wholly, joyously that she might be strong and large and abound in the noblest life," sought to make the state university "the instrument of democracy for realizing all the high and healthful aspirations of the state," and in so doing he interpreted to the people of the state "democracy, culture, efficient citizenship" to be guided by a "confident and competent leadership." The other, a student of education, for a decade a teacher in the university itself and a worker in the state, winning his way by simple, quiet worth and deserved merit, dreams of his state university as one which "typifies and serves and guides this new civilization" of the South, "an institution shot through with the spirit of service, broad and quick in its sympathies, practical in its training for the practical things of that life which in its astounding complexity confronts the new generation . . . resolutely keeping in the foreground those spiritual values by which alone a state can survive." The one, a southerner of national reputation, the planter of good seed which will "grow up and set in motion potential evolutionary processes that will go on and on working themselves out in the life of the university and the state," held democracy to be the "main and active manifestation" of culture and magnified "democracy and work" as the heart of American civilization, holding at the same time that "culture and work" are the basis of a sound democracy. The other, a son of the nation, reaping where another hath sown, loving the South, expresses the strong conviction that "the next great creative chapter in the history of the nation is to be written here in the South where is now the real center of that pioneering spirit which has made America possible," and sets himself to the task of aiding in the building of the greater South through an education which will add "to individual competency public-mindedness, and to public-mindedness an abiding sense of spiritual realities."

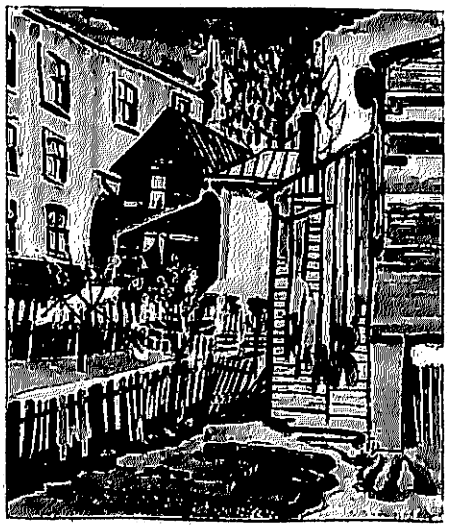
Surely the story, but suggested here for fuller investigation and study, is typical of the South's best hopes and of its highest aspirations for the newer citizenship. And who can measure the influence of the university president in this new day?

HOWARD W. ODUM

Atlanta, Ga. [Dean, Emory University]

TWO WATERCOLORS

By Charles Burchfield



THIS street with the red telephone poles, these strips of back-yards are unqualifiedly American. A horse-shoeing shop with a single coat of pea-green paint; a feed store, a ramshackle one-room office in the dusty sunshine of a Sunday afternoon; fruit trees blossoming behind kitchen windows, rail fences in need of mending, spring grass plots. The town may be Salem, Ohio, where Burchfield has spent most of his twenty-six years, a clerical worker in the steel mill, or it may be Troy or Carthage or Paris or any other old-world named town of the new world—the town many of us were born in or the replicaed town telescoped for us by the train-window, flashing from coast to coast.

THESE are Burchfield in his kindest, quietest mood. At the recent exhibition of his paintings in the Kevorkian Galleries, New York, there was other material to make the heart ache, conceived in bitterness and executed with glowering exactness. Slate-colored miners' huts, cheerless, with unadorned windows; the industrial plant, brick-red, with sleek chimneys and precise grass, defying artistic redemption; a signal station, the lone sign of life on the horizon, and two stretches of shining track—things made by man, but capable of conquering his spirit. And the most curious thing about the traditionless art of this young American is that he chooses to work in watercolors, the medium for pretty sunsets and neat landscapes.

THE SURVEY

Salvage of Childhood in the South

Owen R. Lovejoy

Reconstruction of
State Welfare Agencies

Robert Moses

Democratic Community Organization

Charles F. Weller

The Land Situation in France

Charles Cestre

"All Fools' Day in New York"

April 10, 1920 | 10 Cents a Copy | $4.00 a Year

An INVITATION to all SURVEY READERS

THE SURVEY
112 EAST 19TH STREET
NEW YORK

DEAR X:

To some of us Spring means trout brooks and other things delectable. Those who stick at desks must fish as we may. We have been "whipping" the subscription lists of THE SURVEY; bent on new readers, or old, who might perchance wish to join the goodly fellowship of Survey Associates.

There are reasons aplenty—printing bills up 25% and paper 33⅓%, with a crowded calendar of matters to be covered, investigated, interpreted. If we can but muster the 1500 members, set as the year's goal, they will keep us from having to whittle down the new standards in issues and staff-work which I hope have kindled your interest as they have engrossed ours.

Holding my thumbs, then, and breathing prayers to St. Peter and Izaak Walton and all patrons of fishery, I send you this invitation which is the more serious because lightly cast. May we have your check or pledge for $10 and add your name to the 900 Cooperating Subscribers enrolled in our issue of March 27.

Here's hoping, that, like Spring (or was it Summer?) in the old verse you will be

"icumen in"!

THE EDITOR.

← *the* CAST

← *a* RISE

The REPLY of one READER

PROVIDENCE, R. I.,
March 31, 1920

MY DEAR MR. EDITOR:

Trout fishing is still an experience beyond me, but Sir Izaak is not. Were you quite fair to play on our spring sensibilities and call to mind things "which I have heard formerly, but had quite forgot?" Besides, you must have known how the compass swung for

"when the wind is South
It blows your bait in the fish's mouth."

I've wanted to send a cheque for a long time and today I shut my eyes to my bank balance (there still is one) and subtracted ten dollars. Good Fortune to the SURVEY, Mr. Piscator. You are a very ingenious and compleat angler.

Yours in the Art,
X.

READY for your REPLY

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, Inc.
112 East 19th Street, New York City

I { enclose / will send } $10 as my contribution to this year's roster of Cooperating Subscriptions.

Name .....

.....

.....

Note:—A $10 Cooperating Subscription covers the regular $4 subscription, plus a contribution to the educational and field work of the magazine and National Council. It makes such a subscriber eligible for election as a Survey Associate for the current year, but creates no financial liability, nor promise of renewal.

(The fiscal year ends September 30, 1920)

← *by way of a*
DUSTY
MILLER

THE SURVEY

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THE SURVEY

PAUL U. KELLOGG, EDITOR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

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WINTHROP D. LANE WILLIAM L. CHENERY

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HAVE you a February 21 SURVEY? If you have this issue and do not bind or save your copies, the SURVEY would esteem its return to the office (112 E. 19 street) a great favor. We have run out of stock of this number and are unable to fill orders from libraries and institutions.

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD

IN Mrs. Humphry Ward, England has lost not only one of her foremost novelists but also a most original innovator of neighborhood work. Opened in 1897, Passmore Edwards Settlement, because of its situation in the heart of Bloomsbury, always has had an enviable attraction for settlement residents; but the number and quality of outside voluntary workers associated with it has largely been due to Mrs. Ward's brilliant leadership and to the enthusiasm with which she helped to work out ideas that originated with others. One of the most fruitful of these innovations was the vacation school, the first of its kind, established in the Duke of Bedford's garden in Bedford Square. Initiated by Mrs. Ward some twenty-five years ago, the play center movement received official recognition in 1917 by being made eligible to receive grants from the national Board of Education. Many of the early "experimentees" of the play school, subjects of innumerable newspaper articles and imitators the country over, are now among the most energetic and successful club leaders of the settlement. During the war, the house on Tavistock Place helped to train many women for social service, while Mrs. Ward herself and some of the older residents were active in war service in France.

NORTH CAROLINA TRAINING SCHOOL

AN important social and educational development in the South is the recent opening at the University of North Carolina of a School of Public Welfare. Thus the State of North Carolina, already in the front line in progressive social legislation, plans to place more trained social leaders in the field. President Chase in his recommendation to the Board of Trustees of the University emphasized the importance of the school in its relation to universal educational policy. He said:

> Nothing is more clear than that, if the citizenship of state and nation is to grapple successfully with the ever more complex problem of modern democracy, if popular government is to work effectively in these confusing times, our educational system as a whole must stress as never before the instruction of our youth in matters of the common weal. A knowledge of the fundamental laws of society, of what democracy really means and what its problems are, a spirit of social mindedness which leads the individual to look beyond himself and to think of himself in relation to his community—these things are more and more requisite for good citizenship. The social sciences, including economics, history, government, and sociology in its various aspects, must receive a new and more intense emphasis in the higher education of the future. North Carolina, feeling her way toward the solution of new social problems consequent upon the growing complexity of her life, with a new program of social legislation, needs and will need leaders well-trained in the fundamentals of their task.

The school will emphasize special training in the social sciences; vocational training for social work and public welfare; social engineering and university and research work, in which special efforts will be made to contribute to information

From the Day and the Warheit, New York

HE "DECORATES" HER

concerning social needs and possibilities in the state. The American Red Cross will conduct, during the summer, an institute extending twelve weeks. Lecturers from Columbia, the New York and Pennsylvania schools of social work, and from North Carolina itself will make up the summer faculty.

THE TORNADO

RED CROSS "disaster relief" in America, of the type that for years gripped the minds of the people, has scarcely been heard from since the large development of that organization on a war basis. But with the tornado of last week emergency relief funds have again been appropriated and trust funds for dependents of some of the victims may be established.

From Red Cross headquarters in Chicago the SURVEY is informed that the tornado swept through the western and northern suburbs of that city, the adjacent rural territory west of the city, through the city of Elgin and affected parts of southern Michigan. The area was not densely populated, and while the property loss was great, the number of casualties on the whole was surprisingly small.

About one hundred homes were destroyed in Melrose Park, Maywood, Bellwood, Dunning, Clearing and other suburbs of Chicago. At Elgin, twenty homes were demolished, and at Plainfield, Illinois, ten. So far as is known, there were fourteen deaths in and around Chicago, seven in Elgin, one at Hart, Michigan, and seven at Fenton, Genesee county, Michigan. The number of injured in and around Chicago was small; 20 cases are reported from Elgin and 17 in Plainfield.

In Chicago none of the industrial plants in the area affected by the storm were damaged. In Elgin the storm struck the business district and damaged business houses. The loss in buildings there is estimated at over $1,000,000, and to this should be added the loss of stocks—in one instance an entire department store was destroyed. Two churches in Elgin collapsed, and also the opera house. In and near Plainfield damage was done to twenty-five farm buildings.

The Chicago chapter, American Red Cross, ordered the mobilization of nurses and disaster relief workers, and offered Red Cross aid to the mayor of Melrose Park. Local resources had covered all immediate requirements, but early the morning following the tornado the executive secretary of the Chicago chapter, five disaster relief workers and four Red Cross nurses reached Melrose Park and at once began taking care of all emergency calls for relief. Within twenty-four hours after the catastrophe all the affected districts in the jurisdiction of the chapter were visited by Red Cross representatives.

Ten thousand dollars for emergency relief was voted by the Red Cross the day following the disaster. The West Suburban Tornado Relief Committee, organized by officials of the western suburbs of Chicago, and cooperating closely with the Red Cross, is collecting funds in those suburbs and has appealed to the towns of northern Illinois for financial assistance. A committee appointed by Mayor Thompson of Chicago is making a campaign in that city for funds, which will be turned over to the Red Cross for administration.

As yet no plans for rehabilitation have been made, but as most of the people affected are of small means, they will probably have to be aided in reestablishing their homes, and trust funds may be established for dependents.

"ALL FOOLS DAY IN NEW YORK"

THE so-called New York State welfare bills (the eight-hour day, the minimum wage, and health insurance bills) have not been reported out of committee at Albany. It is now too late to have them brought before the representatives of the people of New York at this session. Assemblyman Brady, chairman of the Labor and Industries Committee, when asked by representatives of the League of Women Voters why he had not bolted the majority caucus, replied that had he done so, he "would have ruined his political career."

On the other hand the same group of legislators who have held these bills in committee have been occupied with the expulsion April 1, of the five Socialist assemblymen,

Harding in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle

"BUSTED"

be detrimental to public interests. There shall be paid at the time of the granting of such license a fee of five dollars. . . . [Italics ours.]

It will thus be seen that the bill, in addition to requiring that the instruction shall not be "detrimental to public interests," requires a fee of $5 for every *school, institute, class or course of instruction* licensed. Moreover, a license once granted can be revoked if the regents become satisfied that the school, institute or class is being conducted in such a way as to be detrimental to public interests, or in a fraudulent or improper manner. Public schools, schools maintained by religious denominations or sects recognized as such *at the time this law takes effect,* incorporated educational institutions and institutions admitted to membership in the university of the state, are exempt from its provisions. Violation is a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not exceeding $100 or imprisonment not exceeding sixty days.

In a memorandum submitted to the state senate through their counsel, Harold Riegelman, the United Neighborhood Houses of New York urge the defeat of the measure. This body is a federation of forty-five settlement and neighborhood houses in New York city. Its memorandum undertakes to acquaint the state legislature with the value of the settlements' work in teaching citizenship and in Americanizing the immigrant sections of our cities. To quote those portions that discuss the effect of the measure upon settlements:

> This measure means that whenever any neighborhood house in New York city sees fit to undertake a class for instruction in English, civics or naturalization, it must pay a license fee of $5. It means that where groups of boys or girls come together for the purpose of debate, dramatics, literature or the study of biology, government or music, under the leadership of some volunteer worker, a license fee must be paid before they shall be permitted to do what they have been doing for many years. . . . Such clubs are being constantly formed and discontinued. Volunteer workers come and go. The term "class" as used in the bill is very evidently intended to include such clubs and their leaders, . . . and each such club must be treated as a separate unit under the bill, because the verified statement required by the measure to show the purpose for which the "class" is to be maintained . . . will differ in respect to each club, and in fact in respect to the same club during the year. . . . And no neighborhood house can tell in advance just what groups are to be formed in the course of the coming year.
>
> Under the provisions of the proposed law, the club activities of the neighborhood houses, which constitute their best contribution to the work of Americanization, will have to await the pleasure of bureaucratic supervision. . . . There are upwards of eighty settlement houses in New York city with an estimated average of fifty clubs or "classes" in each. This would result in a license tax of $20,000 in 1920 and, since new clubs are formed in each house on the average of about ten in each year, the annual expenditure on account of license fee would amount to about $4,000. These funds must be considered as deliberately subtracted from the pitiably small total now available for practical education in the fundamental principles of citizenship.

The bill is not limited, in the view of the settlement houses to such activities as these. Says the memorandum:

> By the provisions of this bill, every poverty stricken music teacher, every girl who ekes out a living by teaching language, mathematics or any study or who conducts a kindergarten, and every young man who would earn an education by tutoring, must pay $5 for every group of two or more which he or she may undertake to teach. The law means that or nothing.

Moreover, the settlements take the broad ground that the bill "is as thoroughly out of accord with true democracy and American tradition as censorship of the press, of speech and of religious or political opinion." Says the memorandum:

> The effective enforcement of such a bill in the time of the Romans would have destroyed Christianity. A board of regents of those days would have undoubtedly thought those religious precepts "detrimental to public interests." The spirit of this law made the theory of a round earth and the teaching of printing, heresies. It made possible an Inquisition and the burning of witches.
>
> This is a young nation, experimenting with a young science, the science of self-government. It cannot safely place in the uncontrolled discretion of a small group of men the right to say that this or that idea is "detrimental to the public interests. . . ."

A conference of sixty labor, civic and educational organizations called attention to the "fact that practically every forward step in the history of education has been initiated by individuals or groups, acting without license from the constituted authorities and often in sharp opposition to them." "If the bill should become law," said the conference, "its effect will be to suppress private initiative in the teaching world, to subject every original idea to the deadening influence of bureaucratic routine, and thus to cut off the chief source from which educational progress is to be expected."

A feature in Good Housekeeping's campaign for the passage of the Sheppard-Towner maternity bill is this advertisement from the New York Times.

At a legislative hearing on the bill Senator Clayton R. Lusk, chairman of the committee sponsoring it and himself its introducer, cited the history of the Ferrer School and the teachings of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman as showing the need for such a measure. He told of a meeting hall in Rochester, N. Y., where agents of his committee heard instructors read to children Lenin's letter to American workingmen. He quoted from a valedictory address by a student at the Rand School of Social Science in which the student said that "men like Debs and Lenin inspire us." "Men like Jefferson, Washington and Lincoln are my ideals," said Senator Lusk, "and I don't understand why we should permit a convicted felon to run our schools and teach our children."

The board of regents, in whose hands the licensing power would be placed by this bill, is the governing body of the University of the State of New York, which is, under the law, the state Department of Education. The twelve members of the board are elected jointly by the two houses of the legislature; the term of office is twelve years for each and one member is elected each year. It is compulsory that there shall always be at least one member residing in each of the nine judicial districts of the state. The board has supervision over the entire system of public elementary, secondary and higher education, together with exclusive power to incorporate educational institutions and organizations, including libraries.

The Salvage of Childhood in the South

IF some Sargent or Von Marcke could dip the brush of his imagination into the life of our people and paint across the face of the country some design outlining the bulk of salvage in health, education, moral training and freedom that has been wrought by the constant agitation and enthusiasm of the past decade, it would present an inspiring picture.

For a generation, when child labor or illiteracy was mentioned the thoughts of many Americans turned instinctively toward the eleven states bounded by Virginia and Kentucky on the north and by the Mississippi river and Louisiana and Texas on the west. We were then not far enough from the days of the Civil War to have entirely outgrown the provincial spirit developed by its great issues and intensified by the atrocious scandals of the "reconstruction days." Many northerners, indifferent through familiarity to the crushing industrial burdens on little tenement workers in New York city, glass house boys in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, the slate pickers in the coal mines and the rigorous exactions of the New England textile mills, were horrified to read of the long hours and unhealthy conditions which featured the employment of children in southern cotton mills. And these same critics of distant sins were able to look with comparative indifference upon the bulky volume of illiteracy among the foreign-born and even the native population of New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Illinois and other great industrial states, yet could discern with prophetic clearness the disaster awaiting our country unless "the South" proceeded at once to wipe out illiteracy.

The change in legislative standards of protection and in administration have been so great within the past ten years that even a summary would be impossible within these limits. It is not extravagant to say, however, that had the world not been engrossed in the consideration of over-shadowing international problems, we should realize that the past decade has wrought within our own borders the greatest revolution in the history of the world in respect to institutions and agencies to protect the industrial conditions, to safeguard the morals and promote the health and education of children. We should further discern that compared with the standards existing fifteen years ago the most radical changes in the right direction have been not in the North, but in the southern states.

Unfortunately, the details for a quantitative statement as to the results of such advances would be difficult to produce. Statistical reports are slow to gather and tardy of publication. The latest statistics on illiteracy of children 10-14 years of age in the eleven southern states are the figures for 1910. The total is 312,674. But this is 1920 and ten years later. It would be a satisfaction to know how present figures compare with those of ten years ago. That was a gloomy showing in 1910; but has anyone taken the trouble to look back and compare the number of illiterate children with those in the same states in 1900? A single example will show the direction in which the South was moving. In North Carolina in 1910 the illiterates of this age group numbered 26,955; in 1900 the same group showed 51,190 illiterates—in other words there had been a decrease during the ten-year period of 24,235, or approximately 48 per cent. The total illiterates of this age group in 1900 in the eleven states was 468,266, showing a total decrease in the ten years of 155,592, or approximately 33 per cent.

Has there been a similar decrease within the decade just closed? We should like to believe it. In 1910 there was no compulsory school attendance law in any of the eleven states, with the exception of Kentucky, which required that children under fourteen should attend school for five months each year, and in North Carolina, which required sixteen weeks yearly attendance to twelve years of age, but had no agency to enforce the law. At the present time every one of these states has some form of compulsory school attendance law—Alabama compelling attendance up to sixteen for one hundred days each year or until the elementary course is completed; Florida requiring attendance to sixteen years, with some weakening exemptions, for the entire school term unless the eighth grade is completed; Georgia requiring attendance to the fourteenth year six months a year to the completion of the seventh grade; and so on. Can anyone doubt that such a rapid rallying of the awakened forces of the South will show a stimulating decrease in the number of educational outcasts, at least before the close of another decade? A similar comparison might be presented of changes in health laws and child labor laws. We are presenting no argument for a cessation of effort. The tragic conditions of children in these, as well as other states, are sufficiently impressive when public attention is focused on them to justify the most active and unrelenting statesmanship until their rights are secured. Broad stretches of rural life are virtually barren of the most rudimentary provisions for combatting disease, or giving education to their children.

What is especially needed in the South, as in other parts of the country is a new Columbus to discover America. A discovery of our needs and our possibilities will not divide, but will unite those interested in the future prosperity of America. When the National Child Labor Committee entered upon its recent study of child welfare conditions in Alabama, attempting to discover the conditions in which children lived as regards public health, education, rural school attendance, recreation and the agencies provided to care for dependent, defective and delinquent children, the very scope of the program won an immediate response. Advocates of child labor reform had been accustomed to meet a powerful lobby at one session after another until the most prominent figure they saw at the state capitol seemed to them to be the splendid motto of that state, Here We Rest. But when it was understood that a campaign was on foot not merely to eliminate children from a given industry but to appraise their social assets and liabilities, most of those who had formerly constituted the opposing lobby joined in. The striking contrast was too dramatic to be ignored. There were approximately 4,000 children in the cotton mills of that state, but according to the latest statistics there were approximately 153,000 children out of school and at work. Where were the other 149,000? No one knew. It was to discover them and what means might be secured through legislation to guarantee their rights that this study was undertaken.

The results are striking. At the recent session of the legislature four important laws were passed—a child labor law with a 14 year minimum; an eight-hour day under 16, and other advanced features; the creation of a department of child welfare with a child labor division; extensive improvements in the state-wide compulsory education law, and the reorganization of local health administration providing for full-time health officers throughout the state. This is a sample of the speed with which the South is moving toward securing a birthright for its children.

When the 1920 census figures appear perhaps some ingenious mathematician will figure out the number of days of added liberty and added school life the average child in this group of states has secured, and multiply that by the total number of children in the group to show how many centuries of childhood the country has saved for itself. But manifestly it will be impossible to reduce to figures what these strides toward a democracy of health, education and industrial opportunity will mean to the children themselves in those imponderable values which give the chief significance to human life.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY.

Democratic Community Organization

An After-the-War Experiment in Chester

By Charles Frederick Weller

SPECIAL DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVE, COMMUNITY SERVICE, INC.

AUTOCRACY has always characterized charitable, religious, educational and social service undertakings. Trustees or governing boards have been composed of leading men and women, people of established recognized power. Unselfishly bearing the financial and other reponsibilities, this small autocratic board has generously given the benefits of its labors to such community groups as it could understand and reach. Beneficent purposes have not altered the fact that this method is autocratic.

Is it practicable, now, to democratize social service? May not democracy be the spring of living power which shall make philanthropy, education, recreation, and other forms of social service more constructive and more adequate? This suggestion I submit as a product of twenty-four years' endeavor in organized charity, settlement work, recreation and community service. After-the-war experiences in community service have carried me farthest toward a conception of democratic community organization.

In Pennsylvania's oldest town, Chester, thirteen miles southeast of Philadelphia, $28,000 have been pledged to make permanent, locally self-supporting and independent the work known as Community Service for Chester and Vicinity. From the national movement, Community Service (Incorporated), which initiated and developed the local organization, it will henceforth require only counsel and encouragement, the occasional recommendation of workers, the temporary loan of experts to help develop some particular local field, and the keeping of Chester's leaders in touch with the best applicable experiences of other communities. Participation has been the keynote of the work in Chester. The motive and method have been to bring previously unenlisted and supposedly unimportant people into democratic fellowship in worthwhile civic undertakings—to help these aliens (both native and foreign-born) to feel that they belong, that their contributions of "loyalty, art and labor" are appreciated and essential.

Governor William C. Sproul as chairman of the local governing board presented, in September, 1919, one of the most comprehensive programs of constructive service that has been formulated in any community. The governor, who is a wealthy, influential local resident, had recommended the first preliminary program adopted by the local board, in November, 1918 [see the SURVEY for February, 1919], which really included, though without details, the whole field outlined in the later statement. Of the extended, idealistic yet entirely practicable program for 1919 and 1920, a large proportion were activities already underway—including even the small beginnings of public baths in two sets of showers, one at the Pioneer Community Club or Dry Saloon in the heart of the business district and one at the Colored Community Club among Chester's seventeen to twenty thousand colored people. One important division of the program discussed Democracy through Leisure-time Activities.

From the beginning, in November, 1918, the governing board of Community Service for Chester and Vicinity included four or five industrial workers, about the same number of women, the school superintendent, the city's mayor and the leaders of local industrial and commercial life. To further democratize the governing board, representatives were added, in October, 1919, from all cooperating groups and from operating departments of the movement, including Italian, Polish, Greek, Russian, French and Belgian, Welsh, Lithuanian and colored groups.

Democracy in action through the spirit of neighborly participation, was manifest on Roosevelt day, October 27, 1919, when all varieties of Chester folk were drawn together in a "league of neighbors." Eighteen hundred Chester people, in thirty-three delegations—most of whom had never before been brought into the same room; never, certainly, into one united peace-time undertaking—were called in turn upon the enlarged platform before the official reception and review committee of some thirty-five or forty representative citizens including the governing board of local Community Service and the chairmen of its nine outstanding departments. Each departmental chairman introduced the delegations which represented the various activities of each department.

In a community where deadly race rioting had flamed out a couple of years earlier, colored people, who constitute about one-fourth of the entire population, were represented by eight impressive delegations—including approximately six hundred people—who were received with notably encouraging friendly applause. The thirty-three delegations included seven school centers, ten outdoor recreation centers, the Pioneer Community Club, Italian Community Club and two colored community clubs, the community chorus, a separate choral society composed of colored women, and seven national groups of the foreign-born. Each delegation presented briefly, through banners, songs, and spoken phrases, the character and spirit of their groups' contributions to community life.

Would it not be helpful to propose such a local league of neighbors, after a week or two of preliminary conferences, in any city—or in a local section of a great metropolis—where democratic community organization is to be undertaken? Such an outstanding inclusive event, with a definite date when such a public accounting must be rendered, will help to vitalize committees and groups. It should also help to divert, from blind palaver and jealous suspicions into cooperative pathfinding social experiments, those initial energies which are too often consumed in trying to state in advance, theoretically, what Community Service should become in its relations to existing agencies—whose leaders may easily say that they are adequate to the whole situation "without interference from outside."

When the question arises, How is the X-Y-Z Association related to the new community movement? invite that association to present its contributions through delegations in the league of neighbors. Let the league represent community service without capital letters—the community finding itself through a civic rally in which local forces (and some of the unfilled gaps between them) are discovered—to themselves, to each other and to the whole community. All this in the life-giving spirit of cooperative, neighborly service and good will.

Chester's Advisory Council, Red Circle Rallies and Play-leaders' Training Class pioneered successfully in certain methods of enlistment coordination and training which I should like to see tried in somewhat altered, combined forms in another difficult community. But mere "coordination" always seems to me to be of little value if it it be static; getting-together to go forward, seems the only kind worth while. Might not a weekly or frequent conference or training class—or council of social servants—be made the heart or nervous system for democratic community organization in a new city? Working representatives should be drawn together from existing social service agencies such as city, school, park, and playground departments, the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A., employment or service departments of local industries, churches, civic organizations and philanthropies. Responsive individuals and key people among foreign-born and other local groups should also be drawn into this cosmopolitan democratic training center.

A leader, informed and resourceful in social service organization, should direct the conference and alertly realize the many leads which will spontaneously appear. One existing organization may be led to extend its work to cover some special feature of the new community endeavor. An individual who asks a hopeful question may be assigned to find the facts from appropriate sources and to follow them out into new and better activities. Volunteers may be sent forth into various fields of service if the weekly conference will back them up with enthusiasm, counsel and cooperation. Part-time workers may be employed to supplement the available volunteers and both may be helped to conduct community service centers in the schools, vacant lot play, church socials, musical activities, hikes, neighborhood organizations, household parties and other undertakings.

It is as a new kind of ways and means committee that I like to think of this experimenting group because it should not be that kind of general training class which tends toward academic discussions or toward the learning of facts or methods without their immediate application. Instead, it should be a definite enlistment center through which socially minded people will train themselves and each other, will study local needs and possibilities, and will mobilize in practical detailed service all the forces which can be discovered or created for cooperative social advance.

Municipal appropriations, school board and park board funds, financial help from existing agencies and special contributions raised by interested organizations and individuals—all offer possibilities for financing selected portions of the growing program, or all of it.

Action Rather than Method

FOR DEMOCRATIC community organization the great emphasis should be upon activities. What people are interested to *do* together will chiefly determine their type and field of organization. Chester experiences made me feel that some prominent and useful suggestions for democratizing social service put too little emphasis upon activities, too much upon the scheme or method of organization. They seem to rely upon a much greater readiness than I have experienced, in myself or in other ordinary folks, to meet and continue meeting for the serious discussion of dry topics of neighborhood and self-improvement. They overestimate, I think, a supposed popular eagerness or even willingness to vote. They do not value at its true worth or use adequately, recreation or leisure-time activities such as music, dramatics, games and socials.

Democracy is now to be furthered, I believe, not so much by expounding philosophic general purposes, nor by methodic schemes for permitting everyone to vote, but rather by leading people to enjoy themselves together, to be joyously human and natural in democratic ways. It is active rather than academic democracy that is needed. By their doings—their actual programs, by leisure-time interests achieved together in a democratic spirit of good neighborliness, shall communities be democratized.

Two Fundamentals

COMPARING Community Service undertakings in Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago and other cities with Chester's modest achievements, I believe there are two essentials for democratic community organization:

First, activities or program: Local groups must be enabled to adopt, or to recognize, as their very own, to take intimately into their minds and hearts, a few features out of such an all-inclusive program as our Chester board had adopted. When I tried, for example, to have this entire program read in Italian to the patient members of the Italian Community Club, it was soon evident that for such groups some leader must first digest the overwhelming general city-wide scheme into a very few of the most interesting undertakings—a very few features which the leader knows to be nearest to the group's present stage of social thought and in which they can achieve such practical progress as will maintain and deepen the interest of the group. They should discover these plans, or select them, out of the leader's experiences and resourcefulness in social organization.

Second, methods or organization: A plan of local organization is needed which must be so very simple that anyone can learn to operate it. The best progressive leadership should be used (as it is now being effectively employed in Community Service in several cities) to set up neighborhood organizations and also group organizations, and to help these to discover simple methods of carrying on their appropriate undertakings so that the employed leadership may be steadily reduced toward (but never completely over) the vanishing point. The plan of operation should be so convincing and attractive that an ordinary person from a new group or neighborhood can, by visiting an established center, take home the plan and set it to work upon the improvement of life around his own home.

In line with these two fundamentals, the final paragraph of the Chester program proposed, under the heading Practical Detailed Results Assured, that

> Each employed executive and each committee will adopt as their field and purpose some definite practical parts of the preceding program and, at least once every month, will check the results attained and correct their methods, if changes are needed, in order to make steady progress toward the full permanent realization of these Community Service ideals.

Even in those American cities which have the largest number and the most effective of philanthropies, there is one great unmet need or opportunity which, in every city, waits to be discovered or realized. Local neighborhood life is everywhere inadequate. School centers, nurses' associations, playgrounds and all the scores or even hundreds of social service agencies, need to have the great democratic masses of local people related to them vitally—to use, shape and strengthen these agencies and to profit adequately from their leadership.

Chester experiences helped to bring my previous years of social settlement and similar endeavor into fuller consciousness of the fact that America's future is really being determined, not by the thin fringe of apparently superior auto-

cratic individuals and organizations, but by the plain "common people,"—whose uncommon great qualities of soul were partially revealed by the war. It is through mutually helpful fellowship with immigrants and their children, with industrial workers, with the modest, genuine, eagerly-developing common people, that the most joyous life-giving strength, vision, and good will are to be had. Fellowship in leisure-time activities or recreation is one of the best keys to that democratic community organization which is the only means by which neighborliness—America's most fundamental need and opportunity—may be met.

Three Fields of Organization

IN THREE fields, as I see it, this local organization of the democratic masses is to be worked out. Chester was beginning, in the last quarter of our first path-finding year, to get a practicable vision of one of these three fields, namely, group organization. The other two are neighborhood and block organization.

(1) Block organization, as practiced by Philadelphia Community Service, means that in each block (the two sides of a residence street between two nearest cross streets) there is a block organizer and his assistant (sometimes husband and wife) and a block chairman for each of six committees—on health and sanitation, education, recreation, block beautification, information, cooperation. In the Cincinnati social unit the "block" comprises the four sides of one city square—because it is thought that neighbors get together over their back-yard fences better than across the front street, in Cincinnati.

(2) Neighborhood organization, in Philadelphia, means that ten or more blocks are drawn together in a community council which includes the block organizers and the general chairman of each of the six general committees. These general committees are made up of the block chairmen in each field. Thus the general community committee on recreation includes the one recreation chairman for each block and a general chairman for the whole neighborhood. It is this general recreation chairman who attends the community council's monthly meetings, together with the block organizers.

(3) Group organization is also essential, I believe, and one civic problem yet unsolved is the effective relationship of block and neighborhood committees to the organization of such groups as Italians, colored people, possibly industrial workers, and others. There are some community values—such as natural fellow feeling, established relationships and institutions, group customs, traditions and ideals—which cannot be conserved fully by block and neighborhood organization alone, unless their boundaries chance to coincide with the boundary lines of homogeneous groups.

For each and all of these three fields, the first essential is that a competent leader—adaptable, resourceful in initiating appropriate activities, and obviously inspired by a genuine spirit of democratic good will and unselfish service—shall seek out the local leaders and help them to realize, with their neighbors, some of their strongest natural impulses toward recreation, comradeship and social usefulness.

Some extreme radicals among the working people of Chester opposed our plan, last March, for Chester's "League of Nations." They urged their fellow workmen to beware of us because, they said, we were simply trying to "soft-soap" the industrial laborers, to offer them charity in place of justice, amusement instead of serious social advance. Later, in preparation for the reception and ball, Elizabeth Burchenal, who directed our Chester department of Americanization—for both native- and foreign-born—secured an opportunity for a thorough talk with several of these radicals. When she had fully explained what we were trying to do, the men replied:

> Why, that is what we believe. We think that the worst thing about America is the way different peoples are crowded off into separate corners, the Russians in one neighborhood all by themselves, the Italians in another. Then the American people look a long way off at us as strangers and then they imagine that we are bad people. So what we believe in is kindness—like you say, "bringing people together so they will understand each other and then they will be friends." And that Red Circle button of yours, that is our color, too; that is like what the Bible says that God made of one blood all the races of men. Yes, we will come to your party.

Is it not profoundly true that a good many radicals, subscribing to various isms, are really seeking chiefly for that larger realization of democracy and brotherhood for which the hearts of many men are hungering? Do not these people (not all radicals, perhaps, but many of them) respond to radicalism because it promises that improvement of living conditions, that advance of human freedom and fellowship, which nearly all open-minded people now recognize as desirable and indeed indispensable? If to such sincere people orderly effective means of progress can be shown, if their wholesome ideals of democratic fellowship and cooperation can be realized in some of the details of their daily living, shall we not save modern civilization from revolution and explosions, from darkness and disaster? Must there not be such progressive open-hearted social evolution if our country is to be safe from revolution?

The Better Way

DEMOCRATIC community organization such as Chester, Philadelphia and other cities have been seeking to develop through Community Service, may not claim to affect directly either the hours or wages of labor or the purchasing power of money. Radicals may declare that such community organization is superficial and unimportant because it stands for cooperation instead of "class warfare;" because it does not follow that extreme interpretation of "economic determinism" which insists that men move only, as Napoleon said his armies moved, upon their bellies.

The world war demonstrated that men are moved by ideals; that they sacrifice food, shelter, comfort, profit, life itself, for ethical motives, for democracy, for the welfare of unknown peoples. No one would belittle the importance of good wages, of wholesome living conditions or of other economic considerations. But reformers who are wholly and exclusively intent upon these matters commit a common blunder which is costly to the people. They forget that while men are striving toward the millennium they must live along the way. For, if human life can be satisfactory only by attaining the ideals of extreme radicals, millions of men must live and die unsatisfied.

On the contrary, men should and can live joyfully and fraternally as they progress toward better economic conditions. Recreation, fellowship, satisfaction of human instincts, and a rich development of heart, mind and spirit are possible now and they must be realized as men go along through life. It is these leisure-hour activities and relationships that chiefly determine the human values of present-day life; and present life is, obviously, the only life which individuals ever experience. Dealing with that actual present life stream as it flows through the hearts of humankind, Community Service is not superficial or unimportant but profoundly vital. It may determine whether living men, women and children shall be 80 or 90 per cent, instead of only 50 or 60 per cent, alive.

THE SOCIAL WORKSHOP

——A Department of Practice

CIVICS: Americanization

Conducted by
BRUNO LASKER

A Stake in the Country

RECENTLY I had the inspiring experience of visiting an apartment house constructed about six years ago by a group of foreign-born tenants. The Finnish Cooperative Trading Association operates in the neighborhood of Fortieth street and Eighth avenue, Brooklyn, a district known as "Finntown." The apartment house was built by sixteen families, each of which contributed $500 to the initial capital. After purchasing three lots at $1,200 each, they used the balance of $4,400 on foundations and as far as it would go on superstructure, borrowed $25,000 at 6 per cent and secured $5,000 at 5 per cent from their own cooperative bank. They erected a very complete, substantial apartment house of sixteen apartments, each of five good-sized rooms and bath, at a cost of about $35,000. Each family had subsequently to pay $25 per month—a sum sufficient to pay interest, taxes, water, janitor, coal, light and repairs, leaving about $1,000 to apply to sinking fund. The last installment on the $5,000 loan has just been paid off. Four-room apartments in the same neighborhood, not so well constructed, are now rented for $50 per month.

A new building for a cooperative bakery of the same Finnish organization is nearly completed. I was impressed with the remarkably high character of workmanship that is going into this building; everything impressed me as exceedingly well done by artisans sufficiently interested in their work to put forth the most conscientious effort. All materials used were of the very best quality. The building is to be equipped with the most modern bakery machinery on the second floor, where is also the oven. It is unusual to place so heavy a structure on the second floor, but this has been done in the interest of light and air for the workers and also of protection against dust from the street. On the third floor will be large recreation rooms for use by the members of the cooperative society; on the ground floor store and restaurant. The building will cost about $100,000.

This encouraging example makes one realize that many of our industrial problems will be solved when the workers receive something more than a mere monetary interest in the product of their toil. While the workmen engaged on this building were not all cooperators nor all Finns, they apparently all felt that they were working in a new spirit of brotherhood and not solely to enable someone to acquire private profit from his investment.

F. S. TITSWORTH.

Women Immigrants

THE announcement, some months ago, that the British government intended to give free passage to ex-service men and women who wished to emigrate to other parts of the empire, immediately gave rise to much speculation and uneasiness in some of the colonies. In Canada, the minister of immigration and colonization, J. A. Calder, started preparations to meet a possible considerable influx. Among other steps taken, he summoned representatives of the most important women's organizations for a three days' conference at Ottawa to consider, more particularly, the immigration of women for household service. From this conference a permanent council was formed, the Canadian Council of Immigration of Women for Household Service. It is representative of the national organizations and of each province in which there is a hostel for the care of women immigrants. Such hostels, whether already in existence or to be created, the conference recommended, should, so far as possible, be under the uniform control of the new council.

The present bonus system under which private agents are enabled to profit from the importation of large numbers of immigrants to Canada without too close a scrutiny of their fitness for Canadian conditions of life has frequently been condemned. It still continues because Australia is competing for British immigrants, and the great reduction in the number of United States migrants (58,000 last year as against 70,000 the previous year), together with an alarming trend of migration from country to town within the dominion, apparently makes an influx of British newcomers desirable. Sir Andrew Macphail, in a recent address to the Canadian Club at Ottawa, drew attention to the bad results of making the selection of future citizens a matter of business speculation and mentioned that as a result of advertising 20,000 intending immigrants had last year to be turned back.

The conference referred to agreed that the selection of women immigrants should for some time to come be limited to household workers, and that it should include health examinations, physical and mental, by experienced medical officers, both at the port of embarkation and at the port of arrival. Mr. Calder, while in support of such a measure in general, does not consider practicable insistence on medical inspection of British emigrants before leaving their home port.

Starting Americanization Early

A PROMISING new departure in assimilation in this connection was the training school established by the "Khaki College" in London—the organization for teaching the expeditionary forces—to prepare the brides of Canadian soldiers for the domestic and rural life awaiting them in their distant new homes. In fact, this course which included dairying, gardening, bee culture, dressmaking, embroidery, cobbling, repair of men's clothes, all kinds of needle work, care of infants, elementary carpentry and other practical subjects, was so popular that the London County Council decided to establish "marriage schools" on similar lines in different parts of the city also for soldiers' brides who had no intention of emigrating.

The question suggests itself whether some such beginning in the educational process of assimilation before the alien has left his home might not be a practicable and advantageous extension of Americanization work. American educational effort abroad is no new thing; during the war it laid the foundations of a specific American educational campaign in Europe on child welfare, prevention of tuberculosis and other health matters; through the operations of the Committee on Public Information it included a vast campaign of political education in principles of democracy. Since the armistice, Americans abroad are teaching industries and handicrafts, modern

THE SURVEY

Workers by Brain

The Intellectuals in Relation to the British Movement toward Workers' Control

Arthur Gleason

To Presidential Candidates

Edward T. Devine

Boston and the "Movie" Censorship

Amy Woods

The Colyer Trial

Sidney Howard

Immigrant Savings

Paul M. Warburg

April 17, 1920 10 Cents a Copy $4.00 a Year

Books Received

IS AMERICA WORTH SAVING? By Nicholas Murray Butler. Charles Scribner's Sons. 398 pp. Price $2.00; by mail of the SURVEY $2.25.

HANDBOOK ON HEALTH. By Walter Camp. D. Appleton & Co. 210 pp. Price $1.25; by mail of the SURVEY $1.45.

THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY. Edited by Scott E. W. Bedford. American Sociological Society. 295 pp. Price $1.50; by mail of the SURVEY $1.75.

IRELAND AN ENEMY OF THE ALLIES? By R. C. Escouflaire. E. P. Dutton & Co. 268 pp. Price $2.50; by mail of the SURVEY $2.70.

A NEW SCHOOL IN BELGIUM. By A. Faria de Vasconcellos. George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London. 237 pp. Price 5s.; by mail of the SURVEY $1.50.

FOOD SUPPLIES IN PEACE AND WAR. By Sir R. Henry Rew. Longmans, Green & Co. 183 pp. Price $2.25; by mail of the SURVEY $2.45.

THE PARIS BOURSE AND FRENCH FINANCE. By William Parker. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., 116 pp., paper bound. Price $1.00; by mail of the SURVEY $1.15.

Calendar of Conferences

Items for the next calendar should reach the SURVEY *before May 15.*

BOYS' CLUB FEDERATION, BOYS' WORK CONFERENCE OF THE. New Haven, Conn., May 25-28. C. J. Atkinson, 110 West 40 st., New York.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE U. S. Atlantic City, April 27-29. Elliott H. Goodwin, Riggs bldg., Washington.

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, CONNECTICUT STATE CONFERENCE OF. Hartford, May 23-25. Malcolm S. Nichols, 607 Main st., Hartford.

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, NEW YORK CITY CONFERENCE OF. Brooklyn, Manhattan and Pleasantville, May 25-27. George C. Rowell, 287 Fourth ave., New York.

CHILDREN'S HOME AND WELFARE ASSOCIATION. New Orleans, April 19-21. W. S. Reynolds, 1816 Republic bldg., Chicago.

COLORED PEOPLE, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF. Atlanta, May 30-June 2. John R. Shillady, 70 Fifth ave., New York.

CORPORATION SCHOOLS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF. New York, May 31-June 4. F. C. Henderschott, Irving place and 15 st., New York.

FAMILY SOCIAL WORK, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR ORGANIZING. New Orleans, April 14-21. Francis H. McLean, 130 East 22 st., New York.

FEEBLEMINDED, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF THE. Cleveland, June 4-5. J. M. Murdoch, State Institution for Feebleminded of Western Pa., Polk, Pa.

FIRE PROTECTION ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL. Chicago, May 4-6. Franklin H. Wentworth, 87 Milk st., Boston.

GIRLS' CLUBS, NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF. Swanwick, Derbyshire, June 12-16. Catherine Towers, 118 Great Titchfield st., London, W. 1.

INDUSTRIAL PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF. New Orleans, April 26. Dr. Francis D. Patterson, 3500 Grays Ferry road, Philadelphia.

MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, AMERICAN. New Orleans, April 26-30. Alexander R. Craig, 535 No. Dearborn st., Chicago.

MUSEUMS, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF. Washington, May. H. L. Madison, Park Museum, Providence, R. I.

PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, CONGRESS OF AMERICAN. New Orleans, April 26-30. W. R. Steiner, 646 Asylum ave., Hartford, Conn.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, AMERICAN ACADEMY OF. Philadelphia, May 7-8. Carl Kelsey, University of Pa., Philadelphia.

SOCIAL AGENCIES, CALIFORNIA STATE CONFERENCE OF. Riverside, May 4-7. Mrs. Seward A. Simons, 1107 Buena Vista st., Pasadena.

SOCIAL WORK, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF. New Orleans, April 14-21. W. H. Parker, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

SOCIAL WORKERS' EXCHANGE, NATIONAL. New Orleans, April. Edith Shatto King, 130 E. 23 st., New York.

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS. Washington, May 9-13. J. E. McCulloch, Munsey bldg., Washington.

SURGICAL ASSOCIATION, AMERICAN. St. Louis, May 3-5. John H. Gibbon, 1608 Spruce st., Philadelphia.

TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL. St. Louis, April 22-24. Philip P. Jacobs, 381 Fourth ave., New York.

TRAVELERS' AID SOCIETY, NATIONAL. New York, May 5. Orin C. Baker, 21 West 43 st., New York.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE, INTERNATIONAL. Geneva, Switzerland, June 6-18. Elizabeth Abbott, 11 Adam st., Adelphi, London, W. C. 2.

THE SURVEY

"WE are going to find out that we can no more escape the influence of the European situation of today than we were able to escape the war itself. You cannot have one half of the world starving and the other half eating. We must help put Europe on its feet or we must participate in Europe's misery. Let it be admitted, if you will, that neither Wilson nor Roosevelt have had the right to speak for the idealism of America [in pledging our sustained friendship and help]; it still remains true that a man is lying wounded by the roadside. He is stripped of his raiment, he is half dead, and America (rich and prosperous) is passing by on the other side."

Henry P. Davison *on*
Shall We Turn Our Backs on Europe?

The WRECK *on the* B. *of* R. T.

By John W. Love
of the Cleveland Plain Dealer

The COMMUNIST DEPORTATIONS

By Francis Fisher Kane
former U. S. Attorney, Eastern Penna.

April 24, 1920 10 Cents a Copy $4.00 a Year

SUMMER INSTITUTES IN JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES OF BOSTON. Maurice B. Hexter, Executive Director. The Federated Jewish Charities of Boston, Mass., announces a series of seven intensive training courses of three weeks each for Jewish communal workers and volunteers from July 6 to 27. Institutes, covering *basic principles and methods, visits to a selected group of social agencies of Boston,* and *concentrated field work,* will be offered in the following fields: Child Welfare; Delinquency; Family Case Work; Recreation; Health and Medical Social Service; Social Research and Statistics; and Jewish Education. The Institutes will be in general charge of social workers of the highest professional standing. Special accommodations will be provided for out-of-town students. For details as to dates, courses, fees, etc., address Maurice B. Hexter, 25 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

[Order pamphlets of publishers.]

Pamphlets are listed once in this column without charge. Later listing may be made under CURRENT PAMPHLETS (*see page* 159.)

CHANGES IN THE COST OF LIVING. July, 1914—November, 1919. Research Report No. 25. Price 75 cents. CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION IN NEW ZEALAND. Research Report No. 23. National Industrial Conference Board, 15 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. Price $1.

LABOR RELATIONS IN CLEVELAND. Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland, Ohio.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. By Clarence E. Rainwater. Southern California Sociological Society, University of Southern California, Los Angeles. Price 25 cents.

RURAL COMMUNITY BUILDINGS IN THE UNITED STATES. By W. C. Nason, and C. W. Thompson. Bulletin No. 825. U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington. Price 10 cents.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LUSK COMMITTEE. Prepared by the Legislative Committee People's Freedom Union, From the Nation Press, 20 Vesey st., New York. Price 25 cents.

METHODS AND RESULTS OF NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE IN GREAT BRITAIN (Preliminary Report). By Frederick L. Hoffman. Prudential Insurance Company, Newark, N. J.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR SOCIAL WORKERS AMONG THE FOREIGN-BORN. By Elsie M. Rushmore. Y. W. C. A. 600 Lexington ave., New York.

STATE LAWS AND MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR CHILD PROTECTION. Compiled by Josette Frank. FARM LABOR VS. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE. By Gertrude Folks. Price 10 cents. PEOPLE WHO GO TO BEETS. By Theresa Wolfson. Reprinted from the American Child. (3) From National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22 st., New York.

ILLEGITIMACY AS A CHILD-WELFARE PROBLEM. Part 1. Bureau Publication No. 66. By Emma O. Lundberg and Katherine F. Lenroot. Price 15 cents. COURTS IN THE U. S. HEARING CHILDREN'S CASES. By Evelina Belden. Bureau Publication No. 65. LAWS RELATING TO MOTHERS' PENSIONS IN THE U. S., CANADA, DENMARK AND NEW ZEALAND. Compiled by Laura A. Thompson. Bureau Publication No. 63, Children's Bureau, Washington.

PRISON CONSTRUCTION. Leaflet No. 57. National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, Broadway and 116th St., New York.

WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR IN COTTON-GOODS MANUFACTURING AND FINISHING, 1918. Wages and Hours of Labor Series No. 262. WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR IN THE BOOT AND SHOE INDUSTRY, 1907-1918. No. 260, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington.

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN, with Opinions of the Attorney-General and Statement of Expenditures. Compiled by the State Board of Control, Madison, Wisconsin.

REPORT ON THE CARE AND CONTROL OF THE MENTALLY DEFECTIVE AND FEEBLEMINDED IN ONTARIO. By Frank E. Hodgins. From A. T. Wilgress, printer. Toronto, Canada.

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN, with Opinions of the Attorney-General and Statement of Expenditures. Compiled by the State Board of Control, Madison, Wisconsin.

REPORT ON THE CARE AND CONTROL OF THE MENTALLY DEFECTIVE AND FEEBLEMINDED IN ONTARIO. By Frank E. Hodgins. From A. T. Wilgress, printer. Toronto, Canada.

TARIFFS AND THE WORKER. By Brougham Villiers. Price 1½d. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY. By L. S. Woolf. Price, 2½d. THE CAPITAL LEVY. By F. W. Pethick Lawrence. Price, 2½d. Labour Party, 33 Eccleston Square, London, S. W. 1.

STATISTICS RELATIVE TO JAPANESE IMMIGRATION AND THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA. Japanese Association of America, 444 Bush street, San Francisco. Price 5 cents.

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION AND THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA. California Farmers' Cooperative Association, 510 Battery street, San Francisco. Price 5 cents.

THE LABOR AUDIT: A METHOD OF INDUSTRIAL INVESTIGATION. Employment Management Series No. 8. Federal Board for Vocational Education, Washington. Also obtainable from the Bureau of Industrial Research, 289 Fourth avenue, New York.

DEMOCRACY AND THE MAKING OF BUDGETS. By John Collier. THE SOCIAL UNIT IN 1920. By Wilbur C. Phillips. WHY COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION? By John Collier and John Lovejoy Elliott. THE SOCIAL UNIT AND PUBLIC HEALTH. By Haven Emerson, M.D., and Zoe LaForge. THE SOCIAL UNIT AND THE CHURCH. By Charles Stelzle. THE SOCIAL UNIT AND COMMUNITY STATISTICS. By Robert E. Chaddock. From the National Social Unit Organization, 1 Madison avenue, New York. Net $1.

The Communist Deportations

Mr. Post's Handling of the Cases as Acting Secretary of Labor

By Francis Fisher Kane

FORMER UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE resolution introduced in the House of Representatives last week calling for the impeachment of Louis F. Post, assistant secretary of the Department of Labor, is the most recent development in the Communist deportation cases which had their origin in the wholesale raids by the United States Department of Justice last January. It seemingly expresses the exasperation of those who looked for wholesale deportations to follow on the heels of the raids.

As the reports of the immigration inspectors have come in to the Department of Labor in more than eighteen hundred cases, the question of public policy involved need be no longer matter of hearsay and assertion, but can be based on a consideration of the facts. Mr. Post as acting secretary put the records of the department at the disposal of the congressional committee investigating the procedure of the immigration service; and they are also open to responsible bodies of citizens.

The total number of arrests made in the January raids may never be known. The records in every local office of the Department of Justice would have to be examined, for persons were taken into custody for whom no warrants were obtained, either before arrest or afterwards. There were 3,289 warrants issued, and 2,709 served. Over 900 cases have been dismissed, the warrants being cancelled by the Department of Labor for lack of sufficient evidence in the immigration inspector's report. In 390 cases deportations have been ordered, but many of these cases may be reconsidered before the order is carried out. That the department, acting through Mr. Post, has not been without reasonable grounds for caution in its responsible task of review and decision is illustrated by the fact that among the aliens arrested were soldiers who served our country, in the war. One of these, named J. Volkov, is thirty-three years old and married. He wants to go to Russia, but he does not wish to be sent there. When asked by the inspector why he had not applied for citizenship papers, he replied:

> When I was fighting in the United States army in France I believed that the United States government was helping and aiding Russia, but now I find out it is just the opposite. They blockaded Russia and I have not received a single letter in about two years.
>
> Tell us what battles you were in in France?
>
> A number of places marked in my discharge.

And the discharge shows: St. Mihiel, 9-12-18, 9-13-18; Meuse Argonne, 9-26-18, 9-31-18; Second Battle also; Vayor, 10-18-18, 10-26-18; Grand Montagne, 10-28-18 to 11-14-18. Notation of war service; chevrons authorized. No unauthorized absence.

A pretty good record for a man now thought to be liable to deportation!

The Law

LET us stop for a moment to consider briefly the background of law in these cases: Under Section 6 of the federal criminal code, it is made a felony to conspire to overthrow the government of the United States by force, and the section applies to aliens as well as citizens. Both may be proceeded against by indictment and trial in the courts, and both are then given all the safeguards of the Constitution. So far as I know, no proceedings have been started under this section of the criminal law in these Communist cases.

The act of October 16, 1918, under which the government has proceeded, is a different matter. It is a deportation statute. It covers those who advocate the overthrow of this government by force or violence, but it applies only to aliens and makes them liable to deportation. It makes them liable if they even believe in the forbidden thing—the words are: "believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States." And the act also makes membership in or affiliation with "any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates" this thing enough to send a man back "to the country whence he came." The procedure under the law is through a departmental proceeding before an inspector of the Department of Labor, with the decision resting in the secretary's hands, and in this proceeding the alien has practically only one, or possibly two, of the constitutional rights which he, like the citizen, would have if the government chose to proceed against him in the courts for a violation of the criminal code. He does not have the rights mentioned in the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution. He does not have the right "to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury," the rights "to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him;" to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel in his favor. He may be compelled "to be a witness against himself," and he may be tried with an utter disregard of the rules of evidence. The courts have said that it is entirely for Congress and the Department of Labor to say whether these rights shall be accorded aliens in deportation cases.

The Drag-Net Raids

NOT the Department of Labor but the attorney-general took the initiative in the January raids, planning them from Washington, so that the meeting-places of the party, and the homes of particular defendants where known in advance might be raided simultaneously everywhere. The raids in each place were handled by the local representatives of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice with the cooperation of the police. Upon being arrested the aliens were taken to police stations, or directly to the office of the bureau, where they were examined by the department's agents, the examinations being reduced to writing. If a warrant had already issued from the Department of Labor, the alien was turned over to it. If not, he was held by the Department of Justice until the warrant issued, provided he was not in the meantime discharged for lack of evidence. Such people were released, but not until hours, in some cases days, had elapsed. The orders of the Department of Labor were to hold all under $10,000 bail, although in ordinary deportation cases the regulations called for not more than $500—after the first few days' excitement the $10,000 was found impracticable and $1,000 was the figure substituted. Now even a less amount is demanded by the department, which found that even $1,000 was more than could usually be obtained by the families or friends of the aliens. Of course as the weeks and months passed by, it was the poorest and most ignorant who failed to

make bail, and when they did get out of prison they found their jobs gone, and, in many cases, their families either in destitution or dependent upon charity. They were objects of suspicion to their old employers and it was difficult to get work. It is not easy to get a job if you have a deportation proceeding pending over you, and it is not pleasant to be sent to prison and lose all your savings in lawyers' expenses, even if the government afterwards decides that you were needlessly confined.

It was the duty of the secretary of labor to issue a warrant of arrest in each case upon "probable cause," and "probable cause" was set forth in an affidavit of a Department of Justice agent, who charged that the alien believed in and advocated, and was a member of and affiliated with an organization that believed in and advocated the overthrow of this government by force; that the Communist party was such an organization, and that the alien was a member of it, and consequently liable to deportation. Extracts from the manifesto, program, and constitution of the Communist party, the manifesto of the Third Communist Internationale at Moscow, and other documents were attached in each case to the affidavit to prove the character of the party. That was the procedure adopted all over the country. The local hearings before the inspectors of the Department of Labor in some few cases are still going on, there having been delays for one reason or another. Sooner or later the reports of the inspectors will all be returned to the secretary of labor in Washington for him to pass upon; and therefore it is that the theater of discussion has now shifted to the national capital and interest to the apparent cleavage between the two federal departments involved.

The Deportation Act

I AM not here concerned with the wisdom of the act of October 16, 1918, or with the justice of our immigration legislation generally. The act places certain duties on the secretary, and he is bound to deport aliens when duly proved to be within its provisions. It is his responsibility and not that of the attorney-general, who might well have contented himself with acting when called upon by the secretary of labor to assist him in making arrests, or later, as might be necessary, in the courts, should writs of habeas corpus be applied for. The original writ in deportation cases is a departmental warrant issued by the secretary of labor, and the hearings under the warrant are departmental hearings, at which the Department of Justice representatives are not present, unless called as witnesses, and the final decision in each case is the decision of the secretary of labor, not the decision of a court. Had the attorney-general allowed the Department of Labor to take the initiative in these Communist party cases, it is hardly likely that 3,000 people would have been arrested without more careful preparation in advance—such preparation as would have made it possible to handle the job effectively and without injustice to the individual. The Department of Labor would undoubtedly have hesitated, for instance, before ordering the arrest of some five or six hundred people at one time in the city of Detroit alone, where there was no immigration station to receive them, it being necessary to herd the unfortunate aliens into the municipal building and keep them there for several days. The raids covered many cities—Boston, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, Rochester, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, St. Louis, El Paso and several other places. Surely, the Department of Labor ought to have been given the opportunity to determine whether it could properly handle so many cases simultaneously, and whether the suffering and injustice, to say nothing of the delays that would inevitably occur in disposing of so many cases at one time, would not more than counterbalance the good that might be done. We have spoken of the conditions created at Detroit. The confinement of the aliens there became a scandal. Charitable societies and even public bodies protested, and finally the mayor and city council presented a formal remonstrance to the Department of Justice, with the result that the aliens were taken away and huddled into the county jail. Later, those who were unable to secure bail were transferred to the Fort Wayne barracks, where a few are still confined. Similar conditions existed for a time at Hartford and in neighboring towns, and in a less degree at other places. These abuses were the inevitable result of one department "butting in" and trying to do the work of another.

To return to the act. It provides for no time limit—no term of years from the date of entrance into this country during which the immigrant must be arrested and proceeded against if he is to be deported. He may have been here twenty years or more; he may have taken root here; he may have married an American woman and reared a family of children, and yet he may at any time be deported and separated from them for life. And the law makes no provision for their going with him. One man arrested in Philadelphia had come here when he was a boy nine years of age. He had been educated in the public and night schools of the city. To send him to Russia was to exile him to a foreign country. No one knows the exact number of married men—roughly speaking, probably 25 per cent had women and children in this country dependent on them. In such cases the family was thrown upon charity when the bread-winner was arrested and taken from his home. The fact alone that the law contained no time limit within which a man must be deported, ought to have been enough to make the Department of Justice very careful how it went ahead ordering arrests by the wholesale. The act makes it a felony for a man even to attempt to return to this country after he has once been deported.

The Communist party is composed mostly of Russians. It is the foreign group of "left-wing Socialists," which shot off from the Socialist party after the convention of the Socialist party in Chicago in September, 1919. It should be distinguished from the Communist Labor party, which attracted the English-speaking extremists of the Socialist party. Many members of the Communist party, however, are naturalized citizens. Alongside of the alien in the same hall where he was arrested were other persons, equally members of the Communist party, equally criminal, if any were criminals, whom the department could not deport because they were naturalized American citizens. Indeed, if criminal, they were more so, for in being naturalized they had taken an oath of allegiance to this country. If arrested, such persons were discharged. One naturally asks wherein was the justice of arresting the alien communists and letting the citizen communists go free. If there was a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force, why could not the citizen be prosecuted under Section 6 of the Penal Code? Section 6 contains, as we have said, almost the self-same words—indeed the very words—"overthrow with force . . . the government of the United States." Or, why could he not be prosecuted under the Espionage act as amended in 1918? There were provisions in the act that surely covered him. Of course, the answer is very simple. The government did not have the evidence. The government could not have proved its case in court, for the defendant would then have been able to fall back on his constitutional rights, and insist upon a jury trial with all the safeguards of the criminal law. On the other hand, the Department of Justice assumed that

it could secure the deportation of these aliens through the administrative procedure of the Department of Labor, under which, as already indicated, the alien does not have the ordinary constitutional rights to fall back upon. Some courts have held in effect that only one provision of the Bill of Rights is his in deportation cases—the "due process" clause of the Fifth Amendment. All that he can ask for is that a case be made out against him to the satisfaction of the Department of Labor under the law and the department's regulations.

The Preis Case

VERY soon after the raids had been made, Secretary Wilson was called upon to decide whether the Communist party was under the ban of the law, and in line with the position of Attorney-General Palmer he decided that it was. In the case of an Austrian named Preis, the secretary filed a carefully written opinion, basing his conclusion on the documents submitted with the case.

His ruling was published in full in the SURVEY for January 31. Quoting from the manifesto, program and constitution of the Communist party of America, and the manifesto of the Communist Internationale, the secretary held that

> It is apparent that the Communist party does not seek to obtain its objective through parliamentary machinery, but that it seeks to overthrow the government by force and violence.

He could see nothing else in its disparagement of "participation in parliamentary campaigns," and its reliance on industrial mass action to "conquer the power of the state"; this coupled with its "acceptance" of the manifesto of the Third Communist Internationale at Moscow, which declared for "direct conflict with the government machinery in open combat."

I have the greatest respect for Secretary Wilson, but I beg leave to differ with him in his conclusion. The industrial strike—even the general strike—is not force or violence; it is simply the laying down of tools by a body of men, be they numerous or otherwise. Therefore, to conquer the state by such means is not to overthrow the government by force or violence unless you read into the word "conquer" something not necessarily there. Such a purpose or undertaking may be illegal—that is another question; the act does not cover all illegal undertakings. Even if it did, the courts have, I believe, not as yet held that the general strike, let alone the ordinary strike, is illegal. And we are dealing with an act which is at least semi-penal in its nature. It must be construed strictly and not broadened by a doubtful implication. It must be construed with due regard to the liberty of the individual.

But let us assume that the secretary is right in his deduction. It is at most an opinion based upon an argument. The words force and violence are nowhere in the documents, and many conscientious persons have held that the forbidden thing is not implied anywhere in the pronouncements of the party. It is conceivable that thousands of people joined without the slightest idea that they stood committed to anything except the threat of a general strike or strikes as an effective means for securing governmental change; and that many more became "members" of the party without any definite idea of what it stands for except that it is for Russia and new ideas that may help the workingman.

What then is the situation under the secretary's decision? We have a severe law, and a ruling applying to many thousands of persons and susceptible of working grave injustice unless the particular facts in each case—the evidence of membership—is carefully sifted and examined. In view of the indications that there are thousands of persons in the party who have no thought whatever of joining in a violent revolution to overthrow the American government by force, the department is bound to be exceedingly careful in each individual case to ascertain whether the alien knew what he was doing when he joined the party. The party being proscribed by the law, the man who is a member of it *in a real sense* must be deported. As the final arbiter the secretary has great power—it is for him to say whether a case has been made out against an alien, whether the alien is to stay here or be sent away for life. If the alien were honestly mistaken as to the character of the party that he joined, or if he had thought that the party which he had joined did not stand for force and violence, he ought not to be deported. "Mistake of fact" is a recognized defence in courts of equity. It should be recognized in deportation cases.

Therefore, Assistant Secretary Post has held that there must be full proof of knowledge in every case—knowledge on the man's part of what he was doing when he joined the party. And further, the department should assure itself that the provisions of the Constitution were enforced and the rules of evidence obeyed by the inspector. Mr. Post is not one of those who would treat the Bill of Rights as a naughty boy would treat his teacher's rules—only to be obeyed while the teacher is looking and to be disregarded as soon as his back is turned. The courts unfortunately have taken the position that it is wholly out of their province to review a deportation decision on its merits. All the courts can do, they have said, is to see that the law and regulations are duly complied with, and if there was any evidence at all on which the secretary could act, it is enough for them—the courts will not review cases on their merits. Once in a long while a judge orders a discharge, as Judge Bourquin did lately in the case of a man named Jackson, arising in Montana. But, generally speaking, our federal judges have held that the only constitutional provision to which the alien is entitled is the "due process of law" clause in the Fifth Amendment, and they have said that this is complied with if the hearings have been had in accordance with the law and regulations of the department. Congress, they say, has provided that a department of the government, by administrative procedure, shall decide whether an alien has the right to stay here, and it is not for the courts to interfere with the conclusion reached in any individual case, unless the Department of Labor has clearly transcended its authority. Hence, it is utterly misleading to say that if injustice is done in the particular case, the alien has a right to test the matter by a writ of habeas corpus. The right is generally quite valueless, for if there is any evidence at all the department may deport.

The Procedure at Washington

AFTER these Communist party raids were made, Secretary Wilson realized that something should be done to safeguard innocent persons arrested, and he ordered the following changes in the rules:

> (1) That the amendment to paragraph b, sub-division 5, of Rule 22, approved December 30, 1919, is hereby cancelled and the rule restored to read as follows:
>
> b. At the beginning of the hearing under the warrant of arrest the alien shall be allowed to inspect the warrant of arrest and all the evidence on which it was issued, and shall be apprised that he may be represented by counsel, etc.
>
> (2) Whenever an attorney advises the immigration officer in charge that he has been retained by some third person or association as counsel for the alien, the alien shall forthwith be informed of the fact and allowed to accept the counsel if he so desires.
>
> (3) Any attorney who presents himself upon his own initiative as counsel for any alien shall be denied the privilege of acting as counsel unless and until the alien expresses a desire for such counsel.
>
> (4) In every case where a hearing cannot be had immediately, the alien will be admitted to bail pending hearing.

(5) The fact that an alien refuses to testify in his own case shall not be held as ground for refusing bail.

A Typical Case

THE record of the case of Daniel Rebkowitz, as returned to the department, shows that he is a Russian, 28 years old, and that he came to Baltimore in 1913. He was given two hearings by the inspector, and the principal evidence against him was a membership list showing dues paid as a member of the Socialist party up to August, 1919. The secretary of the Communist party stated that this list contained the members of his organization and the places where the members lived, but the alien denied membership in the Communist party. Attached as exhibits to the inspector's report are a blank application for membership in the Communist party, a blank membership card, and mimeographed copies of the call issued in Chicago in July, 1919, for a convention to organize the Communist party; the program, manifesto and constitution of the party; the report of the party to the Communist Internationale party; the report of Louis C. Fraina, international secretary of the party, to the executive committee of the Communist Internationale party, seeking admission into the Internationale party; extracts from the manifesto of the Communist Internationale at Moscow, March 6, 1919, and extracts from other documents issued by the Communist party of America. There follows the report of the examination by the Department of Justice agent. Among other things he asked:

Is it true that the first Russian branch of the Socialist party of which you were a member adopted the principles of the Communist party of which Louis C. Fraina of Chicago is the international secretary?

To which the alien, through an interpreter, answered:

I do not know anything about it. . . .

Did not the Russian branch of the Socialist party adopt and approve the manifesto of the Communist Internationale held at Moscow, March 10?

No, I never read it; I cannot read or write.

What are the papers you read?

I don't know what that means.

Are you an anarchist—Communist?

I don't know what that means. . . .

Were you attached to the principles of the Communist party before you entered the United States?

No, I never belonged to any Russian party nowhere; was a peasant in my own country. . . .

By what methods does the party propose to act?

I don't know.

And finally, when asked the all-embracing question, he denies that he believes in the overthrow of the government by force.

So much for the preliminary examination by the Department of Justice agent. There follow the notes of the two hearings before the Department of Labor inspector. When the alien is told that he is entitled to a lawyer, he answers naively: "What for is a lawyer if you are innocent? . . . I would pay $50 for to get a bond, but otherwise I don't want anybody."

An answer not so reflecting on the capacity of the average attorney as showing that the man really wanted his liberty, his release on bail, so that he might see his people and keep his job—at least until the case against him were decided, even if he had to go to Russia. Before the inspector the man denied his membership in the party, although the inspector tried his best to catch him with the exhibits already referred to, and the notes of the preliminary examination conducted by the agent of the Department of Justice. To one now reading the report, the inspector seemed to have met with poor success. The man may have been lying, but who can say that he was? One thing is plain: The government did not make out its case, and positive proof of conscious, willing membership was not furnished; obviously the Department of Justice did not have it to produce, and so Acting Secretary Post, after reading the inspector's report, "cancelled" the warrant, and the man was freed.

Many of the aliens wished to go to Russia and had already applied for passports which had been refused. The State Department would not let the men go. Now the Department of Justice proposed to deport them. They, naturally, have objected to spending months in jail, and to being branded as criminals. In many cases they have wives and families in this country, from whom they do not wish to be separated.

The Truss Case

LET us close with a case that has figured in the newspapers. It was that of Thomas Truss, a Pole by birth, who was last January a "coat presser" in Baltimore making $30 a week. He came to America in 1907, was married in 1912, and has three children. He is an elder in St. Paul's Church (Polish Presbyterian), and his character, as testified to by responsible citizens, is of the best. He was arrested on January 7, by policemen, who took him to the station-house and reported that he was wanted by the Department of Justice. He was locked in a cell, and it was not until sometime next day that his wife and friends knew where he was. On January 8, while in confinement, he was examined by an agent of the Department of Justice, and his examination reduced to writing. The warrant in the case was not issued until January 9, so that at the time of his examination by the Department of Justice agent there was no legal justification for his arrest. No warning, moreover, was given to the man that what he might say would be used against him, nor was he told that he might employ counsel. Cards and other documents were seized by the agent, although no search warrant had been issued. Secretary Post under the authority of Judge Bourquin's decision holds that neither the man's oral statement, nor the documentary evidence submitted, may properly be considered to the man's detriment. It was charged by the Department of Justice agent that the man was a member of the Union of Russian Workers as well as a member of the Communist party, but the evidence shows—the file is at the department for the public to examine—that the "Russian Workers'" organization to which he belonged was an educational and mutual benefit organization, having nothing to do with governmental problems. Later this organization was merged into the Union of Russian Workers, which had anarchistic tenets, and then the alien dropped out of it. He was a member of the Socialist party.

Mr. Post says in his "memorandum":

I shall assume in this case, as I have in a large number of similar cases, that Congress intended the act of October 16, 1918, to be considered reasonably with reference to the individual knowledge and intent of persons drawn innocently into an unlawful membership.

If the act be so construed, this alien is not within the spirit of the act even if he were within its letter. In fact, however, he does not appear to be within the letter. Under the circumstances disclosed by the record he was never so much as a technical member of the proscribed Communist party; and insofar as his conduct might be supposed to confirm his ante-organization application or to bring him within the affiliation clause of the act, the circumstances of his withdrawal are conclusive.

Mr. Post further states that this Truss case "is typical of a large proportion of fully 1,000 cases" he has decided. After speaking of the procedure that was followed in many of these cases, he continues:

In a large proportion of the large number of cases I have examined there is no better reason for deportation than is disclosed in the present case. In some cases the membership is "automatic," the arrested alien having been transferred from a lawful organization to the unlawful one by vote of a group or branch of the former

(*Continued on page 157.*)

Jottings

GEORGE EISLER has retired from the directorship of the American House of Cincinnati under the Social Unit Organization, and has become field director of the American Fellowship, Inc., of Buffalo, N. Y., a cooperative effort of Americanization agencies which will be further described in the SURVEY. Mr. Eisler's successor in Cincinnati is Dr. John L. McLeish.

THE Department of Research of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston announces three paid fellowships in social-economic research offered each year to women who wish thorough preparation for such work. The fellowships carry a stipend of $500. Clerical assistance, equipment, and traveling expenses necessary for the investigation are furnished by the Department of Research. Candidates must measure up to certain specific qualifications and are expected to devote their entire time for ten months to the training given. Applications should be filed before May 1, at the headquarters, 264 Boylston street, Boston.

IF THERE is anyone who is not interested in boys, New York city will be no place for him between May first and eighth. That is to be Boys' Week and many organizations interested in boys are cooperating with the Boys' Week Committee of the Rotary Club to "interest everyone in boys and to interest boys in themselves." On Saturday there is to be a May Day parade and the following days will be boys' day in churches, boys' day in schools, boys' day in athletics, boys' day in industry, boys' day at home, boys' day to entertain and boys' day out of doors. The purpose of boys' day in schools is to emphasize the importance of staying in school, and of boys' day in industry to emphasize "the dignity of labor."

FOR the crime of distributing the Crisis, monthly organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Rev. E. R. Franklin, of Jackson, Mississippi (colored), has been condemned to six months' imprisonment and a fine of four hundred dollars. As this is the first case under a recent law of the Mississippi legislature forbidding the publication of anything that might disturb good relations between the races, it will be appealed to a higher court.

DR. FRANCIS D. PATTERSON of Philadelphia has been elected secretary of the commission appointed by Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania to investigate accidents and sickness not compensated for by the Workmen's Compensation act of Pennsylvania. The members named by the governor are: William Flinn, Pittsburgh; William Draper Lewis, Philadelphia; Dr. Francis D. Patterson, Philadelphia; Dr. G. Oram Ring, Philadelphia; William H. Kingsley, Philadelphia. The members named by the president pro tem. of the Senate are: Senators S. J. Miller, Clearfield; Morris Einstein, Allegheny; Charles W. Sones, Lycoming. Those named by the speaker of the House: William T. Ramsey, Delaware; John M. Flynn, Elk; Theodore Campbell, Philadelphia.

The Communists Deportations

(*Continued from page* 144)

and without his knowledge. In some cases he has had knowledge of the transfer but none at all of the character of the organization to which he has been transferred. In other cases he has signed applications before the existence of the unlawful organization and has never confirmed his membership by any conscious act. Sometimes an organizer or a friend has signed the application for him. As a rule, the hearings show the aliens arrested to be workingmen of good character who have never been arrested before, who are not anarchists or revolutionists, or politically or otherwise dangerous in any sense. Many of them, as in this case, have American-born children. It is pitiful to consider the hardships to which they and their families have been subjected during the past three or four months by arbitrary arrest, long detention in default of bail beyond the means of hard-working wage-earners to give, for nothing more dangerous than affiliating with friends of their own race, country and language, and without the slightest indication of sinister motive, or any unlawful act within their knowledge or intention. To permit aliens to violate the hospitality of this country by conspiring against it is something which no American can contemplate with patience. Equally impatient, however, must any patriotic American be with drastic proceedings on flimsy proof to deport aliens who are not conspiring against our laws and do not intend to. Although these are not criminal proceedings, being wholly administrative in their character, their effect upon the innocent individual who in this summary way is found to be guilty is as distressing to him and his family, to his friends and to his neighbors, as the effect of conviction for crime by regular judicial processes.

Mr. Post has kept his head clear and his heart true in the midst of an epidemic of hysteria and panic fear. When America recovers her sanity she will recognize the fidelity and courage he has shown. Nor does he at present stand alone. He is more than sustained by Judge Bourquin, speaking in the district of Montana. In the case earlier referred to, the particular alien had been bundled off to prison without a warrant being issued, and pamphlets and papers had been taken from the I. W. W. hall, and from the man's apartment, without search warrants being issued. While in custody he had been examined by a Department of Justice agent, and the notes of the examination and the papers seized were afterwards put in evidence. Judge Bourquin says that the proceedings were

unfair in that they violated the searches and seizure and due process clauses of the Constitution to the protection of which as a resident alien the petitioner is entitled. It is true there is intimation by the Supreme Court that these provisions are not applicable to aliens (see Fong vs. U. S. 149, U. S. 730), but it is only dictum. To say you shall be exposed to unreasonable searches and seizure without warrant and deprived of the due process Congress prescribes in deportation, because you are an alien, is to say you are an alien because so found upon evidence secured by unreasonable searches and seizure and in proceedings without the due process Congress has prescribed—a vicious circle and a grave danger to all, citizens as well as aliens. It invokes the age-old methods of tyranny to convict by unlawful means because you are guilty, and to condemn as guilty because you are convicted by unlawful means. It is impossible that by the dictum aforesaid the Supreme Court intends to or will sanction so dangerous and tyrannical a construction of the Constitution, virtually legalizing outrageous, cruel and horrifying raiding, mobbing and lynching like that at bar, in which both citizen and alien are sacrificed.

The Declaration of Independence, the writings of the fathers of our country, the Revolution, the Constitution and Union, all were inspired to overthrow the like government tyranny. They are yet living, vital, potential forces to safeguard all domiciled in the country, alien as well as citizen.

If evidence of the alien's evil advocacy and teaching is so wanting that it exists in only that herein and as secured herein, he is a far less danger to this country than are the parties who in violation of law and order, of humanity and justice, have brought him to deportation. They are the spirit of intolerance incarnate, and the most alarming manifestation in America today.

Thoughtful men who love this country and its institutions see more danger in them and in their practices and the government by hysteria that they stimulate, than in the miserable, baited "Reds" that are the ostensible occasion of them all. The people may confidently assume that even as the "Reds," they too in due time will pass, and the nation still live. It is for the courts to deal with both, to hold both in check when brought within jurisdiction.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

"The replies to our advertisements came from many directions and from all over the country as well as from such an intelligent, high-grade group of social workers. . . . If I had not believed before that you had such a wide circulation, I should know it from this concrete experience with your advertising columns."—K. P. H.

RATES: Display advertisements, 25 cents per agate line, 14 lines to the inch. Want advertisements, 5 cents per word or initial, including the address or box number, for each insertion, minimum charge. $1.00.

Periodicals, Current Pamphlets, see opposite page.

Address Advertising Department **THE SURVEY** 112 East 19 Street New York City

WORKERS WANTED

WANTED: Woman to take charge of girls' department. Preferably one with institution experience. Apply Hebrew Orphans Home, 12th St. and Green Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.

WANTED: Supervisor for Boys. Apply to the Hebrew Orphans Home, 12th St. and Green Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.

WANTED: Case consultant for large Jewish family agency. Work under ideal conditions. Only experts and persons of unusual training and ability need apply. State education, training, experience and salary expected. Address 3390 SURVEY.

WANTED: Cottage mother, must be Jewess; work largely supervision; good salary, congenial conditions. Superintendent, Orphanage, Fairview, Erie County, Pennsylvania.

ATTRACTIVE POSITIONS in public health nursing open. Applicants must have tact and executive ability. National Tuberculosis Association, 627 Pythian Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.

WANTED: A woman of 25 to 40 years, experienced recreational leader, to organize and superintend playgrounds and other recreation in a Canadian town of 10,000 population. Engagement May to October. Preferably a woman who can train choruses in addition to being capable of organizing. Salary the going rate. Address 3490 SURVEY.

WANTED: General assistant for small Jewish Orphanage. Apply stating qualifications to H. H. Cohen, 459 St. Lawrence Blvd., Montreal.

WANTED: Superintendent and matron for Jewish Home for the Aged of Central N. Y. located at Syracuse, N. Y. Resident. Man or woman or both. Must be competent and experienced. Position of Permanence. Address Mr. Mark Gais, President, 550 Cedar Street, Syracuse, N. Y.

WANTED: Experienced case workers and trainees for Jewish Family Agency. Splendid opportunity to do constructive work. Thorough training afforded inexperienced workers. Good salaries. Address 3492 SURVEY.

WANTED: Researcher with working knowledge of chemistry and familiar with industrial processes. Salary $2740. State full particulars. Address 3493 SURVEY.

WANTED: House mother for summer home for children in the country, near Philadelphia. Please give experience, age and references. Address Mrs. D. A. Newhall, Merion Station, Pa.

WANTED: An assistant social service worker. Nurse preferred. Apply Mrs. Charles P. Cooley, 119 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, Conn.

WANTED: An assistant Communal resident worker, in a Western city. Jewess. Must have had experience in teaching adult-aliens, formulating clubs for girls and boys. Address, with age, references, experience, salary expected. Address 3495 SURVEY.

HOUSEKEEPER to direct and teach cooking, plan meals, in a small institution for Jewish girls. Write Cedar Knolls School, Hawthorne, New York.

WANTED: Immediately, a Medical Social Worker to take charge of the Social Service Department of a Jewish Hospital. Must speak Jewish fluently. Good Salary. Address 3496 SURVEY.

SUPERINTENDENT of students in Culinary Department and teacher of some subjects in Domestic Arts. Graduate of Arts and Science preferred. Baptist Institute for Christian Workers, 1425 Snyder Ave., Philadelphia.

WANTED: A capable woman to take charge of the housekeeping of a family group in an attractive, simple house in the Berkshires, from June 15th to October 1st. Must be able to organize and purchase supplies. A pleasant vacation combined with a reasonable amount of responsibility. Personal interview required. W. L. Fleisher, 31 Union Square.

SITUATIONS WANTED

EX-CLERGYMAN and wife to take charge of Settlement or Community Work in Eastern Town or City. Long experience in Social Service Work. Address 3479 SURVEY.

POSITION as supervisor of Boys by young man with experience as assistant superintendent and in administrative work. Best of references. Address 3494 SURVEY.

COLORED LADY—teacher missionary Central America, wishes to communicate with persons interested in foreign mission work. Address 3480 SURVEY.

WANTED by experienced handicraft and Social Service Worker, opening in, or near some of the large Eastern cities. Address 3450 SURVEY.

GENTLEWOMAN, Widow, desires position as social secretary, or as chaperon for young girl. Has social and secretarial experience. Address 3497 SURVEY.

A MAN who has had long experience in Civic Organization Work in the East, particularly in connection with Improvement Associations, Good Government Clubs, Chambers of Commerce and Organized Labor, desires an opportunity for community organization on the Pacific Coast. Address 3356 SURVEY.

A SUPERINTENDENT of a New York Orphanage, seeks a field of greater usefulness; experienced in Cottage and Congregate plan. Character building and modern methods predominate. Excellent Credentials. Address 3483 SURVEY.

WANTED: By secretary of southern school, position for four months after May thirtieth, as traveling or home companion. Equipped to take entire charge of nervous case or chronic invalid. College graduate. Address 3486 SURVEY.

WANTED: By experienced social worker, position in New York City, with child-placing agency as executive or staff worker. Address 3484 SURVEY.

PLACEMENT BUREAU

For employer and employee; managing-housekeepers, governesses, mothers' helpers, secretaries, summer camps. 51 Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Mass.

TOURS

Go to Europe at our Expense A few tours to organizers of small parties. Write today for plan and programs. *UNIVERSITY TOURS, Box B. U. 420, Wilmington, Del.*

FOR SALE

We will dispose of a completely new outfit of one addressing machine (Elliott) with motor and counter attachment, 3 oak cabinets and 60 metal trays. This equipment has never been used and is in perfect condition. Cash offers only. Immediate shipment. Address 3419 SURVEY.

THE SURVEY:

"I can't begin to tell you how very satisfactory any advertising notice under your classified advertisements appeals to me. I am keeping very close track of both the workers wanted and the situations wanted. I read them over very carefully each month because it keeps me in very close touch with the demand for social service throughout the country and it is certainly quite illuminating."

Supervisor Rural Nursing Service.

THE SURVEY

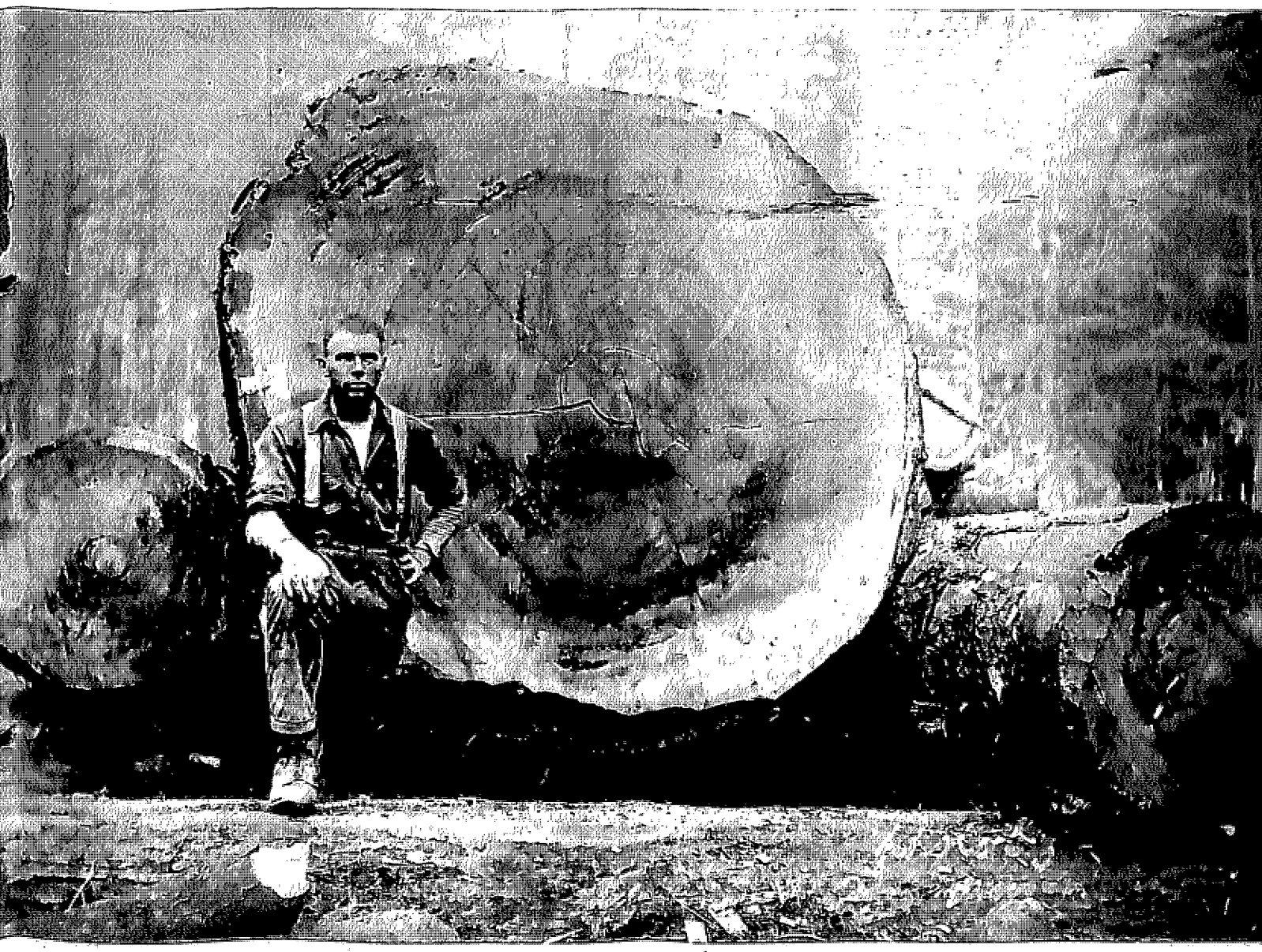
War and Peace in Rochester

Posters and Paving Stones

A Communiqué of 1920

Red Cross Salvage in the War Zone

Knowlton Mixer



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By Katherine S. Dreier

TREASURER, SOCIETÉ ANONYNE INCORPORATED

NO form of art should so reflect passing life as the poster. For the poster is a call to the people of today—not of yesterday, not of tomorrow, but of the moment. Therefore, to arrest the passing, hurrying person, the poster must sound a call either of such discord that it holds the moving masses, or with such sympathetic vibration that it causes them to pause.

The German poster before the war had practically reached the last word in achievement as an advertisement for merchandise. It was beginning to be copied by other countries, as the simplicity secured was the greatest accomplishment in this form of art.

Times have changed. The poster of the revolution and the reconstruction period had to face new problems. It had to speak to the masses, not to a chosen few. Therefore, the posters of pre-war days were not the posters to which the new government could turn in order to awaken and build up a wholesome spirit.

With the passing of the monarchy the bourgeois classes as well as the aristocracy had fallen into disfavor, for the German people felt that if the bourgeois classes, which had upheld the culture and the morale of the country, or had claimed they did, had not been so smug, so eager to enter the more privileged class of aristocrats, they would have safeguarded the old government from committing such terrible blunders as the U-boat campaign, which brought America into the war, or even the earlier one of marching through Belgium, which brought in England. These were blunders which the old government made because it was drunk with power, and which the bourgeois classes permitted in spite of the responsibility that was theirs to safeguard the nation as a whole. Therefore, in the opinion of the powers that had risen to the surface, the bourgeois classes had to be chastened and disciplined.

With the disfavor of the bourgeois classes came also the disfavor of their art. The bourgeois class in its over culture had resisted all progress of new thoughts in the arts and philosophy, and therefore their interpreters in art could not be expected to give expression to a new political spirit. Besides, it was impossible for this art to express passion; for the art of the last half of the nineteenth century in Germany was steeped in realism, and realism goes hand in hand with scepticism. No matter what subject these realists painted, whether landscapes, peasants, or working people, they painted them as subjects—from without—not, as related to themselves, from within. Therefore, it was but natural that the most dead posters were issued by the most conservative wing of the political parties of the new government, while the best were those of the most radical, for the radical painter was alive to the question of freedom. Germany turned for its new posters to the men who had brought about a bloodless revolution several years

THE YOUNG FREEDOM

A poster in red and black by Pechstein. An example of the new form of political poster, which must try to reach the masses and not just a chosen few

German Posters of the Armistice Period

THE two large posters reproduced above illustrate the popular appeal made by the national administration in the name of national unity. In red, yellow and blue the first poster, by Cesar Klein, forces attention. Workmen, cityfolk, peasants, soldiers, from all over Germany, it calls to come together in the national assembly. Opposite is a poster in red, green and black by Heinz Fuchs. It arrests the public by its discord, then holds it by the artistic balance, to "Do your duty; work."

THE four small posters at the bottom are brought out to counteract what, in the eyes of the Ebert administration, are forces for disunion, or reaction: a warning by the Socialists against the Catholic party—a purely domestic poster; peace as a motto—to be reached through public order; an anti-militaristic challenge to remember the horrors of war—and to vote "socialistic"; a warning that in the path of anarchy, only misery and destruction can follow.

before the war—the Free Sessionists, who had created a new expression in art. Pechstein, Cesar, Klein, Richter, and Heinz Fuchs were the men chosen.

It can be readily understood when one knows the inside history of the feelings of the German people why it was that official Germany turned toward the most modern German painters for the posters with which to awaken and build up a wholesome spirit. This art has a spirit of conviction amounting to a religious fervor which was necessary. It was necessary to swing the German mind from abstract speculation and discussions to facts; from chaotic sentiments to constructive actions. That they succeeded can be realized when one sees how everyday life goes on under the conditions of the mental strain of defeat and physical hardships, which would crush most of us.

One must remember that the modern movement in art in Europe is a recognized, concerted international effort, not an apparently spasmodic form of expression as here in the United States. All the various forms of modern art have been collected by German critics under the name of expressionism, for whether it is expressionism, or cubism, or futurism, it is trying to give expression from within. This movement is a protest against dead convictions which prevent the new life from breaking ground. It is, therefore an art which does not belong to preconceived ideas. The art of the past belonged to the cultured, to the old, smooth running Europe now gone. The Europe loved because of its gentleness and courtesies, its small pleasant luxuries within the means of the many; a Europe almost ready-made, so smoothly and like clock-work did life run. The art of today belongs to the people—the people in a Europe of chaos where life is full of unrest, where all sorts of forces for good and for evil have been stirred up which make life anything but the smooth-running machine of the Europe that is gone. What draws the people to this art is the instinct for the struggle for freedom.

THE PROOF OF THE POSTER

THE poster to the left, by Klein, tells its story without words—idle workers, starving children—an example of the new school of billboard appeal. The poster just above is an example of the old methods which, before the war, were regarded as the means to the last word in commercial art. It might do for the sale of coal, but does not stimulate action, as a call to work in the coal fields should.

THE SURVEY

The National Conference of Social Work at New Orleans

The Bonus Project
Edward T. Devine

Arsenal Employes' Organization
William L. Chenery

The Faith of a Social Worker . . . . *Owen R. Lovejoy*

May 8, 1920 10 Cents a Copy $4.00 a Year

Books Received

THE OPEN VISION. A STUDY OF PSYCHIC PHENOMENA. By Horatio W. Dresser. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 352 pp. Price, $2.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.20.

A PRISONER OF PENTONVILLE. By "Red Band." G. P. Putnam's Sons. 114 pp. Price, $1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.65.

SARAH AND HER DAUGHTER. By Bertha Pearl. Scott & Seltzer. 521 pp. Price, $2.25; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.45.

THE THUNDERBOLT. By G. Colmore. Thomas Seltzer. 353 pp. Price, $1.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.20.

FROM SERBIA TO JUGOSLAVIA: 1914-1918. By Gordon Gordon-Smith. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 360 pp. Price, $2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.75.

LANCELOT: A POEM. By Edwin Arlington Robinson. Thomas Seltzer. 184 pp. Price, $1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.90.

TUBERCULOSIS AND PUBLIC HEALTH. By H. Hyslop Thomson. Longmans, Green & Co. 104 pp. Price, $1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.90.

THINGS ETERNAL. By Rev. John Kelman. George H. Doran Co. 270 pp. Price, $1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.95.

ORGANIZED LABOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Frank Tracy Carlton. D. Appleton & Co. 313 pp. Price $2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.70.

THE WORKING WOMAN'S HOUSE. By A. D. Sanderson Furniss and Marion Philips. The Swarthmore Press, Ltd., London. 84 pp. Illustrated. Price, 1s. 6d.; by mail of the SURVEY, $.55.

PRIMITIVE SOCIETY. By Robert H. Lowie. Boni and Liveright. 463 pp. Price, $3.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $3.25.

BEYOND THE HORIZON. By Eugene O'Neill. Boni and Liveright. 163 pp. Price, $1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.70.

PROFIT SHARING. By A. Trombert. P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London. 94 pp. Price, 2s. 6d.; by mail of the SURVEY, $.80.

THE OLD HUMANITIES AND THE NEW SCIENCE. By Sir William Osler. Houghton Mifflin Co. 64 pp. Price, $1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.60.

A HISTORY OF THE ATLANTIC COAST LINE RAILROAD. By Howard Douglas Dozier. Houghton Mifflin Co. 197 pp. Price, $2.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.20.

A FIRST BOOK OF SCHOOL CELEBRATIONS. By F. H. Hayward. P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London. 167 pp. Price, 5s. net; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.55.

FACTORY WORK FOR GIRLS. By Margaret Hodgen. The Woman's Press. 84 pp. Price, $.85; by mail of the SURVEY, $.95.

SEX ATTRACTION. By Victor C. Vaughan. C. V. Mosby Co. 44 pp. Price, $.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $.60.

PERSONAL BEAUTY AND RACIAL BETTERMENT. By Knight Dunlap. C. V. Mosby Co. 95 pp. Price, $1.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.15.

SHAKESPEARE FOR COMMUNITY PLAYERS. By Roy Mitchell. E. P. Dutton & Co. 140 pp. Illustrated. Price, $2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.70.

WOMAN TRIUMPHANT. By V. Blasco Ibanez. E. P. Dutton & Co. 322 pp. Price, $1.90; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.15.

PROBLEMS OF LABOR. Edited by Daniel Bloomfield. The H. W. Wilson Co. 436 pp. Price, $1.80; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.00.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION. Compiled by Edith M. Phelps. The H. W. Wilson Co. 83 pp. Price, $.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $.60.

THE RACIAL PROSPECT. By Seth K. Humphrey. Charles Scribner's Sons. 261 pp. Price, $2.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.20.

THE MENACE OF IMMORALITY IN CHURCH AND STATE. By Rev. John Roach Straton. George H. Doran Co. 253 pp. Price, $1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.95.

A MODEL HOUSING LAW. By Lawrence Veiller. Russell Sage Foundation. 430 pp. Price, $4; by mail of the SURVEY, $4.25.

APT ILLUSTRATIONS FOR PUBLIC ADDRESSES. By A. Bernard Webber. George H. Doran Co. 225 pp. Price, $1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.70.

CHAPEL SERVICE BOOK. Edited by Harrington-Harris-Stevens. Abington Press. 182 pp. Price, $1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.75.

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF FRANCE IN THE AMERICAN WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE. (1776-1783). By Captain Joachim Merlant. Charles Scribner's Sons. 213 pp. Price, $2.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.25.

THE GREAT MENACE. By George Whitefield Mead. Dodd, Mead & Co. 153 pp. Price, $1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.40.

ZOOLOGY. By T. D. A. Cockerell. World Book Co. 568 pp. Illustrated. Price, $3.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $3.25.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NERVOUS CHILD. By Elida Evans. Dodd, Mead & Co. 299 pp. Price, $2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.75.

THE SURVEY

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THE SURVEY

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PRICE: *this issue, 10 cents a copy; $4 a year; foreign postage, $1.25; Canadian, 65 cents. Changes of address should be mailed us ten days in advance. When payment is by check a receipt will be sent only upon request.*

ENTERED *as second-class matter, March 25, 1909, at the post office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at a special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 26, 1918.*

OUR PRIZE CONTEST

TIME and tide wait for no man and the National Conference of Social Work has earned a place in the proverb. THE SURVEY has it on the word of a person usually reliable that the following telegram was sent by a group of social workers in one city to the secretary of the conference just before the meeting:

Delayed by railroad strike. Can conference be postponed?

So much for the story. Guess from what city these social workers come?

BOSTON AND TH SOCIALISTS

THE Socialist party of Massachusetts has recovered from the city of Boston damages for injuries sustained through the wrecking of their local headquarters by a mob of soldiers and sailors on July 1, 1917. The mob broke up the peace parade and mass meeting which the party organized with permission of the local authorities. The party and three individuals who sustained injuries sued the city of Boston. All claims were paid, the total amount received amounting to $548.91.

The Massachusetts law provides that cities shall pay damages when they fail to protect their citizens from lawlessness.

TWO DOLLARS FOR ONE

THE cost of living has increased 95 per cent since July, 1914, according to the National Industrial Conference Board, which has just completed its sixth survey of changes in the cost of living in the United States. The increase within the last twelve months is reported as 21 per cent. As in earlier reports of the Conference Board, estimates are based on information obtained from a large number of retail dealers in clothing and fuel, and from persons in close touch with the real estate situation. The figures on changes in food prices are obtained from the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM

THE case of the Rev. E. R. Franklin, colored minister of Franklin, Miss., who was sentenced for selling the Crisis, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (see the SURVEY for April 24) has led to a further exhibition of the delta state's conception of civic freedom. The lawyer employed by colored people of Jackson to defend Franklin was intimidated by a mob which threatened to lynch him. A local justice of the peace refused to tender a bond to cover the cost of appeal on the plea that Franklin would be lynched if released. In re-

Cassel in the New York Evening World

"SEEING RED"

BETWEEN April 30 and May 2, the May day revolution discovered by the attorney-general made its sudden appearance and was forcefully quelled—in newspaper headlines. "Nation-Wide Plot to Kill High Officials on Red May Day Revealed by Palmer; Plotters Acting with Radicals Abroad; Men on Death List Warned; General Strike Proposed," announced one metropolitan daily in dignified type. This on the last day of April. On the morning after May day: "Plot for Red May Day Revolt Fails; No Rioting, Few Arrests or Strikes; All Demonstrations are Peaceable," the same newspaper remarked, with no less dignity.

ply to a request by the association for legal protection, H. H. Casteel, acting governor, wired on April 21:

Rev. E. R. Franklin was given five months' sentence on county farm and fine of four hundred dollars for distributing copies of Crisis, in the pages of which was advocacy of social equality and intermarriage between races. The mildness of his sentence was because of his ignorance. If the editors of this sheet would visit Mississippi we would make an example of them that would be a lasting benefit to the colored people of the South and would not soon be forgotten.

He did not answer the request of the association to protect the lawyer retained to appeal the case. The association and the editor of Crisis deny that intermarriage has been advocated anywhere in its pages.

MR. POST'S "TRIAL"

ABANDONMENT of the investigation of Louis F. Post, assistant secretary of labor, and of plans for his impeachment are in direct line with predictions of Mr. Post's supporters, whose belief throughout has been that the "trial" would be summarily ended. For they believed it would become apparent not only that there was insufficient evidence on which to proceed, but that examination of the cases of those aliens toward whom Mr. Post is accused of having undue leniency would in fact only redound to the discredit of the Department of Justice and its methods of procedure.

Members of the Rules Committee, to which the Hoch resolution, introduced in Congress on April 15, calling for Mr. Post's impeachment on the ground that he had exhibited unwarranted leniency toward dangerous aliens, was referred, are quoted as saying that the cost and delay in impeachment proceedings would probably prevent a recommendation that this drastic course be taken. In its place some other resolution condemning Mr. Post for his alleged activities on behalf of the enemies of the United States will probably be substituted.

This action comes in spite of the fact that the Hoch resolution apparently had the whole-hearted sympathy and thorough endorsement of the House Immigration and Rules Committees. It is significant that a resolution dealing strictly with matters pertaining to immigration was referred not to the Immigration but to the Rules Committee, which has far greater latitude in formulating rules of procedure.

INFLUENCE ON MOVIE MANAGERS

MAURICE MAETERLINCK says: "Americans do not esteem the really great art of the movies. I think the moving picture is a great and truly artistic means of interpreting life." Efforts to educate the American public to appreciate the art in a good picture are not conditioned by the existence of a state censorship or its absence but by creating a demand for films that are artistically, morally and dramatically desirable, thus forcing the big producers to release films of that kind. It is interesting that one of the first large concerted action in this direction comes from the home state of the moving picture, California. Under the Department of the Photo Play of the Council of the Co-Related Arts of the Women's Auxiliary of the Palace of Fine Arts, San Francisco, augmented by delegates from the San Francisco center of the California Civic League, the city and county federations of women's clubs and other interested groups, a committee has been formed to create public opinion for good pictures. Affiliated with the National Board of Review, this committee will recommend lists of its own. Through local women's clubs, schools, settlements, churches and the press it hopes to arouse public responsibility in this matter and to gain generous support for the exhibitors who show good films, thus determining the type of pictures presented by the influence on box office receipts. This movement has also taken root in outlying cities.

CITIZEN COMMUNISTS

THE conviction of James Larkin, the Irish Communist-Labor leader who has been in this country since 1914, ends an important trio of Communist trials in New York state. Benjamin Gitlow, James Larkin and Harry Winitsky, indicted last fall for having violated the state criminal anarchy statute, the first two for participation in the publishing, selling and circulating of the manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist party, and Winitsky for being an officer of the Communist party, have now all been pronounced guilty, and have received the maximum penalty of from five to ten years' imprisonment. Gitlow is already serving his sentence in Sing Sing Prison. Both he and Winitsky have appealed their cases.

Winitsky's conviction is particularly significant because he is an American citizen and the first citizen in the state to be convicted solely because of membership in the Communist party. Gitlow's case was complicated by other activities, while Larkin is not a citizen. Winitsky's conviction may mean that any citizen who is a member of either of the communist parties is liable to prosecution under the clause in the state criminal anarchy law, which makes it a felony to hold membership in an organization which advocates the overthrow of the government by violence. Following the court's decision in the Winitsky case, the assistant district attorney was quoted broadcast as saying that in his opinion the 10,000 communists in New York city are all now liable to prosecution under the state statute. The New York Call, however, argues that Winitsky's conviction does not establish a precedent which would apply indiscriminately to all members of the Communist and Communist Labor parties, since in addition to mere membership, he was charged with being an officer who helped to frame its manifesto.

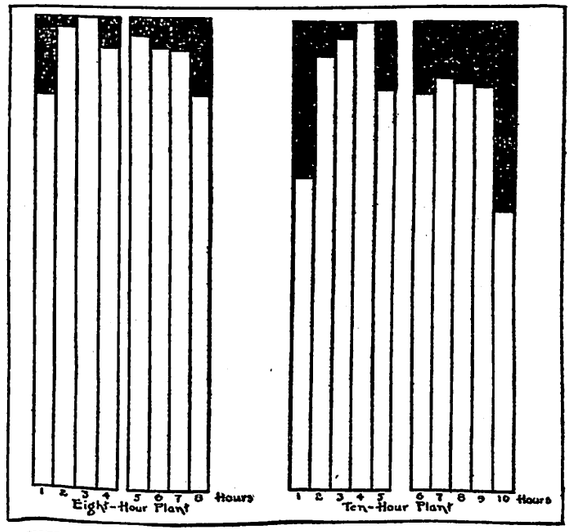
James Larkin, who conducted his own case, frankly admitted his connection with the Communist Labor party, but based his defense on the contention that the party did not advocate force and violence.

THE PRODUCTIVE WORKING DAY

THAT the eight-hour day is more productive than the longer working day has been the assertion of reformers and others since the period of Robert Owen. But despite Owen's reports in his day and Henry Ford's experiment at the present time, few have believed in the higher productivity of the shorter day. Arithmetic and human physiology have seemed to be at war and as most of us know something of arithmetic and nothing of physiology our minds have not been convinced that men actually do more work in eight hours than in twelve. This state of affairs was interestingly revealed at the International Labor Conference where some of the labor delegates seemed to hesitate to urge the shorter day on the basis of its great productivity. Such incredulity is of course all but universal in other classes.

For this reason among others the report on a comparison of an eight-hour plant and a ten-hour plant which has just been published by the United States Public Health Service is tremendously important.

The work fortunately has been performed with a scrupulous regard for scientific niceties. The investigation was made by Dr. Philip Sargent Florence and others acting under the general direction of Prof. Frederic S. Lee of Columbia University. Josephine Goldmark and Mary D. Hopkins wrote the report. The work involved detailed comparisons of similar processes in two different factories. A number of conclusions were obtained. This significant general statement is made:



MAINTENANCE OF OUTPUT IN AN EIGHT-HOUR AND TEN-HOUR PLANT
The black space in each column shows how far each hour falls short of maximum efficiency.

FINDINGS OF THE UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE STUDY OF THE SHORTER WORKING DAY

I. RELATIVE EFFICIENCY OF THE EIGHT-HOUR AND THE TEN-HOUR SYSTEMS AS IN OPERATION AT THE TWO PLANTS STUDIED.

A comparison of the 8-hour and the 10-hour systems leads to the conclusion that the 8-hour system is the more efficient. This is evidenced by:

1. *Maintenance of output.*—The day shift: The outstanding feature of the 8-hour system is steady maintenance of output. The outstanding feature of the 10-hour system is the decline of output.

2. *Lost time.*—Under the 8-hour system work with almost full power begins and ends approximately on schedule, and lost time is reduced to a minimum. Under the 10-hour system work ceases regularly before the end of the spell and lost time is frequent.

3. *Stereotyped or restricted output.*—Under the 10-hour system artificial limitation of output is widely prevalent. Under the 8-hour system output varies more nearly according to individual capacity.

4. *Industrial accidents.*

(*a*) In the absence of fatigue, accidents vary directly with speed of production owing to increased exposure to risk.

(*b*) The breaking up of this regular variation by fatigue is indicated by
  (1) The rise of accidents with the fall of output;
  (2) The disproportionate rise of accidents with the rise of output and the absence of a proportionate fall of accidents with the fall of output in the final hours of the day.

(*c*) The importance of fatigue in the causation of accidents is emphasized by the fact that the higher accident risk accompanies the deeper decline of working capacity
  (1) In the second spell as compared with the first;
  (2) In muscular work as compared with dexterous and machine work;
  (3) At the 10-hour plant as compared with the 8-hour plant.

(*d*) The level of the accident rate varies inversely with the experience of the workers.

II. GENERAL DATA

1. *The night shift.*—Under the 10-hour system a 12-hour night shift is the rule. The chief characteristics of the 12-hour night shift are the abrupt fall of output in the last two hours and the progressive slowing in rate of production during the night.

2. *Labor turnover.*—

(*a*) Labor turnover is directly associated with distasteful working conditions, such as long hours, low wages, and undesirable physical surroundings. It is lowered by systematic effort to improve conditions and fit the workers to their jobs.

(*b*) Turnover is highest among new employes.

3. *The effects of rest.*—

(*a*) Recesses.

(1) *Effect on total daily production.*—Varying results follow the introduction of 10-minute recesses in the middle of the morning and afternoon spells. With some workers the loss of time is not made good and output falls; with others the acceleration due to the recess exactly balances the loss of time and output remains the same. In 12 out of 16 operations studied there was an average increase of production after the introduction of recesses. In operations having two periods of trial the gain in the second period was, on the average, five times greater than in the first.

(2) *Effect on hourly rate of production.*—Recesses usually lead to a rise in the rate of production in the hours immediately following as compared with the hours immediately preceding the recess.

(*b*) Holidays.—Holidays cause an increase in output.

4. *Rhythm in industry.*—In certain machine operations, notably in lathe work, output is maintained at an even level, instead of falling in the final hours of work. This peculiarity may in large part be explained by the phenomenon of rhythm to which lathe work is highly amenable.

The difference between the sustained concentration of the workers at the eight-hour plant and the declining capacity of those at the ten-hour plant is seen at its height on the twelve-hour night shift, in the frank abandonment of work in the last hour and its gradual subsidence several hours earlier. That it is the greater length of hours rather than the difference of management which accounts for lessened output at the ten-hour plant is strikingly evidenced by the contrast between the night and day shift at the same factory. . . . At night on a twelve-hour instead of a ten-hour schedule we have reactions on the part of the workers to the longer hours closely resembling their reactions to a ten-hour as compared with an eight-hour schedule.

Such is the verdict on the basis of this study. The case, of course, will not rest there. Other investigations must be made not only to obtain fresh evidence on the fundamental question of production and the shorter day, but also because of the need for light on the vast number of other questions brought forward by a scientific inquiry of this nature. There must be more and more knowledge of how men's energies may be most profitably expended for industry, for themselves and for society. In particular the question of the eight-hour day should be removed, as so well it can be, from the realm of scientific doubt. It is ridiculous in this year of grace to have even social reformers and labor leaders express somewhat furtive uncertainty concerning the validity of their own claims for the short day. Yet this situation is constantly revealed when the matter is under serious discussion. The Public Health Service inquiry should help to dispel that lingering doubt.

Effectually moreover have the experts assembled by the Public Health Service envisaged their opportunity, as the following quotation shows:

The era of general impressionistic presentation of economic and social problems has done its work. That complexities of maladjustment exist, that all the ingenuities of human invention must be expended upon them, need no longer be contended. The new era opening for social and economic progress is now to bring to bear upon these intricate problems the finest powers of science, focussing upon the several elements, among which health is of first importance, integrating them and relating them to a large view of society. "To humanize working conditions, to reassert the value of the individual, to study all ways of releasing in work the best energies of the worker instead of as now prodigally wasting them, this should be the practical role of science in industry. And it is as a contribution to this new era of intensive study devoted to large ends that this report has been aimed.

JEAN LONGUET

THE French socialist and labor leader to whom the State Department has refused permission to visit the United States was not only permitted at different times during the war to visit England and address important international labor conferences in that country, but he was the spokesman of the pro-Ally labor group who called on President Wilson upon his arrival in France for the peace conference. Longuet voiced the enthusiasm of the French workers for the principles of international morality, of which the President at that time was the principal spokesman.

In 1916, as founder and editor of Le Populaire, Longuet organized the forces of pacifist labor in France in opposition to the pro-war policy of the majority led by Renaudel. At the Nottingham conference of the British Labor party, in January, 1918, and again at the inter-Allied labor conference the following month, both swung in behind British Labor's war aims program, which was in close accord with President Wilson's pronouncements.

At the inter-Allied conference in September, 1918, Longuet, waiving on behalf of the left wing of the French Socialist party, of which he was the leader, a previous resolution of unqualified condemnation for Allied intervention in Russia, was willing to subscribe to the majority resolution on Russia originally presented by Emilé Vandervelde, of Belgium, which expressed, as he understood it, sympathy with all the socialist and revolutionary parties in Russia, irrespective of the division among them. On this occasion again he emphasized the principle of self-determination for all peoples. He remained the recognized defender of the Soviet government in France. At a party election in 1918, on the strength of his program of non-intervention in Russia, Longuet carried with him a large majority and became the leader of the new central majority, the "néo-majoritaires," leaving on the one side a very small minority of the conservative and pro-war members of the party, and on the other a somewhat larger minority which demanded immediate adhesion to the new Moscow Internationale. Since then this central group, under the force of circumstances, has moved more towards the right, endeavoring to keep the party together by not advancing too definite a domestic program but on the other hand working for "reconstruction" of the old Socialist Internationale. In connection with the abortive preparations for the Prinkipo conference, early in 1919, Longuet still figured as the official spokesman for the Russian soviet government in France. At the same time, he has been sharply criticised by Lenine for his undecided tactics in regard to the adoption of Bolshevist principles in French politics. In the last few months, extreme socialists both here and in Europe have pictured Longuet to the world as more or less a renegade, with his eye to power in French politics by assuming a more and more conservative attitude. The truth of the matter is that Longuet, brought up in England during the exile of his father, has always been more in sympathy with the politically minded British socialists than with the extreme French industrialists, though he was for a time their leader against the pro-war faction. In this connection it is interesting to recall that Georges Clémenceau was his godfather, and that in the days of the latter's more radical views no one was more welcome at the house of "Uncle Georges" than Jean Longuet.

To the American Socialist press—which makes much of the fact that the prize fighter Carpentier was admitted a few weeks ago, while for the visit of the labor leader no "meritorious necessity" was held to exist—the exclusion of Longuet has strengthened the conviction of Socialists in this country that the present interpretation of war-time regulations by the government is directed not against criminal anarchism, but against every manifestation of anti-capitalist sentiment.

THE SEARCHLIGHT

THE Searchlight which began life some four years ago as the Searchlight on Congress has become a full fledged monthly magazine. Until a few weeks ago it was the organ of the National Voters' League: as such it was an invaluable commentary on Congress. Lynn Haines, who as secretary of the National Voters' League assembled the records of members of Congress focused through his publication genuine information on national legislation and legislators. The dual task of editor and observer would, however, have been too great for any one less indefatigible than Mr. Haines. It is interesting that his efforts should be given the support of the able staff which has been assembled. The editors include Henry Raymond Mussey, until recently managing editor of the Nation, Mabel H. B. Mussey, Lincoln Colcord, Basil M. Manly, Western Starr, and Harry A. Slattery. The need for a first rate magazine devoted to interpreting affairs at Washington has long been felt. A genuine opportunity is therefore at hand. That the Searchlight means to meet the situation is indicated by the fact that in the near future it expects to become a weekly.

THE MEXICAN LABOR PARTY

A MEXICAN Labor party has been organized and is throwing its strength into the presidential campaign in support of Obregon, according to information secured from Mexico by a representative of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The Labor party, under the name of Partido Laborista Mexicano, was formed at a national convention held in the city of Zacatecas March 1-9, 1920. Nineteen of the twenty-seven states of Mexico were represented. The delegates were members of the Mexican Federation of Labor (Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana), and Luis N. Marones, former head of the labor federation, was elected general secretary of the party. The party pledged itself to the support of the labor federation and to the carrying out in the political field of the federation's program. The party is organized in national, state, electoral district and municipal units, with subcommittees for small towns.

Like the labor federation, the Labor party is composed of both city workers and farm laborers, and one of the most important resolutions of the convention deals with the land problem. It calls for allotment of the land, namely, subdivision among the laborers of the large estates, as a basis for the welfare of the farm workers and society in general. Other measures favored by the Labor party are as follows:

The establishment of national experimental granges; the free use of irrigation projects, as against privileges and concessions to large landowners and corporations.

The establishment of vocational and mechanical schools and shops. The prevention of unjustifiable closing of shops and factories.

The establishment of elementary schools for adults all over the republic in order to decrease the percentage of illiterates, especially in the rural districts and small towns.

Effective enforcement of the labor laws.

Autonomy of state and municipal government.

The education of women, so that they may exercise citizenship rights on an equality with men, and so that they may be in a position to help in the solution of the problems that affect national life.

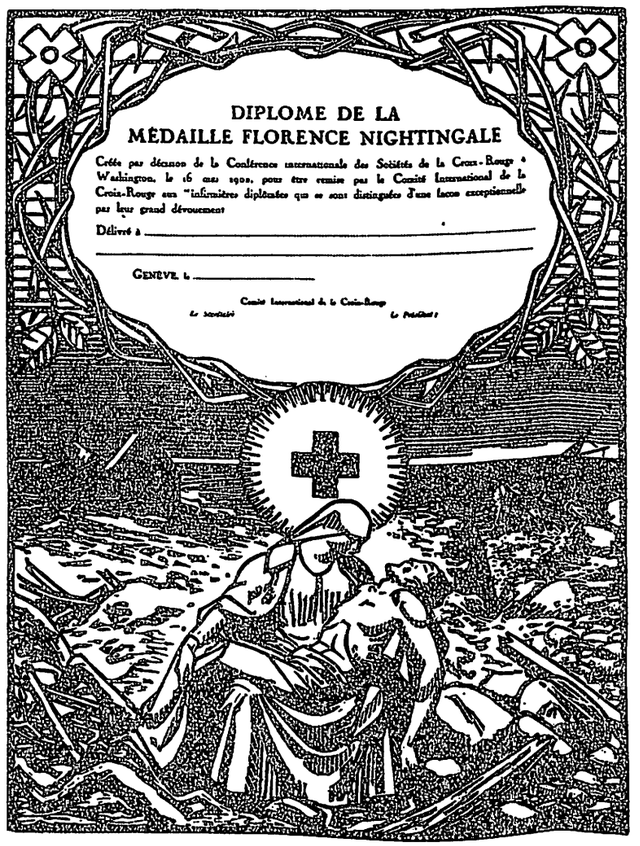
Regulation of the manufacture, sale and use of alcoholic beverages, in order to curb drunkenness.

With regard to the present political campaign the Labor party expressed itself as follows:

As it appears that preparations are being made to defraud the people of their right to express their free will during the coming national elections (July, 1920), if it be necessary the Labor party will employ all of its moral and material strength to prevent the hopes of the working people from being defrauded in the coming political struggle.

Efforts to prevent a free election are being made by Carranza, Mexican labor charges. Up to five months ago Carranza had the support of labor. Within that time, however, it is stated that he has attempted to force upon the country as his successor Ignacio Bonillas, former ambassador to the United States. Bonillas is opposed by labor on the ground that he has been in Mexico but little and that he is ignorant of Mexican problems and Mexican aspirations. A second candidate is Pablo Gonzales, who is regarded by the Labor party as the choice of the capitalists. The third candidate is Alvaro Obregon. Laborites believe that Obregon has the masses of the Mexican people behind him, and he has done nothing to antagonize labor. Therefore the Labor party is supporting Obregon. The present conflict in Sonora was precipitated, according to accounts from Mexican labor sources, by Carranza's attempt to send 10,000 federal troops into the state, against the protest of the governor and the legislature. It was believed that Carranza's intention was to remove the governor of Sonora and put in a military governor of his own choosing, as he had done in six other states, and that his ultimate purpose was to prevent free elections in these states. So it comes about that the Labor party is supporting the revolution against Carranza.

The Florence Nightingale Centennial Year



Facsimile of the diploma to accompany the Florence Nightingale Medal established by the International Red Cross at the Washington conference in 1902. This medal is to be awarded by the International Committee to graduate nurses distinguished by some exceptional act of devotion.

MAY 12 is the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Florence Nightingale. On that day between four and five hundred hospital training schools and nursing associations in the United States will celebrate the event. Generally this celebration will be made the occasion for active recruiting of nurses in training. It will be an opportune time to bring to public attention the progress in nursing since her time, the remarkable improvement in hospital administration, the advance in the educational standards of the training schools and the extraordinary development of the public health nursing movement.

THE Central Council for Nursing Education, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, offers a prize of $500 for the best play of three or four acts by an American author based on incidents in the life of Florence Nightingale. Mrs. Fiske and Modjeska are members of the committee to judge the manuscripts.

The Bonus Project

AMERICAN soldiers of the great war have any number of just grievances—most of which they will do well to forget as quickly as possible. Their undelivered mail in France, the misdirected allotments deducted from their pay, the allowances which their families did not get or obtained only after exasperating delays, the inevitably unequal distribution of honors, the fickleness of popularity—all these are closed chapters, like those which deal with the cootie, the mud, the minor hardships of the campaign.

It is not so easy to overlook any failures in the administration of the compensation and insurance features of the War Risk Insurance Act, for these affect the welfare of ex-service men and their families indefinitely. It was reassuring to learn a few weeks ago—on March 15, 1920, to be exact—from the director of the War Risk Bureau that its insurance division was "virtually at the end of its period of congestion and consequent dissatisfaction and vexatious delays." It was high time. It is understood that about three-fourths of the forty billion dollars' worth of insurance taken by the soldiers has been allowed to lapse—safe and inexpensive as that insurance is. Whether this is because of natural irritation on account of their previous experiences with the bureau or because of the "congestion and consequent dissatisfaction" to which Mr. Cholmeley-Jones refers; or because of the lack of early and appropriate educational publicity as to the value of the insurance; or merely because young men are naturally careless and fail to appreciate future values as compared with present costs, might be difficult to decide.

Still less forgiveable are the delays and disappointments in the vocational training of the disabled soldiers who in this respect are the special charge of the Federal Board of Vocational Education. The sweeping charges made among others by the New York Evening Post and earlier by the American Legion Weekly are now under official investigation by Congress and it is reasonable to await the result. That there are grievances here, however, as well as in the earlier operations of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, is not open to question.

It must be recalled also that the widely discussed land settlement scheme which Secretary Lane sponsored a year ago was not enacted into law by Congress. Efforts made by the Department of the Interior, without this legislation, to interest ex-service men in reclamation lands in California and Oregon have resulted "in expensive disappointments to many homestead aspirants." The American Legion has felt it necessary to send out a service bulletin intimating that while there is much land open to entry the number of desirable homesteads available is very limited, and that in practice it is squatters and not soldiers who get the preference in securing a title to these few.

More serious if less tangible than any of these complaints is the large outstanding fact that thus far our stupendous national effort to reverse a famous and much criticized formula of President Wilson for other belligerents, has brought victory without peace. Our war, vast and costly as it was, and majestic as was our triumph, did not end all wars even for the time being; it did not make the world or even our own particular part of it safe for democracy, although it ended the particular menace against which we fought.

Increased bitterness and violence in domestic labor disputes; a new arrogance in industrial corporations; the misuse of war powers for purposes having no relation to the war; reactionary legislation at Washington and state capitols; a government divided against itself and as a result unable to make peace or to promote international cooperation, or to reduce national expenditures to a normal basis; mounting cost of living, with continued inflation of the currency by the treasury; silly and futile talk about profiteers and about red agitators by the Department of Justice which is found to have no basis and no useful result—these and such things as these are what follow our great war instead of the security, peace, good-will and democracy for which our boys dropped all the plans of their youth and went into uniform at their country's demand.

There is no occasion for surprise in all this. War naturally leaves behind it a long series of calamities. It cannot well be otherwise. This is why we were justified in remaining neutral as long as we could. Hatred, suspicion, unrest, feverish weakness, nervous jumpiness, speculation, disillusionment—such are the natural fruits of war. Nonetheless they are bitter, and each time they are a bitter disappointment. The greatest grievance of the soldier, then, is one which he will seldom voice, of which he is not the only or perhaps the worst victim, but which becomes a part of the necessary air he breathes—the disillusionment of the time after the war; the discrepancy between the high idealism for the motives of the war as they were expounded and the realities of the wretched peace which even our senate will not approve, and which is condemned even more strongly by many who criticize the senate's action than by the senators themselves.

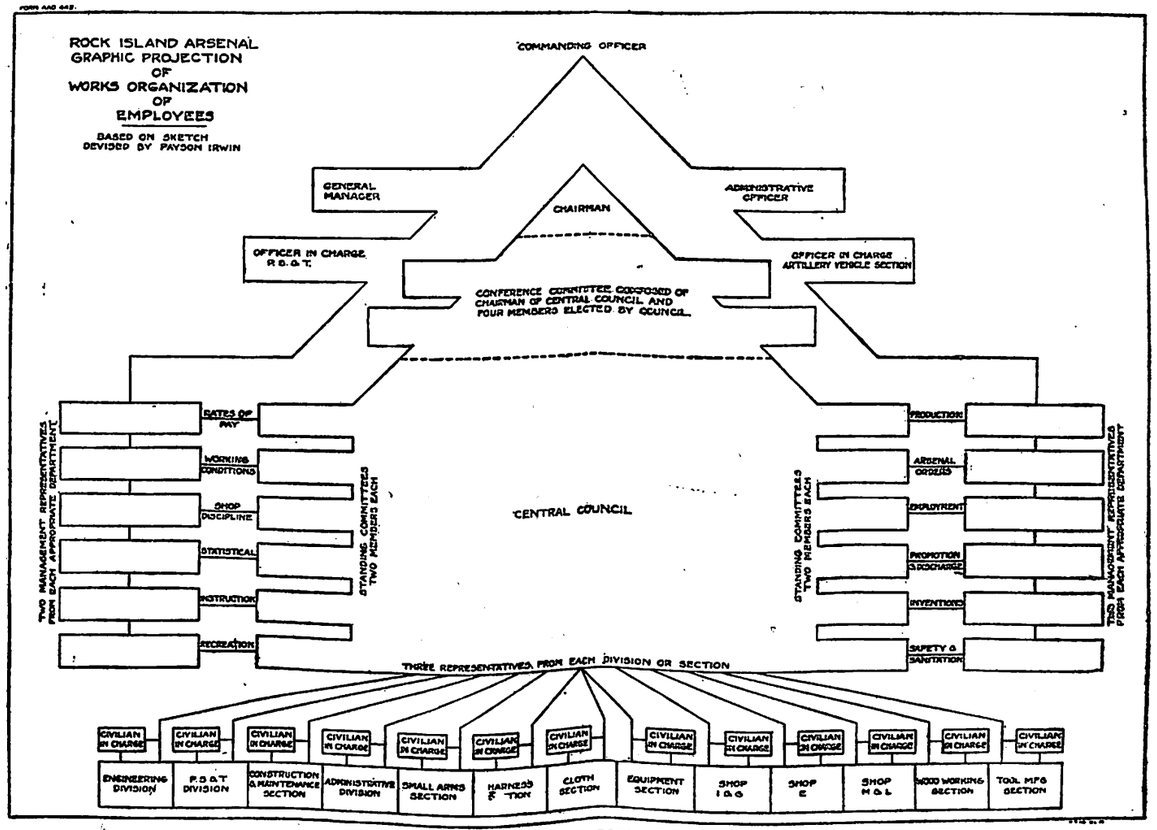
It is in the light of these just complaints, grievances and disappointments, and in view of the very unequal and often unexpected effects of the war experiences as a whole on the nearly five million men who were under arms, that the demand has taken form for a further adjustment of the claims of soldiers, for what may not unfairly be called deferred compensation, not so much for their actual fighting services as for the interruptions, forced readjustments and disappointments incident to the service and to reestablishment in civil life. It is not as a reward for soldiering, but as an aid in reinstatement after the soldiering is over, that the demand for a bonus arises.

The demand is not without precedent elsewhere. Canada had spent nearly $150,000,000 in war service gratuities by the end of 1919, in addition to more liberal pension laws than exist in any other country, a system of loans to aid in land settlement, and reeducation of able bodied as well as disabled soldiers. The gratuity is indeed less than a substantial section of the Canadian ex-soldiers demand. A violent controversy arose last autumn over a demand for an additional flat bonus of $2000 for each man who served in France, but the government resisted this demand and the acting prime minister has recently renewed this refusal, saying that this is an inopportune time to place any such financial burden upon the Dominion.

Several American states have on their own account made grants to soldiers. Wisconsin, for example, appropriated $15,000,000 to be distributed on the basis of length of service for a bonus as "an expression of its gratitude for a great service nobly done," and in addition has provided for an educational bonus of $30 a month while in attendance at an educational institution. Colorado, New York, Minnesota, Oregon, Washington and North Dakota were among the early states to supplement the nation's compensation to soldiers. Such state legislation has most frequently, although not exclusively, taken the form of educational provision for able-bodied discharged soldiers—leaving to the Federal Government the full responsibility which it had rightly assumed for the disabled.

The Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives has now reported a bill substantially on the lines recommended by the American Legion. As outlined in the New York Times of May 1, it provides for a cash bonus, but the eligible candidate—of whom there are approximately 3,750,000—may elect instead (1) aid in buying a home or a farm; (2) paid up endowment insurance; (3) vocational training, or (4) land settlement privileges. The cash bonus is $1.25 for each day's service after sixty days. Each of the other three benefits are the equivalent of $1.75 a day. The bonus is allowed for any military or naval service, with specified exceptions, between April 6, 1917, and January 1, 1920—a maximum of one thousand days. Officers above the grade of captain in the army, civilian employes, and contract surgeons are among those excluded; men dishonorably discharged, conscientious objectors and those who were granted farm or industrial furloughs are ineligible.

The insurance benefit provides a payment after twenty



WORKS' ORGANIZATION PLAN, ROCK ISLAND ARSENAL

ing the ten months' life of this systematic attempt to secure orders from other governmental departments, Mr. Irwin reports that many interesting, satisfactory and even brilliant results have been shown. He also states, however, that these ten months have brought into sharp focus the need for a much more careful analysis of the manufacturing problems presented in the attempt to find articles possible to manufacture in arsenals which were designed for highly specialized war production. The failure to estimate adequately the importance of production problems and the necessity for making clear in the minds of ordnance officials the extent to which military establishments were to be changed from their specialized duties have, it is stated, been the principal underlying causes on the technical, if not on the human side, of the various storms, which have blown about Arsenal Orders.

The arsenal employes' representatives at Washington acted in cooperation with a representative of the Ordnance Department. Until the January rumpus Captain Otto S. Beyer, Jr., an engineer, was that representative. Captain Beyer, prior to the war was, however, a civilian and not an army officer. His relationship with the employes' spokesmen at Washington was cordial. Because of the necessity for economy, or for some other reason, Captain Beyer was released and one of the permanent officers in the Ordnance Department was assigned to cooperate with the employes' representatives in soliciting work for the arsenals. It was over this change that the row began. The employes' representatives felt that they should be consulted concerning the appointment of the officer with whom they must cooperate. They said that Captain Beyer was notably qualified for this work while his successors might not be. The matter was fought through as only such affairs can be in Washington. Finally it reached the secretary of war.

Unfortunately the controversy between the chief of ordnance and the employes' representatives had got into such a snarl that the question which the secretary of war had forced upon him was a simple one, whether the chief of ordnance had the right to appoint his own representatives. Secretary Baker supported the chief of ordnance. The law probably left him little choice.

Once a fight had been made over the Arsenal Orders branch, the conflict continued. The further question of how much work the arsenals ought to do for other departments was brought up. This question was raised both by the inevitable objection of private manufacturers to governmental competition and to the reported feeling on the part of some of the ordnance officers that arsenals ought to be used exclusively for military purposes. The secretary of war made no statement on the subject, but it was reported that his recent trip to Rock Island was made in the effort to discover how much civilian work the arsenal could undertake without modifying its military character. When Secretary Baker returned to Washington on April 4 he was quoted as saying that the works' council was operating satisfactorily. No announcement was made, however, as to the future of the Arsenal Orders branch.

That will undoubtedly be settled by Congress. For by giving or withholding appropriations Congress can determine the kind of development which will be permitted at Rock Island and elsewhere. So far the matter is in abeyance. What is done will depend on the public opinion which moves Congress.

The Faith of a Social Worker

Owen R. Lovejoy

PRESIDENT, FORTY-EIGHTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

UNDERNEATH the sedate lid of the sessions of the National Conference of Social Work, meeting at New Orleans, there were boilings of dramatic personal episode. At Atlantic City a year ago, after Owen R. Lovejoy was nominated for the presidency, a cross fire of criticism was levelled at him. The immediate cause lay in a letter that he had written to Eugene Debs in prison—a letter that had its counterpart in the one which that other friend of the children, Eugene Field, had written to Debs at the time of his incarceration following the railroad strike of the nineties.

There were delegates who in all genuineness broke with Lovejoy's views and with his spontaneous act of friendship as incompatible with the presidency of the National Conference; but there were others who used it as a handy implement to lay across the back of the progressives of the conference. Officers of the New York, Illinois and Pennsylvania state boards of charities were of these and it looked as if a general effort would be made to get public officials to cut the conference. They were not, however, to be so stampeded and few governors followed the example of one in prohibiting the payment of conference expenses to delegates who hitherto had come as a matter of public service. The matter cropped up next at New Orleans. In the weeks just preceding the conference, the Debs-Lovejoy letter was circulated locally, and an effort made to get the Catholic archbishop of a city which is predominantly Catholic to refuse his sanction to the gathering.

Leaving the ministry years ago to secure greater freedom for service, Lovejoy had thrown himself into the child labor movement, democratizing it and building it up from a small committee in New York to a national membership of 17,000, fighting out in legislature after legislature and at the national capital the cause of the children. Similarly, the same ardent spirit that led him to extend a hand to Eugene Debs in prison led him this last year as a citizen to join with the Protestant Friends of Irish Freedom. Now all these things returned upon him no less than his letter to Debs, and messages by the score, by post and telegram, reached down to the conference city of New Orleans—from Protestant and Jew, from Catholic laymen and priest and bishops high in the hierarchy. Here was a man who had fought for a decade against mill interests reckless of childhood. Was the city of New Orleans and the Catholic church to play into their hands? Here was a man who stood up for justice to the Irish people. Was he to be punished for that under the guise of some other reason? Here was a man who had stood for his convictions and for tolerance to other people's convictions. Was the conference and the church to pass on the other side? Those who broke with Lovejoy on some of the things he stood for were some of the most robust champions of the man and the principles at stake on this occasion.

The conference opened with the Catholic archbishop of New Orleans as a leading speaker the opening night. New Orleans and the South were represented as never before. Many public agencies were represented. The all-winter work that Lovejoy had put in to build up attendance and clear the conference debt in the face of opposition won out. The message they listened to in the president's address was drawn from thirteen years' experience as a preacher; thirteen years as a social worker—the message of a man who stuck to his principles. It is here published in full.—THE EDITOR.

IT has seemed to me that an attempt to take stock of our social philosophy—of the foundations of our belief—might aid in our approach to the discussions of this conference. Let me first disclaim any intention of committing the conference itself, or any member of it, to any specific creed of social service. My desire on the other hand is to discover some of those underlying principles which bind people together — however widely they diverge on specific issues in these feverish days.

There must be some real basis of union. For years I have pondered the question what it is—amid the varying beliefs and dissensions of time that has held the adherence of all the creeds and organizations and institutions and millions of individuals and that has furnished the impetus for their endeavor, so that they have had and still have some working point of contact. I have come to the conclusion which I wish to present here, that by whatever name men call it or even if they refuse to name it—it is the belief in human improvableness and a willingness to tackle the job.

If we are to be of service to humanity we must attempt to understand people. What is their philosophy of life? What is the working formula of their thought? How can we make a vital contact so as to speak to them in their own native tongue? Their mental attitudes and beliefs must be studied with sympathetic consideration because this is the very basis of communication. We must know where a man's mind lives —what it feeds on—if we are to attempt to render him service. If we are to be useful to a community we must understand its psychology.

There is danger that highly trained young people coming into a community from their special courses of study in the technique of what is professionally known as "social work" may feel aloof from the somewhat simple customs and mental processes of the local people; may consider their institutions archaic and their beliefs humorous. Rest assured that these are the very facts about a community that we need to know. These institutions to which they adhere so closely and those beliefs which are the stimuli of their activities must be sympathetically studied, for precisely there we shall find the working capital available for social investment. This is the community life. We shall make no progress without a humble attempt to understand its basic enthusiasms.

This is not any attempt to fit these loyalties and stimuli into any of the formal creeds. Conventional creeds seem to find little place in the mental equipment of many of us, and people who appear to be rendering the highest kind of social service are often accused of being irreligious. Perhaps this is because such people regard a creed as a goal to be approached as life grows rather than a mental hitching-post to prevent growth. But social workers are certainly not indifferent to a philosophy of life. They seem to me to believe some things profoundly. Many show a disposition to back up their faith by great sacrifice of personal interest or advantage. To them faith is not a refuge from storm, but the log-book of a going concern—a sort of unconscious social pragmatism. It is this log-book which it is our duty to study, for this is also that underlying principle that we have termed the basic enthusiasm of a community.

Myriads of people deny any religious faith whatever. But my point is that, whatever a man may say with his tongue or whatever he may think he thinks in denial of any religious faith, if we find him keen in the service of humanity and everlastingly on the job, we are bound to claim him as of that apostolic succession of which James was the original when he said: "Show me your faith without works and I will show you my faith by my works." He belongs to what is called theologically the communion of saints—the fellowship of people who are devoted to something, the fellowship of the devoted, and he cannot read himself out of the party. A practical application of the second great commandment—namely

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—is by no means a denial of the first. But it is so evident that man is incurably religious and so many ages have been devoted to preaching obedience to the Unseen that many people feel the necessity of emphasizing the suggestion that "if we love not our brother whom we have seen, how can we love God whom we have not seen?"

Love of one's brother, however, is not the easy sentimental thing it might appear. It suggests a positive, aggressive principle—an active life program. Those who choose to regard this as a sacred ministry may claim their commission as the ancient prophet claimed his when he said: "The Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, the opening of prison to them that are bound, to give a garland for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." Certainly this is not a slight task to which we are called, but the expression of a joyful faith carried with cheerfulness to those in the world most in need of it.

Fundamental Convictions

I HAVE said that social workers are frequently charged with irreligion. We are all familiar with that accusation against social settlements, relief societies and other active agencies not definitely connected with religious establishments. This is of course based on an indefensible distinction between sacred and secular which we cannot at present discuss. But the charge has undoubtedly given pain to many who have thrown off the conventional harness, not in order to escape from human ministry, but to plunge deeper into it. What then are some of those fundamental convictions that have persisted through all ages and despite all changes?

Perhaps the most universally accepted belief is belief in the kingdom of heaven. What is there then in this idea of the kingdom of heaven that has taken possession of the world? Is there here some conception which will shape the whole tread of a man's life in social service? Does he regard the kingdom of heaven as a consummation devoutly to be wished in some distant existence beyond the grave, but as a calamity if it were established here and now? Those who look upon a kingdom of right relations as an impossibility in this life will try tenderly to ameliorate evil social conditions, to lighten the burdens of poverty, to reduce the volume of ignorance, combat the ravages of disease and otherwise labor diligently to assuage the flood of human sorrow and wretchedness.

But beyond these merciful ministrations there obviously lies a field of service based on the conviction that men are warranted in working for something corresponding to a divine order "on earth as it is in heaven." Men who believe this will be dissatisfied with programs limited to a treatment of social effects and will wish to search for causes. Cures will interest them less than prevention and the idea of simply making the earth a place that will be humanely endurable and stopping there will be to them an intolerable belittling of the innate qualities in man.

Manifestly here is an irreconcilable difference in social faith, but not a difference that calls for conflict among the workers. It calls rather for sympathetic cooperation to reach at least what all agree is a desirable minimum. When a flood gate breaks, men may honestly differ as to whether it is more important to repair the gate at once or to direct the flood through sluices that will reduce its injury to a minimum. But there is no reason why they should all stop work and quarrel over it.

My distinguished predecessor in this office last year ably presented the argument that the fundamental intelligence of a nation is measured by its standards of child welfare. That was an up-to-date version of the ancient doctrine that theologians call the doctrine of perfection. The best of the race has an inborn belief in this. That is why so much of the best social work is concerned with the young. We find humanity more substantially agreed upon this point than perhaps on any other in the philosophy of life. All that is best in the achievement of the race is an evolution of this very principle of human improvableness. It is not that some beautiful sentiment has possessed us in our appreciation of the tenderness, helpfulness and innocence of the little child. It is the response of even the coldest rational philosophy to the dramatic stand taken by that Teacher whom the Christian world professes to follow when He declared in effect that the one condition of citizenship in the kingdom of heaven is the ability, to qualify with the characteristics of a little child.

What is the meaning of all the popular efforts to teach prenatal care, to safeguard maternity, to secure health and education, except a practical application of the principle that if you expect to build on earth a society of right conditions you must catch humanity while it is young. And what more conclusive proof is needed of the validity of that historic denunciation which refers to the millstone hanged on the neck of the offender than a sweep of one's vision over the field of social distress, over the waste of human misery and futile effort? Weigh the burden of disease, ignorance, poverty, crime, subnormal or arrested development; or, to view this in its ponderable aspect, pile together our penitentiaries, jails, prisons, reformatories, orphanages, asylums for the insane, the defective, the feebleminded; our tremendous institutions built up, promoted and maintained to support or direct all these—with their million, ten-million and billion dollar drives, the burden of all of which rests upon the shoulders of the taxpayer, but ultimately upon the back of labor and the rent payer. To what else can this be likened than a millstone which the modern world has fastened on its own neck just because somewhere in the past we have selfishly or carelessly left a stumbling-block in the path of little children?

Institutions

WE also find humanity engaged in the never-ending task of organizing and trying to institutionalize itself. Such an outstanding tendency of human nature has in it both example and warning. Does the social worker find the community all cut up and divided by its devotion to the various organizations within it, built up at tremendous expense and then maintained against all comers, resisting every effort to change their form or functions? If so, let him beware that he does not add just one more to those that have already become an end in themselves and have hopelessly divided the community which created them. If he does commit this error he will correspond in his psychology to those who look upon the visible institutions connected with their religion as the essential embodiment of faith. He will be devoutly scrupulous, diligent and conservative. He will regard any change in form or method as an insult to sacred precedent and a menace to future usefulness. Names, customs and usages will become to him of sacred value, not to be tampered with under pain of the punishment visited on him who ventured with unholy hands to touch the ancient ark of the covenant.

But the discerning social worker cannot fail to grant the value of institutions, to recognize that the span of human life is brief and that an organization can conserve the values of the past and carry on from generation to generation that heritage received from the wealth of the past. He will maintain, however, that an institution is of human origin, built to serve man and not to dominate him; that an institution is to be used as a means, not as an end and that those who devote their chief energy to brushing, sweeping, polishing and decorating the temple and protecting it from contact with the common and the unclean are like one who should devise and perfect some costly mechanism for plowing a field or harvesting a crop or pumping oil or mining minerals and then should refuse to use this mechanism lest its delicate parts become soiled or injured by performing the rough tasks for which it was designed. There

are social workers who believe so firmly in the value and sanctity of institutions that they do not need to have them defended.

They believe in the church. Some of them might deny it if they were asked, but they believe in it more firmly than many of its members. They even believe in the invisible church. It does not require the evidence of stone or mortar or brick to convince them that there is a bond of union among congenial spirits which under whatever name is bound to work itself out in those cooperative activities of the human race by which its greatest achievements have thus far been wrought. This bond is the antithesis of a ruinous and destructive competition which can thrive only by the defeat or death of an opponent. It is the intangible substance of "things hoped for," the approach to a day when humanity itself may become a harmonious social organism, members one of another. It is the "evidence of things not seen." True, the man who holds this view may sometimes appear indifferent to dangers that seem real to the devotee of the institution. He may not be keenly interested in any attempt to "defend" the Bible, the Church, the flag or the Constitution; not that he is indifferent to their value, but that they seem to him so fundamental either as the embodiment of a philosophy or as the symbol of an ideal that his mind simply refuses to contemplate the possibility of any real injury to their power or influence—except perhaps such passing harm as may be done by those who scrupulously tithe their religious or patriotic mint, anise and cumin, and neglect the weightier matters of the law.

It may be well to remember in these days when patience is at the ebb tide and assent to certain passwords is made the measure of our political or economic respectability that the blight of institutionalism has left its devastating evidence in every country and every age. The religious persecutions of the middle ages, the intolerance of the Puritans, the odor of sanctity about those imperial forms that bend so willingly under the profitable white man's burden, the super-patriotic denunciation of opposing political, social or economic views as "pernicious ideas"—are not all these merely evidence of the abuse of what was designed to be used for the welfare of an age or a nation? Institutions as well as individuals must learn that the function of truth is to permeate; that a little yeast can leaven the whole soggy hump, and that "Except a kernel of wheat fall into the ground and germinate it abideth alone, but if it germinate it bringeth forth much fruit."

Life as a Mission

We also find the world actuated by what may be called the missionary spirit. But this missionary spirit expresses itself in a variety of ways. They range all the way from the Hindu philosophy of laissez faire to the militant attitude of Mohammed. Is there in this spirit of human aggression some middle ground that may be occupied by those who covet a life of usefulness? At one extreme is he who says: "The thirsty will always find their way to the spring." We need not theorize. The deserts of the ages are strewn with the lifeless forms of those who have perished of thirst on their way to the spring because there was no one to guide them. Your self-made citizen who looks on the great volume of American illiteracy—five and one-half million—and says, "After all, any child who wants an education can get it," is in reality wrapping the mantle of his self-sufficiency about him and repeating the incantation of the recluse of all ages who has withdrawn from the needs of the world in order to save his own soul.

On the other hand there is an aggressive tendency in the missionary spirit which has its historic example in the alleged plan of Mohammed, who compelled universal agreement with his religious faith by the simple device of murdering all the people who disagreed. We must remember that Mohammed has no monopoly on this policy. It has found its expression in many lands and in every age including our own. Every attempt to force a particular kind of civilization on the world at the point of the sword, every attempt to choke our ideas down the throats of others, every attempt to browbeat, intimidate or steam-roller communities, races or nations is but a recrudescence of the policy imputed to Mohammed. The dangerous feature of this spirit lies in its position of advantage. At any moment it can call to its standard the magic forces of orthodoxy, regularity, patriotism, respectability and damn those who venture to question its divine right with the stigma of heretic or traitor.

The Middle Ground

But we should not disturb ourselves unduly. In spite of these advantages this spirit shows badly in the endurance test. Witness the failure of Spain in Cuba, of Belgium on the Congo, of the czar in Russia, the ruin of autocracy in Germany, seven centuries of alien domination in Ireland, and the racial discriminations among our own people. Those who glory today in their efforts at thought-control should take warning from these historic failures. And those who attempt, in spite of misunderstanding and obloquy, to defend the temple of human liberty against the attacks of an always popular religious, economic, or patriotic enthusiasm should comfort themselves by recalling as one has recently done, that "for every Absalom there stands an oak and the ass makes straight for the branch."

May it not be found that the middle ground marks the territory of greater social service—that the limit of aggressiveness is at the point of "helping people to help each other and themselves?" It is the spirit of inquiry and of suggestion. It recognizes the right of the beneficiary to decline the proffered benefit, but goes forward impelled by an unconquerable zest for helpfulness. Burbank does not force humanity to "burbank" its vegetation, nor Edison to electrify our whole machinery of civilization against our will. The pioneer who shows us how to reclaim a desert, or breed a new strain of cattle, or cure hog cholera, cannot force us to comply with his instructions at the point of the sword, but he is of that immortal fellowship which undertakes to point the world to the attainment of peace and material plenty. The race is old enough to have abolished poverty so that humanity could devote some of its energy to a higher pursuit than the mere search for food.

But poverty has not been abolished. More money and more effort will be expended this year than in any previous year in the world's history to alleviate the distresses of poverty and to cure injuries that have already been done. The world is in tragic need of social engineers, or adventurers into the rich realm of possibility and freedom. But they must be adventurers who are willing to teach and not to dictate. They must be men and women who have the ability to love man even when he exercises his power to think and who recognize the right of disagreement and the sacredness of the opinions of those who differ. Such are the leaders who will suggest a working basis for the discussion of the problems of social welfare without rancor, cruelty or bloodshed.

Sacrifice

We also find a humanity fixed in its belief in the atonement. The idea of an easement in the exactions of nature, fate, or God has always been dear to the human heart. From the dawn of history we find examples of vicarious sacrifice in attempts to appease the wrath of those mysterious forces that men have worshipped. The offering of herbs, of turtle-doves, of ewe lambs, of bullocks and even of children has testified to the yearning for acceptance and forgiveness on the part of a humanity conscious of its short-comings and its wilful wrongs. This system of vicarious oblations for the purpose of securing atonement was in its flower both throughout the Roman empire and specifically among the Jewish people when the great Teacher came whose name is doubtless professed by a majority of those in the Western world who profess any religious faith or affiliation. His attack upon it was so revolutionary that probably we ought not to be surprised that, when

the names, methods and customs were changed by those who tried to carry his message to the world, the underlying idea was not eradicated but continues to express the belief of multitudes of people. In every religious establishment I think we will still find many who cling to a belief in the sacrifice of another in order that the wrath of God may be cooled and He may find it possible, without violating eternal justice, to forgive those who have broken his law. But also in every religious communion we find those adventurous souls who do not hesitate to call in question this ancient idea of the place of sacrifice in a divine order and affirm that we search in vain, either in the teachings of the Hebrew prophets or in the words of Jesus himself for any justification of this theory.

But is there not a sound principle in the idea of sacrifice as a means of human improvement? No student of those forces that develop character can deny it. But Hebrew prophet and Christian prophet join in asserting that but one kind of sacrifice is justified in any scheme of divine government worthy to organize and rule this universe—namely: self-sacrifice. "Wherewith shall I come before Jehovah, and bow myself before the high God," asks Micah, that splendid scourge of the greedy oppressors—"shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves a year old? Will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams or ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?"

And Jesus, shocked and outraged by this trafficking in the sacrifice of others, finding it still true that "they all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net," confirms the word of the ancient prophet and says in a farewell supper with his friends—"This do as oft as ye shall do it, in remembrance of me." Do what? Consume my life? No! "I have given this to you as an example," He says. What you see me do, that do yourselves. As I have broken my life in the defense of a great principle so go forth with the sacrifice of your own lives—break your body, shed your blood if need be.

"He That Loseth His Life"

Elijah on Mt. Carmel, St. Paul at Rome, Savonarola mixing politics with his religion, St. Francis of Assisi, Wycliffe translating the Bible into English, Wesley preaching to the Cornish miners, Père Marquette among the Indians of the Great Lakes and along the Mississippi, David Livingstone penetrating the African jungle, Father Damien ministering to the leper colony, and Dr. Grenfell in Labrador—these and a multitude which no man can number bear luminous testimony to the fact that "he that loseth his life shall find it."

The neglect of what seems so obvious a principle has led the world into war, disaster, famine, imperial aggression, always on the theory that humanity requires, and is justified in selecting a scapegoat. Modern civilization reflects this fallacious doctrine on every hand. The submerged tenth is the scapegoat of the other nine-tenths. The tenement sections of our great cities are the scapegoat of the prosperous sections. The woman of the red light district is the scapegoat of the protected daughter of the avenue. The disinherited toiler we lightly call "unskilled labor" is the scapegoat of the prosperous industrial prince who is clothed in fine raiment and glories in his righteous behavior because he "gives" people work. Our 250,000 annual toll of infant mortality is a wanton slaughter of the innocents to appease the wrath of the omnipotent landlord and profiteer. The two million working children of America are bearing out into the desert of their arid future the sins of a nation which neglects to nourish them. So we have our inferior races, our subject nationalities, our doctrine of imperialism, our right to subjugate "those lesser breeds without the law"; through the entire network of human relations there runs this scarlet tragedy of the right of one life to survive and prosper at the expense and sacrifice of another. The leaders of all the great religious bodies today, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, have made clear declarations against this idea of scapegoat sacrifice. The job now is to get the millions of their followers to catch the same spirit.

Is it not incumbent upon the worker who at close contact has seen the scars and deformities of human ignorance and sin, to insist that, as speedily as possible, the world must get away from the scapegoat idea of sacrifice? Does there not rest upon us the duty to repudiate the thought that I may be spared trouble or labor because someone else has suffered in my stead? Have we not the highest kind of authority for the belief that, fundamental to the organization of the human race on the basis of universal brotherhood and the recognition of the divine qualities in every man, we must attempt to guide the world away from a sacrificial philosophy which is nothing less than spiritual cannibalism?

The Divinity of All

I have spoken of the divinity in every man. It is not my desire to enter into a discussion of any of those metaphysical questions which have been so keenly divisive in the past and still separate member from member in the great body of religious faith. But my observation convinces me that there is among those who work for the relief of human distress, for the healing of disease, for the imparting of knowledge, for the building up of universal standards of health, a positive, though perhaps unanalyzed, confidence in the essential divinity of every man. The question is lifted out of a controversy as to whether at some period in the world's history someone was born under peculiar conditions from which the human race is barred. The question is whether there is not sufficient value and significance in the birth of every child so that we may all find exercise for our highest faculties, give him a fair chance to make the race and in attempting to clear away the rubbish of ignorance and prejudice that the divine image in man may shine forth. This at least seems to furnish a basis for a hopeful philosophy, for a creed of optimism, for the laying of a foundation beneath our activities constituted of the conviction that light is stronger than darkness, love is mightier than hate, good can outreach evil, intelligence can overcome ignorance and that the race can be led where it cannot be driven. This is the faith that lies at the root of modern penology, of efforts looking toward international comity, of agencies and institutions to make education universal, of constructive health programs, and of those activities which are attempting, in spite of opposition and misunderstanding, to dispel the spirit of intolerance which possesses those earnest souls today who are trying to keep the world from progressing for fear it will get blown up.

In the discussions that are to follow specific interests will be presented, programs of social improvement will be outlined, earnest discussion is sure to follow, differences of opinion are inevitable, but if underneath all we can agree that the whole task is so obviously worth while and that those gigantic forces which operate through time and space are for the most part indifferent to our small efforts, we may agree to move forward each following his own convictions and working in his own field, but all united in the common bond of humanity, courage and good-fellowship. It may also appear as we proceed that from the great leaders of the race as well as from those obscure souls who have been quite unconscious of having rendered the world anything of importance, we have caught the secret of their usefulness in their belief that

God is a Father,
Man is a brother,
Life is a mission and not a career;
Dominion is service,
Its scepter is gladness,
The least is the greatest,
Saving is dying,
Giving is living,
Life is eternal and love is its crown.

The National Conference of Social Work at New Orleans

By Neva R. Deardorff

THE Forty-seventh National Conference of Social Work, held in New Orleans April 14-21, was full of flavor—or flavors, for it was one of those concoctions that boast of a thousand ingredients, compounded not to give a perfect blend but rather to provide a succession of tastes. It was neither consommé nor cream soup; it was chowder.

From many different angles did it bear this miscellaneous but nonetheless flavorous character. The delegates in attendance—nearly seven hundred from Louisiana and thirteen hundred from the rest of the country—represented all stages of advancement in social thinking, all degrees of skill in dealing with social problems, all beliefs and backgrounds, prejudices and professions. There were the sentimental and the hard-boiled, the technician and the philosopher, the radical and the ultra conservative; there were doctors, lawyers, judges, statisticians, clergymen, teachers, nurses and, of course, a full complement of social workers in the narrowest sense — case-workers, community organizers, settlement workers and investigators of social conditions.

The program was equally representative. Everything from leprosariums to the pre-delinquent period came in for review. A few of the divisions, notably that on children, had programs which sought to delimit a field and cover it systematically, but most of the divisions presented a kaleidoscopic array of topics. Some speakers presented carefully prepared papers while others seemed to have depended on the inspiration of the moment. The meetings were held in auditoriums scattered over the city, a circumstance which, combined with the warm weather, led to a virulent outbreak of "conference feet."

Mostly of Food and Brother Isaiah

THE real distraction, however, was the South and New Orleans itself. One would have to go far to find a place which offers greater lure to those who would come together for earnest parley and learned debate. The local committee, in addition to attending to all of the formal arrangements, made ample provision for demonstrating that New Orleans is "the city care forgot" and that the South is the place that made hospitality famous. Boat and motor rides out to plantations, sight-seeing parties to historic places, a charming pageant and an evening of song and story, impromptu good cheer at the restaurants, where the waiters seem to have been professionally trained in case-work methods—so delicate is their skill and so sure their touch—all these made delightfully horrible inroads on the time of the delegates.

Always there was a New Orleanean at hand to see that each delegate was properly introduced to the local food specialties. Indeed, food was one of the out-standing features of the conference, which fact accounts perhaps for the gastronomic metaphor which introduces this story. The restaurants have French, Spanish, German, Scandinavian, Italian and English names, and their food is equally distinctive. Frugal social workers threw caution to the winds and ordered oysters Rockefeller, pompano in paper bags, potatoes Brabant and other dietary marvels at a restaurant where it is indelicate to ask to see the menu card. More thrifty ones, seeing artichokes at bargain prices, invested their entire year's artichoke allotment during the one week. Some accomplished it at one sitting. Pralines were everywhere in evidence. French pastry and French coffee undermined the firmest of intentions to economize. Iced river shrimp, lake shrimp and crawfish served with bristling pink whiskers found many fanciers.

Besides the distractions of hospitality, there was a galaxy of sociological phenomena that tended to draw attention from the organized business at hand. Among these counter attractions was Brother Isaiah, a faith healer who has been holding forth for many weeks on a bayou in Audubon Park on the outskirts of the city. An ancient man with flowing white hair and beard and in a white robe, he stands on a tiny wooden platform while the crowd around him sometimes numbers as many as two thousand. From this crowd he singles out a cripple or a deaf mute or one who is blind. When the "patient" is on the platform, Brother Isaiah "lays on hands" in the traditional manner. When he has finished, the crowd, indifferent to the results which he may or may not have attained, surges forward, pleading voices cry out, hands flutter and are stretched upward, babies and older children are held up above the crowd and again one person is chosen, apparently at random. Some people have stood for many days on the hard earth from which the grass has long since been worn away, and have waited patiently to be chosen. Brother Isaiah is on his platform from morning to midnight, sometimes even until daybreak. It is generally said that he vehemently refuses all reward for his services.

I saw no miraculous cures but many are rumored to have occurred. Opinion among conference delegates differed as to whether this was purely a fake or a crude demonstration, possibly an unconscious application of psychiatric methods. All testified, however, to the infinite pathos of the throng of pilgrims who make their way to this shrine of hope renewed. One could not help wondering why scientific methods so often fail to arouse in the beneficiaries this white flame of yearning and faith. Is it because the users of the rational methods are themselves sometimes a little pessimistic, a little skeptical of the possibilities of their service in the individual case? Brother Isaiah offered a very real challenge to the social workers assembled, in the cooperation which he got from his clients.

Other distractions were a brisk campaign for the ratification by the Louisiana legislature of the Susan B. Anthony amendment; a severe tornado in Mississippi and Alabama, which called into play the disaster relief forces of New Orleans. Many delegates were interested in the fact that within the year the government has cleaned up the New Orleans vice district, once possibly the worst in the country, so that now it is difficult to find a trace of it. Finally the old French quarter proved a joy as well as a perfect demonstration for those who were pointing out the contributions of charm and cultural variety which our foreign-born citizens have to offer.

Business, Finance and Elections

IN the business meetings of the conference the era of good feeling was a living reality—a fact for which there is statistical proof. At the principal business meeting three hundred and fifty social workers subscribed and pledged $8,400 to free the conference of the debts which have been hanging over it for a long time. The executive committee, having wrestled earnestly with the financial problem, a debt of $8,000, brought before the meeting two suggestions: (1) that it be empowered to raise the regular dues not to exceed five dollars a year and (2) that the conference delegates help to meet the deficit by contributions so that it would not be necessary —at least not at present—to raise the dues. The executive committee was loath to suggest raising the dues because it regarded the conference as an essentially educational institution which should not expect to support itself from tuition collected from the younger students. Although the meeting empowered the executive committee to raise the dues if necessary, it proceeded to postpone the day. First all the members present promoted themselves in membership status—regulars became sustainers; sustainers became institutions and so forth. Twenty-five hundred dollars was obtained by this method. It was a good showing but it left a debt of fifty-five hundred dollars.

At this stage of the meeting a curious thing happened. A delegate from Clinton, Mo., H. P. Faris, arose and volunteered to give a hundred dollars, provided the other fifty-four was raised by contributions. It acted like magic and the fun was on. Representatives of social workers' clubs and of agencies tumbled over one another to get in the game, first with one hundred dollars and then raising the ante, in some instances even to five hundred. So much momentum was acquired that the eight thousand dollar goal was overshot by four hundred dollars. Givers who were not present at this meeting later pushed the total above nine thousand, so that the conference can start its new cycle, not only free of debt but also with a few hundred ahead. No session of the conference afforded the delegates more genuine pleasure or brought home more keenly how important is the place that the conference holds in the minds and hearts of its members.

The elections this year presented a departure from the usual procedure in the direction of greater participation by the membership in the function of nominating. The committee on nominations prepared a slate consisting of two candidates for each of the principal offices and eight candidates from which five were to be chosen for the executive committee. To this roster the membership added by petition the name of Allen T. Burns as a third candidate for the office of president and he became the choice. [See the SURVEY for May 1.] It was decided to hold the forty-eighth conference in Milwaukee in June, 1921.

The Committee for Correlation of National Social Agencies appointed last year came very near losing its life without having given expression to its destiny. At the April 20 session of the business meeting at which the other committee reports were presented, this committee failed to appear or even to send word. A motion was put before the house to discharge it forthwith but as everyone was in a good humor and as it was pointed out that there had been considerable evidence during the week that the committee was struggling with its monumental task, it was decided to let it live another year. The Committee on Expression concerning Standards and Ideals reported that it had found opinion among the members sharply divided and also practice among the state conferences of social work; consequently it prayed for an extension of time within which to compile its report and formulate its recommendations. This was granted with the stipulation that at next year's conference a printed copy of the committee's report must be furnished to the members at least a day in advance of the business meeting at which it will be discussed.

ORGANIZATION FOR 1921

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PRESIDENT
Allen T. Burns, New York

VICE-PRESIDENTS
Robert W. Kelso, Boston
Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville
Mary E. Richmond, New York

GENERAL SECRETARY
William H. Parker, Chicago

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Frederic Seidenburg, Chicago
William T. Cross, Chicago
Owen R. Lovejoy, New York
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Division Chairmen

I. CHILDREN—*J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia*
II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION—*Martha P. Falconer, New York*
III. HEALTH—*Dr. Richard Bolt, Baltimore*
IV. PUBLIC AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS—*R. E. Beasley, Raleigh*
V. THE FAMILY—*Frances Taussig, New York*
VI. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS—*Sophronisba P. Breckinridge, Chicago*
VII. THE LOCAL COMMUNITY—*Howard S. Braucher, New York*
VIII. MENTAL HYGIENE—*Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, New York*
IX. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES—*Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis*
X. UNITING OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN IN AMERICA—*Grace Abbott, Chicago*

Keynotes, Trends, Convictions

AN assiduous search at the meetings and diligent inquiry among delegates failed to bring to light any strongly dominating strain of social thinking such as occasionally characterizes the National Conference of Social Work and similar gatherings. One felt the return to pre-war days with their emphasis on technique and on experiences recounted in detail; with their debates over the relative merits of evolutionary processes or coercive measures in trying to bring social service up to higher standards and secure professional recognition. By this it must not be inferred that there were not instances of courageous expression of deep conviction but these were isolated instances rather than the articulation of the thought of a homogeneous group of people.

Of these expressions of the new social philosophy, the presidential address by Owen R. Lovejoy, The Faith of a Social Worker, is the most conspicuous example. "That one address," said a prominent New Orleans woman, "alone is sufficient to have made all this conference of many good things worth while and is bound to leave its mark on the thinking of this city."

Jane Addams, with the unfailing insight and understanding that makes her the leader of American social work, pointed out the principal causes for the unrest and uneasiness among the foreign-born residents of this country. The fruition in Europe of long cherished hopes for national unity and for a greater measure of justice and freedom naturally stirs emigrants from those lands who have come to the United States.

A second cause is to be found in the fact that many of them have close kin in Europe and in other parts of the world with whom they are just now, after nearly six years, beginning to communicate. Often the news is not reassuring. Finally the policy of the government and the attitude of the public has undergone a profound change which cannot but make these people afraid and unhappy. Miss Addams urged that we return to our former policy of allowing free speech to all and pointed out that we had had no experience before the war which could possibly warrant a departure from it. She likened our condition of fear and reaction to that of England after the French revolution, when it required some three decades for Englishmen to recover from the shock and proceed on their way of natural progressive development.

Florence Kelley reminded us that just as we need pure food, pure water, honest weight or materials in our clothing, so also do we need honest news for the safety and preservation of our social health. She asked how can we regain our lost freedom to know the truth.

Our greatest need, said Dr. Felix Adler, at the opening session, is for a national ideal, not an ideal of excellence for the individual or for a class but a collective aim for the whole people. There are European states that seem to be developing such an ideal, said Dr. Adler, and it is not strange that in our dearth some of our foreign-born citizens should be thrilled with enthusiasm and a deep desire to return to their native lands. It was said that a hundred and fifty thousand Russians had made application for passports to return to Russia.

In line perhaps with this idea of the development of a national purpose, Dr. Royal Meeker, of the federal Department of Labor, discussed standards of living and particularly that illusory conception, the American standard of living. Dr. Meeker considered it sheer folly even to attempt to ascertain the so-called minima of subsistence. The fact is, "We can live on next to nothing if we care for that sort of thing." Considering life under such conditions not worth living, he held that the only standard which "budgetarians" can in any conscience devise, especially as a basis of wage adjustment, is the minimum standard of health and decency.

Community organization was an expression which, if it had had any generally accepted meaning might have been a keynote. It was frequently used, but, like the favorite conference compliment which described the favored one as "a real human being," it seemed to be a sort of word frame into which each could, and did, fit his own special meaning—recreation, financial federation, Americanization, health and what not.

Incidentally, there was much valuable discussion on methods of working out better relations between the national agencies seeking to assist communities to attack local problems.

Alterations, Repairs, Improvements

THIS conference brought into striking relief the changes which are coming about in social work itself. First, there was the presence of the big national agencies with their numerous representatives of the national organization itself and of the allied local units—the National Child Labor Committee, the American Red Cross Community Service, Incorporated, the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work are but a few of the many important national agencies which make this conference a rendezvous. Kindred to these national voluntary agencies was the parallel governmental development illustrated by the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, that interesting branch of the federal government which, both by individual case-work with delinquents and by the arousing of the community conscience, seeks to stamp out the sources of venereal infection in places where the government stations soldiers and sailors.

The corollary to these large scale bodies was the presence of many young social workers from counties never before heard from. American social work is no longer an urban pursuit. It is going back to the farm. That means a great influx of new people into the conference, which of course is just what is wanted. The presence of the new people does, however, make necessary certain adjustments if the conference is to be the best possible educational resource for them as well as a satisfying get together for the old timers.

Many suggestions were informally and privately put forward for meeting this situation. Most of these revolved around schemes which would develop, in some measure, the teacher-pupil relation between the young people and the more experienced in place of the open forum now in vogue. Fruitful discussion has become very difficult, largely because the participants range all the way from freshmen to research professors. To get to each that which he most needs, becomes increasingly hard when the needs spread all the way from the a b c of a simple technique to the solution of the most delicate and intricate questions of social engineering. One suggestion which offered at least a partial solution was to reserve either the mornings or the afternoons for the meeting of small groups of people with similar practical problems sitting under the lead of a recognized expert in the field to be covered. The time of the reduced number of division meetings would probably be best spent in a more searching exploration of a restricted group of pertinent and related topics, while the big evening meetings would continue as the medium for the presentation of the larger social issues before the country and the profession of social work. All of these ideas are now in practice to some extent; it was thought that a more general application might improve the service of the conference as a medium of education.

More Social Control

THERE remains but one matter which deserves serious attention and that attaches to the social control which must come to be exercised over the delegates themselves, away from home as many of them are and unacquainted with the life into which they are so suddenly thrown. A single story will illustrate how the behavior of one individual can react on the esteem in which a whole profession is held. One New Orleans restaurant, famous for its French cuisine, promised to be the favorite for breakfast, luncheon and dinner meetings and several were scheduled to take place there. For the first luncheon, reservations for a hundred had been made, but a hundred and eighty hungry social workers flocked in. The restauranteur disapproved of the miscalculation but managed to accommodate them. The next day when forty appeared for their luncheon they were firmly told there would be none. They reported the matter to the local committee which sent a representative to see the restauranteur. He acknowledged that he had entered into an agreement. Then he delivered the indictment. Yesterday a hundred and eighty came when only a hundred were expected but, far worse than that. Bah, he did not like these social workers! Last evening one had come for dinner into this place of choicest viands and had ordered a shredded wheat biscuit! *C'est plus qu'un crime, c'est une faute!*

DIVISION MEETINGS

The Family

THE family division seemed possessed by a psychosis of self determination. The division elected its executive committee and its chairman by the hitherto untried method of proportional representation with nominations from the floor accompanied with rousing nominating speeches. The speakers, assembled from all parts of the country, unconsciously expressed the growing recognition, which seemed to be abroad, of the sanctity of the individual. Florence Hutsinpillar placed her emphasis upon consideration of the family's own plans and aspirations. Homer Borst, in an ably prepared paper read by Mrs. Borst and known as the Borst Family Paper, derided the worker who proceeded without adequate conception of the family's plans and purposes, and who complained she was unable to do "constructive work" because her family utilized their inherent resources and solved their own problems. The basis of Mary E. Richmond's authoritative address was the plea for a rising standard of treatment based on clear and far reaching knowledge of the intellectual life and purposes of the individual. Her paper roused a lively anticipation of another textbook on social case-work as a *materia medica* to accompany Social Diagnosis. A. J. Todd's paper on the responsibility of social workers as interpreters of industrial problems stressed the growing intellectual independence of the workingman in his description of "compulsory-voluntary arbitration," a device by which unions having determined voluntarily on arbitration make their decision binding upon their membership. Bernard Glueck struck this same note in his arraignment of the parent who "will not let his child grow up" but seeks to make all decisions for him, thus denying him the right of choice.

Possibly, however, Mr. Thomas of Atlanta best illustrated this trend in his address before Division III, Health. He illuminataed a description of the Atlanta plan, which is a pioneer movement of working with the Negro not for him, by a whimsical account of the physician who, however proud of his diagnostic skill, still, "permits the patient to say how he feels."

Other papers in the division revealed the growing appreciation of the technique of family case-work: John A. Lapp with his prognosis of the extension to the St. Vincent de Paul Society of the principles of registration with its accompanying saner action, Murray Auerbach with his suggestion of a "case record" of cities, and Robert C. Dexter with his plea for a wider interpretation of case-work findings. That case-working agencies are in a healthy growing state was indubitably evidenced by the self-questionings of the division, and the open-minded acceptance of criticism and new ideas.

AMELIA SEARS.

Mental Hygiene

MENTAL hygiene is the body of facts and principles dealing with the healthful adjustment of the individual to the stress and strain of the environment and with the harmonious balance of the conflicting instinctive and personal forces involved in human nature. In this Division on Mental Hygiene Florence Kelley discussed the stress and strain of the environment in special relation to certain occupations, emphasizing the unfortunate result of night work and long hours on women and minors. She called attention to the lack of medical interest in the problem of industrial fatigue and pleaded for an accurate investigation of the topic. More personal factors of quite intimate nature are frequently at the basis of periods of incapacity of the individual worker, who rarely thinks of such conditions in terms of sickness. Dr. Anne T. Bingham showed how a conference center without the conventional hospital stamp may give the workers in an industry an opportunity to gain insight into their fundamental problems and thus find relief from many incapacitating symptoms. That it is worth while for an industrialist to bear these facts in mind is shown by the industrial cost of the psychopathic employe, a topic discussed by Margaret J. Powers.

To avoid misfits in life, and to utilize to the best advantage the equipment of the individual, Dr. Augusta F. Bronner held that a systematic study of children and adolescents with the application of standard tests, and with due attention to the more elusive elements of the personality is absolutely essential. At the root of adult efficiency of adaptation is the early development of the individual; the influences which bear on the child are too little understood in general. The child as seen through adult eyes is as a rule very different from the real article, and yet the proper education, the formation of correct habits, the cultivation of a good personal balance with good social adaptation depends upon accurate insight into the real problems of childhood. These matters were taken up by Dr. Jessie Taft and Dr. Sanger Brown, II.

Social organization for bringing suitable help to those temporarily or permanently in need of it was discussed in several of its aspects—the advantages of state hospitals making wide use of a parole system by Everett S. Ellwood, the organization of efficient social service machinery for the benefit of those brought before the municipal court by Judge Charles L. Brown, the special problems of reformatory management in view of the varied opinions as to the best disposal of certain very difficult cases by Jessie D. Hodder.

The actual situation with regard to the care of the insane and of the defectives in some of the Gulf states, more suggestive of the medieval period than of the twentieth century, shows how much work there is to be done in the most obvious fields of mental hygiene, according to Dr. Thomas H. Haines, while the lines along which progress can be made were indicated in an outline of profitable topics of work for a state society for mental hygiene by Dr. E. Stanley Abbot.

C. MACFIE CAMPBELL, M. D.

The Local Community

THROUGHOUT all the meetings of this division, from all who participated in the discussion, came the emphasis on the spirit of community and neighborhood organization rather than on the mechanism involved in developing the work. Neighborliness, collective thinking and collective action, self-expression, citizenship through participation in citizenship, mutual sharing, the building up of community life on the basis of mutual interests and of natural group associations—expressions such as these were much more frequently heard than the technical phrases so often associated with discussions of community organization, though practical phases of the work were not neglected.

A discussion of readjustment in community building as the result of world war experiences brought out the fact that in the American Legion lies a great force for community service; that through the Legion posts thousands of young men stand ready to serve if only community agencies will call upon them and will point the way. Here, too, came the thought which more and more is being translated into action, that in community organization private groups must stand back of public agencies and do more than has ever been done in the past to strengthen the government's function as a community building agency. Not a "mush of concession"

but a real working together with a unifying purpose, though with distinct and separate functions, was Dr. John L. Elliott's definition of the way in which community organizations must pool their resources in effecting a real citizenship through community and neighborhood organization. How citizenship may be developed through dramatic and art interests was graphically described by Prof. Alfred Arvold, of the Agricultural College of North Dakota, who told how effective the self-expression which participation in dramatics develops is proving in bringing out leaders in the rural districts.

Discussion of the importance of recruiting business men for giving service to their communities rather than passively contributing from their pocketbooks alone; the means through which libraries are becoming a more vital force in community life are being made to serve the leisure time interest of the community; the leadership for community life which is being developed through the Boy Scouts; the potentialities which lie in recruiting young men and young women for service to their communities and the power for upbuilding community life which attaches itself to the motion picture—all these gave definiteness to the consideration of the vital problem, how to bring all the forces of the community into action and give every member of the community a chance to help in community work.

The fact that community organization in general has much to learn from the remarkable development in the organization of rural life which is taking place, made the session on the rural community of special interest. Happily no time was spent at this session on a discussion of the needs of rural districts for recreation or for health producing activities. Instead, very definite problems in rural life were laid before the session for discussion, and actual accomplishments in terms of rural community buildings and of district organization were cited. Methods which help create neighborliness in rural districts, simple get-together, social occasions, must, it was felt, be speedily developed and means found for raising leadership from among the country people themselves.

That a finer spirit of cooperation between colored and white citizens, better working relationships, and a clearer understanding exist today than have ever existed before, was the testimony from all the speakers at the final meeting on the Negro and the local community. Not differences, but likenesses; working together instead of for—these points, it was felt, characterize the present day relationships between the Negro and the white races, as they are fast coming to signalize the relationship of the native- and foreign-born in the new conception of citizenship which has no color or race distinctions, but which means mutual sharing in the community-wide interests touching the lives of all as fellow citizens.

ABBIE CONDIT.

Organization of Social Forces

THE general theme most characteristic in the discussions of this division was community-wide organization methods. The business side of social work, which has occupied the dominant position in this division's discussions for several years past, was subordinated somewhat this year to a discussion of social service organization. But business problems were not neglected. A summary of money raising efforts for 1919, covering all parts of the country, indicated that the financing of philanthropy had made excellent progress everywhere. A second discussion on how buildings and extensions are to be financed in federated cities disclosed a wide difference of opinion and threw open a new field for conference exploration. Two papers, one on standard wages for social workers, by Fred R. Johnson and one on labor turnover in social work by Sherman C. Conrad, will undoubtedly be used extensively for reference. The standard of all papers and discussion on social service methodology was exceedingly high. E. G. Routzahn and C. K. Matson presented two very definite, practical and useful papers on community educational publicity. There have been previous papers in the conference dealing with the philosophy of educational publicity that were good. The application of the philosophy received far better treatment this year than hitherto. A meeting devoted to the organization of Catholic social work struck a high note in two excellent but widely differing papers, by the Rev. Francis Gressle and the Rev. Frederic Seidenburg. The paper of Father Seidenburg, because of its historic summary, will go down as one of the great papers in conference literature.

The process of standardization among social agencies, a subject presented by Otto W. Davis with a definite series of practical suggestions, aroused perhaps the most vigorous and divergent discussion of the division. Porter Lee, in a paper on providing teaching material, succeeded remarkably in illuminating a dry technology with the humanistic touch which was the notable note running through the entire conference this year. A meeting devoted to social service exchanges swung away from the dry processes of reporting, recording and filing, into a more interesting debate on how the exchanges might be used for research and educational work. The general session of the division opened a new topic for the conference on coordination of the field of social work.

WILLIAM J. NORTON.

Children

THE Children's Division, which began with the first general session and ran through seven sectional meetings, was characterized by a fine program, keen interest, lively discussions and a good attendance—all due largely to the work of Henry W. Thurston, chairman, whose care and planning over the past three years have at last taken shape in certain definite platforms and recommendations pertaining to child care. The factor of health as being most vital in all work for children was emphasized at the general session by Sally Lucas Jean. Dr. F. L. Dunham of Baltimore later gave a most able paper on instinct and habit versus social conduct, which deserves the closest consideration of everyone working with children. The audience clearly indicated that mental hygiene is at last coming to its own in the children's field. The subcommittee on Community Care of Dependent Children, C. V. Williams, chairman, submitted a most important set of standards and a program which was tentatively accepted for trial during the year with a request that further report be made at the next conference. A snappy session on the place of the juvenile court in the care of dependent children resulted in the request that a joint committee be formed of representatives of the division and of other outside bodies to report a set of standards and suggestions at the next national conference as to the form of organization of juvenile court. There was distinct difference of opinion as to whether dependent children should be kept within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. The confusion of "Casey at the bat" was nothing to the state of mind of the vice-chairman during certain points in the discussion, for contrary proposals were plied thick and fast. Calvin C. Derrick as chairman of the subcommittee on Delinquent Children wrote a very able paper outlining a program for the community care of such children. Both Mr. Derrick's and Mr. Williams' reports were distributed in typewritten form at the meeting, and it is hoped to have both printed before long. The better care of children of unmarried parents was considered at one session at which several interesting papers were read. Ada E. Sheffield's treatment of the nature of social stigma in illegitimacy will undoubtedly be the subject of a great deal of discussion throughout the year.

That the country is in for a great deal of state planning for children was made very clear at the session devoted to child welfare commissions and codes. The lessons to be learned from recent work in this direction in North Carolina and Alabama should be noted by other states where the matter is being taken up. This session resulted in the decision that there be correlation of work on the part of all the national organizations engaged in making child welfare surveys and plans.

A close interweaving of interest was evident with the National Children's Home and Welfare Association, the National Probation Association, the National Child Labor Committee and other divisions of the conference. Certainly a well coordinated program for the care of dependent, neglected and delinquent children is in process of development under the lead of these various agencies. Inconvenient meeting-places and oppressive weather had no effect on either the attendance or papers in discussion. The acceptance of good standards of care by many workers from different parts of the country shows how widely scattered are those who are engaged in this field of social work. Nor are we any longer dependent for light, learning and inspiration on any one section of the country.

J. PRENTICE MURPHY.

Industrial and Economic Problems

THE field of this division is so vast that, in order to keep any coherence in our program and continuity in our effort, we stated in 1918 our agreement that there are three fundamental causes of industrial destitution: race hatred and oppression, land monopoly and lack of cooperation. In 1919, with participation of foreign speakers brought to this country by the Children's Bureau for the Children's Year, it was possible to discuss certain palliatives, cooperation, insurance and industrial legislation.

In 1920 we have been doing business at the old stand. The District of Columbia Minimum Wage Board, Uncle Sam's own geographically very limited area of minimum-wage activity, the newest comer added to the ten minimum wage commissions, was represented by its secretary, Clara Mortenson. Throughout one full session and half of another it served as text for searching scrutiny of the whole theory and practice of minimum wage commissions. It is reasonable to hope that the conference may have contributed in some slight measure to promote the new minimum wage bill which will, at the approaching session of the Louisiana legislature, be introduced by the Consumers' League, and backed by the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Cooperation claimed two whole sessions, with Dr. John L. Eliot of the Hudson Guild of New York declaring it the most hopeful field of effort and activity now visible on the industrial horizon; with Allen T. Burns demonstrating by cumulative illustrations that virtually all the elements of our foreign-born population achieve success in consumers' cooperation more readily than the native English-speaking descendants of the founders of the republic and setting forth the growth of cooperation within the labor movement since the meeting of the conference last June; and with Mrs. Howard Eggleston of the New Orleans Housewives' League giving practical proof of the lively interest in the subject in the South by describing the current initial stages of the New Orleans Cooperative Store.

The Rev. John A. Ryan and Dr. John A. Lapp addressed the division on the present status of labor standards. Father Ryan was especially interesting on the Catholic bishops' program and Dr. Lapp on the sources of opposition to industrial health insurance. Labor legislation (aside from minimum wage commissions) was presented almost as if by moving pictures, so vivid was Grace Abbott's account of the International Labor Congress, called by President Wilson in Washington, last November, to agree upon international labor standards. Miss Addams honored the division twice—by discussing housing as she had found it in five European countries in 1919 and by addressing the general session on Monday evening with Dr. Felix Adler and the undersigned, on the general theme of industry and the new social order.

A new feature in the work of the division is the holding of joint sessions. This prevents duplication and lends variety, welcome to speakers and audience.

FLORENCE KELLEY.

Uniting of Native- and Foreign-Born in America

THE Division on Uniting of Native- and Foreign-born at New Orleans made partnership the keynote of its discussions. There were plenty present who presented the view that the fusion process is primarily the relation of benefactor and beneficiary, superior and inferior. But representatives of the immigrants as well as some of the most technical speakers insisted that citizens of a democracy cannot be developed on this latter basis. The representatives of settlements, for instance, took the position that the immigrant must be in the position of a pupil without competent leaders or teachers except as the better schooled Americans furnish him the American standards of behavior to be accepted and adopted. On the other hand, the health officer, doctor, and hospital social worker insisted that progress in fusing immigrant life with the best of American life cannot take place in this way. Only as the American is willing to enter into even-handed, equal-footed relationship with the immigrant and adapt and modify, in a democratic way, American customs as the immigrant and American may in common agree, will the best that America has developed be made of use by the foreign-born.

The inevitability of such procedure was emphasized by the illustrations given of qualities of the immigrant which surpassed those of native-born. Consequently, when two groups, each with different virtues, meet, there can be an exchange only on a reciprocal, mutually respecting basis. Dr. Armstrong, of Framingham, pointed out the superior resistance to tuberculosis among Italians and our need of finding out what gave this quality to the stock in order to conduct our own anti-tuberculosis campaign more successfully. The immigrant's ability to deal with the ever-present high cost of living was another instance. The interest in the cooperative stores of the immigrants was so great that a hangover meeting had to be arranged, and one hour and a half more given to questions and answers about the immigrant's ability to make an appreciable dent upon this unsolved problem in America.

The division was so alive that when its first session was disarranged because speakers were prevented by the railroad strike from arriving on time, the division did the unusual thing of having its discussion first and the papers afterwards when the speakers arrived. This was possible, not only because of the unquenchable interest of the members of this division, but also because the subject of discussion was the Mexican immigration. People from Mexico, the Texas border, and from San Francisco, through to Chicago, were face to face with utterly strange problems and came together for mutual council. They required no set presentation of situations, for they were only too glad to be given the free rein to ask questions and share experiences. The place of the conference made this possible, and also brought out in other divisions the same question on which the division had light to offer.

The futility of preconceived and prescribed lines of helping the immigrant were brought out in the discussion of the foreign language press and the immigrant family. In both fields the necessity of recognizing and utilizing the inherent powers and propensities of the immigrant was illustrated. For example, one speaker told of how just after the close of the Children's Year some Polish women in Chicago got hold of some literature about infant welfare and wanted to propose that the federal government spend a year in circulating and explaining such information for the benefit of immi-

grant groups especially. These women were utterly oblivious to the fact that this would be an anti-climax.

The spirit of this division can be summed up in the story told by a Russian immigrant. Said he, "This Americanization business confuses me. I don't know just what it means, but it seems to me like the story of the Dutchman and his dog. This dog could do many wonderful tricks. The Dutchman had a friend with a dog that could do nothing at all. The friend was embarrassed by this unfavorable comparison. He went to Sneider and asked how he could teach his stupid dog all the tricks that Sneider's dog could do. The Dutchman replied, 'First you have to know more than the dog.'"

ALLEN T. BURNS.

Delinquents and Correction

IN its sessions on delinquency the New Orleans conference reflected a spirit of scientific inquiry, deep concern with the offender as an individual, and the consciousness of need for specialized training for workers with delinquents. From the very beginning in the section meeting held in conjunction with the Children's Division in which topics such as Instinct and Conduct, and The School and the Home as Conditioning Factors in Conduct were discussed, to the last session in which an attempt was made to outline the desired minimum of sociological and medical insight for workers with delinquents, the entire program aimed in the above direction. Dr. F. L. Dunham's paper on instinct and conduct and the paper by J. Prentice Murphy on the home as a conditioning factor in misconduct provoked a very spirited and interesting discussion which had as its central aim an emphasis on the need of bringing to the social worker the facts and principles of mental medicine in a more practically useful manner. It became evident in the course of this discussion that a presentation of these principles, based on actual case material in the management of which the physician and social worker collaborated, would probably serve as the best means of carrying over psychiatric principles and methods into the daily practice of the social worker.

In the following session which dealt with problems of protective work among girls there were, in addition to Maude E. Miner's carefully prepared statement on an effective community program for protective work, two other important papers, each of which directed attention to what appeared to be significant tendencies in the field of social work.

No one who listened to the paper of Mina Van Winkle, director of the Women's Bureau of the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, could have failed to grasp the significance of the movement to bring trained social workers into the field of police work. In a no less important but in a different direction there is a growing tendency to socialize the medical clinic of the country, another type of firing-line institution which comes in contact with beginnings in social maladjustment. Ora Mabelle Lewis, of the Social Service Department, Massachusetts General Hospital, pleaded for a wider recognition of the social service possibilities of a well conducted medical clinic.

The next two sessions dealing on the one hand with juvenile court problems and on the other with problems of probation and parole, contained a series of worth while discussions in these respective fields practically all of which definitely aimed at emphasizing the treatment side of these modern social instruments. Thus, in the section dealing with the juvenile court, Judge Samuel D. Murphy, of Birmingham, outlined the distinguishing features between the aims and methods of the juvenile court and those of criminal procedure in general and pointed out the direction along which criminal procedure might aim to approximate more closely those processes which are being so generally utilized in juvenile courts. H. F. Bretthauer gave a delightfully human account of the social service activities of a probation officer. His story must have convinced everyone of the great value in probation work of an elastic procedure free from the hampering effects of a rigid legal machinery.

In the same session O. F. Lewis, of the Prison Association of New York, called attention to the plan outlined by his organization for the reduction of juvenile delinquency by community effort. Edwin J. Cooley's paper on the administration versus the treatment aspect of probation indicated much study and care in the working out of what seemed to be a very effective administration and therapeutic program in the field of probation and his presentation was very helpfully supplemented by an interesting extemporaneous statement on the equipment of the probation officer by Louis N. Robinson, chief probation officer of the Municipal Court, Philadelphia. Of special interest in this session was a paper by Dr. Thomas H. Haines in which the parole methods in vogue in hospitals for the insane were constrasted with those employed in prisons, and the advantages pointed out of the adopting by penologists of some of the parole principles of the hospitals for the insane.

Two of the sessions were held in conjunction with the Division on Mental Hygiene. It is no longer necessary to emphasize the mental hygiene implications of the field of delinquency and a closer and growing cooperation between these two spheres of endeavor can only result in benefit to both. Very interesting papers at the general session were given by Prof. Arthur J. Todd and Roland Beasley. Aside from the regular section meetings two spirited and interesting round table discussions on the unmarried mother and the runaway girl were held under the leadership of Miss Miner.

By permission of the executive committee, the deliberations of the Division on Delinquents and Correction will be published in a separate pamphlet with running comment by the present writer.

BERNARD GLUECK, M.D.

Public Agencies and Institutions

THIS division composed of public officials offered discussion upon public social welfare enterprises already in operation. Its general session, through the vigorous address of John M. Parker, governor of Louisiana, and the careful analysis of Judge Brown of the Philadelphia Municipal Court, set out the salient points in the state's responsibility for defectives and delinquents, and the inter-relationship of the public and private agencies in the probation service. The Massachusetts Hospital School, for the vocational teaching compete with their normal fellows in the public schools, was explained by its superintendent, John E. Fish, M. D. Two Southern prison officials spoke of the large profits turned into the public treasury by the prison farms of Louisiana and Florida. Where Negro prisoners far outnumber the whites and where overhead costs are inconsiderable in comparison, it is apparent that the North can never compete with the Southern prisons in the matter of profits. William H. Pear, of Boston, and Everett Ellwood, of New York, discussed the effects of prohibition upon the census in our public institutions and upon the family home. The evidence was all to the same effect; special institutions for inebriates have been closed; jails are disappearing; arrests are cut in halfs and fourths; the household is becoming a changed place.

It was unusual that the conference should discuss leprosy. Dr. George W. McCoy, of the United States Public Health Service and Dr. Ralph Hopkins, physician in charge of the Louisiana Leper Home, emphasized the relation of the disease to the public health. It is endemic and dangerous in the Southern states, but negligible in the North. By a statute enacted in 1917, the federal government assumes the care and treatment of all lepers in the continental United States, and the United States Public Health Service is at the point of securing a site for a leprosarium.

The final meeting was devoted to the care and treatment of the feebleminded in the South. The vastness of the problem and the meagerness of the means thus far adopted to combat it were outstanding facts. Preventing their reproduction was shown to be the step most necessary for the protection of society. The need of extra-institutional supervision was pointed out by many speakers. Jean Gordon, of the Milne Home for Girls, delivering the principal address, won applause for the preventive steps now being taken in the care of feebleminded girls in the South.

ROBERT W. KELSO.

Health

IN selecting the topics for discussion, the divisional committee on health took into account the tremendous impetus given to the extension of the public health movement particularly in the smaller cities and rural districts by the recent influenza epidemics and by the publication of the findings of the draft boards as to physical fitness for military service. It was felt at this meeting of the conference the consideration of problems relating to the organization and administration of health services, of methods, procedures and program of work would be especially worth while. Accordingly, specialists in the field of public health nursing, in the work of hospitals, in the development of hospital social service, in public health publicity, and in the organization of health centers were secured. The animated discussions and the type of questions propounded showed the timeliness of such a review of the fundamentals and of an evaluation of measures and methods in these various lines of work.

Team work in the public health movement, a perennial topic at health conventions for the past ten years, came in for skillful treatment at the hands of Courtenay Dinwiddie and Dr. Donald B. Armstrong. The steady multiplication in the local communities of private health agencies, the increase in the lines of health work carried on by public health departments, and the assumption of special services by hospitals and by the educational authorities, make the formulation of coordinated programs of health work more imperatively urgent than ever before. A sympathetic and intelligent understanding on the part of private health agencies of the limitations imposed upon public health officials by the rigidity of laws, by cumbersome civil service rules, and by hampering regulations framed by indifferent fiscal officers; and similarly an understanding and appreciation on the part of public health officials of the fact that the funds of private health organizations are generally contributed for specific purposes, often for experimental or demonstration work, and usually cannot be devoted to piecing out the expenditures for routine lines of work performed by public health departments, that the private health agencies are sincerely endeavoring to uphold the hands of the public health officials and not trying to embarrass them—a real understanding and appreciation of these things by both groups must be the foundation, the two speakers asserted, upon which successful cooperative and coordinated programs of work are built up. Jesse O. Thomas described machinery for the generating of cooperation in health work between whites and Negroes in Atlanta. Under this plan, a group of representative whites and a group of representative Negroes meet separately three times each month for the consideration of matters pertaining to health, civic, and social welfare, exchange copies of the minutes of the proceedings of these meetings, and then come together for a joint meeting in the last week of the month.

The rapid development of health work in the local com-

munities has had the effect of bringing out more clearly the need of a strong state health policy and of a well financed state health department with a trained personnel. John Tombs, of Albuquerque, described the steps taken in New Mexico last year to create public opinion for the establishment of a state health department, how this opinion had been successfully focused upon the members of the state legislature and governor, and how a full time, well trained state health commissioner and well equipped personnel had been secured. In most states, the creation of strong central health departments needs to be followed up with the enactment of legislation providing for the consolidation of the hundreds of little, local health units into district or county units, of population and wealth sufficient to justify the employment of full-time trained health officials. Ohio in 1919 led the way in taking this advanced step. Robert G. Paterson of Akron, explained the features of the so-called Hughes act, which created larger health units, made mandatory the employment of full-time health officers, public health nurses, and clerks by such units, appointed from civil service lists, and provide state aid for carrying out the purposes of the act.

The special health problems of the immigrant were discussed in the joint session with the Division on the Uniting of Native- and Foreign-Born in America. The conditions to be faced were graphically outlined by Dr. Caroline Hedger who advocated unification of effort with a common aim of health, and suggested that "the point of view of health should be approached from the point of view of the neighbor." Too much should not be expected of the foreigner all at once. His superstitions and fears must be allayed. The screws should be put on him with no more pressure than will develop responsibility. The point of view of the health officer was presented in a carefully prepared paper by Dr. Henry F. Vaughan, commissioner of health, and Arch Mandel, of the Bureau of Governmental Research of Detroit. The health work among the foreign-born in Detroit was described and an attempt made to evaluate results. A paper by Antoinette Cannon embodied the results of a study of methods of Americanization as set forth in replies to questionnaires sent to 188 hospital social service departments. The social conditions affecting health most frequently seen are bad housing and overcrowding, illiteracy, use of midwives, superstition and fear, family incoordination, lack of discipline and isolation of the mother. Miss Cannon recommended courses in training schools on immigrant heritages, study of household customs of different nationalities and teaching based on this, better public health work for Americans, interest in languages and published studies, more literature.

At the last session Dr. Royal Meeker, commissioner of labor statistics, presented some of the results of his careful studies of family budgets and the cost of living and compared them with similar data obtained in 1901-02. The statistics thus far gathered indicate that the average American workingman and his family are living on a lower level than before the war. Dr. Meeker urged the working out of standard quantity budgets for the average American family. A paper by Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, of the Prudential Insurance Company, provoked a heated discussion of health insurance. Dr. Hoffman condemned in no uncertain terms national health insurance in England and the attempts in this country to establish it. Exception to his statements was taken by a number of those present who felt that health insurance was a logical development. E. G. Routzahn considered how best to "sell health to the people." There is a pressing need for better material in the way of exhibits and means of approaching the locality to make health attractive.

GEORGE J. NELBACH and RICHARD A. BOLT, M.D.

THE SURVEY

Negro and White Man

A. M. Moore

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Robert Smillie

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PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

[Order pamphlets of publishers.]

Pamphlets are listed once in this column without charge. Later listing may be made under CURRENT PAMPHLETS (see page 159.)

COAL. No. 2: Pennsylvania-Anthracite Federal Trade Commission, Washington.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS. By Carl D. Thompson. From Public Ownership League of America, 1439 Unity bldg., Chicago, Ill. Price 50 cents.

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL UNREST. By Prof. Ernest R. Groves. Reprinted from the Scientific Monthly. From author, New Hampshire College, Durham, N. H.

SAFE PRACTICES. No. 82. National Safety Council, 168 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago. Price 25 cents. Drafted by W. D. Keefer.

EPIDEMICS: HOW TO MEET THEM. Review and Herald Publishing Assn., Takoma Park Station, Washington, D. C. Price 25 cents.

CONSOLIDATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN CHICAGO. Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

CALIFORNIA JUVENILE COURT LAW, 1919. Compiled by the California State Library for the Children's Department, State Board of Control. From State Board of Control, Sacramento.

THE BEST MOTION PICTURES FOR CHURCH AND SEMI-RELIGIOUS ENTERTAINMENTS. A Catalogue. Price 25 cents. MOTION PICTURES NOT GUILTY—Relation of Motion Pictures to Juvenile Delinquency. Price 10 cents.

THE BEST MOTION PICTURES ON AMERICANISM. ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF REVIEW. OBJECTIONS TO STATE CENSORSHIP OF MOTION PICTURES. From the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

LYNCH LAW AND THE IMMIGRANT ALIEN. By Frederick C. Howe. Reprinted from The Nation. The Peoples of America Society, 41 Union square, New York.

THE FOSTER MOTHER OF THE RACE. THE LADY WITH THE LAMP—AND HER INHERITORS. National Organization for Public Health Nursing, 156 Fifth avenue, New York.

AN APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth avenue, New York.

THE FEEBLEMINDED AND THE COMMUNITY. Prepared by the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania. The Central Bureau of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, 154 North Fifteenth street, Philadelphia.

HANDBOOK FOR COUNTY PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATIONS. Minnesota Public Health Association, Shubert building, St. Paul, Minn.

THE SOVIET OF DEER ISLAND, BOSTON HARBOR. Price, 15 cents. Boston Branch of American Civil Liberties Union, 2 Park square, Boston.

THE OKLAHOMA PUBLIC HEALTH SURVEYS—MUSKOGEE. By M. P. Horwood, M. S., and Jules Schevitz, B. S. Oklahoma Tuberculosis Association, Oklahoma City, Okla.

FACTORY WORK FOR GIRLS. By Margaret Hodgen. Price, 85 cents. Womans Press, 600 Lexington avenue, New York.

THROUGH SANTO DOMINGO AND HAITI. By Samuel Guy Inman. Price, 50 cents. Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 25 Madison avenue, New York.

THE KANSAS CITY STREET RAILWAY SITUATION. Chamber of Commerce, Kansas City, Mo.

HISTORY OF CUMULATIVE VOTING AND MINORITY REPRESENTATION IN ILLINOIS, 1870-1919. By Blaine F. Moore. Revised edition. Price, 75 cents. Editor of University Studies, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

THE SOCIAL SURVEY: ITS HISTORY AND METHODS. By Carl C. Taylor. Social Science Series 3, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

WOMEN IN THE GOVERNMENT SERVICE. By Bertha M. Nienburg. Bulletin No. 8, Women's Bureau, Dept. of Labor, Washington.

PROBLEMS OF CITIZENSHIP. Prepared by the Bureau for Research in Government, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

A SYLLABUS ON STUDIES IN CITIZENSHIP. By David Y. Thomas. University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.

ACCIDENTS AND ACCIDENT PREVENTION IN MACHINE BUILDING. By Lucian W. Chaney. Bulletin No. 250, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Dept. of Labor, Washington. Price, 15 cents.

DANGERS IN CHILDBEARING. Statistical Dept., Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., 1 Madison avenue, New York.

GUILD SOCIALISM—A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Prepared by S. Zimand, Bureau of Industrial Research, 289 Fourth avenue, New York. Reprinted from the Library Journal for March. Price, 25 cents.

FROM CAR DOOR TO CONSUMER. By H. C. Filley. Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.

ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT IN INDUSTRIAL PLANTS. National Safety Council, 168 No. Michigan avenue, Chicago. Price, 25 cents.

EXPERIMENTAL MEDICINE AND THE VENEREAL DISEASES. By William F. Snow, M. D., and Thomas A. Storey, M. D. American Social Hygiene Association, 105 West 40th street, New York.

THE MENTAL HYGIENE OF INDUSTRY. By E. E. Southard, M. D. Reprinted from Industrial Management for February. 29 West 39th street, New York, Engineering Foundation.

EVERY GIRL, A PAGEANT. By Mary S. Edgar. Price, 35 cents. Women's Press, 600 Lexington avenue, New York.

REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ON THE WHOLESALE MARKETING OF FOOD. Price, 30 cents. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY. Part IV and VI. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON PRIVATE CAR LINES. Government Printing Office, Washington.

THE ENGLISH CONVICT—A STATISTICAL STUDY. By Charles Goring. Price, 3s. net. H. M. Stationery Office, Imperial House, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2.

TEACHING ENGLISH TO THE FOREIGN-BORN. By Henry H. Goldberger. Bulletin 80. Bureau of Education, Washington. Price, 10 cents.

CHILD HEALTH PROGRAM FOR PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS AND WOMEN'S CLUBS. Health Education No. 5. Bureau of Education, Washington.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE AS CONDITIONS OF MENTAL HEALTH. By William H. Burnham. No. 57. A STATE PROGRAM FOR THE CARE OF THE MENTALLY DEFECTIVE. By Walter E. Fernald. No. 62. THE PSYCHIATRIC THREAD RUNNING THROUGH ALL SOCIAL CASE-WORK. By Mary C. Jarrett. No. 49. NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASE AS A PROBLEM IN PUBLIC HEALTH. By Frankwood E. Williams. From Nat'l Comm. for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union square, New York.

THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES. By Francis H. McLean. From author, 130 East 22nd street, New York. Price, 75 cents.

FIRST AID TO THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER. By S. Dana Hubbard. Keep Well Leaflet No. 19, Dept. of Health, New York.

LABOR TURNOVER IN CLEVELAND AND DETROIT. By Boris Emmet Labor Turnover Among Employes of a California Copper Mining and Smelting Company. By Paul F. Brissenden. Reprints from the Monthly Labor Review, Government Printing Office, Washington.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE THEOLOGY OF THE EPISTLES. By Prof. H. A. A. Kennedy. Chas. Scribner's Sons. 267 pp. Price, $1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.90.

LETTERS FROM CHINA AND JAPAN. By John Dewey and Alice Chipman Dewey. E. P. Dutton & Co. 311 pp. Price, $2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.70.

THE NEW GERMANY. By George Young. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 333 pp. Price, $2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.70.

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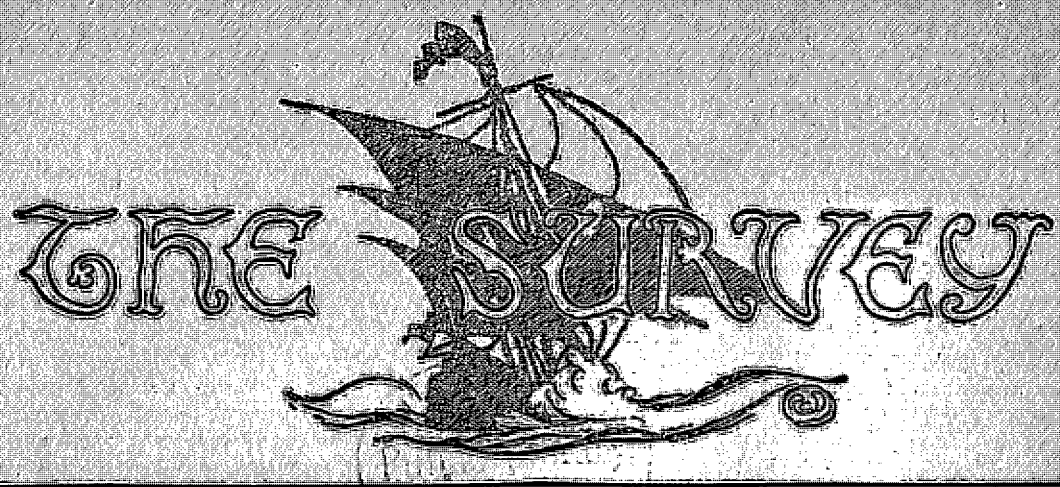

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THE SURVEY

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INDUSTRIAL REST

A NOTE of social contentment comes from Madrid. According to press dispatches the strike of banderillos and picadors was satisfactorily settled in time for the bull fighting season to get in full swing, with seats at every ringside in the country sold out despite a 50 per cent increase in prices.

BULLETIN OF THE L. F. N. A.

NOW comes the monthly Bulletin of the League of Free Nations Association. It is designed to keep a growing membership in touch with headquarters, but it promises to become more than a shop organ and to serve as a link in aequainting Americans with what is happening overseas in a way which will supplement the admirable International Relations Section of the Nation. To judge by the second number it may seek also to cover Pan-American developments at a time when there is a distinct movement throughout South America adverse to the United States. One immediate and practical service of the Bulletin is to share with members scattered throughout the country the Saturday luncheon discussions of this association which, last year and this, with attendance ranging from three hundred to two thousand have become a feature in the life of New York. The first Bulletin was given over to the discussion of Free Speech and Free Press; the second Bulletin has Mr. Keynes' book, The Economic Consequences of the Peace, as its theme with addresses by Paul D. Cravath, legal adviser, United States Treasury Finance Commission, 1918; Allyn A. Young, economic adviser, United States Commission to Negotiate Peace; Alvin Johnson, editor, the New Republic; and David Hunter Miller, legal adviser, United States Commission to Negotiate Peace.

AN ALL-THE-YEAR CONFERENCE

THE Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work now has a full time executive secretary and is establishing its claim to be an all-the-year-round and all-the-state-over agency for the promotion of progressive public service.

For ten years the Wisconsin conference, like those of most other states, relied upon voluntary service, a nominal membership and a treasury with responsibility only for postage stamps and a little printing. It is now planned to organize the entire state down to the smallest and most remote community. There is to be an active membership in every county through which in all communities, urban and rural, such problems will be studied as sanitation, feeblemindedness, child protection, the prevention of crime and delinquency. On the basis of such studies local community programs will be made and district conferences will be held for the discussion

of local problems and the best method of dealing with them. On the basis again of such definite information and discussions and on more general information from the state as a whole, it is planned to frame appropriate laws to meet the proved needs of the state. It is hoped in this way to promote general discussion and the ripening of informed public opinion in advance of the sessions of the legislature.

A fund of $10,000 has been estimated to be necessary for the expenses of the secretary's office for the current year. Edward D. B. Lynde, formerly executive secretary of the Social Welfare Association of Grand Rapids, Michigan, has assumed the duties of the executive secretary of the Wisconsin state conference.

HUMAN ENGINEERING

THE Harvard Engineering School, beginning this fall, will adopt the plan of the University of Cincinnati. It will put its third and fourth year students on alternate two months' shifts into the factories and mills and on the railroads of New England. This announcement was made last week by members of the engineering faculty in attendance at a meeting in Boston of the Harvard Liberal Club, a meeting designed to raise the whole question of the scope of engineering instruction at the university. While the Engineering School is at present short of funds, within a few years a considerable part of the $20,000,000 Mackay bequest should be available, and the Liberal Club is out for such a broad interpretation of its provisions as will not only strengthen the technical faculty but will relate the whole training of young engineers to the social, labor and managerial sides of industry. A canvass of engineering schools made showed that with a few honorable exceptions, students destined to play leading roles in the management of industries were receiving no courses in human or social engineering, and that even the existence of the problem of labor management was barely recognized.

In announcing the plan to be entered upon at Harvard this fall Prof. Lionel S. Marks pointed out that while there have been tremendous advances in mechanical, chemical and electrical technique, the scope of the engineering curriculum has tended to remain fixed; it centers now as thirty years ago upon the problem of designing and operating industries and transportation systems. Yet in the interval this country has become the greatest producing unit in the world; the problem has become one of management as well as of engineering.

The Harvard curriculum will remain the same for the first two years. Thereafter the students will go out. "At the start," said Professor Marks, "we want them to come in contact with the lower grades of unskilled labor; to learn the team play of section gangs and foundry work; earn the same pay; eat at the same places; join the labor unions. We want this arrangement because by the time of graduation a student is likely to form such a mental crust as will always stand between him and an understanding of his fellow-workers who have not gone through the same process." After that they will go into the machine shops and then the office and time-study and other departments to learn administration. Ultimately it is hoped in conjunction with the School of Business Administration to inaugurate a fifth year in which specialization along these lines can be carried further.

A CLOSED TOWN REMAINS CLOSED

ON Sunday, May 9, the American Federation of Labor, with the cooperation of the American Civil Liberties Union, attempted to raise the ban on public speech and assembly in western Pennsylvania with an outdoor mass meeting in Duquesne, the site of the United States Steel Corporation's model mill. At 2 p. m. William M. Finck, former pastor of the Greenwich Presbyterian Church of New York city, and now head of the Brookewood School of Katonah, N. Y., rose in an automobile to address the miscellaneous audience. He began: "Gentlemen, we are here under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor to test out the constitutional rights . . . " and was stopped by the chief of police, who asked if he had a permit. Finck replied that application for a permit had been ignored, and presented copies of letters sent to the authorities by registered mail each week for four weeks proceeding. He was placed under arrest.

Immediately J. L. Beaghen, general organizer for the A. F. of L., followed and was similarly arrested. James Sauce, another organizer and former resident of Duquesne, was permitted to proceed so far as to state that the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers intended to organize the workers of Duquesne, if they wished to organize, and that he desired to present the case of the committee—and he was placed under arrest. John Olchon, organizer of the A. F. of L. representing the machinists of Youngstown, a Slav leader, provided more dramatic variations. He began: "Fellow political prisoners of the City of Duquesne. You who have no constitutional rights. Listen and I will tell you some good stories of the City of Duquesne. We live in America . . . " He was yanked from the car. "That's fine," he exclaimed; "and this is America!"

Two other organizers were arrested and bulletins of the steel workers' committee, advising the residents of Duquesne of their constitutional rights, were removed from the car and confiscated. Six troopers of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary then rode through to clear the streets, forcing the crowd, three hundred or more in number, on to the sidewalks. In their wake several score of uniformed steel mill police and plain clothes men rushed in to disperse the crowd. A half a dozen or more arbitrary arrests were made by the mill deputies. Indeed, while Beaghen was speaking Ben Schwartzwalter, a spectator, said to be a member of the Bakery Workers' Union, was roughly taken into custody, while attempting to make a photograph of the speaker. Two or three persons were arrested for stepping off the curb; one man was taken into custody for attempting to snap a small kodak. George Dawson, a newspaperman, who had taken six plates with his camera, was compelled to relinquish them by the chief of police—supported by troopers and local police. One of the mill police shouted to the foreigners, "Get off the street or I'll put you in the Bastille." Two foreign workers were later arrested for talking loudly on the street.

Thorough preparations to prevent the meeting had evidently been made by the mayor and police, and the Duquesne steel mill authorities. A squad of state troopers had been ordered to the city Saturday evening; they kept circling the place of meeting in twos throughout Sunday morning, and later effectively supported the local authorities. Incidentally several vacant lots near the meeting place fairly bristled with newly painted signs reading, "No Trespassing. Private Property. By Order of the Agent."

At the police court, over which James S. Crawford, mayor of Duquesne, presides, the docket was prepared charging the organizers with violating a city ordinance, and the foreign spectators with obstructing the street and sidewalk. Bail was fixed by Mayor Crawford at $100 for the labor speakers and at $10 for the spectators. The organizers refused to furnish bail, choosing to remain in custody; the others paid their $10 charges and were released.

At the hearing early Monday morning only Schwartwalter of the spectators appeared. He was freed because of lack of evidence. Finck and the five organizers were arraigned for violation of city ordinance No. 37, which forbids public speech or assembly without a permit, "in the public interest." A copy of this ordinance revealed the fact that it had been presented by James S. Crawford in his capacity as councilman in March, 1919, signed by him as president of council and "examined and approved" by him as mayor. Moreover, James S. Crawford, who smiled and shrugged his shoulders when one of the Pittsburgh attorneys remarked that he seemed to be the "Pooh-Bah" at Duquesne, sat as police court judge and committing magistrate and imposed the maximum fine of $100 or thirty days in jail upon the organizers, who had violated his ordinance, after he had, as mayor, refused them a permit.

Negro and White Man

The Proper Basis of Race Relationship

By A. M. Moore

DR. A. M. MOORE here appears as spokesman for "the Negro people of our Southland," on "questions of great significance in the healthy and amicable development of both races." It is a message for the North as well as for the South. It was, however, prepared for a Southern conference and was received with every evidence of sympathy and with genuine appreciation of the gravity and the infancy of these questions.

Dr. Moore lives in Durham, N. C., and as the head of the most extensive insurance business conducted by and for colored people in the South, he has an unusual opportunity to compare conditions in various states and neighborhoods. Although the Negro's demand as interpreted by Dr. Moore includes the giving of the ballot "to properly qualified persons as a guarantee of their full protection," and a plea to "the white woman especially to open her heart and look upon her black sister with compassion and to recognize the struggle she has made against the worst elements of both races," the address also deals with specific economic grievances. "The life of the educated and thrifty Negro is today cheaper than it was in the days of slavery." What Dr. Moore says about lynching, segregation, the Jim Crow car, amalgamation, religion, education, and the treatment of black soldiers in France, is neither platitudinous nor rhetorical. He speaks soberly without rancor or subservience.—EDITOR.

I COME before you with no thought of underestimating the hopeful signs of increased cooperation and better understanding between the races that will, in the end, adjust all our misunderstandings. But I come as a witness under oath, pledged to tell you "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." It is my sacred duty to look facts in the face with you, and see what the future holds; and I beg you to receive what I say in the spirit in which it is given and to help me to define the proper basis of relations for our racial groups.

During the period following slavery there was a spirit of helpfulness and personal interest on the part of white people toward colored people that does not now exist. No farm or household was complete without its Negro cabins, and the master and mistress took a personal interest in their employes, taught them to read their Bible and to write and to live upright lives. The colored people also felt their master's interest to be their own.

But as time went on the Negro laborer was put on a salary basis, which was small, because of the impoverished condition of the South, and this minimized his personal interest in his job and in his employer. Negro women went to manage their own households in Negro settlements, and left behind the hired girl, who did not continue the old attachment with her white mistress.

This girl, because of her weakness and because of the unfortunate position in which she was placed became the victim of the passions of her white overlord, and a race of mulattoes was begun. This so enraged the white mistress, with her higher moral standard, that she thrust from her and from her heart the dishonored mother; and from that day she came to hold in light regard the virtue of Negro women.

Then followed the period of estrangement, leading down to the present. White women came to hate black women and to give that hatred to their children. Likewise, the black woman bore a deeper hatred, because it was colored by a terrible social injustice to her and her offspring; and she taught that offspring to distrust and to hate white people.

The Negro woman went through a period of suffering and despair as an atonement for her sin in permitting herself to be overcome by her employer; and she has purged her soul and strengthened her Christian character to an extent that white women have not yet come to recognize. This failure to acknowledge the atonement of black women for the sins of the past must be recompensed in the future by the white women of the South, before the races can come to the fullest self-respect.

In the period of estrangement following the Civil War, the entrance of the freedmen into politics served especially to deepen the hostility between the races. Without commenting upon the grosser irregularities, the errors and injustices on both sides, I may mention the one thing that has remained the most harmful to my people. The white politician began then and has kept up ever since a campaign of vilification and abuse which has magnified every fault and minimized every virtue of the Negro. He sowed the spirit of hatred which is reaped today in the utter lack of understanding on the part of both races. I do not at all obscure instances of misuse of the ballot by the new voter; but the Negro, with his natural love for his recent master, would have overcome the vicious and unscrupulous elements in his race, had the unscrupulous white politician not made capital of his ignorance.

Even since the elimination of the Negro from politics the tirade is unbated and his condition has been made worse. He was advised to turn to business, education and religion, and he has done so. But it has only intensified his hardships, because he is stripped of all political power and incapable of checking the drift of sentiment against him. The life of the educated and thrifty Negro is today cheaper than it was in the days of slavery. He feels today that he is driven away from his property often because he owns it. Churches, schools and lodge halls have been burned down and fine homes dynamited because of ill-will against the owners. In many communities Negroes will not accumulate property for fear of having to leave it at any time.

Note, for instance, the growth of lynching which has helped to make life for the Negro insecure and dependable upon the whim of the mob. Since 1889, 3,308 persons, nearly all Negroes, have been lynched, some of them women. In 1919, 77 Negroes were done to death by hanging, burning, shooting, drowning, beating and cutting, four of these occurring in my own state of North Carolina.

It used to be charged that lynchings only followed cases of rape, but of the 77 persons lynched last year only 19 were alleged to have committed this unmentionable crime. The others were killed for various reasons, many of them frivolous.

It has also been thought that this hideous crime was the expression of a desire for social equality. I believe it very clearly is not. The mind of a rapist is steeped in ignorance, debased by hatred and debauched in the desire for revenge.

Like a mad dog he runs amuck in the community seeking whom he may devour. If this crime was an expression of the desire for social equality it would occur among the class of Negroes corresponding more to the Anglo-Saxon type, as it usually does not. It is also noteworthy that this crime was unknown when sympathetic relations existed generally between the races; and that friendly white people who help the Negro and who are more often in contact with them are never the victims. And lynchings usually occur in districts where the races are farthest apart.

The Segregation Problem

THE effect of a lynching is far worse on the white race than it is on the race of the victim; for only one Negro is lost to his race but a thousand murderers are turned loose on the whites with fiendish passions and lusts aroused to be satisfied on white and not black people.

Another thing much misunderstood is the matter of segregation. There persists a mistaken feeling on the part of many white people that Negroes desire to live among them. The thought that the Negro simply wants better surroundings and modern improvements, such as may be found in any white neighborhood and are not usually found in any colored section, never seems to be considered. There is no objection on the part of Negroes to separation itself, so long as that separation is not promulgated on the theory of inferiority and is not used to deprive the Negro of improvements which he is entitled to have as a tax-payer. The whole tendency on the part of the Negro is toward a natural selection of his own kind, even among his own race; and removal from among whites is prompted by a feeling of loneliness for his own and a desire to avoid friction.

But the penalty for this natural human desire is unwholesome surroundings and indecent environment for the rearing of Negro children, because of the failure of those who make the laws, collect and appropriate the taxes and govern the cities, to improve and police Negro sections and to take a genuine interest in the community life of the race. The segregated district has meant in the past unsuitable living quarters, a higher mortality, especially among children, increased insurance rates on life and property, inadequate lighting, policing, sewerage and drainage.

It has recently happened in my own home city, during the influenza epidemic, that the streets of our isolated Negro section were so muddy that automobiles could not make deliveries of soup and medicines after they had been prepared for the sick. There are entire counties in Mississippi and other parts of the South without any whites at all; but these districts are uncared for and are taxed without any representation.

Similarly, the Jim Crow car has meant inferior accommodations of travel—filthy coaches, waiting rooms and toilets; often only one toilet for both men and women. Yet colored passengers pay the same fare as white passengers. The principle upon which the Jim Crow car is established—that of racial superiority—is iniquitous and is a humiliation to everyone who is forced to submit to it. But the humiliation of the Jim Crow car is small as compared to the humiliation of the Jim Crow spirit that dominates every walk of the Negro's life.

If only the white people would think of the lofty position they occupy in American civilization, they would certainly see that it requires no emphasis to remind colored people of their superior intelligence, political experience and social development. This is evident from all the Negro can see about him; it is written on the skies. It is therefore never necessary, and it only aggravates, to curse, kick, abuse and Jim Crow; to speak of colored people as "niggers," "coons" or even to call them "auntie" or "uncle." These things only embarrass colored people and do not strengthen the case of the white man. The custom of newspapers to ridicule the efforts of colored people is also a gratuitous insult that they have to meet on every hand.

God made of one blood all races of men. Superiority of races comes through service to mankind. The great races of the past who forgot their duty to their fellow-men perished from the earth. The great white race has been preserved as teacher and lawgiver of all mankind, but it must not forget its Christian mission and duty to lead and to love the weaker and darker races of the earth.

There is a pronounced tendency on the part of white people to discriminate against the darker-skinned colored people and to be more resentful of their presence, although they may be cultured and educated. This is having a disastrous effect by damning everything black and elevating everything white, and by creating the desire in colored people for lighter-skinned children. Thus, black men have been choosing women of lighter complexion, and the last census showed that 25 per cent of the Negroes are mulattoes. Thousands of them have bleached their skins. This all means that as Negroes become lighter in complexion they cross the color line and become amalgamated and lost in the white race. Thus the white man does indirectly what neither he nor the Negro wants done directly. I can say for the black man that his desire is not for amalgamation; he has pride of race and of ancestry and desires to build his own civilization beside that of the Anglo-Saxon without hindrance or limitation.

The Negro desires and is entitled to receive greater consideration from the Christians of America. The silence of the white pulpit and its failure to throw its force against lynching and lawlessness calls forth severe criticism from the Negro pulpit. The Negro minister is often inefficient, but he is a loyal leader of an important group of our citizenship and should be helped by the white congregations. A broader spirit should be shown toward him.

Recently, at a great state organization of Christian ministers in a certain town, a committee of Negro preachers went to the church and sat in a rear, unoccupied seat. They were immediately invited to the gallery.

Away from the Church

THE eagerness with which Negro ministers took hold of the Interchurch World Movement shows their desire for help. They know their weakness and recognize the fact that the rapid advance of the race along commercial lines is removing them from church influences. One of the most pressing problems of our own race, and one which seriously affects race relations, is that perhaps one-third of our pulpits are today unoccupied, while a large fraction of the remaining two-thirds is poorly filled.

The drift of the race toward commercialism and away from the church is largely because of a lack of trained leaders; and this in turn is due to inadequate provision for education, especially in the higher branches. The South has repeatedly told the North it is looking after the Negro, and today it is very difficult to secure funds from the North for any other than industrial schools; while the South does not sustain a single college for Negroes that receives class A rating. On the other hand, every state in the South has its excellent white university. The South is losing its opportunity to make a religious impression on the growing youth of the land. The mission and denominational schools are wholly inadequate and the states are not doing their duty. The young Negroes are forced to go

North for all professional education and usually do not come back to the old conditions.

At the present stage of the Negro's development, the attitude of national leaders toward our service men has been most humiliating and difficult to understand. They evaded the appointment of surgeons, nurses and officers for Negro soldiers. The Negro was considered necessary in the great struggle, and it is said that one dollar of every five given in the various drives in the South was given by Negroes. They furnished their quota of fighting men and received many decorations for bravery; their loyalty was unquestioned. Yet, in the triumphant parade in France the American Negro soldier was not permitted to participate, although the black colonials of other nations were in line. In the Panthéon de la Guerre, in Paris, where the achievements of the Allied armies are shown in a great painting, representing the history of the war, it was ordered that there should appear no face of a black American, although black colonials and Indians are represented. The impression is left that the American Negro is a degraded being unworthy to have any historic recollection or remembrance.

This strange turn from the policy of rewarding the valor and self-sacrifice of good citizens can only be explained by the freakishness of those in authority. Perry on Lake Erie, with his loyal black supporters, Chrispus Attucks on Boston Commons, San Juan Hill and Carrizal cannot be faded from the American mind or from the annals of history. In the face of this illustrious history and the glorious achievement of the race, the Negro's star will not be dimmed. He is determined so to live that these war-lords of hate will have to do a lot of explaining in the future to their sons who inquire why the deeds of the Negro have been obscured by the prejudiced historian.

The only enduring basis of race relations must be one founded upon the teachings of Jesus Christ. Justice, mutual respect, brotherly love and Christian charity must be the cornerstones, and any structure reared thereon will be substantial and will withstand the dry rot of hatred and the disintegration of prejudice and misunderstanding.

There must continue the fine relationship between the white and colored leaders in such a state as mine. The Negro needs the civilization, ideals, standards and culture of the white people and, most of all, their kind personal sympathy. The white man needs the labor, the simple-hearted loyalty and the soulful song of the Negro. The South is suffering because both are not getting from each other what the other has. The leaders must see that a proper succession is established as the younger men of both races come to assume the duties that we older men are laying down.

It must be realized that the Negro, as a worthy citizen, wants for his fullest, though separate, development all those things that go to make a full man. He wants complete justice in the courts and in all the dealings of the races. He wants equal advantages for education and for mental and spiritual growth. He wants to be thought of as a man and not as a "problem"; and he is eager and willing to prove himself worthy of such thought, if the handicap of his color is removed.

The Negro pleads with the white woman especially to open her heart and look upon her black sister with compassion and to recognize the struggle she has made against the worst elements of both races. The black woman, it has been truthfully said, is the tragedy of the race. There are millions of our wives and daughters who have nothing in their lives to be ashamed of. The greatest stigma today that a colored woman can receive from society is that which associates her with a white man in immoral relations. Yet, our women never have the satisfaction of knowing that other women have faith and confidence in them.

The Negro asks the white man to extend the ballot to properly qualified persons as a guarantee of their full protection. He does not desire to rule but he does desire to share in the government of his country, and he would not be a worth while citizen if he did not. He believes that the spirit of lawlessness has arisen from his helplessness and that it cannot be checked until his white friends make him a full citizen and give him proper presentation in the government for which he is ever ready and willing to give his life. The white man is also asked to remember that it is indeed unjust to deprive every intelligent, honest and upright colored man of the highest privilege of citizenship because of the errors of his ancestors in the distant past.

We thank God that the Negro is 100 per cent American. The red flag of bolshevism and anarchism has never disgraced the cabin door of a black man and never will. He who charges that we are in sympathy with the advocates of force or retaliation, except in necesssary self-defense, underestimates our intelligence and knows not the mind of the Negro who was never more determined to live within the law than today. Recent evidences of the supremacy of law shown by actions of the governors of North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and other Southern states is a double guarantee of the rights of every citizen, white or black, who trusts his case to the law. We therefore mean to deal justly and live uprightly and die at the altar of your civilization pleading for a man's chance.

CHALLENGE!

WHY should my life
Be beaten
Like brass,
Or shaped
Like enamel,
Into a small
Conventional design?

Le Baron Cooke.

THE SOCIAL WORKSHOP

—A Department of Practice

HEALTH

Conducted by
EDWARD T. DEVINE

Progress in 1919

A VALUABLE series of articles reviewing the progress made last year in the several subdivisions of the field of public health appears in a recent issue of the Modern Hospital. In practically every case the article includes a summary of the effects of the war and amounts to a statement of present status and outlook. As the series covers over fifty of the journal's large pages, it is not practicable within the limits of this department to give a full digest of them. One or two of the more significant facts or reflections, however, have been selected about each of the fields in which SURVEY readers are especially interested.

Hospital Standardization, by John M. Bresnahan, M.D. The American College of Surgeons completed its survey of hospitals with a capacity of 100 beds or more in the United States and Canada, finding that on October 1, 1919, there were 198 of the 671 hospitals in this class which met the minimum standard that had been set up. The regents of the college have decided to extend its activities to include general hospitals of fifty or more beds. The American Medical Association, through its Council on Medical Education, made an exhaustive report on its survey of the 6,440 hospitals of the country with ten or more beds, with respect to their use of internes, presenting a tentative schedule of essentials for the satisfactory training of internes. The Catholic Hospital Association, various state and county medical societies and boards of licensure, the American Conference on Hospital Service, the American Protestant Hospital Association, and other organizations, as well as the medical press and many individual writers, have actively furthered the cooperative effort known as "hospital standardization," which is a movement, not for making institutions similar to one another, but for raising the general level of hospital service, and insuring a certain minimum.

Hospital Construction, by Richard E. Schmidt. In spite of difficulties attending building in 1918-19, the number of hospitals which opened their doors last year was not much below the average. The character of design has improved; "they indicate repose and restraint and withal are not extravagant or over-ornamented." It is anticipated that the high cost of building may bring about a decline from the generally approved standards of arrangement and equipment; while on the other hand, the general decrease in the number of patients since prohibition went into effect and employment has been plentiful may relieve existing institutions; and the shortage of employes and attendants of all sorts will stimulate the installation of such labor-saving devices as fast-power dumb waiters, push-button elevators, circulating drinking-water, careful distribution of plumbing fixtures, chutes, linen, hospital supplies, and centers of food distribution and waste disposal, and will promote the use of durable material and finishes for floors and other surfaces.

Hospital Administration, by Andrew R. Warner, M.D. "Justified hopes, accelerated tendencies, and crystallized opinions" in administration are noted for the year 1919, and attributed to the return to civil life of the large numbers of physicians trained in institutional medicine and management in the military hospitals, and also to the wider general interest in improved hospital service; "but may he who writes of the field of hospital administration for 1920 have definite, accomplished acts and progress to record."

Nursing Education, by Isabel M. Stewart. Recovery from the demoralization due to the war and the epidemic; efforts to recruit student nurses, and to improve the conditions under which they get their training, as a means to that end and to prevent their dropping out by the way; improvements in course of study; special courses for the preparation of public health nurses; the opening of several new courses for nurses in universities, and the increase of the number to twelve which give the B. S. degree for the combined academic and professional course; with a revival of the agitation for "a cheap worker of the old servant-nurse type," are among the developments of the year to which attention is called.

Medical Social Work, by Edna G. Henry. Medical social work entered the military hospitals during the war, the Roman Catholic institutions and the hospitals of the Public Health Service since the armistice, and there are now, in the United States and Canada, 296 "individuals or groups of individuals called social service departments," of which at least 75 "have a claim to be called social service departments under the narrowest definition." The tendencies in this field are summarized as follows:

> Medical social service departments are becoming more and more a part of the institutions which they inhabit. They are releasing, gradually, the question of financial relief to others, and are giving more attention to their own problem, that of the physical condition. Constantly their responsibility for the patient leads them farther from the hospital door until a real sense of responsibility to the community as well as to the patient is being developed. They are a big factor in the new belief that a hospital ought to be a social asset.

Tuberculosis Sanatorium Development, by T. B. Kidner. Twenty-five new sanatoriums, with a total capacity of 1,263 beds, were opened; four states appropriated funds for seven new state institutions; the United States Public Health Service opened four sanatoriums, providing something like 2,000 beds, for ex-service men; auxiliary methods of treatment, especially by occupational therapy, were more largely employed; and after-care received increasing attention.

Laboratories, by Louis B. Wilson, M.D. Increased familiarity with, and appreciation of, laboratory procedures by clinicians is singled out as the greatest mark of progress made by hospital laboratories during the year. More and better housing and equipment for laboratories, and more and better-equipped men to put in them, are the crying needs for the immediate future.

Health in Industry, by Barrow B. Lyons. "There is nothing more notable in the development of industrial medicine during the past year than the very greatly increased interest in the subject among medical men. In almost every industrial town in the country some physician or surgeon begins to stand out prominently as the one most competent to handle industrial accident cases, and in a number of the large cities there are to be found men who have developed a more or less extensive service through which varying types of industrial, medical, and surgical assistance is rendered by a group of men. . . . The most wide awake leaders of industry are searching for men who can organize a direct health work in industry, which calls for the highest type of leadership, great

THE SURVEY

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William L. Chenery

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April 6th, 1920.

To the Editors of THE SURVEY,
112 East 19th Street,
New York City.

Sirs:

The work that you have done and are doing through the columns of "The Survey" interests me greatly. It is vital and should be maintained--yes, more than that--it should be enlarged and advanced.

As an "associate" I have a heart interest in the adventure and naturally view with alarm the flood of rising costs that already has swept many publishing properties from their moorings.

Labor costs are rising in all departments--engraving, composing, stereotype, press, mail room, and bindery.

The print paper situation is a real menace --spot paper today 14 cents--and sky-rocketing. Indeed, it is no longer a question of price, but rather of supply.

With us, we are able--in fact, have been compelled to absorb an increased cost of 60%. This we could do by raising subscription and advertising rates.

With you, the situation must be markedly different. I would very strongly urge, therefore, an immediate increase in subscription price, an increase in advertising rates and another one of those wonderfully impelling two-page letters of yours to quicken the heart interest of Survey Associates and friends.

For myself, just count a $50 remittance this year instead of $25 as formerly.

If you think I may be of any further help in advancing the cause, I trust that you will not hesitate to call upon me, as I should like to be of some real service in the furtherance of the work that you have mastered so successfully.

Sincerely,

James W. Brown

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Why Compulsory Arbitration in Kansas?

The State's Argument

By W. L. Huggins

PRESIDING JUDGE, KANSAS COURT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

OF criticisms there is no end. The friends of the Kansas industrial law had no expectation that it would escape; every new measure must run the gauntlet and be subjected to punishment and perhaps mutilation. The article Industrial Peace by Law—the Kansas Way by John A. Fitch, published in the SURVEY for April 3, is very interesting. It is no more severe than one should expect, and shows much more intelligence than do many of the articles written along the same line.

There seems to be an inference that our governor is engaged in a crusade to carry the gospel to other parts of the United States. I am inclined to think that this inference is not warranted. So far as I am informed, Governor Allen has not solicited any speaking dates, and I have been told that he is unable to accept many invitations from public bodies asking him to explain the Kansas law. The governor is surely not to be criticised for accepting invitations to expound the Kansas gospel, of which he is the chief apostle.

After stating that "the law is unique," and commenting upon the fact that the management of an industry affected by a public interest has to give reasons before it is allowed to suspend operations, Mr. Fitch comments:

> It would be about the same way with the workers if they had a similar right. They have not. They cannot show that their desire to quit is meritorious. It is just plain, downright illegal to strike, whatever the reason. And the penalty for violation of the law is $1,000 fine or a year in jail, or both, if the offender is a person. If he is an officer of a corporation or of a union, the penalty is $5,000 fine or two years in jail, or both.

If Mr. Fitch will reread Section 16 of the law, he will find that it is expressly provided that

> Nothing in this act shall be considered as restricting the right of any individual employe . . . to quit his employment at any time, but it shall be unlawful for any such individual employe . . . to conspire with other persons to quit their employment or to induce other persons to quit their employment for the purpose of hindering, delaying, interfering with, or suspending the operation . . . or to intimidate by threats, abuse, etc.

It seems plain that if five hundred miners, for example, should quit mining for the purpose of engaging in farming or any other occupation, there would be no violation of the law. Only a conspiring to cripple an essential industry is made a criminal offence. The worker is not even required to make application for permission to quit.

The criticism of Section 14 of the law seems to be founded upon an entire misconception. The object of that section is:

(a) To legalize collective bargaining, and

(b) To place some responsibility upon the employe as well as upon the employer.

It is provided that a labor union may incorporate, and thus become responsible; but an unincorporated union, under the terms of Section 14, may bargain collectively upon the principle of agency. The individual members of the union may in writing designate an agent who shall contract for them. The contract so made shall be recognized as valid, and thus the unincorporated union is given a legal method by which its members may bargain collectively. If there is any criticism of this plan, I have never heard it stated.

Mr. Fitch criticizes the Court of Industrial Relations for the reason that no particular qualifications are required for its judges—that under one governor the judges might all be employers, and that under another they might be labor leaders, and under another, men wholly ignorant of industry or its problems, and that the court is to be guided by the rules of evidence; and that being guided by the rules of evidence, "it is obvious that the investigation would be restricted, legalistic, and largely futile." All these criticisms, and many others, are such as could be made with equal point and force against any of the other courts of the land, including the Supreme Court of the United States. They would be equally valid as to any other governmental agency. I do not care to comment further upon these points.

The writer makes no reference to those provisions of the Kansas law which are the most beneficial to labor. The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations might properly be called the "court of the penniless man." The poorest man in the state, if he is engaged in any of the essential industries named in the law, may at any time come into this court and make his complaint known. The state provides him with a lawyer who will prepare his case for him without charge. It provides him with expert accountants and engineers, and with trained examiners, who will investigate his case and prepare his evidence for him free of charge. He is not required to put up a bond for costs, or to pay his own witnesses. He is supplied by the state with everything he needs in the way of expert advice and assistance. The law enjoins upon the Court of Industrial Relations that it shall do all things necessary to develop the facts in the case.

The law does more than this for the laboring man. It provides that if, after the Court of Industrial Relations has rendered its decision and made its order, the laborer is dissatisfied, he may take the matter to the Supreme Court, the highest court in the state. In case he desires to take his grievances to the Supreme Court, the evidence which the state helped him prepare and introduce in the Court of Industrial Relations is transcribed by an expert reporter for him, paid by the state, and so he goes with his grievance and with all his evidence to the Supreme Court still without a penny's cost. The legislature has commanded the Court of Industrial Relations to investigate his living and working conditions, and so even the wife and children of the laboring man, if they desire to do so, may come into this court with the same complaint and receive the same treatment.

The law does more than this for the laboring man. It expressly declares that it is necessary for the general welfare that workers engaged in the essential industries shall receive a fair wage and have moral and healthful surroundings, while engaged in such labor.

The writer's dogmatic assertion that in matters of wages "it is certain that the judgment of the court on this question would be an extremely conservative judgment" calls for notice. The new Kansas tribunal has already by judicial order set a precedent defining what is a fair wage thus:

> In all fairness, they [the workers] are entitled to a wage which will enable them to procure for themselves and their families all the necessaries, and a reasonable share of the comforts of life. They are entitled to a wage which will enable them by industry and

economy not only to supply themselves with opportunities for intellectual advancement and reasonable recreation, but also to enable the parents working together to furnish to the children ample opportunities for intellectual and moral advancement, for education, and for an equal opportunity in the race of life. A fair wage will also allow the frugal man to provide reasonably for sickness and old age. [The Topeka Edison Company case.]

Does Mr. Fitch call this definition of fair wage "extremely conservative?"

There seems to be throughout the entire article a spirit of criticism of courts generally. Every well-informed man will admit that of the three departments of government, executive, legislative, and judicial, the judicial department stands highest in the respect of the public. Anglo-Saxon peoples generally accept without question the authority and jurisdiction of their courts in all matters affecting life, liberty and property. The man who has no faith or confidence in the courts of the land, of course has no faith or confidence in, or love for, democratic institutions.

After some further fault-finding of about equal importance to that already stated, the writer seems to come to what he regards as the vital defect in the Kansas law. He says:

These are some of the defects of the law. To point them out, however, is not sufficient. It does not bring us to the heart of the matter. The law is at fault not in details, but as a whole. Its assumptions are unsound, and its purposes run counter to some of the most deeply significant purposes of civilization. Compulsory arbitration is an attempt to forbid by law the continuance of a fundamental, and so long as the present economic order shall stand, an essential controversy. . . . To forbid a group the right to exercise its group strength in the matter of industrial relations, is to fasten upon industry a species of servitude.

If Mr. Fitch has carefully read the Kansas law, he must know that it is based not upon the principle of arbitration, but adjudication. The members of the court have no interest in the controversy. It is intended that they shall be as impartial, and, if you please, as ignorant as the judges of the Supreme Court, or of any of the other courts of the land. It is purposed to adjudicate industrial controversies in the same orderly way, by the same kind of tribunal as for centuries has been used in the adjudication of all other classes of disputes.

This legislation has not attempted to destroy or even to remove any of the ancient land-marks of the law. It is founded upon the principle that certain industries and vocations are affected with a public interest. It has added to the list of industries so affected those which directly and vitally influence the supply of food, clothing and fuel. These three classes of industries, together with those which have heretofore been known as public utilities, are deemed "essential industries," and are by legislative action declared to be subject to regulation. The American public without question accepts the regulation of public utilities by the state and nation in the interest of the general welfare. If railroads, telephone lines, electric plants, etc., are essential industries affected with a public interest, surely the legislature has authority to designate industries vitally affecting the food, clothing and fuel of the people as affected with a public interest. The Kansas legislature attempted to do only two new things:

First, it impressed with a public interest the manufacturers of food and clothing, and the production of fuel.

Second, it declared labor as well as capital invested and engaged in these essential industries to be impressed with a public interest, and to owe a public duty.

I challenge the following statement made by Mr. Fitch:

To forbid a group the right to exercise its group strength in the matter of industrial relations is to fasten upon industry a species of servitude.

Reading this statement in the light of its context, it means that if a group is denied the right to exercise its group strength by force or compulsion, it is subjected to a species of servitude. This statement is contrary to the experience of the American people. In all the forward movements of recent years, progress has been made by the orderly processes of influencing public opinion and of bringing moral forces to bear upon legislative bodies. The prohibition of the liquor traffic was accomplished in this way. The woman suffrage movement has made its great progress by the same means. The enactment of the pure food laws, the workmen's compensation and safety appliances acts, and, so far as I know, all other such measures have been secured by orderly processes, and not by force, compulsion or intimidation. The enactment of the Interstate Commerce law is said to have been accomplished by a group of shippers with the expenditure of less than $100,000, while the railroad and other transportation companies opposing the enactment of the law are said to have spent more than $7,000,000 to defeat the measure. Furthermore, Mr. Fitch in making that statement wholly ignores the fact that by the Kansas law the group strength of the working people is given a proper and orderly mode of procedure through the Court of Industrial Relations, which is empowered to settle industrial disputes in the same way and by the same methods of procedure as other controversies have been adjudicated for centuries by the courts of general jurisdiction.

During the bitter cold of last December, one man, the head of a great labor trust, with an arrogance such as has seldom been witnessed, and with unfeeling cruelty in his heart, declared that not a pound of coal would be produced in this prairie state until he should be pleased to permit it. At his command, every coal miner refused to work, and every mine in the state was closed. He even refused to permit a small quantity of coal to be produced to warm a hospital in his own home city. The result of his criminal arrogance, but for prompt action by the governor, would soon have resulted in a terrible calamity and might have caused the loss of thousands of lives. Yet at that time this autocratic head of a labor trust was not violating any law upon the statute books of the state of Kansas. When Mr. Fitch says:

To forbid a group the right to exercise its group strength in the matter of industrial relations is to fasten upon industry a species of servitude

does he mean to say that government has no right and no power to prevent such an outrage?

A few years ago, a strike occurred among the railroads entering a great American city. The usual features of intimidation were present. The milk supply which had been carried into this great city by these transportation lines was shut off. Before the strike was ended, hundreds and perhaps thousands of babies sickened and died for want of milk. Does Mr. Fitch mean to say that government is powerless to prevent such an atrocity? And is that what he means when he says:

He [the laboring man] is thereby denied the right to bring pressure to bear on industry to secure for the workers in it better conditions of employment?

In his closing paragraph, Mr. Fitch says:

Voluntary arbitration should be encouraged, and the parties to the wage bargain should both be so strongly organized as to make such arbitration an agent which may safely be used.

What does Mr. Fitch find in the Kansas law that prevents such arbitration? I make the assertion that there is not a line, a word, a syllable that even discourages such arbitration. In fact, it is only

in case of a controversy when it shall appear to said Court of Industrial Relations that said controversy may endanger the continuity or efficiency of the service of any of the said industries . . . and thereby endanger the public peace or threaten the public health,

that the Court of Industrial relations has any jurisdiction to investigate and adjudicate the controversy.

We are not boasting in Kansas. We realize that we should consider the scriptural injunction "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off." But Mr. Fitch has made no suggestion of a better remedy than

the Kansas law affords. He offers nothing in the place of it. If a democratic government has no power to prevent such outrages as the Kansas coal strike and the milk shortage above referred to, causing the death of innocent children, and distress and disaster to large numbers of people, then—

Exit Democracy. Enter . . . ?

The Case against the Law

JUDGE HUGGINS, in his interesting rejoinder to my comments on the Kansas Industrial Court law suggests inferentially that I have not read the law with sufficient care. I am sure that he will not take it amiss therefore, if I suggest that he reread the article to which he takes so many exceptions. If he will do that, he will find that I have not said some of the things that he most objects to.

I did not "mean to say" and did not say that the government of Kansas had no right or power to dig coal and keep the people of the state from freezing. Governor Allen succeeded in getting coal dug when the miners struck last fall, and he did not need a new law to make that possible.

I did not "mean to say" and did not say that "government is powerless to prevent such an atrocity" as the starving of babies. It is because I want such atrocities prevented that I am opposed to the Kansas Industrial Court law.

I did not say that the Kansas law prohibits voluntary arbitration. I pointed out that under its provisions the employer is in a position to destroy a labor organization and have the protection of the court in so doing. This, Judge Huggins does not deny. He is right in assuming that I should not expect voluntary arbitration to be safe or effective with organized labor destroyed.

These matters, however, are incidental. The break between the sponsors for the Kansas remedy for industrial unrest and the critics of that remedy is fundamental. Judge Huggins' statement is particularly to be welcomed because it gives so clear a revelation of the fallacy underlying the whole idea of the court.

He sees no reason why the rules of evidence should not govern the proceedings of the Court of Industrial Relations, since it governs those of other courts. He believes that if the judges are as impartial—and "as ignorant"—as those of the Supreme Court, justice will come as near being done as may reasonably be expected. He has not the slightest question that the issues before the Court of Industrial Relations may not be settled as finally and in the same way as when in another court there is a suit over the location of a line fence. He leaves no doubt on that point for he says:

> It is purposed to adjudicate industrial controversies in the same orderly way, by the same kind of tribunal as for centuries has been used in the adjudication of all other classes of disputes,

and again he repeats that the Court of Industrial Relations

> is empowered to settle industrial disputes in the same way and by the same methods of procedure as other controversies have been adjudicated for centuries by the courts of general jurisdiction.

Now the main point of my criticism of the Kansas law, which it is evident I did not make sufficiently clear, is that industrial disputes are essentially different from the affairs with which ordinary courts deal, and that the machinery of courts, for that very reason, is not adapted to the adjudication of such disputes.

There are two important reasons why this is so. First, the controversies that come before the ordinary court of law are as a rule individual controversies. They may and often do have broad social implications, but they do not call in question the essential justice of existing social custom as a labor dispute may readily do.

In the second place, the questions to be settled by the ordinary law court usually relate to the legality of the acts of the individuals or groups of individuals before the court. Have these acts been in accordance with certain legal regulations previously existing and understood? This question is not, as a rule, to be determined by the independent will and opinion of the judge. The court is governed by the statute law applicable to the case. It is governed by common law, precedent, well established and accepted principles of jurisprudence, as Judge Huggins knows far better than I do.

It is at this point that we find the most essential difference, so far as judicial determination is concerned, between an industrial dispute and other disputes. The attempt to treat a labor controversy—a demand for higher wages, for shorter hours, the closed shop, or what not—as if it were a personal squabble, is bound to fail. The attempt to settle the dispute in court is bound to fail. It is not a personal squabble and the court is not competent to act. Judge Huggins may be correct in asserting that the purpose of the Kansas law is "to settle industrial disputes in the same way . . . as other controversies have been adjudicated for centuries," but that is a purpose which will certainly fail of realization. No court could possibly settle industrial disputes in that way because there is no statute law, there is no common law, precedent, or agreed body of fact or opinion to which such matters may be referred as a guide to judicial determination. Instead of deciding a case in accordance with the law, the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations will be obliged to decide in accordance with the opinion, prejudice, knowledge or ignorance, goodwill or ill-will of the members of the court.

It is this fact that makes so illusory the rights given to the "penniless man" mentioned by Judge Huggins. Boiled down, the right offered is that of suing his employer when he wants an increased wage or better working conditions. Since when have men been able to sue for and get that which is neither assured in the law nor capable of such assurance?

To say that the state will give a man a lawyer to state his case for him and "everything he needs in the way of expert advice" not only gives evidence of a rather extensive misconception of the true nature of industrial relations but it suggests an attitude toward the state that has recently received severe condemnation. Judge Huggins mistrusted my devotion to democratic institutions when he found me criticizing a court—though my criticism was directed to the Court of Industrial Relations alone, which is not a court in the true sense of the word. It may be fair to ask what we should think of the political philosophy of one who would have the state control, guide and advise the people as if they were separate from the government and under its tutelage.

But what remedy for strikes have I to offer, if I oppose their prohibition by law? No final remedy, if by that is meant merely stopping them. But strikes need not concern us so much. The things back of them are what count. I am interested in removing the cause of strikes, and if that can be done strikes will take care of themselves, just as typhoid fever will if you look after the water supply. But I do not have great confidence that the causes of strikes can be removed by force of law. Even if that could be done you cannot make people contented by law, and that is why you will continue to have strikes even though they are made illegal. Australasia has proved that for us so conclusively that we ought to be convinced without making the experiment for ourselves.

What we want is a self-reliant, independent, free people, capable of working out their own destinies. The more opportunities people can have for self-control, and the less they are dominated and directed by politieal authority, the more likely they are to develop in that direction. JOHN A. FITCH.

Setting Books in Motion

By Wallace Meyer

OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

SITTING in a public library, have you ever been aware of a vague disquiet over the vast, potential energy walled in around you, of a sense that here was something—the stored mind of the world—which, despite the readers present, was overharnessed, was not properly at work? Probably you felt like addressing a sudden admonition to the librarians stepping neatly among card catalogues not to be too much concerned with the minutiae of their work as operators of the intellectual powerhouse, for here, in their charge, was a force which, if rightly activated and released, would blast its way through a whole stubborn world of ignorance and superstition and intolerance.

But if you saw books forsake their prim library shelves, forget for the time their call numbers and card catalogues, and go out along the country highways in search of readers, you would realize that their energy, after all, can become kinetic.

Such a realization as this came to expression in the mind of the woman who had spent the hours of twilight and early dark in the library bus on the Mesaba iron range in Minnesota. She lay awake, as does the person who has met a stimulating experience.

> I wondered if the libraries of the future wouldn't be like great warehouses, and the books sent out from them be delivered from door to door like groceries. Now I could understand the commercial success of the Jewel tea man and the lightning rod agent who brought something of novelty, personality and interest along with their wares. The warm, human, personal interest of the bus librarian no doubt is the means of translating the cold written word to throbbing life for her patrons, and her weekly coming a point of contact with outside interests. After all, that idea is not new; witness the swarms of traveling salesmen who do that very thing.

She had gained her new appreciation of the traveling salesman's methods in the course of one of the evening trips of the Hibbing public library bus, a two-ton motor van set with windows, lined with shelves holding twelve hundred books, and containing the librarian's desk and a long leather-covered seat for the entering patrons. Leaving Hibbing at six o'clock, the library car had sounded the gong at its first mining camp destination at six-thirty. After that, for three hours, the car was thronged by nationalities in relays. At the first stop Italians swarmed in, bringing little Vendettas and Nicolettas and Pasquales to be held in the librarian's arms and admired while the parents picked out Italian and English books in an atmosphere of garlic and voluble confusion. The next relay was Finnish, with Ainos and Limpis and Helgas held in arms, and grave, stern adults who selected the week's supply of reading matter with silent deliberation. Then on to a Croatian-Slovenian location, with a sprinkling of Swedes and Norwegians and an occasional Irishman. Last of all, at nine-fifteen, a location where patrons were almost wholly Americans of several generations' standing. Here the arrival of the library car quite upset domestic routine for the evening, for, as one mother explained, "The children usually fall asleep on the lounge before you come, and of course we have to wake them up when the gong rings, and then they're cross—but if we don't wake them up they're crosser still."

And this was but one schedule in the weekly round, for by daylight and evening trips the Hibbing library car covers its entire township of 160 square miles once each week, stopping at road camps, boarding houses and farmhouses with only an occasional skip, such as the two "hopeless" cases on one

route—the retired minister who won't let his wife read, and the man whose dog declines to discriminate between traveling librarians and traveling mendicants.

Hibbing and its township of Stuntz is one of the bright spots on the rural library map of the United States. If a map of the country were shaded to indicate the areas within which people do not have access to free public libraries, the prevailing tone would be black. The United States Bureau of Education has compiled statistics to show that of a total population of 91,641,215 for the forty-eight states, based on the 1910 census, only 41,180,591 persons have access to free public libraries. If we test the library service which these forty-one millions are receiving by some arbitrary standard of adequacy, we shall have to shade our map still further. Only 36,501,852 persons have access to a library of 5,000 volumes or more—the minimum strength at which a library, in the opinion of the Bureau of Education, can be expected to assume the initiative in extending its service throughout its community. Of the 2,964 counties in the United States only 794, or 27 per cent, have within their respective confines a public library of 5,000 volumes or more.

Viewing the states severally, we find in the Bureau of Education's compilation a wide range—in Massachusetts 99.6 per cent of population has access to free public libraries, in South Carolina only 1.9 per cent. Thirty states show less than 50 per cent.

We may be sure that the extension work of the Hibbing Public Library, whose library truck is a recent innovation, has effectively reclaimed the township of Stuntz from the black area on the library map. It is infinitely suggestive of measures which might be adapted to the local needs of county and township units all over the country. It suggests possibilities latent in a concerted nation-wide effort to build up public library service—an effort which is embodied in the enlarged program of the American Library Association.

Returning to their peace-time activities from the war task of providing library services for the fighting forces, librarians of the country carried with them a profound conviction of the value of joint action. Last September, the executive board of the American Library Association adopted a nation-wide program of library extension which later was approved by the membership, comprising more than four thousand librarians, after modification and amplification, and recently has been presented to the general public as a project deserving popular support. Like most projects which are put squarely up to the public, it carries with it the necessity of financial support—a fund of $2,000,000 which will enable the American Library Association to assume the functions of a national library commission. The association can then serve as a promotion agency for public library service all over the country, assisting state library commissions to meet their problems and performing much needed work in states without state library extension agencies until legislators, convinced by this work of demonstration, create state commissions adequately supported by appropriations. Communities desiring to establish public library service will have the help of expert organizers, and public libraries everywhere will benefit by a campaign of education in the possibilities of library service and the need for increased municipal support. The function of the A. L. A. throughout will be one of assistance and demonstration and not of permanent direct service, for the work of every public library eventually must stand solidly on its own bottom, deriving its support from the community which it serves.

Nothing so quickly convinces the skeptic of the value of adequate library service as actual demonstration. The well organized and highly efficient system of libraries built up by the American Library Association for the army and navy during the war is being continued by the War and Navy Departments, and adequate library service for the men of the military establishments is now assured. The great chain of hospitals of the United States Public Health Service affords another illustration of the effectiveness of a demonstration of direct service by the American Library Association. The library service in these hospitals is the continuation of an activity begun as a part of the war program; there is now every prospect that it will soon be placed on a permanent basis and that the association can be relieved of any but an advisory responsibility. Direct library service to the merchant marine, of which more than 1,500 vessels have been supplied with libraries, is welcomed so eagerly by merchant seamen as to give assurance that this eventually will be assumed by shipping interests as a part of their present far-sighted program for making life in the American merchant marine attractive and profitable.

In its plans for encouraging rural library service, the outstanding project to which the association stands pledged is the promotion of the county library [see Under the Orange Sign, the SURVEY for April 3]. In Washington county, Maryland, for instance, in the foothills of the Cumberlands, books first ventured forth on wheels in a horse-drawn vehicle viewed with suspicion by the mountaineers as a "dead wagon." A coat of bright red paint dispelled the moribund effect, and the book wagon rapidly won the confidence of the country folk, to perish eventually in collision with a freight train. A motor truck took up the task.

In Endicott, N. Y., the book wagon has solved the problem of a librarian who was not reaching the foreign-born section "across the tracks." Even in New England, where libraries now cover the territory more uniformly than in any other section of the country, the book wagon or its winter equivalent opens up new avenues of service for the librarian. In the winter of 1910 the field agent of the Connecticut Library Commission started out with a horse and sleigh and a case of fifty books to try the experiment of house-to-house distribution in a district not reached by existing libraries. The first day's results were discouraging; the second day was little better. When the venture was repeated a month later, however, the returns were gratifying; the news had spread and at almost every house requests were waiting from new patrons. The service was extended to five townships. Before long the town where the prospect had seemed the slightest decided to establish a public library—a direct result of demonstration.

Traveling collections, shipped by parcel post or express into the rural districts, pave the way for county libraries. Practically every state with a library extension agency has utilized this form of service; New York was the pioneer, in 1893. Everywhere the tendency is to develop this service to allow dwellers in the open country more latitude in the choice of books. Comments such as this from an old New Jersey farmer have aided the library commission of that state to build up its effective traveling service:

> Seems like folks down to the State House think because I'm a farmer I want to spend my nights reading about fertilizers. Bless your heart! I don't. I want to git out and above fertilizers. I want to read something, say, about the stars I see every night. I would admire to know 'em all by name, and when one of 'em comes peekin' round the corn crib, to say, "Why, there's old man Jupiter," familiar and knowin' like.

Some states are meeting their library extension problems ably, through the work of efficient state commissions; others are meeting them half-heartedly, with state commissions crippled for lack of appropriations and without real legislative or public support; still others are meeting them not at all and show slight promise of beginning. Working in cooperation with state commissions and working toward their establishment in states where they now are lacking, the American Library Association can make an adequate, nation-wide public library service an accomplished fact. Until every community is providing its members with opportunity for self-education, the situation is one of concern for the nation.

REVIEWS OF NEW BOOKS

O for a booke
And a shadie nooke,
Eyther indoore or out;
With the grene leaves whispering overheade,
Or the streete cryes all about.

SOCIAL *and* POLITICAL THEORY

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE MIDDLE CLASSES?
By R. Dimdsdale Stocker. Cecil Palmer & Hayward, London. 55 pp. Paper bound. Price 6d; by mail of the SURVEY $.50.

The Middle Classes Union of England seems to have made considerable progress, for here it is assailed in all seriousness as opposed to the true interests of those whose life is cast between the "upper ten" and the "masses." The author admits that the middle class is in need of organization to protect its status; but shows that a snobbish anti-labor attitude and playing into the hands of the plutocracy will not do. Economic conceptions must be democratized, and the new aspirations of the workers must be seen in the light of the new day and not of yesterday. The middle class must stand not on the foundation of privilege but that of actual, indispensable service; it must endeavor to end the class war by humanizing social relationships. Its ability must be organized so as to become creative. This, in brief, is the thesis, defended lucidly and convincingly.

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DIE KERNPUNKTE DER SOZIALEN FRAGE
By Rudolf Steiner. Greiner & Pfeiffer, Stuttgart. 127 pp. Paper bound. Price by mail of the SURVEY $1.60.

DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT
By Walther Rathenau. S. Fischer, Berlin. 102 pp. Paper bound. Price by mail of the SURVEY $1.60.

In these books, two German writers of note present social programs diametrically opposed to those which the world has hitherto associated with German sociology. Neither accepts socialism or democracy or any of the other catchwords and generalizations which in the turmoil of this time people mistake for social goals. Both accept as facts the impoverishment of Germany, its loss of political power, its economic enslavement. Both occasionally indulge in a typically German classification of abstract and sometimes totally false ideas; both, on the other hand, are original in their thinking. There the similarity between them ends.

Steiner's remedy for the diseased state of his country is reconstruction of the social edifice in three tiers, or as he calls it, tri-memberment of the social organism, the members being economic, legal and spiritual or mental life. In the separation of the economic from the legal state, or society, his plan comes close to that of the national guild movement in England, and the arguments for it are similar—with this fundamental difference, however, that Steiner is opposed to socialization of the means of production and would continue competition and individualism within the economic sphere. In fact, his whole elaborate plan is for the purpose of supporting a decadent capitalism. He tries to give a social tinge to it by devising a system of inheritance under which wealth cannot be bequeathed in such a way as to maintain persons in idleness—whereas it can be so left as to accumulate huge family estates or to perpetuate even huger corporations.

It is the third social organization, however, the cultural, which gives its stamp of modernity to the rest. It superimposes a government of the mind over that of legal tradition and economic desire. It is in an exaggerated form the incorporation of the most widespread demand today in educated Germany, the demand to have things of the mind freed from the tutelage of the state. In part, perhaps, realization of the extent to which German thinking had been enslaved by the dynastic and militarist domination of the educational institutions, certainly reaction against the grinding economic poverty imposed upon them by the treaty of peace, has given the Germans a yearning for absolutely unfettered freedom of thought and expression. In this part of his program, Dr. Steiner reflects the spirit of his time. A national league for tri-memberment of the social organism, with branches in most of the large cities and in Austria and Switzerland has been formed, and more is likely to be heard of it.

Rathenau's book, though it exhibits glaringly the faults mentioned above, is the more thoroughly alive and courageous of the two. It is full of happy aphorisms and dagger-sharp thrusts at the platitudes and hypocrisies of the current "revolutionary" thought. To him the only possible future for Germany lies in making her among the nations what she has prided herself to be, but never was: the people of thinkers and poets—of culture and unbounded love for the things of the mind. He would awaken the soul of Faustus, now confused, dominated by the hags and goblins of the materialistic Hexenberg. He would start again where the German ceased to be German in order to become Prussian.

His ideal of German culture is one of education of the will, not of obedience to tradition or convention; the culture of the Renaissance, not that of the "better classes." To aid its realization he proposes the device of the *Arbeitsausgleich*—the balance of labor—under which every man and woman would have the opportunity of lifting himself by degrees out of the class of manual workers into that of mental workers while every mental worker would be obliged to take part in the mechanical processes of wealth production. This brief statement hardly does justice to a proposal which is well conceived and argued. He says that the socialistic utopias which depict everyone happy and engaged in creative work absorbing mind as well as body are either stupid or insincere; the skeleton in the cupboard of every socialist is that, no matter how much the working day be reduced, no matter how rapidly work be made automatic and man's energy deviated from producing to directing processes—the prosperity of the people, especially in an exhausted and impoverished country, must for long remain bound up with mechanical operations such as modern machine industry has made them.

How to distribute this work—which cannot be "ennobled" however many fine cant phrases be coined about it by those who do not take part in it—so as to get rid of classes, so as to raise and not to level down, to spiritualize and not to debase—in that he sees the main problem of the morrow. He is not afraid of being told that he would substitute a new class system for the old, for his idea of culture and social categories of the cultured is not that of hereditary castes, or even lifelong segregations, but rather of a constant flux, regulated by the falling and rising levels of the people's will to knowledge. Incidentally he would also introduce the compulsory year of labor service for all, irrespective of intellectual rating.

These ideas, and others related to them are today discussed by rich and poor in Germany. (Rathenau's books and pamphlets published during and since the war have had an immense circulation.) They will make their westward way as we become accustomed again to read German print and to admit without a guilty conscience acquaintance with "enemy" literature. With a dollar worth about 50 marks, we should be able to afford it, in spite of the export duty on German books of about 800 per cent.

B. L.

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THE ANATOMY OF SOCIETY
By Gilbert Cannan. E. P. Dutton & Co. 216 pp. Price $2; by mail of the SURVEY $2.20.

This is not a textbook as its title might suggest, neither is it a scientific treatment of society. It is written by a novelist and is a criticism of certain institutions and conditions in society. Its chapter heads are: Definitions, Humanity, The Social Contract, Patriarchalism, Marriage, Women as Citizens, Science and Art, Social Structure, East and West, and Democracy.

William Allen White—Arthur Gleason—Simon N. Patten

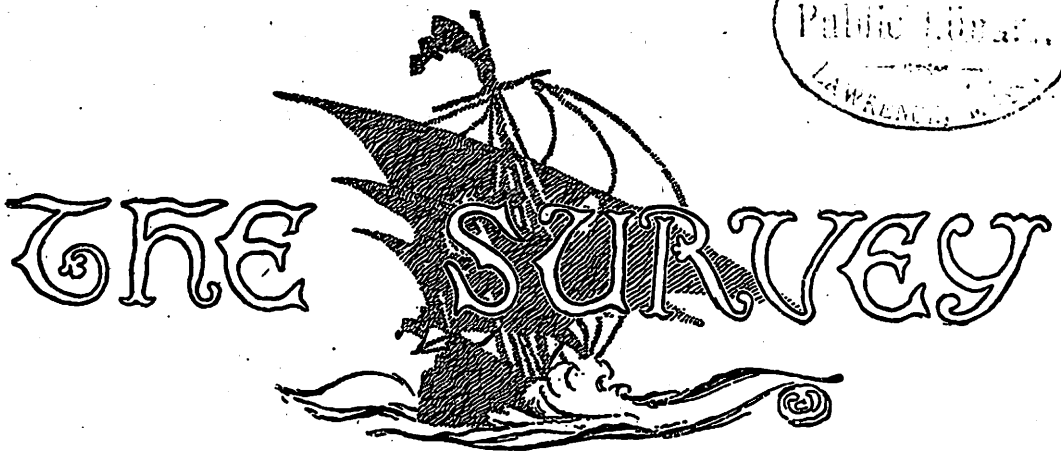
THE SURVEY

The Wand of Manitou

By Bruno Lasker

Model by A. Phimister Proctor for a fountain to be presented by Commissioner George D. Pratt to the state reservation at Saratoga Springs

June 5, 1920 **25 Cents a Copy** **$4.00 a Year**



The Wand of Manitou

The Development of a Great Health Resort by Public Enterprise

By Bruno Lasker

"MY dear Schuyler," Sir William Johnson wrote in 1767 to his friend General Philip Schuyler, "I have just returned from a visit to a most amazing spring which almost affected my cure; and I have sent for Dr. Stringer, of New York, to come up and analyze it." Thus the discovery of Saratoga's healing waters was at once followed by their scientific study, a rare proceeding in the history of medicine.

The high rock spring, as it is now called, and perhaps others, had for unknown ages been used during their occupation of the territory by native Mohawks and Iroquois, who attributed its effervescence to the Great Spirit, Manitou, who had stirred the water. In fact, it was due to the solicitation of his Indian friends that the general, wounded in the battle at Lake George in September, 1755, and in failing health since that time, visited the spring in the wilderness. He was the first white man to drink the water.

As early as 1773, one Dirck Scowton set up a rough log cabin near the high rock spring to trade with the Indians and accommodate visitors. The surrounding bogs were at that time infested with mosquitoes and gave rise to intermittent fever. Before he had lived there very long, Scowton had to flee in a hurry because of some "misunderstanding" with the Indians. For years after, the half open cabin was the only habitation where white people resorted. A visitor in 1789 thus described the bathing arrangements at that time:

> There is no convenience for bathing except an open log hut, with a large trough, similar to those used for feeding swine, which receives the water from the spring. Into this you roll off a bench.

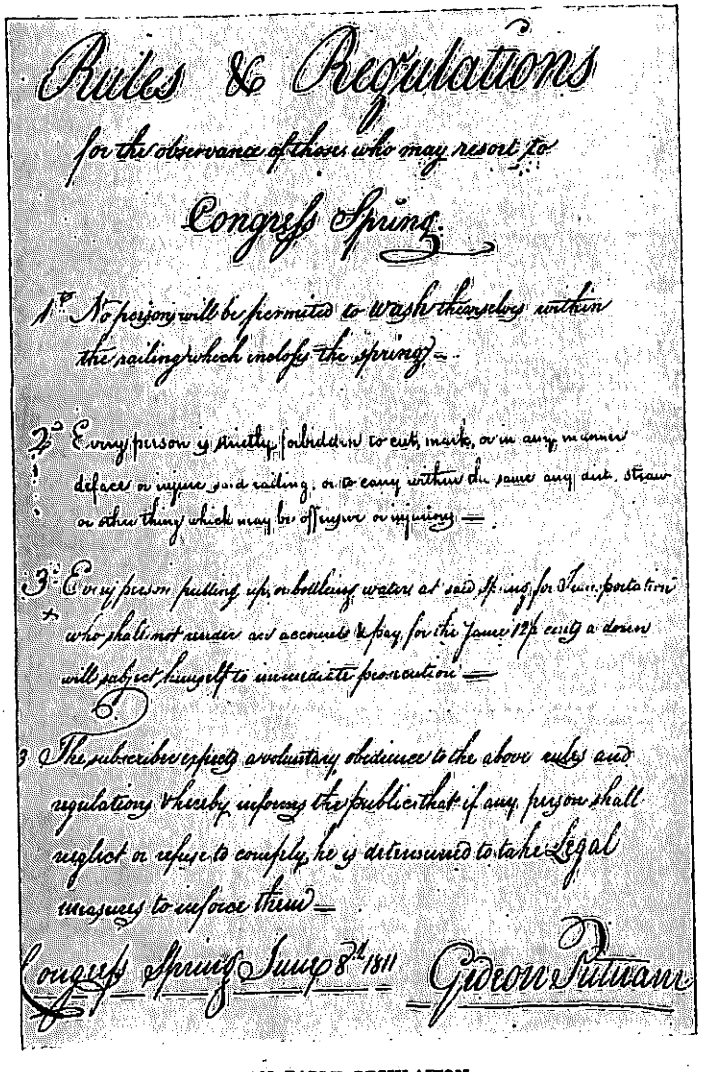
Other springs in the neighborhood were discovered when enterprising pioneers set up, first the roughest kind of log cabins for temporary occupancy, and, later, taverns which by the middle of the nineteenth century had developed into pretentious hotels, to attract those in search of health and youth.

The history of Saratoga Springs, through the first half of the nineteenth century, was one of slow and steady growth which reached its zenith about the time of the Civil War. Most of the existing hotels with their ornate terraces and galleries belong to that period, and it is not difficult with the mind's eye to repeople them with a throng of fashionable folk. The slump commenced when with modern steamship facilities a trip to Europe ceased to be a matter of danger and hardship and thousands of wealthy Americans annually sought health and recreation in European spas. Private enterprise, be it noted, though it had built up a splendid resort where money was spent with a lavish hand, was unable to protect its work from an all too early and rapid decay. Commercial exploitation over-reached itself when in the nineties the owners of individual springs short-sightedly began to extract and sell the carbonic acid gas with entire unconcern for the properties of the remaining waters. Every advance in the technique of extraction, and in deeper boring, while it increased immediate profits, reduced the medicinal value of the waters until their uses could no longer be recommended by the medical profession and Saratoga Springs as a spa declined almost to the point of zero. Resort was had to public action to arrest this decline and restore this watering place to the eminent position it had held. In their natural state, the most important Saratoga waters have a higher saturation of CO_2 than medicinal waters to be found almost anywhere else in the world. Such is the mysterious connection and interrelation of the subterranean water courses that the unrestricted extraction of the gas at some of the wells not only lowered the level of all others but prevented the important mineral elements which they separately possess from being held in solution in their natural quantity when undisturbed.

It took many years of agitation, first on the part of the citizens of the little town of Saratoga Springs and later of larger, interested groups in the state of New York, to rescue the springs from the clutches of the profiteers. A law was put on the statute book in 1908, forbidding the injurious extraction of gases from natural springs; but it soon became apparent that restoration of the springs could not be accomplished piecemeal. In the following year, Senator Brackett introduced and the legislature passed a bill authorizing the appointment of a commission of three to study the spring situation with authority to acquire properties for a reservation and making an appropriation of $600,000 for this purpose. On the last day of the thirty after adjournment Governor Hughes signed the bill and appointed Spencer Trask, a

resident of Saratoga and one of the most distinguished financiers of the state, chairman, with Edward M. Shepard, an outstanding leader of the New York bar, and Frank N. Godfrey, master of the State Grange, as commissioners. Until he secured their acceptance, he refrained from approval of the bill, so desirous was he for assurance of a non-political but business handling of the question. On December 31, 1909, Mr. Trask was killed in a railroad accident, and Mr. Shepard had to retire because of discovery of a constitutional prohibition of holding the office while trustee and chairman of the College of the City of New York. Governor Hughes then appointed General Benjamin F. Tracy with George Foster Peabody as chairman. The commission continued the study of the problem, sending a man to Europe to report on the European spas. Upon its report the legislature increased the appropriation to $950,000, the limit of bonds available under the constitution.

In 1911, the commission took over various springs—including the famous Hawthorn—but not until the village of Saratoga Springs had voted a $250,000 bond issue for a park, taking into the park the famous Congress Spring and its parked grounds, the state taking over the springs. In 1912 and 1913 other properties were taken by the state, and parks were laid out, in the aggregate an area of about four hundred acres with over one hundred springs.



Rules & Regulations

for the observance of those who may resort to

Congress Spring.

1st No person will be permitted to wash themselves within the railing which incloses the spring.

2d Every person is strictly forbidden to cut, mark, or in any manner deface or injure said railing, or to carry within the same any dirt, straw or other things which may be offensive or injurious.

3d Every person pulling up or bottling water at said Spring for transportation who shall not render an account & pay for the same 12½ cents a dozen will subject himself to immediate prosecution.

The subscriber expects a voluntary obedience to the above rules and regulations whereby informs the public that if any person shall neglect or refuse to comply, he is determined to take Legal measures to enforce them.

Congress Spring June 8th 1811 Gideon Putnam

AN EARLY REGULATION

Gideon Putnam built the first permanent home at Saratoga Springs, in 1789. The sign over his tavern, Putnam and the Wolf, showed that visitors occasionally had to face even more ferocious beasts than mosquitoes, which also flourished there until the woods were cleared and the swamps drained.

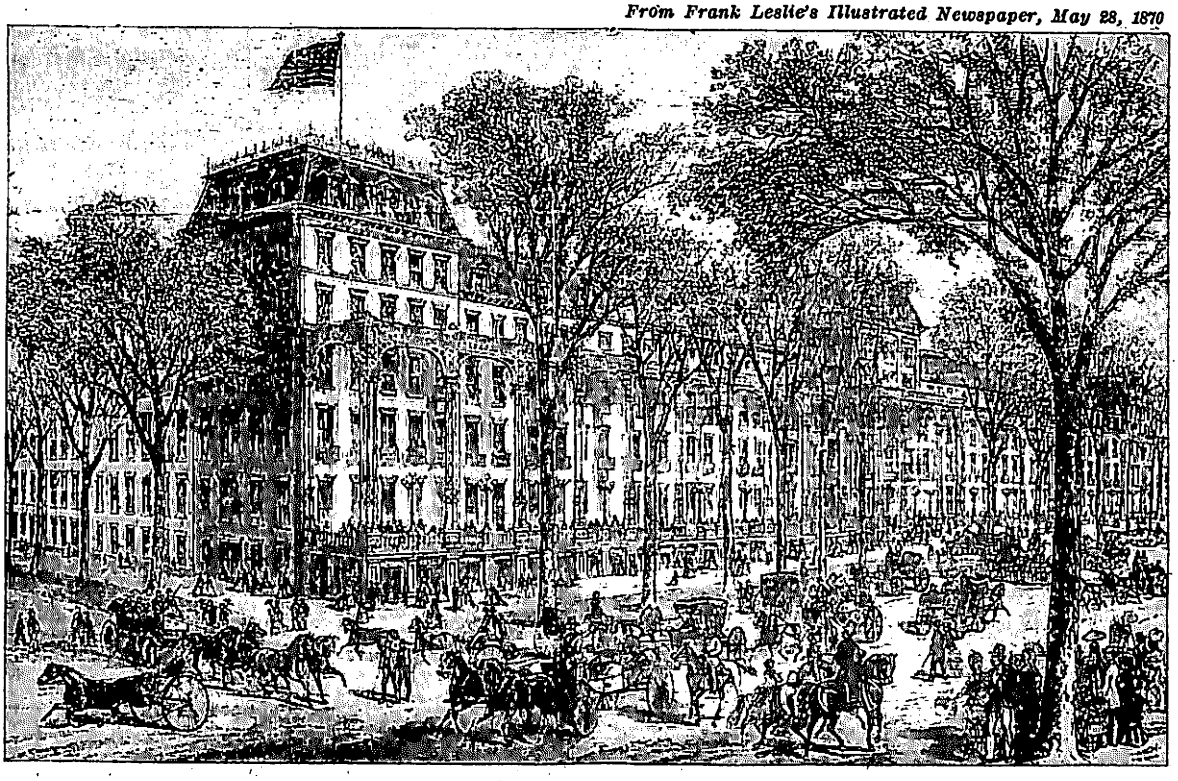
In 1916 the legislature, on the suggestion of Governor Whitman, made the conservation commissioner (George D. Pratt) successor to his appointees of 1915—Messrs. Cameron, Van Tuyl and Godfrey.

The successive commissioners have conceived their task in a liberal spirit from the beginning, and the stages of their work are notable chapters in the history of American public health service. Altogether 550 acres have been acquired, divided into four different parks. The facilities for drinking and bathing and for conserving and marketing the surplus carbonic acid gas from various springs have been improved. When the slender means are considered with which the commissioners have worked, it is clear that they have accomplished a great deal in a few years. The State Conservation Commission under which the Saratoga Springs reservation now falls was created in 1911 and is doing magnificent work in purifying waters, hatching and distributing fish, protecting and breeding game, forestry, conservating water power, drainage and reclamation. It is regarded as one of the most effective and progressive in the country.

The passage of the law which created the reservation in 1909 was celebrated at Saratoga Springs with the ringing of bells and the firing of a salute of twenty-one shots. The citizens rightly saw in it the promise of a new day and in the intervening years have loyally cooperated with the government of the state to make the most of their heritage. Not until the establishment of the state reservation had there ever been uniform control of Saratoga waters or a scientific and businesslike exploitation of the springs and of the residential advantages of the town. Not until then was the attempt made to provide bathing facilities and therapeutic treatment in line with modern ideas and comparing with those provided in European spas. One or two private establishments were in existence which were not altogether primitive, but they offered very inadequate facilities. A commodious bath house was reconstructed and opened by the Reservation Commission. Another larger one, entirely up-to-date and architecturally delightful, has since been constructed by the Conservation Commission.

It was not until the European war that the modern possibilities of Saratoga Springs could be seen on a scale surpassing its vogue as a fashionable resort a half century ago. Wealthy Americans, when advised by their physicians to take a water cure, had got into the habit of seeking it at a European resort, such as Kissingen, Nauheim, Wiesbaden, Homburg, Vichy, or Harrogate. Here they found entertainment as well as cure, since these spas attracted also the fashionable world of Europe. Yet none of them had to offer a more fitting regimen or a greater variety of health giving waters than this American resort. The war made such trips more difficult and, in the case of the German and Bohemian resorts, impossible. As a result, the stream of patients to an American resort with similar advantages, once started, is permanently assured—provided it can cater adequately to their tastes in recreation and comforts as well as to the demands of the medical profession. Indeed, it is not unlikely, with conditions in Europe as they are at present, that such an American resort will attract patients from Europe who seek not only treatment but also a change of surroundings from the misery and unrest which surround them. As it happens, Saratoga Springs has an immediate environment which in beauty and climate compares favorably with that of most European resorts, and the nearness of the Adirondacks provides excellently for the climatic and recreational needs of the "after-cure."

From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, May 28, 1870



BROADWAY AND THE UNION HOTEL

at the time of Saratoga's flower as a fashionable summer resort. In 1918, this and a neighboring hotel, with their beautiful, secluded terraces and gardens were offered to the federal government as hospitals for returned soldiers suffering from nervous and digestive complaints, the state conservation commission offering to provide waters and treatment free. Unfortunately nothing came of this plan, which would have demonstrated the democratic potentialities of this one-time exclusive spa.

Here, then, is the opportunity for creating in the United States a great modern health resort. But those who have been put in charge of its development by the state, first the Saratoga Springs Reservation Commission and later the state Conservation Commission with which it was amalgamated, have visualized an even larger aim. This is to establish on American soil not only a fashionable watering place for the wealthy, fit to rival its European prototypes, but a public health resort for all people who need it, an asset for the general good.

With public ownership of approximately 550 acres of state reservation parks, and of 122 springs and wells, including many naturally mineralized and carbonated waters which do not have their equal in the world, with the acquisition and erection of modern buildings and equipment, and with the avowed policy "so to administer this natural resource that persons of whatever means may be able to take the cures which the waters provide for many maladies," the state is on the way of making one of the largest demonstrations in the United States in extending public health service outside its traditional limits.

It is this aspect which makes the evolution of Saratoga Springs a subject of distinct social interest apart from its interest as an experiment in public ownership and operation around which, unfortunately, has grown an acute controversy on policy between the late reservation commissioners and the conservation commissioner who took over the control of the reservation in 1916. The acquisition of the springs by the state had followed the example of practically all the better known medical springs in Europe which are owned for the most part by the state and in some instances by the municipality. The Reservation Commission departed from this example, however, in the matter of public operation which obtains in practically all the larger European spas, with the outstanding exception of Vichy. Some months prior to the change in the administration, the Saratoga commissioners leased the important bottling privileges to a private corporation. Saratoga citizens, though they did not protest at the time, once the matter was thrown into the courts came to regard it as a first step in the discontinuation of the state's direct interest in the town and in the return to exploitation of its natural resources for private profit. Feeling has since run high, though hardly a citizen other than those in some way concerned in the lawsuit which ensued can be found who has read the lease or knows accurately its terms.

On reviewing the steps by which the commissioners arrived at that decision, there is not visible a break with their previous policy, declared from time to time. Mr. Peabody resigned from the commission in 1915; for years he had given unstinted service in the development of the springs and may be regarded as a competent witness. He says:

I was familiar with Saratoga personally and intimately from 1881 and also with Mr. Spencer Trask who resided there, and knew intimately all of his plans and those of Senator Brackett who introduced the bill. The occasion of the immediate pressure for the act was the suits against the carbonic gas companies—for two of which Senator Brackett was counsel. But the bill provided for the leasing of the privilege of bottling and selling the waters to enable the investment by the state to be self-sustaining.

I was in the discussion and know the arguments used to secure the passage of the bill and Governor Hughes' intent for the future of the commission in making his appointments. The discussion for years had been of making the waters available for bathing and drinking. An effort to buy up all the springs privately had almost succeeded when the great profits from pumping for gas developed. The discussion everywhere in legislature and village was for a successful investment, and only with that idea were the appropriations secured.

The question of operation by the state or the following of European practice was fully discussed in the reports of the commission,

and no single word of criticism, much less protest, was heard respecting lease for profit. . . .

The commissioners decided in 1915 that it was desirable to follow the recommendations of the previous commissioners in their several yearly reports to the legislature and to secure lessees who would give the necessary attention to a business that would come into active competition with a hundred millions of capital invested in water distributing corporations, the lease power providing that waters should forever be free to be drunk at the spring by all comers.

The commission had found by its experience in bottling and selling the waters that it was a purely competitive line of business and not practicable to handle efficiently under political conditions relating to all government. It was not on a par with public utilities—as I discovered to my regret, for I had been an active advocate of government ownership and operation of public utilities, following my own active relation to the building and operation of railroads and electric corporations.

When the bids were to be opened by the commissioners in October, 1915—as the advertisement called for—not a single bid appeared, all fearing to do business with the state as liable to be unfair because political. I then advised Mr. Noland, the secretary of the commission, to find some associate to join him in making a bid so that the state might not have a losing investment on its hands. I felt responsible for having invested two million dollars of the state's money on the basis of statements that it could be made a profitable investment and secure thus the fullest and cheapest use of the waters for the health of the people.

Courtesy, Conservation Commission, State of New York

OLD CONGRESS SPRING

One of the oldest and most renowned of Saratoga's springs. The picture indicates the representative character of Saratoga's clientele.

The corporation created on this initiative included besides Louis W. Noland, the secretary of the commission, who had previously been with the Poland Springs Company, Leslie R. Rounds, then with the same company and now a controller of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, of which Mr. Peabody is director, Martin L. C. Wilmarth, a merchant of the nearby city of Glens Falls, who took the presidency of the company, and Charles J. Peabody, senior partner of the banking house of Spencer Trask & Co., of New York, who at the solicitation of his brother put in a comparatively small amount. The commissioners, to quote Mr. Peabody, "preferred not to lease to the young men of the company unless they associated with them some one of larger financial resources to give them access to a larger capital which would be needed to expand the business." The lease was drawn up by Judge Charles C. Lester, counsel for the commission.

Conservation Commissioner George D. Pratt, soon after becoming responsible for the administration of the reservation, in 1916, and after a study of all the facts, came to the conclusion that the lease was detrimental to the interests of the state and considered it his duty to cancel it. In this he acted on the advice of the attorney-general and the state comptroller. This action led to a lawsuit by the lessees, the Saratoga Waters Corporation, against Mr. Pratt which they won. An appeal to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, in October, 1918, reversed the judgment in favor of the plaintiff and granted a new trial. Finally, the state Court of Appeals, in January of the present year, Judge Crane dissenting, again reversed the judgment of the Appellate Division and reaffirmed the original judgment of the Special Term of the judicial department, confirming the right of the reservation commissioners to make the agreement in question and declaring that the agreement had been arrived at without deceit, corruption or unfairness, and with "manifest deliberation, thoughtfulness and caution in designating the substance and form of it." On the other hand, the court went further and held that the conservation commissioner had no authority to cancel the lease.

The question whether the transaction really was one of good public policy mainly turns on probabilities of sales and output and so, the court held, was not justiciable. Since, owing to the lawsuit, the lease has only just gone into operation, the question of sales is largely one of prophecy. The selling prices for the different waters imposed upon the lessees under the agreement were those then in force and based on the labor costs in 1916. The profits of the corporation and the salaries of its officers were restricted.

The stipulated receipts of the state are:

Royalties of five cents per gallon on the first 50,000 gallons of carbonated waters bottled and sold; of eight cents per gallon on the next 50,000 gallons; or ten cents on the next 50,000 gallons; of twelve cents on all over 150,000 gallons.

Royalties of four cents per gallon on the first 100,000 gallons of sweet spring or fresh waters; of five cents on all over that quantity.

Twenty-five per cent of gross receipts for admission to drink halls.

Sixty per cent on all net profits in excess of $30,000.

On the one hand, the lessees of the bottling privileges and the late reservation commissioners, taking a decidedly optimistic view of the commercial possibilities of Saratoga waters in competition with similar medicinal and table waters, foresee from these terms for the state a much larger revenue than it has had, or could expect to have, under direct operation; in the place of tens of thousands of bottles sold, they anticipate sales going into millions. On the other hand, the conservation commissioner who contested the legality of the lease and those associated with him consider the lease financially unsound from the state's point of view and foresee certain loss to the state—at least for a number of years. The advocates of direct operation, while conceding that a large investment of capital and shrewd business management are needed to market Saratoga waters in competition with similar products, base their view on three lines of argument. To summarize these:

First, the state, acting first through the Reservation Commission and later through the Conservation Commission, has already demonstrated its ability to handle the business in an efficient and honest manner, avoiding a speculative extension of operations to secure immediate large returns, such as it ultimately hopes to secure, but increasing the business progressively as the waters become more appreciated through the simultaneous development of the reservation as a health resort.

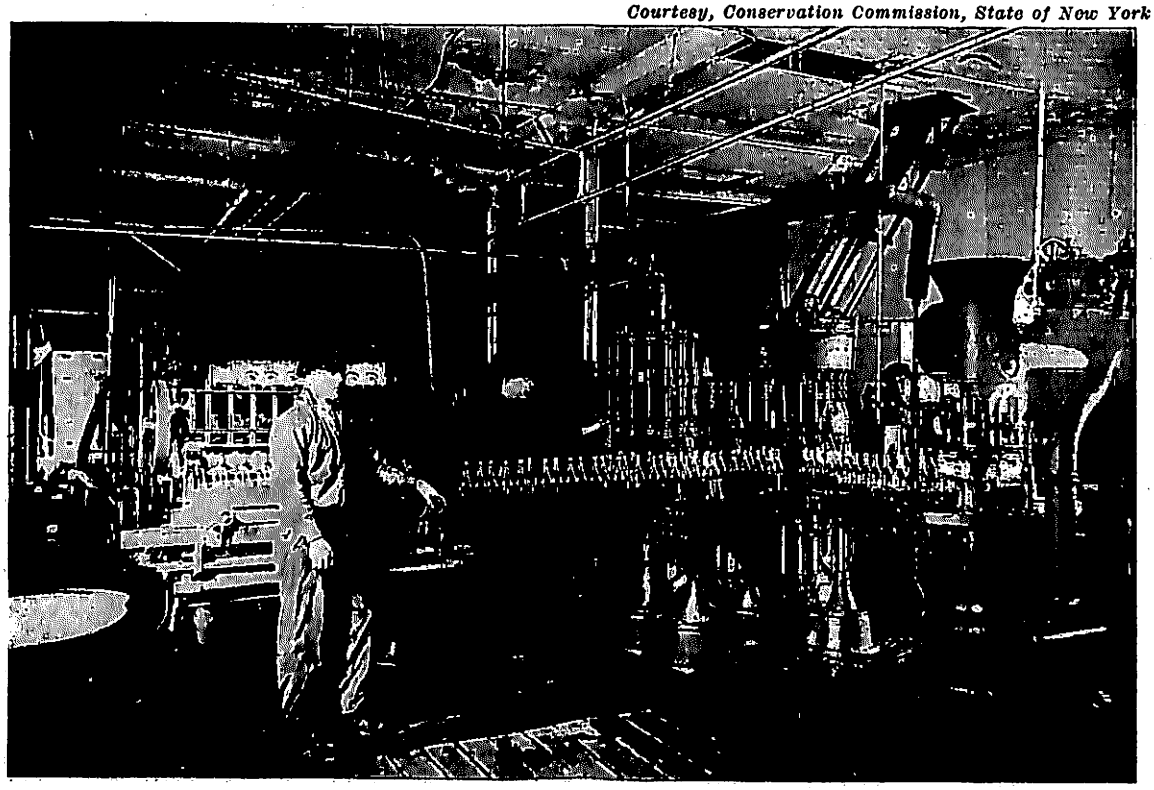
Second, the commercial development of the trade in bottled water should not be proceeded with primarily as a trade undertaking, even though as large a financial return as possible is desirable; but as a public health undertaking. In line with this principle, the Conservation Commission this spring refused an application of the lessees to have prices raised, since in its judgment such action would impair the effort to popularize the use of the water by all classes of people.

Third, they hold that under the actual terms of the lease and with the present capitalization of the corporation, of only $35,000, the immediate large increase of sales predicted by the lessees must prove illusory.

Whether the terms are reasonable or unreasonable depends not only on the output and on the price agreed to but on the obligations imposed respectively upon lessor and lessee. The latter, the Saratoga State Waters Corporation, has the advantage of being able to end the contract at the end of five years, whereas the state has no such option for twenty-five years. The obligations on the state involve outlays which are in part permanent and definite and in part contingent. In addition to transferring to the lessee the surplus of bottled waters at the time the lease came into effect, the state was pledged by the reservation commissioners to undertake the care and maintenance of the entire buildings and equipment (other than ordinary repairs); to build a new bottling plant and equip it; to maintain pipe lines and additions thereto, and to erect and equip with machinery other buildings as required by future expansion of the business—as deemed necessary by the lessees; to maintain a chemical laboratory with a chemist in charge; to supply a motor truck—in short to do almost everything needed to set the lessee up in business. Nor do the lessees need to wait for appropriations by the legislature, but in their absence they may proceed with any improvements or betterments and subtract the cost thereof from their rent. This clause places in their hands almost unlimited power of financing at the expense of any revenue to the state. No charge for depreciation of the properties falls on the lessee, so that the state bears the whole of this burden also.

In return, the state has very little guarantee that the public money thus invested will be used to best advantage, other than the reputation of the lessees and the comparatively small capital so far invested by them. In justice to the lessees it should be stated, however, that the agreement gives the state

Courtesy, Conservation Commission, State of New York



INTERIOR OF BOTTLING PLANT

Showing the up-to-dateness of the equipment with which the state hopes to make Saratoga waters a successful rival of more popular medicinal and table waters.

far reaching powers of supervision, in enforcing such clauses as the following in which the lessees agree to

> conduct, manage and control all business matters and transactions relating thereto, and exercise their best endeavors for the merchandising of the said waters, diligently, and to the best of their skill and ability, for the purpose of maintaining the reputation of each of said waters and increasing the market therefor and increasing the business of each of said properties and the proceeds derived and derivable therefrom.

The contingent charges upon the state consist in the assumption of losses in case the revenues are insufficient to permit a return upon the capital invested. One clause reads:

> Should the profits arising from the sale of cups not be sufficient to maintain the expense of salaries and miscellaneous operating supplies for free service, the balance remaining shall be charged against the rent (royalties). Should the profit arising from the sale of cups be more than sufficient to maintain the expense of salaries and miscellaneous operating supplies for free service, the surplus shall be retained by the parties of the second part (the lessees) and added to the profits of the business.

One point especially at issue is the definition of "net profits" under the terms of the agreement. It treats royalties as business expense, which means that those of the first year are added to the cost of operation for the second year, and so on, always to be deducted before the state receives its share of net profits. This would seem to be in accordance with established practice. Not so clear, however, is the principle upon which, apparently, the 60 per cent of net profits which go to the state are also treated as business expense, liable to be deducted from the gross profits of the following year. There is a world of difference between rents or royalties and a share in profits; but here, apparently, both are treated alike. This is the more remarkable since the profits assigned under the agreement to the two managers of the corporation—5 per cent of profits over $10,000—seem to be arrived at without previous deduction from profits of any payments made to the state.

Since the agreement also makes detailed stipulations concerning different springs, the matter is more complicated than here presented. In fact, the document is so complicated that as the mutual relationship of lessor and lessee proceeds, it seems impossible for any new contingency to arise that has not been explicitly provided for.

On the basis of interviews and a study of the documents in the case, the present writer feels convinced that the late reservation commissioners acted in all honesty and in line with what they believed to be the best public policy—whether altogether wisely or not is another question. On the point of their good faith the verdict of the Court of Appeals may be considered final.

Nevertheless, the popular opposition to the course taken, primarily due to the leasing policy itself, was heightened by the accompanying circumstances: the fact that in spite of the advertisement for bids the terms of the lease were not generally known until after it was signed (many Saratogians will today tell you that at the time few people even knew that a lease was contemplated); that the lessee corporation was organized by the secretary of the Reservation Commission at the time the lease was drafted and was made up largely of personal associates of its former chairman (however disinterested his intention to serve the public); and that the action of the commission tied the hands of the conservation commissioner on this crucial point of policy just before the administration of the state's property was handed over to him. Moreover, the extremely small initial investment on the part of the lessee corporation makes it appear even more strongly than the actual conditions of the lease would justify one to conclude, that all the risk of the enterprise is made to fall on the state while the lessees have the chance of big gains.

With regard to its effect on the future development of Saratoga Springs, many citizens expressed the fear that the government of the state and the legislature will use the derivation of private profit from the development of the springs as an excuse for refusing such appropriations as are needed to complete the transformation of Saratoga Springs from a comparatively small health resort into one commensurate with the importance of its natural advantages.

As the net result of the proceedings, the state is committed to private operation for from five to twenty-five years at the pleasure of the lessees—short of the discovery of some method of condemnation proceedings (which since it would involve a special appropriation would have to commend itself to the legislature) or a willingness on the part of the lessees, under the pressure of an as yet unorganized public opinion, to sell back to the state their privileges.

Both those who believe in private and in public operation agree that in the successful distribution of the waters to all parts of the country lies one of the chief values of the reservation as a national health asset.

Fundamentally, the dispute between them may be reduced to one of contrasting policies. The reservation commissioners, it appears, have had uppermost in their minds the idea of a great business enterprise and have shared the belief of the business world (as expressed in the leasing of municipal subways, wharves, and traction lines) that a public body is severely handicapped in administering a revenue producing property efficiently and economically. This, of course, discounts the rapid expansion of direct public enterprise, as for instance—very much to the point—the thousands of municipal pumping stations and water plants. The policy of Mr. Pratt and his associates, on the other hand, is dictated by the philosophy of the conservation movement, and they seek in the conservation of natural resources the promotion of the public health aims which, though compatible with the most expert commercial operation of a state-owned asset, derive their main value from results that cannot be measured by commercial standards. In a speech at Saratoga Springs, Commissioner Pratt said:

> Beyond the first duty of conservation of the waters is that of the administration of this great public property, wisely and honestly and in no commercial spirit. That the state reservation at Saratoga Springs must be administered in no commercial spirit is a statement of general policy that is particularly appropriate in connection with this great resort. The boon of Saratoga to the people of this country is too great for mere commercial exploitation.
>
> If the wider uses of the waters of Saratoga shall bring some revenue, it will be revenue that comes as a secondary consideration, revenue that shall indicate primarily that the great purpose of these springs as a boon to mankind is being fulfilled.

Incidentally, the lease separates the bottling from the bathing and other revenue yielding operations. The reservation commissioners, evidently, would have preferred a combined lease but were unable to secure a bid for it. Mr. Peabody, under the circumstances, urged a separate lease for the bathing privileges, but they were slow to act on his suggestion. On the other hand Commissioner Pratt, who succeeded them, does not even under present conditions favor such a lease. While he believes that the bottling lease already entered into has injured the development of Saratoga Springs and therewith the revenue producing prospects of the baths, he still thinks that even under present conditions the state should operate the latter and, by advertising and promoting their use, forward the general plan for Saratoga Springs as a great health resort. In this attitude he is strongly supported by local sentiment.

In construction and lay-out, the plans for a greater Saratoga are well advanced. Whether the town of Saratoga Springs itself is ready for such an extension of its hospitality, however, may be doubted. Thus a few years ago, when the Metropoli-

tan Life Insurance Company planned to build a sanatorium there, public protests on the ground that such a concern would bring an undesirable element to the resort were strong enough to prevent this plan, and the sanatorium, much to the chagrin of Saratogians today, has become a "show place" and a considerable revenue producer to the neighboring town of Glens Falls.

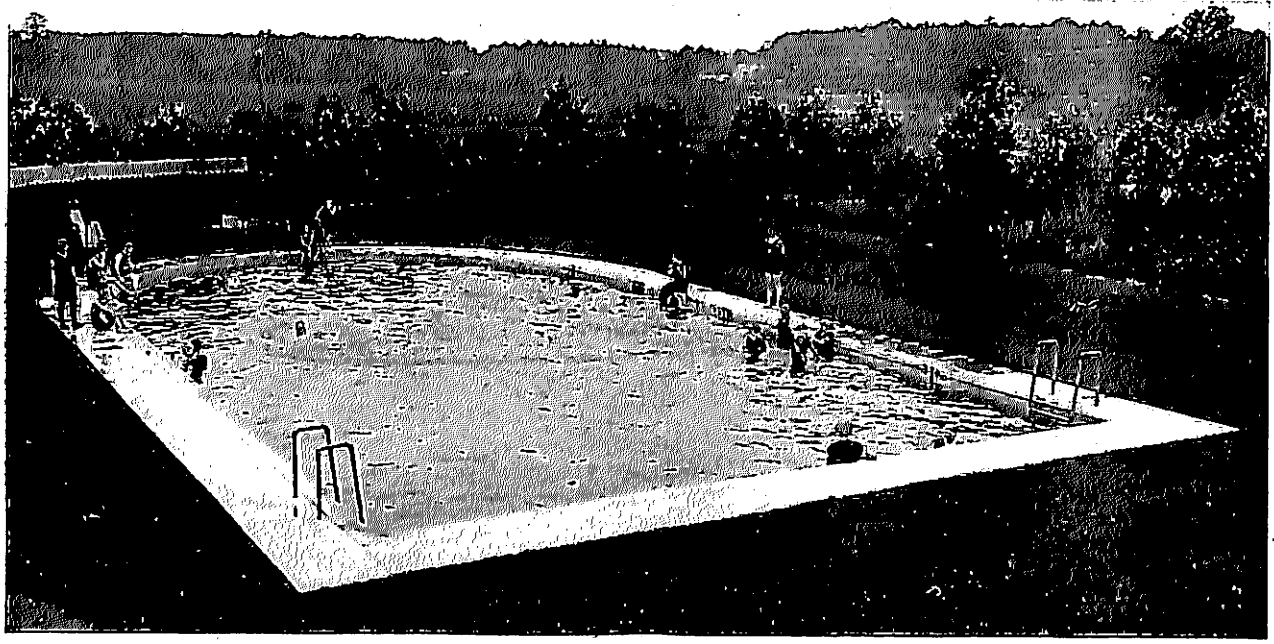
Unfortunately—and characteristically, for a health resort—every discussion of the development of Saratoga Springs is enveloped in politics and personalities which impede progress. The town, however, has been obliged by the state to make a considerable effort to parallel that of the taxpayers of the state. In its first report, in 1910, the Reservation Commission said:

> If Saratoga is to become a really great spa, the village administration must be sympathetic with all that is necessary to the accomplishment of that purpose. The village must be just and wise in its relations with hotels, boarding houses, sanatoriums, and the like. In the arrangement of its water and sewage system, in the case of its streets, in its building and other municipal regulations and in all other village details, the highest regard should be had to sanitary and even esthetic considerations.

On the whole, it must be conceded, the town has well lived up to this obligation. Indeed, it is held by some of the best citizens that the condition of acquiring and maintaining so costly a property as Congress Park, imposed upon it by the state and absorbing one-half of the annual revenue, is more onerous than should have been demanded. In this park is situated a fine residential building, which for a generation was one of the worst gaming resorts in the United States. Having lately reverted to the city, it is to be leased out as a casino for visitors and, under proper management, will add greatly to the amenities of the town. A convention hall, erected by the city some years ago, has a capacity of five thousand. The administration of the town, in general, so far as a visitor can observe, is efficient and open to modern ideas. Two voluntary organizations, the Chamber of Commerce and the Business Men's Association, contribute to the maintenance of a progressive spirit which is evident not only in provision made for economic expansion but also for the social welfare—as exemplified by a community house opened a few weeks ago in a neighborhood in the city with a large foreign population.

This brief account of civic enterprise must, unfortunately, be matched with a reverse side of the picture. In common with the citizens of many other recreation resorts, those of Saratoga Springs have suffered demoralization by too easy earnings during the season of visiting. I am not afraid to bring upon my head the wrath of Saratogians for this statement; for, during a recent visit to the town, some of the best citizens remarked on it in the strongest possible terms. An evident apathy in relation to present civic concerns, which I was ready to attribute to the normal conservatism of a small town, they attributed to the seasonal nature of the people's occupations and the widespread belief that a year's livelihood can easily be secured in a month or two. Although succeeding administrations, with the aid of the medical fraternity, have done their best to popularize Saratoga Springs as a resort for at least six months of the year and as a desirable place of residence all the year round, it is difficult to eradicate the old idea.

Courtesy, Conservation Commission, State of New York



AN OUTDOOR SWIMMING POOL
at Lincoln Baths, a popular part of the general recreation provided.

In addition to the openhandedness of American vacationists which contributes to encourage laziness, the two weeks of racing bring a veritable flow of gold each season. As already mentioned, Saratoga Springs has long been a resort of gamblers. The Rev. J. Wilbur Crafts, superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, recently told a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee that "more than $44,000,000 is wagered in a single race meet at Saratoga." While residents were excluded from the casino when it belonged to the notorious Canfield, they have had many other opportunities to acquire the habit. Although many efforts have been made to suppress gambling and all the evils in its train, its spirit has become so deeply ingrained that as late as last year Commissioner Pratt had to lead an open campaign against it. He gave the citizens to understand that they had to choose between the easy gains of a gaming resort and the growth of their town with the aid of large state appropriations into a health resort of the first magnitude.

The crowd in the parks and at the springs on a summer day

is typically American. In front of some of the springs where water is provided free, the road is as full of waiting Ford cars as at a state fair, while in the more exclusive hotels, fashion and "society" still hold sway as they did fifty years ago, and the warning of a writer in 1859 still holds good:

> Saratoga is often wrongly thought to be in itself a place of very moderate attractions only; and often is the remark heard of it that it will do for a few days, but one soon gets tired. This, however, is the expression of ennuied lips, come to them from a barren heart, very reasonably unsatisfied with the more barren interest of the vulgar characteristics of the merely fashionable pleasures of the place. Those who come here with souls of their own, imbued with a love for the pure delights of nature and of country life, may find streams of moral aliment as full, and as pleasurable and healthful, as the living waters of the fountains. The fashionable world may easily be left on one side if one so desires; or, better yet, it may be used only in its higher influences, when instead of poisoning it necessarily sweetens the simpler elements of rural life.

The state parks are situated for the most part on a high plateau, with beautiful wooded dells, water falls and splendid views in every direction. They were replanted by the Reservation Commission which, in 1911, turned over a part of its ground as a nursery to the Forestry Department of the Conservation Commission and from this secured its young trees. An adjoining area of some 350 acres has been acquired by the commissioner for his own account to prevent its falling into the hands of land speculators and is held by him for acquisition at cost price by the state as soon as it will make the necessary appropriation. However, it is not only his fortune and his time that Mr. Pratt has put into the service of the state but also exceptional knowledge of the tasks of conservation and the kindling vision of the nature lover. Plans have been made for the making of roads and paths to combine these parks into a magnificent natural garden, but also and the creation of a large hotel, with recreation and bathing buildings of its own, and with terraces, tennis courts and golf links after the pattern of the most successful spas. Similar to present arrangements, the larger plans also are made with a view to meeting the requirement of people both of large and small means.

Perhaps even the present plans do not go far enough to create a new type of health resort, of twentieth century democratic ideals. It has been suggested that Saratoga Springs may become for the sufferers from heart and digestive diseases what the not distant Saranac Lake has become for the tuberculous. The area in possession of the state is sufficiently large and varied to permit the creation of different colonies, each of which might have medicinal water laid on and equipment provided for its own services. Open-air treatment for general health improvement might, with great saving in cost of construction, be combined with the special treatment necessary for patients who come to benefit from the springs. There might even be tent colonies under proper management during the summer months, similar to those already provided in some of our recreation parks and forest reserves. The state of New York has the opportunity of creating in and around the Adirondack mountains and lakes the greatest "health reservation" the world has seen.

The Whitleys to Date

Their Bearings on the Fundamental Relations of Manual Labor and the State

By Arthur Gleason

THE British government announced at the beginning of this year that fifty-one joint industrial councils (Whitleys) had been set up. These represent about 3,200,000 workers.

The British lean back on tradition and precedent and eye such new machinery as that of the Whitleys with a Luddite suspicion. Industrial dealings are meshed in a multiple technique of agreements and grades and rates. British industry has a vast inherited network of collective agreements, boards and joint committees of voluntary conciliation and arbitration. By 1910 there were 1,696 collective agreements, covering wages and hours, conditions of work, and interference with management. By 1913, there were 325 permanent boards of conciliation. Collective bargaining, then, had through the last generation created its own machinery of diplomacy. Back of it lay the threat of strike. Ahead of it rose the goal of legislative enactment.

The Whitleys superimposed themselves upon this hereditary intricate scheme. Their reception was mixed. They are serving a purpose in establishing wages and hours. "A case —a very real case—can be made out for them in the matter of wages and hours," said J. J. Mallon (in November, 1919). "But," he added, "the Government Bulletin, describing their work, is all but bare of reference to any functions they fulfill in the training of workers for participation in management."

In addition to the results obtained by direct trade union negotiations, the following results have been secured by the activities of joint industrial councils: Asbestos workers, 48-hour week; bobbin workers, 48-hour week without reduction of pay; china clay workers, 42-hour week without reduction in wages; elastic webbing workers, 48-hour week from April 7, 1919; electrical contracting, 47-hour week; furniture, 47; gold and silver, 47 without reduction in wages; hosiery (English), 48 without reduction; leather goods, 48; local authorities non-trading services manual workers, 47-hour week, with twelve days' holiday per annum with pay; packing case makers, saw-mill employes, vehicle workers, 47-hour week, wool and allied trades 48, workers employed at waterworks' undertakings 47-hour week without reduction in wages.

But the Whitleys have not functioned in "workers' control" to any such extent as the creators of them hoped. Men like Mallon, J. A. Hobson, and F. S. Button fashioned them to be a training ground in responsible administration of working conditions, the processes of production, "discipline and management," the allocation of raw material. Instead of expanding in these directions, the councils have tended to concentrate on wages and hours. They have been tardy in forming district councils and works committees. Only six of the Whitleyized trades had begun to set up works committees. The great industries of mining, railways, cotton, water transport, iron and steel, machine, and foundry, are not represented in the Whitley scheme. These industries prefer their own conciliation machinery, and their own processes of industrial pressure.

Even in some of the trades that use Whitleys, they have left all the stiffer work to the old conciliation boards, and have regarded their own function as a sort of welfare committee. In other instances, such as the woolen board, the vital ques-

tions have been handled by a group outside the Whitley council in which the workers are a minority and steadily voted down. In other instances (such as the packing case makers, and the bakers) one side or the other has—at least, temporarily—withdrawn.

For all that, sections of labor have found a redress in Whitleys which they never knew before. The fair-minded student will give them at least two years more of experimentation, before ruling them out. One of the roots from which they sprang and their most flourishing flower, is the Building Trades Parliament, covering 600,000 workers.

The Labor party in its news service says of the Whitleys:

> Most of the councils have discussed hours and wages; one has already broken down over such a discussion, and two came very near it. Eight think it would be a good thing to employ ex-service men; four have discussed women and juveniles, two the regulation of employment. Several have been thinking about welfare, and one or two about research. The Needles and Fish-Hooks Council is trying to secure the improvement of passenger traffic on the railways. This, however, is not all. At the end of the bulletin comes a little section entitled commercial activities, and under this heading there is literally no information whatever. Some councils have "considered the question of foreign products," and some have gone to the Board of Trade about it; but of what they said when they got there we have no idea. But this is exactly what we do want to know. What does an alliance of employers and employed working in a key industry have to say about foreign competition, and why should the labor public not know all about it? The doing of Whitley councils in this connection should be instantly and completely made public. For it is fairly obvious that they are doing nothing else.

G. D. H. Cole was chosen secretary of the trade union representatives of the Industrial Conference. The report which he and Arthur Henderson signed stated that "the Whitley scheme, insofar as it has been adopted, has done little or nothing to satisfy" the demand for "a real share in industrial control."

Elsewhere, Cole has stated:

> It is a great mistake to think that the miners or the railwaymen want merely the adoption of the Whitley report. The railwaymen—including both the National Union of Railwaymen and the Railway Clerks' Association—have rejected the Whitley report, and the miners have shown not the smallest desire for its adoption in their own case. The sort of control which these bodies have in mind is something different, and something which, to the ordinary business man, will seem far more "revolutionary." For, whereas the Whitley report merely secures the full recognition of the right of collective bargaining, without in any way changing the status of the parties to the bargain, the miners and the railwaymen are seeking a real share in control.
>
> What, then, do the miners mean exactly by this share in control? They mean at least two things, and to each of these things they attach the greatest possible importance. In the first place, they want equal representation on the national commission or committee which exercises central and general control over the mining industry; and, in the second place, they want equal representation upon committees exercising control over particular pits.
>
> It would be wrong to regard these demands merely as the result of "extremist" agitation. Indeed, the "extremists" are seeking not joint control, but complete and exclusive control of the whole mining industry as a part of a general and comprehensive social revolution.

Three Whitley councils have been formed on which the government as employer is represented. This marks the emergence of the application of the Whitley scheme in the non-industrial and professional groups. The Admiralty Council and the Office of Works Council have held their first meetings. The Civil Service Council has met several times.

At the annual conference of educational associations, the first of January, the retiring president, Canon J. H. B. Masterman, delivered an address to the Teachers' Guild on the relation of teachers to the proposals of the Whitley report. He said that one of the difficulties of applying the system was the cleavage that prevented the teaching profession from recognizing its common interests. The smallest unit in the Whitley schemes was the works committee. The corresponding unit in the educational world would be the school committee. The district councils proposed in the report would need to be represented by two groups of councils. Every county or county borough would constitute a national unit for a joint council of teachers and administrators, the constitution of which would necessarily vary in every district. The local educational authority would be represented, and any other important educational institutions in the area, and on the other side the National Union of Teachers, as representing specially the interests of the elementary teachers, and other organizations representing other grades of the profession would supply representatives.

Between these councils and the central body there is room for an intermediate series of provincial councils. It would be possible to create 10 or 12 provincial areas, each centering in a university, with joint councils to take cognizance of larger questions affecting the interests of teachers within the area. Finally, there is the central council, and here the Whitley report affords an opportunity for establishing a real Board of Education, consisting of a certain number of members of Parliament, representatives of the administrative staff of the department and of the teachers. In this council the N. U. T., the Teachers' Guild, and various other associations of teachers would be represented.

The success of the application of the Whitley proposals to national education depends on the willingness of the officials of the Education Department to abandon all attempts to create a highly efficient centralized bureaucracy. The Whitley report suggests that a national joint standing council should first be created for each industry, and in the case of education this is the most hopeful method of procedure.

The Webb's revised History of Trade Unionism appeared this spring. In it they say:

> After two years' propagandist effort, it seems as if the principal industries, such as agriculture, transport, mining, cotton, engineering, or shipbuilding are unlikely to adopt the Whitley scheme. The government found itself constrained, after an obstinate resistance by the heads of nearly all the departments, to institute the councils throughout the public service. We venture on the prediction that some such scheme will commend itself in all nationalized or municipalized industries and services, including such as may be effectively "controlled" by the government, though remaining nominally the property of the private capitalist—possibly also in the cooperative movement; but that it is not likely to find favor either in the well organized industries (for which alone it was devised) or in those in which there are trade boards legally determining wages, etc., or, indeed, permanently in any others conducted under the system of capitalist profit-making.

If the Whitleys survive, they will demand an all-inclusive body, to tie together their activities. They will demand some such body as the half-realized National Industrial Council.

Harold Laski writes in Authority in the Modern State:

> Provision must be made for some central authority not less representative of production as a whole than the state would represent consumption. There is postulated therein two bodies similar in character to a national legislature.

The power of the vast aggregations of capital are in comparatively few hands. The Committee of the Federation of British Industries numbers 46. The government, to be generous, selected 200 employers as representing the "upper control" of all industry. Similarly, the leaders of trades unionism, who create policy and dominate conferences, congresses and delegate meetings, number about one hundred. The government selected 200.

In the hands of 400 men (at most) then, the government of industry is centered. But these 400 are not inside the state and its constitution. Both groups are wielding their enormous power outside constitutional channels. The political

state is torn by these industrial lawless leviathans. How to put a hook in their nose is the present task.

The British labor leaders speak in a consciousness of greater delegated power than a member of Parliament. Their trade union is a closer presence, a more compact fighting force, hovering around them and backing them, than is a geographical constituency to a representative in the House of Commons. The National Industrial Council, the Whitleys, are all part of the one problem: How shall the forces of production function through a central authority, instead of misbehaving in the twilight zone of self-will?

C. T. Cramp is president of the National Union of Railwaymen. In a recent talk with me, he said:

> What we are building up is a new functional idea of the state. Geographical representation did not meet the full need. My personal opinion is that certain representatives in Parliament must be provided from the industries as industries, so that we shall have industrial representation. In that way we should have a body competent to decide on great industrial questions.

For the new organ of government (functional, non-geographical, outside the House of Commons) the Federation of British Industries has a suggestion. The Federation includes 16,000 firms, and represents five thousand million pounds of capital. It suggests that the workers' "voice" must not "encroach upon the operations of the commercial management or lessen the proper authority of the foremen." The Federation advocates carrying out the Whitley report, and the setting up of a permanent National Industrial Council for all industry. "We understand that some of the councils are already applying for legislation to give legal validity to their decisions. It is obvious that the general adoption of this course would greatly increase the effectiveness of the scheme."

That means giving statutory power to the Whitleys. Clearly this presupposes giving statutory power to the National Industrial Council—the super-Whitley. So would begin a new Parliament outside Parliament—an industrial chamber of immense power.

The extremist view is almost always of value in sharpening the issue. Tom Mann, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, says:

> When we have in our own hands what we want, Parliament, so far as I am concerned, will be welcome to go on dealing with what is left over. Do not forget that we are 90 per cent of the crowd, and when we get going Parliament will be left high and dry.

Harry Gosling is head of the Transport Workers' Federation. He is ranked as a conservative leader. He says:

> There is no head at all for the whole labor movement when it comes to a matter of industrial action. A new body would be similar in constitution to the executive of the Trades Union Congress, but more closely knit, more powerful and more readily brought into action.
>
> You may argue that such a body would be a danger to the state, because it would be a rival to the executive of Parliament, which is the cabinet. My reply is that a gigantic movement calls for a powerful instrument. If no such powerful instrument is in existence, the movement will break bounds and chaos result. To put it bluntly, you must either have this or something very much worse.
>
> The time has come when the political cabinet must take an industrial partner. The young men are demanding it, and although it may be easy enough to chloroform old men like myself, you can't chloroform the rising generation. Let us work, then, with all our might to establish cooperation rather than rivalry between these two forces within the one nation.

Frank Hodges, secretary of the miners, says:

> A careful and far-seeing statesman would foresee the whole of the possible developments along the lines of workers' control for the next ten or fifteen years, and he would make provision for creating institutions which would give a natural outlet to these desires.

Ramsay MacDonald, like Philip Snowden, is one of the staunchest parliamentary constitutionalists in Britain. He has written a pamphlet called Parliament and Revolution, in which he plumps for Parliament. But, realizing that the power of Parliament has evaporated, he proposes to restore it:

> Let us have a second chamber on a soviet franchise. Guilds or unions, professions and trades, classes and sections, could elect to the second chamber their representatives, just as the Scottish peers now do.

The relationship of manual labor to the state will not be determined by a vague group called "the public." The public must be analyzed into its various groups of doctor, teacher, technician, manager, miner, conductor. What Felix Adler calls the "lateral pressure" of these groups on the warring member inside the social organism will be of more potency than the pressure of a mass called "the public," exercised from above. The British railway strike was settled by the pressure of the great trade unions (represented by 14 men) upon Lloyd George and the railwaymen.

Whitleys and National Industrial Councils will only avail as they become new institutions and give constitutional representation and expression to the working groups inside the state.

Back Sliding on Social Work

By Simon N. Patten

THE war has come and gone. The social worker went to Europe and returned. Has the war altered him or is he settling back to views and solutions which engaged his attention in pre-war days? This question I have asked frequently of late and to it there seems to be but one answer. The war has altered the externalities of the worker without in any way transforming his thought. He changed ordinary clothes for a uniform, he crossed the ocean, went over the top and came back 100 per cent American; but when he cast off the uniform, told his adventures innumerable times, his old self came back. He talks in his office or writes to the SURVEY exactly as he did ten years ago, except when he interlards his tales with new foreign adventures. If there is any who has learned something from the war, or who has acquired a new perspective, I have not yet met him, nor has his voice been heard. Look over the old files of the SURVEY and see if a single principle or a new method of approaching social work is recorded that was not as well stated then as now. Crude views of distribution, sloppy politics, thread-worn biology, and milk bottle sociology have not lost their vogue nor have they ceased to console the faithful who delight in words which do not become deeds.

This relapse, this unchanged return to a familiar but outgrown epoch is in one sense natural and yet in another regrettable. What before was mere theory and could be cast aside as such by the conventional thinker has had a verification on so large a scale that antecedent views cannot even cast a shadow in comparison to the bold outlines of the new. How millions of men were handled, fed, and drilled, how weight was added, habits acquired and new enthusiasms aroused cannot but determine many problems solutions for which the social worker has long vainly sought. It is a pity that the sterility of social

thought prevented much more from being done, but in spite of this, the mere magnitude of the tasks imposed could not but create a granary from which pertinent deductions can be drawn. These new facts are scattered, covered and misunderstood and yet they fairly leap into one's face as though eager to make their value known.

Two of these are of immense importance. All the armies, especially the German and the American, were supplied with excellent food. Never before on so large a scale was an attempt made to feed the male population of the younger generation, it thus can be seen what good food can do to elevate the stamina of men. We have had a multitude of pictures given which show how similar in look, bearing and energy men become when put on a sufficient diet. But more than this is the value of the difference between the methods of feeding the German troops and those used by American officials. There was no chance for a real test in action as to which of these was the better. The American army came into the conflict after the German soldiers had had four years of war and the deficiency of their food supply was too great to permit an adequate diet. The essential difference is this. American officials tried to make their soldiers fat. We have had many glowing accounts of the gain in weight of the typical soldier and these facts are paraded to show the benefit of military training. In contrast to this the German soldier was kept lean and lost about as much weight when trained as the American gained. We have this fact verified by all the accounts coming from Germany, usually stated, however, as if the loss in weight was also a loss in efficiency. We can only conjecture what our fat soldiers would have done if they had had to march fifty miles a day. Fortunately that was not necessary. What the lean Germans did was shown on many trying occasions and of it this may be said that no German army ever stood so long and strenuous tests as their army did.

The second enlightenment due to war statistics relates to the mental and physical condition of the American people. The proportion of high grade to low grade citizens had never before been tabulated. Now we know and the outcome is depressing. About 20 per cent of the drafted men were unfit for military service and, of those accepted, half had obvious defects. This would indicate that at least three-fifths of the male population lack some of the qualities essential to manhood. Were women included in this schedule the percentage would run much higher. It is probable, therefore, that three-fourths of the adult population suffers from some handicap which prevents a full expression of inherent traits. The psychologic tests of intelligence levels are more valuable because they measure the mental depression which these defects create. Seventy per cent of the recruits showed an intelligence below that of the normal 15-year-old boy. It is plain that the mass of the recruits are still infantile in thought and disposition. Practically the same number were earning less than $15 a week. As $1,500 was at this time set as the lower limit of the standard of life the influence of this earning power needs no comment.

Such are the facts.[1] The conclusions drawn are many and diverse. We were not in the war long enough to test which of these were valid, so each has a right to put his interpretation on them. The common interpretation is that the figures indicate a defective heredity, the responsibility for which is put on the distant past or at least on factors for which social workers are not responsible. It eases the load on one's conscience if he can put the blame on what he cannot help. So back settles the worker in his office chair and does the same routine tasks that he did before the war, and if he lectures or writes he tells the old story with the same unction and emphasis as in the past.

I take another view and want to impress on social workers their share of the responsibility for the conditions the recited facts reveal. I do not charge social workers with meaning ill but with doing ill because of erroneous theories and defective practice. To do this I must start with the theory, because bad theory is the cause of bad practice.

A child at birth is a badly deformed animal, so badly that a year passes before he is able to walk. He is practically a head without a body. Even the head is only developed in its upper part. His muscles and bones are almost absent. The cause of these absences lies in the difficulties of childbirth; a calf walks a few hours after birth because its motor mechanisms are prenatal in their formation. This head development of the human being is almost entirely nervous; on it the various senses depend. A child at birth can almost be said to be a head without a body, so great is the one development and so meager the other. Out of this fact comes the helplessness of the child and the peculiarities of its early development. Social workers should by this time be aware of the various repressions from which humanity suffers, of which the first and perhaps the worst is the way the fully developed nervous system thwarts the motor tendencies and delays the growth of bone and muscles on which motor dominance depends.

Not only does nature promote sensory dominance but parents and society encourage it. The child who sits in the corner and reads is lauded, while he who gets into street fights is used as an example of badness. The motor child is troublesome, stubborn, rash, careless, dirty and a moral delinquent. Sensory children lack the energy to get into difficulty or dread the punishment of doing wrong more than the pleasure of doing it. They keep to low grade pleasures and avoid acute pains. They are not emotional and hence prone to submit rather than to resent. They also have a brightness that pleases parents and seems to be the basis of budding genius. The facts, however, are that this early brightness is short lived. Soon these children sink into mental sterility, becoming the docile adherents of tradition and established authority.

We make this tendency emphatic by antiquated notions of the importance of a milk diet. Growth is a proliferation of cells, for which milk is the best food, but the kind of cells it makes are of a low character. A milk-fed child grows rapidly, but the resulting fatness is a bar to motor development. The child sleeps and smiles, but the essential ends on which self-expression and self-help depend are subordinated to those of temporary worth. Muscles grow through vigorous action; bone structure follows the growth of muscle. Heredity makes fat. Exercise creates muscle and bone. Milk makes cells, yes, but they are of a worthless sort which exercise would tear out as waste product. The beauty of a babe is its own destruction. It gains in power as it loses in flesh. Nine of every ten children are born healthy. Twenty years later 20 per cent of them are dead, another 20 per cent are so defective as to be incapable of military service. Of the remaining 60 per cent, one-half bear the visible marks of physical defects and two-thirds are so mentally deficient that they earn less than $15 a week. Surely some one is responsible for this post-natal deterioration.

From these facts comes the contrast between a child with a sensory development and that with a motor build. All the

[1] The facts about intelligence are based on the psychological army tests applied to one million seven hundred thousand soldiers. The wage statistics are taken from a pamphlet on industrial art issued by the Bureau of Education, Washington. An excellent summary of conclusions is to be found in Goddard's Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence: Princeton University Press.

bright stunts of youth depend on vivid sensory contrasts. They are merely the results of eye and ear development. When the attention is turned from these to the body the contrast is apparent. Every organ shows a defective development and every bodily process is working badly. The stunts are useless; the child seems good and moral, because tame and obedient. He shows qualities which parents or employers praise but which on the market are worth less than $15 a week. This is the type which makes, according to statistics, 70 per cent of our population. Their premature brightness turns into docile senility at about fifteen and then they are slaves in an economic system which exploits them for the rest of their lives. With this comes the use of whiskey, tobacco, and patent medicine. From milk to whiskey, from whiskey to drugs, and from here to death is the path the thousands travel. The sad thing is that this is not nature's path, but one set by the wrong notions of parents, teachers and social workers. I do not charge the social worker with bad intentions, but if he with his milk bottle should stand before an unorganized shop as the tide flows out at night, he would see the legitimate product of his endeavors. He has not made the bright citizen he had hoped, but a docile, stupid worker for some employer to exploit. What a difference there is between wishes and product. It is a sad fact, however, that policies not wishes make product, and thus the social worker becomes a part of the mechanism which grinds the poor and increases their number, instead of a social elevating force. Why save the child if a moral docility and physical increpitude is induced which adds to world misery and shortens life? Should we count our progress by the number of babies saved or by the increased vigor and longevity of adults?

Life is a process of metabolism in which both the process of building and that of destruction takes place. The growth is anabolic, the destruction katabolic. Cell increase which the free use of milk promotes is anabolic, but it has nothing to do with the cell destruction which completes the round of metabolism. The glands, nerves and organs on which katabolism depends are quite distinct in action and are aroused by other means than milk creates. In katabolic processes one organ or gland starts a movement the reverse to which it cannot make. If a given muscle doubles the arm, it cannot of itself straighten the arm. The recoil comes from agents in a distinct part of the body. Action and reaction is constantly taking place and through this ceaseless round comes the destruction of old cells.

There is not among these katabolic agents any unified control such as the central nervous system exerts on anabolic processes. Each activity excites the activity of its neighbor, and every activity tends to increase the activity of the whole system. Start an excitement which sets some organ going and a whole series of destructive activities begin. If any organ reduces its activity because of drugs, disease or the repression of the central nervous system, every other organ slows down its action. All of them become active and destroy, or all are repressed, in which case the system is clogged by the retention of waste products. Exercise and cell destruction is thus a necessary adjunct of health and with them comes the growth of muscle and bone. These two are not the indices of growth, but of the destructive processes which thwart growth.

The food agent that starts katabolic activity is sugar. If any excitement occurs arousing activity the adrenals start the movement by throwing sugar into the blood. If we run or fight in defeat or conquest, if we laugh and cry, in sorrow and joy, the blind internal forces produce this result by means of sugar thrown into the blood. As the blood circulates, it arouses the various rhythmic organs which play back and forth with increased vigor. We become in all these states katabolic in body and emotional in mind. Bodily destruction and mental elation go together because they result from the same agent. It is milk that builds; it is sugar that destroys. Milk is thus the food of growth; sugar that of the muscle and bones.

Each child is molded by this conflict out of which arises his defects and excellences. One group becomes good observers, the other good actors. Few and fortunate are the children that do both well.

Of these facts a book might be written. I have stated these with an over-simplicity so that the salient features would appear. However stated, they center on the opposition between anabolic and katabolic processes with the resultant contrast between sensory and muscular control. In this struggle the sensory system has the advantage because it is so largely prenatal. It has the further advantage that its control is central and unified. If to this is added the pressure from milk diet and social wish it will be seen how much the motor organism suffers before it overthrows the despotism of nerves, food and parental wish. All childhood is the scene of this struggle and its effects are visible in the various motor defects due to the delays and suppressions of growth. The struggle culminates or at least is at its heighth at puberty, but it may be carried on for years if at this time the sensory control is not broken. Piecemeal if not in one plunge the revolution is effected. No one escapes the struggle or is without visible marks which show how the battle has resulted. Sensory men can be told by their bodily defects due to defective development of muscle and bone, while motor men have their positive index in the way their emotions disturb mental processes. Rational defects thus have their origin in motor control while defects of body reflect a sensory domination. Blood pulses undo that for which the central nerves strive, thus creating a blood psychology the dominance of which indicates a revolution within the physical man.

The differences in mental traits are equally prominent. The sensory type at maturity is firm, conventional, dogmatic and irritable. The motor type is emotional. Each break in sensory control comes as an emotional outburst putting action precepts in the place of thought axioms. A series of these revolutions could be readily named each of which indicates some break in logical consistency. All sex and muscular impulses are of this order and along with them goes religious behavior as manifested in revivals. The fallen man of religion is the defective man of industry and army. Every revival saves just as educational and social processes save, by taking groups out of the defective class and elevating them to normal manhood. Emotion is thus one of the upbuilding forces which, along with food, viron and education breaking the sensory control, transforms children into men. The process is a revolution or a series of revolutions, without which neither the mental nor physical powers reach their full expression.

The child starts with highly developed sensory organs. If their control continues the body will be undersized or tall but narrow. The upper face is prominent, the middle face narrow, the chin short and peaked. The lungs are undersized, the hands and feet small, the bones are frail, the joints defective, the voice is high keyed and movements are overdone due by the use of more muscles than are needed to produce given results. Sensory dominance thus produces an undersized, linear man with over used and misdirected bodily organisms. If these organs stand the imposed discipline, growth soon ceases and a depressed senility begins. If the organs break under the strain nervousness, moroseness and even insanity result.

In contrast to this the motor type has a lateral instead of a

CHARACTER ANALYSIS

WORDS grow singly, not in pairs. Seemingly unrelated words often present sharper contrasts than familiar opposites. The analysis should be judged as a whole and not by the difficulty of presenting certain opposites for which no well defined words are available.

MENTAL TRAITS	
sensory	motor
analytic	synthetic
dogmatic	pragmatic
memory	will
anarchistic	loyal
courteous	blunt
realist	dreamer
pain motivation	pleasure motivation
languid	strenuous
pessimist	optimist
artistic	bromide
literary	athletic
code moralist	utilitarian
critic	hustler
docile	stubborn
teacher	foreman
scholar	administrator
expounder	discoverer
pattern imitation	social imitation
reason from premise	reason from wish
color visualizer	form visualizer
love of the seen	love of the unseen
unified personality	double personality

PHYSICAL TRAITS	
sensory	motor
near-sighted	far-sighted
high voice	bass voice
upper teeth project	lower teeth project
narrow frame	broad frame
suckers	chewers
flat ears	projecting ears
long slim neck	short thick neck
prominent forehead	sloping forehead
quick	slow
flabby	muscular
senile	infantile
anabolic	katabolic
irritable	emotional
fitful	persistent
graceful	awkward
symmetrical frame	asymetrical frame
short working life	long working life
nerve control	sex control
high blood pressure	low blood pressure
abnormalities due to shocks and strains (nerve defects)	abnormalities due to toxins and gland deficiencies (blood defects)

linear growth. They are thick-set with well developed bones and a good circulatory system. The heart pumps plenty of blood, lung activity ensures its purity, to which the muscles respond with increased activity. As a result the extremities develop, giving large hands and feet, a strong protruding chin, a short upper lip, and a recessive middle face. All this can readily be accounted for if the changes a child goes through in his evolution are visualized. At birth the child is mainly brain. Then the stomach becomes vigorous and the milk diet gives rise to a mass of crude flesh. These are the elements on which the sensory man builds. He is little more than brain, stomach and flabby flesh. Against these tendencies the motor system revolts and between the two a long, hard fought struggle continues through childhood and often into the mature years. Each revolution displaces some form of sensory control by freeing some bodily organ from sensory domination. We are conscious of this change mainly as a sex struggle, most vigorous at puberty, but there are all sorts of struggles going on with greater or less success on the part of bodily organs in thwarting sensory control. If the motor dominates, the muscles become rigid and the extremities grow. Each step marks some new organic evolution and each defeat leaves its mark in some bodily defect. The heredity of each child pushes him in the same direction. The problem of the distance gone is a record of the repression and misdirection that thwarts a full development. The sensory type is thus infantile, not having gone through the various evolutions which permit a full expression of inherited traits.

If instead of this external view the internal organs and glands are examined the same struggles and revolutions are apparent. It is the activity of some gland that excites the revolt which shows itself in muscular, bone and bodily growth. The thyroid gland is said to control in childhood and the pituitary in manhood. The case is more complicated than this—so complicated that its discussion is out of place here. We get back into an observable world again in the effects which blood pulses have on the emotions. Every bodily revolt has its emotional accompaniment carrying the struggle of the body back into the brain. The sensory nerves are attacked in their own stronghold and are in the end upset when the motor powers increase their vigor. This is the struggle between the rational and emotional which appears as a moral struggle.

It is the peculiarity of this new bodily control excited by the glands and blood that it is increasingly autocratic. The centers dominate the cells and exploit the cells for their advantage. They demand richer food and more blood. They are katabolic thwarting the anabolic strivings of the cells. The body is organized like the industrial world, with cities and capitals which get more and better food than do the country parts. The emotional centers are as extravagant and destructive as are the cities. The rich blood flows to them. They get the sugar while the ordinary cells get skim milk. This means that emotional control is more material in its wants and more muscular in its expression. The charge of emotional materialism against the motor man has an element of truth but it is not true that the new control is a sex control except in abnormal cases. Sex gets repressed by muscular emotionalism even more severely than by a sensory control. The sensory nerves repress sex by a dominating control. Muscular activity dwarfs it by taking away its surplus blood.

Of the sensory type are individualists, their choice being determined by personal taste. They want things no one else has and pleasures which can be enjoyed in relative seclusion. In contrast to this, motor people are lacking in acute sensory discrimination, are mob-like in their passions. What their neighbor has they must have with no alteration in quality, texture or form. Whatever is in mode, be it dress, food, automobile or movie, each must have. They must have it not for the intrinsic enjoyment it gives, but for the feeling of equality and mastership which possession connotes. Formerly people prided

themselves on the individuality of their clothes. They wanted a form or color which no one else had. Now everyone wants the same thing. The woman rushes to the department store and takes a dress off some bolt of cloth that her neighbors wear. All differences are thus wiped out. Houses, parlors, food, dress and habits are the same for millions of people, making it more difficult than ever to gratify individual taste. One must do and enjoy what others do or do without. America is becoming a monotonous plain without variety of color or form, due to the uniform pressure of group emotion, aroused by motor conformity.

This transformation is back of the present high cost of living. The sensory individual buys what he likes and chooses according to his own tastes. The motor person judges quality by the price. The lack of personal taste makes standards necessary and no standard is so easily accepted as price standard. What is high in price others buy and what others buy becomes the prized object to be obtained at any cost. These standards extend to wages and opinions as well as to clothes and food. The motor man joins unions and demands the standard wage. The motor employer forms trusts and raises prices. Then the standardizing slips over into politics where the same rigid conformity is demanded. Platforms must have just so many articles and policies so many points. These all must accept or exclusion results. One must be 100 per cent American or nothing. Who are they who are putting the pressure of conformity on our political ideals but the same business men who form trusts and raise prices? Who make our labor standards but the organized groups who fix wages, set conditions and are as hard on "scabs" as the business man is on the Bolsheviki? Women workers, wage-earners and employers are all rushing toward the same goal because the same motor type is gaining a dominance everywhere. In all fields of activity and pleasure new standards are rising which force conformity and which in the end will crush individual preference.

Such is one side of the picture. On the other is the great increase of efficiency which follows a motor development. Freedom is lost, individuality is lost, even personal morality is weakened, but in their place come income, group discipline and a higher level of emotional activity. Every revolution in the transition from infancy to manhood is marked on its physical side by the growth of muscle and gland, which finds a conscious expression in heightened emotional pulse. Four elements enter into this katabolic activity and may therefore be called the katabolic foods in contrast to the anabolic milk diet—sugar, oxygen, water and excitement. Sugar heightens the activity of all organs. Oxygen purifies the blood. Water, more water, is the ever growing demand of katabolic activity and finally the bodily organs will not work to their full capacity except under some excitement. A lowered activity means the failure of some organ to do its part. A strenuous life is the only life which brings out all inherent possibilities. Vivid obstacles, dangers and goals are needed to arouse the full activity of which a person is capable.

What I have been saying might readily be expanded and other points made emphatic which are not touched on. I am not writing to prove a point but to get the social worker to see that there is a new field to study. The applications, however, are obvious if the position I have outlined is tenable. It leads straight to doctrines vital to every worker. Chief among these is an analysis of the high cost of living and the discontent which it is creating. Are these facts indices of degeneration or are they parts of a process which promotes social advance? An analysis based on the foregoing facts would warrant the conclusion that income pressure is the result of a change plainly visible before the war but which was pushed forward to completion by the war. It consists primarily in a shift in the relative proportion of sensory and motor people. Better food, outdoor life and the displacement of alcohol by sugar has brought many more people through the crisis which transforms children into mature life. This group has more energy, better industrial habits, a stricter social discipline and more group excitement. They therefore earn more money, impose their discipline on society and press the motor delinquents into positions of social and economic disadvantage.

If this is true the pressure of high costs is not on the whole of society but on an unadjusted minority. General prosperity was never so great as now. Anyone can see this in the looks of those he meets on the street. They are well clothed, well fed, good mannered and smile with an ease that no cramped individual can imitate. But when one passes from this general view to the position of particular classes, the severity of the economic pressure is equally plain. Perhaps a summary will clarify the situation better than description. The cost of living for the laborer has risen about 80 per cent. This has been counteracted by economies to the extent of perhaps 30 per cent. Changes in diet, clothing, housing, amusements, and the exclusion of liquor are everywhere evident. Wages have increased about 50 per cent through organization, and 10 per cent through efficiency. It is thus patent that the net gains come to three classes, the strikers, the hustlers and the profiteers. These are names we apply to indicate wrong doing, but aside from this they are plainly the motor types whose gains are to the disadvantage of their sensory competitors.

In contrast, practically every occupation demanding sensory powers has either lost in its wage or has not had a relative increase. Teachers, authors, clergymen, actors, musicians, artists, are among the sufferers. These groups as contrasted with the hustlers are representative of the sensory element of our population. At best they represent but a minority, perhaps 20 per cent of our population. To this should be added another 20 per cent representing the unorganized laborers. We thus find about 40 per cent who are losers by alterations which high prices have wrought, while 60 per cent have gained.

If further illustration of this tendency is needed the position of teachers will furnish it. The functions of a teacher are mainly sensory. The child must be taught to spell "dough" and not to say "I done it." The value of such services is not over $800 a year. Either wages must sink relative to the reduced value of services or endowments must be raised and public money expended to put teaching on a level with other occupations. Both these pressures are evident but their combined result is not enough to remedy the situation. The trouble is that education emphasizing sensory traits tends to retard motor development and thus keep greater numbers than otherwise in an infantile condition. More are thus forced into sensory occupations than the demand for these services justify. The only remedy is an increased motor education which will transfer those on the border line into motor occupations. As it is, the pressure seriously reduces the intellectual level of the sensory groups. The talented can do many things well while the mediocre must stick to the job into which their education and traits place them. The brilliant thus leave the overcrowded occupations and follow the open path to success. It can be predicted that the intellectual level of a group is inverse to the public estimation in which the group is held. The weak crowd into fields which the wise forsake. The best that can happen to the sensory groups is for the superior to leave until the numbers and prestige are so reduced that the value of ser-

vices rises to the normal level. Instead of its being a moral duty to remain, it is a higher duty to withdraw. An overcrowded profession is better off without the good than if, by keeping the good, it transforms them into a depressed mediocrity.

The pre-war social philosophy is a biologic determinism, with its essential doctrines depending on a special concept of heredity. Sociology becomes a pseudo-biology and the drill in it closes the mind to outside influences. The evil of this imposed culture lies in the hopeless view of social work it fosters. If the twelve-dollar-a-week man is a product of heredity, with no more powers than his daily life exhibits, a pessimistic attitude is a logical necessity. Opposed to this is a view based on the facts I have given. About 20 per cent of the drafted men were rejected. These can be passed over to the biologists as people with defective heredity. The accepted may be divided into three classes—those from families with incomes at or above $20 a week. These are of the normal part of society which has passed through the stages of personal development without serious loss. In the second class are those with family incomes from $12 to $20 a week, while the third class includes those with incomes below $12 a week. This third class is under such severe conditions that it is hard to say how much of the trouble comes from heredity and how much from the viron.

This is the class with which the social worker comes professionally in contact and from which most of his opinions are formed. Of this class I merely make one predicate. Individual case-work is a vain struggle against impossibilities. The people set up or talked to, the families rehabilitated, the lost sheep who are restored to the fold, have but temporary uplift, soon sink back to their old misery or have crowded others down to take the places they leave. Discipline is no longer a personal or family affair but is the result of group pressure exerted by industrial conditions or social life. Nor is the family any longer the unit by which character is molded. Only the larger groups exert a strong influence on personality and from these the poor are excluded by the rigor of their conditions. They can be impressed and benefited only by institutional measures which affect the whole of society. The class can thus be bettered by rigid social control but not by any pressure put on them as individuals. They are thus beyond the influence of social work as now constituted. Some day their time for improvement may come, but this epoch will not arrive until public opinion is much more enlightened than at present.

The case is different with the second group having family incomes from $12 to $20 a week. Their lack is not in heredity nor in impossible conditions, but in a personal touch that will stimulate activity or modify external conditions. The difference, after all, is slight between the $12-a-week family and their $20-a-week neighbors. A change of food, a new habit, the stir of a new motive, a new form of efficiency, a change of location or occupation, is all that is needed to lift them to the independence which larger incomes ensure. The striking part of our new knowledge of workers is the exhibit it gives of a neglected class above poverty yet below the efficiency needed to make life worth living. It is to this class that the social worker should turn, leaving the hopeless cases of his former endeavor to charities of the old type. When society has 60 per cent instead of 30 per cent who have income, home and character, a new public opinion will take from the poor their poverty by institutional measures which do what personal case-work cannot accomplish.

Litmus Papers of the Acid Test

By William Allen White

THESE lines are written by a middle westerner; a progressive middle westerner who hopes that he is a liberal and has been accused of being a radical, who approaches our relations to Russia with a very slight European background, but whose five months in Paris in 1919 have given him some touch with European affairs.

When the President appointed me as delegate to Prinkipo I had occasion to talk to many Russians about many things and have a great feeling of sympathy for the Russian revolution. That does not mean that I believe in bolshevism, but it does mean that I believe in the Russian revolution and that the Russian people through their revolution will be able to conquer themselves and to rise after their own manner, following their own star to a vastly higher civilization through revolution to democracy than they ever could have risen through autocracy. I do not mean by democracy exclusively the Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon expression of democracy. Each race will have to express democracy in its own way. We cannot all hold town meetings which shall grow from town meetings to county and state conventions and thus widen to federal government with direct primaries and the initiative and referendum. Heaven forbid that this be imposed upon Russia. And Heaven forbid also that we should not be able to see other expressions of democracy than that which was founded among the town meetings.

My approach to these papers was, I hope, the approach of one who believes in democracy and I shall endeavor to read the significance of these papers not in the light of democracy, but in the light of what it seems to me the Russians are striving for—their own kind of democracy. I do not believe they have achieved it. Indeed I believe they are wandering far from it now, but I do believe they are moving forward and may be trusted to come out at their own goal and to express their own ideals of democracy.

These documents setting forth the diplomatic relations of America and the Allies to the Russian people and government read curiously like fiction, or romance. For they have a distinct beginning, a gradual heightening of interest, and climax, and a tragic end. Even the casual reader, no matter whether his sympathies be Democratic or not, cannot fail to see in these bloodless emotional documents as they pass before him, an absorbing chapter in history. Perhaps, indeed, it was from history that romancers learned their art. Perhaps, that directing consciousness which slowly is moving man forward through the ages to his unknown goal does use universally in each era of progress of mankind, the dramatic form, the beginning, the development, the climax, the ending.

[1] Russian-American Relations, March, 1917—March, 1920. Documents and Papers Compiled and Edited by C. K. Cumming and Walter W. Pettit, under the Direction of John A. Ryan, D. D., J Henry Scattergood, William Allen White, at the Request of the League of Free Nations Association. Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920.

Here we have in these diplomatic papers also an appendix to the testimony of American social observers, who have had a hand in the overseas activities of the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Red Cross and Quaker units and whose observations have often been a foil to streams of propaganda, pro and con. Now, the men and women who in our new world communities are shouldering the load of practical social upbuilding are concerned in this first authentic budgeting of information. The relations which the American people are to bear to the Russian people in the years ahead are at stake here—our relations to the working people and country folk and intellectual leaders who have borne the stress of protracted revolution and must organize life for a full third of the European continent; no less than our relations to the Russian immigrants of Jewish and Slavic stock who make up so large an element in our industrial populations and to whose good-will no less than our own we must look for that common aspiration which is basic to assimilation.

A People Differing From Our Own

FOR above all, these papers are a revelation of the social psychology of a people differing from our own, which we should endeavor to understand; a record of social institutions and classes going through a tremendous experience which we should grasp; an exhibit of the part borne toward them, the high ideals, the half starts, the contradictions which have marked our course during three troubled years; a challenge for such a coherent policy in the months to come as shall hold for us what we have had, and what we may still have, if our course be true, the abiding faith of a nascent republic toward the common people of America whose drama of revolution and experiment in self-government antedated theirs by almost a century and a half.

Here then in these Russian documents we see the story open with an awesome spectacle, the fall of the czar, the overthrow of the old regime. Not in modern times before has an event so important crashed upon the world so dramatically. Not even the opening days of the great war were so dramatic as that awful fall of the Russian dynasty and the autocracy thereunto appertaining. For the early days of the war were days of doubt and hesitancy; they were filled with conniving, hidden plotting and cloaked mobilization. The dramatics of the opening of the war were not staged as the terrible cataclysm that came with the debacle of the Russian upper class.

After the overthrow of the Russian empire came the feeble blind attempt of the feeble and confused middle class to take charge of government. The documents in the Kerensky period indicated more or less vacillation, more or less high purpose, more or less running about in circles. The documents show how eagerly all of the middle class governments of the world welcomed the overthrow of the czar. He was their handicap; he was the talking point of the Central Powers. With him gone, and a middle class democracy established in Russia, there was no flaw in the argument of the Allies and the Associated Powers when they appealed to the neutral world to help them fight the battle of democracy. And there can be no doubt that Russia under Kerensky had all the good-will it could ask; good-will, and credit, and military and political cooperation of every desirable kind. But Kerensky failed, not because he was Kerensky, but because the group about him represented a small minority of the Russian people. The Russian autocracy could function only without a large middle class. Autocracy kept down the middle class. Autocracy would have none of the middle class education, middle class economic distribution of wealth, middle class social activities and organization, middle class political philosophy and civil machinery; and when the czar's autocracy came thundering down in Russia, the middle class could not erect a government that would hold. The Kerensky period indicated how unessential to a weak government is the good-will and the cooperation of its neighbors in military, political, and financial matters. All the king's horses and all the king's men outside of Russia could not build up a government.

The diplomatic documents of that period prove the futility of democracy to give absent treatment across border lines. Democracy in a state must come from within, it cannot be brought from afar. It must exist in the nation, in the times, and in the dramatics of the occasion. But in Russia there was only the dramatics; there was only the dramatic occasion for democracy. Democracy had been crushed out of the heads of the Russian people. And it was inevitable that the Kerensky period of confusion and doubt and high purposes should be hurried off the stage to make way for the only purpose that Russia could hold.

Thus we see in the documents of the second period the fall of Kerensky and the rise of Lenine and Trotzky. Lenine and Trotzky represented the inexorable reaction of Russia to the age-long oppression of the old regime. The suspicion, the hatred, the implacable desire to destroy the power of officialdom, an alliance which would destroy all forms of existing order, the lust for destruction that was bred of cruelty and scorn and injustice through long ages of Romanoff domination, formed the only strong purpose which Russia knew and that purpose hurried the feeble idealism of the Russian middle class off the stage, with all the force of a decree of fate. The documents from the Allies in that period indicated astonishment, confusion, and misunderstanding on the part of the Allies. Of all the Allied statesmen, President Wilson seems best to have realized what was happening in Russia. He seems to have known that the Russia of Kerensky and Trotzky was a child:

> An infant crying in the night
> An infant crying for the light
> And with no language but a cry.

With the announcement that the Soviet government of Russia had repudiated its debt, France, Italy, and to a certain extent England, began to be sorely concerned for their own self-interests. France had invested more heavily in Russian securities since the Franco-Russian alliance than any other European nation. France had gone into the war to protect Russia. Italy had come into the war upon covenants from Russia. Moreover the outcry against Russia from the European Allies came not in the time of peace, not in a time when philosophers and the elder statesmen rule the world. The outcry came in a time of war, when hard necessities move nations, when from millions of homes men on the firing line were endangering their lives, and when that danger was made more critical by the Russian withdrawal from the war. Men and nations resting under the awful peril which hung over the world before November 11, 1918, could not calmly view any event which made that peril greater. And this panic-stricken attitude of the peoples fighting the Central Powers is reflected in the documents of the period which follows the Kerensky regime. We find, as the story of the Russian revolution begins to mount in interest, the documents from abroad are concerned with rumors and gossip, and fears and whisperings, and counter plots, and wars and rumors of wars. How like the second act of a play it all is—the big momentous questioning second act. President Wilson alone, of all the Allied statesmen, had the philosopher's gift, saw the spectacle with a dispassionate eye. His unemotional nature, his capacity for high vision amid turmoil, gave him in these days a genuine insight into the meaning of the Russian earthquake. He saw it for what it was—the reaction from autocracy, the mad stark brutal expression of implacable distrust from the oppressed towards the op-

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five years over 43 per cent have married and kept their babies; and in the large majority of cases—about three-fourths—the girls married other men than the fathers of their children.

Our experience would seem to indicate that Jewish sentiment is slowly changing, and that the problem of the Jewish unmarried mother is becoming part of the general problem of the unmarried mother which society has to meet.

SARA BOUDIN EDLIN.

The Democratic Community

BOTH the Social Unit and Community Councils endeavor to contribute to the orderly and effective solution of fundamental social problems through the principle, the method, and the machinery of democratic community organization. The Community Councils lay down but one essential—democratic citizenship organization. The structure and method for carrying out this idea is left largely to the community itself and varies of course with communities and their desires and conditions. The Social Unit, like the Community Councils, brings with it the idea of democratic community organization, but it also brings a definite and detailed scheme of organization structure to which the community is asked to conform.

The community council idea calls for a simple, flexible structure and method of organization and a fairly rapid extension, district by district, along the lines of practicability and expediency. The social unit idea calls for an intensive experiment with an elaborate, thorough and definitely crystallized form of community organization within one or another area.

The Community Councils are not an illustration of complete community organization. They represent an attempt:

1. To carry out in full one task in the problem of democratic community organization; namely, the organization of the citizenship on the basis of their primary enthusiasms;

2. To create a step by step development of the second problem of community organization; namely, the extension or creation of facilities for meeting community needs; and

3. To initiate the first step in the third problem of community organization; namely, the coordination, cooperation, and union of agencies, groups and organizations serving the community through an advisory council of agencies.

Beyond this the community council plan sets up no hard and fast line of activities or form of organization; it lays down the elements of a simple type of citizenship organization and leaves it to time and practical expediency to determine the details of organization structure, the content of activities and services, and the extent and character of the community union to be brought about.

The Social Unit, on the other hand, is an experiment within a limited area with a definitely crystallized form of community organization that aims to solve at once all three elements in the ultimate problem of community organization, namely, the organization of the citizenship; the complete provision and control, from the beginning, of all elements and facilities involved in meeting some one need, like health; and the setting up, from the beginning, of a fully organized community union of groups and agencies.

COMPARISON OF COMMUNITY COUNCIL AND SOCIAL UNIT

IN organization technique and in method, the Community Councils and the Social Unit present fundamentally opposed characteristics:

COMMUNITY COUNCIL

1. Organization of the citizenship by neighborhoods with smaller units as practicable for particular programs.

2. Citizens are organized on the basis of primary enthusiasms and general community interests, without regard to their occupation, e.g., doctors, lawyers, nurses, teachers—if interested in health work—might all be members of the health section of the Community Council.

3. Direct and regular participation by citizens in the wider neighborhood affairs through the Community Council of which all are members, as well as participation in special activities through membership in particular functional sections of the Council.

4. Volunteer leadership exclusively except organizers.

5. Utilization from the beginning of any and all community interests as opportune in the organization of the Councils; e.g., health, recreation, education, consumers' interests, etc.

6. Delegated overhead (borough congresses and the city parliament) on the basis of citizenship representation only; borough and city overhead forms its own advisory board and its own functional committees as needed.

7. Self-support in local functional activities from the beginning, with ultimate self-support of the overhead; demonstration of the need before instituting the activity to meet the need.

8. Especially close cooperation with governmental departments to establish direct relationship between the people and their government, utilizing and upbuilding governmental facilities and services, as well as cooperative endeavor for meeting the community needs.

9. Groups, service organizations and experts are utilized through an advisory council, with functional subcommittees, and organized as required to meet the needs of the citizenship organizations.

10. These advisory councils, with the citizen organizations, when fully developed, constitute in effect a community union; but the advisory councils never participate in the control of the citizenship organization.

SOCIAL UNIT

1. Definite block organization of the citizenship for all purposes.

2. Citizens are organized by occupational classifications which separate unit groups like health into physicians, nurses, social workers, etc.

3. Direct participation by the citizen in his block and group councils. Participation in the Citizens' Council and the Occupational Council is indirect, through the paid block workers and the paid group executives.

4. Paid group executives and paid block workers from the beginning.

5. Intensive laboratory experimentation in one field of community endeavor like health, with possible extension of the experiment to other activities.

6. No overhead service yet developed except the promoting body (the National Social Unit Organization); future overhead probably on basis of delegates from the local occupational and citizens' councils.

7. Local as well as overhead costs shared by outside contributions, with the hope of making self-support possible after demonstration of the value of the particular service instituted in meeting a need.

8. Cooperation with governmental agencies only in the same way as with other organizations, aiming ultimately to meet all the needs of the community out of its own occupational groups.

9. Occupational representatives are organized into a coordinate planning body, the Occupational Council, at the same time as the Citizens' Council.

10. Community union of groups and agencies set up from the beginning, and given equal control with the citizenship in the community organization.

The primary value of the Social Unit is that of any experiment—an intensive scientific demonstration of the validity or falsity of the particular solution being tried out, or of the various elements in that solution. Its social utility does not depend upon multiplication of Social Units, but upon the extent to which the lessons of its experiences are made available to other community organization enterprises. Its next development should be an experiment in additional services than health, in connection with the Cincinnati Unit, and under other conditions than those of the Cincinnati-Mohawk-Brighton district, e.g., in a rural or metropolitan community, or in a foreign neighborhood.

The Community Councils, on the other hand, to be an effective element in the solution of social problems, need to develop rapidly and extensively enough to appeal to the popular imagination as a vehicle capable of really affecting social conditions.

The existence of a few "perfect" Community Councils is of little value in the solution of our current social problems. A powerful union of even semi-developed Community Councils could be a tremendous leverage for orderly social progress.

The Community Council idea and the Social Unit idea in the main are not contradictory, but supplementary. The National Social Unit Organization and the Community Councils supplement and aid each other at least in the following ways:

1. The intensive experimental work of the Social Unit within particular functional activities has lessons of value to the Community Councils in their activities in all-round community interests; and vice versa. This saves the duplication by each organization of mistakes made by the other during the pioneer stages of the work.

2. The possible utilization by each organization of workers trained by the other.

3. Use of the national facilities of the National Social Unit Organization to make available for New York the experience and results of the community movement throughout the country including the Cincinnati experiment, as well as to make available to interested groups and localities throughout the country the experience and results of the Community Councils of New York.

HARVEY LEEBRON.

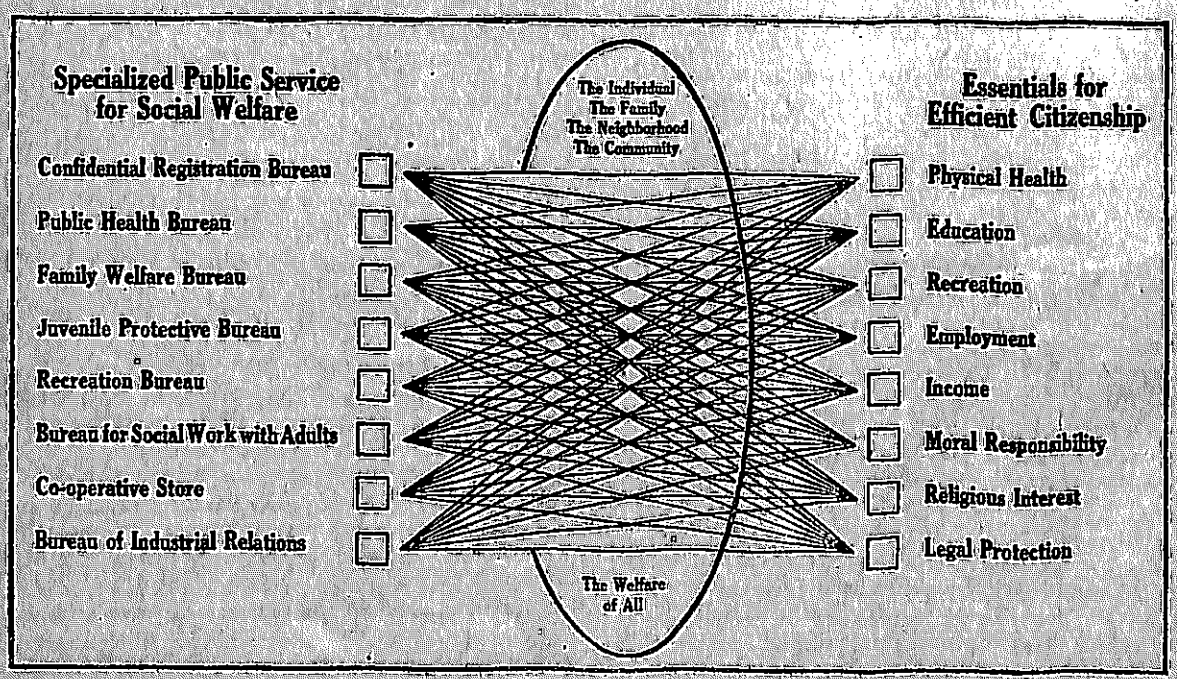
Conserving War-Time Interest

HOW best to utilize for the good of peace-time agencies the interest and enthusiasm aroused in public work during the years of the war, has been a much discussed problem in Canadian cities. The Charity Organization Society of Montreal has accomplished something in this direction by organizing a Mothers' Aid Branch in which fifty-two volunteer workers are now active. Only three of these volunteers had any previous active connection with the Charity Organization Society. On the other hand, nearly all have given service, some overseas and others in the Canadian Patriotic Fund and Red Cross during the years of the war.

The province of Quebec has no public system of relief for dependent mothers and in consequence a considerable burden of such work falls on the Charity Organization Society. Since the organization of the Mothers' Aid Branch, all families of widowed mothers, or families where the bread-winner has been permanently incapacitated, who come in receipt of regular pensions from the C. O. S., are turned over to the Mothers' Aid Branch after a thorough investigation has been made by a district worker. On the basis of this investigation, a pension is granted and a friendly visitor introduced to the family by the Mothers' Aid Branch, the executive committee of which, by keeping in close touch with the problems of the numerous families, has assumed the responsibilities of a case conference. The services of a full time trained worker are at the disposal of the executive committee and certain members of the Branch are studying the larger problems of constructive and preventive work which have been brought to notice as the result of the discussion of family problems.

Following the example of the Canadian Patriotic Fund, and in the belief that each child in the families under the care of the Mothers' Aid Branch should have the best possible opportunity for development, arrangements have recently been made to give every child a thorough physical examination. Of the eighty-seven children examined up to the present, eighty-four were found to have some complaint or trouble of a more or less serious nature, which, for the most part, has been entirely unsuspected by the mother or those visiting the family.

J. B. DAWSON.



THE CITIZENS' CIRCLE OF INTEREST

Outlined by the Social Welfare League of Black Hawk county, Iowa, which defines good citizenship as meaning "to become intelligently acquainted with the organized forces for social welfare and to utilize knowledge in service in order to increase opportunities for the most efficient community-wide citizenship."

cited over the cleaning up of this unsanitary jail or the supplying of better food to that group of prisoners.

W. D. L.

Jails in the South

IF there are any people who still doubt the intolerableness of our jails, let them read the descriptions of some southern jails by Dr. Thomas H. Haines, field consultant for the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Dr. Haines has been visiting jails, hospitals, almshouses and other institutions in some of the Gulf states. He recently told the National Conference of Social Work in New Orleans:

In some of these Gulf states many insane are held in jails and almshouses. I have seen one Negro woman in a cage room in a jail with twelve men. In another jail an actively excited Negro woman had torn out the water fixtures in her cell, had yelled all night long to the discomfiture of the neighbors and was making erotic exhibitions to men in a neighboring cell. In another jail a white woman was properly confined in a clean room in isolation from other occupants of the jail, but her sole attendant was the jailer, a man. Another Negro woman, who would not keep her clothing on, was in constant view of two white men and a Negro.

In a Louisiana parish jail two men work in the kitchen where the women of the jail, three insane, are confined and are practically alone with these women all day long. Another parish jail confined one Negro woman, two Negro men and one white man practically in the same room. In another parish an insane woman was lodged in a cell plainly in view of men in other cells and was making obscene invitations to them. In most of the parish jails where female insane are confined, there are no female attendants, and when these inmates are bathed, the jailer himself sees to it.

Jailers of county and parish jails have no comprehension of the proper management of the insane. One told the visitor that at first he thought the crazy were very funny. One jailer had recently found the floor of two rooms torn up and the boards broken into kindling wood by an insane inmate. He heard the noise during the night, but was afraid to go to the man. In two parish jails violently insane Negroes were regularly roped and strapped every day or two and thrown into a bath tub while the cell was washed out. In one of these cases an insane woman daily beheld this procedure as well as an insane man who persistently refused to wear clothing. The strap and the blackjack are freely used for the discipline of insane inmates in jails.

In the parish and county jails of Louisiana and Mississippi, the insane are frequently found in cramped quarters and without furniture. In one parish jail five Negro women, three insane, were found confined in a room 7 x 10 feet. In this room were also a bath tub and a commode. There were no chairs in the room, but they had one couch. At night, the visitor was informed, this was carried out and the five women slept upon the concrete floor without pads or mattresses. The room was indescribably dirty. Similar conditions have existed in the recent past in more than one Mississippi county jail. An insane man who had been in jail three months and was recovering, had had but one bath in that time.

There is no real treatment of the insane in jails, even when the coroner takes a hand. An epileptic boy who had been confined eight months in a parish jail in this state, was kept continuously doped by the coroner's order, as the jailer said, "to keep him from raising the devil." In another parish jail the regular practice is to turn the hose on the boisterous insane. I have seen many insane persons afflicted with dementia praecox of the depressive type, refusing to eat or speak and confined in jail for weeks. Naturally the jail has no facilities for feeding and securing other necessary health conditions for such persons.

Dr. Haines found that even in hospitals for the insane in these Gulf states, where one would expect to find mental health a scientific care and study, there was neglect, ignorance of the proper way of treating insanity and overcrowding. In one hospital for the insane he found 130 feebleminded persons, many of whom were children; one boy of sixteen, with a mentality of eight, had been confined in a ward for over a year. He found feebleminded children in orphanages. In 38 county poor farms in Mississippi, with an aggregate population of 385, he found that one-third of the inmates were feebleminded. These conditions exist because some of these states have no institutions for the feebleminded. He found feebleminded in state prisons, reformatories, jails, and in the public schools.

On the floor of the House of Representatives of one of these states he heard a legislator contend that not only is it impossible to diagnose mental deficiency, but that to attempt to do so is an unwarrantable interference with personal liberty and is socialistic. He heard another representative declare that there are drivelling idiots in the best of families, that feeblemindedness is so prevalent that it is useless to try to control it, and that Abraham Lincoln himself would probably have been diagnosed as feebleminded when a boy. He heard a state senator defend the kind of care for the insane that has just been described.

We shall not get very far with our programs of jail and prison improvement so long as such ignorance continues. Fortunately, Dr. Haines, with the assistance of local people, has been carrying enlightenment into dark places. It is a slow but necessary task.

A "Little Theater" at Sing Sing

THE prisoners of Sing Sing Prison have joined the little theater movement. Within the past two months three dramatic programs have been given in the prison chapel, for which tickets were sold to the general public. The acting was done entirely by prisoners and the performances were managed by the Mutual Welfare League, the self-governing organization established by Thomas Mott Osborne, and again assuming an important role under the present warden, Major Lewis E. Lawes. At one of these performances a one-act play written by a prisoner, called The Pardon, was acted by inmate talent. The three programs were highly profitable, about $2,000 having been realized from the sale of tickets and from advertising in the programs. All proceeds are to be used to defray the expenses of league activities.

Heretofore no systematic effort had been made to have the men provide entertainment themselves. Plays had been presented at Sing Sing, but these had been given mostly by outside actors. Now a committee of the league is organizing the dramatic interest and talent among the prisoners. A list of a dozen suitable plays requiring only male actors and available in printed form has been made up. It is possible that in the future men will take the part of women, and such plays as The Third Degree, Justice and Punishment will be given. Major Lawes does not at present see his way clear to using the services of women students at dramatic schools or actresses at leisure for female roles, as has been reported. That is a possibility, however, that may receive consideration.

The interest in this dramatic development is strong among the prisoners. So also is interest in community singing, which has recently been introduced, a community "sing" now being held nearly every week. Another undertaking of the league is a more active use of athletics, one purpose of which is to keep the men as much as possible out of the small cells that have been Sing Sing's worst physical feature ever since the prison was built.

THE OPEN ROAD

OH, for a hike on the wide open road,
And a breath of pure crisp air,
To follow its turn, wherever it leads
And do anything I dare.

To travel along mid green and gold
And under the azure blue;
To go over hills and right through the fields,
When the grass is wet with dew.

To follow it East and follow it West,
And meet with red-blooded men
Who don't care a rap for creed or breed,
Or where you came from, or when.

To hike along with a song in my voice,
Wholly and solely at ease;
Full of its magic that thrills you clean through
And to lie beneath the trees.

Oh, it's the open road for which I yearn,
No matter how cold or hot;
So long as I'm free to do as I please,
I'm satisfied with my lot.

"DUKE," SING SING NO. 67,117.

—From the Sing Sing Bulletin

BOOKS ON LABOR AND SOCIALISM

WHAT THE WORKERS WANT

A Study of British Labor by Arthur Gleason. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 518 pages. Price $4; by mail of the SURVEY $4.30.

As a prophet of another country, Arthur Gleason is coming into his own. He has written now the third of a series of three books which tell the story of the British commonwealth in the midst of swift changes. Set off from the mainland, England bore a strategic position between the Old World and the New in the centuries of discovery and colonization. Our New Londons, New Yorks, New Jerseys, new a thousand other English towns and shires registered not only the spread of a people but the seeding of ideas.

Again Europe is confronted with a new world, and the British are at once forerunners of change and temperers of convulsive shock. The rallying cries of the democratic movement in British industry are spoken in our language. The concerted strength of British workers is molding institutions which are similar to our own. We have had a wealth of self-revelation by British economists, political and labor leaders as to the meaning of it all. But we shall increasingly come to count it good fortune that this American social observer and journalist was on the ground these last five years to put it into our own vernacular and bring it home to us.

And to bring it home to us is above all the intent and genius of this third volume. That is the point of the introductory chapters with their downrightedness, keen, clear and disturbing.

The note was not lacking in the earlier volumes, and gathers driving force from the extent and precision with which events have borne out passages in 'Inside the British Isles', written the second year of the war and published in May, 1917.

Gleason then wrote:

"The opinion has been widespread among social workers in America that the war has crushed liberalism in England."

There were reasons for that impression; not the least being the unfortunate galaxy of interpreters who voiced the British cause among us—Northcliffes and Balfours and the like of them, men out of joint with democratic feeling on both sides of the Atlantic. Gleason set out painstakingly to reveal how the roots of old civil faiths and new growths of aspiration were breaking through the common life, trampled though it was into seeming hard pan by the march of war. There was less coherence in this earliest volume; forces were yet in the making. The author had much to say of the shaking up of old inertias and the leap forward in production under the goad of a great national emergency.

Not only his own convictions but his very defense of British folk against what he regarded as a wrong evaluation led him to search out the living springs of impulses which have since taken on such tremendous head. Four years ago, he rightly forecasted their two great modal manifestations—towards nationalization (which would carry forward into a peace economy the forces through which the strength of the nation had been gathered up and flung into combat); and towards workers' control (which would reassert in terms of the wage-earning population the British instinct for self-mastery and self-government, more and more restless under war-time disciplines and censorships and coercions).

"Anyone who looks forward to a peace on earth following the war of the trenches is going to be present at a surprise party," he wrote. And further, "Americanization of industry does not look genial to the British workman. He will not accept it if it precedes the installation of works councils; that is, boards of control, in which he is represented. He will insist on his share of workshop control." And turning the challenge around, Mazzini-like, from workers' rights to workers' duties, he said, "The brief reign of the captains of industry . . . ended in August of 1914. Now comes the worker. Let him better the management of life. Patient, kindly, slow, very loyal to the man and the cause in which he believes, the English worker is the greatest democratic force in the world. For our own salvation we must call on him to use his brain. He allowed the first industrial revolution to swing in on top of him in its meanest and most sordid form. Now that he takes control of the second industrial revolution, he must not try to compress humanity into narrower terms than those which the innumerable varieties of the human spirit have always demanded. The masters of industry tried this and wrecked their world."

The second volume, British Labor and the War', in which the writer of this review bore a secondary part, was a transcript of the development of ideas in men's minds, articulated in the stress and self-searching of the war, and taking form in bold but fragmentary phrasings, in cabinet resignations and convention debates, pronunciamentos, party platforms and, no less, in the sharp clashes of obscure shop stewards and in mass protests and threats of mass action. Here were a people groping and thinking out loud.

Their thinking crystallized in a new diplomacy which coupled resistance to Prussian militarism in the field with espousal of terms of settlement, on which they sought common cause among the workers of all nations and which today affords a base line from which to measure the shortcomings of the treaty of Versailles. Their thinking crystallized in the vision of a new England—Labor and the New Social Order, party-platform of the British Labor party. And it crystallized in structural schemes of production, various as workmanship itself but with a basic kinship in democratic principle; in which far-seeing statesmen, like Justice Sankey, no less than industrial managers and labor leaders, have borne a hand.

This second volume, numerous chapters of which were published in the SURVEY, brought with it the assurance that the British way is not one of rigid fanaticism; it revealed the reserves of temperance, the penchant for constitutional action, the builder's instincts which have characterized British development and which are our chief assurance that their ultimate socialization of wealth will not be at the expense of individual freedom and initiative.

The third volume tells of the mustering of men behind the new ideas; of set-backs and incontestable gains. It is designed to uproot the inert complacency of any who confuse the husks of old human inventions with the principles which gave them life and which will give life to new. Especially is its iconoclasm directed at the dead-ending of creative imagination on the part of the social groups we associate with liberalism. Put in terms of the middle classes of the country in whose social structure we have seen the closest analogy to our own, it brings home to Americans the challenge whether we are to settle into a social stratification which will parallel that of waterlogged pre-war England much less that of dynastic-revolutionary Europe; whether we have a free enough society to work things through in an evolutionary way like the British; whether we must wait upon a labor leadership from below like theirs or have the competence as a people, not yet altogether middled and uppered and lowered, to bring out of industrial America what men of the last century sought of the wilderness—a land of opportunity and social health for all.

Thus Gleason:

"The middle class are protesting vigorously at being automatically abolished. They do not turn their wrath upon the economic system which in its ebbing has left them high and dry, as the tide leaves a boat on the beach. They turn their wrath upon labor, whose high wages are to them the visible sign of their own decay, and therefore seem to them the cause of that decay. But they fail to ask why their own incomes have not lifted. If they had asked the question, they would have found the answer. They cannot better their incomes because they do not 'strike.' And the reason they do not strike is because they cannot. If they struck nothing would happen. The crops would still grow, the harvesters would still come bringing in their sheaves. Engineers would roll the Liverpool trains into Euston Station. Coal would be hewn. Girls would still stitch. Folks would continue to be fed and clothed and transported. The solar system would revolve, and the little wheels of industry would revolve. Life and the human race would go on untroubled without blinking an eyelash if the middle class rose in a splendid fury and established a soviet and the dictatorship of the respectable. Theirs would be a heroic gesture, but a gesture in the void. They are not of the stuff to make earth tremble.

"Their difficulty is that they do not perform a function which is any longer essential. As their function fails, their 'rights' fade away.

"The nineteenth century was the last century of the middle class—'that portion of the community to which money is the primary condition and the primary instrument of life.' They were the individual middlemen, and that function is being taken over by the vaster organization of distribution, by chain stores, by cooperative societies, by great emporiums. They were the collectors of little individual pools of capital, and that function is being taken over by the big trusts and nationalized industries, which use their own productive efficiency in terms of present profits to accumulate for reserves, extensions, and new embarkations. As the process of collective expropriation proceeds, through the capital levy, death duties, profits tax and income tax, this section of the middle class is going to be gently and almost painlessly eliminated.

"But there are groups in the middle class who do perform a function. What of them?

"A large section of the 'salariat,' the black-coated proletariat, are already form-

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[1] Inside the British Isles. Century Co., 1917.

[2] British Labor and the War. Boni and Liveright, 1919. Price $2.00.

ing their associations and trade unions and getting into the game. Britain has the Railway Clerks' Association of station-masters, agents and chief clerks. The Post Office and Civil Service has a Postmen's Federation of 65,000 members, a Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association of 27,000, the Fawcett Association of 6,000, the new Society of Civil Servants, the Association of Staff Clerks, and others. The National Union of Teachers has 100,000 and is so thoroughly organized as to call strikes and win wage advances. There is a Union of Engineering Foremen and a Federation of Brain Workers. The Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen is a trade union and a part of the labor movement. The Association of Industrial Chemists is on the way. . . .

"Neither hot air nor gas could disguise the loss, if anything rude were done to managers, deputies, supervisory grades, professionals, superintendents, foremen, brain workers. . . .

"These organizations range from group meetings to trade unions, but they are alike in their consciousness of function and in their demand to win representation in the state because of that function. Organized management, organized technical and scientific knowledge and skill is, then, in some instances, joining the labor movement. In other instances, it is an independent force in industry."

More:

"I have a friend in the Ministry of Labor who, falling under this disillusionment and seeing with Scotch acumen the limitations of labor, frankly questions its right to rule. He said to me: 'I am a little doubtful about accepting labor as the coming power. So I have been putting two questions to myself recently. Which side would I have been on at the time of the French Revolution? And in an earlier day, would I have been in the mob that cried "Crucify Him"? I wonder now if I am making the refusal to accept a gain of the human spirit?'"

And again:

"The government has been caught unaware by peace as it was by the German army pounding down on Paris in August, 1914. Its 'schemes' and 'approved sites' and 'strongly worded circulars' are to the tidal rip of the mass-in-motion, as the British Naval Reserves that went to save Antwerp were to the Prussian legions and the 16-inch guns. I have seen both exhibitions. . . .

"The literature of any of these subjects is voluminous; the schemes multitudinous.

"Of action there is little. Of determined policy, none. Everything is left to drift. It is the first two years of war over again. Then, there were the French to hold the pass, while England groped instinctively toward final resolute action. God has always granted England time to grope. He is a slow and constitutional worker Himself, using trial and error. The devil is a fiery revolutionary. Who will win? . . .

"The change, in any case, is being made within the framework of a huge debt, a worn-out plant, a falling volume of production, fatigue, and bitterness. The sooner the workers share the knowledge and the responsibility of these menacing fundamental conditions, the safer for the structure of society."

Such passages come as a shock to self-absorbed people, tenacious of things familiar. In the midst of our own industrial unrest, they sound like a neighborly world tumbling about the ears of people very like ourselves. But because we don't like the news, we cannot casually dismiss the bearer of the news as an unprincipled gossip, bandying about the serious businesses of life. Nor because the reader may not agree with Mr. Gleason's solution, should he disregard the steady marshalling of fact and experience and of discussion by some of the best minds in Great Britain. In point is the vigorous heart searchings of the organ of progressive British employers, which after the cross fire of the coal commission hearings bluntly asserted that public tolerance of the stupendous toll exacted from the natural resources of England by peer land-owners had jeopardized the whole fabric of private enterprise.

Mr. Gleason's lemings are his own; but the closely packed chapters that make up the body of the book are a fund of exact information by a keen reporter made doubly alert to significances which escape the ordinary observer by his very sentience to the ethical and social issues involved. There are documents in appendices which are unobtainable in compact form elsewhere. There are chapters on Labor the Unready (the fiasco of the Parliamentary Labor Group), on the British Coal Commission, on the National Industrial Conference, on the Southport Labor Party Conference with youth in the stirrup, on the Congress at Glasgow with its interpretation of direct action of the British brand; on women in industry. There are sections contributed by Frank Hodges, J. T. Murphy, C. T. Cramp, Robert Smillie and others of the outstanding men in the labor movement; interpretations by authors and contributors with which readers of the SURVEY are familiar, for they have been published in large measure in our pages during the past year. But here they are in full; with swift strokes of personal delineation, telling transcripts of dialogue; racy snatches of quotation that liven a hundred pages from flaming Welshmen, transmuted Cockneys, canny Scots; judges, noble lords, government leaders, generals, premiers, seers.

Perhaps the most telling shafts of all are two bits of chapters injected into the very body of the volume; one on that wild man "screaming through the keyhole"—to apply Lloyd George's phrase—Horatius Bottomley, editor of John Bull, the weekly of the mob: "We all have in us hate, revenge, fear and grab. He appeals with emotional force to this brute streak."

And then, by way of contrast, a pen picture of a country clergyman who for forty years has gone in and out among his people: "There are men who are fittingly placed in life, like a tree in its soil. Such was George Herbert at Bemerton and Wordsworth at Ambleside—such is William Norris, rector of Warblington, in the county of Hampshire." A writer who with such delicate touch can delineate what is precious in the life of Old England has something to say worth listening to of the life of the New—of its sanctities as well as its surge.

Readers of the SURVEY are indebted to Mrs. George D. Pratt for the gift which has made it possible to put before them Mr. Gleason's trenchant reporting for its pages. New groups of Americans will now have his findings in an enduring form, with the comprehensiveness which comes of volume publication.

PAUL U. KELLOGG.

* * *

MY NEIGHBOR THE WORKINGMAN

By James Roscoe Day. Abingdon Press. 373 pp. Price $2.50; by mail of the SURVEY $2.70.

It would be difficult to find a volume more filled with hatred and misunderstanding than this product of the chancellor of Syracuse University. Trade unions are the objects of his misapprehension and of his venom. Yet by a curious perversion he seeks to render his vindictiveness respectable by referring to the fact that he is a minister of a Gospel which does not preach hate, and he would palliate his distortion of reality by the further fact that he is the head of an educational institution whose supposed object is the search for truth and the enlightenment of men's minds. I quote, page 8:

"If it may be thought that I have used severe language in characterizing the workingman's enemy, the destructive socialist, the obtrusive and patronizing leader, the cowardly assassin of innocent men and women and children, the bomb-planter, incendiary and murderer, I have no apology to make. They are unrepentant and boast their denial of God and their purpose to destroy all government of men. There ought to be one common and universal execration that shall never cease until these loathsome foes of humanity are forever exterminated."

My reading of the New Testament leads me to wonder where a man who professes to be a Christian minister finds sanction for such doctrines. Perhaps Chancellor Day knows. If so he is lonely in the possession of the secret. Happily the rest of the world is spared such knowledge.

W. L. C.

* * *

PARLIAMENT AND REVOLUTION

By J. Ramsay Macdonald. Scott & Seltzer. 180 pp. Price $1.50; by mail of the SURVEY $1.65.

When Socialist leaders such as Mr. Hillquit declare that the Socialist party is the most conservative for the time being, there is a certain amount of truth in it, not only as regards the party in America but the international movement as a whole. While other parties and groups, thoroughly shaken out of their ruts by the war, grope for new tangible programs and mottoes, Socialist leaders in America, France, Germany and England are greatly concerned over the conservation of the clarity of thought and definiteness of aim that have been evolved in the course of decades.

Mr. Macdonald, in the present book, appears as the defender of socialism, as worked out by the British Independent Labor party, against the newer doctrines, especially those current in Russia, which even while they are tested in the fire of practical experience are seen falling to pieces. He does not believe "that capitalist methods of repression and force can be used by socialists to free peoples, and that a rule of tyranny is necessary as a preliminary to a reign of liberty." He opposes, more particularly, the class franchise demanded by Communists and shows the necessity of a free and equal franchise for all classes as a basis for any stable new order. While conceding that the placing of society on an industrial or service basis is a distinct socialist aim, he condemns the idea of a Parliament composed of representatives of constituencies of narrow interests and, incidentally, exposes one of the main fallacies of guild socialists, namely that the national interests can be divided into those of producers and of consumers.

The industrial basis of government he would provide for by a second chamber elected on a soviet or group franchise, but without the class limitation of the Russian Soviet constitution even within these limits. In the long run, the only feasible standard in the choice of candidates for election, he holds, is one of character and intellect, not one of status—so that not the most revolutionary change in the structure of government could give the people a short cut to an ideal commonwealth. Devolution, so as to bring politics back into the current of life, seems to him an important element in betterment. The book concludes with a memorandum presented by the author to the Labor party on the reform of parliamentary machinery. The whole book is a careful study of dangerous political tendencies of the times and well worth reading by adherents and opponents of socialism alike.

B. L.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE KANSAS COURT

To THE EDITOR: No more important field for thought has come within our view these last years than the industrial court and the discussion between John A. Fitch and Judge Huggins of Kansas [see the SURVEY for April 3 and May 29]. I have not had confidence in the court plan and have endeavored to prevent its passage because I believe it will probably prove to be a court of industrial unrest.

The public is incompetent in the present case to have the place it has been trying to take and hold. The public is an interested party. The public wants coal. There is a case to be tried and the public, through its court, wants to sit on the jury. The verdict in such a procedure can be prophesied with absolute certainty.

There is a moral parallel between the public in the present situation and the British public in relation to the colonists in the 1770's. The colonists had a grievance; but appeal to the English courts for redress of their wrongs would have been to beat the wind. In the mind of the English public the colonists were rebels, and the courts were the creatures of the public. They could only help to maintain the status quo. The English judges had the attitude toward the colonists and their doings which Judge Huggins' article in the SURVEY evidences toward the miners.

It must be remembered that the main question is one of moral progress and that in getting rid of that which is outgrown one must often appear irregular and lawless. That was the situation in getting rid of the anachronistic kaiser. Jesus of Nazareth was a forward looking personage and had to appear to be a disturber of the peace. He upset the tables of the money changers. If He had waited for process of law he would have been waiting yet.

Someone will say, But who is to decide what is right? The final word cannot come at any rate from an interested party who is getting an economic advantage, such as the public. The slaver of the South proved that he was right by the Bible. The public is sure it is right in its contentions, and the first thing its court is sure to do with laborers who contend for better things is to tell them to stay at their work. The whole procedure begs the main question, becomes a *petitio principii* on a grand scale.

It is such procedure as we have been initiating in Kansas which causes after a time the kind of trouble of which we have lately had too much. When progress is due it is more than unwise to get in its way; it is dangerous. A shrewd man with the instinct of progress once said, Can ye not discern the signs of the times?

CLARENCE M. WILLIAMS.
[Pastor, Methodist Episcopal Church]
Paola, Kansas.

BILL BOARDS

To THE EDITOR: I have just read the article Profiteers with Paste and Paper in the SURVEY for June 12, apropos of Mr. Pennell's attack upon those selfish merchants who will advertise upon the countryside and thereby spoil its beauty.

In the usual campaign against such horrors, appeal is made only to the sense of artistic fitness, and the existence of the billboards shows that such a sense is either lacking with many or is ignored in the desire for financial gain. That desire seems to be universal and it should be met in kind by a boycott of everything that is promoted by such publicity. It has been suggested as a fine bit of work for clubs to take up that their members pledge themselves not to buy those goods which are advertised offensively, nor to allow their property to be so defaced. Owners of land who lease their property for such a purpose should share equally the blame for disregarding the general welfare.

I am entirely in sympathy with Mr. Pennell's efforts and I pledge myself to refrain from buying anything which is made known through obnoxious publicity and to ask my friends to do the same thing. It may be that others will follow this suggestion and thereby register an effective protest.

GERTRUDE SHERMAN TROWBRIDGE.
Flushing, N. Y.

CENTRALIZATION OF WEALTH

To THE EDITOR: Is there a real, tangible cause of the present industrial unrest or do people have a mere fanciful or imaginary grievance?

Prof. W. I. King, of Wisconsin University, in a recent book entitled The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States, by reasoning from official records in Wisconsin and Massachusetts concludes that, in the year 1910, 2 per cent or 60 per cent of the population owned 55 per cent or 60 per cent of the total wealth of the United States. The yearly income of five families amounted to $158,000,000; of the next ten richest families to $79,000,000. One hundred and fifty-four families received incomes of $1,000,000 or more per year in 1910. The report of United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue Daniel C. Roper for 1917 shows that 376 persons paid taxes on incomes of $1,000,000 or more per year. Senator Capper of Kansas states there has been a large increase of millionaires during the war.

In the year 1910, 12,180,000 families received incomes of less than $1,200 per year, most of them from $600 to $900. This was two-thirds of the total number of families in that year. Can we reasonably say to ourselves that this vast difference in income is the result of the difference in the energy or wisdom or usefulness to society of the recipients? Many of these immense incomes are simply inherited, the recipients doing little else than manage their investments.

The annual address of Walter S. Logan, president of the New York Bar Association, delivered in January, 1900, shows the constitutionality of an inheritance tax law to any amount.

The advantages of a drastic national inheritance tax might be summed up as follows:

1. The national debt could be paid.
2. Public utilities could be purchased; for instance, the railroads under private ownership cost the people of the United States about one billion dollars anually for dividends. If the railroads were purchased by proceeds from inheritance taxes this annual tax on the public would be done away with.
3. As to the effect on the present heirs to great fortunes, would it not be good?
4. A drastic inheritance tax law as applied to great fortunes need not apply to the few thousands acquired by so many and bequeathed to relatives or friends. Therefore the saving habit as practiced by 95 per cent of the population need not be interfered with even if all above $100,000 of estates is taken as a tax.
5. An inheritance tax which will absorb the great fortunes will be gradual and it is hardly conceivable that civil war would result. If this or some similar procedure is not adopted, it is quite possible that civil war or at least extensive riots will occur in the near future.
6. Is it too slow? There is no valid objection to continuing existing income taxes also, so long as the present huge incomes continue.

A heavy inheritance tax need not disjoint business any more than if the wealth of the deceased is left to the natural heirs as is now the custom. GEORGE A. MITCHELL.
Vineland, N. J.

JOTTINGS

THE Central Council for Nursing Education, Chicago, is offering a prize of $500 for the best play of three or four acts based on incidents in the life of Florence Nightingale. The competition, which will close September 1, is open to everyone. Further information may be obtained from the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, 156 Fifth avenue, New York.

DR. JEFFREY R. BRACKETT, one of the earliest pioneers in the educational field of social science, founder of the Boston School for Social Work and its director for eighteen years, will retire from office this month. At a gathering in Boston of friends and associates of Dr. Brackett a glance backward was given at the beginnings of technical schools for social service in this country. Prof. Francis G. Peabody of Harvard University recalled his early efforts to fill in a two-hour a week course in social ethics with poor relief, labor, child welfare, and even the Indian question for good measure.

JOSEPH BYERS has been appointed secretary of the lately created State Board of Charities of Kentucky. Mr. Byers is well equipped for the work which he is undertaking, having held many important positions in similar fields throughout the country; he began his career as assistant secretary of the Ohio State Board of Charities in 1888, becoming secretary of that organization four years later. Subsequently he served as general superintendent of the Indiana State Reformatory, warden of the Eastern State Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, superintendent of the New York House of Reform, and commissioner of charities and corrections for New Jersey. Until last year Mr. Byers acted as executive secretary of the National Committee on Provision for the Feebleminded.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., will open on July 1 a health center located in a congested district of 20,000 inhabitants, populated mainly by Italians. The four chief health agencies of the city, including the Municipal Department of Health, are supporting the undertaking.

FOR the first time in the history of the New York Monday Club—the friendly organization of social workers in New York—a woman has been elected president—Joanna C. Colcord, of the New York Charity Organization Society. Edwin C. Cooley and Frances Taussig are vice-presidents and Leroy E. Bowman is secretary-treasurer. During the past year, under the presidency of Charles Powlison, the membership of the Club has been increased to over 500. This does not include a similar organization in Brooklyn.

THE SURVEY

"A Rope of Sand" and Gompers

William L. Chenery

The Government and Social Hygiene

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On July 1 the price goes from $4 a year to $5 a year to meet the rising tide of printing and paper costs.

Renewal subscriptions expiring not later than September 30, 1920, are $4 if paid direct to the SURVEY office. This puts them on the same basis as renewals which fell due earlier in our fiscal year. After September 30, all renewals will be $5.

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The SURVEY

THE SHAWLED WOMEN OF
PASSAIC

By Eloise Shellabarger

July 3, 1920 25 Cents a Copy $5.00 a Year

The Shawled Women of Passaic

By Eloise Shellabarger

PASSAIC justly prides itself on the quality of the woolen yarns and cloth it produces. Its goods rank among the highest grade textiles on the market. During the war one of the leading manufacturers testified before a government investigating committee that his mill would scorn to make use of shoddy, even when a certain percentage of shoddy was allowed by the government in standard fabrics. In mechanical efficiency of production, in organized cooperation among the mills, this textile center is unique.

With regard to the human factor in production and the human output or by-product of the mills, however, this group of manufacturers has up to this time seemed singularly careless. If the human factor is little taken into account by the mill owners, however, to the outside observer of industrial conditions in Passaic there is one dominating figure which cannot be put out of the mind—the shawled woman worker. In the streets of the workers' section, in the mornings and evenings; in the shops and in the churches, the shawled figures are ever present. They go quietly and patiently about their business, seeking no notice but inevitably attracting it, especially when the observer realizes that it is these women who bear the brunt of the great industry which is the cornerstone of the community life. There are more than 6,500 women in the woolen mills, and in the cotton mills there are a thousand more. Women constitute almost half the working force in these mills.

The shawled women of Passaic, with their broad shoes and full-gathered skirts that know no change in fashion, are young. Most of them are in the prime of life. They are of the recent immigration, from eastern and southern Europe. Looking at their sturdy figures and comely faces I smiled to think that I used to learn in school that "these recent immigrants are of an inferior physical type." Such sturdiness seems out of place in the town, and when I talked with the priest of one of the large Polish churches he said, "Yes, they were mostly farmers, village people. An anthropologist will tell you that their physical structure is very good. And they are not so ignorant—just because they don't know English. They know how to till the soil, and they could do better for themselves and for the country on the land. But their idea is money. Here there is always payday every week." The choirmaster of one of the large Russian churches said, "You should have seen them at home on the farms of Galicia. Such rosy cheeks! Here they get pale, working in the mills."

Working in the mills is a matter of course to the foreign women of Passaic. The Russian choirmaster's wife was talking about weddings in the church. "Saturday is the great day for weddings," she said. "And often the bride goes back to the mill on Monday. Seems like the men here depend on their wives working. It wasn't that way in Pennsylvania, where I came from. It wasn't that way here so much until lately. Lots of the ladies used to stay at home, but now with the high prices and high rent and everything—they're all in the mills. Here the men don't make much in the

SKETCHES BY ABBY E. UNDERWOOD FROM PHOTOGRAPHS MADE FOR THE SURVEY BY HIRAM MYERS

mills. I have a friend who makes $30 to $35 a week, while her husband only makes $23. How could they live on the $23? There aren't so many weddings as there used to be. There are no more foreign girls coming in, and most of them are married and some have decided there's no good in marrying, when they have to work in the mills anyhow. It's easier not to be married."

At the Passaic Day Nursery I received some light on the problems of the married women workers. The matron said, "We are always besieged by women mill workers whose husbands are also working, who want us to care for their children. It is against our rules to care for children when both parents are working. But lately we have begun to let some of these children come. We can hardly refuse them, with the cost of living and rent so high, and when the women say they simply can't get along on just the father's wages. There is going to be a new day nursery soon. The Gera Mills are going to have one right inside the factory."

There is another way in which the working mothers of Passaic meet their problem. Night work in the factory is a privilege enjoyed only by the women of the United States, among all the large industrial nations. England abolished night work for women as long ago as 1847. In 1906 fourteen European countries entered into a treaty whereby all agreed to prohibit night work for women, on the basis of the practical consideration that they could not afford to continue a practice which was weakening their motherhood. Twelve states in the United States have laws forbidding women to work at night in certain occupations. But New Jersey has no restrictive legislation on the subject.

As to the number of women night workers in Passaic no figures are available. One can judge only by the fact that between six and seven in the evening streams of women may be seen going towards the mills. In the Botany Mills alone there are 500 of them. I stood at the big iron gate one evening and watched them entering, each with her paper parcel of lunch under her arm. These women were all distinctly of the foreign type, and they were in the prime of life and sturdy, but lacked the youthfulness and zest that should have gone with their years.

Stoical acceptance of their lot and their work as they find it seems a common attitude of the women workers. The usual answer to questions from an outsider about their work and surroundings in the mills is a noncommittal shrug. The impressions of an investigator of the National Consumers' League, concerning working conditions in the Botany Mills, the largest mills in Passaic, in 1918, are given in an article entitled Wage Earning Women in War Time, in the Journal of Industrial Hygiene for October, 1919. This article does not name the mill, but the general description positively identifies it. Concerning working conditions it says:

> This great plant, although clean and well kept, was notoriously lacking in provisions for the welfare of its workers. Light and ventilation were shocking, many rooms lacking windows and depending for air and light on high skylights. . . .
>
> Because of the massing of machinery in large rooms, the noise was deafening, particularly in one huge room filled with gilling and combing machines. No seats were provided. The workers looked beaten and crushed under the combined strain of noise, heat and constant standing. Women at lunch time sat on the floor, too exhausted to eat. There was no lunch room. . . . There were no dressing rooms, and the investigator watched women and girls changing to their street clothes in the workroom. . . .
>
> This disregard of comfort and health of the workers and failure to supply their most elementary needs contrasted sharply with a care for the quality of product and for mechanical efficiency unequalled elsewhere.

The Botany Mills are the oldest mills in Passaic and ac-

THE LUNCH HOUR
Waiting in line for the mill gates to open

SLAV WOMEN AND AMERICAN DAUGHTERS

"The daughter cannot do the same type of mill work as the mother," says a Passaic authority on the foreign worker

cording to the local secretary of the Y. W. C. A., who has access to all the woolen mills, conditions there are being somewhat improved, and in the newer mills they are better, fulfilling all the requirements of the New Jersey factory laws. Work in one of these newer mills, the Forstmann & Huffmann, next largest after the Botany, was described in the SURVEY for August 10, 1918, by "Jessie Davis," who spent a week and a half there as a weaver learner. What "Jessie Davis" emphasizes most is the fatigue of the long day's standing at the loom, which she found almost unendurable, although she had been "fortified by a summer of canoeing and swimming." The hardships due to poor transportation in reaching the mills in winter storms also stand out in her story. To sum up her impressions: Inside the factory she was an unconsidered, inefficiently cared-for adjunct to the machinery; outside, as a mere mill hand, she was subject to the disdain of the townspeople. I talked with the employment manager of the Forstmann & Huffmann Mills about this story. He was not pleased with it—he considered it misleading. However, he did not mention any misstatement of fact. His contention was that a college bred woman was of course an entirely different sort of creature from a mill worker and that she could not be expected to endure the constant standing, the noise, the hardships of the depths of winter, to which the mill women were inured by custom.

Concerning the character of the work in woolen mills the following statement is made by the National Industrial Conference Board, a federation of manufacturers' associations, in its research report No. 12, Hours of Work as Related to Output and Health of Workers—Wool Manufacturing:

> In wool manufacturing, as in cotton, most of the heavy work is done by men. It does not, however, necessarily follow that less fatigue is sustained by women. Indeed, it is often said that, on account of the monotonous noise of the machinery, and the continuous standing, stooping, and reaching required, the most fatiguing operations are those where, as a rule, women and girls are largely employed. In many of the operations, however, there are intervals when the workers have opportunities for rest.

An interesting fact was contributed by a social worker of Passaic who is referred to as an authority on the foreign workers. She said that the foreign- and native-born women are segregated in different departments of the mills. "For you know," she said, "it takes a pretty strong woman to do the work in certain departments. The Slav woman, as she comes over here, is very strong, but her American-born daughter is not. Therefore the daughter cannot do the same type of mill work as the mother."

If there is the decided deterioration in physical stamina from one generation to another that this statement would indicate, the situation is significant. Sociologists have warned of the danger of American physical standards being lowered by the influx of the "inferior races" of southern Europe. Is it possible that an opposite situation exists; that the physical standards of southern European immigrant peoples are being lowered by the subjection of the mothers to the conditions of American industry?

The effects of fatigue in the factory are no doubt aggravated by bad living conditions among the mill workers of Passaic.

ON THE NIGHT SHIFT

AT nine o'clock in the morning Mrs. Bulos was doing the family washing. She is a native of Poland but as her parents brought her here as a baby in arms she has known only America. Three small children were about the house, two were at school, and the oldest boy, who does night work in the mills, was out. The mother complained about this boy, saying that he spent his days loafing about town and was hard to control. The family lived in a tenement in Dundee, the workers' section, in four bare, uncared for rooms with a dreary outlook. The halls and stairways were so dark that the visitor's guide up the stairs, a young boy, had to light a match to find the way, after darting down several wrong corridors. The only regret of the family, however, was that they were going to be forced to move shortly, because the landlord was going to make some changes in the house. In her spare time the mother was house-hunting, and she said the best she could find was four rooms nearby for $18 a month. She has considered taking one of the houses owned by the Brighton cotton mills, where she could have better air and a bit of garden, but now she is doubtful about doing this, because "you don't know how steady the work is going to be, and they won't let you rent a house unless you work in the plant."

Mrs. Bulos has only been working in the mills for a year. Before that she took in washing. She went on the night shift because she couldn't leave the children all day, and the day nursery wouldn't take them. She went into a nearby woolen mill, the New Jersey Spinning Company, as a twister, and received about $19 for five nights' work. She had to be on her feet all night, except the half hour at midnight when the women ate their lunches, sitting anywhere among the machines. The hours were 8 P. M. to 6 A. M., so that she got out too late in the morning to get breakfast and put up lunch for her husband, who worked days in the Brighton Mills on the other side of town. For that reason she went over to the Brighton Mills herself, where her hours are from 7:45 P. M. to 5 A. M. To reach the mill she walks to the postoffice, a good half mile, and gets a bus from there. Now she is able to get home by five-thirty in the morning, get breakfast and put up her husband's lunch, and get the children off to school. She gets lunch for the children at noon, and prepares the family supper and puts up her own lunch before she goes back to work in the evening. Her work is easier than at the woolen mill, she does not have so many "ends" to twist and does not have to be on her feet so constantly. She gets some sleep during her three-quarters of an hour off at midnight, she usually gets through work at four in the morning and sleeps until the bus comes at 5, and she snatches perhaps three hours' sleep at home during the day. "Of course, I've been run down since I worked at night," she said casually, when asked about her health. "If a person don't get their night's sleep how do they feel? It plays the women out, they can't stick to it forever. But nowadays you can't depend on a husband's salary at all, and where there's a way there's a will. . . . I'd rather work in the mills than keep boarders the way so many of them do. Eight people is a-plenty for four rooms, I say."

The hard-earned money of this family goes for necessities and not for pleasures, even for the children. I happened to meet Mrs. Bulos on the street one noon, and she summoned over to me her boy of 12, who was playing at the perennial spring game of baseball. As he came nearer the mother's quick eye lighted on the ball in his hand. "Jimmie, what did you make that ball of?" she said, seizing upon it. "If it ain't the baby's best bib! Take it right out this minute!" And what Jimmie ruefully unravelled was indeed the baby's bib, bound with a strip of rag into some semblance of a real baseball.

Nearly half the total population of the city is crowded into one-sixth its area in the workers' section, and it is generally admitted that the housing situation is serious. The Forstmann & Huffmann Mills have purchased a tract of land surrounding their factory and are contemplating the erection of a large number of dwellings. Some of the other mills, among them the Botany Mills, own a number of houses which are fairly attractive and which rent for reasonable sums. There are not enough of these, however, to affect the general situation. In casual visits we found a woman mill worker's family of seven living in three tiny rooms, two of which were unventilated and pitch dark. An Italian girl who works in the Botany Mills was living with a large family of brothers and sisters in the basement of a tumbledown frame house.

The effect of the squalor of the Dundee district is heightened by the proximity of the "hill" section of Passaic, which is a residence suburb with roomy comfortable houses set in wide lawns. The commuters and others who live in these houses are not troubled by the sight of the slums, however, because, on account of the transportation arrangements, they are entirely isolated from them. They seem to be only vaguely conscious of the existence of the "foreign element" below the Erie tracks. This foreign element, however, comprises a great majority of the population, since 64.8 per cent of Passaic's inhabitants are foreign-born, and a large proportion of the foreign-born have native-born families.

A very important factor in the lives of the foreign women outside the mill is their religion. The churches of the factory district at once strike the eye. They are larger and have far more architectural distinction than the churches on the "hill," and they have been built by contributions from the workers. The largest Greek-Orthodox church in America is here, an imposing structure of spires and domes. There is a second large Greek Catholic church, and there are a number of Roman Catholic churches attended by different nationalities, and a large synagogue. Women on their way to the night's work stop at the church for a moment's devotion. As I looked in at one of the smaller churches I saw a group of five shawled women kneeling together and carrying on an intoned service, in which one was the leader and the others responded, keeping remarkably what seemed a difficult pitch. Religious music is a notable mode of artistic expression among all the foreign peoples of Passaic. At a weekday service at the Greek Orthodox church the full-throated responses from men and women in working clothes who filled the body of the church were most impressive.

The religion which seems to afford the only beauty and opportunity for artistic expression in the lives of the shawled women of Passaic has been transplanted from across the seas. What, then, has America given them? It has given them hard work in the mills and dismal homes. Why is it that they have not the normal home life which is a part of the American standard of living?

Part of the answer may be found in the fact that in 1914 the average annual earnings of wool mill workers were 20 per cent below the average for twenty leading industries. The compilation was made by the National Industrial Conference Board from the most recent United States Census of Manufactures and appears in their report No. 12 previously referred to. War-time increases left the wool mill workers worse off than before in comparison with workers in other industries, even including other branches of the textiles, according to the report of the National Industrial Conference Board on War-time Changes in Wages. Increases in weekly earnings between September, 1914 and March, 1919, for various manufacturing industries, are given as follows:

Percentage of Increase

	Wool	Metals	Cotton	Silk	Boots & Shoes	Paper	Rubber	Chemicals
Males	62	88	71	93	76	76	110	104
Females	55	125	66	102	60	64	61	

Low weekly earnings are due to irregularity of employment as well as to low rates. For the past year, however, since the slack season of the early spring of 1919, employment has been steady until June of this year, when fifty mills of the American Woolen Company, which sets the pace for the

industry, went on a four-day or 35-hour-a-week schedule. At Passaic at the present time two mills are still working full time, one is working four days and a half a week, and three are working four days.

The low standard of earnings in the woolen industry has made it necessary for the wives and daughters of workers to go into the mills to supplement the earnings of the head of the family, and the custom has arisen of considering the family as the earning unit in the woolen industry, instead of the individual. The wages are such that the unmarried men and women, the young married couples, the families with grown children, can save: but there is not a living for a normal family with children. The women must work.

While it has been remarkable for low wages, the wool industry is also distinguished by large profits. The Passaic mills for example, while they were turning out millions of yards of olive drab shirting and melton cloth for the soldiers in France, gained extraordinary profits. In the six months ending May 31, 1918, the Botany Mills' net profit was $3,769,854.99—more than their entire capitalization, $3,600,000. The Gera Mills, with a capitalization of $2,000,000, gained a net profit of $1,722,324 in the year ending March 31, 1918. More recent figures for the profits of Passaic mills are not available. However, since they, like Massachusetts woolen mills, have been producing steadily for a favorable market since last spring, their prosperity is probably comparable to that of the American Woolen Company, which in April of this year issued the best report in its history, showing a net profit of $15,513,415 for 1919, and which in 1920, according to evidence obtained by the United States attorney-general, has made profits exceeding those of 1919 by 300 or 400 per cent.

Unionism is struggling for a foothold in the wool industry. Unorganized workers participated in serious strikes in Lawrence and Passaic in the spring of 1919. A new union, the Amalgamated Textile Workers, came into being, sponsored by the strong independent union in the men's clothing trade, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and officered by leaders in the Lawrence and Passaic strikes.

Since the organization of this union there have been three substantial wage increases throughout the wool industry. In April, 1919, a 15 per cent increase was granted, which was accepted by the workers as the fruit of the Lawrence strike. In December, 1919, there was a 12½ per cent raise following a strike in Utica, New York. In April, 1920, there was another 15 per cent increase for New England workers, as a sequel to marked unrest which culminated in a strike at New Bedford, Mass. This latest general increase took the form in Passaic of a flat raise of $3 a week for adult workers and $2 a week for minor workers. Nowhere, as yet, has the new union gained recognition from woolen employers.

In Passaic, in addition to absolute refusal of recognition, the organization has been confronted by an attempt on the part of the city government to prohibit its meetings, through the passage of an ordinance, modeled on that of Duquesne, Pa., requiring permits for all meetings. Public opinion, however, stimulated by the attitude of newspapers, public men and the Trades and Labor Council of Passaic in standing out for free speech, convinced the city government of its error, and union meetings of wool mill workers are now being held unmolested in Passaic. There is still to be reckoned with, however, the extra-legal activities of certain woolen mills, which have recently been described in a report of the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior, on The Problem of Adult Education in Passaic, N. J., as "a most unfortunate type of espionage system over the workers which could not help but undermine continually any possible development of mutual trust and confidence among the people of Passaic." Such conditions are the outgrowth of the mill owners' determination not to recognize unionism. An inter-

MOTHERS IN THE MILLS[1]

MRS. DUMBA is a pale Polish woman who works for ten hours from 7:30 P. M. to 5:30 A. M. in the preparing department of the Forstmann-Huffmann factory. She looks to be about 35. Perhaps she is younger. One cannot easily calculate the age of a mill worker. At twenty-five she may look wrinkled and worn out.

It was ten-thirty in the morning when I talked to Mrs. Dumba. She was sunning herself against the fence of her yard—the dismal mud flat which surrounds the workers' houses in Garfield. The two youngest of her five children were at her feet grubbing in the red New Jersey sand. The other three she had dressed, after snatching her two hours' quota of sleep from six to eight in the morning, and had sent them off to school—probably the Polish sisters' school.

Now she was up for the day. There were clothes to wash, meals to get, children to look after, the three rooms of her home in the cellar of a frame house to keep clean after a fashion, and water to draw from the well in the backyard not one hundred feet from the out house. For although there is running water in the houses of Garfield it is not for the cellar tenants.

"Won't you sleep any more today?" the interpreter asked Mrs. Dumba.

She laughed, "Oh, there's no time to sleep."

"Don't you get very tired?"

She shrugged her shoulders; what can she do? She makes $20 [these stories were obtained in April] a week, and her husband averages about $40 in two weeks at the Dundee Lake dye house. And there is a rent of $10 a month to pay—and the food—and the five children.

* * *

STANDING by Mrs. Dumba as I talked to her was a fair young Polish woman, hardly more than a girl. She, too, I learned, worked at night in the Forstmann-Huffmann mills earning the usual $20 wage of the preparing department. Her husband brings home $22.50 a week from the dye house of the Botany Mills.

They live with their two little children in a two-room house, a dirty shanty which they rent from one of the mill foremen for $7 a month.

Mrs. Boletska still looks young and healthy. She laughed when asked if she found any time to sleep.

* * *

THE story of their neighbor Mrs. Zoschenka was little different. She is a spinner at the Forstmann & Huffmann Mills where she works ten hours a night five nights a week, averaging $22 a week on piece work. Her husband works in the finishing department of the Botany Mills and gets $22.50 a week. Her four rooms are ill-kept. There are five children, the oldest ten years old and the youngest a baby of three months which is fed by bottle. Mrs. Zoschenka says that she has to work in order to help pay the living expenses, including $22 a month rent, and that she works at night because the children cannot be left alone.

* * *

MRS. ZELINKA is more fortunate than these other women. She also works at night in the preparing department of the Forstmann & Huffman Mill where she earns $19-$20 a week. But her husband also makes $23 in a cotton mill, her fifteen-year-old girl $15 at the Botany and her boy of fourteen already gets $10 in a silk mill.

The combined earnings of nearly $70 a week of these four have built for the Zelinka family—mother, father and five children—a comfortable little two-story frame house, with three rooms down stairs and four above. It has furnished the house with neat tables and chairs, carpeted the floors, decorated the walls with pictures, filled the cupboards with bright china, and hung curtains at the window. Moreover, it has put a fresh apron around Mrs. Zelinka's ample waist and a full smile of contentment on her face.

Mrs. Zelinka speaks English well. When I asked her why she worked at night, she said she had to, to keep up the house and clothe the children properly. It is evident that she is one of the most thrifty of the Polish workers, that she has definitely pulled herself above the line of submersion, and by constant struggle is maintaining her decent standard of living.

[1] Interviewed by Mary Senior. The names used in these stories are fictitious.

esting feature of the situation is the fact that the largest woolen mill, the Botany, is still owned by the United States government, having been taken over with other mills owned by Germans in March, 1918, by A. Mitchell Palmer, as alien property custodian. When, therefore, the Botany Mills stated in March, 1919, in a sign posted conspicuously at its gates, "No union or union shop committee will be recognized by this mill," the United States government stood back of this policy. The United States government also perforce stands back of the espionage system of the Industrial Council of Passaic Wool Manufacturers.

Workers, who are forced to bargain individually, are faced by an employers' association of extraordinary strength in this Industrial Council of Passaic Wool Manufacturers, commonly known as the Wool Council. A centralized employment office makes it necessary for every applicant for a job in the woolen mills to obtain the official approval of the Wool Council. "They're awful particular when you go to get a job," was a woman worker's way of expressing it. A blacklist under such circumstances is most effective. To the visitor who wishes to find out anything about the mills from the employers' standpoint the strength of the Wool Council is apparent.

My own experience is a case in point. At two of the large mills where I asked for information I was referred to the Wool Council. I went, accordingly, to the secretary of the Wool Council. I told him that I wished to visit the mills to get material for an article in the SURVEY. The secretary seemed to waver between a desire that the production and welfare features of the mills should be published abroad and a fear that my story would not be "constructive." Notwithstanding assurances that whatever I wrote would be submitted to him for the correction of misstatements of fact, in accordance with the SURVEY custom, his final decision was adverse. I was forced to find out what I could without further assistance from the employers. What I found was the shawled women workers.

On the one side are these shawled women, stolid, uncomplaining, only dimly aware that America has anything better to offer than the toilsome days and cheerless homes that they know. On the other side is the Wool Council, alert, efficient, organized. A new factor is the Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union, which stands for higher wages, the forty-four hour week, and the abolition of night work for women. Whether these workers are to stay on in an America which the employers have created for them or whether they are to press forward into a new America in whose making they will have a share, is a question in the balance.

ONE OF THE MILL POLICE

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THE CHEERFUL GIVER

LAST month the Buffalo Charity Organization Society received a gift of one dollar, with the line:

"You are welcome to this. I can't buy anything with it."

SOCIAL WORKERS EXCHANGE

DUE to the fine response from social workers the country over the National Social Workers Exchange, which for a time seemed threatened with extinction, is to continue. Nearly $5,000 has been raised since June 1, wholly through the dues of members. Even more encouraging is the fact that several important tasks are waiting to be done by just such a group of social workers as constitute the exchange. Within the past few weeks three informal conferences have been held on recruiting for social work in the colleges, on training, and on the need for a professional organization.

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

AT the twentieth annual meeting, in Louisville, the National Consumers League adopted a ten years' program which included certain new features, principal among which were proposed campaigns for honest products and for continuous investigation of essential industries by the federal government. To carry forward this program Mrs. Florence Kelley, general secretary of the National Consumers League, announces the addition of the executive staff of John R. Shillady, former secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. As executive director, Mr. Shillady will have general management of the league's business affairs and publicity. The league will continue its well-known work in behalf of minimum wage legislation, the eight-hour day, and other protective legislation for women and girl wage-earners.

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL OF CIVICS

AFTER eighteen years of experiment and demonstration in training for social work, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy has requested the University of Chicago to establish a graduate professional curriculum for training students who desire to enter this field. In preferring this request the trustees of the school stated that in their judgment the demands of the situation can be fulfilled only by a curriculum which will provide administrative unity such as is characteristic of professional schools, field work to supplement the studies of the class room, skilled placement of graduates, and scholarships and fellowships to assure the high quality of the student body. The university administrative authorities have recommended the proposal with cordial approval to the trustees. Early action would mean the reconstruction before fall of the educational provision for social work in Chicago, a field of training in which, with only the living endowment of its loyal alumni, the Chicago School of Civics has pioneered under the leadership of Graham Taylor since its founding at Chicago Commons.

THE Y.W.C.A. UNDER FIRE

NOT only the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, but especially the local associations have been under pressure and attack from various local employers and from various employers' associations because of the labor policy which the Y. W. C. A. adopted at its conference in Cleveland in April. The program adopted was not framed by the Y. W. C. A. It was the Social Ideals of the Churches previously adopted by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Y. M. C. A. and other religious bodies. Apparently the temper of the times was such, however, that the more progressive industrial attitude which the Y. W. C. A. has adopted since the war led various employers to believe, as one employer expressed it, that "it means something when the Y. W. C. A. adopts a program."

Before the conference, when it was known that the program was to come to a vote, certain employers who cannot hopefully be regarded as representing employers in general, visited board members and Y. W. C. A. offices threatening to cut off both financial and moral support should the program go through. In Cleveland before the vote was taken the delegates received scores of telegrams from employers in their localities carrying the same threats. The program was passed without a dissenting vote. In spite of this, however, pressure has been brought to bear on the local bodies to repudiate the action of the conference.

Courtesy New York Tribune.

In Providence, Rhode Island, such action has already been taken. How the Los Angeles association stood up under such an assault is told in this issue by Edward Krehbiel, California representative of the SURVEY.

A CORRECTION

IN quoting from Judge Anderson's decision in the Collyer case [page 489, July 3rd issue], the SURVEY made an error so obvious that we hope it carried its own clarification. The quotation read: "The trend of American courts has been to limit the powers of the courts to interfere with strikers by injunction." The judge wrote: "The trend of American legislation has been to limit the power of the courts to interfere with strikes by injunction."

ANOTHER STEEL STRIKE?

ACTING on the instructions given by the Montreal Convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor met in Atlantic City, August 3, to take up the steel question. Following the conference it was announced that a new effort will be made in the spring of 1921 to organize the steel industry. Upwards of 30 unions, whose members are employed in the making of steel, will cooperate in the organization committee. The previous committee which managed the steel strike last fall had already been disbanded and it is stated William Z. Foster, who was secretary of the committee, and John Fitzpatrick, who was chairman, will not be members of the new group. The work apparently is to be directed by the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor in order, possibly, to avoid any charge of radicalism. In gauging the significance of the action taken, the former failure of the Executive Council to make headway in the direction of stimulating the organization of the steel workers in the past, must be balanced against the fact that now they have a precedent as to how the job can be done. Foster is out, but so is his story of the strike and it will be read wherever steel is made.

FOR RUSSIAN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

CHICAGOANS have established an American Committee for the purpose of affording relief to Russian women and children. The organization is cooperating with the Joint Committee of the American and English Societies of Friends. Plans are being made to send medicines, soap and disinfectants as well as food in the effort to check the spread of typhus of which it is stated there are 1,536,000 cases in Russia. Chairman of the Chicago committee is Miss Addams. Among the well known citizens who are members are: the Rt. Rev. Charles P. Anderson, Dr. Frank Billings, former Governor Edward F. Dunne, Mrs. Emmons Blaine, Walter L. Fisher, former Secretary of Interior, the Rev. Frank W. Gunsalus, Mrs. Raymond Robbins, Professor George H. Mead, Sidney Hillman and Mrs. Julius Rosenwald.

Supplies will be sent directly from the United States or if clearance papers cannot be secured from England. It is announced, however, that Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby has given his assurance of assistance in arranging direct shipment. The English "Save the Children's Fund" with which Lord Robert Cecil is identified has already sent consignments to Russia. The English Society of Friends also succeeded in delivering a cargo of medical supplies at Petrograd and Englishmen representing the society went to Moscow to arrange for a distribution there. Danes and Norwegians also have made contributions for the Russian people.

The appeal of the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church for food supplies for children is being circulated by the Committee. Those interested may communicate with the organization at 19 South La Salle street, Chicago.

IN YON FIELD BELOW

In yon field below
A thousand years of silenced factions sleep
The forum where the immortal accents glow,
And still the eloquent air breathes—burns with Cicero!

(Byron: Childe Harold)

THE City Club of Cleveland has revived the open-air Saturday noon forum on the Public Square of Cleveland. This forum has been established with a twofold purpose in view: first, to build up a great open-air down town forum; and, second, to rededicate Cleveland's public square to the uses for which the late Mayor Tom L. Johnson set it aside, namely—for the exercise of the rights of free speech and free assemblage. The old public square was nationally known in the late '90's as a civic forensic stadium. Following down through the days of Tom Johnson, the people of Cleveland came to look upon this spot as the one place where they might exercise freely these two very precious rights.

"I do not need to explain the change that took place during the war period," writes Francis T. Hayes. "Now, however, the City Club hopes to return the square to its former sacred place in our civic life and at the same time establish a great open-air forum of national repute." Raymond Robins opened the forum on Saturday, July 3, speaking to an audience of over 500, gathered together at noon time in the heart of Cleveland's busy down town section. Dr. John A. Ryan, Harry F. Atwood, and Glenn Plumb were on the program during July, names giving an idea of the catholicity of the contemplated program.

The Attack on the Los Angeles Y. W. C. A.

An Illustration

(SEE PAGE 603)

By Edward Krehbiel

THE Better America Federation of California, formerly the Commercial Federation of California, is according to its constitution a non-partisan organization with the following purposes:

To "draw together" and "federate the political activities" of "all citizens and organizations interested in the commercial, industrial and agricultural welfare of the nation and state," and to act as the medium for propaganda "relative to matters which demand legislation and proper consideration."

To put "men of experience and integrity" into public office, "to the end that important economic problems may be handled in a manner just to every vital interest."

"To fight radicalism in all of its manifestations" and "to counteract the deadly virus of Bolshevism, Syndicalism, I. W. W.ism, Socialism and other incendiary teachings."

"To encourage and teach true Americanism."

To organize a national campaign, "not confining our organization to state issues solely."

The president of the organization is Harry M. Haldeman, president of the Pacific Pipe Supply Co., Los Angeles. Mr. Haldeman is a real leader among business men. During the war he headed many fund drives and attained much prominence. The Better America Federation was formerly known as the Commercial Federation of California. Under this name it waged the fight against health insurance two years ago. In chamber of commerce circles, it became known as the "open shop" faction, and some chambers of commerce refused to have anything to do with it. This organization began to loom into prominence last fall. On New Year's day it took over the entire tenth floor of the Corporation Building, where it employs a large staff. The name was changed to the Better America Federation on May 5. Its present fund drive is state-wide.

The federation issues to its members a weekly mimeographed letter. In the letter of March 30, under the headings, Working Through Women and the Churches and Y. W. C. A. Studying Collective Bargaining and Trade Unions for Women and in the letter of April 20, under the heading, Radicalism and the Churches, appeared the following excerpts and criticisms of a folder sent out by the Research Section of the Y. W. C. A.:

In relation to collective bargaining the [Y. W. C. A.] folder contains this statement:

"Employers have found that they cannot meet their problems unless they organize in great trade associations. Needless to say, the individual worker can not deal with such a complicated organization, so workers, too, have organized, in order to establish a working relationship with other organized groups. The need for organization has been especially apparent in the case of women workers; they need the education that is bound up in organization. . . . It is a lamentable fact that women, because they accept industrial conditions including low wages, actually lower wages and, therefore, living standards for both men and women."

While there is nothing objectionable in the statement, it reflects a tendency to urge women to join for their own protection, organizations having a working organization with other organized groups. That reads very much like advising them all to join labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

It is the duty of all employers to see that the women in their employ are so treated in relation to wages and working conditions that it will not be necessary for them to become members of unions to better their condition. It is the further duty of members of the federation to see that the federation idea is placed before all women workers, and espcially before the industrial groups of the Y. W. C. A. The radicals will try to capture the Y. W. C. A.—they would not hesitate to try to seduce an angel itself in the interest of their propaganda—and the federation membership must see that the members of the Y. W. C. A. are duly enlightened in the real issue involved in questions affecting women workers.

This attack was aimed at the Los Angeles Y. W. C. A. Its authors possibly did not sufficiently consider that it was, in fact, not only an attack on the national Y. W. C. A., but also on the Y. M. C. A., and on the leading national organization of protestant churches.

At the national convention of the Y. W. C. A. held in Cleveland in April, one of the three major issues before the delegates was the adoption of a social and industrial program. Several weeks before the convention, the national board sent out voluminous literature of a stimulative rather than a propagandist nature. This included the pamphlet comparing the social creeds of various religious organizations.

In the Los Angeles Y. W. C. A., group meetings discussed an industrial program. Most of these were small meetings of fifteen or twenty girls; the largest was an evening meeting attended by seventy-five to one hundred girls. It is estimated that not more than two hundred girls out of the total membership of six thousand took any active share in the discussion.

The five delegates went to Cleveland absolutely uninstructed. Of the five, three favored the so-called Social Creed of the Churches, and two would have voted in favor of the program outlined by the research section of the industrial committee of the Y. W. C. A. for study and discussion prior to the April convention. At the convention, this alternative proposal was not discussed. The Social Creed of the Churches was adopted without a negative vote after at least a day and a half of consideration.

This social creed originated in the Federal Council of Churches (18,000,000 Protestants) in 1908, and was reaffirmed in 1912, 1916 and 1919. Its clause upon collective bargaining is general in terms, at least as regards any alleged endorsement of trade-unionism. It was adopted as the industrial program of the Young Men's Christian Association in 1919. It is paralleled, in substance, by the Pastoral Message of the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1919; by the pronouncement of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1919; and by the National Catholic Council of Bishops, —the so-called Bishops' Program. It also has apparently the same purport as the recommendation of the President's Second Industrial Conference, which declared: "The conference is in favor of the policy of collective bargaining. It sees in a frank acceptance of this principle the most helpful approach to industrial peace." In attacking the Y. W. C. A. program, the Better America Federation is thus attacking the programs of these other bodies.

On May 7, 1920, as an extra letter not in the regular series, the Better America Federation reproduced Weekly Letter No. 118 of the National Founders' Association, dated April 29. This was accompanied by a letter, on Better America letterhead, signed by Haldeman, setting forth that the enclosure "contains information of very great value" and

"should be widely distributed." The National Founders' Association letter contained an attack upon the Young Women's Christian Association, which is best quoted:

The Young Women's Christian Association is the latest of certain religious, social and fraternal bodies to undertake to settle grave industrial questions by the fiat of a conference, and the statement of amateurs who either know nothing about the subject, or who have received their information from one side only. During its recent convention at Cleveland, this association went on record as endorsing the eight-hour day and collective bargaining. Those who were interested in the resolution did not undertake to consult with employers or business men, but apparently adopted a self-evident unionist program. This is particularly remarkable in view of the fact that the Young Women's Christian Association is appealing to business men and employers in its campaign for funds. However, influential members of the association repudiated the carefully prepared snap judgment—if that statement is not mixed metaphor—and left the convention. There are few organizations in the world which are doing so much good as the Young Women's Christian Association, and its work is comparable only with that of its big brother association, the Y. M. C. A. It is astounding, therefore, that the Y. W. C. A. should have undertaken to put through an endorsement of a program which has the earmarks of unionism; and especially to endorse collective bargaining when we are confronted daily with the record of broken agreements entered into by unions, and when we see the greatest unions in the country, the Four Brotherhoods, unable to control their members and therefore unable to keep agreements into which they themselves have entered. When organizations such as the Y. W. C. A. attempt to solve by resolution the industrial problems of the day, they should first determine the facts, and not permit themselves to be led into a position which is untenable, uneconomic and, from a purely association standpoint, extremely unwise.

On the same date, also on letterhead of the Better America Federation and over the signature of H. M. Haldeman, president, a letter suggesting the withdrawal of financial support from the Los Angeles Y. W. C. A. was sent to a mailing list of about one hundred people. The letter follows:

The action of the Young Women's Christian Association, at its recent convention at Cleveland, in endorsing collective bargaining from the union labor standpoint which means collective bargaining with representatives of organized labor only, has called forth, throughout the country, a justly deserved rebuke from many who, in times past, have been among its most generous supporters.

It is difficult to conceive how this association can hope to retain the moral and financial support of its sincere well-wishers when, without calling into conference representative business men throughout the country to consider these vital questions, it jams through a program which has all the earmarks of radical unionism. Business men will refuse to supply ammunition with which they are to be shot.

Locally, some of the heretofore staunchest supporters of the Young Women's Christian Association who made their pledges before this action was taken by the association, have since asked to have their names stricken from its list of prospective givers.

If you agree with us that this action of the Y. W. C. A. was ill-advised and if you have occasion to communicate with the local Y. W. C. A., we ask that you express, in plain language, your disapproval of the course of conduct the association has adopted.

Sent out at approximately the same time was a small eight-page pamphlet entitled, Proposed Industrial Program of the Young Women's Christian Association and Federated Associations, bearing the imprint of the Better America Federation. This pamphlet leads off with an editorial reprinted from "Industry," referring to "certain religious, social and fraternal organizations;" then follows an article devoted to arguments against the program of the Women's Auxiliary of Post Office Clerks; after which is an editorial on the Y. W. C. A., also reprinted from "Industry." The title of this pamphlet is dishonest, as the "proposed industrial program" given is not that of the Y. W. C. A., but that of the Post Office Clerks' Auxiliary, which is not a "federated association" of the Y. W. C. A., nor is it connected with it in any way.

The Los Angeles Y. W. C. A. learned of Haldeman's action when it received letters from Haldeman and his firm on May 3 and 4, withdrawing their financial support. Later, withdrawals came from six other persons or firms who had subscribed. Only one of the six asked whether or not Haldeman's statements were true. The others either cancelled their unpaid pledges for 1920, or (having paid already) withdrew their names from the 1921 list of subscribers. One of these business men later retracted his protest.

On May 13, Susan Barnwell, Mrs. W. A. Moses and Ruth Southwick, representing the Y. W. C. A., called on Mr. Haldeman at his office. They informed him that his letter contained three distinct misstatements of fact. He made no particular reply, but said: "I am perfectly willing to send out a letter to the same people who received the first letter, putting matters right. Once having done that, I shall proceed to attack the Y. W. C. A. on the basis of the Social Creed." He discussed the different planks in the Social Creed, calling the anti-child labor clause, the social insurance clause, the old age and disability pension clause, "rank socialism." He said the whole thing was being put over on the Y. W. C. A. by the labor unions and that people of the Y. W. C. A. type were the most dangerous sort of propagandists because "you don't know what you are saying but you pass on the phrases that are put into your mouths by labor agitators." He said that Los Angeles was proud of being an open shop town and never would submit to "union domination." When asked why he had attacked the Y. W. C. A. rather than the other organizations that had acted earlier, he said that there had been a lot of soap box oratory of late and that whenever radicalism appeared it had to be stamped out.

The next day the Y. W. C. A. representatives sent Haldeman a letter, confirming his offer to correct his misstatements and containing the following memorandum:

1. You say, "The action of the Young Women's Christian Association, at its recent convention at Cleveland, in endorsing collective bargaining from the union labor standpoint, which means collective bargaining with the representatives of organized labor only, has called forth throughout the country, a justly deserved rebuke from many who, in times past, have been among its most generous supporters." We quote the exact text of the resolutions adopted at the national convention. . . .

Art. XII: The right of employes and employers alike to organize; and for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

Par. 2: That an ordered and constructive democracy in industry is as necessary as political democracy, and that collective bargaining and the sharing of shop control and management are inevitable steps in its attainment.

The term "collective bargaining" is here used as defined on pages 30-32 of Report of Industrial Conference called by the President. You will note that the names of Herbert Hoover, Julius Rosenwald, George W. Wickersham and other large employers are signed to a statement that—"There are two types of collective bargaining as thus defined; one in which the employes act as a group through the trade or labor union; the other in which they act as a group through some other plan of employe representation." (P. 30, par. 2). . . .

The Young Women's Christian Association has made no effort to define *how* democracy may become real in industry; it has declared for the principle, offering no method.

We note your statement in the second sentence of your letter that "without calling into conference representative business men throughout the country to consider these vital questions, it jams through a program which has all the earmarks of radical unionism." Permit us to inform you that in the fall of 1919 before any industrial program for the convention was formulated, sixty leading business men were invited to a conference but only one accepted. It is hardly gracious now to say they were never asked to give advice. Your words "jam through" are misleading. Every one of the 1,836 voting delegates went to the convention uninstructed on all issues to be voted on; but every one went fully informed on those issues. For weeks beforehand, speakers on both sides and literature were sent to the local associations to prepare them to vote intelligently. It is true that The Social Ideals of the Churches were unanimously endorsed but not until the convention called continuously for the question and discussion was completed.

We call your attention to the various dates on which these Social Ideals of the Churches were enacted: 1912, 1916, 1919, and to the further fact that the national bodies endorsing them were composed of business men as well as clergymen. . . .

3. We are surprised at your statement in paragraph 3 that: "Locally, some of the heretofore staunchest supporters of the Young

SOCIAL IDEALS of the CHURCHES under FIRE

Adopted by the Convention of the National Young Women's Christian Association, Cleveland, April 13-20

I. Equal rights and justice for all men in all stations of life.

II. Protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, proper housing.

III. The fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of education and recreation.

IV. Abolition of child labor.

V. Such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

VI. Abatement and prevention of poverty.

VII. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of the liquor traffic.

VIII. Conservation of health.

IX. Protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases and mortality.

X. The right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.

XI. Suitable provision for the old age of the workers, and for those incapacitated by injury.

XII. The right of employes and employers alike to organize; and for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

XIII. Release from employment one day in seven.

XIV. Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

XV. A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

XVI. A new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

. . . we affirm as Christian churches:

1. That the teachings of Jesus are those of essential democracy and express themselves through brotherhood and the cooperation of all groups. We deplore class struggle and declare against all class domination, whether of capital or labor. Sympathizing with labor's desire for a better day and an equitable share in the profits and management of industry, we stand for orderly and progressive social reconstruction instead of revolution by violence.

2. That an ordered and constructive democracy in industry is as necessary as political democracy, and that collective bargaining and the sharing of shop control and management are inevitable steps in its attainment.

3. That the first charge upon industry should be that of a wage sufficient to support an American standard of living. To that end we advocate the guarantee of a minimum wage, the control of unemployment through government labor exchanges, public works, land settlement, social insurance and experimentation in profit-sharing and cooperative ownership.

4. We recognize that women played no small part in the winning of the war. We believe that they should have full political and economic equality with equal pay for equal work, and a maximum eight-hour day. We declare for the abolition of night work by women, and the abolition of child labor; and for the provision of adequate safeguards to insure the moral as well as the physical health of the mothers and children of the race.

Women's Christian Association who made their pledges before this action was taken by the association have since asked to have their names stricken from the list of prospective givers." At the date your letter bears, your own firm is the only one of whose withdrawal we had notice. This statement bears a color calculated to do us financial harm.

It may interest you that at the time Mrs. Helen Gould Shepard resigned from the national board, withdrawing a support of about four thousand dollars in 1920, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., announced a gift of five hundred thousand dollars to the Y. W. C. A.

The Young Women's Christian Association is assured that you will take pains to correct your misstatements to all those to whom you caused them to be sent. They were based, you frankly admit, on an article not issued by the Y. W. C. A., but published in "Industry" under date of April 15. The resolutions were presented on April 16, and reprints of this article were already in the hands of our delegates so that it could hardly be an accurate account of what took place. . . .

Under date of May 20, Edgar G. Pratt, general manager of the Better America Federation, wrote a reply to the letter from the Y. W. C. A. defining its aims, declining to admit the misstatements without further showing, but expressing a willingness to correct any proven errors. As to the meaning of "collective bargaining," he asked a definite statement as to which form the association endorsed; referred vaguely to press reports as substantiating the phrase "jams through;" and backed up the matter of the withdrawal of funds by saying such had been "discussed . . . not only freely but very forcefully."

The Church Federation of Los Angeles, Dr. James A. Francis, president, considering itself involved, issued a letter to 250 pastors, many of whom read the letter from their pulpits on Sunday, May 30. The letter did not mention the Better America Federation by name, although it quoted the phrase, "jams through," from the Haldeman letter. It follows in part:

We desire that the public should know clearly three things: First, that the Y. W. C. A. was not the originator of the document but adopted the social program already adopted by the great church bodies of America; second, that in no sense do either the churches or the Y. W. C. A. take a partisan position, but one of friendship for all men, employers and employes alike; third, that the social program was not hastily "jammed through" the Y. W. C. A. convention, but adopted after hours of careful consideration and free discussion.

In this day of extreme class consciousness, the Christian church should stand as the friend of all men. We write this not simply in the interest of the Y. W. C. A., but in the interest of our common Christianity.

The immediate financial damage to the Los Angeles Y. W. C. A. occasioned by the action of the Better America Federation was not very considerable, running slightly under $1,000 in withdrawal of pledges. Whether the injury will ultimately be more serious remains to be seen during the drive for funds next February. The financial harm done the Y. W. C. A. is, however, in a sense, not the issue. The fact is that the Better America Federation did undertake to compel the Y. W. C. A. to abandon its social program by prevailing upon its benefactors to withdraw their aid.

Later developments seem to indicate a certain change in the attitude of the Better America Federation. Miss Barnwell of the Y. W. C. A., Dr. Francis of the Church Federation and Henry M. Robinson, a prominent broad-gauged banker, who was a member of President Wilson's Second Industrial Conference, held a conference with Haldeman. Mr. Haldeman contended that the term "collective bargaining," as it appears in the statement of principles of the Y. W. C. A., would be interpreted by the public as meaning collective bargaining as defined by the labor unions. He promised that if the Y. W. C. A. would furnish him with its definition of "collective bargaining," he would incorporate it in a letter to be sent out to the same mailing list as the first.

Mr. Pratt, former manager of the Federation, has been succeeded by a new manager, Mr. Clum; and Mr. Haldeman has suggested that a definite change may be expected in the tone of the weekly letters.

The Handicap of the Dependent Child

By Alberta S. Guibord, M. D.

THERE is probably nothing more conducive to the defeat of social efficiency and perhaps even of social integrity than the consciousness of being dependent for your daily bread on persons on whom you have no claim or only a remote claim of family relationship. Although in the past much has been made of the emotional plan of the state of dependency for the purpose of working up an appealing story in literature, yet I think it has not been taken sufficiently into account to explain why individuals deprived in early years of their own family connections and provided with no satisfactory substitute, for the most part fail to attain a high standard of citizenship or of social usefulness.

Immediately some one here objects: Give your proof that they do fail. If that objector will be convinced only by statistical tabulations then I am stalled on the spot. For so far as I know, no statistics have been compiled to show how orphans or others who have gone through a period of technical dependency ultimately turn out. We need in this as in almost all questions commonly known as "social problems" follow-up studies over a long period. But, statistics or no, there is a fixed opinion among social workers that the dependent child has not brilliant prospects. He is a kind of poor relation from whom little can be expected anyhow. Give him a comfortable home, a little schooling and a trade, and then if he doesn't make good, well "we have done our duty."

Whether dependent children are, by count, more addicted to misconduct than non-dependent children, we cannot for the reason already given state, but we do know that dependent children are very often delinquent. The superintendent of a boys' reformatory in a New England state said recently: "The dependent and the delinquent child are one and the same." He probably was not speaking literally, but reformatory institutions do show a large proportion of cases with a history of broken homes and orphan asylum residence in childhood. In a study of 200 girls made by the writer, a few years ago, at the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford Hills, it appeared that 42 per cent had a history of broken homes (total or partial dependency) during childhood and 11 per cent had a definite history of orphan asylum residence. We have been told that other reformatories show similar records. We are not trying to show that the dependent child is predestined for a delinquent career. On the contrary we are rather pointing out that if there is connection between the condition of dependency and delinquent conduct it must lie in elements which we should try to discover in order that we may help to break the connection. In my work as mental examiner for the Church Home Society of Boston (the child-caring agency for the Episcopal Church of Massachusetts) I have noted certain points which seem to have direct bearing on this question. These were included in a report presented at the annual meeting of the board of managers, December, 1919. A brief abstract is given here.

What are the connecting links between dependency and delinquency? Certain of the factors which contribute to delinquent conduct in the dependent subject are of course identical with those that contribute to delinquent conduct in the non-dependent—factors of environment such as pernicious family influence, bad companionship and surroundings and factors of physical defect and disease such as uncorrected defects of seeing and hearing, nutritional disorders, and the like which incite to disobedience, truancy and other restless strivings to assuage physical discomfort. These things obviously require the same remedial measures in the dependent as in the non-dependent child. Just how much adverse heredity predisposes to bad conduct I am sure no one would care to venture a guess. Whether adverse heredity figures more commonly in the histories of dependent than in non-dependent children I fancy many would be willing to venture a guess, but I am sure no one could do more than that. Dependency itself, except in rare accidental cases, connotes some degree at least of social, moral and economic failure in the family. The ordinary child who loses parents for any reason does not often become technically dependent because some responsible relative almost always comes to the rescue. So ingrained a social habit is this family loyalty and responsibility that when it fails to operate we are warranted in concluding that the attributes themselves are lacking. Then we are very apt to jump to the conclusion that similar lack of integrity and responsibility will turn up in the progeny. Such premature conclusion is unfortunate and probably unsound.

The part that intelligence plays in conditioning conduct is uncertain. We are more chary than we used to be about assigning dull intelligence or feeblemindedness even as a cause of delinquency. The latest evidence on this subject seems to be that the dull intellect is peculiarly susceptible to influences. The inference is that if bad influences predominate, the subjects of poor intelligence will naturally succumb to them. It is self-evidently an asset to have a good intelligence endowment. It seems to be a fact that, as a group, dependent children are less well endowed intellectually than are children of the general community. At least that is true for the children under our care who come from surroundings no worse than those in other child-caring agencies. In a recent study of 150 Church Home children tested by the Stanfold Revision Scale (Terman's) we found the median intelligence quotient to be 90 or a normal intelligence of poorer grade. Terman found by the same scale that the median intelligence quotient for unselected school children (5 to 14 years old) was 100 (The Stanford Revision and Extension of the Binet Simon Scale for Measuring Intelligence, p. 49)—a rating substantially better than ours.

New Set of Factors

But in the dependent child there is operative a set of factors not present at all in the non-dependent. These factors fall entirely in a mental category and have to do with mental states arising from the consciousness or the condition of dependency. They are no doubt, as well as our limited understanding permits definition, emotional states arising from injury to the instinctive tendency of self-regard or self-esteem as a result of the break-down of family integrity. The "family romance" as it is aptly phrased by Dr. William White is one of our most deep-seated and cherished personal concepts and race traditions. It cannot be torn from us without an emotional struggle. In his book, Mechanisms of Character Formation, Dr. White writes illuminatingly of the "family romance" in its relation to general mental growth away from infantile attachment to true adulthood. But so far as I know no one has called attention to its peculiar application to the problem of the dependent child.

SEPTEMBER MAGAZINE NUMBER

THE SURVEY

BLOCK WORKERS

By Mary L. Hicks and Roe S. Eastman

September 1, 1920 25 Cents a Copy $5 a Year

BLOCK WORKERS

As Developed under the Social Unit Experiment in Cincinnati

By Mary L. Hicks
Roe S. Eastman

Drawings from Photographs, by Abby E. Underwood

THE block worker has become a new figure in social service since the Social Unit experiment in Cincinnati in utilizing the natural ability, tact and interest of neighborhood women as means of promoting community welfare. Elected by her neighbors to represent them, after three years of experience as leader, counsellor, interpreter and friend, she stands out as one of the new and interesting factors in the development of community organization and community service in America.

In the Mohawk-Brighton section of Cincinnati, as in any city district throughout the country, there were hundreds of women whose lives were limited by the four walls of their homes. Perhaps there was acquaintance with the family across the hallway, but frequently it extended no further. With the creation of the block worker, these women found a means at hand which enabled them to brush aside these limitations and become part of the life and the thought of all the women of the community.

The potential block worker is the average woman. She has a community sense that usually is more clearly defined than that of the average man. Also she acquires very rapidly the spirit of social service which is so essential to the success of her work. She is active in the school mothers' club or her church. It is by reason of this activity, in most cases, that she is elected by her neighbors.

The interest which has stimulated her to activity in school or church affairs has been the selfish interest in her own children and her own family. When she undertakes the duties of block worker she finds that it is not a difficult step forward to include in this motive for activity the interest of all the children and all the families in her block. With the inclusion of wider interests she stands upon a sound and elevated basis, from which she begins to view life from a position of great advantage; so that she will come to appreciate the community as such and will become anxious to develop community consciousness among her neighbors. She is, first of all then, a good neighbor.

THE visits of the block workers are serving to link up the thought and the personnel of the individual family with that of the whole community. Perhaps it is not extravagant to say that the block worker, developing friendship and carrying information from home to home, is making constructive use of woman's natural propensity for talking. But let us not be misunderstood. The block worker is not a gossip. The news that she brings is not scandal or worthless chatter; she is concerned with the babies' health, the general welfare of the family, the big issues that are before the people of the nation. She is not regarded as a bore or a pest. Her visits usually are welcome because she can interpret the events and the plans which are of interest to the neighborhood. And the block workers of Mohawk-Brighton realize that they must be "up on their toes." One of them recently expressed her reaction to the opinion of the neighborhood as to the service of the block worker when she exclaimed: "They expect you to be a walking encyclopedia!"

COUNTING THE VOTES

A block election scene in the new social citizenship of the Mohawk-Brighton District

All of the block workers or neighborhood chairmen of the thirty-one block neighborhoods in the experimental area come together weekly as the Citizens' Council. This citizenship organization really is the backbone of the Social Unit plan. With a district as completely organized as this one, the members of this Council are directly representative of the various small neighborhoods composing the complete Unit. Without the elected block workers to make policies and to execute plans, the organization of occupational groups for expert planning, consultation and service would not have the same fundamental relationship to the neighborhood.

THE value of the service of the block worker can hardly be measured because there is nothing that is quite comparable to it.

A citizenship organization such as has been developed in Mohawk-Brighton is found to be extremely helpful to any existing city public service, such as the health department, the department of charities and corrections, the municipal courts, the juvenile courts, etc. For such departments the block worker makes contacts, explains away prejudices, or takes and brings information as to conditions and service. Also this relationship of organized neighborhood groups tends to increase efficiency of public departments because of the resulting growth of public knowledge and public opinion as to the service which public departments can render.

The occupational groups of the National Social Unit Organization have learned to rely upon the block worker. They know not only what to expect of her but also what she expects of them. By the cooperative methods which have been developed, the occupational groups make plans according to the desires of the citizenship as expressed through the block

workers. The experts then give their service to the people as called for in these plans put into operation by the block worker.

The cooperation of the block worker does not stop here. Her chief function is that of educator and interpreter. She keeps in touch with the whole social situation in the neighborhood. Her position is such that she is enabled to interpret the sentiments of the people to the expert public servants and with equal facility to interpret for the people the plans of the experts. In addition to this, the block workers register all babies as they are born in each block; they have taken a census by blocks which is changed from day to day as it is affected by births, deaths, removals, marriages, etc.; they seek out all prenatal cases, register the mothers and then arrange for nursing and medical care; they report all cases of contagious diseases and illness of all kinds, cases of desertion, juvenile delinquency, and illegal child labor. The block workers do not prosecute or take active part in pushing any of these cases. They have learned how to get results by reporting to the proper council. Block workers report to the headquarters of their social unit in full confidence that each bit of information will be treated with consideration and that it will receive prompt attention. A great value of the block workers' service is that they learn through serving to know where a need exists and how and where to turn for help.

THESE EIGHT BLOCK-WORKERS ARE REPRESENTATIVE OF A ROOMFUL OF FORTY SHOWN IN THE PHOTOGRAPH FROM WHICH THE FACES WERE DRAWN

The block worker is not an unusual type of woman. The opportunity for community service which has been hers has developed her self-confidence, her poise, her ability to think and act and lead.

There have been several instances where block workers have resigned because of ill health or removal from the neighborhood. No great difficulty has been met in obtaining successors for them. A course of lectures covering the whole field of welfare and explaining in detail the service of block worker has been given to the block workers so that they may have an intelligent idea of what work they have to do.

One of the block workers who has five children of her own, four of whom are girls, has been keenly interested in the young folks of her block. She sought to help a Hungarian girl, employed as a stenographer, who was of the same age as her oldest daughter. She suggested to the girl's mother that if she were allowed to attend some of the social gatherings at the school center and perhaps to join one of the girls' clubs she would find the recreation that would offset the nervousness resulting from her work. Instead of this the girl was kept at home evenings to work on embroidery and sewing. Her mother did not take kindly to the suggestion of the block mother; her girl did not have time for fun. She pointed out

BLOCK WORKERS IN SESSION AS A CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Their work is an augury of what universal suffrage may come to mean the country over once women engage in municipal home-making, not as an annual election-time affair, but as a normal expansion of housekeeping under modern city conditions.

"The block worker has become a new figure in social service . . . . Elected by her neighbors to represent them, after three years of experience as leader, counsellor, interpreter and friend, she stands out as one of the new and interesting factors in the development of community organization and community service in America."

that when she was a girl, in her native country, she had sewed for many years in preparation for her marriage. She felt that her daughter should do likewise.

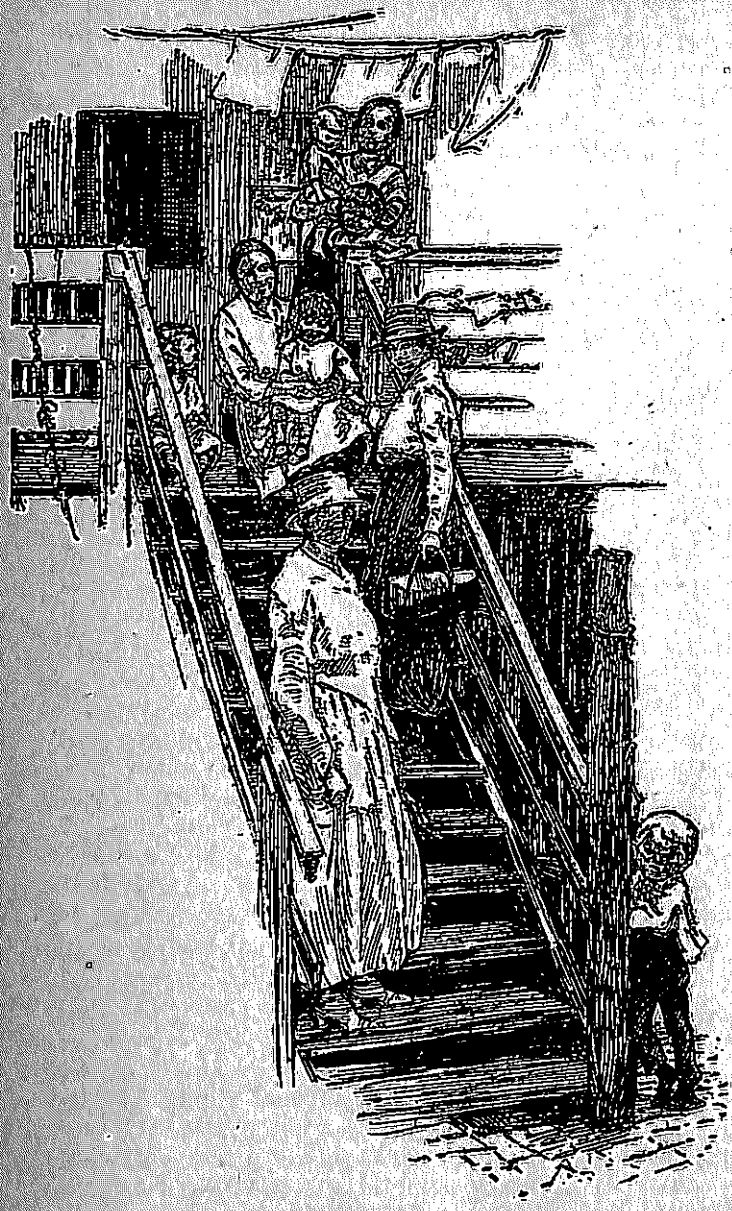
Here was a real problem for the block worker. After a number of visits, during which she developed her friendship for the family, the block worker succeeded in making this mother realize that conditions had changed. She had not gone out into the world to earn her living as her daughter was doing and her work at home was not an additional task upon her mind and body. The block worker talked with her about the daughter's need for wholesome recreation and relaxation from the nervous tension under which she labored all day. Finally the block worker suggested that her own daughter would accompany the other girl to the neighborhood gatherings. The two girls were brought together and a real friendship was formed. The foreign mother was surprised and delighted that an American family would show such friendly interest. In the end she was convinced that her daughter could work better during the daytime and would be stronger and happier if she were permitted to form friendships with other girls and boys, all through the use of a little common sense and persistent effort.

In one of the blocks which has a larger percentage of foreign population than the remainder of the district, the block worker and her husband conduct a small retail store. Because she is constantly in the store looking after the trade, this block worker has a rare opportunity for meeting all of the new people who come into her block and frequently she makes

unusual discoveries. On one occasion, officials of the Children's Clinic had informed the headquarters of our organization that in one of the new families in our district the children were badly in need of care and that the mother, of very low mentality, expected another child shortly. They were, however, unable to locate the family.

One day soon after, a woman walked into the store of this block worker. The keen tradeswoman, seeing at once that she was new in the neighborhood, began to question her. The woman then told the story of her sick children and the block worker received a very clear picture of the conditions in this home. When she reported the facts to the headquarters of the Citizens' Council, the discovery was made that this was the family for whom the Children's Clinic had been searching.

This block worker was the same one to whom a little foreign widow came when her husband died of tuberculosis. She had no close friends. She ran into the store, put her arms around the block worker's neck and cried out her grief upon the



NEIGHBORLY CALLS

The block worker on the lower step has just introduced the neighborhood nurse to the family.

motherly shoulder. The foreign woman had come to this country ten years before, married shortly after that and established her home. Not long after, the husband contracted tuberculosis and the wife was compelled to go out each day to work. She had taken splendid care of him at their home, except for the brief period of time which he spent at the municipal tuberculosis sanatorium.

BLOCK workers do not volunteer their stories. One has to draw information from one. To them there is nothing to marvel at in what they are doing. They take the view that this work is what any woman would be glad to do, if she but understood the need and methods for accomplishment.

"Yes," she will tell you, "I know every person in this block. I visit them regularly."

"How long do you work at this block worker business?" you may ask.

"Well, we are supposed to give eight hours a week, but it takes more of my time than that."

The block worker smiles wistfully.

"You see, there is so much to do and so many needs. You can't just quit like they do in the shops when the whistle blows. Really there isn't time enough."

"How long does it take to make the round of your block?" you ask.

"Well, the time varies," she will tell you. "I do not make my calls by the week or month like the insurance collector. I know all of the people in the block; they are my friends. Some I must see frequently, others send for me to help them. They want to see me now and then if it is only to ask my advice. We are expected to know everything—to be everybody's friend. Sometimes it takes me two months to get around the whole block, but there are families that I see every few days. There are others who don't see me more than once a month or once in two months."

"Are there many families who are unfriendly, who do not cooperate?"

"There are few unfriendly families. Only a very few refuse to cooperate and those do not really understand." In fact the block mother will tell you that her chief effort is to help her neighbors to understand that what is good for the whole community is really for the best interests of the individual or family.

There is no written standard of efficiency for block workers, but the results attained by block neighborhoods in the various lines of work undertaken by the community point out very clearly where leadership is efficient and where not. No better results have been shown than in the block over which presides a little widow who works to support her family.

THUS there has come to these women, in a quiet little corner of a typical American community, a vision of the possibilities of neighborliness. They were all as good neighbors before as the opportunity afforded. But they began to find that the width of a street, a lath and plaster partition, or, even more, that intangible something that arises between us when we begin to crowd from a God-made country into a man-made town—that these barriers often separate an aching body, a sore heart or an overburdened mind from just the willing and ready help that is to be found wherever human beings are still human.

What is more, they and their neighbors have come to see that through the visualization of the problems of the little community of five hundred neighbors they can gain a clearer view of the problems of their neighbors in city, state and nation. They have concluded that organization, if it is broadly inclusive and democratic and especially if it is close to its problems, may be the best means of making truly effective the command to "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

A BLOCK WORKER AND A VOTER OF 1940

THE SURVEY

MID-SEPTEMBER NUMBER

September 15, 1920 25 Cents a Copy $5.00 a Year

OREGON WANTS FREEDOM

In Oregon there is a group of rare, common people who are a hundred per cent human. They are not seeking to remodel the world, but they are trying to do the thing at hand; they are struggling against great odds to free the idle land of Oregon held out of use by landlords. They have succeeded in placing an amendment on the ballot so that the voters can vote this fall as to whether or not the unused land shall be taxed the same as the used land. If this amendment carries, holding land out of use will become unprofitable and will kill landlordism. Single Taxers maintain that if human beings are made in the image of God, then they should have the same privilege as the birds of the air and be able to build their nests or homes any place not in use.

Henry George's Single Tax idea is the most radical, yet the most constructive and practical reform before the world today. He realized that when some people get something they do not earn, there must be others who earn something they do not get, and yet he fully realized that the rich are no worse or better than the poor; changing them about would not remedy conditions. Single Tax would simply change the system, giving the souls of men a chance to grow. Single Tax is a "made in America" one hundred per cent human reform, and can be brought about by a battle of ballots. Remember! There is nothing that so frightens the dignified Shylocks as intelligence displayed at the ballot box. Single Tax may not be a cure for all of our economic ills, but it is a big step in the right direction. It simply means to take the shackles off of struggling humanity. The drones may then have to cut their own toenails, but we would have fewer insane asylums, prisons, poorhouses and potter's fields.

When the dignified Shylocks want to control a political convention so as to guide the ship of state down the golden stream of profit, they do not make any noise about it but just reach for their check book. Single Taxers, too, would guide the ship of state, not through a selfish golden stream, but towards the century's golden dream of freedom.

Remember! It is easy for special privilege to raise a million or more in order to retain their position. Do you hear the cries and feel the heart throbs of awakening humanity? They are the ones who have been disinherited by the greed of man. They are just commencing to realize that free access to the unused land means equal opportunity. How many friends have you who would give a dollar or more in order to make this golden dream a reality? If you want to help in this great earthly movement without expecting any personal reward, get your friends to send their contributions, together with your own, to Arthur Brock, Treasurer, 666 Harold Street, Portland, Oregon, and do it Now! Now! Now!

In order to free the land in Oregon we must hold our remedy high up before the people, and you know publicity costs money. Turn all your good intentions into cash. This is not a whine for charity, but a demand for justice. It is the real Goddess of Liberty knocking at your door.

Yours for a better world,

GERRIT J. JOHNSON.

EDUCATION AND CHILD WELFARE

For Children of Illegitimate Birth

ACTION by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, taken at the annual meeting of that organization in St. Louis on August 19, assures the drafting of a uniform act or acts for the protection of children of illegitimate birth. The conference acted favorably upon a report of a subcommittee, headed by John B. Sanborn of Madison, Wis., which recommended that the conference include this subject in its program of work. The membership of the committee which will draft the proposed legislation is: Ernst Freund, professor of jurisprudence and public law, University of Chicago Law School, chairman; J. B. Weaver, Des Moines; Thomas A. Jenckes, Providence; John G. Sargent, Ludlow, Vt.; John B. Sanborn, Madison; C. W. Ashford, Hawaii; F. M. Clevenger, Wilmington, O.

As reported in the SURVEY of March 13, regional conferences for the consideration of principles that should underlie legislation relating to children of illegitimate birth were held in Chicago and New York last February, under the auspices of the Children's Bureau and the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy. These conferences afforded an opportunity for social workers, judges, lawyers, and others to join in concrete discussion of the subject and to come to general agreement regarding the best methods of dealing with the fundamental problems involved. Resolutions were adopted by both conferences which showed marked unanimity of thought with regard to essentials.

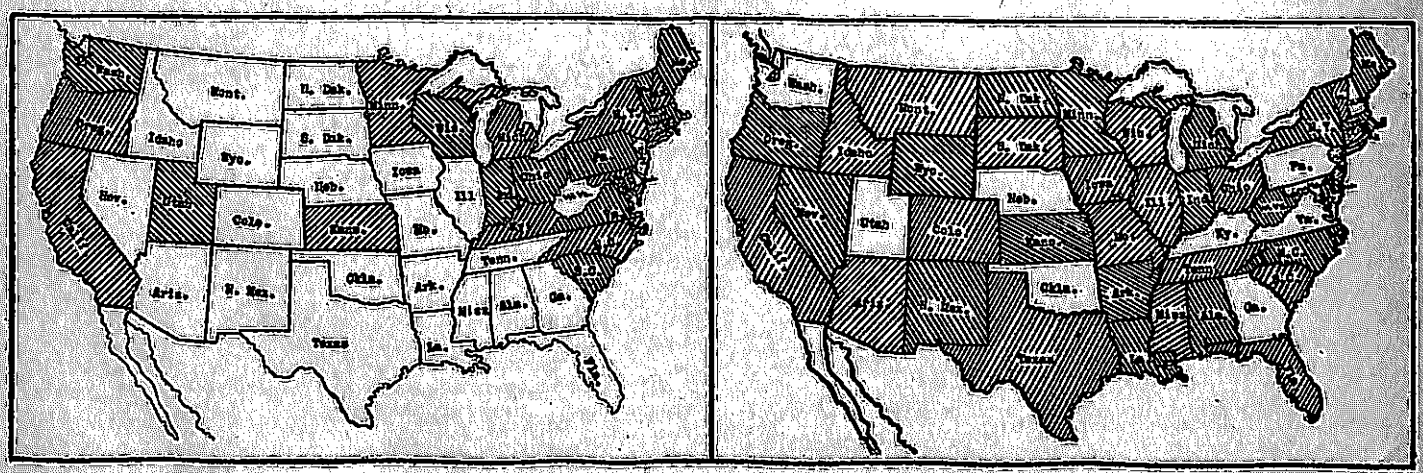
Following these conferences, a committee was appointed by the Children's Bureau to draft a memorandum embodying the principles agreed upon and to act in an advisory capacity to the bureau on this subject. The members of the committee are: Professor Freund, chairman; Homer Folks, secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association; William W. Hodson, director of the Children's Bureau, Minnesota State Board of Control; the Rev. William J. Kerby, secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities; Catharine Waugh McCulloch, chairman of the Committee on Uniform Laws concerning Women, National League of Women Voters; Ada Eliot Sheffield, director of the Boston Bureau on Illegitimacy.

A "syllabus of propositions to serve as basis of a program for illegitimacy legislation" was drafted by Professor Freund and approved, with certain amendments, by the committee. This syllabus, which is included in a publication of the Children's Bureau on Standards of Legal Protection for Children Born out of Wedlock—now in press—is a somewhat detailed statement of the principal points which should be included in drafts of legislation. The topics are grouped under eight heads: status; obligation to support; jurisdiction as between states; jurisdiction within the state; civil remedies; criminal proceedings; concurrence of remedies; records.

Studies of the extent and significance of the problem of illegitimacy, the handicap to the child, and the burden upon the public; discussion of local conferences organized in many cities to study the problem; the work of the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy; the regional conferences—the proceedings of which are included in the Children's Bureau publication mentioned above; the work of the committee appointed following these conferences—all these have helped to clarify understanding of the problems involved and to make available a considerable amount of data embodying the conclusions of representative bodies of social workers, judges, probation officers, and others.

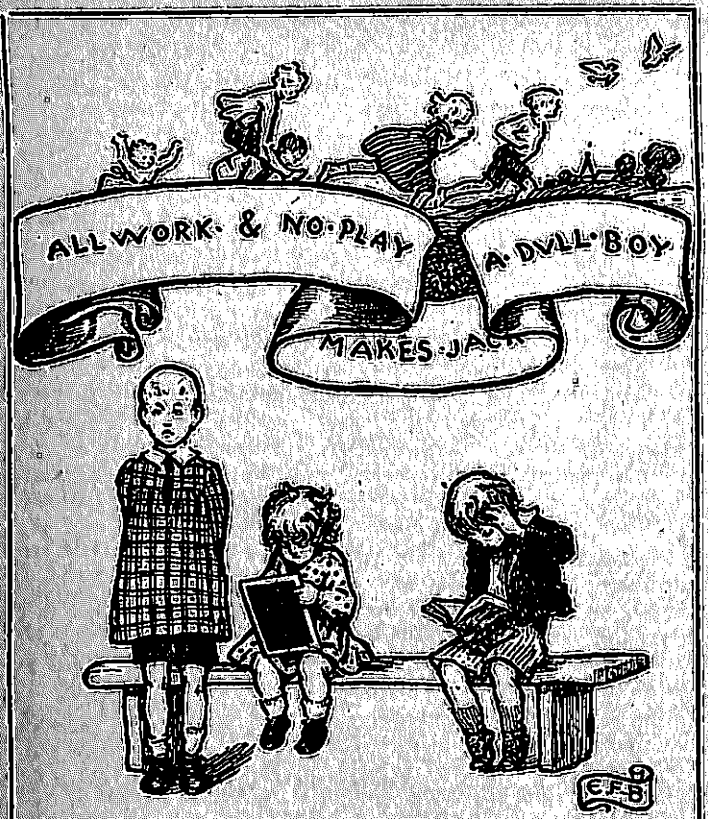
The legal protection of the child born out of wedlock is essentially a problem of domestic relations, and as such presents two main aspects—the child's status and the enforcement of parental responsibility for care and support. Most of the states have given the child of illegitimate birth practically the status of a child of legitimate birth with respect to the mother, but except in North Dakota the full legal relation of parent and child is not recognized as existing between the father and his child born out of wedlock. Diversity in legislation relating to the issue of a void or annulled marriage, legitimation, inheritance rights, method of establishing paternity, amount of responsibility placed upon the father once paternity has been established, and method of enforcing this responsibility, has resulted in confusion and injustice, and has greatly increased the difficulties involved in safeguarding the children and in relieving the public of the burden of their maintenance.

The National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws has given considerable attention to legislation relating to domestic relations. Uniform marriage and divorce



TO the left, the states included in the birth-registration area, April, 1920, as a result of the work done during Children's Year. Twenty-three states and the District of Columbia now keep records good enough to receive the sanction of the Bureau of the Census. Vigorous effort for another year, argues the federal Children's Bureau, should place all the states in the recognized list of the Census Bureau.

To the right, the states organized April, 1920, for follow-up work on Children's Year. Thirty-eight states, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii, are actively engaged in measures to promote child welfare.



LONDON has had a number of volunteer nursery schools in congested districts where mothers are forced to leave home to work. Recently the educational committee of the London County Council recommended the maintainance of more such schools to be attached to the public elementary schools. This creates a new problem for educational committees—the proper care of the two-to-fives.

"The child is not a miniature adult," says the English journal, Maternity and Child Welfare, in making its plea for Jack and Jill above. "Food, space, air, freedom to see and hear and touch and handle—these things come first. . . . The nursery school should not be a forcing ground."

acts and a uniform family desertion act have been drafted and approved by the conference. Many of the considerations which make essential uniform legislation with respect to marriage, divorce, non-support and desertion, apply also to the status and support of children born out of wedlock. In jurisdictional matters, especially, uniformity is necessary to the adequate protection of these children. At present, in many cases the father can escape all liability for support simply by crossing the state line.

The drafting by the conference of a standard law or laws covering the basic principles that should be incorporated in the laws of the various states in accordance with the peculiar conditions of each will be of great value to all the states in framing legislation. A considerable period will be required for the drafting and approval of the proposed acts. The conference gives its approval to an act only after it has received prolonged consideration, and has been drafted and redrafted with the greatest care. This method of procedure makes the work of the commissioners of much greater and more permanent value than would be the case were it hastily performed, embodying proposals which had not been tested and tried in the light of experience.

It is the obligation of social workers to continue the careful study and analysis of the problems involved in illegitimate birth, and to add to the body of fact and experience now available. Can there not also be greater cooperation with the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws in their work on social legislation—particularly that affecting the family and the child? The uniform migratory divorce act, approved in 1901, has been adopted in only one jurisdiction; the uniform divorce procedure act, approved the same year, has been adopted in two jurisdictions; the uniform family desertion act, approved in 1910, has been adopted in 11 jurisdictions; the uniform marriage license act, approved in 1911, has been adopted in two jurisdictions; the uniform marriage evasion act, approved in 1912, has been adopted in five jurisdictions; the uniform annulment of marriage and divorce act, approved in 1907, but not drafted by the conference, has been adopted in three jurisdictions. The Russell Sage Foundation, which is now making a study of the administration of marriage laws, has summarized the uniform marriage license act and the uniform marriage evasion act in a recent publication, American Marriage Laws in Their Social Aspects. Certainly these domestic relations acts ought to receive the careful consideration and study of social workers, and if they meet with approval, with such modifications as are necessary because of local needs and special conditions, they should be backed by the concerted support of those most familiar with the problems they are intended to solve.

KATHARINE F. LENROOT.

A School for Fairies

WITHIN every child there is a sense of rhythm and of color. Realizing the great good that can be accomplished in mind and body by the development of these, the University Settlement in New York is conducting rhythmic dancing classes for five hundred children who meet in the large assembly hall five afternoons each week.

Before the class begins, the children change from their coarse heavy clothing to light flowing robes of artistic colors and soft material. Thus transformed into fairies, they are eager to be taught. The fundamentals of rhythmic expression are told and illustrated to them by Alice Klausner, who directs the exercises and soon changes their awkward motions to graceful movements. As soon as the children feel this transformation, the music begins to speak to them and impart its meaning. Classical compositions are used.

Those who knew the children when the class began have noted changes for the good. They acquire a grace and natural poise which every child should possess.

Guide-Posts for Child Placing

WILFRED S. REYNOLDS, secretary of the National Children's Home and Welfare Association, points to the following guideposts for workers who are placing out children in foster homes.

1. A tendency toward any form of physical difficulty on the part of the child at once sets qualifications of requirements in the family home. The placement of such children will not be successful unless the necessary requirements in the family are present.

2. Children of given mental types must be fitted into homes whose standards and appreciation of intellectual training and refinement are correspondingly evident.

3. Children whose conduct presents a problem of discipline must have for their foster care the family in which both man and wife or it may be the member of corresponding sex to that of the child shows ability and moral force to cope with the task involved.

4. The sex and age of children will readily determine the type of family into which they may go upon the basis of sex and ages of members of the household, whether other children, relatives or hired help.

5. The temperamental tendencies and manifestations of the child and members of the family must be such as to insure congeniality and harmony.

6. The religious, racial and social background of the child must find in the family selected for it a harmonizing and understanding atmosphere, else the relationship will not be a healthful one.

7. The true purpose for opening the home to a child, in view of the age and sex of the child applied for, is often the deciding element in selecting the child to be placed there.

8. Infants in need of special feeding should have selected for them such foster mothers as possess motherly instincts and will readily and accurately discern and follow expert medical and nursing instructions.