

Excerpts: April 2, 1921 - September 24, 1921

THE SURVEY

APRIL 2, 1921



ЗАЧЕМ ТЫ ПЬЕШЬ МОЕ МОЛОКО ?
РАЗВЕ ТВОЯ МАТЬ НЕ КОРМИТ ТЕБЯ ГРУДЬЮ !

WHICH IS THE BOLSHEVIK?

A poster used in a recent maternity exhibit of the Commissariat for the Protection of Health in Moscow. The lettering reads: "Why do you drink my milk? Does not your mother feed you?"

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National Executive Offices, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.
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NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE—Owen R. Lovejoy, sec'y.; 105 E. 22nd St., New York; 36 State branches. Industrial and agricultural investigations; legislation; studies of administration; education; delinquency; health; recreation; children's codes. Publishes quarterly, "The American Child." Photographs, slides and exhibits.

NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION, INC.—Chas. F. Powlison, gen. sec'y.; 70 Fifth Ave., New York. Originates and publishes exhibit material which visualizes the principles and conditions affecting the health, well being and education of children. Cooperates with educators, public health agencies, and all child welfare groups in community, city or state-wide service through exhibits, child welfare campaigns, etc.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE—Dr. Walter B. James, pres.; Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, med. dir.; Associate Medical Directors, Dr. Frankwood E. Williams and Dr. V. V. Anderson; Clifford W. Beers, sec'y.; 50 Union Square, New York City. Pamphlets on mental hygiene, nervous and mental disorders, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, inebriety, criminology, war neuroses and re-education, psychiatric social service, backward children, surveys, state societies. "Mental Hygiene;" quarterly, $2 a year.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK—Allen T. Burns, pres., New York; W. H. Parker, gen. sec'y., 23 East 9th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. General organization to discuss principles of humanitarian effort and increase efficiency of agencies. Publishes proceedings annual meetings, monthly bulletin, pamphlets, etc. Information bureau. Membership, $3. 48th annual meeting, Milwaukee, June 29, 1921. Main Divisions and chairmen:
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FAIRYLAND
IN BLACK AND WHITE

WITH every doll a specimen of the Nordic type, every picture book and magazine illustration of child life representative of the white race, it is difficult for colored children to grow up by way of that imaginative world which Andersen and Stevenson and Maeterlinck and all the story tellers and artists since the days of Gutenberg have made the common country of childhood.

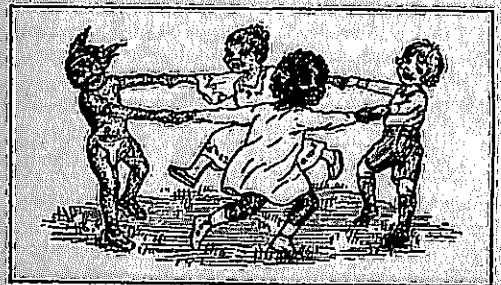
Not only this, but with a literature to which Negroes at best are amusing pickaninnies or faithful servitors, it is difficult for the colored child to gain the sense of human dignity without which the efforts made in recent years to increase and improve his educational opportunities must be largely wasted.

For adult Negroes there are excellent newspapers and periodicals, but, so far, very little fiction and imaginative literature has been written from a Negro standpoint. The Brownies' Book is intended to help foster a proper racial self-respect.



THE BROWNIES' BOOK

The illustrations here reproduced are from various recent issues of the Brownies' Book, a monthly publication of W. E. DuBois and A. G. Dill, of which Jessie R. Fauset, another member of the Crisis staff, is literary editor and which is a first and remarkably successful attempt to translate the child's paradise from white into black.





ment and of political complications at home and abroad that are largely traceable to maladjustments of the machinery of credit, we are especially in need of a secure footing in established facts and proven theories. The present volume surveys the different types of financial institutions separately and in their joint effects, in relation to their own immediate purposes and to larger social-economic ends. Incidentally it includes an authoritative review of the federal reserve system and its influence on industry and deflation since the Armistice. Bibliographies and questions for discussion enhance its value for educational uses. B. L.

WEALTH, ITS PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

By A. W. Kirkaldy. E. P. Dutton & Co. 147 pp. Price, $2.25; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.35.

ELEMENTARY ECONOMICS

By Thomas Nixon Carver. Ginn & Co. 400 pp. Price, $1.72; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.82.

ECONOMICS

By James Cunnison. E. P. Dutton & Co. 168 pp. Price, $2.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.10.

These books bear witness to the growth of the conviction that the science of economics is one of the basic ingredients of a "practical" education, or of an education for citizenship. Professor Carver's book is a high school text, while the two English books cover the elementary ground with more general application.

The mode of approach most suitable for an elementary discussion is still a question for fruitful argument. Professor Kirkaldy gives preference to the direct and orthodox method, defining terms, glimpsing historical backgrounds, and treating the subject under the headings of Land, Labor and Capital. Professor Carver, on the other hand, devotes practically all of the first half of his book to the development of a background for his later more abstract discussion. In his preliminary material he sketches the prosperous nation, its sources and methods of wealth production, and its valued citizen, the wise *homo economicus*. While these methods undoubtedly aim at a humanized and ethical economics, as they develop they leave the book open to the objections that the material is over-simplified, or pre-digested; that constant stress upon the virtues of economy creates a sort of homiletic atmosphere; and that the experimental nature of the material is not sufficiently emphasized.

Economics, the third volume, maintains the experimental attitude. It regards the existing economic structure as fluid, and sketches its salient characteristics and its changing direction. It compasses a wide territory through a verbal skill that is amazing in its ability to explain principles and situations in the briefest yet most readable of statements. A. E. MOREY.

HOW IT ALL FITS TOGETHER

By Leonard Alston. E. P. Dutton & Co. 158 pp. Price, $1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.60.

An exposition of elementary economics in the anecdotal, colloquial and chatty style which Mr. Alston has attempted can only be explained on the ground that the author himself considers his subject essentially uninteresting. An enthusiast needs no sugar coating to present his wares in a popular and appealing manner. So far from having reduced his subject, as he claims, to words and "ideas of one syllable," the author has, in fact, enveloped it in inconsequential verbiage. So far from succeeding in giving a really clear idea of the main economic facts, his patter is more apt to discourage the student. As a matter of fact, economics is not "the dismal science," as he calls it, but one of strong appeal to young people; and fortunately there are text-books which satisfy their desire for information in such a way as to stimulate rather than choke serious concern and study. B. L.

NATIONALIZATION OF THE MINES

By Frank Hodges. Thomas Seltzer, Inc. 170 pp. Price, $1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.85.

This book by Mr. Hodges is the authority on what the mine workers in England desire to obtain and what is meant by the expression "the nationalization of the mines." For Mr. Hodges is the secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. In the main, it is an expression of why the men have grown restive under the system of private ownership of coal until now they desire control over the industry which provides them with the opportunity of earning a living.

In reading it one will find that some of the steps of logic in arguing the cause of the miners seem to be omitted. And there are some assumptions made which may not work out as expected. For instance, it is admitted that in the nationalization of the mines there will be a need of those men who possess technical and administrative ability, and it is proposed that the same men who now hold official positions shall be continued in those capacities, the assumption being that they will work as willingly (and even more willingly) when they are employed by the community as a whole than when they are responsible to private employers. It is an assumption which may not work out in practice. For it is a question whether men trained in one school can easily shift themselves to be responsive under diametrically opposite conditions. Moreover, it is an assumption made without quoting expressions from that unorganized and expressionless class—the men in between. It cannot help but give a funny feeling under the ribs to those who now hold official positions, as if they were the pure, unadulterated servants whom neither side had to regard seriously.

The book, however, is one which should be read by all those who desire to know what nationalization of the mines means in the British sense and what is the exact plan. For in England nationalization is not a hazy scheme, but a definite, concrete plan.

HUGH ARCHBALD.

HELPS TO SOCIAL WORKERS

SOCIAL WORKERS' GUIDE TO THE SERIAL PUBLICATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE SOCIAL AGENCIES

Edited by Elsie M. Rushmore. Introduction by F. W. Jenkins. Russell Sage Foundation. 174 pp. Price, $3.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $3.65.

By the publication of this comprehensive reference book, the library of the Russell Sage Foundation has not only conferred a boon upon students who can consult it on the spot but also upon social workers everywhere who are in need of sources of information on the fields of work in which they are interested. Some four thousand institutions and organizations which regularly issue reports and bulletins are listed, first alphabetically and then in subject groups. No one would expect such a compilation to be complete, since too detailed a sub-division of subjects is impracticable; its use assumes some knowledge of sociological classification. Moreover, the Russell Sage library, though the most complete repository of this kind of material, has naturally grown along the lines of chief interests of the foundation's own departments. This is especially true of the foreign references included. Some of the most important serial contributions to various subjects are contained in the publications of organizations whose work covers a wider field; and as these are seemingly listed only once, the student who relies exclusively on the subject index is apt to miss valuable sources. It would be difficult, however, to suggest any way of overcoming that drawback without greatly adding to the bulk of the guide. As this is the outcome of a cooperative effort in which experts in the different fields have participated, its actual contents are authoritative; and its appreciation, both by students and by practical social workers, is assured. B. L.

SANCTITY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

By J. Elliot Ross, C. S. P. Devin-Adair Co. 130 pp. Price, $1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.55.

Father Ross has to his credit two admirable little books on specific social questions: Consumers and Wage-earners, and The Right to Work. In the book before us he combats two prevalent misconceptions of the nature of saintliness: that mystics are social drones, making no return to society; and, on the other hand, that a contemplative life in itself embodies the perfection of Christian ethics. The retirement of the saint, he shows, in most cases has been not the antithesis of social activity but a "preparation for a fuller, completer, intenser labor afterwards." His mysticism differs from that of the fatalist Buddhist in that passivity is not its goal, but a stage to a fuller development of social compassion and love. "To go up alone into the mountain and come back an ambassador to the world, has ever been the method of humanity's best friends."

At a time of unrest and hectic activity, unsupported by faith, or, sometimes, even by a consistent view of personal and social responsibilities, such as the present, the earnest and eloquent appeal

(*Continued on page 32*)

For 30 Days, Beginning April 1, 1921, We Shall Let You Take Your Choice of Pocket Series at 10c Per Volume

THIS is, without question, our greatest book offer. It is generally agreed that our regular price of 25 cents per volume for the titles in the Appeal's Pocket Series is very inviting. Our special price for combinations of 50 has more than surprised lovers of good literature. Well, we are going to make all previous offers look sick, and at the same time we are going to knock you over. During April you may take your pick at 10 cents per copy. We are doing this for a limited period—only 30 days—in order to introduce our Pocket Series to a still greater public. Our experience is simply this: The person who buys a few titles today gets the itch and doesn't quit until he or she has all of them, and then he continues to write in asking us about our future publishing plans. We know that if you take advantage of this most extraordinary offer that you will become a fast friend of the Appeal's Pocket Series. And it is only by winning your friendship that we will be able to issue the hundreds of good titles we have in mind. We have some wonderful surprises in store for you. But let's get back to this 30-day sale. To begin with, the offer positively closes at midnight of April 30, 1921. If the post-mark on your envelope shows that you mailed your order after that time we shall be forced to return your money. We cannot afford to hold this exceptional offer open longer than 30 days. Automatically, at the close of this sale, the price per volume goes back to 25 cents. This means that if you will act during April, 1921, that you will be able to get some of the finest books in the English language at only 10 cents per copy—and we pay the postage. This announcement is appearing in a number of periodicals, so we expect an enormous increase in business. Our best advice is to act at once. Don't do your book shopping too late. We are organized to send out all books the day we receive your order. Here are a few things to remember: 1. You don't have to copy the name of each book. Merely order by number. For instance, instead of writing down Gautier's "One of Cleopatra's Nights" merely write down "178." That will save you a lot of time, and enable us to fill your order more promptly, as we handle all book orders by number anyway. 2. Order as many copies as you can afford—get some for yourself and some for your friends. Don't be afraid to order the entire list. It's the greatest book bargain we shall ever offer you. 3. Try to order at least 10 copies. Now, let's go. Here is the list. The book number is printed before each title for your convenience. Get your pencil ready and don't get heart failure.

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concerned. In the main, the findings of the conference are those indicated by J. G. Macdonald in his interview reported in the SURVEY for December 25. Different sessions dealt with the general collapse; problems of coal, transport and raw material; emergency measures of international finance; the League of Nations and the treatment of backward countries; the need for revision of the peace treaties; means of making the league an effective instrument of reconstruction. The council (whose address is Premier House, Southampton Row, London, W. C.) is in immediate need of funds, if for no other purpose than that of distributing its reports in those countries where the present rate of exchange prevents the purchase of foreign literature.

INVALID EUROPE

By Alfred Seligsberg. Boni & Liveright. 159 pp. Price, $1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.85.

An unpretentious traveler's tale, this little book bears the stamp of sincerity and is to be recommended to anyone wishing to know how conditions in Europe impress an intelligent and observant American visitor. Not poverty but mutual hatred is the new element in social and national relations that has struck Mr. Seligsberg the most. He visited England, France, Germany and Italy. Everywhere he found the peasantry relatively well off, the salaried classes worst. "To pass from France into Germany is like passing from day into night." In spite of the tremendous losses suffered by France, there is nothing like the general depression witnessed across the border, where "the people seemed absolutely exhausted and discouraged." In Italy the sense of being on the eve of great changes prevailed; but owing to a freedom of discussion and general liberalism not found elsewhere in Europe, there is no likelihood of a revolution.

The author freely discusses the political conditions of the different countries and America's relation to them. To his mind, continental Europe is politically in so diseased a condition that it cannot help itself; and if the European civilization is to be saved, the two great English-speaking nations will have to join hands and lead a movement for peace and permanent betterment. In this endeavor, America's freedom from the involvements of the peace treaty seems to him particularly fortunate. The book is well written and represents a promising attitude to the outstanding problems of American foreign policy.

B. L.

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

By Robert Lansing. Houghton Mifflin Co. 328 pp. Illustrated. Price, $3.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $3.20.

Statesmen who forget that men are at the base of the political structure meet failure more than half-way. This is the whole moral of Mr. Lansing's admirable defence of himself, documented with his private notes and memoranda jotted even as the event raced by. Fundamentally it is a record of his own difference with President Wilson; his opposition to the president's entering the Paris negotiations; to the reckless haste which characterized the drafting of the League of Nations covenant; to the abandonment of the "fourteen points." "Self-Determination" he regarded as a dangerous phrase loosing all the ancient separatist passions in Europe; and he insisted that economic stability should be as closely guarded as racial aspiration. The League of Nations he not only desired but worked for; found himself blocked in endeavoring to prevent the covenant from becoming a European grand alliance; saw his own ripened judgment disregarded while an amateur draftsman strung together the present covenant. Withal there is a scrupulous, even painful, attempt to be fair to Mr. Wilson, giving him credit for great qualities and ideals; and an endeavor to suppress the bitterness at the downright discourtesy so continuously shown to himself.

A third figure emerges in the story: Gen. Tasker Bliss. This veteran of many struggles stood with Lansing in a vain attempt to show the president how far he had wandered from the war ideals when he surrendered Shantung to the imperialism of Japan. One of the letters written on behalf of the dissenting American delegates is republished. Even on its face it bears evidence that it is only one of a series of letters; these, with the testimony of men like Lansing, form alike the explanation and the indictment of the tragic negotiations of Versailles. The book leaves the impression of a story half told; and an even stronger conviction that its author's part in international affairs is by no means ended.

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CHILD WELFARE

Conducted by
PAUL L. BENJAMIN

The Italian Boy Colonies

THE colonies of boy workers in Italy came into being in the days of sorrow that followed the Austrian invasion of Venetia in the autumn of 1917. It was then that a group of friends of children decided to rescue young refugees and orphans and gather them under a common roof with companions who should take the place of the lost or scattered families.

The first colony was founded in February, 1918, in the old Umbrian city of Castello situated in the deep valley of the Tiber, in the very heart of the country of Saint Francis. It owns about ten acres of land, with stalls, vegetable gardens, and rabbit warrens and has since built two manual training schools, one for shoemakers, and the other for carpenters. The second was founded with the assistance of the American Red Cross near Perugia, in the Collestrada section and has three farms at its disposal. The third, in process of organization at Spoleto, has over thirty acres of land. The three colonies, working together, virtually form one organization. Children from seven to twelve years of age are received at Castello, from twelve to fourteen at Perugia, and from fourteen to seventeen are provided for at Spoleto with a course of instruction in elementary and technical agriculture. The boys will graduate from one colony to the other to complete a single progressive course.

Similarly, for general education, an elementary boarding school for the first four grades is annexed to the colony at Castello, and a similar one for the last four grades, with that at Perugia. From the elementary agricultural instruction given at Castello the boys pass to the experiment of direct control of the farm at Perugia to complete their education in the model farm which will be started at Spoleto.

Under the name of Orto di Pace, (Garden of Peace) a fourth colony is being opened in Rome on the Janiculum, through the generosity of the Countess Anna Piccolomini of Triana. Here courses in agriculture will supplement those of the Umbrian colony. It is destined, according to the intention of its founders, to prepare capable cultivators for the vegetable and flower gardens which in summer adorn the princely and papal villas of Rome.

The principle which governs all the colonies is not to surround the children who are gathered there with artifical barriers, but to keep them in touch with the very heart of life. Nature is invoked before everything else as a powerful element in education, and as the teacher of a physical and moral balance based on the spirit of truth and human solidarity. The social sense is developed in the reciprocal relations of the boys with each other and with their superiors. The colony school, in order not to neglect the broader life which goes on in the world outside, teaches the boys to cherish the memory of home and family. The concept of "nation," (*patria*) is taught, not as a basis for sterile pride or patriotism, but as a principle of action, cooperation. "Family," "country" are merely steps of a ladder at the top of which is a Humanity.

To teach the students self-government and the principles of fraternal solidarity, a school cooperative has been started in the colony at Collestrada. The students take part in the council of school discipline; they are represented in the directorate of their cooperative and are called upon to sit in judgment on the misdeeds of their companions.

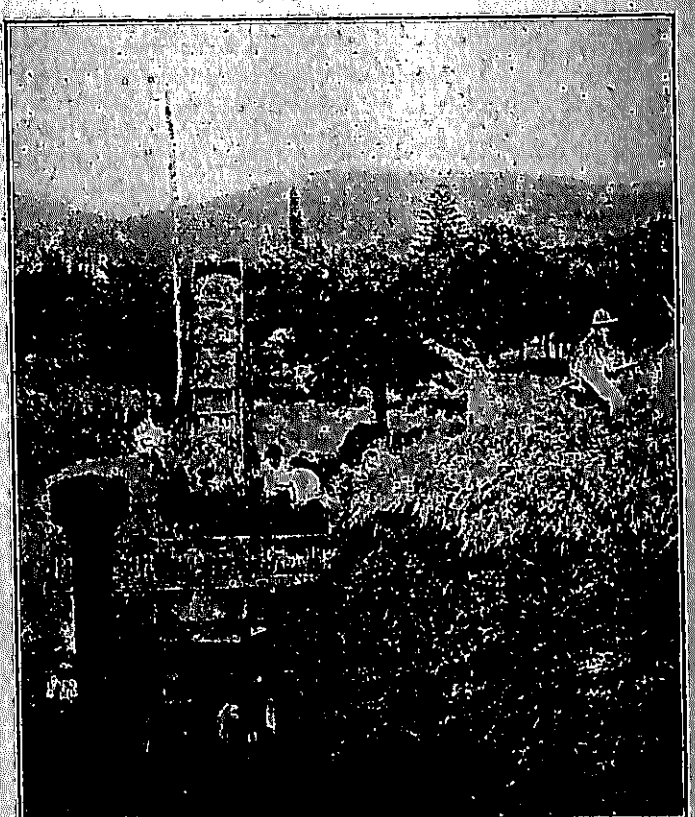
Like the Fratelli Adottivi there are "adopted sons" among the colonies to bind the friends of the colonies to the boys harbored there in real and personal relations. Some of these friends—institutions or individuals—undertake the maintenance of one or more children and assume obligation to spend a certain quota for a set period. The Italian Junior Red Cross, for instance, supports twenty children. A journalist who recently visited the colony at Costello writes:

> Work, continuous activity, fresh air and sun which they enjoy continually, gives a vigorous, healthy appearance to the boys. Their little eyes sparkle and are full of life, their faces are smiling and chubby. They are accustomed to take cold baths regularly. They do the housework every day and clean and tidy themselves. They transact "business," run errands, chop wood, cultivate the fields, take the animals to pasture, set the table, and attend to all the tasks necessary in a well regulated family. Open-air games constitute a particular feature of the schools.
>
> Discipline is not heavy, or stern, or impressive: It is the discipline one sees in a well ordered family. Always accompanied by great kindness, it leaves the little pupils freedom and a chance to develop a sense of responsibility. They are taught to answer for the different tasks assigned them; and the big boys are expected to help and supervise the little ones of less skill.

Rome. GIUSEPPE PREZZOLINI.

Mexican Child Welfare

SIGNIFICANT of the new spirit of Mexico is the holding of a first Child Welfare Congress in Mexico City, in January, in commemoration of the first centennial of Mexican independence. The congress was planned and organized by Felix F. Palavicini, of Mexico City, publisher of the great progressive daily El Universal. The congress, which was attended by welfare workers, physicians and lawyers from various parts of Mexico and a few delegates from other American countries, was divided into six sections: medical pediatrics, surgical pediatrics, eugenics, child legislation, edu-



Members of an Italian boys' colony getting first-hand experience at farm work



Anna J. Haines, as far as is known, the only American woman worker in Russia, participating in after-dinner games with children at the forest school at Beekova, Moscow

cation, and child hygiene. El Universal reported the proceedings at length.

In the field of the child legislation section, the outstanding problems considered were: the need for a better system of guardianship of minors, better reformatories for minors, improvement in the management of institutions for dependent children, protection of working children, and legislation for the protection of abandoned children and for juvenile courts. At the first meeting of this section, Alva B. Blaffer, of the American Humane Association, and apparently the only delegate from the United States, presented her report on the protection of children in the United States. Juvenile courts, so far absent in Mexico, were discussed in particular detail and a bill for juvenile courts, recently drafted by an official committee of judges as a part of a general bill for the reorganization of courts, which is to be presented soon to the Mexican legislature, was also taken up.

The child legislation section wound up its work by demanding regulation of industrial child labor, the establishment of juvenile courts, of agencies for the protection of children and home visiting of expectant mothers, proper medical service, milk stations, schools for mothers, and properly conducted homes and asylums for infants and older children. It concluded with an appeal to the welfare workers to urge upon the state legislatures the enactment of laws for these purposes.

The proceedings of the section on education show advanced thinking and a thorough understanding of up-to-date problems quite surprising in a country with an established reputation for backwardness. In addition to such every-day problems as school lunches, agricultural schools, kindergartens, and instruction of abnormal children, the delegates analyzed some new questions, only now beginning to attract the attention of experts in more progressive countries, such as physical and mental classification of school children, the use of chemistry in the care of the child, and the esthetic education of the child. They urged the introduction of puericulture in the public school curriculum and practical teaching of habits of hygiene.

One speaker, in picturing the needs of the public school system, said that a bill for a federal system of public instruction, recently drafted by the National University of Mexico, makes provision also for the protection of children. At present, he said, the budget of the War and Navy Department is 140,000,000 pesos, and that of the Department of Public Instruction is 2,000,000. "The country will not be entitled to be called really civilized until the budget for public instruction is many millions and that of the War Department 2,000,000, used only for the maintenance of the police."

The greatest amount of attention was given to the questions of child hygiene. The Mexican physicians and welfare workers realize that child hygiene is to begin with the mother; again and again they emphasized the importance of teaching the mother care of herself and her child. The question of instructing the Mexican mother in the comparative value of maternal, mixed, and artificial feeding was discussed, and emphasis was put on the value of maternal feeding. As regards the prevention of ophthalmia neonatorum, which causes great ravages among the infants of Mexico, the congress asked the Superior Council of Public Health to issue an order requiring physicians and midwives to apply to the eyes of each newly-born infant nitrate of silver as soon as possible after birth.

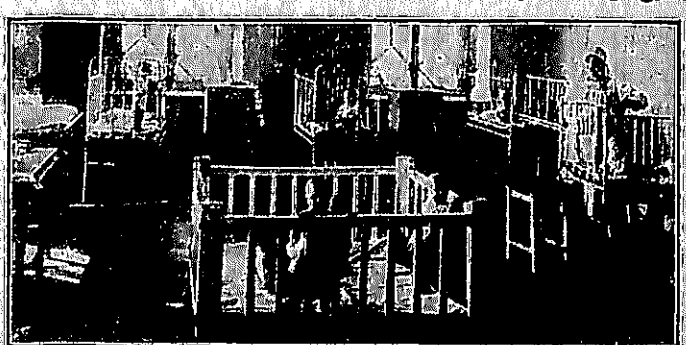
Various phases of school hygiene were given thorough consideration, including theoretical instruction in hygiene and training of children by the teachers in habits of hygiene. The need of cooperation in this matter between the parents and teachers was emphasized. Dr. Puig Casauranc made a remarkable speech on child hygiene. After having drawn a dark picture of the situation of the children of the poor classes in Mexico, he made an attack on the indifference on the part of the government and the public. He quoted a resolution passed at the Congress of Hygiene held in Brussels in 1903, asking that public authorities take a hand in the matter of feeding infants born in poor families. School hygiene, according to the same speaker, is in Mexico simply a myth, due to the treasury's shortage of money for any other than war purposes. The cause of all these social defects is, in the speaker's opinion, lack of altruism on the part of the people; everything is expected from the state. It is true that the official neglect of children is intolerable, but it is also true that a certain amount of public spirit and social cooperation could perform wonders, even without state assistance.

But the delegates, according to the organizer of the congress, came together not only to talk but to accomplish results; therefore, at the last session it was proposed that a standing committee be formed to help carry out the resolutions passed, to continue the studies started for this congress, and to call a second congress in January, 1923. ANNA KALET.

The Child in Soviet Russia

THROUGH the welter of contradictory information about Russia it is salutary to learn what steps are being taken there to promote the welfare of children. The following material is taken from a report of The Provision for Children in Soviet Russia by Arthur J. Watts, for over a year the representative of the English Friends' Service Committee in Moscow. Until a few months ago, when this British committee was joined by the American Friends' Service Committee, it was the only non-Russian organization contributing largely to the relief of suffering children in Russia.

According to a decree of the government, no child is tried by ordinary tribunals in Russia, but by the Children's Commission. This decree is carried out efficiently in Petrograd



These are not children in an up-to-date American institution but those in a home for infants under twelve months in Moscow

and to some extent in Moscow and the provinces. It is not entirely complied with because of the dearth of people qualified to serve on such a commission. In Petrograd a children's reception home receives those children arrested for crime or who are deemed incorrigible by the school teachers. They remain here twenty-eight days. They are, further, not regarded as criminals, but are made as comfortable as possible by a staff consisting of doctors, teachers and psychologists. After such a period of observation, if they are mentally defective they are sent to a special home for such cases. If it is felt that environment is responsible for their failure, they are sent to an ordinary children's home where no stigma is attached to them because of their previous history. If, however, their failure is charged against moral shortcomings, they are sent to a reformatory or home for moral defectives. Here their length of stay is determined not so much by the seriousness of the offense as by the susceptibility to reformation.

Professor Griboedoff, assisted by a staff of doctors and teachers, is in charge of a special home for mental defectives in Petrograd located on Kameni Ostrov. Here the children are carefully examined and either kept for treatment or sent to some other home. The school is equipped with an excellent laboratory and a specialized library. The same friendly spirit between the staff and children exists here which one finds in other colonies; the children also seem to enjoy life very much. They have no hesitation about being examined and in fact are eager to visit the laboratory. Very careful records are kept and when a child is discharged, instructions are given as to the kind of training that is required. Six hundred children have passed through this home and 80 doctors and 220 teachers have received training here during its two years' existence.

These children's colonies are exceedingly interesting. They are of two kinds, that in which children live all the year round, and the summer colony in the country to which city children go during the hot months. The largest of these is located about forty miles from Petrograd in buildings formerly occupied by the late czar. Here there are more than two thousand children in thirty-two colonies. One of these is a special colony for morally defective boys and girls patterned very much after the George Junior Republic. There are three or four houses in the colony with twenty-five boys and girls in each house, and a manager in charge. Visits to about a dozen of these indicated that the boys and girls seem to be growing up in natural and healthy companionship.

The house formerly occupied by the tailor of the czar is now a home for moral defectives. It is maintained under the direction of Professor Belski, who is assisted by a doctor, teachers and manual instructors. The purpose of this home is to educate, as far as possible, the socially backward in social responsibility, and to re-direct their energies into the right forms of expression. To accomplish this a general education with emphasis on manual work and special attention to the development of a collective responsibility is provided. Children who have been there three months are permitted to go home for occasional week-ends. It is felt that these visits form in themselves a valuable test. The child is observed on his return to see if there is any tendency to relapse into former habits after contact with old associations. When children are discharged, every effort is made to have them sent to the country, away from the temptations of town life.

In Russia there are also three government commissariats to deal in part or altogether with children. They are the commissariats for the protection of health, for public instruction, and for the administration of justice. The first named cares for the health of children, its obligation to the child beginning eight weeks before birth; the second corresponds to our department of education but with special features; the third shares with the other two the responsibility for abnormal children—backward, neurasthenics, epileptics, idiots and lunatics, and for "moral defectives"—for each class of whom there is separate provision.



BABUSHKA AMONG HER BOYS

Catherine Breshkovsky, according to latest accounts, is recovering at a Paris sanatorium from a recent illness. Her interest in suffering childhood, however, is as keen as ever, as she has sent a pathetic appeal to her American friends, through Alice Stone Blackwell, not to forget her internat for boys at Uzhorod, in Russian Carpathia, where the photograph reproduced above was taken shortly before she left for France

The expansion in the day school system is also serving to touch this problem of juvenile delinquency. These schools stress manual training. Certain of these shops are for the teaching of carpentry, bookbinding, engineering and needlework. There are likewise special schools for the teaching of art and music. Due to the shortage of books and writing materials, most of the work has to be done orally. In Petrograd out of a present population of 800,000, 135,000 are reported as registered in schools, of whom 91,000 are in day schools and 28,000 of school age in children's houses. It was estimated that 107,000 children in Moscow are attending day schools with 8,000 in children's houses. In all of Soviet Russia last year some 6,000,000 children were reported as being in day schools as contrasted with 190,000 in boarding schools and colonies.

There is a great shortage of food and clothing, particularly in the provinces where the opening of schools, colonies, homes and food kitchens is prevented simply through lack of supplies. It is the impression of Mr. Watts that in general the machinery for child welfare today exists and that if Russia only had the supplies, her children would be well cared for.

In Japan

INFANT mortality in Japan is about twice as great as in some European countries, according to Arthur Black, who contributes, in a recent issue of The Child (Eng.), an informing article. "This situation," he states, "is largely due to overcrowding, sanitation and underfeeding, together with wide-spread ignorance of the facts, and lethargy of the social conscience." Police authorities are given considerable latitude in dealing with juvenile offenders without bringing them into court. The average number of cases for the past five years subject to judicial examination was 30,000. Ten thousand of these were prosecuted, some fined, some put on probation and some imprisoned. Juvenile courts, however, have been set up in the large cities under special judges. Elsewhere, however, young offenders are isolated from adult criminals. For some years a special committee has been working upon an amending bill to extend a system of probation to all under eighteen years of age guilty of some criminal offense or liable to commit one.

INDUSTRY

Conducted by
WILLIAM L. CHENERY

The Alabama Coal Settlement

THE full text of the decision of Gov. Thomas E. Kilby of Alabama, who was appointed arbitrator of the controversy between the striking coal miners and the operators in that district, shows that the operators won a complete victory. Governor Kilby denied the right of the miners to obtain union recognition and at the same time refused all the other demands which they made. The arbitration arrangement was made by Victor H. Hanson, editor of the Birmingham News. Following the publication of the decision Mr. Hanson made public his recommendations, which had been previously submitted to the committee appointed by Governor Kilby to ascertain the facts. Mr. Hanson's proposals were far more generous than was the ultimate award of Governor Kilby.

The coal strike in Alabama was officially called on September 7 last, although sporadic strikes had been conducted in the coal fields since the award last year of the Bituminous Coal Commission, appointed by President Wilson to deal with the coal strike. At that time the United Mine Workers charged that Alabama coal operators had refused to enforce the decisions of the Bituminous Coal Commission. After the general strike was on, the state militia was sent into the field, and it is reported that the constitutional guarantees of free speech and free assemblage were denied the striking miners. A public mass meeting held at the Jefferson Theater, Birmingham, Ala., on January 9, passed resolutions in the course of which a number of illegal acts were cited. A circular letter from General Steiner, commanding the military forces, was included in the resolutions. This order was as follows:

> 1. Effective at once—no more meetings of the local unions of the United Mine Workers of America will be allowed until further advice from headquarters.
> 2. This will not affect the issue of rations or clothing once a week, nor the distribution of ready gifts to the children, but no regular business meetings will be permitted at such times.
> 3. You will show this communication to the president of every local in your district.

In his decision Governor Kilby observes that arbitrators ordinarily yield to the desire to please all contending factions which, he says, often eventuates in a compromised verdict. The governor states that he "made an effort to resist this almost overwhelming impulse." The terms of his award would indicate that in his case, at any rate, the impulse was not overpowering, and that his effort at resistance to compromise was completely successful. Governor Kilby found that the miners had no grievances as to living conditions, hours of work or wages. There were, however, he admits, five demands. These were, in the governor's phrases, as follows:

1. Recognition of the union
2. Abolishment of sub-contract system
3. Employment of strikers
4. Readjustment of the day wage rate
5. Setting up of machinery to adjust industrial disputes to avoid future strikes

Governor Kilby was sternly against the recognition of the union. He said in part:

> This strike being called without just cause or for the purpose of remedying any grievance, and in deliberate violation of an agreement, was "illegal and immoral." It proves beyond cavil that the written contract or obligation of the United Mine Workers of America cannot be relied upon, and that recognition would give no assurance of industrial peace. It is rather difficult to understand how such a large number of men could be induced so deliberately to disregard such an obligation of honor. The only explanation perhaps, lies in the fact that from 70 per cent to 80 per cent of the miners are Negroes. The southern Negro is easily misled, especially when given a permanent and official place in an organization in which both races are members. . . . There are other reasons shown by the facts, why the operators should not be compelled to recognize this organization. It counselled and directed the violation of the laws of Alabama by the adoption of resolutions directing picketing, which is prohibited by a statute. Its leaders have striven to break down the confidence men have in their employers instead of cementing it, and they have opposed all welfare work instituted by the employers for the benefit of the employes because it tended to draw the employer and employe into closer relations. No permanent industrial relation can be built on an increasing suspicion between employer and employe, and any person or organization that seeks to create such hostilities is engaged in an illegal and immoral work and is a menace to industrial peace.

Concerning the reemployment of men on strike, Governor Kilby said:

> The operators have replaced these men. Coal production is greater than the demand. There are no jobs for the great majority of the strikers. Only one suggestion for securing jobs for them has been made, and that is that all men who were employed to fill the places of strikers be discharged and the strikers given their old positions. The men who it is recommended should be discharged are the men who entered the service of the operators when it was dangerous to life and body to do so. To these men the operators are indebted for reestablishing their business which an unjustified, illegal and immoral strike had seriously damaged, and largely to these men is the public indebted for the limited supply of coal available during the winter months. To discharge them to make room for the strikers would be to penalize loyalty that wrong might be rewarded. . . . It is my opinion that since this strike was wrongfully, and without the slightest justification called, the organization of the United Mine Workers of America is responsible for the present strikers being out of employment, and that, therefore, the United Mine Workers of America should support the present strikers until they are able to secure employment.

Governor Kilby summarized his findings as follows:

> It is found and I also declare:
> 1. Recognition of the United Mine Workers of America is not to be compelled.
> 2. The day wage scale and sub-contract system are to remain unchanged.
> 3. The existing methods of adjusting grievances are found to be fair and equitable.
> 4. The operators are under no obligation to reemploy the striking miners.
> 5. The freedom of contract shall be inviolate, and therefore any of the above mentioned things may be done by mutual agreement of the parties, and I recommend: (a) that the operators as a means to promote peace and harmony, reemploy the unemployed men who struck as fast as places may be found for them without displacing the men who are now at work; (b) that the organization of the United Mine Workers of America support the unemployed men who struck until they can find employment.

Governor Kilby added that compliance with these regulations would be "a gracious act on the part of the employers." Grace, he did not impute, to the miners.

It is interesting to compare the recommendations for strike settlement previously made by Victor H. Hanson, who was considered so fair an outsider by both parties to the conflict that his arrangement for arbitration was jointly accepted. He says in part:

> It seems to me that any effective settlement must provide three things: first, reemployment for the men who have been on strike; second, a fair, open shop arrangement which shall not obligate the employer to employ union labor but which shall provide there shall be no discrimination against a man because he belongs to a union; third, the setting up of some permanent arrangement for the settlement of coal disputes and grievances. Both the second and the third provision prevailed

THE SURVEY



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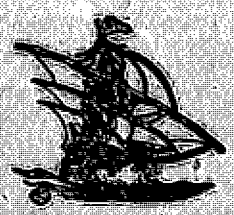
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THE SURVEY



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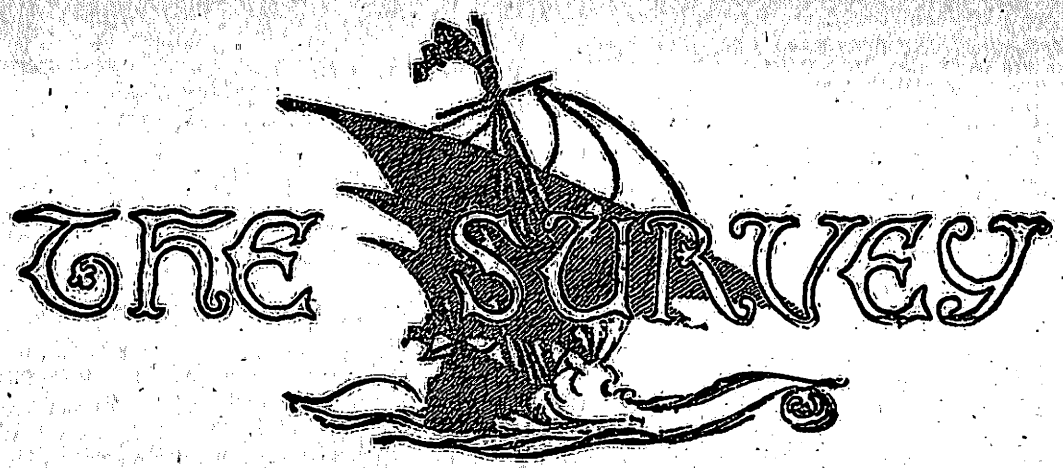
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Vol. XLVI NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1921 No 5

THE SURVEY
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PUBLISHED weekly and COPYRIGHT 1921 by Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 Street, New York. Robert W. deForest, president; Arthur P. Kellogg, secretary-treasurer.

PRICE: this issue, 15 cents a copy; $5 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.

A PROBLEM IN ARITHMETIC

IF only 3 per cent can be added to the members of a foreign nationality represented in America without lowering its 100 per cent Americanism, how many hours does it take a Congress largely composed of new members to decide on a complicated statute to keep out the 49,400+1/6×3/100+1th Belgian? Well, the House at any rate spent the better part of a day over it, with various excursions, as is usual, into other lively topics. And if you have a brother in Serbia whom you would like to have join you, you had better not wait until 4,639+1/6×3/100 other Serbians have already booked passage! Figures were thrown about in the Congressional debate until the "poisonous influences that are threatening the very foundation of the governments of Europe," finding themselves balked in their endeavor to "substitute for American communities polyglot colonies where our Constitution and laws are neither respected nor understood," perished in contradictory statistics.

ANOTHER BEDFORD SITUATION

ALTHOUGH the bill which enables the superintendency of New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford Hills to be held by a man has not yet been signed by the governor, Dr. George Baker, previously psychiatrist of Hampton Farms Reformatory, is taking office there this week. Meanwhile strenuous opposition, representing various groups, of which the Women's Prison Association is one, is being heard by Governor Miller at Albany. This bill is opposed on two grounds: first, that in opening the position to men, it contradicts the best teaching of prison experience of America, that women make better superintendents of women's prisons than men; second, that in requiring the superintendent to be a physician it ignores the fact that a superintendent has to be first of all an artist at human relations. During the past year three women have resigned from the superintendency at Bedford. Sensational publicity emanating from the vicinity, and magnifying into mystery and scandal trivial incidents of the institution has, according to the opposition to the bill, undermined the confidence of the public in these women, has handicapped them from the start, and made resignation necessary. They, however, do not consider this proof that there are no women in the country who can do the job, nor that public confidence should be permanently withdrawn from the women superintendents of Bedford.

OPEN SHOP TERMINOLOGY

THE New Jersey Chamber of Commerce which has long been distinguished among liberal employers' organizations for the advocacy of a plan of joint industrial government has again come forward this time attempting to throw light on the somewhat confused "open shop" controversy. The New Jersey chamber restricts itself to definition of terms. In common parlance the "open shop" is the establishment in which union men or non-union men are equally free to work while the closed shop is hospitable only to unionists. This simple division the New Jersey inquiry showed to be remote from the facts. The open shop may in fact be a union shop or an anti-union shop, and the closed shop is perhaps as often an anti-union shop as it is a unionized plant. Nine varieties of open and closed shops were indicated. They are as follows:

I. The non-union shop.
   1. Closed anti-union shop.
   2. Preferential anti-union shop.
   3. Open non-union shop without shop committee.
   4. Open non-union shop with shop committee.

II. The union shop.
   5. Open indirect union shop.
   6. Open union shop.
   7. Preferential union shop.
   8. Closed union shop of an open union.
   9. Closed union shop of a closed union.

All of these types of manufacturing establishment were found. The number of variations could doubtless be enlarged. They show certainly that the open shop conflict is far more complicated than is evidenced by surface indications and that perhaps no formula, even one of controversy, is wide enough to comprehend the multifarious expressions of American industrial organization.

CITY PLANNING ON THE COAST

THE California Real Estate Association has launched a state-wide campaign for the development of an interest and activity in city planning. This campaign is to be conducted with the cooperation of the Extension Division of the University of California, and under the leadership of Carol Aronovici. Recently the University of California announced its intention of inaugurating a four-year course in real estate as a part of its regular curriculum. This course is to begin with the next academic year and is to be carried on with the cooperation of the California Real Estate

Association. Courses in housing and city planning will then be included in the curriculum. The city planning movement throughout the state will be carried on under the leadership of a general committee of the Real Estate Association which will have charge of the work in conjunction with the Extension Division of the University. James H. L'Hommedieu, of Oakland, is chairman of the state-wide committee. Aside from a portable city planning exhibit which will be carried to every community of five thousand population or more, courses of lectures and conferences will be held in each community under the auspices of the real estate boards, and at the end of the course a plan for the pursuit of city planning work in the community will be formulated and left with the local committee.

The Real Estate Association, realizing that its membership extends into one hundred cities throughout the state and represents approximately four billion dollars' worth of real estate property, has come to feel that city planning is an integral part of its general work. Mr. Aronovici is to start his work on May 12 and open in San Francisco, where large groups are being organized to meet at regular intervals for the purpose of discussing city planning from the point of view of the local community. In Oakland the city plan devised by Werner Hegemann will be used as a basis in the conference discussions.

REORGANIZATION AT WASHINGTON

THE announcement of Secretary Mellon ordering the transfer from the United States Public Health Service and the consolidation with the Bureau of War Risk Insurance of those departments of the Public Health Service dealing with the medical treatment of disabled ex-service men, with the exception of the operation of hospitals and dispensaries, puts into immediate operation one of the recommendations of the President's Committee for Disabled Soldiers of which Brig. Gen. Charles G. Dawes of Chicago was chairman. Under this order it is understood that the bureau will take over all the field offices of the Public Health Service throughout the country engaged in the examining and finding of beds for war veterans. The bureau will further take over all contracts with private institutions for the treatment of those men and "will establish an adequate force of medical inspectors to insure proper and effective treatment of patients." However, under the new arrangement, patients will still be sent "to hospitals operated by the Public Health Service, by the soldiers' homes, by the army and by the navy, and by the states or by private institutions operating under contract." Meanwhile the district supervisors formerly representing the Public Health Service have been called to Washington to confer in reference to putting this reorganization into effect as expeditiously as possible.

A special committee of consultants consisting of William Charles White, M. D., Pittsburgh; Frank Billings, M. D., Chicago; J. G. Bowman, M. D., Pittsburgh, and Pearce Bailey, M. D., New York city, is making a study of the types of hospital for the disabled and of their locations. The committee has held numerous hearings, calling before it representatives of the government, the medical associations and national volunteer health agencies. Attached to its staff are representatives of the National Tuberculosis Association, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers—experts in their respective fields. The staff is gathering detailed information concerning the immediate hospitalization needs, probable future needs, existing and potential facilities, government sites available, sites offered to the government, etc. Recommendations will be made shortly to the Secretary of the Treasury as to the manner in which the $18,000,000 appropriated for hospital construction at the close of the last Congress shall be expended.

At a hearing held last week before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Brig. Gen. Charles E. Sawyer, as the personal representative of the President, suggested prompt enactment of legislation creating a new department of government to be known as the Department of Public Welfare. This department would be headed by a cabinet officer, possibly a woman.

As outlined by General Sawyer, in addition to the secretary there would be four assistant secretaries in charge of divisions on education, public health, social service and veteran administration. Under education would be included various kinds of vocational training, including physical training and general welfare; public health would be subdivided into research, quarantine and hospitalization; social service would comprise occupational activities, the welfare of children and humanization; veteran administration would cover war risk insurance, allotments, allowances and similar matters. With the announcement of this plan the Smith-Towner bill, establishing a federal bureau of education with a secretary of education in the President's Cabinet, is generally considered to be killed.

Senator Kenyon who drew one of the bills for a department of public welfare introduced in the last session has announced his intention of redrafting his bill after the hearings to include the recommendations made by General Sawyer.

CONNECTICUT'S CHILDREN'S CODE

CONNECTICUT, which has so long traveled the road of social legislation in the ox cart, may change to a more modern vehicle. Chances appear to be even that the legislature will enact the children's code recommended by the Commission on Child Welfare. Hearings have taken place on all the principal bills. The fate of the code now hangs virtually upon the bill to establish a bureau of child welfare, which has been endorsed by the Humane Institutions Committee. It now goes to the Committee on Appropriations before it comes before the House for consideration.

Other important measures recommended by the commission still pending are the juvenile court bill heard before the Judiciary Committee early in the session, and a measure providing for the special educational care of handicapped children. Five of the minor bills have been rejected, among them that concerning children born out of wedlock, adoption, and the bill to repeal the obsolete indenture laws. Another of the supplementary measures proposed, concerning crimes against children, was recommitted by the House following an unfavorable report.

Convincing evidence of the need for corrective and preventive legislation was discovered by the commission during its investigations of the past year. [See the SURVEY for January 22, p. 603.] It was found, for instance, that more than one-third of the children placed out have been taken for the service they could render. Five hundred children placed out from county homes have entirely disappeared from the records. In addition are the dreary, supposedly temporary institutions which harbor normal children. Here there has been a mingling of normal with deficient children. As an illustration of the exploitation of children in these institutions is the case of one institution located near a lace factory. There the free time of the children is given to pulling threads in webs of lace, work supplied by the factory which pays the institution $400 a year. The state is aiding this home supposedly that the children may have care and education. But only six of the children have reached the sixth grade in school. "We don't work on Sunday," explained one of them.

Two hundred of Connecticut's three thousand feeble-minded children, it was ascertained, are in county homes, two hundred are in reformatories while some twenty-five hundred are in elementary schools, learning little, holding back normal children, and generally clogging the educational system. A boy may run the gamut of school, police court, probation, superior

court, boy's training school, and finally land in the reformatory without previous discovery of his mental deficiency. In other words, Connecticut has no system for discovering feeble-mindedness in children.

Connecticut is one of the very few states that have no provision for hearing children's cases by a separate court. In twenty-five courts studied by the commission, the customary detention place for children is the lock-up. One court reported the use of the padded cell. Eleven did not notify the probation officer of the arrest of a child, while fourteen allowed no time to the probation officer for an investigation. Twenty-one of the twenty-five made no mental or physical examination of the child.

KANSAS' CHILD WELFARE BILLS

WHILE there are still glimmerings of hope that the Connecticut Legislature will give the child a chance, Kansas seems to have gone the way of reaction so far as the welfare of its children is concerned. The Children's Code Commission, appointed by Governor Allen last year, suggested twenty-two bills to the legislature, most of which were given scant consideration. Nine bills suggesting new legislation covered a child research bureau, county welfare boards, compulsory physical education and health instruction in schools, a receiving home for indigent pregnant women and abandoned infants, examination and licensing of midwives, establishment of part-time schools, prohibition of offensive advertisements in public toilets, prohibition of unattended minors at certain classes of public amusements and registration of adoptions as vital statistics.

Although only one of these was passed, that to establish a Child Research Bureau, this one was probably the most important from the standpoint of future work. Of the thirteen bills recommended to amend existing laws, only two were passed and those with some amendments. One raised the maximum amount of mothers' aid from $25 to $50 a month and made mandatory the previous permission law. The other made the establishment of free kindergartens mandatory in cities of over 18,500 population.

The main reasons for the failure of the bulk of the bills were insufficient publicity, and the exceptional temper of the legislature, which contains a strongly reactionary element. The reaction came less from the farmer members of the legislature than from lawyers who had been elected on a platform of retrenchment. This sentiment not only carried to defeat the children's bills but also resulted in crippling nearly every department of state government, as, for illustration, leaving the Civil Service Commission without an appropriation. As hope for the future, on the other hand, a nurses' registration bill was passed as well as one providing for the appointment of a commission to report an educational code.

The Children's Code Commission is being reorganized and will probably be reappointed by Governor Allen. Meanwhile, a speakers' bureau of over one hundred members of the commission and the Kansas Women's Committee on Child Welfare is being assembled to stump the state during the next two years in the interest of the child welfare program.

A LITERACY TEST FOR NEW YORK CITIZEN

societies of New York have manifested scant interest in the proposed literacy amendment to the constitution, partly because it was rushed through the legislature in the last days, and partly because it cannot become part of the constitution until a second passage in 1923 and subsequent ratification by the people. This amendment stipulates that no person who cannot read or write English shall hereafter become entitled to vote by attaining age or naturalization or otherwise unless physically incapable of performing the requirement. The specifications of literacy will be put in the enforcing law. Although the amendment affects foreign- and native-born population alike, it will bear most heavily upon the foreign-born population of New York city. The amendment, introduced by Senator Fearon of Syracuse, would have the effect of cutting down the urban vote and giving the up-state, rural, non-foreign population greater weight in the elections.

THE ZIONIST SPLIT

SINCE the arrival in this country of Professors Chaim Weizmann, Albert Einstein, Menachem Ussishkin, Schmarya Levine, and Ben Zion Mossensohn, leaders of the World Zionist Organization, it has become increasingly patent that there is a distinct difference of opinion between the American and European Zionists, as to how the ideal of a reconstructed Palestine is to be realized. This division, which first manifested itself at the Zionist conference held in London last summer, relates to the methods of raising and disbursing the funds needed for vast irrigation, road-building, afforestation and similar projects.

The London conference voted to establish the Keren Hayesed, or Foundation Fund, and for this purpose to ask all Jews the world over to submit to a sort of "self-taxation," according to the ancient Biblical custom of tithes—or one-tenth of one's income. Judges Brandeis and Mack and other American delegates held, however, that the organization could not possibly build up a country entirely on donations, and for this reason they have concentrated their attention, since last summer, on the development of Palestine on a sound investment basis. A number of corporations for developing the land and its industries have already been established, and large sums subscribed. These leaders desire, therefore, that funds raised for donations and for investments be kept separate, and that the Americans who, since the outbreak of the war, have practically raised 80 per cent of all Zionist funds, shall exercise some influence over the expenditure of these sums which heretofore have been disbursed by the Zionist Commission. That some of the expenditures made by the commission, which is composed mainly of Eastern European Zionists, were somewhat utopian, is now generally conceded.

Experts and returning travelers are in agreement that the agricultural outlook in Palestine with the proposed irrigation is good. The climate is healthful. Sir Herbert Samuel, the British high commissioner, is improving roads and sanitary conditions; reviving crafts and dealing impartial justice to all races. The fifty odd Jewish colonies, engaged in the protection of oranges, almonds, lemons and wine for export, are self-supporting, and will start the cultivation of cotton and tobacco and develop various industries, including a power plant on the Jordan, to supply Jerusalem with electricity for light railways. The Standard Oil Company, as soon as a concession is received, is prepared to bore for oil on the shores of the Dead Sea. As Palestine has no fuel supply, this will be a great boon to its inhabitants. Mrs. Joseph Fels, as a memorial to her husband, is now buying land in Palestine to rent to Jews on the single-tax plan. The American Zionist Medical Unit is doing good work; it has practically eradicated trachoma in the schools and is sending doctors with traveling hospitals to treat all races free of charge.

The coming of Professor Weizmann and his party, and the reception accorded them here, recall in a measure the coming of Wilson to Europe, to appeal to the masses over the heads of the premiers. Conferences held between the opposing groups have not yet resulted in an amicable adjustment, and Weizmann, as president of the World Zionist Organization, on April 18, issued his appeal to the Jews of America for the Keren Hayesed. The differences, say representatives of the American Zionists, are not of conflicting personalities but of points of view—of European versus American psychology—really of East versus West. Others suggest that they are differences of class point of view. Judge Mack is held up as



REPAIRS AND REPARATION

The French Confederation Generale du Travail—the federation of trade unions—after an investigation has decided in favor of the importation of German labor to help reconstruct the devastated regions (again proposed in the German note to the British Government of April 22), on the ground that with the depletion of the ranks of French skilled labor it would otherwise take forty years to upbuild Northern France. The attitude of French labor to the problem is further reflected by the cartoon reproduced above from L'Atelier, the organ of the federation, which bears the caption: "Whatever they decide, you will see it is on us that the repair of the destruction will fall—and we shall have to pay for it in the bargain!"

a defender of corporation finance against modern cooperative forms of finance. Louis Lipsky, secretary of the Zionist Organization of America since 1914, who resigned last week in protest of the stand taken by Judge Mack, intimates this in his letter of resignation:

> For a number of years now, and especially since the London conference, the administration for which you have been speaking and acting, controlled and directed by invisible and silent factors that do not publicly share the responsibility, has been drifting away from Zionist moorings. In the course of that time you and your friends have lost faith in the Jewish people. The social idealism expressed in the Pittsburgh platform has been transformed into an ideal of private corporations.

A charge such as this reopens an old difference of viewpoints in the American Jewry, namely that between the so-called German and so-called Russian Jews—"so-called" not because the former are all German or the latter all Russian, but as establishing a dividing line between the earlier Jewish immigrants who have prospered and the later arrivals, many of whom have not yet entirely found their feet. In the last few years, the difference of viewpoints between these two groups which for long was pronounced has largely faded owing to the loyalty with which leaders of both sections have cooperated in the advancement of Jewish interests, both here and abroad. But in so great an undertaking as the upbuilding of Palestine, naturally those with experience in handling large investments, though generous givers of outright donations where these are deemed necessary, will insist on methods that are economically sound. Those who have more recent links with the poverty stricken sections of Eastern Europe, on the other hand, are naturally more impressed with the need for immediate relief by large-scale aid to migration. Both factions desire that the foundation shall be laid in Palestine for a self-supporting commonwealth. The one side fears that this self-support will be undermined by gifts that pauperize; the other that investments by foreign Jews will unduly influence the plans of reconstruction and deprive those actually in Palestine of their full self-determination. Since there is, thus, the same aim and difference only in means of attaining it, a compromise between the opposing viewpoints is possible.

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE

BILLS for reorganization of the federal service, based on the recommendations of the Congressional Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries, have again been introduced by Senator Sterling, chairman of the Senate Committee on Civil Service, and by Representative Lehlbach, chairman of the House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service. In the Senate the subject became one of contention between the Committee on Appropriations which claimed to have originated the bill and Senator Sterling's committee, in which the latter won out. There is still conference on details between the Senate and House committees. The bill introduced by Senator Sterling contains:

> Reclassification of the entire federal civil service.
>
> A salary scale which fixes pay by the skill and training required, with a minimum rate of $1,080 a year; the present $240 bonus being absorbed into the base pay.
>
> Appointments and promotions on proved qualifications, determined and regulated by the United States Civil Service Commission.
>
> Removal of inefficient employes in accordance with standards of efficiency controlled by the commission.
>
> Opportunity for advancement of pay within a grade, according to efficiency.
>
> Equal compensation and equal opportunity for promotion irrespective of sex.
>
> A uniform efficiency rating system, to be established by the commission, with records accessible to employes and provision for appeal to the commission.
>
> Transfers between the departments at higher rates of pay.
>
> Administration of the salary provisions by the budget-making bureau which can keep the classifications up to date.

At its recent annual meeting in Baltimore, the National Civil Service Reform League was able to record a successful maintenance of the advance made in the application of the merit system to post office appointments; but it claims that the present standards are not secure unless all the offices, including the internal revenue, which are filled by the President on confirmation by the Senate are brought by statute under the competitive system.

Richard H. Dana, president of the league, expressed his belief that one quarter of our federal taxes could be saved if appointments were made on a merit basis, and the appalling labor turnover—averaging 40 per cent for the federal service as a whole and 69 per cent in the professional branches (in one case reaching 161 per cent)—reduced by an orderly system of promotion. He quoted the War Risk Bureau, the "criminally poor appointments in the Prohibition Enforcement Service" and the "waste, inefficiency, lack of coordination and delays" in the Shipping Board as examples of what is taking place under the present spoils system. It is not only in the matter of appointment, however, that he sees urgent need for reform. An efficient management would provide for separation of policy determining and purely administrative functions, for continuity of policies for the hearing of and effective action upon public complaints. He recalled Pope's lines:

> For forms of government let fools contest,
> Whate'er is best administered is best.

The league, incidentally, took a strenuous stand against the enactment of veteran preference statutes and ordinances throughout the country by which members of state legislatures are trying to prove their patriotism. One of its resolutions reads:

> The league, while believing that the nation should suitably reward the veterans of the late war, protests against any

THE SURVEY

OURSELVES AND THE IRISH

Edward T. Devine

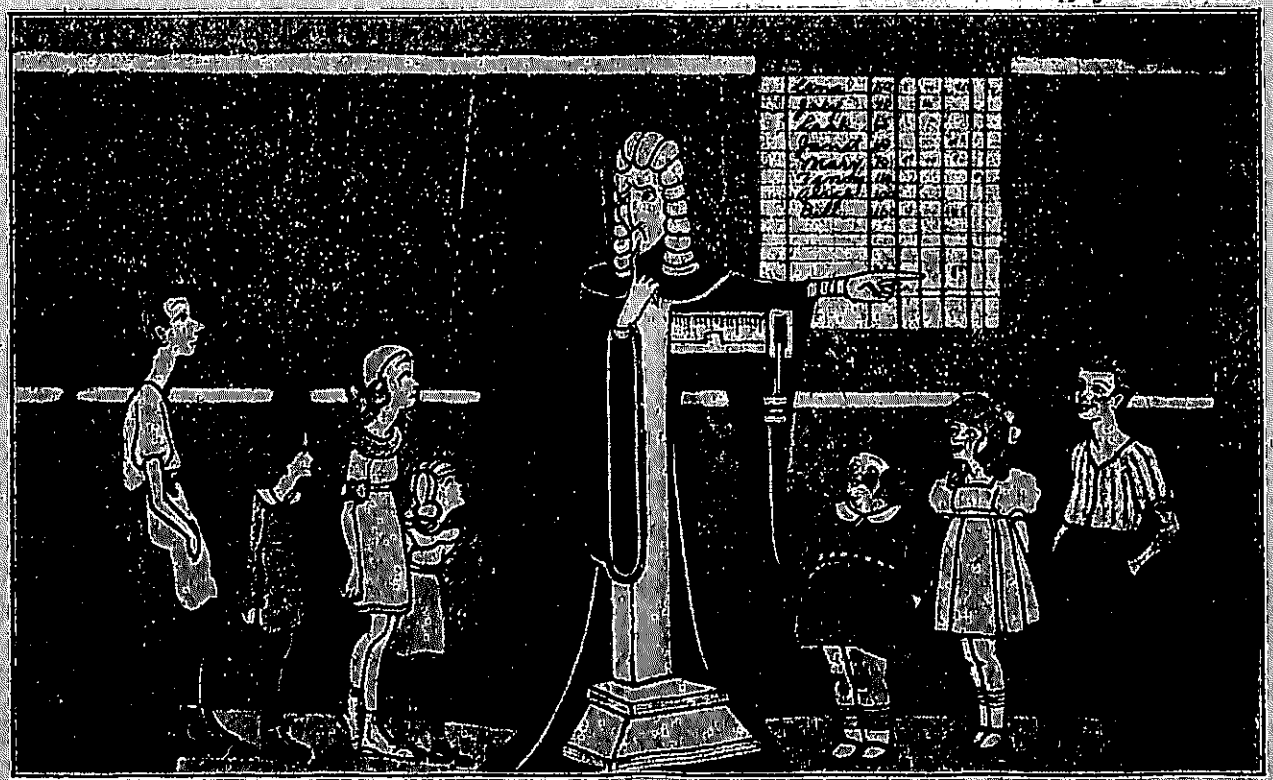
Housing Conditions in Germany

Katherine S. Dreier

Civic Progress in Devastated France

George B. Ford

Copyright Stella Boothe



THE SLIMS JUDGE SCALES THE STOUTS

Judge Scales held court and separated the Stouts from the Slims and said: "As a child eats, so is he." Characters in the paper doll show of the Mary Gay Theater, originated by Stella Boothe, R.N. [*See page* 191.]

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Editor, Paul U. Kellogg
Civics, Foreign Service, Bruno Lasker
Social Forces, Edward T. Devine
Industry, William L. Chenery
Health, Michael M. Davis, Jr.
School and Community, Joseph K. Hart
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Managing Editor, S. Adele Shaw
Cooperating Subscription (membership) $10. Regular subscription $5 yearly. 112 East 19 Street, New York City.

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PUBLISHED *weekly and* COPYRIGHT *1921 by Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 Street, New York. Robert W. deForest, president; Arthur P. Kellogg, secretary-treasurer.*

PRICE: *this issue, 25 cents a copy; $5 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.*

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GETTING TOGETHER

WELL toward 200 members of "Survey Associates and friends of The Survey," as the invitation read, dined together in New York, the evening of April 27 canvassing some of the developments of the winter months and the opportunity ahead.

It had been anticipated that by this date some announcement would be made at United States Steel Corporation headquarters as to the recommendation of the committee of presidents which has been considering the change from the two- to the three-shift system. It was hoped that the meeting might be one of congratulation at the ending of the twelve-hour day. That proved not to be the case. The matter is still in abeyance and John A. Fitch, who, since the days of the Pittsburgh Survey, has brought out the human consequences of the long day in steel, drove home the point that the answer to continued postponement of voluntary action is an act of Congress which will control the so-called continuous processes in American industry. William H. Matthews, who as a youth worked the twelve-hour day, who as headworker at Kingsley House knew it in the lives of his neighbors, and who as secretary of the stockholders' committee of the Steel Corporation drafted the report which for ten years has stood as a challenge to change, put the issue as an obligation on the hearts and conscience of those identified with social agencies generally. Neither health work nor work with families, community upbuilding nor training for citizenship can go forward effectively in districts where the twelve-hour day governs. The call is not only to the individual stockholder to write in to 71 Broadway but for social agencies generally to arouse themselves and throw their weight into the scales.

S. K. Ratcliffe, American representative of the Manchester Guardian, discussed the present crisis in British industry and related it to the common subject matter here and abroad of the investigator and the journalist. Henry R. Seager, vice-president of Survey Associates, and the editor of the SURVEY brought domestic and foreign developments alike to bear on the commission of the SURVEY as an interpreter of social facts and forces.

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INDUSTRY

Conducted by
WILLIAM L. CHENERY

The Negro Laborer and the Immigrant

THE principal factor in immigration, although obscured by discussion, is that of labor. The principal element in the so-called "Negro question" is that of labor, although frequently overlooked. These two groups of workers —the Negroes and the immigrants—have entered industry at the bottom and have really become competitors in the unskilled and the semi-skilled labor market of the North.

So long as northern industry had access to the surplus populations of European countries before the great war, the southern Negro who migrated North found himself largely limited to domestic and personal service, for even the truck farmers of New Jersey and the tobacco growers of Connecticut looked across the Atlantic for their "help". When, however, the great war shut off the immigrant tide and called many of the foreign-born home for army service, northern railroads, mines, steel-mills, founderies, packing-houses and other basic industries soon found it necessary to have their agents searching the South for Negro workers.

These came in response by the thousands. Pennsylvania in 1919 probably had more Negroes in industrial work than Alabama; Ohio industrial plants that year probably could have mustered more Negroes than those of Virginia. Pittsburgh steel mills in some cases took on the complexion of those of Birmingham and some section gangs of the Pennsylvania Railroad looked for a time like those of the Southern.

With the signing of the Armistice, and with the resumption of immigrant passage from Europe, questions of the relation of these two groups of workers and their relations to employers naturally arose. Two such questions may reasonably be considered here as pertinent elements of present practical labor policies: First, will the immigrants come in such numbers that they will supply the northern demand when industry again approaches "normalcy?" Second, what will be the effect upon the place in industry of the thousands of Negroes who entered northern industry during the war and since and, directly or indirectly, upon the great body of the Negro workers of the nation?

The first question concerning the probable future supply of immigrant labor can be discussed only in the light of past experience. The average net gain in population of the United States from immigration, according to figures in the January issue of The Nation's Business, for the five years preceding the great war was about six hundred thousand; it exceeded this figure on only four occasions in the whole history of immigration and exceeded 800,000 only three times, and the "ten record smashing years prior to the war would yield an average of something less than a half million." Moreover of the immigrants who came over before 1914, 3 out of 20 were skilled workers and 11 out of 20 were unskilled workers; in 1919 less than 5 out of 20 were unskilled workers. These figures have important significance for labor.

To these facts may be added the probable decrease of immigration from Poland and from Russia for some years to come; the slowing down of immigration from Greece, the French efforts to attract Italian emigrants and the labor treaty of Italy with Brazil to control the settlement of Italians in the South American republic. The limitation of accommodations for steerage passengers during the next five years has also been spoken of as a natural hindrance to very excessive numbers. Thousands of the diseased and maimed as a result of the war will be excluded under our immigration laws even if they secure passage to our shores. Furthermore, we shall doubtless have a revision of our immigration laws during our present Congress. Whatever may be the restrictions of the laws and the results of their administration; whatever be the effects of the emigration policies of European governments, we may reasonably expect industry from now on to be more largely dependent upon its home labor supply. It is not all prophecy, indeed, that there will hardly be any "immigrant hordes" to flood the northern labor market for some years to come, if at all.

We may even ignore or discount the reports and statements so frequently published during the past two years about the thousands of aliens who were returning or about to return to their native lands with large sums saved from high war wages. We may calculate our "net balance" of incoming foreigners this year and the years just ahead of us on any set of facts we may reasonably use. We shall still be led a long way from predicting such a supply of European immigration as will create surplus laborers in the American market once our industry and agriculture again swing into their normal strides.

The recovery and expansion of industry and agriculture in the United States in the coming years is another phase of the first question. Floating the $100,000,000 foreign banking corporation; expansion of our foreign trade; development of our ocean transportation; President Harding's recent announcement that his administration will foster our merchant marine to support our foreign commerce, and the information available about the enlarged plans of many national and international industrial and commercial enterprises are all indicative of the coming demand for brain and brawn of every caliber and from every source.

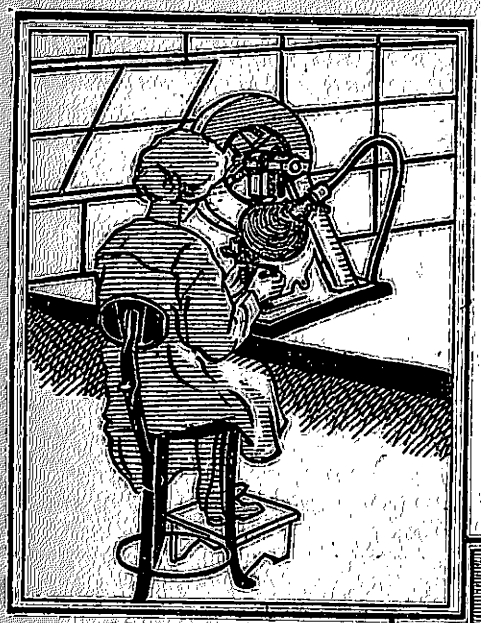
When one considers the question of the effects of a limited supply of immigrant labor in the face of the expansion of industry and commerce upon the Negro workers throughout the whole country, there is a temptation to go far afield into racial factors which play upon the Negro in his labor relations. It is well here, however, if only for the sake of clarity to hew close to the labor line.

The Negro will maintain a hold upon Northern industry based upon his ability to fill the demands for production in such wise as to leave a profit for his employer and the lowest price to the consumer.

From all available, accurate data the Negro achieved a new position in the calculations of industrial managers, North and South, during the war. Eighty-seven out of every 100 Negroes ten years of age and over were wage earners in 1910. The Negro speaks English. He is 100 per cent American in feeling and ideas as shown by his sacrifices in every war from that on Boston Common where the Negro, Crispus Attucks, fell, down to the fields of France where thousands paid the supreme price of loyalty to the flag. No "Americanization" is needed for him except to see that he is accorded the opportunities, rights and privileges of an American citizen.

Some facts recently published by the Department of Labor in a study, The Negro at Work during the World War and during Reconstruction, give firm ground for the view that on the whole the Negro has made good during the war in many of the basic industries such as iron and steel, shipbuilding, slaughtering and meat packing. The Negro worker shared very largely in war production. More than twenty-four thousand Negro men were employed in the shipyards under the supervision of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. The packing houses of Chicago increased the percentage of their Negro labor from two- to five-fold during the three years preceding 1919 and at last accounts the percentage of Negroes among their total employes was near the higher levels.

The recorded opinions of the large majority of thirty-eight



A SHADE AND A CHAIR

rule, it took about the same amount of time for breaking in new white workers as for new Negro workers. The consensus of opinion of these employers of more than one hundred thousand white workers and more than seven thousand Negro workers, mainly in unskilled and semi-skilled work, after their experience with both races was that, all things considered, Negro workers had been nearly as satisfactory as white workers on the same jobs and operations, and that in some cases the testimony showed that they had been more satisfactory.

The test of comparative average earnings per week and of comparative average number of hours worked per week in twenty-three plants in six basic industries showed that Negro workers not only held their own but in some operations surpassed white workers in the same plants. During war times Negro unskilled workers were largely employed in war industries in twelve southern states and fourteen northern states. Only twenty-three firms out of a total of 292 of these firms that employed Negroes reported less than 50 per cent war work.

It is true that the Negro is not yet accustomed to the rigid routine of the modern industrial plant. He still suffers from the slipshod habits and uncertain ways of the slave plantation, the tenant farm and the small-town activities. The encouraging thing, however, is the rapidity with which he learns new customs and methods of work and the happy, easy way he has of adapting himself quickly to new conditions.

The preceding facts relate to Negro men. Negro women workers have made quite as good a record. Visits made by special agents of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, to selected establishments in 1918-1919 and in 1920 show this to be true. In 1919 visits were made to 152 establishments employing 21,547 Negro women. The largest numbers were employed in tobacco plants, textile and clothing factories, laundries, hardware and glassware establishments and in office work.

In 1920, about two years after the Armistice, a second round of visits was made to 150 selected plants employing more than 11,000 Negro women. These were engaged mainly in the same types of industry as those visited nearly two years before, although the same plants were not always included and others were substituted. The large number of Negro women still employed during the present slump indicates that they have given sufficient satisfaction to keep a foothold in industry even when unemployment is wide-spread.

The significance of the place the Negro woman has secured in industry in relation to immigration and the future of the race in industrial labor may be illustrated by the clothing trade in New York where so many foreign-born women are employed. Ten years ago a careful survey made by the writer in that city revealed hardly a Negro woman in such factories except occasionally on other than trade operations. Today, literally hundreds, if not thousands, are employed and in many factories without restrictions on the operations they may perform.

The Negro has been heretofore the largest undeveloped part of the home labor supply. Northern employers have learned his value during the experience of the past six years. The labor shortage in many parts of the South following the Negro migration to the North has led to the increase of wages to new levels, has opened the minds of employers to the possibilities of Negro development and is enlisting them in behalf of Negro education, justice in the courts and protection in the enjoyment of community opportunities.

With the probable limitations on the immigrant labor supply and the demonstration the Negro has made of his capacity to serve industry, there seems to be reasonable ground for believing that industrial managers, North and South, will make large demands upon the Negro labor source when normal production is the order of the day and the present depression is a matter of history. Already employers and their organizations are giving more attention than heretofore to the possibilities of training and development for these workers. A new day has dawned for the Negro wage-earner and a new labor recruit has entered the door of American industry.

GEORGE E. HAYNES.



NOT A CRAMP AND A GLARE!

The Women's Bureau, in a motion picture, presses the need for industrial hygiene

Industrial Self-Control

YOUNG indeed if years are considered the criteria of age, but old and wise in experience and rich in accomplishments is the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the Ladies' Garment Industry of New York, which this year celebrates its tenth birthday. In these days of sanitary engineers and industrial hygiene it is easy to forget that sanitation in factories was not always accepted as a necessity and it is difficult to realize that only a few years back the conditions of work in the clothing industry, in New York city especially, were so outrageously bad that they became the bone of contention in the ugly controversy that took place between the employers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in 1910. It was out of that strike that the Joint Board of Sanitary Control arose.

At the conference of the leaders of the employers' and workers' organizations held in July, 1910, under the chairmanship of Louis D. Brandeis and at the suggestion of Julius Henry Cohen, attorney for the Manufacturers' Association, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control was established. It was a realization that the sanitary condition of the shops was a problem of the whole industry and that concerted action of all parts of the industry was needed before a radical and fundamental improvement could be accomplished, says the tenth annual report of the board, that led the conference to enun-

ciate the following principles of sanitary improvement and control:

That an industry is responsible for the conditions existing in its establishments.

That it is futile to expect an improvement in industrial conditions by state legislation and enforcement.

That it is the duty of an industry to control, supervise and improve the sanitary conditions of its establishments without depending upon outside agents.

That the general public is directly and vitally interested in the sanitary conditions existing in an industry.

That decent sanitary conditions of the workshops is a debt which manufacturers owe to the public and to the workers.

That an efficient and permanent improvement in conditions of industrial establishments can be brought about only by the efforts and through the cooperation of the employers and the workers and by the assistance of the public. In other words, by Industrial Self-Control.

The board as then established consisted of seven members—two nominees of the manufacturers, two of the unions and three representatives of the public. The first step taken was a detailed investigation of the workshops. Upon the completion of this survey, which proved conclusively that there were many serious defects in the working conditions, a new set of sanitary standards was established. It remained then to enforce these standards, but not by the old police and spy methods which so antagonized the employers; educational and advisory visits by intelligent representatives were substituted.

When the board started its work, manufacturing was being done in small overcrowded, ill-lighted, badly ventilated, unsafe and insanitary workshops, "located mainly on the East Side and in the central districts of the city." A great deal of the work was being done in tenement houses and in sweat shops, in the homes of the workers. There were innumerable small shops working on seasonal goods of which neither the Health Department nor the Labor Department had knowledge and in which it was unsafe for the worker to be housed. Fire dangers in the industry were extreme. There were either no fire escapes or inadequate ones, wooden stairways, overcrowding, storage of inflammable materials, and improper exits; and the workers, moreover, were totally ignorant of what exits there were.

Gross ignorance was disclosed on the part of both employers and workers regarding rudiments of sanitation and proper health conditions. Both groups were indeed indifferent to the whole situation. The revolution of this industry was, therefore, a feat. However, instead of being discouraged by what seemed so hopeless a muddle, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control was goaded on and in the past ten years the ladies' garment industry in New York has entered into a new era.

For the most part, the shops have been moved into less crowded neighborhoods and quarters. All the shops are lighted by electricity and many shops have even introduced electric irons instead of the old gas or coal ones. There are no more foot-power machines. The toilet accommodations are of improved pattern; there are proper washroom facilities and most of the shops have rest and dressing rooms. There are no sweat shops in the sense that this term was applied to shops in tenements. There is no home work. The most important change produced, according to the report of the board, is the improved safety and fire protection. Adequate and fire-proof fire escapes have been installed and there are unobstructed exits sufficient to clear the buildings easily. Besides the change in these material conditions, the board has carried on an educational campaign among the workers, teaching them easy methods of sanitation, its importance to their health and their responsibility in keeping the conditions in their industry on a high plane. This part of their work has been highly successful and has resulted in an awakened interest in health problems on the part of workers and employers.

The most recent undertaking of the sanitary board is the establishment of the Union Health Center. The money for the building and equipment, $90,000, was provided by six local branches of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. This is the first industrial, cooperative, self-supporting health center in the country. Its functions are both preventive and curative and it has been extensively used by the union members. On the whole, the ten years' achievement of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is one of the bright spots in the history of New York industry. The board and Dr. George M. Price, who from the beginning has been a stimulating force in its work, are to be heartily congratulated.

Open Shop Encyclopedia

WHATEVER else is said of it, the Open Shop Encyclopedia for Debaters, issued by the Open Shop Department of the National Association of Manufacturers, involved in its preparation an extensive piece of work. The manual is almost completely a compilation of quotations and statements from innumerable sources arranged in an orderly and coördinated plan. However, it is apparent that only those statements have been culled, whether from economist, worker or employer, which directly disparage the closed shop, the avowed purpose of the manufacturers' association being a furtherance of the "open shop" campaign.

Definitions of terms and statement of purpose followed by a declaration of principles of the manufacturers' association introduce the readers to the complexities of trade unionism and the closed and open shops. Following this is the history and organization of labor unions. It is interesting here to find statements by members of labor organizations followed by contradictory statements from authors on industrial and economic subjects. This arrangement of material is repeated frequently throughout the book. Articles by such economists as Leo Wolman are quoted showing that after all the vast majority of workers, 81.6 per cent, do not even belong to unions. Thirty-five pages are given over in the effort to prove that the open shop does not mean a non-union shop, as trade unionists so frequently contend, and that employers do not refuse to employ union workmen nor refuse to negotiate collectively so long as the representative of the shop is not merely a union representative.

Unions are held up as irresponsible, morally and legally, evading and breaking contracts. No mention is made, however, of the many examples of abrogation of agreements by employers, notably—not to go beyond very recent times—the packers' arbitration agreement [see the SURVEY for March 26, p. 915].

One of the most palpably and flagrantly bald chapters in the book is that on Open Shop Efficiency and Production Comparisons. Needless to say, any statements on relative efficiency of open and closed shops are worthless unless based on scientifically conducted experiments. But there are such experiments, say the compilers of the manual. Such quotations as the ones from Walter Gordon Merritt to the effect that "the employer who has become the logical head by a process of selection . . . must be the most capable of running the business and the divided control results in less efficiency," and "the employer is entitled to more voice in certain things in the management of his business than the employes who work under him and give the service," are not solely relied upon to prove the point. "Comparison was made" the authors say, "between the Willsea Works, one of the closed-shop employers, and the American Wood-working Machinery Company of Rochester and Swett Iron Works of Medina, N. Y., both open shops." Then follow the details of production in these shops to prove the open shop much more efficient than the closed. It hardly needs to be pointed out that no experiment can possibly be accurate nor any comparison have the least value unless the conditions of the experiment being made are controlled so that the only changing factor is the one which

is to be compared. For example, in interpreting the output of the three plants under observation, equipment, personnel, general relationship between workers and management, must all be taken into consideration. In other words analogous conditions of employment and management must be maintained, the only difference being in the matter of the "openness" or "closedness" of the shop. The recent Public Health study of an eight- and a ten-hour factory overcame this difficulty by comparing each establishment with itself at different times.

Other chapters of the book are on Strikes, Industrial Warfare, Unlawful Acts Condoned by Unions, Competition and the Closed Shop, The Rights of Independent Labor, Some Ethical Aspects of the Open Shop. Considering the fact that, according to the Manufacturers' Association, the open shop is in no way a non-union movement, a good deal of space has been given over by them, in their encyclopedia, to the evils of unionism and the grievances of employers against unionists.

ESTHER B. MOSES.

The Employers' Press

THE most immediate problem before the employer, according to the opinions expressed in a large variety of employers' journals, is that of stopping the process of deflation. Financial control of industry, the methods of dealing with the present labor situation and the need for increasing skill in management are also emphasized.

The Manufacturers' Record is one of the journals that makes a firm demand that the process of deflation shall be discontinued. In the closing paragraph of an open letter to President Harding, R. H. Edmonds, the editor, says:

> The people of all sections . . . believe that the only sure road to returning prosperity is a radical change in policy and management of the Federal Reserve Board.

In reply to the statement of the Charlotte (N. C.) News that the continuance of Gov. W. P. G. Harding as head of the Federal Reserve Board will "be eminently satisfactory to the financial interests" the Manufacturers' Record says:

> Quite satisfactory, if true, to the "financial interests" of the country but not to the business interests, the farmers, cattle-raisers, and millions of men thrown out of employment. It is merely a question as to whether the creators of wealth, the farms, the factories and mines shall be subservient to the "financial interests." Shall the great money traders with international affiliations rule the country making the real producers and creators of employment hewers of wood and drawers of water?

Another note is struck in the same key by the Bulletin of Associated General Contractors. After long discussion in regard to the "open shop" and wage reductions before the Building Division in the Conference of Associated General Contractors held in New Orleans January 25, the chairman, Thomas Bentley, is here reported to have said:

> If I understand this section of the country right it isn't so much that the contractor is working an open shop as it is that the business men demand of the contractor that he work an open shop. I have on my desk an item clipped from the Tulsa (Okla.) Gazette in which there is a bank advertisement that says that the bank will not loan money for any building improvement or a public improvement unless the specifications and contract as drawn guarantee that the job will be run "open shop."

American Industries contains a survey of business conditions as a result of a questionnaire sent to 3,100 correspondents and executives. In the basic industries of iron and steel, machinery and textiles, the barometer is said to fluctuate the most. As far as labor conditions are concerned only 9 per cent of the plants in the iron and steel industry report labor disturbances. Wage reductions were reported by 95 per cent of the plants and decreased production in only 5 per cent. Among textile manufacturers 14 per cent report labor disturbances. There were decreases in 93 per cent of the plants and production increases in 96 per cent. From reports of 800 miscellaneous manufacturers there are practically no outstanding labor disturbances. In commenting on these reports Stephan C. Mason, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, says:

> There have naturally been wage reductions in practically 90 per cent of all industries. But it looks like quite a good omen that production nevertheless has increased in practically all lines of industry. Wide evidence is given that the average worker has accepted the new conditions in a sane and sober manner and is now giving more than before.

"The economic situation is about as completely tangled up by conflicting interests and shortsighted practice as it well could become and there is no light ahead," says the Gas Age in an editorial on Price Predicament. That something more than wage cuts is necessary is the opinion of the editor:

> It means new things, development, research, coordination, a broad gage grasp of the conditions, and authority to compel if necessary. . . . The price predicament simply indicates poor management. We are destined to have a high level of prices for some time. Many will lose money . . . . Those who study their problems and try to readjust in a rational way will survive.

Telling the Employes the Facts is the title of an editorial in Railway Age. It describes the way that the Pennsylvania Railroad is distributing a bulletin called the Pennsylvania Standard among its employes with the aim of giving them more information about the railroad system.

> The loyalty and morale of railroad employes [says the editorial] will never be fully restored until they have been given opportunity to know the true policies of the management and reasons for them. They must be given the truth regarding the actual earnings of the companies, the amounts paid out in wages and in interest and in dividends, the effect of working rules that destroy efficiency and all those other matters regarding which the Plumb Plan League and other organizations are making persistent and successful efforts to mislead the employes. The employes will soon detect a wide discrepancy between the statements of their officers and those of the Plumb Plan League for example. The more intelligent will be sure to investigate and find out who is telling the truth. When every company makes the same effort to educate and win the loyalty of its employes that the other organizations are making to mislead them and destroy their loyalty the relations between the companies and their employes will speedily begin to improve.

The attitude of employers toward employes in the solution of the problem of industrial relationships is receiving increasing attention. Public Service Management, in commenting on these relationships, quotes the Indianapolis Union:

> In determining this matter the advice of extremists and radicals on either side is of little or no value . . . . From the standpoint of labor let us approach the question in a spirit of give and take. If we are to continue in our progress then there is only one answer and that is that capital and labor must find common ground on which to cooperate for the common good.

The Iron Age reports E. H. Gary's discussion of the principles of the United States Steel Corporation before the annual meeting of the Corporation. After his characterization of the Corporation as a "corporation with a soul," Judge Gary examines its labor policy in detail. He regards "the natural and certain effects of labor unionism" as "inefficiency and high costs." Further he says that

> . . . if our shops should become thoroughly unionized, and all other likewise should recognize the unions, and the steel industry should become entirely organized, as the leaders have openly attempted, then the management would be in the hands of the unions . . . The end sought by the unions means disaster and destruction.

The suggestions which Judge Gary makes for the solution of this pressing problem are "publicity, regulation and reasonable control through government agencies."

THE SURVEY



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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION—John B. Andrews, sec'y.; 131 E. 23rd St., New York. For adequate public employment service; industrial safety and health laws; workmen's compensation; unemployment, old age and health insurance; maternity protection; one day's rest in seven; efficient law enforcement. Publishes quarterly, "The American Labor Legislation Review."

AMERICAN CHILD HYGIENE ASSOCIATION, FORMERLY AMERICAN ASSN. FOR STUDY AND PREVENTION OF INFANT MORTALITY—Gertrude B. Knipp, sec'y.; 1211 Cathedral St., Baltimore. Urges prenatal, obstetrical and infant care; birth registration; maternal nursing; infant welfare consultations; care of children of preschool age and school age.

AMERICAN CITY BUREAU—An agency for organizing and strengthening Chambers of Commerce, City Clubs, and other civic and commercial organizations; and for training of men in the profession of community leadership. Address our nearest office—
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AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY—Founded 1828, labors for an international peace of justice. Its official organ is the Advocate of Peace, $2.00 a year. Arthur Deerin Call, Secretary and Editor, 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION—Annual Congress of American penologists, criminologists, social workers in delinquency. Next Congress Jacksonville, Florida, November, 1921. O. F. Lewis, General Secretary, 135 East 15 street, New York city.

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The results of this intellectual movement have been manifold. In the first place there has been effected a most remarkable literary revolution. The literary powers of the educated classes of China have been given a new and powerful mode of expression; not only have the leaders of this movement been active in translating western novelists, such as Ibsen and Tolstoy, and the writings of western political and social thinkers, but they have also created a new poetry and the beginnings of a new fiction of their own. There are also the beginnings of a literature on first-hand studies of the social life and institutions of China written in the mandarin, and from the critical and scientific viewpoint.

Another very evident result of this movement has been a clearer understanding of, and deeper interest in, democracy. The experience of eight or nine years of a nominal republic has brought home to the minds of young China the necessity of much more fundamental social and intellectual transformations before real democracy can be achieved. The ancient social ideals and family system are standing in the way of carrying to completion the democratic platform inaugurated by the revolution of 1912. This new intellectual movement has, therefore, concentrated its attention more especially on intellectual and social transformations than on political questions. Such subjects as the transformation of industry from the old guild system to the modern factory system, the emancipation of women, the transformation of the Chinese family from the old clan system to the modern smaller unit, the reform of ancient marriage and funeral customs—these and many other social subjects have occupied the attention of this new movement.

Along with this interest in social problems in general, there has developed a much deeper interest on the part of the educated men in the problems of the common people than has been present before in China. The students have, for the first time, made careful studies of the conditions of living, of the wage scales of the laborers in modern industries and of those working under the ancient guild system. The intellectuals of new China have distinctly thrown in their lot with the common man, and are putting their minds on the problem of raising the standard of living, and educating the great mass of the toiling Chinese.

Another marked effect of this movement has been the beginnings of educational reform. Prof. John Dewey, of Columbia, who is now spending his second year in Peking as a lecturer in the National University, has been the principal influence in bringing about this educational revolution. His writings and his viewpoint on educational and social questions have had a profound effect on this whole movement. He has lectured not only in Peking, but also in Shanghai, Hangchow, Nanking, Tientsin, Mukden, and through the province of Shansi and Shantung. These lectures have been printed in many of the magazines and distributed widely throughout the country. The emphasis which Professor Dewey has given to experimental education and to the problem method of teaching, and to the importance of a close connection between education and industry in a modern democracy, has had telling effects. In many places in China, the young men and young women of the colleges have organized in their own schools, or in borrowed buildings, free night schools in the curricula of which there has been marked emphasis on industrial education. They have organized open forums in some places where practical social problems are discussed with the people under the leadership of college students. They have also cooperated with the industrial guilds in improving their age-long methods of apprentice education.

In the school system itself, the results of this movement can distinctly be seen. Beginning last year, the text-books in the primary schools were printed in mandarin. In the higher normal college in Peking and in primary schools in other places, the influence of Professor Dewey is reflected in the opening of play laboratories equipped with various simple forms of apparatus and commonplace materials such as boxes, pieces of metal and measuring utensils containing grain. These laboratories are affording a place in which the Chinese children play. The way in which they utilize these materials is used by their teachers as a means of discovering the type of education best fitted to the natural abilities of the child.

There has been an increased interest in the primary and higher primary schools and in vocational education. The new trend in education is also shown in various movements toward co-education. In 1919, a group of a few women students entered the National University and inaugurated a new system of co-education in that foremost institution of China. The Normal College for men and the Women's Normal College in Peking have adopted a cooperative system whereby the same professors give courses in both institutions, a system similar to the relation of the faculties of Harvard University and Radcliffe College.

Undoubtedly, the most powerful influence of this movement has been a change in the whole mental attitude of young, thinking China. The old, established viewpoints have all been critically investigated; even the fundamental, moral principles of Confucius have been questioned. The organization of life in every department—in government, education, the family, industry and religion—has been analyzed. The term more used than any other in the modern magazines is *She Hui Kai Tsao*, or "social reconstruction." The greater part of the ancient way of life is considered by these young democrats to be useless and cumbersome. Young China is eagerly reaching out for new methods and tools from the West; is seeking to study scientifically the problems of China, and to build anew a more progressive and stronger nation.

CIVICS: Community Organization

Conducted by BRUNO LASKER

Culture in a Mining Town

HIBBING is the largest of the mining towns of the Mesaba Iron Range in Northern Minnesota. There are thirty-three iron mines within a radius of ten miles, and the town is enclosed by mines on three sides. It has a population of approximately 16,000, not including the settlements clustering about each mine in the vicinity. The miners come from every country in Europe, especially the countries bordering on Austria, Russia and Italy. Yet with all the foreign-born, there is a goodly number of college graduates among the engineers, chemists, business men, teachers and other professional men and women. The Mahoning mine, the largest open pit in the world, is eating off one end of the city, street by street. Stores, hotels, apartment houses, garages are being moved to a new town-site two miles south, where a thoroughly up-to-date municipality is fast assuming proportions, leaving one end of the town to the mercy of the gnawing three-hundred-ton steam shovels.

Naturally, as the future of business property in the old Hibbing has been unsettled for some time, property owners have been cautious about investing too much money in buildings for public use. The public library, recognizing the need for social life in a mining community, and the lack of housing facilities for such expression, provided social rooms when the splendid new library was built. These rooms seemed too spacious at the time, but now, at the end of four years, they are inadequate for the demands upon them. They consist of a committee room, kitchen, club room, auditorium, men's reading room and check room and have a separate street entrance so that the library work may be carried on independently of the social activities.

The mining companies have nothing to do with the public library, except that, of course, the burden of taxation in Iron Range communities falls most heavily on mining property. No fees whatever are charged for the use of all the equipment, except in the case of breakage and lost articles. Even laundry bills are paid by the library board. It must be confessed that this last item is provided not so much for the benefit of the public as for the convenience of controlling their return from the laundry in time for the next social function. There is no absolute rule about the use of the rooms except that they may not be used for private parties or card playing or dancing. At first no meeting was held for which admission was charged, but as this worked a hardship on poorly equipped and struggling churches, pay entertainments may now be given "by local charitable, religious and educational organizations." It is not expected that the rooms will be open on Sunday, but sometimes workingmen's unions, Jewish societies and others have used them.

Much tact is required on the part of the librarian to see that dates of rival organizations do not coincide, that hours of entertainments do not overlap, that the kitchen is clean for each new shift of workers, and that linen and towels are always in readiness. Last year 920 meetings were held in the social rooms, with an attendance of 70,000 people. The social activities do not overshadow the regular work of the library, as is shown by the fact that in the same year 171,000 volumes were circulated.

Life is hard and lonely for the people in distant mining locations and the burned and cut-over farms of this north country. To reach these people the library board has provided a twenty-ton bus, shelving 1,200 books, which carries reading matter to all the localities in the township. The bus work offers a combination of library service, Americanization and social service.

Many foreigners, rough miners, "floaters," lumberjacks and day laborers do not like to use the finely furnished reading rooms, as they feel out of place in their mackinaws and shoe pacs. For these men a reading room has been provided, as attractive as it can be made, where the men may congregate, chat, read, smoke and write letters. A local man is in charge. Daily about one hundred and twenty-five men use this room.

As in every mining community, there is a large transient population, with very poor housing facilities. Houses in these peripatetic towns are liable to be picked up by a caterpillar tractor any time and carted off to another location, so they are not too substantially built. Many teachers and surveyors are forced to lodge in cold rooms. For them the warm, bright library is a real boon, especially on Sunday afternoons.

The library has a branch in the new Hibbing which is growing rapidly. This branch is the official polling place for the community and was the meeting place for all organizations in the new town until the meetings threatened to swallow the library feature at which time a halt was necessary.

In fact, it is impossible to think of any civic organization in Hibbing without the library. Men are accustomed to going there to committee meetings, to Kiwanis meetings, to cast their votes, to lodge banquets, as well as for information about their businesses. Their children come to Boy Scout meetings, for reading and pastime. Their wives come to club meetings and to home economics demonstrations. Is it any wonder that the business men know the library and will recognize and support it when necessary? It stands to them for community service.

IRMA M. WALKER.
Public Library,
Hibbing, Minn.

Four Types of Organization[1]

NUMEROUS forms of community organization have been devised, but three types stand out most prominently. It is in the composition of the community council, executive committee, or board of directors of the community organization that the underlying policy of these different types of community organization is most clearly differentiated.

The first type conceives the community organization as a pure democracy in which the council or directorate is chosen by the community meeting in which all citizens are eligible members. The work of the organization is carried out through committees which endeavor to secure the cooperation of all associations and agencies in the community, but existing organizations as such have no representation in the community organization. Its chief weakness seems to be that it fails to provide any effective means of integrating the efforts of existing organizations within the community. If it would actually work according to the ideals which it espouses, it might accomplish the desired results, but it presupposes a degree of democracy which does not exist, and it fails to recognize the natural allegiance of members of the community to special interest groups. The tendency of such community organizations is sometimes like that of some of our religious denominations, which were organized to promote denominational unity, but which have resulted in adding new sects. This type of community organization tends to minimize the importance of local associations and has something of the same weakness as the "one-big-union" idea in the labor world.

The second type of organization is fundamentally a federa-

[1] See What Is a Community Center, the SURVEY for March 12.

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of the various "internationales" on radical developments in America.[1]

Over against all these, here are set forth certain "constructive movements and measures in America," including, we are told, the efforts of the government to keep out Russian influences; to protect freedom of speech and make it safe; to rid our population of elements found to be seditious and menacing. Here is a lengthy discussion of "organized labor and capital and industrial problems," including a history of trade unions and the efforts of the revolutionists to capture them, the plans of guild socialism, the "Plumb plan" for reorganization of the railroads, and a consideration of the likelihood of a political party made up of workers and farmers. Finally follow some two thousand pages filled with programs of "constructive activities in immigrant education and citizenship training" from many states. These latter pages offer some valuable materials to readers and teachers who can use them without taking them too literally.

But the report as a whole reveals what is one of the greatest weaknesses of our democratic organization of society in its present stage. That is to say, the report was written by lawyers and legislators who, because they are officials of the state, tend to assume that they are the state, and that the whole course of the future must be determined by themselves. They assume that the destiny of the commonwealth is secure as long as their own ideas prevail, but that it is jeopardized when any other sort of idea appears. Other ideas are suspect, if not seditious or subversive. Accordingly, there is nowhere in these thousands of pages a single hint from this committee that lawyers or statesmen or politicians should learn anything from these materials or from our social unrest, except, of course, how to make laws that will more effectively curb, repress and suppress all such "seditious activities." There is scarcely a glimmer of understanding that there was or is anything worthy the notice of the state in the conditions out of which these agitations and "subversive" activities grow: They are, one and all, importations from foreign centers of radical propaganda, or the product of envy, hatred and distrust. The future would be safe if all children were brought up to respect the properly constituted instrumentalities of the state and its elected officials. It seems never to have occurred to the members of this committee that they themselves could be anything but in the right!

Who then is in the wrong! Some business men, by "taking advantage of the situation to reap inordinate gain . . . contribute . . . to the social unrest which affords the radical a field of operation." But this consideration is of small moment. The real difficulty is with our public teachers, including instructors in our schools and colleges, editors, ministers and social workers.

It is true, of course, that large numbers of such people have done effective service in support of traditional institutions and the *status quo*. But there are others in each of these groups who are given to a "disjointed, unprincipled, unpractical or sentimental altruism which is doing much harm as practiced in university, in church, in philanthropic and in social circles," and which "must be shown up or made to understand the dangers of its efforts." Hence, "the reeducation of the educators and of the educated classes must go hand in hand with the reorganization," not of the state, society, industrial conditions and the like, but of our educational systems, so that education shall become a more effective tool for the inculcation of the attitude of mind represented by such lawyers, statesmen and politicians as think they are safeguarding the future, but who, in reality, are merely trying to enact into permanence a state of mind which they have taken over from the past. They say: "We cannot give the right point of view to our foreign populations and to our children unless it is ingrained in all of us."

But the state is not everything in America. The churches were once free. The Lusk committee attempts to read the ministers their duty. The Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, makes reply: "Our apostolic predecessors were accused of turning the world upside-down; and whether the Lusk committee views us with favor or disfavor, we shall go on . . . until the world stands brotherhood-side-up as God means it shall."

The social settlements, also, come in for some fatherly advice from the committee, which accuses them of being centers of radical activity and teaching. The committee is as empty of real understanding of the work of the settlements as it is of the real needs of our times.

In dealing with war-time activities, the committee betrays complete lack of ability to understand conditions and movements. Its story of the pre-war "pacifist" movement, patched together of fragments of letters taken from files secured under police search, is a very thorough "restoration" of something that never existed on the earth or in the air or in the waters under the earth. Nonetheless, having dug up these horrifying ghosts, something must be done about them. What shall we do?

In addition to legislation about education, we ought to have a "revival of religious and moral standards as the basis of political and economic programs." And we ought to get together for the purpose of protecting our ancient "ideals of individual freedom and initiative." But getting together for the purpose of protecting individual freedom seems something of a contradiction. It is, and a dangerous one. "The very fact," we are told, "of organizing for social offense against those who are attacking our life is in itself dangerous, because unless we are keen of insight, these very organizations are going to be, as they have been in the past, taken possession of by astute, hard-working, clear-headed (are there any such?) revolutionists, and turned from purposes of reconstruction to purposes of contamination." It's an awkward situation!

But these volumes reveal, quite unconsciously, so far as their authors go, the most interesting of all clues to the solution of our present political problems including the problems of "revolutionary radicalism." Our statesmen of the Lusk type are greatly concerned about the education of the rest of us. Should we not be equally concerned about the education of our statesmen? If we could develop a race of political leaders who could understand economic and political questions, should we not be far on our way to the solutions we desire? These Lusk volumes are the sort of thing we have the right to expect from the sort of men we select to do our political "thinking" for us! Education is the solution of our problems, as this committee suggests. The question is: Who should be educated and who should do the teaching?

JOSEPH K. HART.

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[1] Attention is paid to the SURVEY in Part One, Revolutionary and Subversive Movements Abroad and at Home, Section II, American Conditions and Historical Review, Sub-Section V, Propaganda, Chapter I, Newspapers and Periodicals, which quotes from publications which are "either frankly revolutionary and seditious or those which show an apologetic attitude toward all subversive movements." The SURVEY is No. 63 in this list. And quotations are made from articles or news reports on the general strikes in Winnipeg and Seattle, the Boston police strike and the demand for the release of political prisoners to support the contention that it is the "type of publication" which "on numerous occasions has adopted an apologetic attitude toward extreme radical activities." On page 2005 along with the Freeman, the Nation, the New Republic, etc., the SURVEY is listed in a table of Liberal Papers Published in New York City Having Endorsement of Revolutionary Groups. These may all get what aid and comfort there is in the published reflection at the outset of the chapter on the press that it is not "sought to indicate by their inclusion in this report that the committee feels that they should be suppressed or any curb put upon them."

Perhaps the most damning item against the SURVEY in the view of the committee is a quotation from the late Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch, of the Rochester Theological Seminary, author of Christianizing the Social Order, who wrote that "if a man reads the Bible and the SURVEY, he ought to find salvation," a friendly endorsement which we used to print regularly on our circulars.

The activities of the editor of the SURVEY, as a citizen, in getting a hearing for a manifesto issued by envoys of the International Congress of Women at the Hague in 1915, in the organization of the American Neutral Conference Committee in 1916 and in the work of the American Union against Militarism in 1915-1917 are duly entered.—EDITOR.

Six Weeks of Struggle

By Harold J. Laski

[In his correspondence from London early in March, Mr. Laski interpreted the factors which would loom up when, on March 31, the British government relinquished its war-time control of the coal industry instead of waiting until the close of the statutory period on August 31. This was brought out in the SURVEY *for April 2 (it had been delayed in the mails) in the very midst of the crisis and at a time when his prophetic analysis threw light on what lay back of the newspaper cables. In the present article Mr. Laski sums up the situation as he sees it this month and gives his first-hand appraisal of developments in the interval, already briefly reported in the* SURVEY *and with which he has been closely in touch. In a third article he will deal with the probable outcome.*—THE EDITOR.]

WE have now entered upon the sixth week of the coal struggle, and no signs appear to indicate that the parties are nearer together than at its commencement. It has been a period pregnant with great events. It has seen the "triple alliance" break down; it has seen a conservative newspaper like the Times condemn the owners' case and reveal a generous sympathy for the miners' position; it has seen a spontaneous intervention by the House of Commons which at one time seemed likely to end the conflict. But, though the government has shifted its position, there are no signs of an accommodating temper in its utterance. The lord chancellor has attacked the miners in a speech which recalls the days of the Ulster rebellion in its vehemence and absurdity. Austen Chamberlain has declared the strike to be political and not industrial in character. The prime minister seemed yesterday (in his Maidstone speech) to demand a type of settlement which he, not less than the owners, must know to be immediately impossible. Meanwhile the dispute drags on, and British industries are slowly being starved out of existence. Two million workers are now unemployed; two million more are on short time. The army reserves are still in being, and a white guard, known as a Defence Force, has been embodied. Very shortly, the cost to the taxpayer of government resistance will be greater than the cost of accepting the miners' original demands.

The issue at stake is not a simple one, and it is worth while to put it as baldly as possible. Shortly before March 31, the owners announced the new terms on which they were prepared to work the industry. These were:

a. District settlements based upon the ability of each district to pay. Any pretence at a uniform wage was thus swept away. If South Wales mines were making a loss and Yorkshire mines a large profit, South Wales miners would suffer and Yorkshire miners receive an increment of wages.

b. Reductions in wages which varied from 40 per cent in South Wales and Somerset to a very slight reduction in South Yorkshire. Outside this last district, this would have meant a decrease to a standard below that of 1914. It will be remembered that the first Sankey award [March 1919] was based upon the proved premise that the standard of 1914 was impossibly low. The case for the owners was that the mines were now unprofitable; they were losing at the rate of one million sterling per week; and that the national settlement did not take account of differences in district conditions.

The miners' executive naturally declared itself unable to accept such terms; and on April 1, the pits were empty. They also took the unprecedented step of withdrawing the safety-men from the mines and thus leaving them open to the danger of destruction by fire and water. Their ground for so doing was that so direct a frontal attack could be met only by resistance of the most drastic kind. There is no doubt that this alienated public sympathy; indeed, Mr. Hodges himself admitted that he was opposed to it. Probably it was forced upon him by the more extreme members of his board. Both the prime minister and Mr. Asquith insisted that the safety-men must go back to work before adjudication of the dispute was possible. Eventually, on the tenth of April, a compromise was agreed to by which the miners were not to interfere with volunteer safety-men. By now the miners had taken the further drastic step of calling upon the other members of the "triple alliance" for assistance. This was agreed to; but action was postponed for four days (until Tuesday, April 12) to enable the government to negotiate. A further postponement until Friday, April 15, was later agreed upon to see what might be the outcome of the negotiations. It is important, in view of what occured, to realize that both Mr. Thomas (of the National Union of Railwaymen) and Mr. Gosling (of the Transport Workers) insisted officially to the prime minister upon their sense of the absolute rightness of the miners' case; of their sense that the issue was a purely industrial one; and of their determination to use the whole force at the disposal of the "triple alliance" to secure the miners' victory. At this point, the government embodied the reserves, created a new corps, the Defence Force, and brought into play its skeleton motor transport organization for the maintenance of the food supply.

On April 11 and April 12, the miners, the owners and the government met in conference. At that time the miners proposed that a pool by means of a levy on profits per ton be created to enable the poorer mines to be graded up to the level of the richer. They offered themselves to forego 2 sh. per shift, an equivalent of thirty millions sterling per year, as the price of new terms. The owners rejected this. The government, without, at the moment, passing upon wages, suggested district settlements to which a national wages board could be a party as an advisor. This the men rejected since it was obvious that a merely advising body could not secure a national settlement. The government then rejected the idea of a pool because it would mean government control in the worst form and because it would penalize well managed mines at the expense of ill managed mines. Mr. Hodges, in reply, pointed out that as to the first objection, if the owners chose (as they did not choose) to cooperate with the men there was no need for any government interference at all; as to the second, most differences in the cost of production were due not to differences in management but to differences in geology. It was unfair to penalize the miner in a poor coalfield for physical conditions he could not help. The prime minister remained unconvinced, and on the Wednesday night it seemed as though the stage were set for a strike of the "triple alliance."

Thursday, April 14, was a day of peace effort. It culminated at 10 o'clock in the evening in a meeting at the House of Commons in which Evan Williams, the president of the Mining Association, stated the case for the owners. He created so unfavorable an impression and seemed so little to understand the position that a suggestion was made to hear

Mr. Hodges state the case for the miners. Mr. Hodges was summoned and, as I have heard from a member who was present, carried his audience away with the ability shown in his statement of his case. He was asked a number of questions and finally the question as to whether he would be willing to discuss wages with the owners, the further questions of a pool and a national settlement being put, temporarily, on one side. Mr. Hodges, *speaking for himself*, replied in the affirmative. A deputation of members then waited at midnight upon the prime minister to acquaint him with the new situation. The latter does not seem to have welcomed their news; and, so far as one can gather, he seems to have resented an independent interference upon the part of the House of Commons. Up to that private meeting, he had steadfastly declined discussion on the ground that it might prejudice negotiation. On the Thursday, even Mr. Asquith's patience had given way, and he had insisted upon discussion for the following afternoon.

It was unnecessary. Friday, April 15, was the day of gravest disaster the British trade union movement has so far known in its history. It dawned with a wide-spread popular assurance that as a result of Mr. Hodges' "offer" peace was certain. But Mr. Hodges had not made an "offer," he had stated his opinion; moreover, he was not in a position to make any offer. He was an official of the Miners' Federation, and only its executive was authorized to treat for terms. The miners' executive met on the Friday morning and refused to confirm the suggestion Mr. Hodges had made. He resigned but was persuaded to withdraw his resignation. It is said that the motion to reject his offer was carried by only one vote.

The scene then shifted to Unity House where the railwaymen and transport workers were in joint session. Their leaders had been profuse in expressions of loyalty to the miners. They were not a dozen hours away from what might prove to be a revolution. It behooved them to act firmly and dramatically. They did. At four o'clock Mr. Thomas appeared before the waiting pressmen and announced that the strike was called off. The reason given was that, by refusing to discuss wages without the pool and a national wage settlement, the miners had turned an industrial into a political dispute. Neither railwaymen nor transport workers were prepared to fight for that issue. It ought to be added, on authority which I believe to be unquestionable, that if the "triple alliance" had waited two hours the government would have given away. A majority of the Cabinet is said to have favored that course. One member of the Cabinet has certainly spoken with contempt of the conduct of the owners in the dispute.

The shock of this desertion was beyond description. What is, I think, remarkable is that, outside the mean reactionism of the Morning Post, not a single newspaper of any standing regarded the breakdown with equanimity; the Manchester Guardian, in a very notable leader, frankly wrote of it as a disaster to the country. The miners were singularly reticent and it is a great tribute to their character that no attack beyond a formal convention in delegate meeting has come from them. The executive summoned the delegates from the coalfields for April 22; beyond that they kept silence. Neither Mr. Thomas nor Mr. Gosling offered any explanation of their policy; and that although the branches of their own unions poured in resolutions of condemnation upon them.

The delegate conference re-affirmed the original demands of the miners and—in view of the breakdown a very notable thing—passed a unanimous vote of confidence in Hodges. He richly deserved it. No organization in the trade union world has been better served in a great crisis than Mr. Hodges has served the miners. He has been moderate, straightforward, eloquent and thorough. He has presented his own case thoroughly and admirably; he has put his finger with unerring accuracy upon the weakness of the owners' case. When Mr. Smillie resigned the presidency of the Miners' Federation, I did not think a successor could be found. But Mr. Hodges has proved himself at every point as capable as his great forerunner.

The sequel to the Miners' Delegate Conference was a further meeting with the owners and the government over which not Mr. Lloyd George but Sir Robert Horne presided. That was, frankly, an unfortunate choice. Sir Robert Horne is an advocate and not a negotiator. He was suspected (I do not say with justice) of having already prejudged the issue; certainly he seems to have believed absolutely in the divine right of private ownership and the political nature of any dispute which did not turn upon actual amounts in wages. He made the men a new offer: district settlements; a national wages board for advisory purposes; a grant to the industry of ten millions sterling on condition that a settlement was effected to last at least eighteen months. The ten million was so to be used that the immediate reduction would commence at three shillings per day. When the subsidy was exhausted, the miners must depend upon district settlements according to the ability of each district to pay, with, of course, the additional proviso that within the stated period strikes were ruled out. It ought to be added that the owners made here the new concession of publicity for the facts of the industry. That is, five weeks too late, they offered a knowledge which, if offered on March 31, might have done much to diminish the acrimony of the present dispute.

The miners rejected the new offer, and, indeed, they had no alternative. Practically, they were offered a bribe of ten millions to forego their claims. But they had already lost more than ten millions in wages; and when the subsidy was exhausted, say at the end of June, they would be back at March 31 again with the additional weakness of being debarred from striking. So, at the moment, the dispute stands.

Outside the parties to the conflict, real efforts have been made to find a formula of settlement. Distinguished economists like Sir W. Beveridge and Sir J. Stamp; great coal experts like Sir R. Redmayne have all urged theories of a tonnage levy (i. e., a pool on production) free from any dangers that might be urged against the miners' own scheme. It has been suggested that the Duckham report which urged unification of the colliery holdings be adopted by the government. Lord Haldane has suggested a temporary settlement and the appointment of a small commission (say five) of neutral experts to report on the future government of the industry, the government pledging itself to accept such a report. So far the government has expressed no opinion on these plans. It has merely denounced the men. The miners are determined to fight on; and neither the depletion of their funds nor the starvation of their dependents has affected their fighting spirit. If they are driven back to work, they will merely gird themselves up for a future struggle later.

In a subsequent article I shall try to analyze the significance of the struggle, both in relation to the miners themselves and to the general future of British trade-unionism.

London, May 9.

ON THE VERMILION RANGE

By Ethel Hobart

IT is a far cry from the traditions of Plymouth Rock and home to the iron range towns of Northern Minnesota, but I left the Vermilion Range with a distinct impression that while the banner of civic development which the Pilgrim fathers held high over the settlements they scraped together out of the wilderness three hundred years ago is today drooping somewhat dispiritedly over some of those Massachusetts towns, it is floating out more bold and free over some of these newer cities of the Middle West.

Take Ely, for instance, on the Vermilion Range. Ely is a city of 5,000 "with six miles of paved way," as its citizens will proudly tell you. It keeps straying off nevertheless, wherever one can see beyond the town, into an untamed wildness, varied by a hundred lakes. In Ely the automobiles move very fast and the cows very slowly. The cows have learned, however, to part company in their deliberate way and move aside reluctantly for the automobiles. People think nothing of driving fifty miles to Eveleth to a Masonic opening and back again at four in the morning. No wonder they drive fast—there is so much country to be covered. The people in Ely tell me you can drive both fast and carefully. As to that I cannot say.

Whether they drive carefully or not the people are surely wonderfully hospitable. I have never seen women who worked harder—the wives of the "leading citizens" I mean. They do all their own housework, including the heavy cleaning and the washing and ironing. Domestic service is practically impossible to secure. But in the evening do these tired women slump off to bed? Not at all! Out they go to a study class (each ward in the city has its own) to learn the difference between the platforms of the Republican and the Democratic parties and all about the League of Nations. Moreover, there are social clubs, small groups of women who invite several of the school teachers to join as members. These clubs study art and the drama. I went to a meeting of one of them and learned everything about Gilbert Stuart—some of whose portraits are hanging in the art museum of my own home city and about whom I was more than very vague indeed. I was grateful for the privilege of learning all about him, and more grateful to be invited to a party by the women who are studying him. In my home town we don't invite a stranger to a party unless we have seen her first at the Unitarian Church, and even then we vastly prefer to be sure that she "knows someone who knows some one we know." The women of Ely are wonderful and inspiring.

The city of Ely is rich beyond the wildest dreams of my own New England town. The benevolent shadow of the Steel Corporation rests over the city government, benevolent in this case, because nothing less huge than the United States Steel, it would seem, is financially equipped to operate an iron mine. (Witness the sad remains of the Lucky Boy mine, with plenty of good ore but not enough money behind it to get it out.) The mines pay 85 per cent of the taxes—huge taxes they are, too. For that reason, the citizens watch the city government jealously to see that its offices are not captured by the mining interests. No doubt that is well. The result is a city council that is democratic in the extreme, in the sense that it is not dominated by the mining interests. Some of the aldermen, however, looked with doubt and misgiving on the project, pending at the time of my visit, of appropriating funds for the continued maintenance of their war time community service center, which was an old school house admirably converted into a civic building. There was, indeed, plenty of opposition to continuing the center—opposition from certain elements in the community which need not be analyzed here. Now the leaders among the Finnish women of the town stood firm for the recreation appropriation. They came before the city council in a body. They are among the firmest American citizens I have ever met. They have brought from Finland a fierce tradition of freedom and a determination to grasp every educational advantage that can be had. If we can only tap the reservoir of the contribution such women can make to our country, Finland will make us more rich and free forever. The Finns in Ely are shy about making this contribution, shy, as who would not be, of pushing their way into a civilization not yet sufficiently civilized to realize that these intelligent and educated women are no longer "foreigners." And as to the less educated ones, their sons, too, volunteered during the war. Patriotism would seem to be not so much a matter of the tongue as of the heart. Yet after the war, these mothers became just "foreigners" once more. But when the leading Finnish women found that recreation does not mean "just card playing and dancing" (for many of the Lutheran faith in these respects can out-Puritan the Pilgrim Fathers); that recreation means programs about Abraham Lincoln and Finland and liberty, with community singing; that because the community center is paid for out of public taxes it can be and must be made to serve all—then it was wonderful to see these women get into politics!

There was one morning when a certain Finnish councilman, uncomfortably seated on the top rail of the ticklish recreation fence, wondering on which side it was best to get down, was telephoned to or called upon by practically every man and woman in the town (the Finnish women leading) who cares for what their community center means. The consequence was that he was won over, and that at the meeting of the city council that afternoon there was a landslide for recreation. The city voted $7,500 for next year's budget, besides the $2,000 already appropriated for summer work by the Board of Education.

The contribution that Ely, through its example, is making this year to the cause of municipal recreation not only on the range but all over the country, is not the size of its appropriation (which is indeed enormous in proportion to its population as compared with that of other cities) but its emphasis on how the money is to be spent. "It is leadership that we want and need," one of the Finnish women said to me. "The other range cities are spending money on fine buildings for recreation, but what are they getting for their money? We want a woman assistant (the head of the work in Ely is a man), some one to reach our girls." Consequently out of a budget of $7,500, outside of the necessary expense of coal and janitor service, two-thirds of the entire sum is to be spent on expert recreational leadership.

* * *

The night before I left Ely I walked along the highway to Tower. A brilliant, pink sunset hung in streaks across the wooded road, and coming down it was an old Finnish woman with a white cloth around her head, a magenta sweater and a yellow skirt. She came slowly and laboriously from a mile and a half away, driving her nine cows home to the Chandler location near the town. We smiled at each other as we passed. She could speak only a few words of English, but her grandchildren are no more "foreigners" than are we of Pilgrim stock. I cannot help hoping—and believing—that perhaps they will do a little better than we have done with our great experiment in freedom. At all events, the city of Ely means to give them every chance.

ETHEL HOBART.
Field Secretary,
Playground and Recreation Association of America.

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FRANKLIN K. LANE

FRANKLIN K. LANE took, I know, the keenest joy in the work of the Department of the Interior, for here he was dealing with affairs which had intimate touch with the everyday lives of the common folk of America. Mr. Lane's faith in and sympathy with the mass of the people were Lincoln-like in their depth and intensity. He truly lived "as one who loved his fellow men."

Secretary Lane was wrapped up in the projects of his department. He planned for some of them as a mother plans for her first-born. His work for farms for the soldiers was a real labor of love and his disappointment was keen when the government failed to carry the project into effect. Some of the vast engineering plans which were brought before him aroused his enthusiasm because they appealed both to his pioneer instinct and his constructive genius, but he gave his great heart to them because they were to conserve the fruits and forces of nature for unborn generations.

Despite the large problems with which he was called to deal, he would turn from them and give his earnest thought and concentrated attention to the troubles of some small group of humble people. He visioned, as few men have, the problems of the foreign-born in America. He deplored, I know, the misdirected sentimentality of certain groups in dealing with these problems as he did the cold professionalism of others. "Let us cease preaching at the immigrant and issuing tracts and treatises," he said once, "and take off our coats and work out their future with them." Americanization he considered the greatest work which the war bequeathed us, and his regret was unbounded when Congress failed to pass the bill upon which he had set his heart so that through it might be correlated all the forces of the nation for united work toward creating a truly homogeneous people.

He had scant patience with the holier-than-thou reformer or the zealot legislator who sought to make over the newcomer in his own image. He appreciated to the full the gifts which our foreign-born are bringing with them. He believed that the coming America and the coming American would be the better and the finer for them.

Anyone with a plan for the betterment of the lives of the mass of the people, however visionary, was certain of a cordial hearing by Mr. Lane. He used to send some such missionary to me with a characteristic little confidential note which might read as follows: "Dear Butler: This man has such a big vision there must be a little merit in it somewhere. Won't you see if you can find it and put it to work? F. K. L."

Mr. Lane was keenly interested in any plan which seemed to bring the people more intimately into the public affairs of their community and the nation. Every such movement enlisted his ready sympathy and active help. The project for the organization of the people of Cincinnati by blocks, that they might work out their own salvation in common affairs, appealed to him strongly. To the use of the public school houses for the civic and social needs of the community, he gave his earnest support.

Mr. Lane was not a well man during many of the latter months of his work as secretary, yet he never hesitated to sacrifice his health and strength in any cause that seemed to be for the public welfare. Those of us who were associated with him knew that he should not have undertaken the trying task as chairman of the President's first industrial conference. The representatives of the three groups however—labor, capital and the public—were able to agree only upon him as their presiding officer, and he answered the call without hesitation although he paid the price with his waning strength.

Few men of our day have stood so uncompromisingly for the right and yet counted the men of all creeds and all parties as their staunch friends. Mr. Lane lived, and moved among great events. He had an ability and an influence which would have brought wealth in the open market. Yet he chose to serve the people, laying down his burden only when his failing health reminded him that he must in his remaining years provide for the future of his family.

"He left no estate," say the newspaper dispatches. Ah, but he did. He left a world far better for his having lived. He left an impress upon the hearts of everyone who came into contact with him that will make them more worthwhile men. He left to posterity rights in the public domain which they would never have had without him. And he left a respect and a love for himself in the hearts of his countrymen which all the wealth of Midas could never buy.

FRED CLAYTON BUTLER.

Formerly Director of Americanization, United States Department of the Interior.

CALENDAR OF CONFERENCES

Items for the next calendar should reach the SURVEY before June 11.

BLIND, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF WORKERS FOR. Vinton, Iowa. June 23-28. Charles B. Hayes, 4 Park st., Boston.

CHILD LABOR, 16TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON. Milwaukee, June 24. Owen R. Lovejoy, 105 E. 22 st., New York.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONS, ASSEMBLY OF. Minneapolis, June 20-24. John T. Doyle, U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington.

COMMERCE, UNITED STATES JUNIOR CHAMBER OF. Dallas, Tex., June 16-18. Wm. R. Simmons, 513 Tribune Bldg., Terre Haute, Ind.

CORPORATION TRAINING, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR. Niagara Falls, June 6-10. F. C. Henderschoff, Irving Place and 15 st., New York city.

COLORED PEOPLE, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF. Detroit, June 26 to July 1. James Weldon Johnson, 70 Fifth ave., New York.

FAMILY SOCIAL WORK, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR ORGANIZING. Milwaukee, June 22-29. Frances H. McLean, 130 E. 22 st., New York.

FIRE PROTECTION ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL. San Francisco, June 7-9. Franklin H. Wentworth, 87 Milk st., Boston.

GIRLS' CLUBS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF. Derbyshire, England, June 11-15. Catherine Towers, 16 Gordon sq., London.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE. Philadelphia, June 2, 3, 4. Dr. L. D. Upson, 542 Griswold st., Detroit.

HOME ECONOMICS, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION. Swampscott, Mass., June 27-30. Helen W. Atwater, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington.

INDUSTRIAL PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF. June 6. Dr. Francis D. Patterson, P. O. Box 4061, W. Phila. sta., Philadelphia.

SOCIALIST SOCIETY, INTERCOLLEGIATE. Highland, N. Y., June 22-27. Harry W. Laidler, 70 Fifth ave., New York city.

JEWISH CONSUMPTIVES RELIEF SOCIETY OF DENVER, COLORADO. Boston, June 4, 5, 6. A. D. Spivak, Denver, Colo.

JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF. Milwaukee, June 19-22. Frances L. Goldsmith, 114 Fifth ave., New York city.

MAYORS AND OTHER CITY OFFICIALS. Elmira, N. Y., June 7-9. William P. Capes, 25 Washington ave., Albany, N. Y.

MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, AMERICAN. Boston, June 6-10. Alexander R. Craig, 535 N. Dearborn st., Chicago.

SETTLEMENTS, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF. Waukegan, Ill., June 19-22. Robert A. Woods, 20 Union Park, Boston.

SOCIAL WORK, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF. Milwaukee, June 22-29. W. H. Parker, 315 Plymouth court, Chicago.

TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL. New York city, June 13-17. Philip P. Jacobs, 381 Fourth ave., New York city.

Prague and Its People

Special Czechoslovak Issue of the Survey on June 11th

LIKE AN EAGER LAD just from college, Czechoslovakia came out of the war into the company of nations determined to match its ancient culture with a constitution and a legislative program of the most modern sort.

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In a summary of the main findings of the Prague survey reports, BRUNO LASKER, of The SURVEY staff, gives not only the main conclusions, but brings out some of the chief contributions of the Czechs to the world's store of ideas and practice in social uplift.

PROF. HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER, of Oberlin College, a warm personal friend of PRESIDENT MASARYK, writes on the relations of the different national groups within the state to each other and of the relation of the Republic to its neighbors. SARKA HRBKOVA, of the Foreign Press Service of the American Red Cross, discusses the inter-relation between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Americans of Czechoslovak descent, and traces the contributions of the latter to the common wealth and common culture of the American people.

DR. ALICE MASARYK, whose leadership in social, sanitary and educational work in her own country bears the distinct impress of the years during which she was a resident of a social settlement in Chicago, writes the introduction. DR. BEDRICH STEPANEK, Czechoslovak minister to the United States, contributes a clear-cut description of the new social organization and legislation.

This special Prague issue will be a most interesting and colorful example of the work of The SURVEY'S Foreign Service Department, which enables the American reader to keep himself informed of those developments abroad which cannot fail eventually to affect the theory and practice of social betterment at home, and the supporter of American social enterprise overseas to keep in touch with his emissaries and to judge of the value of their work.

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INDUSTRY

Conducted by
WILLIAM L. CHENERY

Workers' Status in Cooperatives

THE worker in the cooperative enterprise occupies a unique position. He is employed by a group of consumers who are for the most part workers. Though cooperative distributive societies are open to all consumers, the members are generally working men and women. Not only does the cooperative society differ from private business in the character of its owners and those who manage it, but the motive of cooperative business is service to the consumer, rather than profit. Do these differences in the motive and the personnel of cooperative societies show in their attitude toward the workers employed in the cooperatives?

It was with the view of securing information on this subject that The Cooperative League of America in August, 1920, addressed a questionnaire to representative cooperative societies. The questions dealt in detail with the relations of the cooperative society to labor. They included inquiries as to the standards of employment such as those concerning wages and hours, the machinery existing for representation of employes in the cooperative society, employes' control, the status of employes as consumer members of the society, adjustment of disputes, employes' bonus, hiring of employes, wage increases, employes' insurance, and the advantages of employment in a cooperative society.

The societies circularized were selected from among the 3,000 consumers' societies in this country, to represent the different parts of the country, and the different types of consumers' cooperatives. Seven societies in all were represented. The first is a society in Danville, Ill., which is constituted for the most part of city workers. It conducts five branch stores which have met with success. The second society is a wholesale federation in New England, the New England Cooperative Wholesale Association, which supplies thirty local cooperatives with goods. Finnish workers dominate the society, which does a business in excess of $2,000,000 annually. The third society is the wholesale federation operating in Illinois, which consists of eighty-eight local cooperative stores, whose members are mostly miners. The fourth society is a prosperous cooperative store in Utica, which conducts a bakery and general store. Its membership is miscellaneous, and by no means restricted to the working class. The fifth society is a cooperative bakery, butcher shop and general store conducted by the Jewish workers of Paterson, N. J. The sixth society is a Kansas federation of six hundred cooperative consumers' stores, whose members are principally farmers. This federation does a business of over $200,000,000 a year. The seventh society is an association in Seattle, Wash., which operates a large market. Its members are mostly workers, and the bias of the society is distinctly toward the side of labor.

Section 1 of the questionnaire was the following:

> A. What proportion of the workers in cooperative enterprises with which you are connected belong to unions?
>
> B. What is the attitude of members and officers of the cooperative toward the organization of a cooperative employes' union?

It was found that most of the workers employed belong to unions, where a union exists in their trade. Three of the societies insist that workers join their respective unions, and employ only union men where a union exists in their craft. Two of them are merely willing that their employes join unions. One society would oppose the organization of cooperative employes alone into a separate union, though it would encourage and help even financially the organization of store clerks and other employes into a union taking in all the workers in the line covered by the cooperative society. The remaining society "is not over enthusiastic." It says "The feeling is that craft unions do not fit into the cooperative scheme. There is, however, no hostility."

Section 2 was:

> What standards of employment are adopted in the cooperative society—wages, hours, etc.?

Four societies pay wages slightly higher than the union scale, though the hours are the same as the union scale. The union scale seems generally to be used as a minimum, though the average in cooperative societies is higher. One society follows the union scale in all particulars. Another society has no set hours or wages, and follows the market rate. The answer of one society was: "The standards of employment adopted are highest wages and shortest hours compatible with the interest of the consumer."

Section 3 dealt with employes' representation:

> A. What machinery, if any, has been worked out for representation of employes in the management of the society?
>
> B. If the employes are represented on the board of directors, have they both a voice and a vote on the board, or is their function merely advisory?
>
> C. If there is an employes' association, what is its relation to the management? How much voice has it?

In the majority of the societies responding to this question, no machinery has been provided for representation of employes in the management of the society though employes can attend board meetings in an advisory capacity. Of the seven societies, only two have employes' associations, but these function only as educational centers.

Section 4, employes' control:

> Have cooperative employes any say in the selection of store or factory managers, in the determination of wages, hours, etc.? If so, how much? What improvements, if any, would you suggest?

In none of the societies do employes have control in these matters. Their only voice in the determination of these questions is through their vote as members in the society.

Section 5:

> What are the reasons in support, and possible defects of the methods adopted in the relation of the society to its employes?

Some of the comments in reply to this question are interesting. One society says: "Competition forces the cooperative to demand efficient service and discipline." This is substantially the opinion of another society which is opposed to employes being on its board, because "it creates favoritism" and interferes with "correct disciplinary control." Another society complains of the indifference on the part of both cooperative societies and their employes, for the failure to formulate a definite policy. The main defect appears to be that no policy has been adopted.

Section 6, employes as consumer members:

> What proportion of the employes are members of the cooperative society? Are they encouraged to join? What is the reason for the policy adopted?

In two societies, all the employes are members of the society. In the other five, practically all the employes are members. An effort is made to enlist the personal support of the employes. Their loyalty to the store is suspected if they are not interested enough to join it. Participation in the benefits of the society makes the employes more interested in the success of the store, and makes for greater harmony.

Section 7, education of employes:

What methods are employed to interest the employes in the philosophy and ideals of the cooperative movement? What are the actual results?

In five of these societies there is a definite attempt to educate the employe along the lines of cooperation. In one society, new employes are told very thoroughly about the aims of cooperation before they are hired, with the result that their personal interest is assured. In one case, regular classes in business and office training are conducted, and there are monthly get-together meetings of employes and board members. The employes as a rule are interested in their work and in the progress of the cooperative movement.

Section 8, adjustment of disputes:

What machinery, if any, has been devised for the adjustment of labor disputes in these cooperative enterprises? How effective has this machinery been? What additional machinery, if any, would you advise?

No machinery has been created in any of the seven societies for the settlement of disputes. There have been no serious disputes, however, except in one society, where the matter was settled by the board of directors. Usually such questions are decided by the store committee; if no adjustment is made, the question goes to the board of directors, and appeal may finally be taken to the membership.

Section 9, relative emphasis on worker or consumer:

Are the members of the board of directors inclined to consider problems relating to cooperative labor from the standpoint of the employe or from that of the consumer?

Five societies are inclined to take the consumers' viewpoint. Two of them consider problems relating to labor from the point of view of the employe. In practically all societies, however, the employe enjoys conditions better than the union scale.

Section 10:

Does your society declare or advocate savings returns or dividends to employes in proportion to their wages?

None of the societies circularized pay savings returns on the basis of wages, though one of them did pay such returns in the past.

Section 11:

Does your society pay or advocate paying a bonus to salesmen on amount of their sales?

This practice does not prevail in any of the societies responding. One of them did pay a bonus but abandoned the custom as it violated trade union principles.

Section 12:

Do employes in making purchases from the store wait on themselves?

In five out of seven societies, employes are not allowed to wait on themselves, while in the other two, it is permitted.

Section 13:

Does the store manager hire and dismiss other employes of the store, or is this done by the board of directors?

Four of the societies give the manager power to employ and dismiss employes, subject to review by the board of directors. In the other three societies, the board alone may act.

Section 14:

Do you practice or advocate the automatic increase in wages in proportion to the length of service? State reasons for or against these policies.

None of the societies practice or advocate increases in proportion to length of service. They have established friendly relations by paying the union scale of wages or better. Increases are based on efficiency and not length of service.

Section 15:

Have you any provision for employes' sickness and life insurance?

None of the societies have any insurance plan of their own. Two of them contemplate insuring their employes as soon as they can afford it. In some cases, the employes are insured under the state compensation and liability insurance acts.

Section 16:

What advantages, if any, are enjoyed by the employes of the cooperative store with which you are connected, not enjoyed by workers in competing private stores?

One of the societies expresses the advantages of cooperative employes as follows: "Union conditions and wages, benefits that are derived from collective ownership, a feeling of security that a square deal is forthcoming, and above all, the knowledge that we are assisting in the reconstruction of society from within, to the desired end of a cooperative commonwealth." This represents the consensus of opinion among the societies circularized.

AGNES D. WARBASSE.

Car-Pushing in Coal Mines

"FOR twenty years," said John Brophy, president of District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers, in his address at the last district convention, "miners have been reporting grievances on car-pushing. The same trouble is still as lively as ever."

Car-pushing is one of the few grievances of the bituminous coal miners in Central Pennsylvania that Mr. Brophy thought important enough to mention at this meeting. His address was on the "larger program" of the miners, calling for nationalization of the mines rather than for the continuance of the present policy of grievances and conciliation, yet the first step he advocated in the miners' program was a pamphlet on Car-Pushing and How to Cure It. This pamphlet has now been written and will soon be published and distributed among the miners and the public in the coal producing regions of District No. 2, where the union is making a determined effort to have car-pushing abolished at the next scale agreement with the operators.

The soft coal miners of Pennsylvania declare that they should not have to push the mine cars up-grade or handle them down-grade between the electric haulage ways and the rooms where they load the coal. They say it often injures or kills them outright, that many of them are worn out by the strain of it and become old before their times, and that all of them could earn much more money, paid as they are by the ton, if the cars were handled for them by the companies by means of mules, hoists, or reel motors.

Mine owners and operators contend that the evils of car-pushing are greatly exaggerated by the men who are trying to abolish it and that there is really little dissatisfaction on the part of the rank and file. They say that the men like car-pushing because they are paid five cents a ton for doing it and are able to have a larger number of cars on hand to load their coal into when they push them themselves. A mine foreman who was taking me through a mine in Pennsylvania a few weeks ago said he had been in the mines for almost thirty years and that he did not know of a single case where a miner had been injured pushing cars. He said that the agitation against car-pushing was not based on facts, that it was merely being carried on by union officials who where trying to keep themselves busy.

After going through this mine and hearing from the foreman how little the miners objected to car-pushing, I went to a meeting of the local union of the United Mine Workers in that town. I asked the members of the rank and file at the meeting what they thought of car-pushing and found that they considered it one of the worst things in the mines. As one old miner expressed it, "car pushin's the awfulest thing a miner has to contend with." Many of the men at the meeting had friends who were then unable to work because of injuries received handling cars, and the next day I started to verify the cases about which I had learned the evening before. Before the end of the day I had obtained through personal interviews the first sixteen of forty cases which are being published

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Cooperating Subscription (membership) $10. Regular subscription $5 yearly. 112 East 19 Street, New York City.

THE SURVEY

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PUBLISHED *weekly and* COPYRIGHT *1921 by Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 Street, New York. Robert W. deForest, president; Arthur P. Kellogg, secretary-treasurer.*

PRICE: *this issue, 25 cents a copy; $5 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.*

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THIS PRAGUE NUMBER

THOSE of us who took part in the Pittsburgh Survey of 1907-08 little thought that this American method of social appraisal, then an experiment, would within a dozen years be employed in an old capital of a new republic in the very heart of Europe.

The Prague Survey was carried out by the American Y. W. C. A. on invitation of Alice Masaryk, president of the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross. Its findings have been published in Czech in five volumes by the Ministry of Public Welfare. This special number is made possible by an appropriation of $1,500 to Survey Associates by the Y. W. C. A. To Ruth Crawford, director of the survey and to her associates; to Dr. Anton Sum, social welfare attaché of the Czecho-Slovak legation at Washington, and to many others we are indebted for most generous cooperation. Acknowledgment should be made to the artist, Vojtěch Preissig, and to the Graphic Arts Department of Wentworth Institute, Boston, for permission to reproduce the poster on the cover and to the Czecho-Slovak legation at Washington for $300 to print it in colors.

The poster was originally drawn for distribution among the Czecho-Slovak garrisons in Siberia, but its only use was in the spring of 1919 in announcing a lecture in Boston by Charles Pergler, then commissioner of the Czecho-Slovak Republic to the United States. Of its stand of colors the artist says:

"The flag with the lion is the historical white and red flag of Bohemia. Behind it are indicated, by the visible portion of a blue flag, the historical flag of Moravia (it has a white and red checkered aiglet on blue ground); by the yellow portion of a flag, the historical flag of Silesia (which has a black aiglet on yellow ground). For hundreds of years in history, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia together formed the old Kingdom of Bohemia. The flag with the double cross (rising above the three Carpathian peaks in blue) is the historical flag of Slovakia, originally part of the Great Moravian State, which in fact was the first Czecho-Slovak state a thousand years ago. The white and red stripe flag to the fore is the flag of the present Czecho-Slovak Republic as used after its establishment on October 28, 1918. Recently the Constitutional Assembly of the republic decided on the addition of a blue wedge half-way between the white and red stripes to express in the color and shape symbolism of its flag the absolute unity in the restored state of the Bohemian lands and Slovakia."

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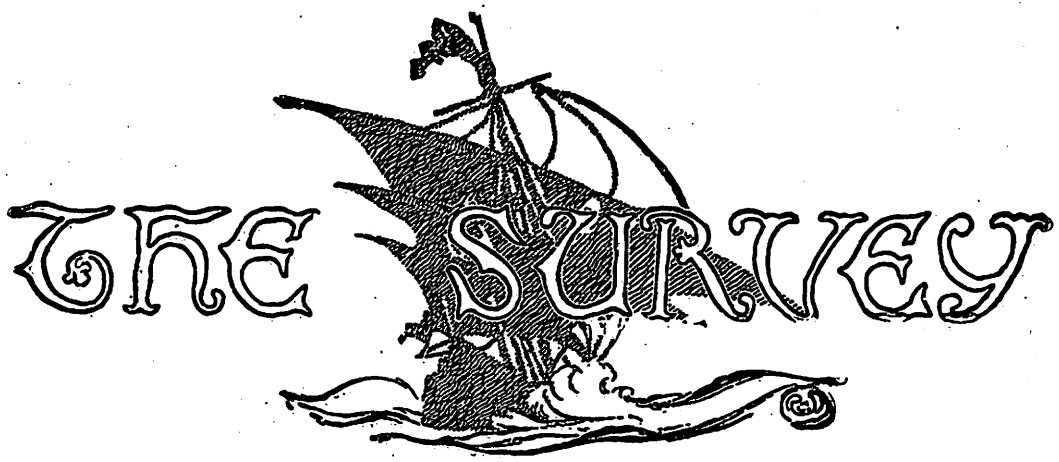
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Vojtěch Preissig

The original of this frontispiece, an aquatint in colors, was published in 1916 in a portfolio dedicated by "Czech artists in America to their nation." Mr. Preissig made the plate with the idea of affirming the belief of Czechs in the United States in the Czecho-Slovak national resurrection as one result of the war. The silhouette of the Hradčany of Prague here, as on the cover, is, like the blossoms, but a symbol of the artist's thought—the miracle of an ancient people freed. Of this, the social reconstruction of the city of Prague is itself, in turn, a symbol



Pathfinding in Prague

By Ruth Crawford

DIRECTOR OF THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF PRAGUE; ACTING EXECUTIVE OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF THE Y. W. C. A.

SEATED on the wide window ledge of a turreted tower, three Americans were gazing over Prague. Below, the spring breeze stirred gently through a horse chestnut grove. The tiny white blossoms filtered through the fragrant air, dropping onto rustic tables around which a dozen Czech families were enjoying their Sunday afternoon beer and the brassy but rhythmic strains of a park band. One of the Americans had been writing:

> We are living in a legendary city through which reality is just breaking its way—a city of relics of old centuries and of struggle for the possession of the future—of the stateliness and pomp of autocracy and ecclesiasticism and the elbowing assertiveness of a new republic. The centuries are embodied in architecture—Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Barocque, all with a touch of Byzantine in rather garish coloring and of Slavic imagination in the fantastic imagery which breaks out on every surface. It has the most irregular skyline I have ever seen in a city—high hills and sudden precipices, steep gable-roofed houses and squatty, heavy stone arches. I climbed up to the Hradčany (the royal castle) today by way of the stone steps, two hundred I think I counted, baking in the sun, except where the wall threw a dark shadow in the shelter of which crouched beggar women mumbling their tales of suffering. Again it is a city of stone images—saints, apostles, prophets, martyrs. They preside over the church fronts, in shrines on the streets, lining the old Karlův bridge—St. John Nepomuk, St. Christopher, the Holy Virgin, Christ crucified, and an endless number of mitred bishops and pompous cardinals. Somehow one feels that they may suddenly break forth and pronounce an anathema against these people of today who have revolted so bitterly against the past and are so eagerly grasping for modern methods and organizations. And yet these people cannot break away entirely. They dip back into the past continually, and herein lies their charm.

Before these three Americans stretched the stimulating task of studying this old historic city in the light of its social needs as the capital of the new Czecho-Slovak Republic. Six months only had passed since the revolution of October 28, 1918, which again achieved for the Czechs and the Slovaks their independence, lost on the battlefield some three hundred years before. The leaders of the young republic were confronted with the cry of starving children. They were grappling with the demobilization of their citizens from the armies of every nation caught up in the World War. Through this maelstrom the social vision of Dr. Alice Masaryk, daughter of the republic's first president and herself president of the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross, clung to the conviction that liberation from antiquated and obsolete methods must be a part of political freedom. She was determined that the social program of the new government should be built on the findings of a social survey. There was no one from among the Czechs who could be spared to make a scientific study of the social welfare machinery still left from the Austro-Hungarian regime, or to carefully analyze, in the light of five years of complete war isolation, what were the social needs of this great capital city. Perhaps America, if asked, would send help. So Dr. Masaryk wrote to Mary McDowell, that dauntless American pioneer of social work, under whose guidance she had spent a year in the University of Chicago Settlement, saying: "We need a first class student who knows the technical side of survey work —and a statistician would not be a bad cargo either for her to bring!"

The three Americans—fresh from a background of American training schools for social work and from practical experience in surveying American communities—were the answer of the National Young Women's Christian Association to Dr. Masaryk's appeal. They began by purposely avoiding the use of formal letters of introduction. These they saved for a later date. Instead, singly and together they roamed through the crooked streets of old Prague. They frequented the great squares, listening to the agitators who at that time were addressing the crowds on the food situation. They tramped to the outlying districts, where hills wonderfully green with fields of war wheat rolled like great waves right up to the glistening railroad tracks, and the grey slate roofs of the industrial section. They lost themselves completely in seeking to absorb the atmosphere of the city and the spirit of the people.

Prague was struggling to find itself. The population had increased from 600,000 to over a million, partially because of the influx of the added hands and brains demanded in the creation of a new government capital, partially because of an extension of the city boundaries. The citizens of old Prague, a city of eight concentrated districts, had in joyful acclaim voted to extend the jurisdiction of the capital city not only over five large adjacent suburbs, but over more than thirty-five outlying village communities, which under the Austrian rule had been self-governing units with their own municipal council, their own police and their own distinct community interests.

The atmosphere of the city was ecstatically Czech. It seemed as though the spiritual exaltation of a nation freed af-

ter generations of struggle had lifted the people above the physical hardships of war, beyond bitterness against the language that for three hundred years had threatened the existence of their own Slavic tongue. Although traces were visible everywhere of the patriotic fervor which on the eve of revolution had removed all German signs, still foreigners able to express themselves only in German were for the most part treated courteously. Thoughtful Czechs even went so far as to point out that the discipline of the German system and method superimposed on the Slavic temperament, which traditionally understands, feels and dreams to the point of inaction, would be the strongest factor in the promise of the Czecho-Slovak peoples to hold the political independence which they had gained.

The Austrian element of the city was not very much in evidence. Those of the old Austrian aristocracy whose homes had been in Prague had retired to their country estates. The Austrian government officials had left the city completely. Austrian and German commercial firms were passing through a period of reorganization that was difficult and uncertain. The German university was filled chiefly with Jewish students. The consciousness of the German-speaking minority was still wavering between post-revolution antagonism and acceptance of the government's stated policy of recognizing minority groups.

On the streets, in the cafés, at the opera, the people all looked the same. This impression came from something more than the grim fact of a nation that had for five weary years been mending and patching. Universal recognition and acceptance of educational opportunity, the complete absence of a traditional Czech aristocracy and the vesting of leadership in the hands of men like Masaryk, Beneš (minister of foreign affairs), Winter (minister of social welfare), Haberman (minister of education), signified a spirit of democracy in Prague's citizenship that was soul satisfying.

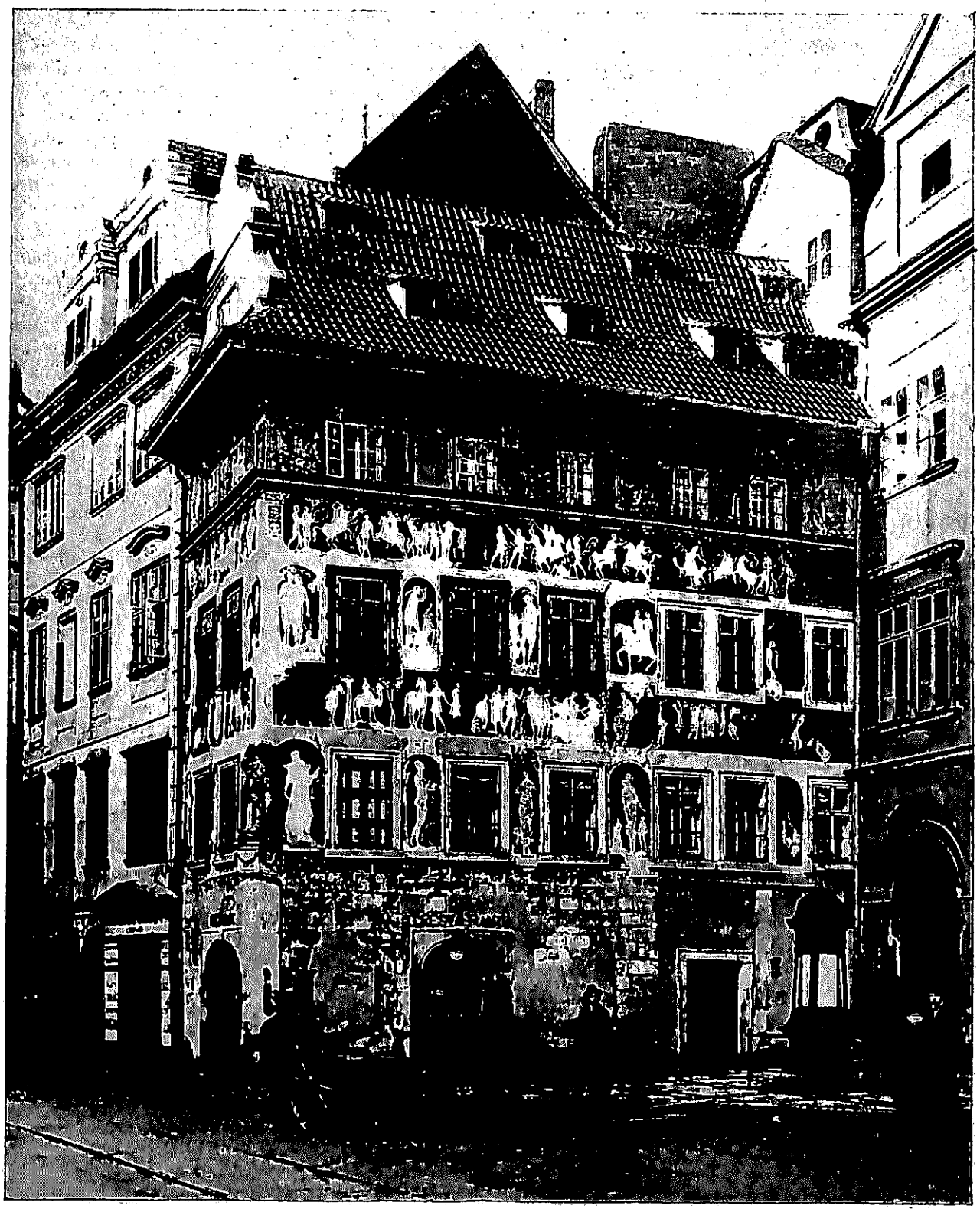
With the help of Dr. Masaryk, an Advisory Council for the survey was organized with Dr. Haberman; Dr. Ladislav P. Procházka—chief of the Prague City Health Department (minister of health in the present cabinet); Professor Weigner of the medical faculty at the university; Dr. Tůma of the Ministry of Social Welfare; Professor Kallab, of the University of Brno; Abbot Zavoral of the Strahov Monastery; Pastor Hromadko, of the newly organized Czech Brethren Church; Dr. Košerák of the United Jewish Societies, and other leading Czechs. In addition, there were representatives of the three other American organizations at work in Prague —the American Relief Administration, the Young Men's Christian Association and the American Red Cross—thus bringing together for the first time in joint conference under the chairmanship of Dr. Masaryk herself the individuals most honestly convinced that the development of the government should be on foundation stones securely cemented with principles of modern social welfare.

It was under the direction of this council that the survey unit set to work, challenged by the spirited determination of these men and women to escape—if accepting advice would avail—the mistakes of older republics. "You Americans with your training must study our existing social agencies and tell us if they are efficient and what changes must be made if the social welfare of our nation is to be secured." The unconscious, but none the less obvious assumption was that this survey would be an exhaustive, scientific investigation of social conditions in Prague. This very natural conclusion on the part of a group of graduates from the ranking German universities was staggering to exponents of a pathfinding analysis of leading social facts! It was with a spirit of true humility and uncertainty that the idea of a quick American pathfinding survey was presented. But belief in American capacity for carrying through an idea, even an idea presented through a barrier of imperfectly understood English, incorrectly spoken German and the utterly new experience of English being interpreted into Czech, was such that any plans of American workers would have been accepted courteously, gratefully! The three Americans realized their inadequacy to attack, let alone complete, the task before them. Late midnight discussion led to two resolutions: First, that the initial step would be to answer the request of the Advisory Council for a simple list of all organizations doing social work in Prague. Second, that the other American agencies at work in Prague should be convinced that the survey must be the cooperative effort of the best available American social workers in Prague and not of the Y. W. C. A. alone.

The compilation of the "simple" list proved a steady six weeks' occupation, and a six months' Nemesis before it was completed, verified and printed in the shape of Prague's first Directory of Social Agencies. There was no city directory to start from, only a 1914 telephone book and fragmentary lists of addresses. Every possible source was approached for lists. Brief questionnaires were then sent to each address. Boy and girl scouts volunteered to verify names and addresses; the Ministerstvo Národní Obrany (Ministry of the National Defense) loaned a huge camionette with a supply of pink government gasoline (thus colored to detect profiteers) to reach the institutions on the outskirts of the city. At length there stood on the desk of Dr. Masaryk, and on the desk of the survey director, a complete card catalogue of the agencies, institutions and societies of social welfare in the city of Prague classified by type and by district in English and Czech to the number of 2,000 cards.

This catalogue made very concrete the task of the survey unit. The information which further study of carefully selected agencies would reveal, and the incentive of gathering and analyzing material directly for the ministries of Health, of Social Welfare and of Education, brought a challenge to the other Americans in Prague which was irrefutable. In the American Relief Administration was found a United States army sanitarian, a graduate of the Harvard Technology School of Public Health. The Red Cross produced a national playground association worker. From the Paris office of the Y. W. C. A. came a graduate of Susan B. Kingsbury's industrial training course at Bryn Mawr, and by cable from America came the promise of a social worker from public school ranks. As result, The Public Health of Prague, The Social Care of Individuals in Prague, The Recreation of Prague, The Social Aspects of the Public School System, and The Occupations of Women became subjects into which five enthusiastic trained American social workers lost themselves for over half a year.

The appreciation by the Czecho-Slovaks of an attitude of mind that dug deep for facts while still showing a sympathetic understanding of their complex problems, expressed itself in an "open sesame" as far as government records, projects or institutions went. The surveyors found themselves accepted as co-patriots working with an equally honest determination to help the republic survive. The realization soon came that their obligation was not to make the survey in the shortest possible time, but in whatever length of time was necessary to clearly instill step by step in Czech leadership an understanding of the technique of a pathfinding survey. In this way only could its acceptance as a permanent factor in the



HEADQUARTERS OF THE AMERICAN SURVEYORS OF PRAGUE

Interestingly enough the frescoes on this house on the main square of the city, built in the Fifteenth Century, were put on to celebrate the visit of an Eastern potentate

social work program of Czecho-Slovakia be assured. To make this possible, the various ministries assigned some of their brightest young social workers to work as associates to the American investigators. In addition to the other investigators, there were translators and stenographers, making a total salaried Czech staff of fourteen. As result, the survey offices were humming from morning till night with the click of typewriters operated in four languages (Czech, English, French and German), the coming and going of investigators and the discussions of staff conferences. The survey offices were managed cooperatively with weekly staff meetings at which hours of work, office etiquette, professional standards, as well as scope of work were hotly discussed and decided by majority vote. Customs which would be taken for granted in American offices proved utterly new in a world where the joining of executives, staff workers and clerical assistants around a table to discuss common problems was almost misunderstood, so radical a departure was it from the usual bureaucratic background of professional class distinctions.

Such experiences led, as understanding and friendship between the Czech and American workers grew, to a frank questioning of whether the greatest service to Czecho-Slovakia

would be a continued effort to tabulate statistics and interpret social data which in time would probably be consigned to the dusty shelves of a research library. In Prague, the Americans had already discovered, this would mean existence under lock and key and rare disturbance. Would it not mean more to put their daily increasing knowledge and social problems in Prague into the hearts and minds of some of the young people whom the government was sending out shortly as heads of institutions, or as teachers in the unschooled Slovak villages—young people ill prepared for leadership because of their limited experience and complete isolation from the world during their student days? The survey had reached the point where the returns from questionnaires must be waited for. It seemed perfectly feasible for the Czech staff and one American to carry this responsibility and to divert the energies of the rest of the staff and a new group of Czech co-workers into the management of a training school. Thus was conceived the idea of the Czech-American Summer Training School for Social Workers.

In Stromovka Park, once a royal hunting preserve, stood Letohrádek (the little summer palace), an old Hapsburg castle built in the Seventeenth Century, but used in recent years as the summer home of the Austrian governor of Bohemia. After the Revolution of October 28, 1918, it had been occupied for a time by one of the ministries. The location, on the outskirts of the city distant from the street car, however, made it impractical for offices, so it stood empty. The American unit recognized in this picturesque Gothic building, with its beautiful rose gardens, an ideal location for their summer school. That the government believed in the idea of the school was shown by the fact that the Ministry of Social Welfare straightway requisitioned the fascinating old castle and Letohrádek became and still is the home of the American Y. W. C. A. in Prague.

The definite purpose of the school, crystallized under the advice of the Survey Advisory Council, was to give to a selected group of Czech and Slovak social workers a knowledge of modern American methods of social work. In addition, the thought was to give the students carefully supervised field work, that type of practical experience which is the basic feature of all American training schools for social work, but which had never been possible in Bohemia under the bureaucratic government of Austria. The physical condition of each student was to be watched carefully with extra rations of American milk and cocoa wherever the effects of malnutrition or of nervous strain due to war privations were apparent. Lastly, the outdoor athletic fun, the democracy of student government and the challenge of the Christian idealism of our American college extra curricula life were to be included.

The announcement of the summer school brought in nearly two hundred applications. The necessity of selecting the final twenty-six from this number was difficult indeed, and achieved only through the guidance and advice of Dr. Masaryk and Dr. Berkovcová—the head of the regular Prague Training School for Social Workers, who acted as associate dean of the summer school.

The faculty of the school was composed of the four survey specialists and a Czech-American woman physician; the director of the survey carried one course in addition. Three general courses—The Community and its Social Aspects, Methods of Case Work, Health Conservation—were required of all students. Each student—in the light of her special interest and after personal interviews—selected in addition her seminar course from the following: Infant Welfare, Child Protection, Delinquency, Recreation. It was along the lines of the seminar that practical work was done three days in the week. The willingness of the different agencies in Prague to cooperate and to allow the Americans to come into their organizations and virtually direct investigations, conduct follow-up work and keep records, was a constant revelation. Throughout the summer, four of the older women students handled a selected group of delinquent girls from the police court. Other students did all the home visiting for the prenatal cases of the model health center, established by the A. R. C., A. R. A. and the government. Still another group of students investigated and made plans for the new cases in the Ceská Zemská Komise (the children's aid society). The girls in the recreation group ran playgrounds in four empty lots with overwhelming success.

The inspiration from the exchange of ideas meant as much to the Americans as to the Czechs. American methods of social work were continually subjected to the searchlight of Czech questioning, and Czechs question with an instinctive understanding of human needs and a disregard of useless convention that is often disconcerting. This opportunity of learning whether or not certain pet theories of case work, or community organization, would work under the conditions of another nation, was invaluable. Points of view were constantly modified—a fact which in later days proved most valuable in the analysis of the survey material. Each member of the faculty had a Czech interpreter. It is hard to realize the chance for error when every bit of material has to undergo translation before it is available.

Even so, class interest never seemed to lag—so intense was the desire of the students to glean for their republic any experiences which workers from an older democracy believed worth while. But it was not in the lecture class or in the busy hours at the clinic, or in the court room that the greatest bond of friendship and understanding was woven. The afternoon hours on the basketball fields, the Saturday afternoon excursions up the river to camp out, were rich in giving joy to lives that had too long been somber and grey from the sorrows and hardships of oppression and war. The girls loved the evening "sings" in the lilac-hedged garden with the August moon shining through the leafy branches of the great trees of the royal park. But best of all did they seem to cherish the simple Sunday services in the great hall with its books and cushioned window seats and the great fifteen-foot Gothic windows through which they could watch the distant hills and the winding curve of the Vltava. How their hearts and faces responded to the informal talks on principles that help make life worth living even for people whose personal happiness has seemingly been wrecked by the tragedies of war. The Americans will never forget the soft chanting of the famous old Hussite choral: *Kdo jste Boží Bojovníci* (Warriors Who Go Forth to Fight for God), or the Czechs the American benediction which they learned to love so dearly, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

Today one of the students is head of the new Municipal Orphan Asylum in Brno, the chief city of Moravia. Another is nursing in a state sanitorium for tuberculosis. Two are in responsible Red Cross positions. One of the older women is caring for the Slovak emigrants at the hostel in Prague. One of the younger girls is at Vassar College.

During the summer school the Czech survey workers were busy assembling the mass of necessary research material. Questionnaires had previously been prepared by each of the

American specialists. These were translated by the Czech associates and sent out to the different organizations. One by one these questionnaires were returned. The statistical data were carefully tabulated and the remarks translated again into English. Returns in some cases were 100 per cent—an interesting sidelight on the reporting system of Austria. As complete a collection of pamphlets as possible was gathered, and four translators were kept busy putting those sections, blue penciled as significant for an understanding of the Prague



Medal presented by the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross to the Red Cross and other American social workers in Czecho-Slovakia. The artist, Suchanda, here shows the spirit of the river, Vltava, stretching up her arms to the city, Prague

situation, into English. With the closing of the school the faculty turned surveyors again and, fresh from six weeks' stimulating daily contact with Czech social work and social workers, began their analysis of this accumulated data. The study of the questionnaires indicated what further first-hand investigation must be made. So there followed a period during which any hour of the day or any section of the city found the survey's motor squad (the army camion augmented by a second-hand Red Cross Ford and a journey-scarred American Case car) carrying an American investigator and her Czech associate on some visit of inspection or errand of verification. Such visits, coupled with lengthy conferences at the survey headquarters, resulted in friendship with practically all of the social workers in Prague connected with private organizations, and the stimulating discovery that these men and women were now determined to interject into the philosophy of social work, as they had known it in past days of institutionalism and bureaucracy, the love of art, the free play of the imagination and the value of the individual—elements long precious in Czech tradition.

The original aim of the surveyors had been to gather every fact about Prague that the Russell Sage Foundation workers had assembled in the Springfield Survey. The discovery that the Austrian government's system of statistics had not the slightest connection with the obtaining of comparable social data, was disappointing. The realization that any statistics compiled were out-of-date after a week's time—so rapidly were events moving—was disconcerting. The complete absence of many factors fundamental in the social work machinery of the average American town left unexpected gaps. Slowly into the consciousness of the survey workers, as they thrashed out their difficulties with the Advisory Council and in staff meetings, dawned an illuminating fact, that the product needed in Prague was not a series of volumes comparable to the Pittsburgh or Springfield surveys, but rather a series of handbooks giving the philosophy of the fundamental principles and methods employed in American social work which could thus be accessible to the average Czech, because in his language, and because the principle discussed would be illustrated in terms of Prague or Czecho-Slovakia. The response of the Czechs themselves to this idea was immediate. They pointed out how the only text-books of social work that had ever been available were of German origin. The Czechs had never been allowed to develop their own technique to any great extent.

It was this inspiration of a practical use of the material that spurred the survey unit on during the last hard months of actual "write-up." For weeks there was self-imposed isolation in the great halls of Letohrádek, now furnished with writing tables and filing shelves. The lofty ceilings reechoed to the scratch of the pen, to the dull crunch of crushed papers indicative of dissatisfaction, or to the clean sweep of a sheet of paper torn off in triumph as a last line was written. At last the English manuscript of six volumes passed the director-editor's critical eye, and in January, 1920, just eight months after the survey began, the process of translation for Czech publication commenced. To publish in a war-exhausted country, at a time when fonts were worn out, and the depleted paper stock prohibitive, presented new difficulties. The fact that the printing was being done at the expense of the Ministry of Social Welfare necessitated added visés. The whole process moved very slowly. Today, exactly a year since the English manuscript was finished, four volumes have been printed and distributed: Directory of Social Agencies; The Public Health Survey of Prague; The Social Care of Individuals in Prague; The Recreation of Prague. Education is still to come from the press. The industrial volume is too out-of-date for publication.

* * *

PRACTICAL Americans will doubtless ask for tangible results of this survey adventure. The perspective of a year helps greatly in an honest answer; but even while the survey was being made the value appeared from time to time. For instance, it was possible through early conferences with representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation to cover in the outline of the public health study those items about which it was felt necessary to have accurate information before an adequate presentation could be made of Czecho-Slovakia as a field for the investment of the Public Health Service of that great foundation. Today the Rockefeller Foundation, as the official advisor of the Ministry of Public Health, is directing the distribution of this volume of the survey and is using it as a hand-book to give succinctly, and in the language of the nation, the philosophy of the modern public health movement.

The social welfare volume has been off the press only a few weeks. It too served its purpose while in the making. Time and again the manuscript was used to give a visiting American or British social worker—among them our own Miss Lathrop of the federal Children's Bureau—the background needed in order to understand the social welfare conditions of the capital city. Dr. Masaryk herself said: "Even though the survey had never been translated and published, it would have been invaluable, so effective has its use been in giving a picture of social conditions to the many foreign guests who have come to study the new republic." Plans are under way to use it as a text-book in training courses for social workers both in university circles and in specialized schools. And it is in the hands of these students that this third volume should reach its greatest usefulness.

The educational survey was one of the factors which led to the erection of the Studenský Domov or student home by

the Y. M. C. A. on a splendid site of land given by the government in the center of the new buildings of the University of Prague. In 1919, when the survey was being made, the majority of out-of-town students were living four or five in a room with no oil for lamps to study by, no coal to heat their room for study or to warm water with which to bathe. They were walking two and three miles to classes and standing in a queue at noon for their one hot meal, often, as long as an hour, exposed to the weather. Today 2,000 students are fed in the basement of the Domov, where a smoothly running cafeteria is managed by the Y. W. C. A. There are adequate bathing facilities and a clinic for free medical advice. The equipment for this clinic was given by the War Emergency and Reconstruction Fund of the Methodist-Episcopal Church South. Aroused by the survey of the health situation among students, the Ministry of Health opened an infirmary across the way from the Domov and created in the ministry a special committee responsible for the supervision of the health of students throughout the republic. On the second floor of the Domov is the assembly hall and a library. The northern wing, with its lovely living room, its quiet study rooms, its club kitchenette, and its laundry, serves the special needs of the women students. In the men's wing are smoking rooms, billiard rooms and committee rooms.

The control of this Domov is in the hands of the Student Renaissance Movement, guided by the spirit of the two "Y" secretaries, one of them the educational surveyor herself, graduates from our American universities where student government has proved itself a fundamental factor in the development of leadership. Their belief in the international exchange of scholarships has resulted this year in the presence in this country, at Vassar and at other colleges, of some twelve Czech and Slovak students.

In addition, the idea of the home visitor and the school nurse is being tried out by the Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Ministry of Health in the lower schools of Prague.

The recreational survey showed that the time was ripe for the launching of a national recreational movement—a challenge which neither the Y. M. C. A. nor Y. W. C. A. could refuse when asked by the Ministry of Education to continue the recreational program in order that a demonstration might be made of what model American playgrounds are like. In Žižkov, one of the most congested districts, the Socialist Council, composed entirely of working men, gave the top of a hill that had been set aside as a public park for this model playground. The council agreed to pipe water, to do the leveling and to pay the salary of the director at municipal expense—provided that he be trained in American method. The Y. M. C. A. generously agreed to provide the equipment and to erect the necessary shelter houses. And so through the year following the survey a series of training courses has been given. First, a general popular evening course open to any teacher or social worker in the city. Next came a six-weeks' course of three evenings a week for the 250 leaders of the summer vacation colonies which the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross was planning for the thousands of under-nourished children. Lastly, the Y. W. C. A.'s summer school for social workers in Letohrádek was succeeded in 1920 by a similar full-time intensive training course for a selected group of men and women who were under municipal appointment as recreation leaders. Promoting these courses (out of 186 lectures 98 were given by Czech recreation leaders) and the demonstration playground was a Czecho-Slovak Committee for Recreation made up of representatives from four ministries and from the private societies that had previously carried on certain sorts of play work in connection with the public schools. This enthusiastic committee translated pamphlets of the American Playground Association. They distributed merry posters in bright Czech colors to 1,000 towns, telling citizens about playgrounds and the need for reserving plots of land in the hearts of large towns for children's play. Certain members travelled widely with a collection of lantern slides which showed the joys of children in American playgrounds so conclusively that requests for help in starting smaller playgrounds began to pour into the committee.

Steadily the conception of what playgrounds and organized recreation would mean to the children of the Czecho-Slovak nation became more and more an integral part of the thinking of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health. The problem began to center not on winning approval of the plan for a government department for recreation, but in deciding which ministry should have it. In January of this year the ultimate goal planned and worked for steadily by the recreation surveyor was reached, and the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. withdrew having passed over the responsibility of promotion, supervision and training of recreation workers in the Czecho-Slovak Republic to an association under the supervision of the Ministry of Health.

The Occupations of Women was the last study undertaken. It proved to be the field in which the American investigators felt at the same time most at sea and most at home. From the point of view of industrial legislation and industrial standards, Czecho-Slovakia had so far outstripped the United States that there was little that America could teach. But throughout the occupational world in Czecho-Slovakia women workers as women had never been differentiated from men. There was only a dawning realization of the value of interpreting women as physiological and psychological entities with certain different needs or reactions from those of men. The lack of trained leadership among the women was pitiful in the face of their eagerness to carry the responsibilities which the democratic principles of the new constitution placed equally with men on the shoulders of women. Day after day women called at the survey offices seeking an explanation of the facility with which the American women workers apparently carried and executed responsibility. Finally a formal petition signed by students, domestic servants, clerks, professional women and mothers, asking for a year's demonstration of the Y. W. C. A. as an international women's organization consecrated to the development of leadership and character, was sent across the sea to the National Board of the American Y. W. C. A. The request was answered, and at the completion of the survey the pioneer staff with two exceptions (education and recreation) was replaced and enlarged by trained workers from the association. The demonstration year is not quite finished, but Czech and Slovak girls have learned the joys of democratic comradship in a summer camp. Three thousand girls from every phase of industrial and student life are initiating a movement of self-governing clubs for girls. Slovak emigrant women and children have been housed, fed and protected, and connected with the chain that is seeking to protect them as they make their long journey to the new world. "Ivka" today is recognized as a permanent factor in the life of Czech and Slovak women in Prague and Bratislava.

The Y. W. C. A. survey unit, returned to the United States, is happy indeed over such tangible results, but their own inclination is to estimate as even more precious the creation of a desire for the international exchange between American and Czecho-Slovak social workers.



THE OLD HAPSBURG CITADEL, NOW THE ADMINISTRATION OFFICES OF THE NEW REPUBLIC

A MESSAGE FROM ALICE MASARYK

IT is getting late, night is over Prague, the stars are shining, the air is full of lilacs. This is the moment I have snatched to write a short letter, not an article, after a day full of work.

The survey which Miss Crawford undertook has been very useful and has helped every American worker who came to our country. Mr. Hoover's work, I am firmly convinced, will help to consolidate child welfare work. The American Red Cross and Rockefeller Foundation are helpful in coördinating sanitary work. At present we have created a central board of voluntary social hygiene organizations, which we hope will develop to be a clearing house for all our plans and efforts. From emergency we go to lasting work, and the guarantees for success are proper schools for nurses, health visitors and social workers. We have a committee which prepares a concentrated plan for a social hygiene school system. We have a school for nurses, a school of social welfare and in the autumn we expect to open a rural social welfare school.

Three years more of incessant work and then we hope to be out of the period where we need help. We will come then to you and you will feel that you have done a good work; that you have helped a people who with their whole heart wish to help themselves.

The hour of ghosts! The clock of the old church resounds through the dark night!

Na schledanou!

Alice G. Masaryk.

Prague, Czecho-Slovakia.



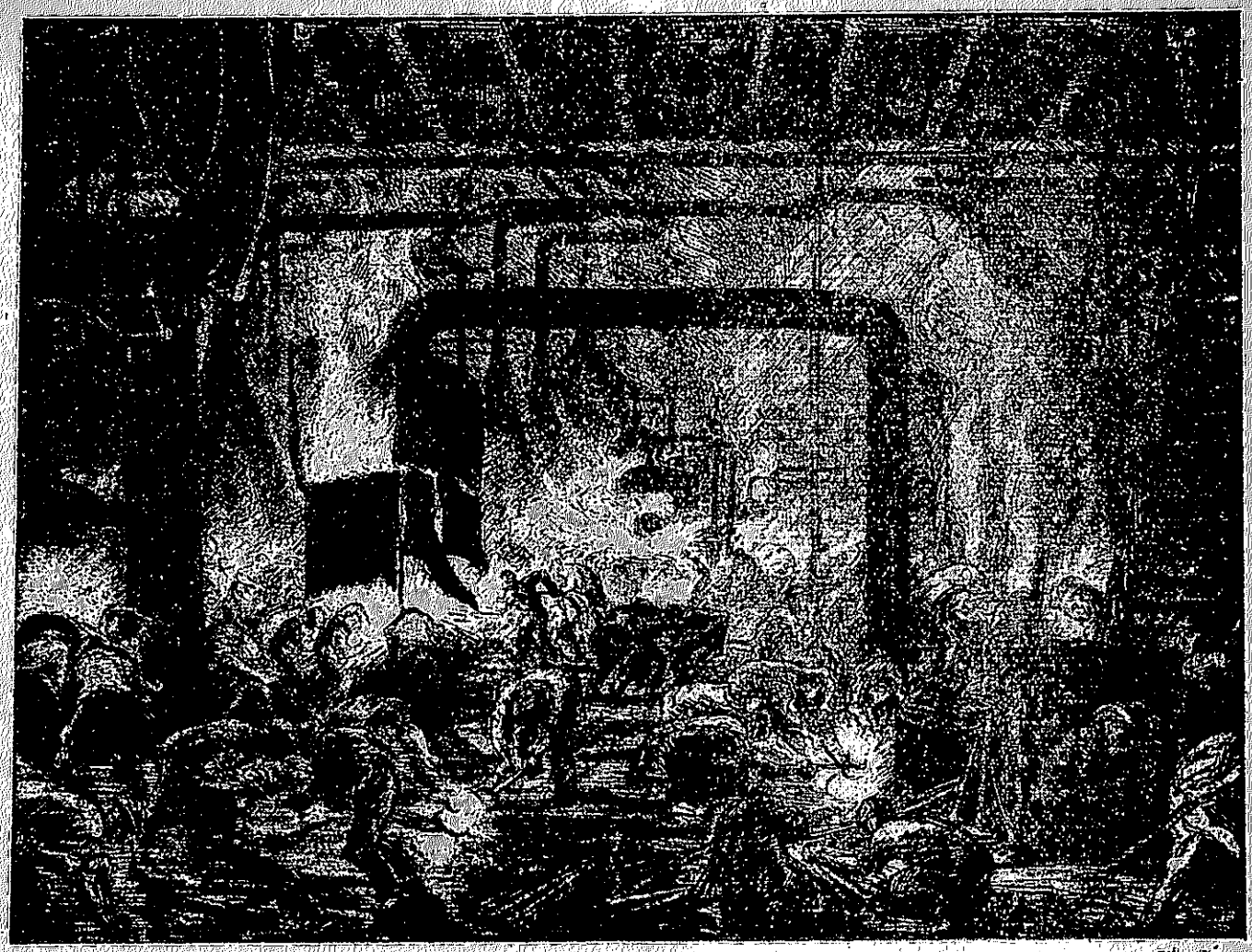
Silovský

FROM SORROW TO SUNSHINE



R. Lauda

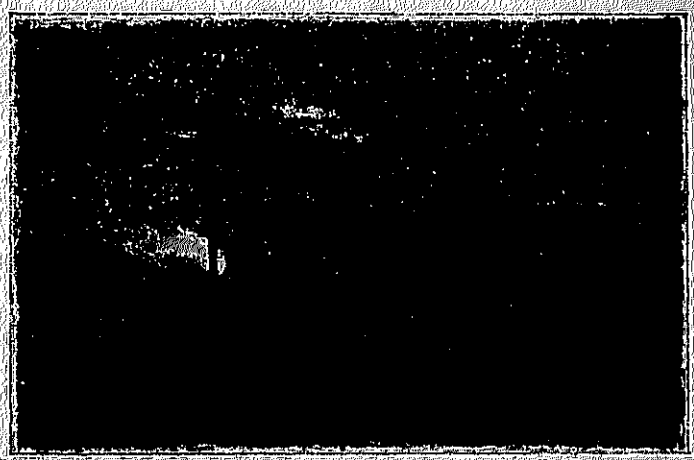
At the beginning of the war such a scene as this, refugees from the outlying parts of Austrian Poland and Slovakia crowding a railroad station, was of frequent occurrence. The relatively few refugees who now come to Bohemia and the emigrants from the rural sections waiting for transportation are cared for sympathetically and efficiently by social agencies in cooperation with the Ministry of Social Welfare. In happy contrast (below) is a usual sight all around the city of Prague. Green fields come up right to the factory gates, and even within the limits of the city some five thousand women are engaged in agriculture while their men folk are employed in industry



Silovsky

FROM SERFDOM TO SELF-HELP

At the beginning of the war, the chimneys of the steel mills in the Tesin district of Moravska Ostrava in Southern Silesia—a disputed territory recently granted by the Allies to Czecho-Slovakia—stood up against the night-sky as so many broken shafts of individual and national liberty; for it was here that the moribund empire forged the arms that held down her subject peoples. Today the glow of the furnaces of these mills is the glow from the torches of freedom gained; for it is here no less than in the shops and offices of the capital that, with a system of organized relationships between masters and men, the foundation is now being laid for the coming prosperity of the republic



Z. Braunerova



Silovsky

THE OLD MARKET

Dating back to almost medieval times, this old market arcade built against one of Prague's churches has seen many changes in the fortunes of its citizens. But the food, clothing, furs and carved furniture displayed in its stalls, and in the little shops that line it, are almost the same as those that could be seen here in the days of ancient glory, a vivid reminder of the past, on the best traditions of which the young republic is today building its new life

Prague's Window to the West

The Survey of Greater Prague

By Bruno Lasker

OUR American libraries are full of works on Chinese social customs and organization. American travelers to the Far East bring back and publish a never ending stream of observations on the same topic. But if we really cared to derive from China suggestions of practical value for our own social life, if we were broad enough to desire our institutions reviewed from the standpoint of an older and different civilization, we should invite Chinese students of experience and reputation for practical sagacity to come over here and report to us for our own benefit on what they find. A nation has to be both young and enthusiastic for social progress to invite such scrutiny. It has to be sure enough of its own national spirit not to be afraid of suggestions that may be tendered in a somewhat different spirit, but to welcome them as contributing to the total wealth of ideas bearing upon the problems before it. The new republic of Czecho-Slovakia is such a nation. Its Ministry of Social Welfare invited an American survey of the social resources of the capital city, Prague, not because it lacked confidence in the expertness or impartiality of local witnesses; nor because it felt that everything already done had to be undone and a new system to be based on the advice of outsiders; but because it felt that a nation just emerging from centuries of oppression cannot afford to neglect the contributions to social practice made by a sister republic with similar general political aims. It welcomed criticism from the standpoint of American social theory and called in a group of American social workers to apply the procedure of the community survey as it has been developed in the United States. In their recommendations, the surveyors of Prague were able again and again to draw upon the varying though related experiences of different sections of the United States. Thus, apart from the contribution made on any specific problem, they were able also to render the service of demonstrating that adaptation of general principles to the peculiar needs of separate and different communities which is so typical of the American procedure.

Miss Crawford and her colleagues conceived their task in much the same way in which many reformers and leaders of "causes" in the United States have gone about their work. They went with fairly definite ideas on the solution of the various problems they were asked to study; but they did not permit these to interfere with a painstaking and unbiased investigation of the facts themselves. In each particular instance they scrutinized the validity of their principles before relying upon them for detailed recommendations. Thus, they took much time to understand the racial and traditional social viewpoint of the city they were asked to survey. They neither attempted, in the short time at their disposal, to write a report wholly from that angle nor apologized for making their suggestions with the knowledge of a larger and more diversified background. Having grasped the essential differences in the social problems as they manifest themselves in Czecho-Slovakia and in America, they endeavored the more deliberately to reflect in their reports their twofold knowledge, that of the specific local circumstances and that of machinery that has been found effective in meeting similar conditions and satisfying similar aspirations on the western continent. In doing so they fulfilled the expressed wish of those who had invited them. As Miss Hess says, in the introduction to her report on social aspects of the schools in Prague:

> At the present time, every country is pruning away the vines from its international windows, and this act of husbandry works for two purposes: It affords a mental outlook into the progress of international neighbors and invites with "mental hospitality," as Confucius expressed it, an insight into the solution of its own problems. In reorganizing its government, Czecho-Slovakia is also following this principle. Methods of other countries and their success are being studied by the Ministry of Education for adoption in the reorganization of the school system under the new republic.

She goes on to mention visits to America paid in the past by Czecho-Slovak educators and books published by them in Prague. While contacts such as these "have done much toward acquaintanceship with the educational system of the two countries," it requires an actual study of the educational system of a nation by competent foreign investigators to bring to bear upon it directly and with a maximum of fruitful suggestion the particular knowledge of the friendly outsider. This, of course, is true not only of education but also of the other subjects studied. Indeed, by its comprehensiveness this social survey of Prague may be hailed as a pioneer in a form of mutual international surveying which in the days to come may grow into a frequent method of international cross-fertilization of social ideas. Of course, there have been other and larger social studies of nations and cities by sympathetic outsiders (one need only mention Bryce's American Commonwealth, Rowntree's Land and Labor in Belgium and other admirable monographs of that nature); but the point of difference is that these works primarily aimed at interpretation of a foreign people or city to the countrymen of the author, whereas the Prague survey was written for the people of Prague and Czecho-Slovakia, has been published in the Czech and not in the English language and uses fact findings as a basis for recommendations to those most directly concerned.

Incidentally the survey undertaken with that objective has produced a result not without interest to Americans; it not only tells things about Prague that are worth knowing, but puts some of the very best American social practices, in their direct application to concrete problems, so concisely and readably that we as well as the Czechs learn a great deal from their exposition in this particular form. Not the least important parts of the reports are those which summarize present theory in America in regard to such specific matters as the relation between law and public opinion, the value of play for character building, the proper sphere of social diagnosis, and the like.

While it was not a primary function of this survey to make an inventory of Czech contributions to social theory and practice, nevertheless it could not fail to note many accomplishments original with the city under review, or the nation of which it is the capital, limited though the freedom of that city under Austrian rule was to meet its problems in ways congenial to its historic spirit. In such a matter, for in-

PUBLIC HEALTH

Main Findings of the Report by Philip S. Platt, C. P. H.

THE climate, situation, water supply and sewerage system of the city, the most important health necessities, were found to be good; though the last named was incomplete at the time of the survey. The typhoid death rate had fallen from an average of 32.6 per 100,000 in the five years 1891-1895 to one of 2.7 for the five years 1914-1918, after introduction of the present water supply.

The eradication of common communicable diseases of childhood—measles, diphtheria, scarlet fever, whooping cough—had kept pace with the average progress in this matter elsewhere.

One-half of the deaths occurring in Prague were from preventable causes; and of these deaths one-half due to tuberculosis alone, the average mortality of which for the last ten years was 356 per 100,000—one of the highest in Europe and two or three times as high as that found in many other large cities of Europe and America. A marked decrease in the five years before the war was more than lost during the war when the death rate rose as high as 408 (1917). Owing to the pressure of economic conditions, recovery is bound to be slow. When the study was made, notification was not enforced and the provision for prevention by education, prophylactic treatment and isolation was entirely inadequate.

A "conspiracy of silence" veiled the incidence and importance of venereal diseases which, however, were shown by a special investigation to be the commonest diseases in the city. Prostitution was licensed, and the general sentiment of the community was one of tolerance of it as a necessary evil, though a movement for combating it was under way. There were no clinics for protective treatment and little educational propaganda.

The infant mortality was above 140 per 100,000, as compared with 90 in New York city and even lower rates in large European cities. There was a general decline of infant deaths from preventable causes, especially diarrhoeal diseases, while the importance of congenital defects had remained almost constant. Many excellent activities for saving infant lives, carried on both by the health authority and by voluntary organizations, needed strengthening, especially on the educational side.

The public health service of the city suffered from two chief faults: misconception of the relative value of different forms of activity from the point of view of disease prevention, and division of responsibility with resulting excessive complexity of organization. The remuneration for public health service was inadequate. The nursing system of the city fell far short of meeting the requirements, as regards numbers, training, remuneration and organization. There was lack, more particularly, of specialized, trained public health workers.

Inadequate housing facilities, absence of properly equipped and managed playgrounds, a deficient milk supply and, of course, the effect of the war, with its burdens on motherhood, rise of prices and industrial disorganization, were aggravating factors in the health situation.

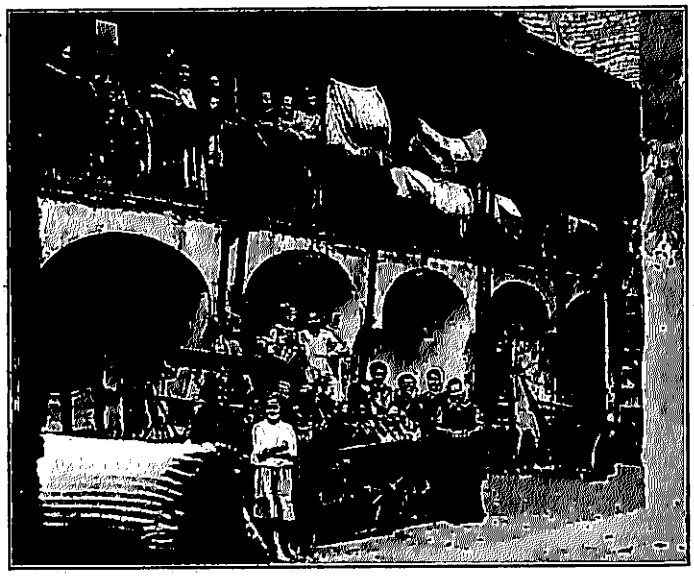
A wide and varied interest in public health questions, the imminent reorganization of the public health service with the incorporation of adjacent communes, the energy and enthusiasm shown by voluntary agencies and associations cooperating with the medical officer of health and the rapid economic recovery of the country under the leadership of a government imbued with an unusual social spirit were factors, on the other hand, which foreshadowed rapid improvement all along the line.

stance, as voluntary association for specific serious purposes, we who suffer from an excessive coordination of social forces and a deification of majority rule may in times to come find a good deal to learn from Czecho-Slovakia. For, the Czech temperament seems to be able to combine regard for the wishes of the majority with a great deal of tolerance and even of respect for those of smaller groups which also have contributions to make to the general welfare. The city of Prague has since this report was made been enlarged by the incorporation of adjacent communes, but, to judge from many pages of these reports, the creation of this larger administrative unit, made imperative by reasons of efficiency and economy, will probably not lead to a centralization dangerous to future progress and local initiative. Another example of this, perhaps, is the system of health insurance which, as revised in May, 1919, combines voluntary group association with national compulsion. This arrangement, says Miss Buse, the reporter, "gives much more flexibility in the enforcement of the law [as compared with a purely bureaucratic system] and an opportunity for each insurance district or group to deal specifically with their problem." The minimum benefits provided by the law must be given in each case; but in detailed interpretation and method of collection and payment each insurance bureau can and does make its own rules. To give another example, the development of adult education and the wider use of school buildings seem to follow a similar course. The Ministry of Schools and Public Education, in addressing itself to the local school boards, in April, 1919, said:

> District and local school boards having opportunity to watch in their district the special mental and economic needs of people will do much good if they will not concern themselves merely with their administrative duties. Their duty is also to have initiative and see by all means that the educational basis given to children at school is not lost but, on the contrary, develops successfully in life. Being impartial corporations, independent from the social and political struggle of different parties, school boards will find enough confidence to enable them to secure also the rest of the intelligensia for the popular educational work. . . .

This appeal for local initiative in a field which the present government of Czecho-Slovakia has very close at heart is the more remarkable when it is remembered that the school system inherited from the imperial Austrian government—owing to the political aims and methods of that regime—is still an exceedingly centralized one in which, with few exceptions, local pedagogues and educational administrators have had no say at all.

The authors of the Prague survey in their recommendations give evidence of having grasped the significance and promise of this respect for local and group initiative and responsibility. Thus Mr. Platt, in his suggestions for the reorganization of the public health service of Prague, while asking for simplification of the city health department in an organization analogous to that of the most successful American municipal health services, takes for granted the establishment of district offices in the new areas about to be incorporated and recommends that each decentralized district health department be given the same structure of seven bureaus or sections as recommended for the central department. Miss Smith, in her report on recreation, throughout emphasizes the value of voluntary organizations that have sprung up—partly because under Austrian rule it was impossible to foster national patriotism except in small groups meeting ostensibly for specific social and educational ends—for a great city-wide program of developing the use of leisure time along constructive lines. Miss Buse, after criticizing the sickness insurance system at present in force and noting a tendency toward greater centralization, warns against the loss of effectiveness that must be expected if that centralization goes too far. Exceptional cases, she says, are more likely to be dealt with in the right way if they come before the executive board of some comparatively small association that has intimate knowledge of each case than by legislation aiming to provide in the large for



AN OLD COURT
Insanitary, over-crowded homes are mingled with stables

every unusual contingency. Of trade unions as media of social insurance she says more in particular:

> The first thought is, what a duplication of machinery and a double payment of dues. Why not combine them? By thinking it through one comes to see the decided advantages of the divided arrangement. The state-supervised insurance is tending more and more toward centralization and therefore standardization of benefits. It is thus losing its ability to meet needs of individual cases. But on the other hand the state will never become insolvent. The worker knows how much he can depend upon it and in what way he cannot. He may complain that the amount of insurance is not enough or that his case is an instance where individual consideration is required. For this the labor union should be responsible. The labor union is in intimate relationship with labor and laboring people. It knows well the limitations of a workman's budget. The officials are often workers themselves and know the wage of this worker or that worker. They know whether this worker ought to depend more upon himself.

In much the same spirit, she pleads for extension of a system of public employment agencies by voluntary organizations in cooperation with public agencies under centralized control, along the line of actual recent developments, rather than a purely bureaucratic system with its inevitable shortcomings: insufficient knowledge of each trade, lack of interest in the applicant after he has been placed, lack of discrimination in the placement of skilled and specialized workers.

The Political Motive

ANOTHER characteristic of Czecho-Slovak social organization which is likely to be even more appreciated in the years to come is the close association of social and educational with political movements. Our last presidential election, whatever view we take of its results, certainly was not fought on issues that were close and tangible to the ordinary voter. It would be ludicrous to say that the average man had a very clear conception of the question of foreign policy ostensibly placed before him as the main dividing line between the two old parties or that he clearly recognized the difference between the promises of the two parties on domestic policy. In Czecho-Slovakia, as in some other European countries, party politics enter into a much wider range of public questions than with us. It is easy to criticize the obvious disadvantages of party affiliation for educational agencies, cooperative societies, recreational clubs and the like; and these disadvantages are clearly shown in the reports on the Prague survey. But no less real though more difficult to demonstrate is the vitality which that

RECREATION

Main Findings of the Report by Anne Smith

A RELATIVELY short working day and the prohibition of public gatherings under Austrian rule had contributed to an unusual amount and diversity of social organization for the use of leisure time. Gymnastics, lectures and song had been placed at the service of clandestine patriotic exercise. Even commercial recreation, including the cabaret, partook of the national spirit and to that extent had remained a shade above the vulgar depths which it has attained elsewhere.

With the removal of political restrictions the possible field of action for voluntary effort has greatly widened, and movements were on foot at the time of the survey to make larger use of the splendid equipment and organization in existence. There were about 175 gymnasia in Prague, and the great majority of the adult population enjoyed such outdoor sports as tennis, kopana, walking excursions and winter sports. The city maintained 7 excellent parks, covering one-fifth of the total area, and pleasure gardens where good music could be heard any evening during the summer.

Recreational facilities for children and young people were very inadequate. School yards were too small, and the daily time-table of the school did not at all permit of healthful play, or did so insufficiently. There were practically no permanent playgrounds with trained adult play leadership, although several organizations carried on children's welfare work, especially in summer. Excursions and the opening of unequipped, temporary playgrounds were the chief items in their program. Trained play leaders were almost unknown. The total number and capacity even of the temporary playgrounds were insufficient to meet the needs of the city's child population. The total number of children cared for in vacation colonies in the summer of 1919 was 8,569. These colonies belonged to 7 different agencies.

Owing to the overcrowding, the normal recreational opportunities of the home were not realized. It was almost impossible for young people to see their friends informally in their own homes. Young children played in often dangerously congested streets; adolescents met in parks and commercial amusement places, sometimes under conditions insufficiently protecting their morals and always without experienced supervision. Public sentiment with regard to the recreation and continued education of young girls was largely negative, and many of the girls were entirely deprived of natural outlets for the spirit of youth.

The Sokol Union, that splendid organization for physical recreation of adults which is known far beyond the national boundaries for its achievements, had entered a period of extended work and was asking the state legislature for a law making physical education compulsory for all. The union had 137 branches in Prague, with 4,690 women, 11,670 men, 3,440 adolescent and 10,730 child members. Its leaders were volunteer workers who had undergone a special training course; but play leadership for children had not been one of their aims. Other organizations carried on similar work in the fulfillment of their various political and social programs, but in practice by very much the same means.

The police department of Prague listed 4,000 separate clubs of all types, the majority of them political, gymnastic or cultural; few of them were for women and none provided a home for young men or women. Apart from students' clubs, gymnastic organizations and scouting groups, there were few clubs for adolescents.

The motion picture had not yet become the predominant factor in adult recreation which it is elsewhere; there were only 40 motion picture houses in Greater Prague. Educational films and special pictures for children were practically unknown. A censorship over films shown was exercised by a committee composed of members of the board of education, social welfare societies and organizations interested in the artistic side of film production. In addition to the world-famous national theater, Prague has 10 theaters maintaining a comparatively high standard of dramatic art. On an even higher level was the musical recreation offered, both by the city and in the 14 concert halls of the community. The cabarets, dance halls, coffee houses, bathing facilities and other commercial places of recreation, though capable of improvement, offered relatively valuable or at least innocuous services.

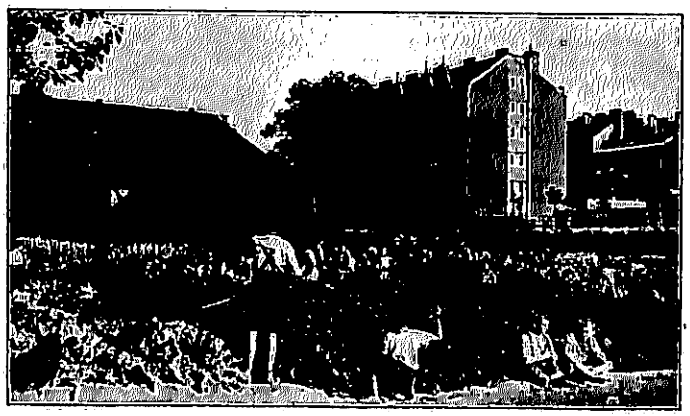
CHILDREN AT PLAY



EAGERLY THEY WATCH THE ACTED STORY



BUSY HANDS ON IDLE LAND



A GARDEN THAT COST ONLY 40 CROWNS



WHY NOT MAKE IT A REGULAR PLAYGROUND?

affiliation gives both to the movements concerned and to party politics. Miss Buse writes:

> Even with this handicap of placing the interests of the party before educational progress, the National Socialists have made of their school a real center of culture for the whole party.

An interesting and important instance of the association of cultural and political motives and methods is the great national organization for physical training of the *sokols* which, incidentally, are represented in the United States by a number of strong centers. The *sokols* have been described as follows by Herbert Adolphus Miller in the SURVEY for November 2, 1918:

> The organization as a national institution was founded by a professor of philosophy in 1862 for the very purpose of developing for the *sokol* in Bohemia a character that would make it a virile instrument for the nation and at the same time would not seem to present opposition to the Austrian government. In this nationalistic character it is quite natural that, among the Bohemians, free-thinking should have been one of the characteristics of the *sokols*, although discussion of neither politics nor religion is allowed in them. They have been the source of promoting excellent physical development and discipline, and most certainly account in a very large degree for the present efficiency of the Czecho-Slovak army.

Paralleling the German *Turnverein* in the respect that both have originated as popular weapons of spiritual defense at a time of deep national humiliation under foreign rule, the remarkable thing about the *sokols* is that even after the revolution they have retained their definitely nationalist spirit and perpetuate the motive from which they grew. They thus are in opposition to international left-wing socialism, with the result that the Social Democratic Party, through the Workmen's Gymnastic Association, counters their activities with physical, educational and social programs of its own. Miss Smith says:

> The Workmen's Association is gaining strength and extending its membership just at a time when the realization of the city's need for recreation is becoming clearer. The Workmen's Gymnastic Association will eventually be called upon to fulfill its members' urgent need for social life, and if the association will wish to hold its members' full interest, it will have to meet this need.

A third organization with similar aims is the Orel Gymnastic Association founded and supported by the Clerical Party which, likewise, promotes gymnastic training "not only for physical culture, but as a means of promoting social life and developing a Christian character based on the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church."

It would be easy to point out that these and one or two other types of organization merely duplicate each others' efforts and would do well to combine their forces. The survey report does not make such a suggestion, for it would fail to give proper weight to the impetus which party loyalty and a deeply felt political philosophy—nationalist, socialist, Roman Catholic—have given to physical culture and community organization. It is only outwardly that these competing efforts overlap; in reality they represent so many different approaches to a common goal. Each appeals to a group within the nation and expresses its characteristic contribution of ideals to the common weal. Of course, this infusion of party spirit into movements which inherently make no direct political appeal occasionally exceeds practically desirable limits; but the very fact of mutual toleration makes for democracy; and the enthusiasm engendered within each group for its particular aims makes for a more active participation in national politics.

It is not the purpose of this article to review the political reorganization of city and state or the social legislation and

administrative decrees since freedom was attained; but so far as they are revealed in the pages of these survey reports, both bear the stamp of a very active participation in the formulation of policy by widely different groups within the population—an obvious result of political education through intimate contact with concrete problems of social life through a network of organizations answering the needs and desires of every class.

Incidentally, this keen interest of ordinary citizens even in the more complicated processes of government meant that the survey of Prague was far from being a record of static conditions. Every now and then, the account of some piece of social machinery or organization is interrupted by the remark that since the survey was started a reform program has already been worked out, and that large changes must be expected in the near future. While, at their conferences with the local leaders in the different fields of social work, the surveyors often found an intellectual apprehension of new ideas much in advance of trained capacity to carry them out, nevertheless there was movement everywhere and eagerness to measure up to the best standards. This Miss Hurlbutt brings out in her report on social care for individuals, where she says:

> In reviewing the whole question of juvenile delinquency in Prague one feels encouraged by the indications on every side of the fine work which will be done in the near future. Already the rigidity of the old laws and traditional criminal practices are breaking away before the new social spirit. This spirit is evident in the constructive and sympathetic service rendered by the best corrective institutions. . . . It is true that the greatest tasks lie in the future and that the practical work accomplished thus far is very small, but plans which are so carefully thought out, which are based on insight and on the spirit of service will doubtless receive the intelligent and strong support of the public essential to their full realization.

And again, in a chapter on administration:

> The majority of the organizations are already in the process of reconstruction, and are continually changing.

In this movement of change it is important to distinguish between activities which previously were forcibly retained by the Austrian bureaucracy and were administered, often, with no concession either to the wishes of the people or to the spirit of the times, and the activities generated spontaneously through social sympathy and carried on by voluntary associations.

It was partly because of its centuries-old suspicion of bureaucracy that the people of Prague had learned to depend upon themselves for the provision of social services of the kind they really wanted. While this estrangement had meant a good deal of loss in actual effectiveness, especially since because of it social tasks had often been recognized and carried out in fragments rather than as parts of a large community endeavor, it had created a public spirit which is rare in the western world. Educational and social work had become the objects of an underground association for common ends in which every citizen of Prague was more or less a secret conspirator.

There has been an ugly effect of all this: Clandestine meetings and inability to discuss frankly and openly important questions of the day have, as Miss Smith tells us, had a bad effect on the morals of children who from their elders had learned to lie and to deceive those in authority. That psychological disease, however, was cured almost as soon as its cause was removed. "Conspiracy," brought into the open, and applied to immediate responsibilities, changes into rivalry in good works for the general welfare, a keen and wholesome

WOMEN AT WORK



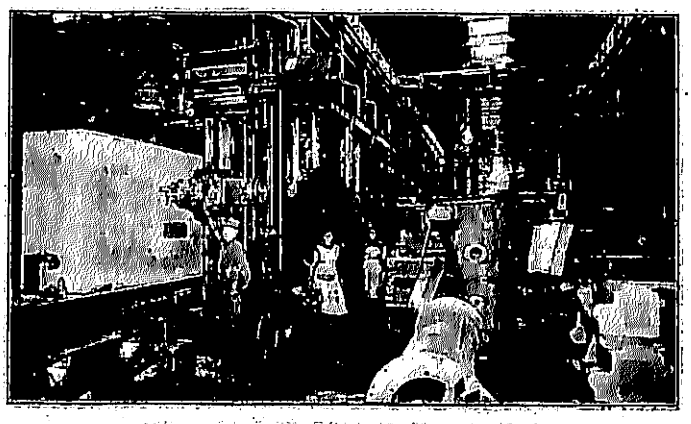
THE WOMEN DO THE STREET CLEANING



THEY LOAD AND UNLOAD THE COAL



THEY TEND THE SAME MACHINES AS MEN



AND WORK WITH THEM IN THE BIG SHOPS

OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN

Main Findings of the Report by Alpha Buse

HISTORICALLY, the employment of women for wages has followed the same trend as elsewhere in Europe; they have replaced male workers because they were willing to work for lower wages and under conditions which men refuse to accept. An investigation of the eight most important groups showed a tendency to break down the last remaining barriers of traditional demarcation between men's and women's work so far as they are not based on physical prohibitions.

The gain of women in taking the places of men during the war, especially in transportation and office work, had largely been lost with the return of peace and of the armies. In transportation they had been almost entirely discharged; in offices they were limited to mechanical operations which were considered especially suited to women's talents. With the cessation of war production and lack of raw materials, many women had returned from industry to personal and domestic service. Public opinion prevented the entry of professions by women in large numbers, though all legal obstacles had been removed.

In labor legislation for the protection of women and minors and for the protection of all workers, the new republic of Czecho-Slovakia takes a high rank among the nations. Social insurance providing for sickness, maternity, accident, unemployment, old age and invalidity; regulation of hours, child welfare, safety, sanitation and health and minimum wage had been subject to new legislation. Because of the rapidity with which these laws have followed each other, there was as yet no complete enforcement when the survey was made, especially since there had been no corresponding enlargement of the departments of inspection or decentralization of the responsibility vested in the state department of labor.

Wages for all classes of workers had increased substantially but had not kept pace with the rise in the cost of living—this in spite of the fact that women as well as men workers were more fully organized than in most countries and that conditions of employment were determined almost entirely by collective bargaining. No accurate data were available on the cost of living, and minimum wages meant to meet the cost of living actually fell short of the required amount.

Women were not in most cases organized in separate unions; their reliance on men in the matter of leadership meant lack of sustained interest and of training for responsible administrative positions; it also meant insufficient study of conditions from the point of view of women's special needs in factories where women are employed. Conditions recorded as "average" by the factory inspector were found upon investigation faulty in many respects, such as insanitary toilets, machines unguarded, stairways narrow, dark, winding and constructed of wood, ventilation bad, windows closed, ventilating fans broken, unnecessary standing at work, bad lighting. Such "details" under the system of inspection were neglected.

Cooperative organizations are given special help by the ministries of Social Welfare and of Agriculture. The membership of consumers' societies has doubled in ten years, and the incomes of the wholesale cooperative companies increased by 79 per cent in one year, 1917. The establishment of cooperative enterprises is nearly always due, however, to the initiative of the workers; their prosperity is especially great at present in agriculture and the building trades. Side by side with this growth was recorded a considerable increase in profit sharing, also fostered by the state which had made the distribution of a wage dividend one of several functions of a wage commission for each chamber of commerce and industry district.

criticism of those in power, and eventually, hearty cooperation with a socially-minded government of the people's own choice. Indeed, one can almost see between the lines of the reports the mainspring for a government program that astonishes by its radical nature and vitality: the loosened energies of a whole nation freed from bondage.

While other countries still grope with the problem of drawing practicable limits to the emancipation of womanhood, these people, accustomed to the equal participation of men and women in the ever difficult and risky enterprise of maintaining the national identity under a hostile foreign yoke, accepted at once and as a matter of course not only the accordance of full rights of citizenship to women but also that of equal rights in the professions, in the holding of public office and in other respects. Prohibited for so long from teaching and learning freely, they are throwing themselves whole-heartedly into the movement for a wide extension of educational facilities under the auspices and guidance of the government. Miss Hess dwells on the difficulty of gaining a concrete knowledge of the present school system while so many plans for complete reformation are yet unfinished and every suggestion for improvement is met by indications of efforts already under way to meet the particular need mentioned. She says:

> As social workers, the privilege of being in the heart of the republic during this wonderful rebirth of freedom has given us inspiration and fresh spirit to take back to America. . . . It is to the efforts of a school which is reformed and socialized that we look for the rebuilding of an indomitable nation—the land of the Czechs and the Slovaks.

Mr. Platt asks the reader not to measure the actual achievements of the republican government in the reform of public health administration against those of other countries, since that reform is part of a "municipal and governmental housecleaning from top to bottom," behind closed borders, with insufficient means and a most difficult political situation, all of which considered, the republican and municipal administrations have made great progress toward the ideal programs they have in view. He also notes the "new stimulus and desire;" but, alas, "enough of the old bureaucratic system remains to embarass the new system with all its fine desire." Miss Hurlbutt writes:

> As a result of eight months of acquaintance with a wide variety of persons interested in social work in Prague the writer has come to feel a deep admiration for the devotion and kindness of the rank and file of workers, the enthusiasm and quick intelligence with which new ideas are welcomed and, above all, for the insight and imagination in some of the recently planned activities.

It is this readiness to accept new ideas which, to judge from the reports before us, is the most characteristic attitude of the people toward the stupenduous task of social reconstruction. It springs from that same national patriotism and local civic pride that have been fostered by voluntary association through the long period of political restriction. While patriotism in countries that have not recently gone through such an experience is usually associated with conservatism and an excessive regard for past achievement, it is here taking the form of a liberal tolerance for suggestion from every quarter, provided only that it be born of experience, sincere and practically helpful. Some impatient observers who found the new officialdom, created almost overnight with no tradition of its own, accepting the models inherited from their predecessors while gradually working out a new practice, have attributed an "imperialist" or "militarist" motive to some of the actions taken. It would have been a miracle if the new administration had been immediately quite free from that taint. But the picture of the capital that emerges from these survey reports does not bear out any generalized accusation of that kind.

There is no sign of Prague's intending to become an imperial city, flaunting its grandeur before the world. Only is there visible a justifiable pride in the city's characteristic achieve-

ments and a firm belief in the special contributions it has to make to the uplift of mankind.

Again, it is often said and repeated that the Czech is quick in thought and expression but slow in action. The reports of the Prague survey, while they show much lamentable delay in the execution of desirable reforms, do not confirm any such theory. They lay the blame, rather, on the inheritance of a top-heavy system of administration which for long periods had discouraged action while it could not discourage thought; the financial and human cost of war and last, but not least, the comparative inexperience of the new leaders who, even if they possess energy, are necessarily overawed by the difficulties in their way. Critical as these reports are of the delays, there is more frequently to be found in their pages a sincere admiration for what has already been accomplished in reorganization and, more especially, for the intelligence with which new programs have been adapted to existing machinery, where possible, or recreated from fragments of it where that was the better way. (It should be added, by the way, that several of those who took part in the survey have warned the present reviewer not to regard its findings as final so far as they concern the accomplishment of reforms. Since most of the work on the survey was done, almost two years ago, progress all along the line has been consistent and, along some lines, rapid.)

In some respects, because of its eagerness to do the whole job and do it well, Czecho-Slovakia in its new social legislation is going, at one bound, farther than older republics, which pride themselves on the rapidity of their progress, go in many years. Of this numbers of examples might be quoted. For instance, this young state is the first, so far as we know, to provide in its sickness insurance law for casual workers in such a way that they can derive benefit from the fund to which they contribute. "A special class is established for those doing work for one employer for periods of a week or less. These are to be supported in case of illness from a special relief fund." Or again, take the institution of compulsory dividend sharing under the supervision of wage commissions—part of an even larger plan providing for definite workers' representation in the determination of working conditions by district chambers of commerce and industry. In another field, the reorganization of the health department of Prague on the basis of a comprehensive scheme submitted by the health officer—immediately following the creation of the republic—is evidence of the same preparedness for thorough action. And the messages of the minister of education quoted by Miss Hess, so far from being utopian or general in nature, go into the smallest detail of desirable subjects and methods in the use of schools for adult education which he proposes as immediately practicable.

The Artistic Temperament

THERE is one key to the understanding of Prague and of the new political structure that is assuming shape in that beautiful city which is hidden beneath much other interesting matter in a chapter by Miss Hess on the social aspects of the primary and secondary schools. She says:

> The place that singing can hold in a community has only been made clear to western people during the war, but Czecho-Slovaks are a singing nation, and the heritage of folk and national songs which has come down through the centuries should be a power in making for unity in every phase of social life.

Substitute the more general term art for song, and we have the explanation for much that is especially characteristic of

THE SCHOOLS

Main Findings of the Report by Fjeril Hess

UNTIL freedom came with the revolution, local school boards, principals and teachers were entirely responsible to government inspectors who distrusted initiative and ability on the part of any public servant in the dependent state. This centralization of control almost by necessity had to be continued by the new republican government as a basis of reform, and all executive power rests with the new central authority, the Ministry of Education. Prague alone and one or two other cities, at the time of this study, had a local board of education with limited powers; for the rest of the country, the government supported the majority of schools. As the greater portion of municipal revenue came from state taxation, a new system of national finance was necessary before the uniformity of the school administration could give way to local control and responsibility.

Social aspects of education, hindered by the aim and purpose of Austrian control, had remained behind the best practice in other countries. The school buildings themselves were for the most part old and equipped with old-fashioned benches. In line with the development of education in Germanic countries, much expenditure had gone into the equipment of special rooms; thus of 227 elementary schools, 126 had gymnasia of fair size; and there were 372 special rooms with collections of various kinds for class use. On the other hand, there were no play rooms, no swimming pools and only one library available to pupils.

The medical inspection, already mentioned, was found to be superficial and entirely lacking in follow-up work that would make it effective; no visiting nurses were employed to make the contact between school doctor and home, and no nurses aided the school physicians or gave first aid in the school. School lunches were carried on by a private organization as a war emergency measure; there was no permanent provision for them. Largely owing to physical conditions, there had been a steady decline in school attendance since 1913. The establishment of classes for backward or abnormal children was in its infancy; they were carried on by a voluntary organization with the aid of young university students. There was little institutional care for feeble-minded children.

A large proportion of children were leaving school at the age of fourteen without a conscious training of their natural abilities for any particular vocation and without vocational guidance; only in one district a committee had been set up by the minister of social welfare to counsel parents and children and provide oversight during the first year of work.

About one-fifth of the elementary school children continued their education after the age of fourteen, at the end of compulsory schooling, in 55 high schools; 14,000 of them in middle schools and 6,000 in industrial and commercial schools. High school attendance was subject to a fee, and opportunities for supplementary earnings on the part of students were few and unorganized. A few students were in receipt of scholarships offered by state, city and private individuals. There was no provision for housing and care of out-of-town students. The teaching of social hygiene was very slight; of supervision of leisure time there was practically none. Co-education was one of the first school reforms inaugurated by the new regime, but at the time of the survey it was not aided by student activities in which students of the two sexes could find common interests.

With its great tradition, the teaching profession, held down so long by Austrian subjection, is rapidly attaining the status it enjoys in other countries. The teachers throughout the republic are organized and exercise a dominant influence on educational reform. They had not, however, as yet made direct contact with parents through parent-teacher associations and therefore were limited in their influence on the home and social life of the school children.

The school has in the past not been a potent factor in the social life of the adult community, but the present administration aims at making it a community center and bearer of education to all classes and ages. The enthusiasm and effectiveness of private organization for adult education make it appear probable that from the present beginnings a people's university movement of considerable strength, diversity and influence on the national life will grow in the years to come.

SOCIAL CARE FOR INDIVIDUALS

Main Findings of the Report by Mary Emerson Hurlbutt

MODERN methods of case work and of statistical analysis are undeveloped in Prague in almost every branch of social care. In consequence, the cooperation between different agencies and between private and public agencies was lacking in effectiveness and also in joint action to prevent causes of misery so far as individual cases were concerned. Social ills were treated to a large degree in isolation and not in relation to the social needs of the family as a unit; and community problems on the other hand were visualized too much as problems affecting individual families.

Protective care for mothers and infants had since 1916 been organized for the whole city by a benevolent association with broad vision and persistent effort. It maintained infant clinics, mostly in school rooms and in one branch had developed on the most approved lines an up-to-date health service for mothers and children. A program for extended work, submitted by this society to the government, would provide hygienic, social, moral and legal care for every woman in need of it—in some of its aspects compulsory.

Institutional care for dependent children was without standardized practices and varied in value. Many of the plants were unsuitable; or the working force was too small, unsuitably trained and badly paid. Children were grouped without sufficient regard to age, mental and physical condition or need for material aid. Responsibility for public care was divided between federal government, province and city; a municipal bureau for the welfare of dependent children was administered in too bureaucratic a spirit. The allowance made for children boarded out in foster homes varied in the communes composing Greater Prague.

Correctional institutions for juvenile delinquents were in many cases too far removed from the capital to make possible a very close administrative cooperation. The training they provided was too uniform and insufficiently related to the individual talents of the children committed to them. On the whole, these institutions compared favorably with those in other countries. Legislation providing for conditional sentence had been passed by the republican legislature and had opened the way for fruitful cooperation between the juvenile court and private organizations.

Social medical agencies in Prague were especially lacking in cooperation. With the low salaries paid to district medical officers whose duty it was to give free medical advice to any of the ten thousand persons or so in their districts who cared to apply, it was practically impossible for them to render very thorough services unless aided by private organizations. Unfortunately, Prague suffered from a "startling" lack of nurses, and both hospitals and ambulatoria were very inadequate.

For the physically handicapped, all except war invalids, the responsibility assumed by the government was very slight. In practice neither the city nor provincial governments lived up even to the relatively meager duties placed on them in this respect under the old Austrian law. The Ministry of Social Welfare had in many minor ways shown its interest in these children, as for instance in granting a subvention for a training course for teachers of the deaf, and was expected to develop a complete program for the care of physical defectives, partly through public support and partly through stimulation and coordination of private activities.

The care of the insane hitherto had been a function of the provincial government; but there was no provision for the care of insane children in the entire country, nor was there even a private agency engaged in after-care for those dismissed from institutions. There was no legislation for the commitment of feeble-minded persons or to make school attendance of backward children compulsory. There were no public institutions for their care, and private initiative had done little for them.

Charity organization in Prague had not yet assumed the larger function of family care. The city's poor relief department exercised chiefly supervisory functions; the machinery for actual relief was too complicated, and the men with whom final decision rested were not specialists in social welfare. The whole system was at the time of the study undergoing reorganization.

the nation. The Czecho-Slovaks are essentially an artistic people, ready to respond to high ideals and to the call of beauty. As artists, they are not merely impressionable but creative—practical in the sense that a longing to embody their dreams in action is practical. An interesting sidelight on the artistic temper and talents of the people is contained in a paragraph of Miss Hurlbutt's report in which she pleads for the adoption of orphaned children by families of culture. She says:

> In an educational experiment made in Prague VII to awaken and develop the creative impulses of school children, the most artistic productions were made by children whose social surroundings were the least desirable and who had been considered unmanageable in school.

There is a curious analogy to this statement in the fact that it is some of the most suppressed peoples that have contributed most to the arts and crafts of the nations—as though the human spirit, denied its normal expression, were finding its outlet in the creation of beauty.

The community life of Prague, as it must be among a people with a cultivated sense of beauty, is also imbued with a fine feeling for human values. If this does not always appear embodied in an effective protection of the weak and suffering, it must again be remembered that hitherto these people were robbed by the dominant political group in the empire of experience in large-scale administrative responsibility. Deprived of the power of initiative, leaders in many fields of social effort have in the past failed to acquaint themselves with the trend of ideas abroad and carried on their difficult tasks if not in dull resignation yet without that incentive to progress which comes from ability to translate new ideas into action. Where their imagination had freer play, they have created works of enduring value. Thus, to quote an example, recreation has remained undeveloped where it necessitated cooperation with the school administration; where in their voluntary organizations the people of Prague were free to follow their bent, they have made better organized provision for the use of leisure time than any other people similarly situated economically.

The survival of craft guilds, often with retention of their old and dignified ceremonial, and with promotion of the dignity of the trade as one of three principal aims, is further evidence of the spirit we have tried to characterize. These guilds are now mainly devoted to the decidedly practical object of caring for the social, economic and educational welfare of the trades and have important legal rights and duties in the determination of working arrangements, the supervision of apprenticeship and the regulation of prices and profits; but they have helped to carry into the period of industrialism a tradition of mutual regard between master and helper and of pride in craftmanship that, indeed, has given them continued life.

It should be noted in this connection that even the Social Democratic Organization, with its totally different outlook on life, encourages the members of its unions in the needle trades to seek in the Workmen's Academy general cultural courses which it cannot itself supply. In his order on adult instruction, of April 6, 1919, the minister of education placed into the forefront of necessary considerations the desire of the government—in keeping with that expressed by the people's representatives—for the "development of a harmonious personality" and "everything that makes life more beautiful and the heart nobler. As, for instance," he continued,

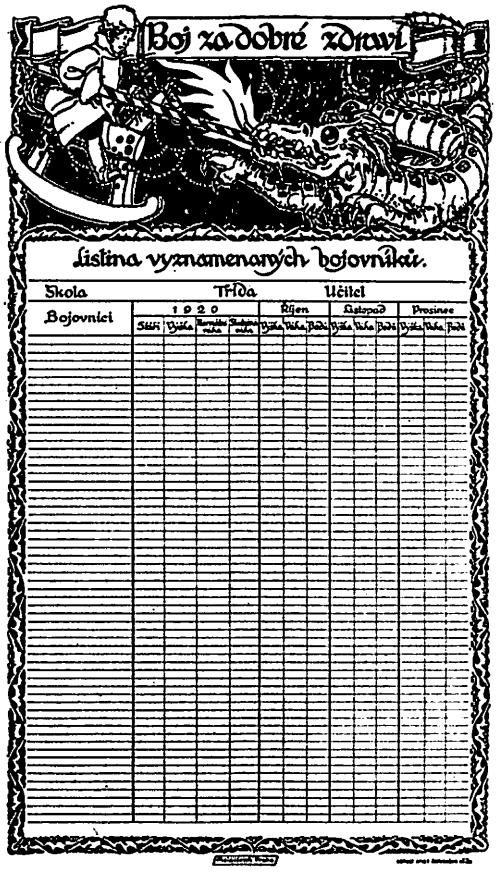
> . . . reading and explanations of the beautiful Czecho-Slovak literature, seeing of picture galleries, musical

and dramatic performances, excursions to such places as ennoble taste through the beauties of nature or art or literature.

Against the background of a nation just emerging from oppression, unable to raise money enough for all necessary immediate governmental purposes, forced to put every atom of available man power into production so as to retain foreign credit and secure food and raw materials, surrounded by pressing and difficult problems of foreign relationships, this is truly a remarkable document. And, to judge from much other evidence in these reports, it is symptomatic of the spirit in which the whole nation has set to work.

The explanation is, of course, historical. So we are told by Ludmila K. Foxlee, a Czech member of the survey staff:

> While it is true that under the leadership of ambitious kings they developed into as efficient warriors as those any country produced in Europe, the desire of the Czechs at all times was to live in peace, devoted to their work, and to follow the dictates of their conscience.
>
> This may explain why the arts in all their forms have always been part of the life of the Czechs, and why the things of the spirit seem always to have had for them the greater appeal. It may also explain why the inner life burned on evenly in the people during the long period of political subjection and why no oppression and repression could break the continuity of national consciousness handed down the long ages.



JUNIOR RED CROSS HEALTH CHART

Used in the schools throughout Czecho-Slovakia for the children to record, among other things, when they have baths and use their toothbrushes. Will the Knights of the Round Table of the American Tuberculosis Association recognize themselves in this stalwart squire?

It has been impossible in these pages to give more than a glimpse of the wealth of material contained in the reports of the survey of Greater Prague. With the present cost of paper, one cannot hope for the complete publication of all the volumes interesting though they are for more than one reason, one of them being that, considering the means at the disposal of the surveyors, the absence of statistics on important subjects, the language difficulty and the need to understand the intentions as well as observe the acts of a foreign people, they reach the high water-mark in the technique of social surveying. As Miss Crawford points out in her article, the survey was really the beginning of a continuing process of self-examination with the aid of foreigners—a process in which change and achievement make untrue many of the fact data gathered almost before they can be incorporated in a formal report. Like the latest innovation of the professional photographer, the moving picture portrait, it conveys more of truth because movement is rendered as well as mien. The people of Prague are to be congratulated on a very excellent, if not flattering portrait; and it is to be hoped that they will not, like a certain English lord recently much criticized, cut out the part that happens to fit the frame of their preconceived ideas, but retain the whole for future comparison with the mirror of their developed selves. That in a very little time that mirror will reflect a republic of splendid achievement among the nations, a republic that is building its outer greatness upon the welfare, character and ideals of the people, no one who has read the pages of these reports will doubt.

THE PITMAN

By Petr Bezruč

From Modern Czech Poetry, translated by P. Selver

I dig, under the earth I dig;
Boulders glittering like the scales of a serpent I dig;
Beneath Polská Ostrava I dig.

My lamp is quenched, upon my brow has fallen
My hair, matted and clammy with sweat;
My eyes are shot with bitterness and gall;
My veins and my skull are clouded with vapour;
From beneath my nails gushes forth crimson blood;
Beneath Polská Ostrava I dig.

The broad hammer I smite upon the pit;
At Salmovec I dig,
At Rychvald I dig, and at Petřvald I dig.

Hard by Godula my wife freezes and whimpers,
Famishing children weep at her bosom;
I dig, under the earth I dig.

Sparks flash from the pit, sparks flash from my eyes;
At Dombrová I dig, at Orlová I dig,
At Poremba I dig and beneath Lazy I dig.

Above me overhead rings the clatter of hoofs,
The count is riding through the hamlet, the countess with dainty hand
Urges on the horses and her rosebud face is smiling.

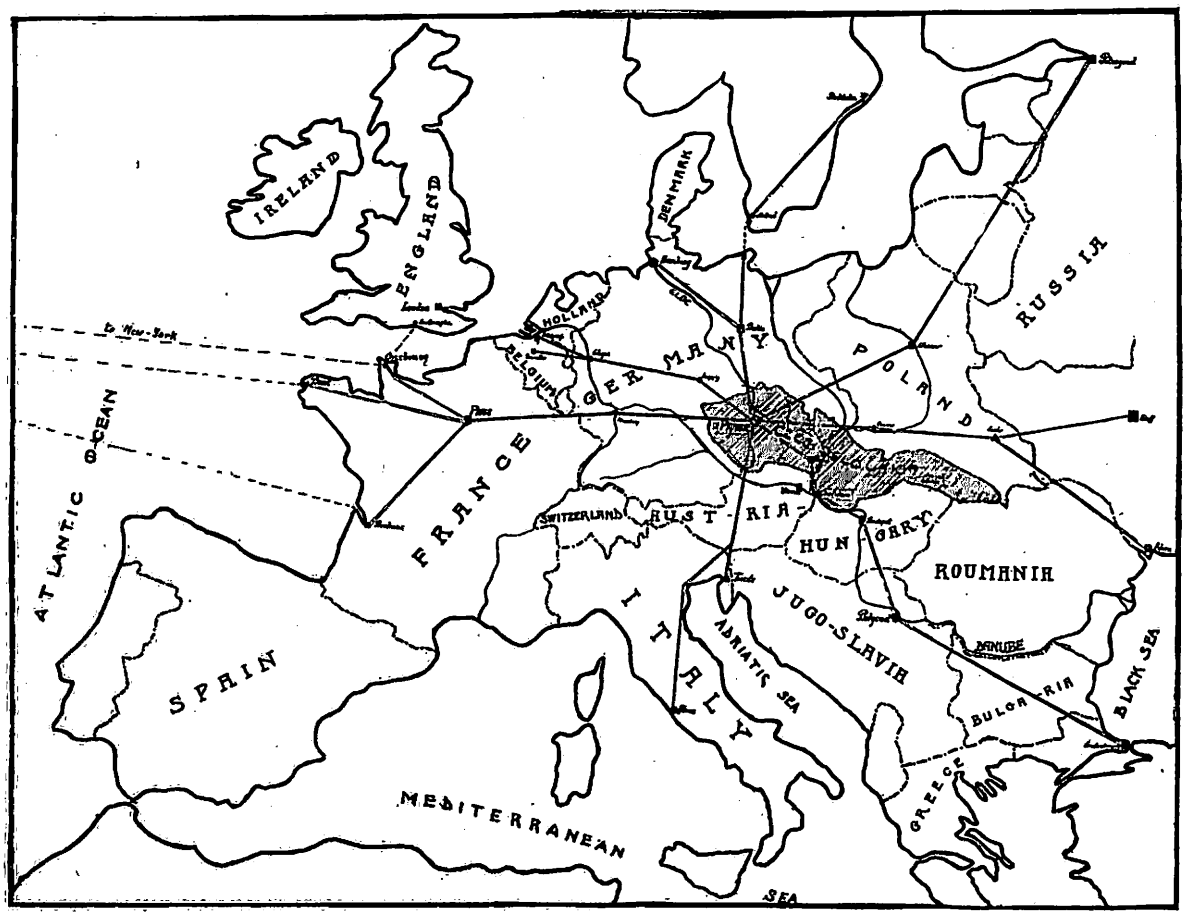
I dig, the mattock I upraise;
My wife, livid-faced, trudges to the castle,
Craving for bread, when the milk has dried up in her breasts.

Good-hearted is my lord,
Of yellow masonry is his castle,
Beneath the castle is dinning and bursting the Ostravice.
By the gates two black bitches are scowling.

Wherefore she went to the castle to pester and beg?
Grows rye on my lord's field for the drab of a pitman?
At Hrušov I dig and at Michalkovice.

What will betide my sons, what will betide my daughters,
On the day when they drag out my corpse from the pit?
My sons shall go on digging and digging,
At Karvinna digging;
And my daughters,—how fares it with daughters of pitmen?

How if one day I should fling my accursed lamp into the pit,
And stiffen my bended neck,
Clench my left hand and stride forth and onward,
And in a sweeping curve from the earth to the skyline upwards
Should upraise my hammer and my flashing eyes,
Yonder beneath God's sunshine!



THE REPUBLIC OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, SHOWING PRAGUE, ITS CAPITAL, PRACTICALLY THE CENTER OF EUROPE

Social and Economic Problems

How Czecho-Slovakia is Trying to Meet Them

By Bedřich Štěpánek

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC TO THE UNITED STATES

THAT Czecho-Slovakia is a country of great possibilities and a promising future need hardly be argued. But many of my American friends, who have been watching with sympathy the birth of the new republic of Czecho-Slovakia, have asked me this question: How will the Czecho-Slovak nation, arisen out of the ruins of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, having fought so bravely and suffered so much for political independence, face all those numerous post-war problems which must be solved even by the most powerful of European states? My answer is that the Czecho-Slovak nation will solve all its problems without great difficulty and in a comparatively short time because it has elements of stability and progress not shared in equal degree by any of the neighboring states.

As an illustration of this point is the fact that, although as recently as October, 1918, after a careful preparation of many years, the old regime was thrown over without the shedding of a single drop of blood, now after but two years of existence, the young republic, in its budget for 1921, indicates a surplus of receipts over expenditures while the neighboring states in their budgets show considerable deficits. Czecho-Slovak currency (ten and a half billion crowns) is half a billion below the amount fixed by law, while in neighboring states the issue of currency is either not limited by law or greatly exceeds the limit set.

What are the elements of the republic's stability and what the main problems of Czecho-Slovakia?

The Czecho-Slovak Republic is situated in the very heart of Europe. [See map, above.] The most important railroad lines cross its territory, carrying trains which maintain communication between Paris, Warsaw and the East, as well as between Berlin and Constantinople. Two great navigable rivers, the Labe (in German called the Elbe) and the Danube, provide Czecho-Slovakia with a direct waterway to the North Sea on the one hand (in Hamburg and Stettin Czecho-Slovakia possesses an independent harbor), on the other to the Black Sea. The problem of the government is to complete and to improve in as short a time as possible the network of railroads, highways and waterways to meet the exactions of the times. There are about eight thousand miles of railroad in Czecho-Slovakia (mostly in Bohemia, where there is one kilometer of railroad for each 8.6 square kilometers of territory, while in Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia there is one kilometer of railroad for every 20 square kilometers of territory). The Czecho-Slovak National Assembly granted, in May, 1920, 6,481,050,000 Czecho-Slovak crowns for building and improving railways, roads and waterways, especially in Slovakia.

A canal between the rivers Labe and Morava is being planned to establish a direct waterway between the North Sea and the Black Sea and to connect with the rivers Vistula (in

Poland) and Oder (in Germany). The Czecho-Slovak Republic will thus become an important junction in the transportation system of Central Europe.

There are in Czecho-Slovakia 1,600,000 units of water power still unutilized. To utilize this great power and to equalize the outflow of waters from the republic, plans have been perfected to build centers for developing electrical energy in all parts of the republic and especially in Slovakia, a country which, neglected for centuries under Magyar rule, requires special attention. Five billions of Czecho-Slovak crowns would be necessary to harness the water power to the best advantage and to complete and improve the telephone and telegraph systems of Czecho-Slovakia.

For the purpose of a scientific and practical organization of the technical side of the work connected with these great tasks an institute called the Masaryk Academy of Labor was established at Prague in 1919. This organization is following practically the same line of work as the National Research Council in the United States. The Masaryk Academy desires to establish a close cooperation with similar institutions in other countries, especially in America.

Industry

IN addition to its favorable geographical location, the Czecho-Slovak Republic has prosperous and growing industries. In several branches of industry the Czecho-Slovak manufacturer is in a position to compete successfully in the world's markets. The amount of exports and imports of the country's industrial products equals that of Belgium.

The number of organized skilled workingmen is about 1,100,000. Though the Czecho-Slovak provinces of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia comprised but 36 per cent of the population of former Austria, these same districts contained 60 per cent of all the industrial workers (in some branches a far greater percentage; for instance 80 per cent of all the textile workers). They possessed two-thirds of all the steam boilers in former Austria and contributed to the total of manufactured articles produced in former Austria 90 per cent and over, of all glass and glass-ware, porcelain, gloves, fezes, matches, hats, linen and woolen goods. In the case of cotton goods, these three provinces of the present Czecho-Slovakia produced 80 per cent of the total of former Austria; of iron and iron manufactures from 66 to 75 per cent and a similar ratio in the manufacture of machinery, railroad cars, locomotives, automobiles, metal goods, underwear, leather, boots and shoes, paper, chemicals and products of the graphic arts.

The total exports of Czecho-Slovak industry are valued at about ten billion crowns; on the other side of the balance sheet is a figure of about nine billion crowns expended for the importation of the most varied foodstuffs, raw materials, half manufactures, special machinery and other goods.

Great and all-absorbing as are the domestic problems of the Czecho-Slovaks, they have nevertheless given much attention and study to the economic questions bearing on commerce and transportation in the countries surrounding them, and many conferences have been held at Prague whose aims have been to relieve the distressing post-war situation and to form a foundation for future constructive enterprise. Thus, according to commercial treaties contracted with the Austrian Republic on November 20, 1918, in March and August, 1919, and February, 1920, the Czecho-Slovak Republic is delivering to Austria 71,200 tons of sugar yearly, under most favorable conditions and far below the world market price. The total yearly consumption of sugar in Austria being 79,280 tons, it is evident that Czecho-Slovakia is covering almost all her consumption of sugar, with the exception of 8,000 tons which Austria is producing in its own territory.

Czecho-Slovakia, although not having enough coal to satisfy her own industries, supplies the Austrian Republic with a far greater quantity of coal than it is bound to do by the peace treaty. In compliance with an agreement between the Austrian Republic and Czecho-Slovakia, the latter has been delivering to Austria, since March, 1920, 5,100 tons of coal daily for its railroads, electric plants, gas-works and home consumption. Besides this, large quantities of coal are being delivered to various Austrian factories, enabling them thus to employ their workingmen. In addition to sugar and coal, Czecho-Slovakia is supplying Austria with timber, enamelled ware, saccharine, and other goods, the prices being fixed so low that Austria is reexporting them to other countries and making a good profit on them. Independent Czecho-Slovakia is imbued with a desire to cooperate with its new neighbors. The Czecho-Slovak nation realizes that it must forgive and forget the sufferings of the past, inflicted upon its people by the jealousies and prejudices fostered by a blind racial hatred. But likewise, Czecho-Slovakia expects a change of heart in its neigh-

PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

SUGAR is one of the chief sources of prosperity in Czecho-Slovakia. Before the war, 173 sugar refineries produced on an average 1,600,000 tons of the best quality of sugar per annum, representing almost 18 per cent of the world's entire production of beet-sugar and 8.12 per cent of all sugar produced in the world.

The malt industry of the former Austria-Hungary was almost entirely carried on in the present territory of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The annual production of the 131 malt houses is 330,000 tons, and the quantity exported is valued at 50,000,000 Czecho-Slovak crowns.

The average annual production of hops, which have a world reputation, is estimated at 10 per cent of the world's production. Annually there are exported about 5,000 tons.

About 32 per cent of the entire area of the Czecho-Slovak Republic is covered with forests so that it ranks in the sixth place among the most wooded countries in the world. Thousands of hands find employment in various forms of the timber industry, in saw mills, in the making of furniture —which forms an article of export, especially bent-wood furniture—in the toy industry carried on both as a home industry and in factories, in the making of musical instruments, in paper manufacturing and in the making of wood-pulp.

The glass industry of Bohemia alone engages about 60,000 skilled workers. Bohemian cut and fancy glass-ware are world famous, as are the pieces of jewelry formed of Bohemian garnets and the porcelain-ware of Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad). Seventeen thousand workers in Czecho-Slovakia produce annually 300,000 tons of porcelain-ware.

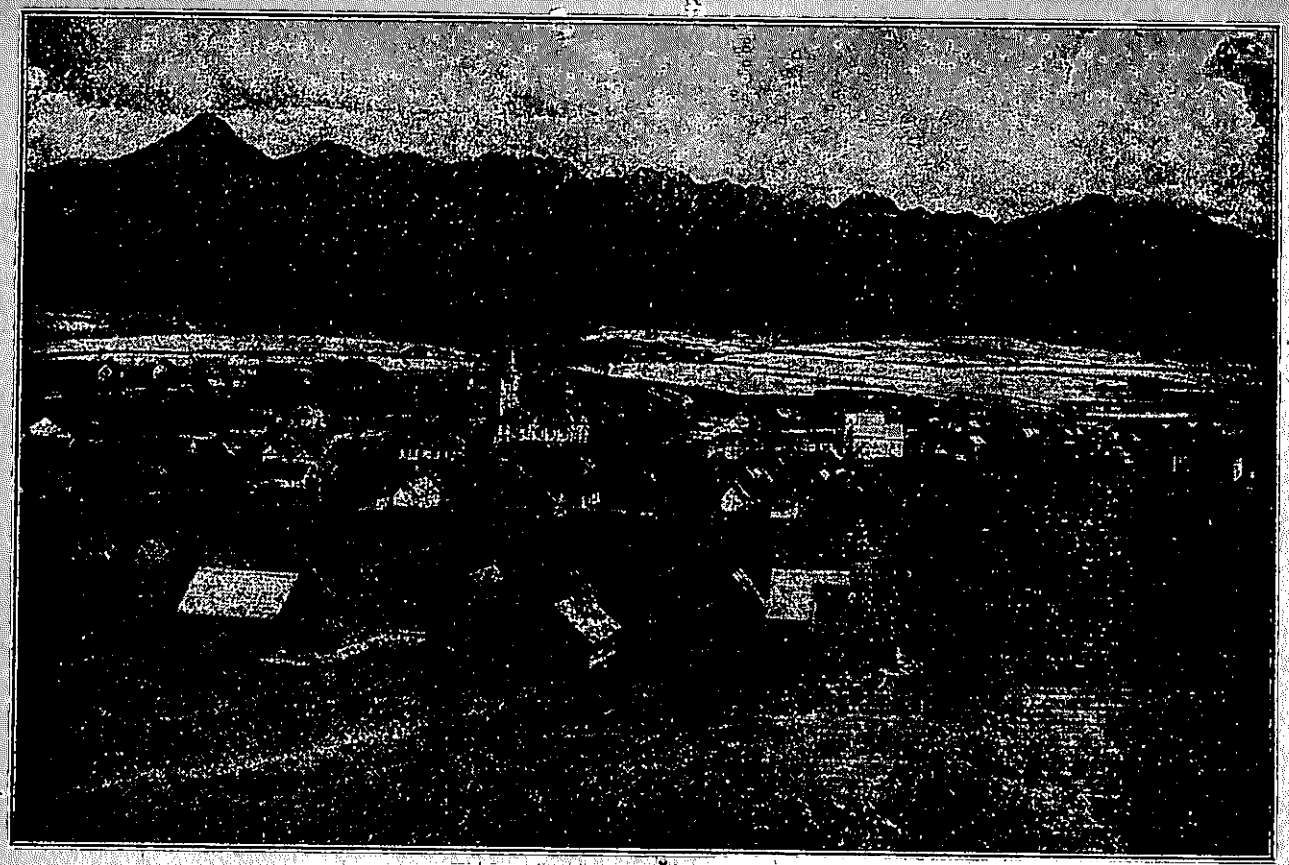
There are 90 spinning mills and 450 weaving mills in Czecho-Slovakia consuming 150,000 tons of cotton per annum.

Ninety per cent of gloves made at Prague are exported.

There are 200 factories for the manufacture of shoes, which produce 45,000,000 pairs annually and employ over 40,000 workers; 70 per cent of boots and shoes manufactured are exported.

About 100 mills and smelters produce annually 2,000,000 tons of iron, which a highly developed metal industry converts with the aid of 100,000 workmen into steam engines, automobiles, water and steam turbines, ship machinery, agricultural machinery, motors and the machinery needed by sugar mills, cotton mills, distilleries, breweries, etc.

Czecho-Slovakia is rich in coal mines, of hard coal as well as lignite. There are 600 coal mines in the Czecho-Slovak Republic which produced 30,000,000 tons of coal a year before the war.



THE OLD TOWN OF VAŽEC, VYSOKE TATRY

The field markings in the foreground show that the old system of cultivating small family farms, immediately adjoining the home, is still in operation

bors. The blessings of freedom and a fortunate economic constellation in Central Europe have impressed upon the Czecho-Slovaks the duty and responsibility which is theirs in international relations, particularly as regards their closest neighbors—the work of reconstruction, and stabilization as a factor in maintaining the world's peace.

Agriculture

AGRICULTURE in the Czecho-Slovak Republic is highly developed and compares most favorably with that of the other most progressive European states; 41 per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture. The fact that half of the total area of the republic consists of arable land and that only 4 per cent is non-productive, shows the intensity with which cultivation is carried on. The chief crops, wheat and barley, account for 25 per cent of the arable land. In respect to the yield per acre, Czecho-Slovakia is surpassed only by Germany and Great Britain.

Before the war, the lands now comprising Czecho-Slovakia possessed 4,500,000 head of cattle and 747,000 horses. On account of the war the republic suffered a loss of cattle of about 38 per cent, of horses, 30 per cent, and of hogs, 57 per cent.

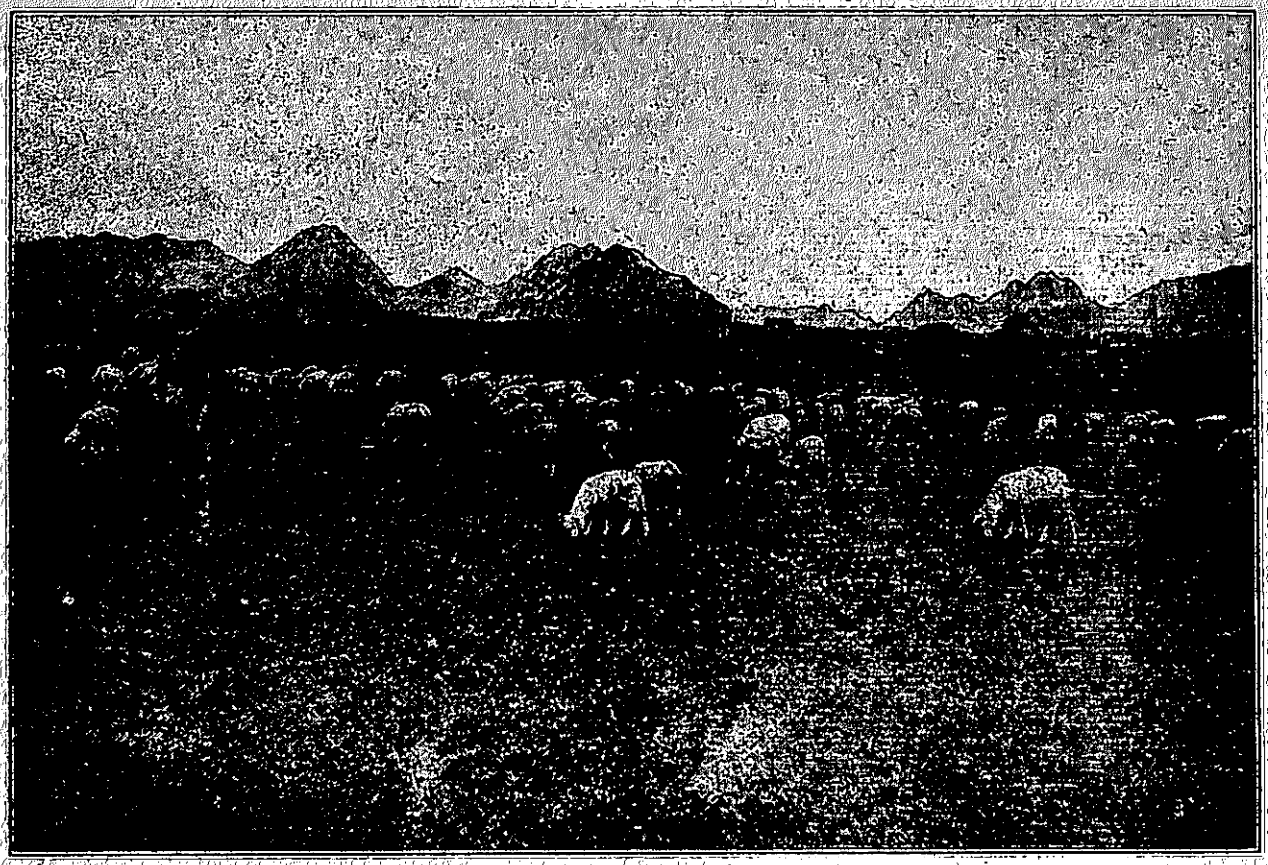
Advanced as the agriculture in Czecho-Slovakia is, the crops are not sufficient to feed all its inhabitants, and a great number of children were saved from the results of undernourishment due to the consequences of the war only by the generous help of the American people. The American Relief Administration has undertaken to continue the feeding of not less than 200,000 children till the harvest of 1921.

For over four years women, children and old men only incompletely replaced the men mobilized from the farms. The requisitions of cattle, the lack of artificial fertilizers and the labor shortage have had an adverse influence on production. Hence the necessity to import provisions of a kind which Czecho-Slovakia has hitherto produced for herself. At present, all efforts are concentrated on the task of regaining and, if possible, raising the pre-war level of production in agriculture.

Land Reform

ON May 27, 1919, the National Assembly passed a law providing for the expropriation of large estates. The large estates belonging to citizens of former enemy states or to the former imperial family will be taken over by the state without any compensation, as far as this does not interfere with any special provisions in the peace treaties. As regards other estates, compensation will be paid according to the average value of the landed property in 1913-1915. The estates will either be divided and allotted to tenants (preference being given to disabled soldiers and their families) or used for other purposes of general utility.

The law relating to the expropriation of landed property gives the state the right to expropriate the areas of large estates in excess of 150 hectares, where the land consists of fields, gardens and meadows, or of 250 hectares in the case of any other lands, including pasturage and forest land. The owner may, however, be left with land up to an area of 500 hectares, and in exceptional circumstances, even this limit may be exceeded. Fields, gardens and meadows comprising a maximum area of 1,300,000 hectares, or about four-fifths of the cultivated area of the large landed estates, are affected by this law. A Land Office, established by law, will carry out this reform. Its activities will be based in particular upon a law dealing with the control of expropriated land, and also upon a law prescribing the details of its distribution. The latter enactment, which is the most important from the point of view of economic and technical principles, specifies those who are to benefit by the distribution. In order to satisfy the urgent need for land, this law provides for the



A CARPATHIAN IDYLL

Far above the little town of Vazec an old shepherd pastures his sheep, assisted by a group of young men who come down to the village only on Saturdays

renting of land on a short lease. In this way, 150,000 to 200,000 hectares of land have been let within the last year —these areas representing about one-sixth of the total landed property subject to expropriation. Laws have also been passed providing for credit grants and for compensation to be paid to the expropriated landowners.

The significance of these reforms for Czecho-Slovakia is clear when one knows that hitherto the 705,577 holders of parcels smaller than five hectares [about twelve and a half acres] have possessed only 12 per cent of the total area of Bohemia, while the large land-holders, 1,500 in number, have owned 37 per cent. In Slovakia the disproportion was even greater. There the small cultivators owned 5.7 per cent of the land, while the few owners of big estates owned 55 per cent. Some of the estates covered vast tracts of land. For instance, the 25 largest estates spread over 1,115,491 hectares of land, an average of 45,000 hectares per estate. There were even cases of 70,000 hectares being held by one individual.

Another provision to improve the production of necessary foodstuffs was made by a law passed in December, 1920, by which one billion Czecho-Slovak crowns were voted to buy fertilizers in order to increase the production of wheat and rye by 250,000 tons, that of sugar by 150,000 tons, that of potatoes by 300,000 tons—which equals 500,000 tons of foodstuffs which Czecho-Slovakia had to buy abroad. The increase of production combined with a regulation of wages will influence the cost of farm products, help to stabilize the wages of workingmen in the factories and, at the same time, increase the income from the export of sugar derived by the state. Experiments with fertilizers will proceed in every village of Czecho-Slovakia, and special instructions will be given to the peasants by experts sent by the government.

The Ministry of Agriculture will pay special attention also to the development of agricultural schools. During the next ten years, thirteen new agricultural schools will be opened each year.

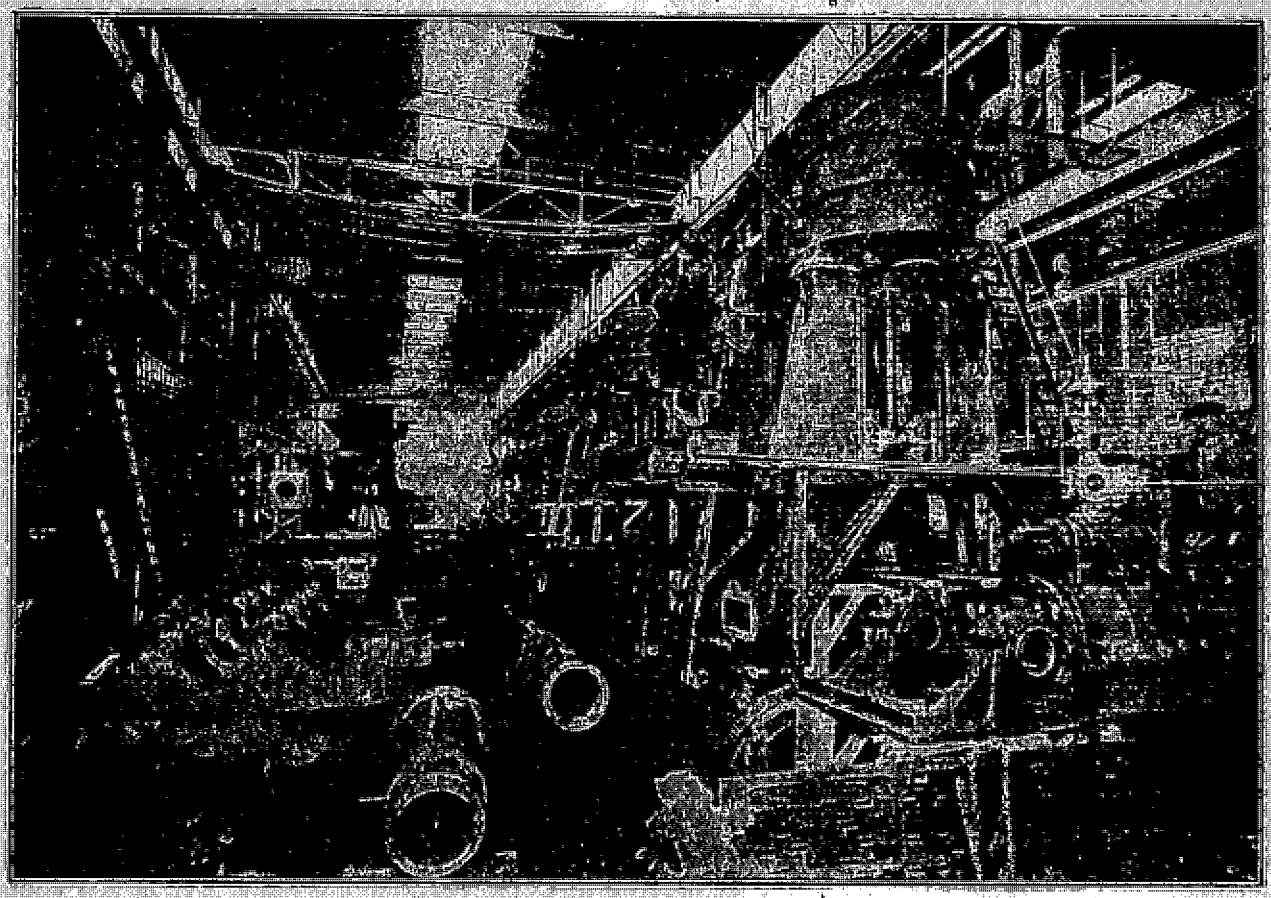
To improve the quality and productiveness of certain important plants special measures will be taken. This scheme is expected to produce after a few years an increase of production valued at seven billion Czecho-Slovak crowns.

The Financial Situation

AT the end of 1920, the foreign debt was three and a half billion francs, the internal debt, twenty-five billion Czecho-Slovak crowns. The wealth of Czecho-Slovakia may be estimated as some two hundred billion Czecho-Slovak crowns. From improved railroad conditions and waterways an increase in regular budget revenues can confidently be expected. Besides this the state may avail itself of the power of introducing a monopoly on matches, gunpowder, sale of sugar and sale of alcohol.

Aid for War Sufferers

ONE of the greatest problems for the government in order to get the internal situation in Czecho-Slovakia stabilized was to provide for the invalids (incapacitated) and other war sufferers; other problems especially affecting the country's finances were unemployment, the housing shortage, the development of the system of workmen's insurance by the employers, and the reorganization of child relief. There were, in 1919, 210,000 invalids, 250,000 children of these invalids under fifteen years of age, 100,000 widows, 186,000 orphans under fifteen years of age and 100,000 other dependents, who could not work. The entire care of the invalids has been put on a solid legal basis. Almost one billion Czecho-Slovak crowns a year were appropriated for them and for the schools and special courses established to train them in gardening, for business and other occupations. The invalids receive not only training, but positions are also procured for them; in the



THE CONSOLIDATED MACHINE SHOPS OF PRAGUE

Where modern methods of large-scale production and industrial management have their home

government offices they have the right to obtain positions in preference to other applicants. The government further supports the invalids by the organization of cooperative societies for them, of which there are about 112—some of them very prosperous. The Orthopedic Union, for instance, in some few months had a total income of more than two million Czech crowns. A special problem is that of blind invalids. Work in tobacco shops and small restaurants is reserved for them. They will also get land as soon as the land reforms are realized. The invalids are organized in a great Central Organization of the War's Invalids, and there exist various other funds for them (at the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross and at the Bohemian Land Commission for Child Relief).

Housing Reform

THE need for housing reform is one of the most acute questions in Czecho-Slovakia. In Prague there are many thousands of people without a place where they can live. The reason is that no houses have been built during the war; after the war, the high prices of material and high wages did not encourage the building of new houses, while a new influx of inhabitants came to the large towns. In Prague it was necessary to secure rooms for the newly created central government offices. To protect the tenants against the landlords, laws were passed in December, 1918, that the rent must not be increased or notice given to quit without serious cause. Another law has been passed entitling the communities to requisition living quarters and to limit the moving from one place to another.

In February, 1919, a special fund was set aside to support and encourage the activity of cooperative societies in the building of small houses. In 1920, thirty millions of Czech crowns were added to this fund to enable the building of 872 houses containing 3,820 small apartments.

In February, 1921, the government introduced an even more important housing law. Under this law, land can be expropriated for building purposes in locations where most needed, under certain prescribed conditions. Differences between workmen engaged on buildings and their employers must be settled by specially constituted courts of wage arbitration. The law further established a board to fix the price of building materials and to determine building budgets. The living conditions of state officials received special consideration under this law, which provided for the cooperation of the state with cooperative building associations formed to construct dwellings for officials and their families. For this purpose the state allows credit to the extent of 250,000,000 Czecho-Slovak crowns.

Building activity is encouraged by the state by a material decrease in taxation and furthermore by a guarantee of credit. This guarantee varies from 60 per cent for houses containing one home to 80 per cent for houses containing eight homes.

But so severe is the present housing shortage that not only the building of permanent structures but also that of homes of a temporary character is encouraged. For the construction of temporary buildings the state grants financial subsidies of from 40 to 60 per cent to the contractor.

In the case of building by parish and county authorities, cooperative societies, and in some other special cases, the support given by the state amounts to about 90 per cent of the total outlay. At the same time the buildings which come under this law are freed from all taxes and impositions for a term of fifty years.

A state lottery loan, issued to help finance the scheme, will give every person an opportunity of taking part in the work of thus solving the problem.

By these various means the republic aims to settle the housing shortage satisfactorily, to restore the building trade to a



WORKINGMEN'S COMMITTEE, CONSOLIDATED MACHINE SHOPS

Labor difficulties in industrial plants are now frequently settled in conference between management and men

normal condition and more particularly to encourage the co-operative housing which has already had some success.

Labor Legislation

AFTER the war many citizens of Czecho-Slovakia who had resided in other countries returned home in search of employment, which often could not be procured for them. Owing to the unfavorable rate of exchange of the Czecho-Slovak crown and lack of raw materials for Czecho-Slovak industries, the factories were standing idle and had dismissed their own workingmen. A law of December 10, 1918, provided support for those who were demobilized and to the unemployed citizens of the republic, who, according to law, are also, like all industrial and commercial wage-earners, insured against illness. In January, 1919, 227,158 persons were supported in this way and 3,458,294 Czech crowns were paid to them. In June, 1920, 2,970,000 Czech crowns were paid to 31,719 unemployed persons (including 16,450 women). In 1919, 237,000,000 Czech crowns were paid to the unemployed in Czecho-Slovakia (excluding Slovakia) and 98,000,000 Czech crowns were paid to the unemployed in Slovakia.

According to a law of May 15, 1919, all employes, including apprentices and household servants, are insured against illness. Also members of families of employers and of employes can be insured, when they are assisting in some way in the work. A special insurance to cover funeral expenses is also established by law, while accident insurance and insurance in case of death to protect the orphans and widows are regulated by law. In Prague and Brno (Moravia) a Central Insurance Office against accidents to workingmen has been established, and special arbitration courts are sitting in Prague and Brno and Moravská Ostrava (Moravia). Bills to provide insurance in case of unemployment are being prepared by the government.

Among the laws for the protection of workmen, one of the most important is the eight-hour law which was passed by the National Assembly December 19, 1918, as the first of the series of social welfare laws. It includes all employes working for salary or wages, and fixes eight hours as a maximum day's work, or forty-eight hours per week. In some occupations (for instance, work under excessive heat) seven hours constitutes a day's work.

Women are not allowed to work at night; an exception is made for women over eighteen years of age who are doing work in hospitals, hotels, theaters or printing offices.

The labor of children under fourteen years of age is forbidden by a law passed July 17, 1919; women are forbidden to perform any labor in the mines, and women under eighteen years and men under sixteen years are forbidden to engage in any occupation where their physical development would be endangered.

The problem of stabilizing wages is not yet settled in Czecho-Slovakia. There are in existence wage agreements and collective contracts between employers and employes, without the force of the law to support them. In December, 1919, a law was passed to regulate conditions of work and wages in home work. This law is important as more than half a million persons are engaged in this way. In February, 1920, a law was passed respecting works and district councils in the mining industry. A series of other laws is in preparation by the Ministry of Social Welfare, including a law for insurance against old age and incapacity, a law concerning arbitration courts to settle wage disputes, a law concerning the employment bureau and a law providing for a state subvention in case of unemployment.

To the Ministry of Social Welfare is attached The Social Institute of the Czecho-Slovak Republic to support the activities of the ministry and to solve scientifically various problems of a social and political character. Its principal aims are to collect sociological material; to study sociological problems, and to spread the results of these studies.

A Sociological Seminary is attached to the Czecho-Slovakia University of Prague to train students for public service.

Child Welfare

THE CHILD RELIEF, for which there was appropriated in the budget of 1920 the sum of 12,000,000 Czech crowns, is one of the best organized social welfare agencies in the republic. The problem to be faced in this work is how to bring about the best cooperation between public relief and the relief work of various private organizations that have been established for many years and are in most cases doing splendid work. Some of the voluntary organizations have selected special fields of activity. Among these organizations are the following:

The Československa Péče o dítě (the Czecho-Slovak child relief) was organized by the American Relief Administration through the initiative of Herbert Hoover with the object of securing immediate help for children suffering from malnutrition, and has been feeding more than half a million Czecho-Slovak children for eighteen months and providing warm clothing for 100,000 of the neediest children, and quantities of cod liver oil for tuberculous children. It has established 2,700 kitchens in all parts of the republic and will continue feeding at least 200,000 of the children until the harvest of 1921.

The Czecho-Slovak Society for the Protection of Mothers and Nurslings is giving milk and medical attention to babies until their second year, and advice and support to nursing mothers and pregnant women. The society, with the help of the American Red Cross and the American Relief Administration, has established several model milk stations.

The Bohemian Land Commission for Child Relief in Prague and Brno, and the German Land Commission with its headquarters in Liberec, Brno and Opava, with their district commissions (in Moravia with the aid of societies for the protection of orphans), pay special attention to neglected, destitute and abnormal children and give necessary care in their institutions. In Moravia and Carpatho-Russia, the sections of the Czecho-Slovakian Red Cross for Child Relief do the same work.

The government plans to create in the districts and counties, in cooperation with the local voluntary organizations, children's bureaus in which all public and voluntary care for children will be concentrated.

There is still great need of modern institutions for children but funds are lacking. Of about 15,000 tuberculous and scrofular children in the republic, only 1,512 are cared for in hospitals and sanatoria. There are about 4,000 crippled children in the republic and only two institutions for them. One of these, the institute of Dr. Jedlička for crippled children, has done wonders in the short time of its existence. The care of imbecile children is at its very beginning. A central organization will be created in a short time. Great need of an institution is particularly felt in Carpatho-Russia, where "Grandmother" Babushka is developing great activity to secure an asylum for imbecile children. Some existing institutions for the blind, and deaf and dumb children in Czecho-Slovakia, owing to the lack of funds, cannot meet their demands. A central organization for the blind and a central organization for the deaf and dumb in Czecho-Slovakia will soon resume their functions.

There are five institutions in the republic for those children whose moral educations have been neglected. At the law court at Prague an office was created in 1918 for juvenile delinquents; the results of this institution in the short time of its existence have been very satisfactory. The Ministry of Justice has prepared a law along modern lines, to bring about court reforms in respect to juvenile offenders.

Attached to the Ministry of Social Welfare is a central organization for the care of children in the summer months which, in cooperation with various voluntary societies, is sending children from large towns to the country, either to individual families, or to fresh air camps. The Czecho-Slovak Red Cross is arranging for an expedition of children to other countries—Switzerland and Jugoslavia.

A law was passed on June 17, 1919, to regulate the labor of children in factories. A law is being prepared to protect illegitimate children and nursing mothers.

Public Libraries

ON January 1, a law came into force providing for the opening of libraries in all communities. To the expense connected with this each inhabitant is to contribute 50 to 70 heller. In



AFTER THREE HUNDRED YEARS

It was a principle of Comenius, the great Moravian pedagogue (1592-1671), that students should be educated in arts that would fit them for life and not merely for station, rank or occupation. Here students of the university most influenced by his teaching (though at the time it was in the hands of his opponents) are helping to solve the housing problem by the simple expedient of building their own home

places with a population of less than 2,000 the library is to be open at least once a week; in those of 2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants, twice; of 5,000 to 10,000, four times; over 10,000, daily. County libraries, under this law, will lend the community libraries collections of books which they cannot themselves obtain. For instance, they will lend to public libraries in communities of over 5,000 inhabitants, instructive books, expensive handbooks and publications; to smaller communities books of all kinds for the temporary enlargement of the library; to individuals books for the purpose of study. Immoral literature, detective and Indian stories are barred; and public libraries cannot be maintained in the same houses in which liquor is sold.



A GIFT OF INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP

The Students' House of the University of Prague was given to the youth of the republic by the Y. M. C. A. from a fund raised largely among American university students. It houses the self-government activities of Prague's ten thousand students, a cafeteria managed by the Y. W. C. A., a dispensary under the auspices of the Ministry of Health, lecture room, library, lounge rooms for men and social rooms for girls [see page 332]

Yet another problem which challenges the attention of the government is emigration from Slovakia to the United States. Conscious as the government is that no paper laws can entirely prevent destitution, it tries to improve the living conditions of the people so that they have no desire to emigrate; one of the principal measures taken for this purpose is land reform. Another problem is to provide occupation for those people of the mountain districts in Slovakia who were accustomed to go for the summer season to the Hungarian plains, there to earn their living and bring home food for the winter. The remedy will be found in encouraging the home industries and in securing work for them. The abnormal emigration to the United States (20,000 persons in 1920) is to be considered only as a temporary phase caused by the entire stagnation of emigration during the war. The Czecho-Slovaks in America number more than one million people; some of them live in prosperous circumstances and try to help their relatives in the homeland by inviting them to come to the United States, where the conditions of living seem to be better for them than in Czecho-Slovakia which has suffered so much on account of the war.

In considering the main elements that would seem to make for the stability of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, I must mention the relatively high level of education in this nation which, in the parts known as Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, has only 1.7 per cent of illiterates. I must also mention the general aspiration of this people for a higher education, its indomitable will to maintain and enjoy freedom—religious, political and social (civil); the part it has played in the democratization of Europe; its outstanding energy, solidarity and perseverance—characteristics which have been developed in the struggle of many centuries, during which the people never lost heart or succumbed before tremendous odds. I could not end this article more fittingly than by quoting the opinion of John T. Bass, who in his book, The Peace Tangle, thus characterizes Czecho-Slovakia:

> Czecho-Slovakia is now the most prosperous country in Central Europe. The Czech crown is worth four times the Austrian or Hungarian crown or the Polish mark and is second in value only to the Jugoslav dinar. The government is composed of men in many ways superior to those in other governments of Central Europe. The country has a wealth of industries. They have the coal and iron for these industries. They have already established the best economic relations with the allied business world. Czecho-Slovakia might well turn out to be the most prosperous nation in Central Europe. More than that, it might prove the binding force which will hold together the Slav nations of Central and Eastern Europe. It might prevent the Balkanization of these countries and the consequent deterioration of civilization.

KIJOV

By Petr Bezruč

From Modern Czech Poetry, selected and translated by P. Selver; published last week by E. P. Dutton & Co.

Ho, ye youthful swains, topbooted and lithe,
Ho, ye damsels in scarlet wear.
In Kijov town ye ever were blithe,
And blithe shall ye ever be there.

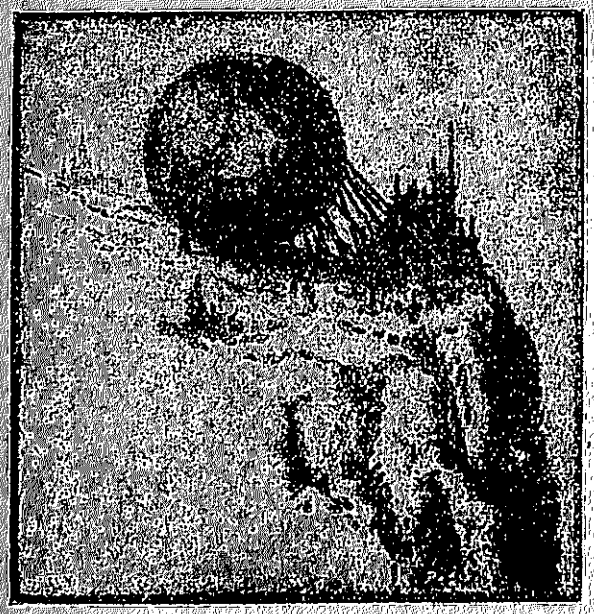
E'en as from fragrant vines it had gushed,
E'en as ye seethe, my lays;
The blood of the Slovaks is fierily flushed,
Lips burn and eyes are ablaze.

Who shall smite us, who shall afflict us with ill?
Of a master naught we know;
And as blithe as we live and drink our fill,
As blithe to our end we shall go.

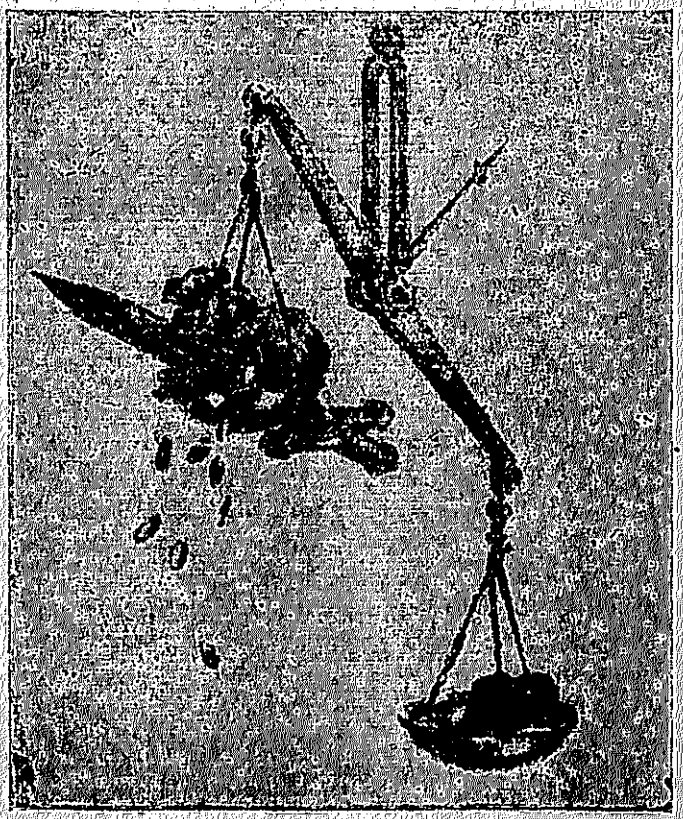
CARTOONS

by the Czech Artist

Stretti-Zamponi



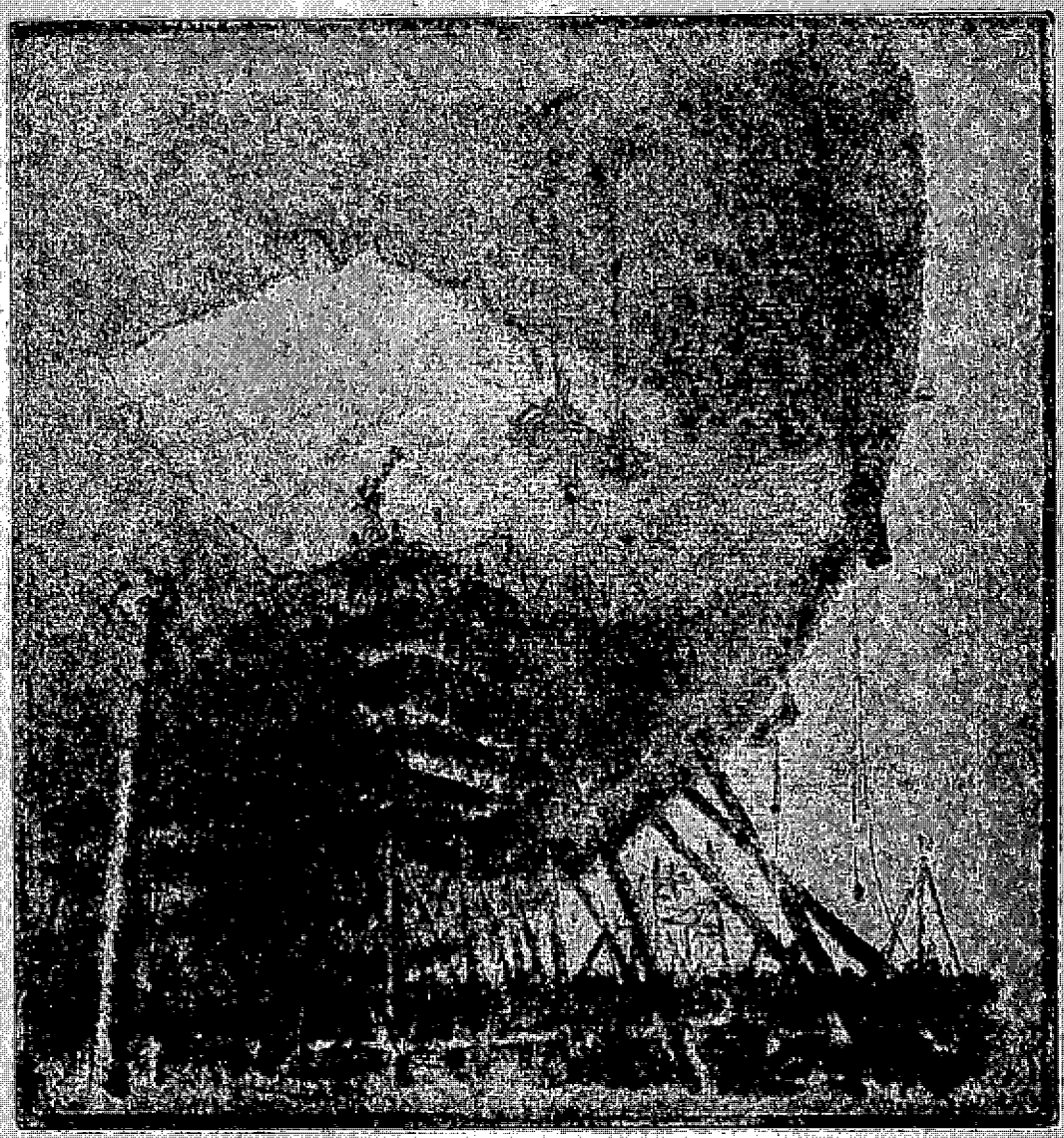
1914-1915: ON THE EDGE OF THE ABYSS



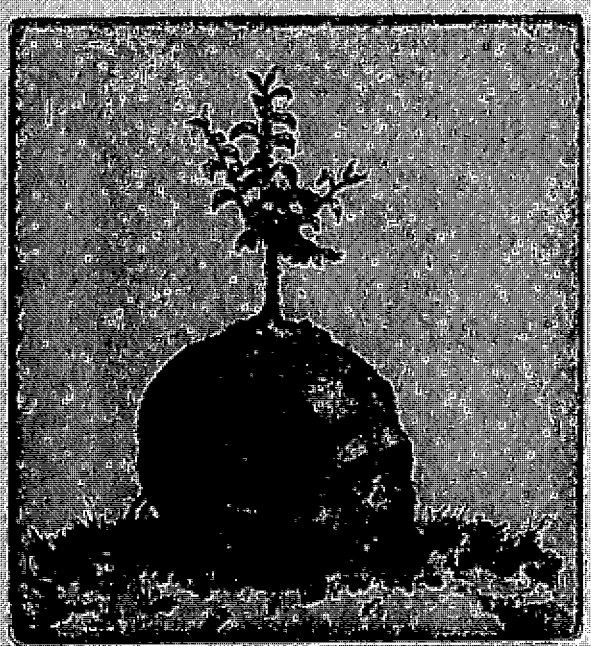
1918: THE SCALES TIP



1917: THE HOPE OF PEACE

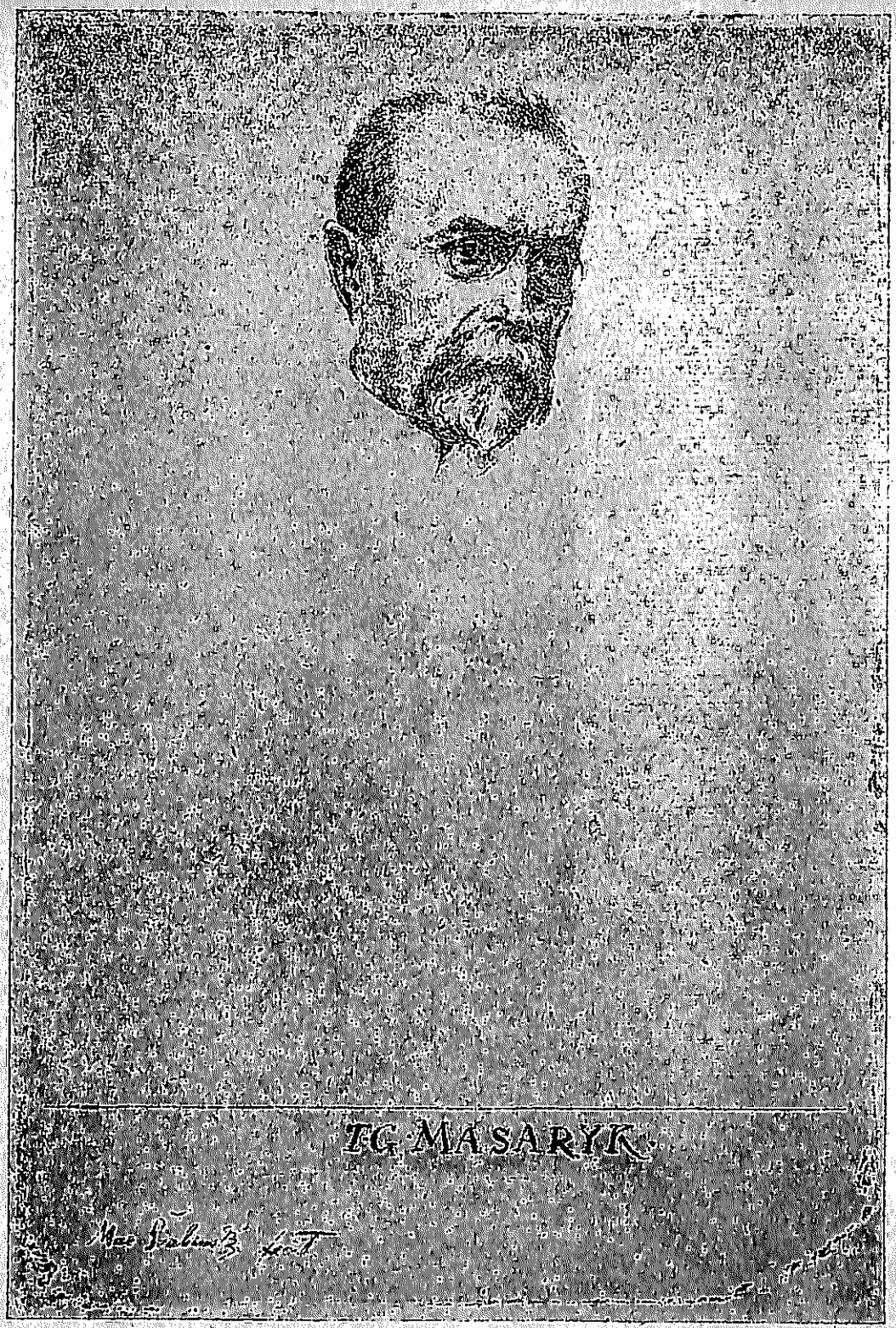


1919: A NEW MAP FOR THE WORLD



1916: RECONSTRUCTION

Americans are familiar with the transcendently human touch of Bruce Bairnsfather, creator of Ol' Bill and witness extraordinary to the stiffness of the British upper lip and the smile that lay behind it—to say nothing of the sweet tooth! They know the searching strokes with which Rasmackers flayed the German invaders of Belgium. Few of us, however, have had the chance to see the work of the mid-continental artists of the war period. The Czech who saw his fellow countrymen caught up and thrown into a war not theirs, and the whole of pre-war Europe about him slipping had small chance to get his message out. The dates and the simplicity of the imagery of these cartoons by Stretti-Zamponi carry the story of a man's spirit in the slow course of the war years. In the first of the series—that of 1914-15—we see the Old World on the brink of destruction, kept from crashing over by the frailest of human scaffoldings. In the taut guy ropes by which unseen hands seek to reseat the pillar of peace and in the scales where a human heart outweighs the sword and bag of coin, we have perhaps evidence of a pacifist's yearning—or the faith of the weaker peoples that right would in the end triumph. More gruesome, but no less striking, than Watts's famous "Hope" is the skull of the battlefield which gives a toothold to a flower. The patriots who have swung their scaffolds and are painting in the map of the new republic of the Czechs before the globe has fairly caught its balance, give a final and more buoyant note to the series



Max Švabinský

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC

An Essay in Applied Idealism

By Herbert Adolphus Miller

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, OBERLIN COLLEGE

"I HAVE always believed idealism practicable," said President Masaryk two days after the signing of the Armistice, as he was preparing to leave America to take up his responsibilities as president of the new Czecho-Slovak Republic. During the last two years, while idealism has been shrinking in governments throughout the world, he has not faltered in his conviction. Of course not much has yet been realized, and every one is not cooperating, but the goal is still there. On the Fourth of July, in the garden of the American Legation in Prague, where there were many English guests, I asked President Masaryk how long it would be before the Germans joined the Czecho-Slovaks as the English were joining the Americans in celebrating Independence Day. He smiled and said: "I don't know, but it will be."

The significance of Czecho-Slovakia cannot be appreciated without understanding something of the part played by the president. While he is a most outstanding personality, not only in his own country but in the world, he nevertheless sums up in his equipment and attitudes the dominant characteristics of the Czecho-Slovak people. He is preeminent as Tolstoy was preeminent, but as Tolstoy was superlatively a Russian, so is Masaryk a Czecho-Slovak. He is undoubtedly one of the greatest statesmen of the era, possessing both unusual practical wisdom and an all-pervasive religious idealism. President Wilson was trained in the science of government; President Masaryk was trained in the science of humanity. He was first professor of philosophy and then of sociology, and he practiced both as member of the Austrian parliament, representing the party which he founded, and which was called "realist" because of its philosophical principles. He believes that morality based on religion must save the world, but the morality must rest on education, and the religion be freed from ecclesiasticism. I once asked him what impressed him about Tolstoy whom he knew well, and he replied, "His morality." The impression of Masaryk is also that of morality, but accompanied by a rationality quite foreign to Tolstoy. When one knows that the two greatest characters in Czecho-Slovak history were the priest and reformer Huss and the bishop and educator Comenius, the spiritual succession is apparent.

In a country full of intense religious controversies with roots deep in the past, the fact that such a man is accepted as leader must be taken as evidence that the people are not out of sympathy with his idealistic program. Neither the "free-thinkers" nor the Catholics find him hostile to them, as he believes in worshipping according to freedom of conscience, and the Jews look to him as the one man in the state who understands them. Of course the extremists at both ends criticize him, but all trust him.

Czecho-Slovakia is a most important social and political experiment, for it is an enlightened state born out of the new idea of self-determination, and it must go through the process of adjusting a dominated past to the responsibility of freedom. Thrust out west of all the other Slavs and lying almost exactly in the center of Europe, it has entered fully into western civilization while in sympathy and understanding it reaches back to the eastern and Slavic world. The importance of this cannot be over-emphasized, for the inevitable emergence of the Slav is assured by the very numbers and resources of Russia, as well as of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia. We know that the contributions of Russia will be primitive, powerful, and generally constructive, but it needs to be led through into cooperation with the western world. Because of her geographic position, her cultural attainments, her Slavic relationship, and her president, who knows Russia as few Russians do, Czecho-Slovakia will play a most important part in the process.

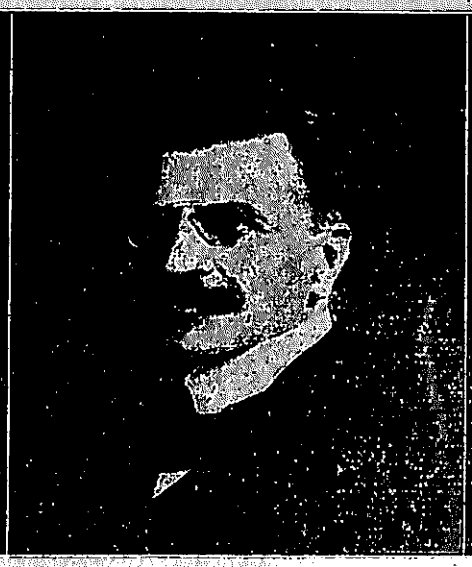
Of all the new states Czecho-Slovakia is the only one which has adopted a constitution and put it into force. The constitutions of England, France and the United States were drawn on largely, but many adaptations and provisions were introduced, both to meet special problems and to accord with current concepts. After stating in the opening sentence that "the people are the sole source of all state power in the Czecho-Slovak Republic," the constitution proceeds to make suffrage universal and compulsory. Privileges based on sex, birth, or profession are not recognized. Profiting by the experience of England and the United States with the House of Lords and the Senate in their respective countries, the House of Deputies has been given a disproportionate amount of power. The Senate, while it may initiate legislation, in general exercises the function of "amendment and moderation." The president is elected for seven years by the two houses of Parliament. The president has much more authority than in France, but the cabinet must be dismissed whenever there is a vote of lack of confidence. During the time Parliament is not in session, there is a committee which acts "on all matters of immediate urgency, even if in ordinary circumstances they should require the enactments of legislation." Two concessions to modernism are found in the provision that the president shall take his oath "on his honor and conscience;" and in the guarantee that "public instruction shall be given so as not to be in conflict with the results of scientific investigation." Careful provision is made for the "protection of national, religious and racial minorities."

This is the first constitution which has ever been adopted in which all these rights have been considered. The system of proportional voting was adopted as an obvious necessity to meet the many political divisions. The fifteen parties which are now in parliament include, in part, divisions composed by the nationalities of the Czecho-Slovaks, Germans, and Magyars, though these in several cases run across national lines; the Social Democrats are in each nationality. Most of the party lines are inherited from the adherences of Austro-Hungarian times and in many cases have little meaning for the present time. Since the cabinet cannot stand without the support of Parliament it must be selected from enough parties to represent a majority. In the elections of 1920 the Social Democrats cast 38 per cent of the total vote, and since they were the strongest party the prime minister was selected from among them. In the fall, however, the party split, and since the three cabinet members could not represent the opposed factions, the cabinet was dissolved, and the present cabinet has the unique distinction of being composed of experts who were within the ministeries but "without party." It will be interesting to see how long they can retain the confidence of Parliament.

The constitution is forward-looking and democratic, and is actually functioning, but that does not mean that there are



VLADIMÍR ŘEHNÍK
Minister of Agriculture



JOSEF GRUBER
Minister of Social Welfare



JOSEF ŠUSTA
Minister of Education

not many deviations from ideal conditions. There is inevitable inefficiency, and the hold-over of prejudices. The Germans who were once dominant are now without power, and it is beyond reasonable expectation that every one on the German and Magyar side should be without resentment, or that some officials on the Czecho-Slovak side will not be anxious to pay off old scores. Nothing but time can cure these attitudes. What surprsies me—in all the new states of Central Europe—are not the mistakes and inefficiencies, but how they can do it at all. How did they learn? The variety of things that must be done by a modern state demands education and experience, and yet, almost without either, these new states are making progress.

The problems of the republic fall into three classes: the relationship to neighboring states, the nationalities within the state, and economic and social reconstruction.

The Little Entente was consummated through open diplomacy with the whole world looking on. It includes in a treaty for cooperation, Rumania, Jugoslavia, and Czecho-Slovakia. The leadership is in the hands of President Masaryk. Bulgaria, Austria and Hungary will sooner or later enter a compact which will have many characteristics of a federation. We must look beyond the present moment of doubt and assertive nationalism in appraising the significance of this entente.

The national groups in ascending order are the Jews, the Magyars, the Germans, and the Czechs and Slovaks.

The proportion of the Jews is smaller than in the surrounding states, although in the extreme East there are towns like Mukačevo which are 80 per cent Jewish, but the government has taken an understanding position. When the question of organizing a political party was raised by the Jews, the president expressed his approval and it was done, so that there is the opportunity for full political expression. No member of Parliament was elected by the party, but over eighty thousand votes were cast. Over against the liberal attitude of the government must be put personal prejudice, and a good deal of organized anti-Semitism, but as compared with the intensity of feeling existing in all the neighboring states, their existence here is insignificant.

The situation with regard to the Magyars is not normal because of the undemocratic, reactionary character of the government in Hungary. One can easily understand the feelings of the Hungarians, who have always magnified their glory. Now much has been shorn from them, but unlike the Germans and the Austrians they have not accepted the results of the war. Without doubt many of the lines between the states were not drawn with ultimate correctness, but instead of concentrating on a demand for modifications of the frontier, the propaganda office in Budapest is aggressive for the recovery of the old limits of the kingdom—a result which manifestly can never be attained. It adds, however, to the difficulty of establishing normal conditions within Czecho-Slovakia. Within the present boundaries there are nearly a million Magyars. They have thirteen members in Parliament, divided between the Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists, which latter is the party of reaction in all the countries. The solution of the Magyar question depends more at the present time on the development of democracy in Hungary than on what is done by Czecho-Slovakia. There are the constitutional guarantees, but the strain against the avowed purposes of Budapest creates nervous instability.



EDUARD BENEŠ, FOREIGN MINISTER



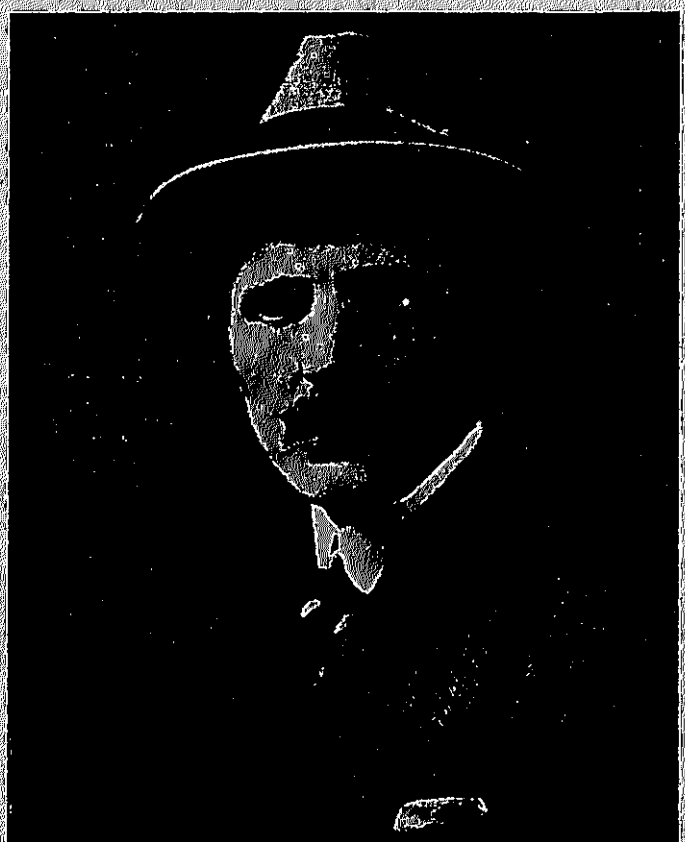
JAN ČERNÝ
Minister of the Interior

DR. LADISLAZ P. PROCHÁZKA
Minister of Hygiene

JOSEF TOMÁŠEK
President of the Parliament

Since there are many Magyars, however, who are distinctly opposed to the present Hungarian government, they find a relatively comfortable haven in Czecho-Slovakia.

Approximately a third of the population is German, and while it is scattered throughout the state, the majority is on the circumference of Bohemia. These have 72 deputies out of 300, and 37 senators out of 150. They are divided among five parties, but they generally vote in an opposition block. The German problem is unquestionably a serious one and cannot be solved by the method of suppression which the Germans used when they were in power and which, their consistent opposition shows, they more or less expect. The Nationalist Party, with some powerful representatives, advocates coercive domination, but the majority of the Czechs are against it. The ultimate solution will come when there is a change from the idea that a state must be cultocratic as well as administrative. When groups need no longer be fearful that other cultures are trying to absorb them "it will be" that Czechs and Germans can celebrate the same independence day. On the whole the clashes are much less frequent and less severe than might have been expected.



DR. ERNEST ŠTEPÁNEK, FIRST MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES

The Czechs were ruled by Austria and have had political and historical unity while the Slovaks in northern Hungary have been lacking in both. The Slovaks have been subjected to coercive efforts at Magyarization which in many cases resulted in disorganization and illiteracy as a means of resistance. But the language is more archaic than the Czech from which it differs as a dialect. The people are less sophisticated than the Czechs, and their religious experience has been different, so that there are going to be difficult problems in integrating the two. The Slovaks have properly resented the "carpet bagger" methods of some of the Czech officials who occupied positions in Slovakia, and these have generally been removed. Both Czechs and Slovaks realize that the differences in history make the adjustment difficult, and both are making conscious efforts to solve the problem. According to the constitution, Czech and Slovak both are official languages in their respective areas.

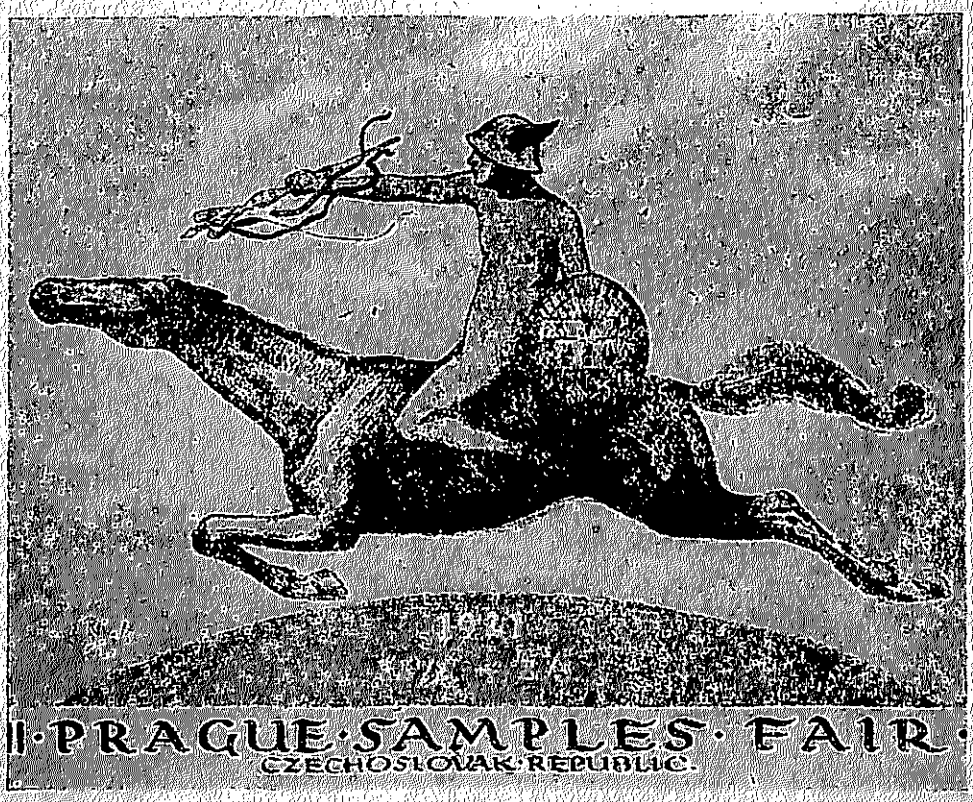
The economic and social programs are fundamentally democratic. Slightly over half of the people vote for the various brands of socialism, but the prevailing policy is evolutionary socialization. This is being applied to the mines first. The significant thing is that all the restless and constructive attitudes now prevailing in the world are stirring in Czecho-Slovakia, and the method of proportional voting gives an opportunity for every point of view to express itself, which is a great advantage over the two-party system. In spite of all the vituperation which the various parties hurl at each other, divergent views are able to live together in such mutual toleration that each modifies the others. The class struggle is acute, and all the questions concerning capitalism are at the forefront, but there is unusual enlightenment in the approach to the problems.

It is not strange that in the land of John Huss one of the greatest of the present movements is religious. Deliberately the church has set about reforming itself, and while many Czechs consider themselves atheists, their atheism is really an anti-clericalism based on their experience with Vienna. A schism within the church is now going on which will be looked upon by historians as having a significance comparable to that of the Hussite period.

HEALTH *and* TRADE APPEALS *to the* PEOPLE



Posters drawn by some of the foremost artists of the Czecho-Slovak Republic are widely used to stimulate among all sections of the people the earnest desire for healthful living, thrift and industry, the most essential elements in the nation's rehabilitation and progress. For the Health of the People, a poster drawn in colors by M. Švabinský for the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross, shows the bust of a robust woman against the background of the cross and sheaves of wheat and fruit to symbolize the relation of health to outdoor life



Mercury carrying the shield of Prague, its "chief point" the rays of the rising sun, a poster drawn by Karl Rélink for this year's "samples fair" or grand market of the city of Prague, represents the spirit of enterprise in the fields of trade and industry

The SURVEY *is indebted for the reproduction of these posters to the Webster Branch of the New York Public Library, the most complete library of Czech literature in the new world, where books are supplemented by works of art and craftsmanship*

Americans of Czecho-Slovak Descent

By Šárka B. Hrbková

OF THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE INFORMATION SERVICE, AMERICAN RED CROSS

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, not unlike America, has itself become a "melting pot" of its own people, hundreds of thousands of whom have been subject to totally different influences during six years of exile on a line extending entirely around the world. These men have lived amid other civilizations, under other governments, and are but now returning and bringing to their own land the results of observations, impressions and new convictions. The molding of these into consistency with the conditions and facts, temporary as they are, in a newly formed government is a process of unlimited possibilities.

Czecho-Slovakia, with fourteen millions of inhabitants in a territory of 54,276 square miles (about equivalent to the area of Iowa, though with over six times that state's population) has received its sons and daughters back from America and, in turn, is sending its best blood to our shores. But the proportion of ebb and flow—of loss and gain—is not the same. In the year ending June 30, 1920, the total number of Czecho-Slovaks admitted to the United States was 5,746, whereas the number departing in the same period totalled 12,364, a net decrease of 6,618. If the territory embraced in Czecho-Slovakia is taken as a unit, the difference is greater, for it shows 3,560 admitted against 11,273 departed, a net decrease in Czecho-Slovak population of the United States of 7,713. An analysis shows that the decrease is chiefly in the Slovak element, for they composed 12,046 of the number departing from the United States whereas fewer than half that number, or 5,196, were admitted in 1920, leaving a net loss of 6,950 Slovaks. The Czecho-Slovak consulate in New York city, since its establishment in January, 1919, has issued 21,197 passports to Czecho-Slovaks. Fully 33⅓ per cent more, over 7,000 passports, were issued to individuals going to Czecho-Slovakia by the Swedish and Jugoslav consulates early in 1919, thus making a conservative yet fairly accurate total of over 28,000 departures with the new republic as the destination.

The causes for emigration as given to the Foreign Language Information Service, which furnished governmental, income tax, and other information to the departing ones, ranged all the way from the inspired fervor of a repatriate anxious to serve his liberated native land, to the purely personal reasons typical of most returning Europeans. The reasons given included: to return to family, need of looking after orphaned children of dead soldier relatives, to bring back brides, to aid aged or infirm parents, to adjust estates, anxiety about relatives from whom they had not heard, to fetch wife and children who were afraid to undertake trip to America alone, to settle on own farm property, the wish to end days on native soil, desire to see how things are in the new republic—the last named being one of the "contributing causes" given by nearly every emigrant. As a matter of fact, the total of the exodus was not greater than the total would have been had emigration been permitted during the six years of the war period.

Though the net increase in Slovak population is considerably in favor of Czecho-Slovakia, that country views with apprehension the departure of its capable young men and women to America, as it needs its people at home to make up the depletion due to the fall of thousands upon thousands in war. A commission of the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross, with Dr. Anna Berkovcová at its head, was sent by Dr. Alice Masaryk, president of the organization, to the districts from which emigration has seemed to be heavy. The findings of the commission are most enlightening and interesting. For instance, in the Zemplín district, where the greatest number of passports have been issued, the survey committee reports:

> The district lacks industrial establishments. The returned friends relate to their acquaintances, who are chiefly peasants, far fetched tales of the wonderful conveniences offered by the American factory with its oil finish, its splendid baths, automobile transportation to the doctor's, etc. They declare that in America there is no shortage of sugar, flour, bread or meat and that low prices prevail.

The reports of the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross chapters, together with those of investigation commissions appointed by the government, showed that among the present causes of Slovak emigration are many chiefly due to war's aftermath, such as a lack of housing facilities, land, breadstuffs, clothing supplies, suitable employment and unsettled political conditions. Among the other causes which in time will be eliminated are: the patriarchal law which makes the son dependent during the lifetime of the father; the tardy execution of the land reform bills subdividing the large estates among the peasantry; the activities of unscrupulous steamship ticket agents who claim to secure immediate passage for clients but who in reality keep the emigrant for weeks, even months, at some inland or coast station amid discomfort and filth and compel him to pay for vile excuses for lodging and food. A large number of these who have been inducing emigration by promising a free trip to Hamburg and overseas in return for which the emigrants are to work three months in America without pay have but recently been run down. In the March session of the Czecho-Slovak parliament, the Ministry of Social Welfare presented a comprehensive bill for the protection of emigrants against exploitation, offenders to be punished by five years of imprisonment and a fine of 100,000 crowns. If this bill passes, it will blaze the trail for older democracies which have viewed the plucking of both emigrants and immigrants with a complacency suggesting a decided negation to the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Seeking Citizenship

OF the thousands of Czechs and Slovaks who fought in France, either with the Canadian forces or under the Czecho-Slovak ensign at Cognac and Terron, the vast majority returned to the United States. As one of them expressed it at the first convention of the Czecho-Slovak Legion of America, at Cleveland, O., in April, 1920:

> We fought in France to help the Czecho-Slovaks gain the sort of freedom and democracy which we have enjoyed in America. When that aim was accomplished, our mission was ended and our second home in America beckoned us back to our former fields of service.

It is significant that the first business to come before the convention which had been called for the purpose of organizing all Czecho-Slovak veterans of the World War was the ques-

tion of how best and earliest they could complete their naturalization, in order that, as stated by the chairman of the assembly, "each might carry his full share of the responsibilities as well as of the privileges of United States citizenship."

A spirit like that augurs well for America. The pity is that so many of these eager prospective citizens have had to cope with no end of difficulties in attaining citizenship. Their hardships were due to the technical prohibition set up by our own American government which did not permit a native of what was formerly Austria-Hungary to secure second papers without a "presidential exception" or application for exemption from the classification of "enemy alien." Our government fails to distinguish between Czech and German and Slovak and Magyar and takes no cognizance of the fact that the Czecho-Slovaks were consistently and continuously loyal to the cause of the Entente Allies and at no time the enemies of the United States. The absence from the United States of these men who were fighting shoulder to shoulder with our army has meant that many judges arbitrarily refused to credit the period of military service toward fulfilling the five-year continuous residence rule and required them to take out a second Declaration of Intention which, of course, postpones full citizenship.

The Early Emigration

AS a matter of fact the America-ward course of the Czecho-Slovaks as such is of but short history. The members of at least one of the nations composing the present Czecho-Slovak Republic, the Bohemians or Czechs, turned their steps to the New World continent almost as early as the Mayflower Pilgrims. The Slovak westward movement began at a much later date, the first influx in 1873 being occasioned by Magyar misrule and land poverty at home, though the attractions of America were also an element of that and the emigration of the ensuing two decades. Thousands of men of peasant ancestry became miners and steel workers in the state of Pennsylvania.

The dependable information supplied by the Czecho-Slovak press of America to the readers of the 125 or more publications (over 80 of which are Czech and the others Slovak), as well as governmental information furnished to the 60 or more national or state organizations of the two groups are responsible for the wide-spread interest in American citizenship. This foreign-language press cannot be too highly praised for its generosity and zeal in placing before its readers articles from reliable sources giving impartial and full information on the means and desirability of attaining American citizenship. About one-fourth of the papers maintain English sections. In the cases of about 75 per cent of these papers, the editors are men who were born and secured their education in Bohemia. A number of Czecho-Slovak editors are university trained men with a broad outlook on world politics.

Within the last ten or twelve years, the added interest evinced by Czech and Slovak papers in American politics has been noteworthy. Some masterly editorials ringing with dyed-in-the-wool Americanism and worthy of bred-in-the-bone natives have appeared in the columns of the leading Czech and Slovak papers of the United States. The conception of a thoroughgoing democracy freed of Old-World bigotry and prejudice is most truly crystalized in the enlightened foreign-language press which recognizes from afar the rocks on which the ship of state may split. Taken as a whole, there are no foreign groups which seek so little special favor from the government under whose protection they live as do the Czecho-Slovaks. The underlying principle of the editorial utterances of the papers, as well as of the units composing the American voting body, is "privilege for none, equal treatment—equal justice for all."

Czecho-Slovaks who arrive in the United States are, for the most part, thoroughly aware of the state of affairs here, for they have numerous authentic sources of information. Some of their foremost journalists and most accurate observers have spent months and years in the United States and have given pictures of our American life which astonish our native-born by their faithfulness and penetration.

Pamphlets and newspapers published in the United States in the Czech and Slovak languages have a considerable circulation in Czecho-Slovakia and give a clear day-by-day picture of America as it is. The Czechs, especially, are great readers and, in fact, among the least illiterate of immigrants coming to America, seldom standing below second or third place in the lists compiled by our government. The most recent report of the commissioner-general of immigration indicates that the Bohemians (Czechs) were the only group of Europeans with not a single case of illiteracy among immigrant aliens admitted in the year ending June 30, 1920. In the same period only 83 Slovaks out of a total of 2,523 were illiterate. The Czecho-Slovaks also stand high in the list of immigrants in skilled occupations.

Hundreds of Slovaks come to America well trained in the leather, glass, tin and wood industries. Manufacturers of fine leather and fur goods employ many of them. One of the best cordevan leather factories in the country is owned and manned by Slovaks. As tanners, dyers, basket-weavers, glaziers and wire-workers they have no superiors. Unfortunately, the talents of many Slovaks are lost through their early absorption by the steel and iron mills, foundries, coal mines and lumber yards of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana. The Czechs bring to America their special talents and training as farmers, glass blowers, gem cutters and polishers (especially of garnets which are found in purest state in the "Bohemian Paradise"), pearl-button makers, bead-, jewelry-, lace- and needle-workers, watch-makers, tailors, cigar-makers, and wood-carvers.

The introduction in the United States of the pearl-button industry is wholly due to the Czechs of the Tábor district. One of the best labor-saving devices on pearl-button machinery was invented by a Czecho-Slovak immigrant to America who learned his trade in Žirovnice, to which place the machine is now exported from the United States. The writer on a visit to her father's people in Žirovnice, the Czech center of the industry, noted huge boxes marked "Missouri River Clams" and later saw the contents transformed into pearl buttons which were sewed on cards printed brazenly with the statements "Made In Germany" and "Made In Paris." That was before the war. Today the chances are that milady's pearl buttons and ornaments are made by Czecho-Slovaks employed in the scores of factories in and near New York city.

Skill in the Handicrafts

A CZECH jeweler in Los Angeles designs, makes up in wax, then molds the precious metal for artistic and original rings, brooches, pendants and bracelets. When he completes a gem, the original mold is destroyed, as this artist refuses to make two jewels of exactly the same pattern, preferring the joy of originating new designs. He was offered a salary several times larger than his income to fashion the gems in the window of a department store where the interested could watch



VILLAGE FOLK

Love of the soil is one of the marked characteristics of the Czecho-Slovak peoples that goes far to cement their national unity. Combined with it is a love of the simple arts which goes back equally far. Groups of villagers, as in the picture above, may still be seen in West Bohemia on any fine summer evening, when the last chores of farm and home are finished and men and women, the latter incapable of resting with idle hands, assemble on the village green to hear some tale of long ago, usually from the lips of one of the oldest among them. The men of these villages (below) formerly guardians of the frontier, who still wear their historical costumes—their emblem, the head of a watchdog on a white field appears in many conventional designs—have many stories to tell of ancient privileges upheld against greedy landlords, of royal courts held in the district, when Bohemia was yet an independent kingdom, to adjust local disputes and grievances, and of battles with robbers and with wolves







In Moravia more especially old peasant customs have survived to a remarkable degree. Women and children work in the fields with their men-folk. The picturesque clothes of the women are not only put on for festive occasions. The young women from West Slovakia (left) and Moravia (right) are dressed, it is true, in their Sunday best, but in the embroidery they wear, the pattern and not the fabric is the heirloom of the family—each village having its own and each individual introducing only some slight modification



Many people, especially in the eastern section of the republic, still wear the traditional embroidered peasant clothes which may be seen on the outskirts even of the second largest city, Pilsen. The young Moravians in the picture above are dressed up for a Sunday dance at the village inn which, in true rustic fashion, starts at three in the afternoon. With his billy cock hat, the man next to the pipe player evidently gives an advance performance of the part he intends to play at the festivity. The village belles will have a hard choice!





The inn at Turciansky Sv. Martin in northern central Slovakia is a real social center. Here the inhabitants of this cultural center of Slovakia assemble for song and gossip. In spite of the antiquity of their get-up, the peasants of the region are among the most cultured people in Europe; their little town is a center of the printing industry and boasts a most interesting museum. The women of Slovakia, although the difficulty in obtaining linens and colored thread with which to make their embroideries is now great, still work with the same care and reverence for traditional craftsmanship as formerly. Indeed the peasant woman of Detva, Slovakia, (below) both in the work upon which she is engaged and the beautiful clothes she wears, would seem to be a living model for her sisters in the neighboring villages. It is in their gardens that these women work, surrounded by children for whom doubtless they are story tellers



him. But the money did not attract him, for he makes his *objets d'art* for real love of the work and joy in its accomplishment. A needle woman versed in making such dainty embroidery that even experts at first take the finished piece for an exquisite painting is one of many similarly trained recent Czech immigrants who have knocked at our gates and will surely "fit in."

The majority of the western Czechs are on the farms of Iowa, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas. They have made farmland values higher than anywhere else in those portions of Texas where they are settled, according to the recent government bulletin, Slavs on Southern Farms. When the grasshoppers devoured everything but the telegraph wires, according to a classic Nebraska tradition, the native-born farmers went back East to "pa" and "ma," but the Czech farmers stayed on the land because the width of the continent and an ocean lay between them and what had been "home." Lean years, such as Willa S. Cather describes in O Pioneers, gave to the Czech farmer a dogged determination. When better days came, the Czecho-Slovaks introduced on American farms the fine oats and hops of their native land. Also to their gardens they transplanted the Bohemian poppy whose gathered seeds they knew well how to utilize on the inside of luscious dumplings or, better yet, in their delicious pastry confection, the *koláč* which their American neighbors also soon learned to bake, naming the contribution to American cookery "Bohemian tarts." Soon, too, the myrtle and double pinks (*karafiaty*) brought over from their gardens in Bohemia filled up the yards, and the native *lípa* or linden (American basswood) was planted in front of every Bohemian farm or village home. Practically every front yard in the South End of Cedar Rapids, Ia., is fragrant in May and June with the perfume of the lovely *lípa* blossoms.

Business Enterprises

BUSINESS acumen and thrift are also assets of the Czecho-Slovak immigrants. In a recent publication an unquestioned authority specifies 103 banks in the United States which are controlled by Americans of Czecho-Slovak origin, the Czechs controlling $68,400,000 and the Slovaks $9,300,000 of the assets. In Chicago alone there are 135 Czecho-Slovak building and loan associations with assets of over $13,000,000. Thousands of homes in Cleveland, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cedar Rapids and elsewhere have been built by Czecho-Slovaks because they could borrow of their own societies at a low rate of interest. Jenks and Lauck on page 281 of The Immigration Problem pertinently assert, "The Bohemians and Moravians show the largest proportion of home-owning families, of all races, the heads of which were native-born of foreign father or foreign-born."

Although the Czecho-Slovaks are preeminently tillers of the soil, they may be found in every kind of business ranging from large wholesale drug firms to the tiny confection shop.

It is significant that one of the first public undertakings of the pioneer Czechs in America was the founding of a newspaper in Racine, Wis., January 1, 1860. The first organization in Cedar Rapids, Ia., which for a long time was known as the Czech "Athens of America," was a reading club and library established in 1860. Czech settlers of the same region planned to found a free university with four faculties, but the idea never materialized. The only Czech higher institution of learning in the United States is St. Procopius College at Lisle, Ill. For twenty years the Council of Higher Education, established by W. F. Severa, has been loaning money to students of Czech origin who enroll in our best American universities. The first girls' seminary in the United States was established by the Bohemian (Czech) and Moravian Brethren at Bethlehem in 1741.

The first bibliography of works in English on Bohemia and the Czechs, compiled in 1908 by Jeffrey D. Hrbek, included 90 volumes. Since that time no fewer than 1,200 books, pamphlets and articles on Czecho-Slovakia have appeared. These embrace 240 works in English by Americans of Czecho-Slovak birth or parentage and 58 translations of Czech literature into English. Original publications in the Czech or Slovak language by Czecho-Slovak authors in the United States include over 300 titles, many of them agricultural pamphlets and others translations into Czech or Slovak of our best American literary masterpieces. A total of 395 Czecho-Slovak newspapers has arisen at different times in the United States, though only some 125 survive today.

Educational Activities

THE colleges and universities of the United States have had in their faculties 130 men and women of Czecho-Slovak birth or ancestry in the last decade. An educational authority estimates that there are today five thousand men and women of Czecho-Slovak parentage who are engaged as teachers in our American public schools. There is twice that number of students of Czecho-Slovak stock enrolled in our universities, colleges and normal schools. An April issue of a Chicago daily carries the ads of fifty lawyers, sixty-five doctors and eleven dentists of Czecho-Slovak birth or ancestry. Among our lawmakers, four men of Czecho-Slovak origin have served in Congress and hundreds, even thousands, if second or third terms are to be counted, in our state legislatures. Volume 19 of the Publications of the Historical Society of Nebraska names thirty-five Czechs who have served forty-seven terms as senators or representatives in that state alone, including the famous Edward Rosewater, founder of the Omaha Bee and of the first Czech paper in that western state. Several men of Czecho-Slovak origin have served as United States foreign diplomats.

In a recent fortnight in two American cities, Jan Kubelík and Váša Příhoda, violinists, Emmy Destinn, grand opera soprano, Boža Oumirov, barytone, Maša Lostavkova, soprano, Ottokar Mařák, Marie Mikova, Otto Bartík, J. J. Kovařík, Bedřich Váška, J. H. Čapek, Ludmila Wetche, practically all citizens now, appeared before delighted audiences, some of them interpreting music of fellow countrymen, as Antonín Dvořák, Smetana, Fibich, Rudolf Friml, Novák, Kovařovič. Dvořák's inspiration for his incomparable New World Symphony and for his famous Humoresque was gained entirely in the United States; he composed most of the work when on a visit to Spillville, an Iowa village. The Beseda, a lovely Czecho-Slovak folk dance, has been adopted here to the extent that it is taught in many leading physical training schools.

A literary artist who secured the inspiration for some of his most beautiful Czech lyrics during his stay in America in 1869-1870 was Joseph Sládek who also made an incomparable translation of our own Longfellow's Hiawatha and of other American classics.

Thomas Čapek, historian of the Czechs in America, in a summary issued last year, mentions 120 prominent musical artists of Czech birth or origin who have toured America or have taken up their residence permanently in this country. There are literally thousands of Czech music teachers, band masters and orchestra leaders and members who have made our land their home. Their ranks are augmented daily by

newcomers trained in the famous schools of Prague or under Ševčík of Vienna. Mr. Čapek lists twenty-five Czech painters, sculptors and illustrators as residents in the United States, many of them in charge of art schools or art departments of institutes and universities, others illustrators on our principal magazines and dailies. The list includes Alphonse Mucha, E. Nadherný, Charles Sarka, V. Preissig, J. Kratina, Albin Polasek, Rudolph Růžička, August Petrtyl.

Slovak immigrants who are exclusively devoted to the arts are fewer in number, for the reason that they have had less opportunity for training under the Magyar regime which woefully neglected even the common school education of subject nations. However, the Slovak peasant has a marvelous love of music, and a rich treasure-house of lyrics and folk songs is his, together with a natural ability in decorative work in embroideries, potteries and furniture. Among the permanent or substantial contributions of the Czecho-Slovaks to the American continent should be included the thousands of churches, halls or theater and concert buildings, gymnasia and some beautiful statues, monuments and other sculptures.

Self-Help

MANY well managed protective organizations provide sick and death benefits to their members, so that it is rare indeed that a Czecho-Slovak becomes a public charge or an inmate of an American almshouse. The last available statistics of the United States census show an infinitesimal number of Czechs in our poorhouses or homes for orphans or the dependent aged. It is conservative to state that a million and a quarter of the estimated million and a half total Czecho-Slovak population of the United States are insured in one or more of about sixty benevolent organizations founded and maintained for self-help. An interesting manifestation of this spirit was recalled in the celebration last summer at its convention in Chicago of the fiftieth anniversary of the Jednota Českých Dam (Union of Czech Women), the first Czech woman's society in the United States. A half century ago even our most progressive native-born American women had not yet provided an active organization for education and sick and death benefits. The largest and most successful Cooperative Consumers' League in Cleveland is managed by Czechs.

This rare sense and understanding of the value of organization is an invisible but useful contribution to American life. It has made Czecho-Slovaks quick to get the American point of view on community undertakings and on unionism, but all the quicker to resent any undue assumption of power from any source for in their organization democracy prevails and each member knows he has as good a chance as and an equal voice with his mate in the management of affairs.

It may be said without exaggeration that there is in recent times a genuine influx of Czecho-Slovak artistic and intellectual talent into the United States, so much so that the Hlas Lidu, a Czech daily published in New York city, felt constrained to publish a lengthy editorial on the subject in its issue of December 21, 1920. It felt called upon to warn the Czecho-Slovak journalists, physicians, scientists, singers, violinists, pianists, painters, illustrators, sculptors, writers and the intelligentsia thus:

> It is quite impossible, in these days of increasing unemployment, to find any kind of work. Particularly is this true of brain workers and artists; it is the height of folly for them to come to the United States on the fallacious assumption that employment can more readily be secured here than at home. We warn the intelligentsia, those who have capital in Bohemia, that this will shrink to a wonderfully small measure in American dollars.

This incorrect deduction of the Hlas Lidu that America is overfilled with the sort of talents with which the immigrant Czecho-Slovaks are endowed is the logical outcome of a purely utilitarian viewpoint. America needs just such gifted individuals, and somewhere in its vast centers it will absorb and make use of the peculiar talents of this nation of musicians, painters, sculptors, actors, scientists, earnest students, —able workers, all.

That, in the past, America has found a place for the educated and gifted Czecho-Slovaks is evidenced by the character of the communities receiving the talented of their own group. Where a singing master has settled, singing clubs have started up. It will be remembered that the famous Czecho-Slovak legions of Siberia marched to songs when they had no instruments to make music. A Czecho-Slovak violinist or pianist rarely indeed lacks pupils. To locate a Bohemian community which does not have its own band or orchestra is a difficult thing.

And where, pray, is the Czech or Slovak community or group which does not support its own amateur theatrical club? These self-made Thespians most often are, during the day, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, cigar-makers or busy housewives, but with high zeal they hesitate not to produce in one season at the local lodge hall Czech or Slovak versions of varied repertoires including The Merchant of Venice, Charley's Aunt, Jan Vyrava (a popular Czech historical drama), North Against the South (an American civil war play), Strakonický Dudák (The Bagpipe Player of Strakonice), a musical fairy tale by Tyl, the father of the National Opera House in Prague; Michael Strogoff, the Courier of the Czar; The Boarders, a Czech-American play written by a Chicagoan, and a dozen other favorites by Šubert, Kolar, Bozdech, Stroupežnický and other playwrights.

The Love of Drama

THE amateur production of an ever so simple play implies a degree of patience, effort and true devotion on the part of our immigrant element of which the society dilettante in drama can know nothing. The small native American communities which put on from six to twenty amateur plays in a season are few and far between. The Czech or Slovak communities which fail to produce that number of plays season after season are rare. Another difference is that the American performers in the small town amateur plays are usually the young people who have been away to school or who have had superior advantages, whereas the Czech or Slovak plays are produced by men and women in many cases occupied at manual labor by day. Then, too, their performances are not induced by some outside stimulus but are inspired by the inherent love of the nation for the drama and music. The writer has witnessed performances of Czech plays in Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas country villages to which farmers from distances of thirty or forty miles made the trip in bitterly cold weather. In Texas and Oklahoma even greater sacrifices of time and effort are often necessary, yet devotees who agree that "the play's the thing" are found aplenty.

Not only the communities whose inhabitants are natives of the present Czecho-Slovakia need the kind of influence exerted by the new immigration, but there is hardly a native American center which could not well utilize the service which these accomplished and trained men and women can render. The need of an agency to place Czecho-Slovakia's over-supply of the so-called "intelligentsia" is just as great as that for distributing industrial or agricultural labor in the United States. The returns will well repay America for the outlay.

THE SURVEY

Vol. XLVI NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1921 No. 11

THE SPREAD OF SURVEYS

"VALUABLE contacts have been made with both the Armenian and the Greek patriarchates, with the Bulgarian exarch, with the grand rabbi, and with the secretary for the Sheik ul Islam."

No, gentle reader, this is not a roster from the Arabian Nights but Paragraph IX, Community Organization, in a syllabus of the Pathfinder Survey now going forward in Constantinople. The passage reads on: "Seven Greek churches have been visited, three Bulgarian churches, and the rest of the work is well under way."

The admixture of principalities and powers with the patter of social work tickles the mind, but is nonetheless just another item to show the spread of the survey movement in the last ten years of which this special number on Prague is an illustration.

Prague, like Pittsburgh, has the spirit of youth about it. With Prague in this respect should be linked one of the oldest capitals in the world—one which is feeling the new democracy and spiritual ferment of the Orient. And with the Prague survey should be linked the survey of the Teng Shih Kou district of Peking which has been carried on under the auspices of the Princeton Center in connection with the Y. M. C. A. there. Sidney D. Gamble has been at work for some months past in casting its findings into a book for American readers.

The Constantinople survey is of more recent inception. It was projected along modest lines under the directorship of Clarence Richard Johnson, the following organizations cooperating through representatives on the Council of Fifteen: Robert College, the American Board, the Near East Relief, the American Red Cross, Constantinople College, American Chamber of Commerce, Young Men's Christian Association, and Young Women's Christian Association.

Americans just returned from Constantinople report that large areas of the city have recently been swept by flame. Not only is Constantinople faced by intricate international problems but there is clearly a tremendous job of physical rehabilitation to be done.

Here at home, Cleveland is our ranking survey city. A survey of the courts and the whole machinery of justice—as common folk come in contact with it—is being carried out under Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter, both of the Harvard Law School. These men are blazing new ground, but this survey has been preceded by the comprehensive hospital and health survey of last year and the equally well-rounded educational and recreational surveys of earlier years. In resources and staff equipment the work in each of these segments of investigation has more than matched the entire outlay in most community surveys, which, like the type survey of Springfield [see page 374] box the compass of social, civic and industrial factors.

The Committee on Social and Religious Surveys with headquarters in New York is at present completing a survey of St. Louis started by the Interchurch World Movement with the cooperation of local organizations.

The Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation is the general center for counsel and experiment. A significant development is the announcement by the New York School of Social Work of a course in social surveys and community studies for the coming year. Perhaps the great-grandson of the Sheik ul Islam may get an exchange fellowship if he sends in his application early enough.

BLOOD AND OIL

IF refugees from Tulsa, Okla., who during the last month have reached the East, are to be believed, the origin of the riots that disgraced that city last week is to be found not so much in impulses of race antagonism, difficult to fathom, as in clear and understandable economic conflicts. With thousands of others, a group of these refugees told representatives of New York newspapers, they had fled the city more than three weeks ago, when warning was given for three successive days on the front page of a Tulsa newspaper that on June 1 the Negro population would be cleared out. No explanation was given for this anonymous warning, which was repeated on unsigned cards pasted on the doors of Negro homes. But it was not needed, since the attitude of certain circles of whites and the reason for the warning were well known. Along with white men, many Negroes from southern states had bought small parcels of oil land in Oklahoma, originally owned by Indians, and since they were held to be a good investment, some five hundred colored owners had in the last decade resisted all offers, often accompanied by threats, to part with these lands to whites at prices which the Negroes deemed insufficient. Every increase in the price of oil made the strife more bitter. With the depression of the labor market, white employers of labor at last thought they had the whip hand and ordered Negro employes to sell out or quit. Even housewives refused to continue colored women in their employ. Petty persecutions, the refugees say, were common, though there had been no physical violence during the last few years. Then came the alleged attempt of a Negro mob to prevent the lynching of a colored man who was held in jail on charge of assault on a white woman; white men and boys from every part of the city on June 1 armed themselves, raided sport goods and hardware stores for more arms and ammunition and staged a riot in which thirty persons, the majority colored, were killed.

Once more the old story, many must have thought when they read the first accounts of these happenings. It is, however, anything but the old story; it is an entirely new story in American annals, so far as the sequel is concerned. For, hardly had the shooting ceased, hardly had the flames of burned homes been quenched, when the better spirit of a typical American community asserted itself. Citizens, under the leadership of a former mayor, according to newspaper reports, organized themselves at once into a reconstruction commission, and a thousand business men offered to contribute toward a city-wide fund to rehabilitate the devastated colored section. The governor, early on the scene, ordered the immediate mobilization of the state's judicial forces to prosecute and impose the full penalties of the law upon every person guilty of taking part in or instigating the riot. The grand jury has begun its investigation.

Judge Loyal J. Martin, former mayor, elected chairman of the citizen's commission, said at a mass meeting on the day following the occurrence:

> Tulsa can only redeem herself from the country-wide shame and humiliation into which she is today plunged by complete restitution and rehabilitation of the destroyed black belt. The rest of the United States must know that the real citizenship of Tulsa weeps at this unspeakable crime and will make good the damage, so far as it can be done, to the last penny.

To what extent the city government was guilty of neglect of duty or inefficiency in the suppression of the riot is not

quite clear from reports so far received. Most of these reports emphasize, however, that it should have been possible for the police authorities to shoot, if they could not arrest, men doing damage to property under their own eyes. Richard Lloyd Jones, a Tulsa editor, wired to the New York World:

> As is too often the case in just such situations, the police are derelict of duty at the psychological moment when they have the power to prevent. As soon as this small band of armed black men came upon the scene, the Tulsa police, with or without the aid of county officials, should at once have thrown a line around them and marched them to jail. But they stupidly let the psychological moment pass. Then a white man struck a match to the incendiary mob-powder by trying to take a gun away from a Negro.

The state militia was in action a few hours later; but in the darkness, it seems, much additional damage was done in the Negro section "to smoke the demon out;" and the fire department did not succeed in limiting the conflagration area.

In the morning, thousands of colored families, unable to get far from the scene of terror, were found camping on the hills surrounding the city. The Humane Society, the local chapter of the Red Cross and other social agencies immediately set to work to provide them with necessary food and clothing, and especially with water, which was lacking in their temporary refuges. Later temporary homes were found for many in city churches, schools and other public buildings and in homes. Some arrests were made for looting; but within twenty-four hours the tension had lessened to such an extent that 250 out of 550 national guardsmen were returned to their home stations. The mayor, at the command of the officer in charge of these guards, withdrew all special police commissions, as it was alleged that some of the special officers had been ringleaders in the shooting.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in addition to starting a relief fund for the homeless colored people of Tulsa, is collecting evidences of race discrimination in Oklahoma other than the testimony of refugees. It has received reports, says James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the association, to the effect that peonage is general in some parts of the state, that robbery of Negro tenants, burning of homes and brutalities of every description have become common, especially with the accentuation of race prejudice through the fall in the price of cotton and the consequent unemployment of many Negroes. He calls attention to the bill now before Congress demanding a thorough federal investigation of the practice of peonage and other injustices to large sections of the colored population of America.

THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

THE establishment of a joint committee of the International Red Cross Committee and the League of Red Cross Societies was the principal outcome of the conference of Red Cross workers from all parts of the world held this spring at Geneva, Switzerland. All operations that affect both organizations will in future be directed by this joint committee. The international committee, which met for the first time since 1912, was founded in 1864 and has, ever since, been the principal means by which the nations humanize warfare. Its primary concern still is that of aiding the military forces, during any war operation, in the care of the wounded and prisoners. Following precedent, the conference resolved itself into seven commissions for more intensive consideration of the questions brought up:

> Revision of the Convention of Geneva which regulates the procedure and methods of Red Cross operations in war time.
>
> Questions relating to prisoners of war, arising out of the unprecedented numbers dealt with during the World War and the difficulties encountered in their exchange and repatriation.
>
> The Red Cross in civil war, with its complication of political questions involved in dealing with unrecognized revolutionary governments.
>
> Relations of Red Cross societies between themselves and with their several governments and national philanthropic institutions.
>
> Internal organization of Red Cross societies.
>
> Sanitary problems, expositions, publications, etc.
>
> Limitation of war.

France and Belgium alone among the powers did not take part in these deliberations on the ground that the time had not yet come to sit in with representatives of the former enemy nations, though the societies of both countries sent messages of sympathy. The American delegates were headed by Livingston Farrand, chairman of the Central Committee of the American Red Cross.

A commission, composed of delegates from six nations, neutral during the war, was elected to investigate all charges of violations of the Geneva Convention and of International Red Cross regulations by belligerents. Many of the delegates present evidently considered most of these charges unfounded and believed that the report of this commission, to be presented in six months, will end the discussion of that topic.

The American delegates were much moved and gratified by the spontaneous offer and enthusiastic reception of a special vote of thanks to the American Red Cross for the unprecedented scope and intensity of the work it has accomplished in Europe during and since war. Of this Dr. Farrand says:

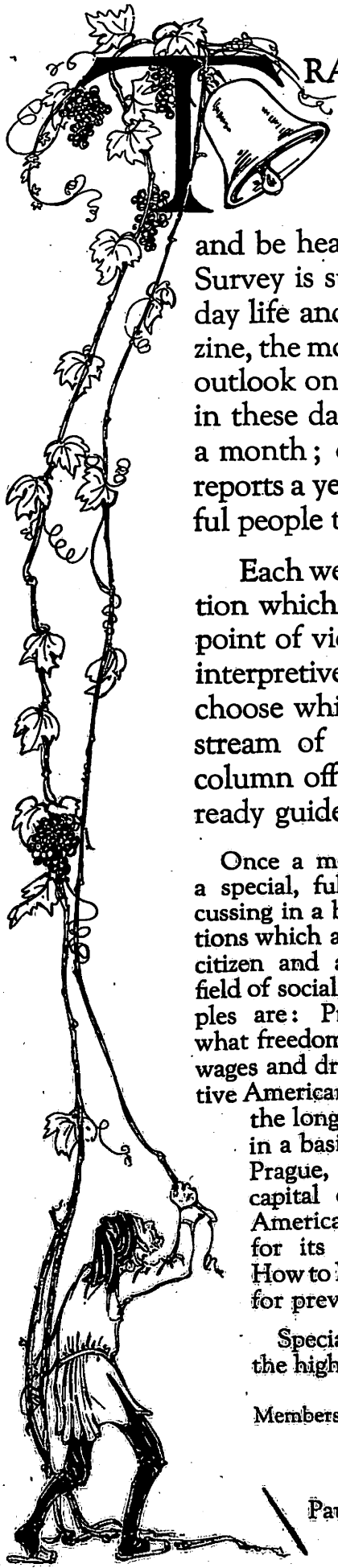
> I think it gives us a right to feel that our Red Cross has made and is making a contribution to the world. You would be touched if you could see the confidence with which the Red Crosses of the world are looking to the American Red Cross for guidance and for leadership.
>
> And it is for us to go on, and by our example and by our administration continue to prove that we are operating with all the wisdom that it is possible to obtain; that we are guided by the highest motives that exist in the human mind, and that we are ready to accept our responsibility, whatever it may be, and discharge it to the best of our ability.

THE RAILROAD WAGE REDUCTION

THE poorer paid, relatively unskilled railroad workers will bear the brunt of the wage reduction ordered by the United States Railroad Labor Board to begin July 1. The decision grants reductions varying from 5 to 13 cents an hour and on the average amounting to about 12 per cent of the railroad payroll. Section laborers who have generally been at the foot of the railroad wage ladder will experience the most serious loss. Their reduction is to be 18 per cent. This completely wipes out the increase granted July 20, 1920. The new schedule will give section men $3.02 for an eight-hour day or an estimated $77.11 for a full month.

The more highly skilled workers suffer less proportionately. Last July engineers were given increases of 10 to 13 cents an hour. They are now reduced by 6 and 8 cents an hour. Other changes are in keeping. The railroads sought especially to have the wages of laborers reduced because the laborers are by far the most numerous class and because in some parts of the country the going wage for similar labor is less than that paid by the railroads. In making its revision the Railroad Labor Board was compelled by the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act to take into consideration a number of wage principles formulated by Congress. The cost of living, the market rate for labor, and the consequences of wage orders issued during the period of governmental operation were included in the rules to be applied. During the war the better paid men were given smaller advances than the unskilled groups, so-called. The wage order of last July was designed in part to change this condition and to create again the differentials which in the past separated classes of railroad employes.

The wages of track laborers and other large groups of low paid workers must be determined by the conflicting considerations of the cost of living and of the market rate. No economist pretends that a track laborer or any other worker can support a family consisting of a wife and three children under 14 years of age at the rate of $77.11 in any American



TRADITION HAS IT that once in ancient times, the Re Giovanni, a king of Italy, hung in the market place of the town of Atri a strand of grapevine tied to a great bell. So that those who were in need or sought justice might pull at the grapevine, gather the people together and be heard. That bell was an instrument of social progress. The Survey is such a bell today, ringing in the public square of every-day life and labor. ¶ For The Survey gives, as does no other magazine, the most competent evidence, the keenest analysis, the broadest outlook on all the wide range of social problems which press forward in these days of perplexity. It draws on fifty specialized periodicals a month; on one hundred conferences, one thousand books and reports a year. It makes first-hand investigations. It gives to thoughtful people the groundwork of facts on which sound opinion is built.

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Paul U. Kellogg
Editor

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Chicago Rising from Its Fall

THERE is nothing more spectacular or significant in American municipal politics than the rapid rise and impending fall of the Thompson-Lundin "machine." In 1915 William Hale Thompson, the sporting son of an old Chicago family, received the Republican nomination for mayor at the direct primary by a majority just about equal to the number of votes then cast by the Negro citizens of the second ward. This was significant, for his great plurality in the election which followed was due to the combined votes of the Negroes, the Germans and the Irish citizens. Campaign promises to the Negroes were fulfilled very partially by a few patronizing appointments, notably by recognizing as the floor leader in the city council one of the unworthiest and most unscrupulous politicians that ever disgraced his race. Opposition to the war, on the narrowest nationalistic lines, and anti-British bluster, rallied the large German and Irish vote, irrespective of party affiliations.

After four years of experience with the most ruthlessly factional and incompetent administration, Mayor Thompson was reelected by a vote reducing his first plurality of 147,477 to 21,600. With such a repudiation he would have failed to be renominated or reelected but for the divided field and the strong factional organization that had been built up. This was done under the leadership of Fred Lundin, a shrewd, adventurous politician who is credited with being the actual autocrat of the administration, and to whose organizing skill and daring strategy its domination is due. He had risen from vending medical nostrums on the streets to being the notorious William Lorimer's chief of staff in his campaigns for Congress and the Senate, until he was expelled for the bribery through which his election as senator was proved to have been secured. Then "the poor Swede not in politics," as Lundin, in mock humility, calls himself, undertook to create the career of William Hale Thompson.

Neither party nor public interests were to stand in the way of his protege's ascent to position and to power. Chicago had hitherto rightfully claimed to be a "council governed city." Th aldermen must therefore be made subservient to the mayor. In the way stood the Municipal Voters' League which for a score or more of years had guided citizens and aldermen alike to maintain the intelligence and independence of the council. It became the target for the administration's scandalous defamation and threats. Shifting the issue to the Sunday closing of the saloons in appealing for moral support, while at the same time signing a written promise to the "united societies" not to do so, Mayor Thompson actually secured the public appeal of many clergymen and other groups for the election of such aldermen as he desired to have in the council to support his policies. And a majority of such candidates were elected at an election when only one-third of the registered vote was cast, and when in some of the best localities from 40 to 60 per cent of certain groups of "good citizens" were found not to have registered!

The civil service law stood athwart the lust for power through patronage. It could not be repealed or amended unless or until the state legislature and administration could be captured. But commissioners could be appointed to subvert the spirit of the law by its very letter. So during the first year of Mayor Thompson's administration no less than 30,675 sixty-day appointments were made, although there were only 20,000 positions to be filled. Thus the exception, provided to meet the emergencies in the service, became the rule and the eligible lists from which appointments should be made for merit only became either the exception or an equivalent for appointment by personal preference. When applied to the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium it so unnerved its founder and superintendent, Dr. Theodore Sachs, that he shot himself in despair at the undoing of his life's work.

One after another great field of patronage fell under the power of the Thompson-Lundin machine, such as the Department of Streets and Public Works, the schools and all other municipal operations.

Great as these personal and financial resources were, greater spoils were sought by the victors in the results of the presidential election. The "landslide came and landed this same faction of the Republican Party in control of the state, the sanitary district of Chicago and the county, although its plurality in city and county was only 37 per cent of that of the presidential vote. The overlords became drunk with power and began to lose their heads. They started a weekly paper and forced all on the payrolls to guarantee paid subscriptions for several copies. A commercialized amusement park became the official center not only for "the mayor's free outings for school children" but for pay entertainments, ten or more tickets to which all city officials were coerced to buy. City Hall measures were introduced in the legislature, backed by the faction's governor, which undid the civil service and other advanced legislation of previous administrations.

Embarrassed by such fearful waste as allowing commissions to five ordinary real estate appraisers in condemnation proceedings amounting to nearly $5,000,000—four times as much as was paid elsewhere for similar service—the machine needed more money and legal sanction. So it passed, by a small majority in a referendum vote, an $8,000,000 bond issue to meet the deficit in current accounts. This and steadily increasing taxation stung the pockets of the people. But their sense of justice was outraged by an attempt to capture the circuit and superior courts by electing judges who would be under obligation to the machine for their positions. Discarding fifteen sitting judges, the City Hall ticket masqueraded as Republican. A coalition ticket, including these judges, united the self-respecting Republicans and the Democratic voters. Nine to one, the Bar Association voted to support it. Civic and social organizations endorsed it. Women, personally and in effective organized effort, lined up in the campaign and at the polls as never before. Churches of all faiths rang with appeals for "free" judges. Settlements furnished watchers and deputy sheriffs.[1]

Despite the most extreme efforts to misstate the issue and mislead the people, to slander the sitting judges and vilify the newspapers supporting them, to arouse racial and class envy and hatred, there was a landslide for the coalition ticket. Its lowest vote was higher than the highest on the City Hall ticket whose candidates received from 30,000 to 100,000 fewer votes than their competitors.

This result registers the resurgence of the Chicago spirit from the strange reaction of the war psychology. It predicts the beginning of the end of these overlords of misrule. It confirms the Municipal Voters' League stand. It puts the courage of independence back into the judiciary. It demonstrates the people's capacity to ignore the party circles and split their tickets. It has saved the great Smith park system with its fine playgrounds from the fate of the other park groups. It starts already the quest for a coalition candidate for mayor to run two years hence. It is prying loose from this minority faction those in city council and state legislature who feared the power of the autocratic machine. It revives the hope which, while so long deferred, made the heart sick that the second sober thought of the American voters, of foreign and native birth, may be depended upon to right their wrongs and to reassert their personal independence and their political and social democracy.

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

[1] The two articles by Victor Yarros in the SURVEY for November 20, 1920, and April 30, 1921, created a considerable impression in progressive circles in Chicago and are said to have contributed to welding the coalition for good government.—THE EDITOR.

The Conflict on the Tug

THE gunfire that has been awakening echoes in the West Virginia Hills as well as in the United States Senate chamber, where a resolution calling for a Senate investigation of the industrial trouble in that state has been under discussion, is neither a new nor an unexpected feature of the conflict over unionism in the coal fields there. No doubt some of the pictures recently drawn of the reign of feudism in that country have been too vividly colored; private families are not now engaged in the planned extermination of each other as they once were. But if the feud is no longer an active and malignant eruption in the life of the region, the tradition of feudism remains. The men who shot their personal enemies from ambush or in the open did not die without issue; their descendants still tramp the West Virginia and Kentucky hills in large numbers, sit at clerk's desks in stores and village banks and even occupy the sheriff's and county clerk's offices.

The fact is that in the mines and mining communities of those regions there are today men who saw their fathers or grandfathers take their guns down from the wall, go a hundred yards from the house and lie in wait for prospective victims. Life is not held as dearly in such a civilization as in some others. The traditional method of settling disputes is too much by the gun; and when two men cannot agree, the courts are likely to find that the arbitrament of the law has been superseded by the arbitrament of the levelled pistol barrel.

Introduce into such a community, now, an acute modern industrial conflict. Let capital enter and bring forth coal from the hills. Let the whole country become an industrial area. Let the trade union enter and try to persuade the workers to organize. Let the owners and managers of coal mines say: "You shall not organize. We will not let you." The methods that have been used to settle other disputes will be resorted to in settling this. The nature of the trouble is different, but the way of meeting it is the same. There are in the mines of West Virginia many men who know nothing of this tradition, who were brought up in other environments. But there are also, both in the mines and among the general population, many to whom the tradition is a keen memory. They are familiar with the use of firearms; most of them possess guns. They regard a fight between capital and labor as no different, in the tactics evoked, from any family or domestic quarrel.

This is not to say that all the stories of violence that have come out of West Virginia are true, or that the natives and miners have committed all the violence. Who fired the first gun in the industrial conflict there is now a matter of twenty years or more ago; certain it is that the policy of the operators of employing armed guards and resorting to other questionable means of combating the union must be given a large share of credit for all of the bloodshed and property destruction there have been. But the point is that the present spectacle in Mingo county can be interpreted only in the light of this fundamental characteristic of the civilization. Violence is to be expected. And so long as the fight lasts between the operators of coal mines, on the one hand, and the men who produce coal, on the other, we shall read in the daily papers of casualty lists from the Tug River.

What the Senate Committee on Education and Labor will find, should it eventually go into the state, cannot now be predicted in detail. Doubtless it will try to discover what led immediately to this renewed outbreak of shooting. The most definite suggestion carried by the press is that more miners were evicted from their company-owned houses and that this augmented the existing bitterness. The committee will find that the Mingo county episode is only part of the larger situation throughout the coal fields of the state. It will find that the West Virginia conflict is essentially a conflict over unionism. More than half of the mine workers in the state are members of the United Mine Workers of America; the operators and the union are engaged in a death struggle over the organization of the others. It will find that wages and working conditions are an active subject of discussion, but that the crux of the West Virginia warfare is whether or not men shall belong to the United Mine Workers.

It will find that many operators believe the union an illegal and malevolent body. It will find current a charge that the union and the operators of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, whose men are organized, are engaged in a gigantic conspiracy to put the non-union operators of West Virginia out of business; this object is to be attained by compelling them to accept the union and so to compete on less advantageous terms than now with their unionized rivals. It will find the union accused of using violence to achieve its ends and its leaders charged with all sorts of socialistic and anarchistic aims.

It will find that the union accuses the operators of every repressive and vindictive action from the use of armed agents to evict families to the maintenance of an industrial system that is alleged to keep the worker in a species of feudal bondage. It will find that the coal companies own whole towns and that they use their power to prevent organization by the men. It will find, if it looks far enough, deputy sheriffs working almost exclusively for operators and paid out of their private funds, and "yellow dog" contracts compelling the worker to agree that he will not join a labor union so long as he retains his employment. It will find a history of industrial warfare going back a score of years.

With respect to the Mingo county situation in particular, it will find that a strike of mine workers has been in effect there since July 1, 1920. In the spring of that year, the United Mine Workers, strongly entrenched in many other parts of the state, began an organizing campaign in Mingo county. It met a considerable response from the miners there and formed a number of locals. Finally feeling itself strong enough, it invited the associated operators of that district to a conference; the purpose of this conference was to be to negotiate a wage agreement. The operators did not answer. Telegrams repeating the invitation were sent to nearly every operator in the county. This time the operators, with one voice and with marked similarity of language, refused to meet the union in any way.

The strike called July 1 was intended to compel the operators to enter a conference. It has been on ever since—a bitter and costly struggle. Not only have huge sums of money been spent—by the operators in advertising and in bringing in strike-breakers, by the union in supporting many families of the unemployed—but federal troops have twice been called into the district and the state constabulary has practically lived there. The present quartering of federal troops in Mingo county is the third and has been accompanied by the declaration of martial law. Evicted families have lived in tent colonies and, despite heroic efforts by the union to keep them in comfort, have suffered both from privation and, during the winter, from exposure. The union has never admitted that it was beaten, though the operators have for months now claimed that they were producing nearly their normal amount of coal and that the strike was over.

The whole West Virginia conflict, in this view, is a cross section of the labor struggle throughout the country. It answers the question: What happens when an aggressive labor union undertakes to organize a particular region, and a group of determined employers says that it shall not? It takes its place in the orthodox history of the labor movement. If there has been a disposition in some quarters to regard the West Virginia conflict as the beginning of the "revolution" in the United States, there is no justification for such a view; the sniping and musket fire along the Tug will not grow into the booming of proletarian cannon. The United Mine Workers, affiliated as it is with the American Federation of Labor, is out to better the conditions of miners. It is trying to

extend its organization and to negotiate wage agreements. These agreements propose no changes in the economic basis of the industry. True, the union has declared in convention for the nationalization of the coal mines. This is more an ideal of certain local leaders and a vague sentiment among part of the membership, however, than a practical program of the rank and file of the official organization. Moreover, nationalization is to be sought, apparently, through the asserted will of a majority of the people; it is not to be attained, soviet-like, through a sudden seizure of the machinery of government.

The United Mine Workers has not even, as some unions have, a definite plan of workers' participation in the control of the industry. It is not proposing a scheme for increasing production and efficiency. It has not yet attained to this conception of its relation to the industry and the public interest. It will get what it can for its members, and let the industry take care of itself. It has not come to the clear conviction, held by the leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, for example, that by making the industry more efficient and productive it can better increase pay, shorten hours and improve working conditions. Perhaps there are progressive operators who would regard it as a more statesmanlike body if it should accept some such conception of its obligation. Meanwhile, so long as the union is an integral and orthodox part of the labor movement of the country, it is folly to grow fearful that West Virginia may suddenly loom forth as the battleground of a revolution by the workers.

WINTHROP D. LANE.

The Maternity Bill

A CURIOUS situation has developed in regard to the Sheppard-Towner "maternity bill." This measure was designed to remedy a tragic condition, long existent but only recently analyzed. Its purpose is so beneficent and its proposals are so well tried that serious opposition was not expected. It is therefore very surprising that at so late a time, people have arisen to oppose it, some of whom say it symbolizes medical tyranny and others that it means socialistic license. These are only two of the absolutely contradictory bogies which are now being raised to frighten the uninformed. A baby swan has, by such imaginings, been transformed into a very large and ugly duck!

It must be borne in mind that this newly developed opposition to the bill is being fostered, nourished and spread by the officers and employes of that persevering organization, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, particularly by the Woman Patriot, its official organ. However, the fact that the National League of Women Voters is one of the thirteen national women's organizations sponsoring the bill may cause the cynical to suspect some slight personal bias among these "anti" crusaders.

But the matter is not altogether one for jest. Opposition to any bill, if it is persistent, clever, not over scrupulous, and well financed, can draw to itself many honest and misinformed people, and this is happening in regard to the Sheppard-Towner bill.

The bill is very simple. In its latest form—that reported by the Senate Committee on Education on May 20—it authorizes the annual appropriation of $1,480,000 "to be paid to the several states for the purpose of cooperating with them in promoting the care of maternity and infancy." Of this sum, $10,000 is to be paid annually to each state, and the remaining $1,000,000 is to be "apportioned among the states in the proportion which their population bears to the total population of the United States," provided that no state shall receive its share of this additional appropriation until its legislature shall have appropriated an equal sum "for the maintenance of the services and facilities provided for in this Act." (This is the so-called "50-50" plan, which is already in effect under the act for vocational education, the act for agricultural extension, the act for the rehabilitation of industrial cripples, the Good Roads Act, and the act creating the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board.)

The Children's Bureau "shall be charged with the carrying out of the provisions of this act." An advisory committee consisting of the secretary of agriculture, the surgeon-general of the United States Public Health Service, and the commissioner of education, is to advise with the chief of the Children's Bureau concerning problems arising from this work. The Children's Bureau "shall have charge of all matters concerning the administration of this act and shall have power to cooperate with the state agencies authorized to carry out the provisions of this act. It shall be the duty of the Children's Bureau to make or cause to be made such studies, investigations, and reports as will promote the efficient administration of this act." The amount the Children's Bureau may spend for administration is limited to 3 per cent of the additional appropriation authorized, or $30,000.

In the states the act shall be administered through the child welfare or child hygiene divisions of the state agencies of health wherever there are such divisions (35 states at the present time) and by an agency designated by the state itself in the other states. The state administrative authorities are to appoint state and local advisory committees, at least half of whose members shall be women.

The state agency shall submit its plans to the Children's Bureau and "if these plans shall be in conformity with the provisions of this act and reasonably appropriate and adequate to carry out its purposes, due notice of approval shall be sent to the state agency by the chief of the Children's Bureau." These plans shall include "provision for instruction in the hygiene of maternity and infancy through public health nurses, consultation centers and other suitable methods." Sums not exceeding 25 per cent of a state's share may be spent by it to provide instruction in the hygiene of infancy and maternity through extension courses by qualified lecturers—this by arrangement with any educational institution.

The "facilities provided by any state agencies cooperating under the provisions of this act shall be available for all residents of the state." A special provision inserted by the Senate Committee on Education states that the act does not give authority to any agent to enter "any home over the objection of the parents or either of them, or the person standing in loco parentis."

This is what the bill is, as it has been reported to the Senate. The House bill, now before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, differs only in a few words and phrases, not at all in its main provisions.

Now as to what the bill is *not*. Some of the attacks on it are worthy of notice only for the light they throw on the character of the opposition. Such is the statement that the real purpose of the bill is birth control, which is transmuted successively into free love and socialism and then, in a glorious climax, into the destruction of the family, bolshevism, sovietism, and communism. These statements were actually made at the Senate hearings. To the credit of the Senate be it said that the group of women who drew the red herring of birth control across the trail in order to arouse Catholic sentiment against the bill met with but little encouragement at the hands of the committee members. In this same class of arguments belongs the statement, often repeated at the hearings, that the bill will mean invasion of the home by "non-technical advisors" who wish to "snoop" into the private affairs of mothers. The people who make this charge say that the bill provides for a vast army of federal employes, untrained—and worse still, unmarried—young women, who are to pour out from Washington over a defenseless country, asking rude questions of mothers who know by instinct all that is necessary about the care of their children. This picture is too fantastic to be taken seriously even by the people making the charge.

There are, however, some perfectly straightforward people, most of whom have not read the bill, who are afraid either that it does not insure expert medical service on the one hand or that it will force women to have medical service they do not desire on the other. There is no ground for either belief. The actual work of instruction in maternal and infant hygiene will be done by public health nurses and physicians employed by the state child hygiene divisions or locally, not by the federal government. This means simply an extension of the type of professional service already being rendered so admirably by some state and municipal health authorities, f which the work of the New York City Bureau of Child Hygiene is an excellent example. There is not a word about "non-technical advisors" in the bill; the provision for having the work done through public health nurses is specific.

There is, however—to answer the other objection—nothing compulsory about the bill. No woman needs to go to a consultation center for advice, or let a public health nurse come to her, unless she wants to do so. In the Senate bill assurance is made doubly sure by the provision that the act does not permit entrance to a home over the parents' objection. This is of course unnecessary; no version of the bill gave any such authority.

Another objection occasionally offered is that the bill is an unwarranted trespass by the federal government on the rights and duties of the states. Here again it must be remembered that the bill is permissive; no state legislature needs to accept its terms unless it wants to do so. In any event it no more indicates federal usurpation of power than do the other "50—50" acts already mentioned. Guarding of public health is an entirely proper function of the federal government; but in this bill state and local authority in planning and carrying out the work have been carefully preserved.

That the bill is too great a financial burden is a claim made occasionally, but not often now by Congressmen! In a year when the Congress is voting four or five hundred millions for a navy, and contemplates serenely a bonus bill carrying an expenditure of from four to five billion dollars, no honest taxpayer and certainly no honest legislator can complain about a scant million and a half for maternity protection.

The last—perhaps the most serious—objections to this bill are being advanced by members of the medical profession.

The first is that the administration of the bill should not be by the Children's Bureau but by the Public Health Service. This is a claim so plausible that it deserves real discussion. Those who take this position feel that all health work done by the federal government should be unified in one bureau, and that this is certainly a health measure.

The women's organizations supporting this bill have taken a definite stand against this proposed change in administration. The Children's Bureau is the pioneer child hygiene service of the government. It was created by Congress specifically to study "the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate . . . and diseases of children." It has a hygiene division which is a medical division, with obstetricians, pediatricians, and public health nurses on its staff, and which works in cooperation with an advisory committee appointed by the section on Diseases of Children of the American Medical Association. Such child hygiene work as has been done by the public Health Service since the Children's Bureau made such work popular, has been in part, at least, a duplication of the work of the Children's Bureau—sometimes it has been word for word duplication. It is perhaps logical to say that all health—child and adult—should be considered together. It is quite as logical to say that all child life—health, economic and social factors affecting children—should be considered as a whole. Life cannot be divided and put into separate pigeonholes.

The truth is that it is the social and medical infant mortality and child welfare studies of the Children's Bureau that have brought home to the consciences of the women of America the carelessness with which we throw life away. A further truth is that the women of this country trust the Children's Bureau. It has, through its Children's Year Campaign and in many other ways, become known in every state and city. It has established cooperation with state health authorities and with countless agencies working for children. Women's clubs and committees are accustomed to cooperating in health campaigns under its guidance.

A second objection voiced by some physicians is a deeply rooted one—that this bill is an entering wedge for that eternal shadow over the private practitioner's life, "state medicine." Here we come to a parting of the ways. There are members of the medical profession who feel strongly that all work with individuals, whether it is care in sickness or instruction in infant hygiene, should be done either as a matter of private practice or as a matter of private philanthropy. These people believe in baby milk funds, infant welfare centers, and so on, provided they are supported by wealthy benefactors, not by the city, state or nation. This attitude is common among ultra-conservative men and women; and the only answer to it is that mothers and babies keep on dying. One cannot meet on common ground people who care more for traditional methods than they do for human life.

The third objection of some of the physicians who have taken a stand on this bill is that it will not work—that the measure proposed will not actually reduce infant and maternal morbidity and mortality. That brings up again the old story of why the bill is needed. New evidence on this subject keeps appearing. Dr. William Travis Howard of Johns Hopkins University in an article published in the American Journal of Hygiene for March analyzes the census figures for the birth registration area of the United States and comparative statistics for England and Wales and for Sweden. For the birth registration area, which includes about 53 per cent of the total population of the country, the number of deaths in 1918 from all causes connected with the puerperal state was 12,496, and the death rate was 88.48 per 10,000 births. Of these figures, Dr. Howard says:

> The death rates, whether viewed in comparison with the rates for England and Wales or considered alone, are appallingly high for total deaths and for deaths under each important category. These rates, although calculated by a method more favorable than that used in comparative tables in which stillbirths are not taken into account, are probably unparalleled in modern times in a civilized country.

Dr. Howard does not offer a solution but points out that in Birmingham, England, where the rates are far lower than in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and Washington, the low rates are "the result of efforts intelligently directed over a long series of years." He calls attention to the fact that the rate there has consistently fallen through a five-year period, three and one-half years of which were during the World War, and says that the low rates "must, in large degree, be due to the character of obstetrical care offered." Of obstetrical service in the United States he says: "Of all the important branches of the nursing art, that of obstetrics is perhaps at once the most neglected and the most important."

Will the Sheppard-Towner bill lessen maternal mortality? Some distinguished obstetricians say that nothing can do that but improved obstetrical teaching, and that no legislation can bring this about. Others feel that a great extension of prenatal nursing, in rural districts and in towns, will greatly increase the demand for skilled care and will give to both men and women new and higher standards of what proper maternity care should be. Can anything more surely increase the supply of skilled obstetricians than a genuine demand from their patients?

At any rate the statistics are clear. Every visiting nurse service which does prenatal work shows results in lowered death rates of both mothers and children. Estimates made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, based on figures from various sources, show that where five women die in every thousand confinements in a city as a whole, only two out of every thousand will die of a group that has had proper prenatal and maternity care.

DOROTHY KIRCHWEY BROWN.

somehow only a great faith, big plans, unbounded enthusiasm will stir men's blood sufficiently; or, to quote Daniel H. Burnham's phrase, "make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realized."

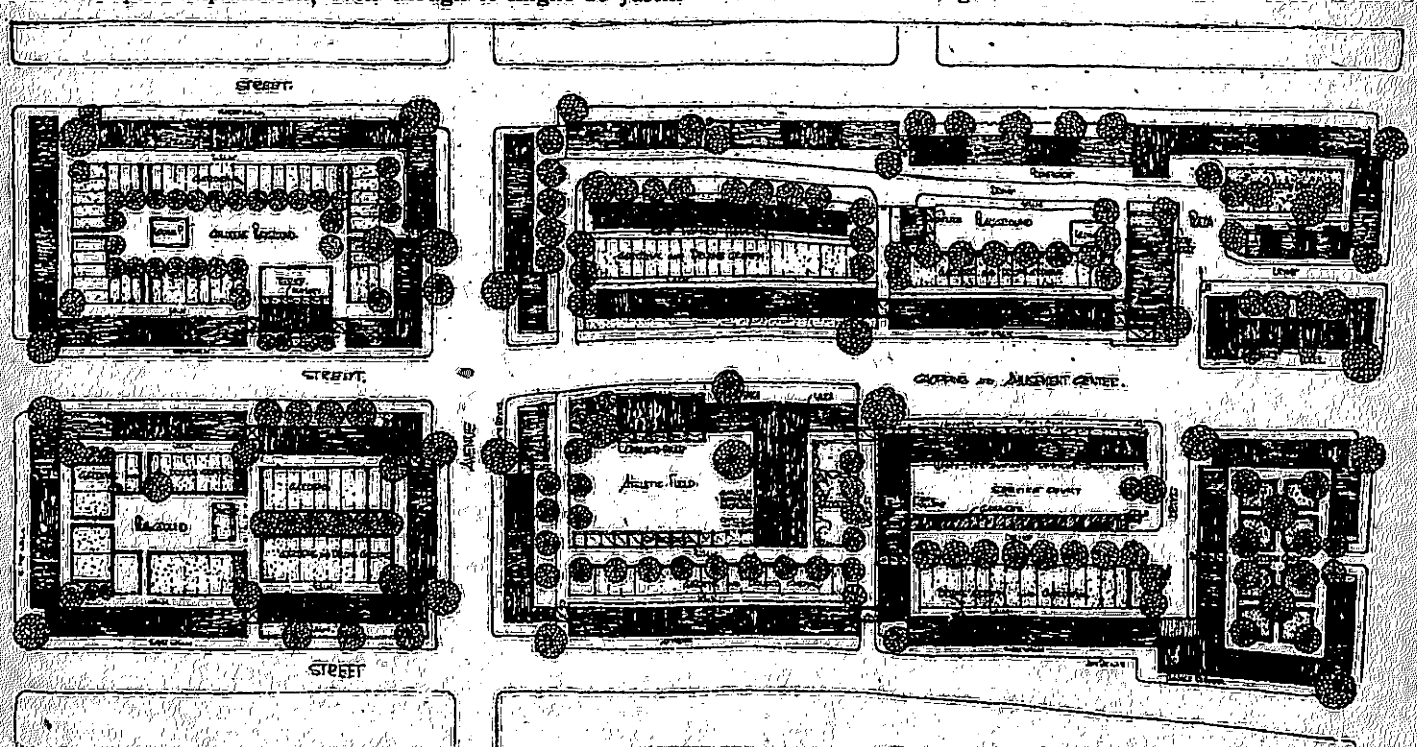
Edward H. Bennett and William E. Parsons who have made this report for the Joliet City Plan Commission are practical men and know that Joliet, before it can become a second Paris, must go through many, and some of them painful, evolutions. Nevertheless, they prove that the citizens can easily bear the burden of expenditure involved by immediately necessary improvements and by planning all future improvements in such a way as to fall into line with a general program for city development within thirty years. An encouraging feature is that the commission itself, instead of merely commissioning two distinguished city planners to make a report and then going to sleep, evidently is studying the details of their proposals through committees on civic centers, finance, parks and playgrounds, railroads, streets, street fixtures, street transportation, waterways and zoning and housing.

Here, then, we have citizens of a community of about sixty thousand engaged in plans to cater for two-and-a-half times that many within thirty years; and in connection with this the usual anomalies occur—anomalies which perhaps have something to do with the failure of so many American cities to achieve their too grandiose plans. While such matters as the street system or street railways are discussed from the basis of actual knowledge, the forecast of the development of the city's industries and the growth of its population is entirely hazy. A chart showing the probable future growth of Joliet's population departs from the curve of that population's increase since 1880, and no reason is given for the expected rise. In view of the extremely uncertain situation of American industry at the present moment and the closing down of foreign markets for our industrial products which is likely to be further marked by higher tariffs, such a forecast would seem to require explanation, even though it might be justifiable to assume that the population will increase faster than at the average rate for the last thirty or forty years. The commission apparently takes the exceptional last five years or so and bases its rate of probable increase on that. And, having accomplished so much, the report continues taking the 160,000 population in thirty years not as an eventuality, not even as a more or less competent estimate, but as a certainty. By the time the reader gets to the last page of the report, it is insinuated by quotation from the report on a much larger city, and one totally different in character, that "contemporaneously with the growth of the population of a city there is a concurrent growth in its financial capacity," so that the cost of future improvements will take care of itself. But this statement is not true as a generalization; it depends entirely on the direction and nature of a city's growth whether its financial capacity will remain commensurate.

Frankly, what we should like to see some time is the report of a Joliet that does not want to become a Paris but a better Joliet; a Joliet not afraid to contemplate the possibility of slow growth though it may hope for rapid growth; a Joliet that plans even for the possibility of a period of checked industrial growth, so that at no time the city should be burdened by heavy debt; a Joliet willing, in short, to face real facts and probabilities as well as to nurture dreams. This does not mean that its plans will be less comprehensive—on the contrary, they will be more—or that it will be content to plan for a more immediate future—on the contrary, it will be the more alert to the danger of shortsightedness. It will do real planning and less guesswork.

Guild-Built Houses

FURTHER news of the character of public service rendered by English building guilds [see the SURVEY for Feburary 19] is given by G. D. H. Cole in the May number of the Journal of the American Institute of Architects. He quotes Stephen Easton, a master builder, in support of the contention that the guilds secure from the workers a more



BLOCK INTERIORS

An unusually suggestive article by Franz J. Herding on the treatment of block interiors is contained in a recent issue of The Park International. The plan reproduced above was made by Herd & Boyd for six city blocks in St. Louis. Only by treating a number of blocks as a unit is it possible to provide for all the social needs of the people that inhabit them. The plan provides for individual gardens and drying greens, an athletic field, playgrounds for children of different ages and common pleasure gardens. The garages are grouped together with a large common service court. By varying the building line, a wide shopping center and pleasant architectural vistas are obtained

willing response and a higher level of craftsmanship than are secured by private employers. Mr. Easton, in an address to master builders, said:

> One thing which the guilds have demonstrated is that many workmen on contract work are doing less than a half day's work for a full day's wage. It is boasted that on guild work a man will lay seven hundred to eight hundred bricks a day. On the other housing schemes the amount laid is less than half of that, and it is indeed a standing disgrace to the nation and to the trade concerned.

Construction work by guilds, says Mr. Cole, is in progress in seventeen important housing contracts for public authorities, and in addition they have entered contracts with private purchasers of homes. In spite of many handicaps, so far as comparison is possible they have kept the cost for these purchasers below that of construction by private contractors. But Mr. Cole's evidence on this point is somewhat slim, and it will be well to await more evidence before accepting that conclusion. The guilds do not include profits in their estimates, and when the cost comes below that anticipated, the person or municipality for whom the houses are built gets the benefit. On the other hand, security of employment is the main compensating advantage to the guild members, in addition, of course, to the great boon of self-government which, according to Mr. Cole, is the main cause of their undeniable success.

Necessary Preliminaries

THE first housing report of the Civic Development Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States deals necessarily with the preliminary work that must be done before a detailed national policy can be framed. That it is looking toward such a policy is clear from its concern with questions of home construction and finance which are always with us rather than with the immediate problem of meeting an acute house shortage. Moreover, it takes safe ground in recommending to the affiliated bodies local studies on the basis of building statistics and surveys rather than giving them generalized and therefore vague precepts for community action. The following questions, more particularly, are recommended for local investigation:

> What types of dwellings should be encouraged?
>
> Should land values be concentrated in a small area or should they be spread more evenly throughout the community and stabilized by distributing centers of employment and by the adoption of zoning regulations?
>
> Should all effort be confined to securing the erection of houses immediately, or should some thought be given to their future maintenance?
>
> If it is decided to organize a house-building company, should this company build to sell, to own and rent, or to manage on a mutual basis?

Three plans of procedure are submitted for inquiry and study because they have worked in a number of American cities: the organization of a financing corporation to make loans to local builders; pressure upon local industries to erect houses for their employes; the organization of a community housing corporation, either by a group of industries intent on housing their own employes or by public spirited citizens generally. From a study of 57 housing and house financing companies, the department finds that 46 have secured their capital by subscription from individuals, 4 in part from banks, insurance companies and like concerns, and one from the parent company. Building and loan associations are mentioned among possible sources of capital; but it is notorious that in practice these societies will only lend to individual builders, not to community organizations and corporations. Again, government aid is mentioned probably more as a subject for further study and recommendation than as a source to be counted on in the near future.

One of the main difficulties, of course, is that all classes of potential investors hold back in the belief or hope that building costs will shortly decrease. While the report does not encourage such belief, it strongly recommends local conferences of all interested parties to arrive, if possible, at agreement on measures that will have that much desired effect. Equal emphasis is rightly laid on the need to consider quality as well as cost; and the suggestion is made that by prize competitions, by fostering professional codes of ethics, by revision of building and housing codes, and by provision for good management after construction, the character of the homes in the community be gradually improved. Finally, it is pointed out that a good and cheap and plentiful supply of houses does not suffice to ensure a permanent maintenance of desirable homes, but that the environment and the planning of the community as a unit are also important:

> A well planned city not only makes better provision for its housing than does one which grows haphazard, but it greatly increases the security of housing investment by minimizing the likelihood of areas being blighted through the introduction of incongruous developments. This stabilization of values is increased by zoning regulations which determine the use, height and lot occupancy of buildings permitted in any given district.

Thrift and Business

EVERYONE will remember the little boxes in the form of houses, once fashionable mantlepiece decorations, which received the small earnings or savings of their proud juvenile possessors through a slit in the roof. Alas, they no longer represent much of a reality in the business of housing finance; for, as a number of witnesses last week told the shocked members of the Lockwood Committee, in New York, the hundreds of millions of dollars deposited annually in savings banks rarely find their way into the hands of builders. Although the Savings Banks Association had appealed for a change in the state law to make possible the investment of their funds in building loans, nevertheless they had made no such loans since that amendment went into effect.

The hearing was for the purpose of bringing out why savings institutions, so far from investing their trust funds in building, often force borrowers to take property, sometimes undesirable, as a condition of making the loans. The president of one of the seven institutions represented frankly admitted that, finding it more profitable to place its funds elsewhere, the bank tried to get rid of all its real estate holdings by making the bank's borrowers purchase them. An officer of a bank with $156,000,000 in deposits so far rejected all idea of responsibility for the general welfare as to boast: "Our main idea is to get rid of the property, not to stimulate building." Thus the very institutions traditionally looked upon as stabilizers of property values are undermining the public confidence that makes the accumulation of savings psychologically possible.

Out of the Pit

SOCIAL reformers in Pittsburgh have had stony ground to hoe; but they have arrived. Here is the Gazette-Times, the well-known bramble among the stones, waking up, apropos the recent national city planning conference in the city, to what this uplift business is all about. It says:

> The mass of the people, though they realize that they are the source of all governmental power and that in the end they can control every public act and activity, are very hard to stir out of their confirmed complacency. Often they affect to despise the "professional uplifter" and the amateur promoter of public advancement who din their theories into their ears at all seasons. But without these, how would we ever get things done? Somebody must perceive the necessities of communities and conceive the steps to be taken to realize them.

"Great stuff that!" a prominent citizen of Pittsburgh writes to the SURVEY. "After all, it's not the ninety-and-nine we are to be overly anxious about; it's the one lost sheep, and here he is just out of the pit."

THE SURVEY



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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION—John B. Andrews, sec'y.; 131 E. 23rd St., New York. For adequate public employment service; industrial safety and health laws; workmen's compensation; unemployment, old age and health insurance; maternity protection; one day's rest in seven; efficient law enforcement. Publishes quarterly, "The American Labor Legislation Review."

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Organization of Social Forces—Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis.
Uniting of Native and Foreign-Born in America—Grace Abbot, Chicago.

It is the delivered price of anthracite that interests the consumer, and recognition should therefore be had of the increases in freight rates on coal. Increases of 25 per cent in June 1918 and of 40 per cent in August 1920 in freight rates have had much to do with the price the householder pays for his fuel.

Editor, Coal Age. C. E. LESHER.

II.

THE following statement, which I released on May 4, relates to the wages now being paid in the mining industry:

> There will be no reduction of wages in the organized sections of the coal mining industry. The mine workers are now working under a scale of wages fixed by the United States Bituminous Coal Commission, created by the President and which functioned under governmental authority. These wage schedules were written into an agreement between miners and operators which will not terminate until March 31, 1922. There can be no modification or abrogation of this agreement in any coal producing district without disturbing the integrity of the contract throughout the entire nation. The United Mine Workers will resist any attempt to disturb the equanimity of its present contractual relations. The present acute depression in the mining industry, with consequent widespread unemployment and distress among the mine workers, is not in any way attributable to the wage schedules now in effect. Production costs at the present time are such as to enable coal to be produced and furnished the consuming public at a price relatively lower than any other basic or essential commodity. Users of coal should not delay purchase upon the theory or with the hope that any reduction of wages will be accepted by the mine workers. Statements to the contrary have no basis in fact.

In this statement I did not in any way defend the present market prices of either anthracite or bituminous coal. I simply undertook to point out that there will be no change in the labor costs of producing coal under the present wage agreements which will expire next year. It is also true that in no previous statement have I undertaken in any way to justify the prices being charged by the coal operators. It is my opinion that coal can be produced, under the present wage agreements in the coal industry, with a fair margin of profit to the coal operator, and still be furnished to the consuming public at a price that is relatively fair in comparison with other essential commodities. It is quite true that during the year 1920 many operators deliberately filched excessive profits from the pockets of consumers, which has justified in a large way the severe criticisms which have been directed against the coal producers. In so far as is possible, I have been trying to convince coal consumers that the wages paid for mine labor are in no wise responsible for these reprehensible practices. It seems to me that the future price of coal will depend, to a considerable degree, upon the attitude of the consuming public. Production in the bituminous fields now approximates 40 or 45 per cent of the normal output. Should this condition continue and users of coal continue to withhold purchase it will naturally result in a later demand when the railroads are unable to transport the requisite tonnage. Such condition will naturally tend to create a runaway market, which will be intensified by the activities of unscrupulous producers. Under such circumstances, one can easily imagine a repetition of prices which prevailed during the skyrocketing period of 1920.

As affecting your own coal supply, [in reply to a question from the editor] I do not know any reason why your coal should now be $1.35 more a ton than it was in August of last year, unless such amount should be accounted for in the percentage increase on freight rates. Neither will I attempt to justify an increase of $3 a ton since April of 1920.

President, United Mine Workers of America. JOHN L. LEWIS.

The Sacco-Vanzetti Case

DURING the period when the recent crime wave was sweeping over the country, many bold hold-ups, robberies, and murders occurred. The majority of the cases were of the sordid type which might be expected in a time of lawlessness and happily they soon passed from public attention and memory. But there were two of these occurrences which will not and ought not soon be forgotten, because of the grave doubts which have been raised regarding them and the consequent importance which they have achieved in public opinion.

On December 24, 1919, an armed attack occurred at Bridgewater, Mass. The L. Q. White Shoe Company's pay truck was on its route from the bank to the shoe factory with $33,000. Two bandits ran out of a side street, fired at the occupants of the truck; shots were returned; the truck and its drivers escaped and the robbers fled in an automobile. Bartolomeo Vanzetti was charged with attempted murder and robbery in connection with the case. He has been convicted and is now undergoing a second trial.

Another and more tragic hold-up occurred at South Braintree, Mass., on April 15, 1920. Again it was an attack upon a payroll. This time two men carrying $18,000, belonging to the Slater and Morril plant, were fired upon, fell, and the robbers escaped with the money. Nicola Sacco was arrested and charged with murder in connection with this occurrence. After a preliminary examination, he was put in the Dedham jail. Vanzetti is also under similar indictment in connection with this hold-up.

The cases of these two men are of more than common or local interest. To a certain extent they are like the cases of Ettor and Giovanitti. They symbolize the struggles and sufferings of the foreign radical. Like Mooney, their trials have become a test of American processes of justice. They are of international importance, for a question has been raised in the Italian Chamber of Deputies regarding the plight of these men. Italian clubs in Rome, Washington, and Boston are working assiduously in their behalf. The Italian consul in Boston told the writer that he and his office were doing all in their power to collect data relative to the case and to facilitate in every way possible the course of true justice.

The New England Civil Liberties Committee and the League for Democratic Control in Boston have held public meetings and have made appeals for funds with which to secure adequate defence. Many labor bodies have also taken up the case, have made pronouncements upon it, and have urged support of defence committees.

Vanzetti has been connected for a long time with the struggle of labor to obtain a higher status. His personal history is typical of the many Italians who come to America as young men, poor, but hopeful of finding here a new and better world. He found work in unhealthful shops in large cities amid dirt and squalor, and received inconceivably low wages. He suffered from unemployment, became ill, wandered about from city to city picking up whatever job he could find. His experience, as can readily be imagined, was a tremendous disillusionment. It illustrates the truth of the saying that the immigrant "does not live *in* America but *under* America." He became a radical and began helping in the work of organizing labor. He obtained a job with the Cordage Company at Plymouth, Mass., and was active in bringing about the big walkout there in 1916. After the strike was over and an increase in wages was secured by the workers, Vanzetti was not reemployed at Plymouth, but started work for himself as a fish vendor—a fact which is important to remember in relation to his trial.

Vanzetti is a man of considerable education, of deep and sometimes poetic feeling. Some of those who have interviewed him in prison are deeply impressed with his character and are

firmly convinced that he is not of the class from which thugs and robbers come. They believe him to be a man of personal integrity and high purpose.

After leaving the Cordage Company Vanzetti continued his work with labor circles. At the time of his arrest he was active in work for the defence of Andrea Salsedo, and was in the midst of organizing a meeting in this man's behalf. Just before this date, however, Salsedo's tragic and famous death occurred in New York. (Salsedo was a radical who had been held in the offices of the Department of Justice on the fourteenth floor of Park Row Building without trial. He fell from a window May 3, 1920, and was crushed to death.)

Vanzetti and Sacco were arrested May 5, 1920. The question naturally arises as to the murder charge against them. Is it the culmination of prejudice, bitterness and hysteria against foreign "Reds"? Is it an endeavor to railroad innocent men to death because they are radicals? It is the persistent belief on the part of many that this is the case. It is this belief which makes the trial of supreme importance and makes it necessary to establish complete justice beyond all doubt.

It is apparent from the preliminary examinations that the police were interested in the social philosophy of both of these men, and that they were carefully interrogated regarding their radical views. This fact explains one of the apparent weaknesses of the defence of Vanzetti. He was not placed on the witness stand in his own defence—a fact which in law does not prejudice a case, but which in practice does greatly prejudice a jury. If the man charged with crime is innocent, why should he not appear? Why should he fear the cross-examinations of the prosecution, if he is loud in his protestation of innocence?

Vanzetti was not placed on the stand to witness in his own behalf because, it is alleged, the defence feared an examination of his views regarding society. Being a foreigner and generally known to be a radical, he was under a tremendous handicap. A discussion of radicalism at the trial would increase this handicap and would inevitably produce a prejudice in the mind of the average jury which would be selected in New England mill towns at the present time.

Vanzetti was convicted of having taken part in the hold-up at Bridgewater and he was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment.

Against Vanzetti there were five chief identifying witnesses—three are confidential employes of the L. Q. White Company whose truck was held up, one being also a constable of the town. One is a boy of fourteen, and one is a woman. Some of them have received a reward for the conviction. It is a striking fact that nearly all the witnesses for the prosecution gave evidence which was uncertain, unreliable, or changed. During the preliminary examination, statements were made about the man who fired shots—for instance, about such details as height, kind of mustache and cap, and other descriptions, which were changed at the trial. There are several facts testified to in the trial regarding which the witnesses had to confess that they had received information after the event. An absurd part of the evidence relates to the statement of the boy who could tell that the men were foreigners by the way in which they ran. The woman testified to having seen fire coming from the gun. She was standing at the railroad station a hundred yards or more away. But as a matter of fact, a large house intervenes between the station and the place where the shooting was heard so that it was a physical impossibility for her to have seen what she testified to having seen.

There are points in the prosecution's case which were not adequately explained by the defense: for instance the finding of shot gun shells in Vanzetti's coat pocket.

But the defense rested its whole case in the testimony of eighteen witnesses from Plymouth who accounted for Vanzetti's whereabouts during the day of the attack upon the L. Q. White truck. It will be remembered that Vanzetti was at this time a fish vendor. Many Italians were produced at the trial who swore to purchasing eels from him at the time when Vanzetti was supposed to have been in Bridgewater, twenty-eight miles away.

Eels! Aye, there's the rub. Everybody purchased eels, and on December 24, the day before Christmas! That sounds fishy, especially to a jury of average American citizens. Wasn't it a frameup among the Italians to defend one of their fellows?

The story of these Italians was simple, straightforward, and remains to this day unshaken. It is a fact that it is an Italian custom to eat eels on the day before Christmas, a Catholic fast day, much as it is an American custom to eat turkey on Thanksgiving Day. The prosecution did not disprove the story of the eels. But it did manage by indirect reference to introduce several allusions to Vanzetti's radical views. And the jury finally returned a verdict of guilty.

The name of Nicola Sacco is linked with that of Vanzetti in the second of the two hold-ups mentioned above; the charge being that of robbery and murder of the guard and paymaster of the Slater and Morril Shoe Company at South Braintree, Mass. Sacco has also been active in the labor struggle. He has been associated with many of the prominent strikes of recent times in New England, and was arrested for utterances at Milford in 1916 in connection with a protest meeting. Sacco is married, is a workman of exceptional ability, has received excellent wages, and has a brother who is mayor of an Italian city. He is well educated, and, as in the case of Vanzetti, many who have visited him in jail are convinced that he is not a common highwayman, and that he would not have descended to such sordid and despicable acts as those with which he is charged.

At the preliminary hearing, there seems to have been no one who could give a positive identification of Sacco as the person who attacked the paymaster and guard. Two women looked from an upper story of the Slater and Morril's shop which was at a considerable distance from the crime. The women caught only fleeting glances of the bandits in their automobile as they were making their escape. They admitted that they might be mistaken or that they could not say positively that Sacco was the man. Mr. Wade, also of the same shop, said that he might be mistaken in his identification. Their evidence also conflicted as to the description of the man. Workers who were located in shops looking directly upon the scene of the hold-up could not identify Sacco as the bandit. Here, as in the Bridgewater case, witnesses were employes in the factory of the business concern which was directly affected.

Vanzetti was secretly indicted a long time after Sacco's commitment to jail and was bound over on a charge of murder without a preliminary hearing. The trial of both men is now on at Dedham, Mass. New lawyers have been engaged for the defense, and they have had ample time for preparing their case.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

LOVE AND MIGHT

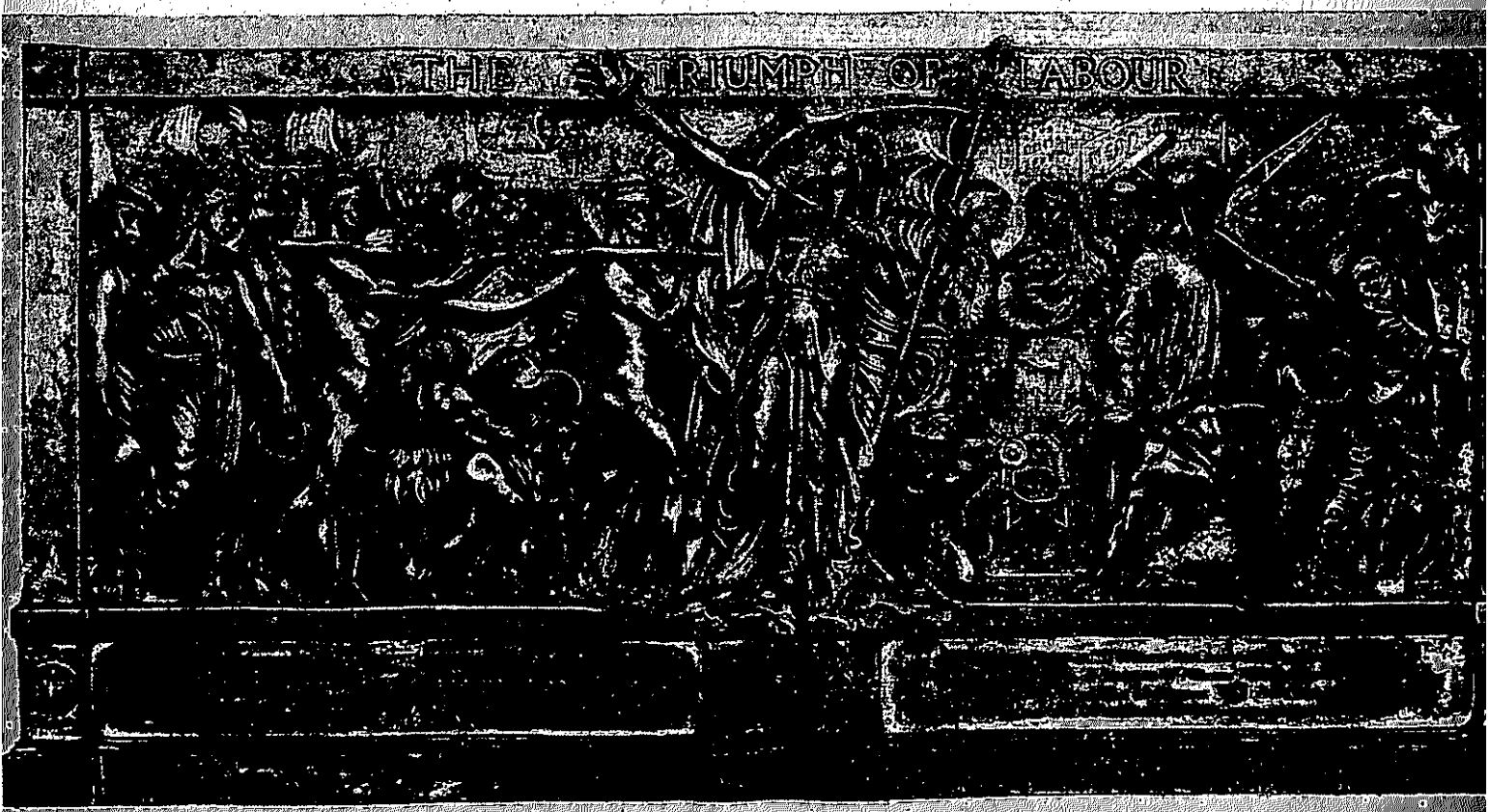
MIGHT flies its flag upon life's battlement,
Yet in its conquest knows its worst defeat;
It can but break, not bend; its fiercest heat
To melt the unwon soul is impotent.
But Love—her gifts rejected, labour spent
For nought—uplifted, sensing still the beat
Of all life's music, sure no power can cheat
Her final triumph, smiles and is content.

R. N. in The Commonwealth.

THE SURVEY

The Business of Lecturing

Gregory Zilboorg



TABLET PRESENTED TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR BY THE BRITISH DELEGATES TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONGRESS

Charity Edifieth . . . . . *Marion Clinch Calkins*

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BOOKS on SOCIAL THEORY and PRACTICE

OUR SOCIAL HERITAGE

By Graham Wallas. Yale University Press. 307 pp. Price, $3.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $3.20.

Our Social Heritage is a footnote to The Great Society which appeared seven years ago. It carries further the important study of Human Nature in Politics with which Graham Wallas's name has been associated, since his book with that title appeared in 1908. The author's administrative experience of sixteen years on the London School Board and County Council has enriched his academic studies; and his concentration for so long a period on the problem of how to make government more useful to man is bearing fruit. Our social heritage is that part of our "nurture," as distinct from our "nature," which consists of "the knowledge, expedients and habits which were originally the personal acquisition of individuals, but which have been afterwards handed down from one generation to another by the social process of teaching and learning." Social inheritance is essential to mankind only; and perhaps only to the more important and progressive varieties of the race. We have become biologically more fitted to live with the help of our social heritage and less fitted to live without it. We are biologically parasites upon our social heritage.

Each generation, if it is to live happily and harmoniously, or even is to avoid acute suffering, must adapt to its present needs the social heritage which it received from the preceding generation. This study is a contribution to such a process of adaptation. The most interesting part of it is the scrutiny of professionalism as it actually works in the law, in medicine, in the army, and in education. Evidently it works badly. Lawyers are not necessarily more consciously selfish than other men, but law reform and adaptation are thwarted because "the lawyer surrenders himself as completely to his hatred of the 'faddists' and 'bounders' who propose change, as a dog does to the sensation of fear." In some respects the professional spirit of the doctors in England is much better than that of the lawyers. The science of medicine is transformed every decade. But the instinctive shrinking of every profession from the effort of rehabituation, combined with a narrow calculation and individual advantage, prevents the community from receiving the full benefit of that transformation. That sounds like inoffensive generalization, but what Mr. Wallas says about the practitioner before he finishes is much more concrete and damaging. As to his own profession, the author finds that "teachers, like bricklayers, cling with passionate loyalty to their existing methods of work; they personify the subjects or groups of subjects which they teach and the institutions in which they teach, and stimulate with regard to them their primitive instincts of corporate defense." Professionalism in the army is even more dangerous. Modern applied science has made a civilian population, however numerous and united, absolutely helpless in actual fighting against even a small body of trained and equipped soldiers. According to the Morning Post, it was the army which killed the Home Rule bill in 1914.

Graham Wallas's idea is that the permanent interests of mankind are deeply concerned with the character of the professional organization of soldiers, lawyers, doctors and teachers. His closing chapter on the church will offend those who believe in sacramental religion, but his study of the effect of the growth of "sacramental guild feeling" is instructive, and no one can object to his main plea, which is for a "personal effort of clear thought and frank speech on religious questions." EDWARD T. DEVINE.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN ILLINOIS

By Seba Eldridge. W. M. Shimmin & Co., Rockford, Ill. 110 pp. Price, $1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.60.

Professor Eldridge has brought together in this little volume a series of articles published first in the Rockford Republic. To the articles is prefaced a series of recommendations to the state legislature which was in session during the winter. His program contains eight sections dealing respectively with: (1) provision for the care of the feeble-minded; (2) changes in our law dealing with the care of dependent children; (3) state supervision over the probation service both juvenile and adult; (Here Professor Eldridge falls into a strange error. His attention has evidently not been called to the famous "Witter case," 256 Illinois 616, in which the Supreme Court held that probation officers, being members of the staff of the court, could not under the doctrine of separation of powers be selected other than by the court. He likewise recommends certain legislation dealing with jails and especially with the care of women and girl offenders.) (4) educational needs; (5) various amendments to the public health laws; (6) industrial legislation, including amendments to the child labor law and the ten-hour law and the enactment of a minimum-wage law; (7) housing legislation; and (8) the creation of a more efficient scheme of local government in the state.

Professor Eldridge's idea that the social policy of the legislature is something for the common man in the common round of daily interests is a sound idea. But he has attempted a very extensive review and has included under the word "social" not only problems of distress, poverty, delinquency and disability, but fields belonging to other groups, in which special intelligence and technique are required. It seems to the reviewer not only useless but positively harmful to attempt to wipe out such distinctions. Moreover, such an extensive view must be superficial. One must sacrifice the detail in a "bird's eye" view; but such details as raising the educational requirement for working children when only the fifth grade is now required, or developing a boarding out system instead of the present reliance on institutional provision for dependent children, or universal provision for mothers in child-birth, and other items of this character are details whose absence prevent the program from being taken very seriously. Such a comprehensive program might be drawn up, but it would not be on the basis of Professor Eldridge's bibliography; nor, when it had been drawn up, would such a bibliography seem possible. There would be *some*, although unintentional, reference to some of the careful studies that other students have taken the trouble to make in *some* of these fields with special reference to Illinois.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE.

WILLIAM MORRIS AND THE EARLY DAYS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

By J. Bruce Glasier. Longmans, Green & Co. 205 pp. Two portraits. Price, $2.25; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.40.

Bruce Glasier, who recently died after a protracted illness, was for many years editor of the Labor Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party, and one of the most popular figures in the British labor movement. He had the rare good fortune of being able, when he saw death approaching, to complete three books which had been laid aside during an exceptionally strenuous career. His memoirs of William Morris, nevertheless, are written with no sign of haste but rather in a spirit of serenity that gives them a literary quality of the highest order. It is indeed an admirable portrait that will explain much in the character of Morris which Mackail's biography has left difficult to understand. Incidentally it is also one of the very few books so far published that throw light on the origins of the Socialist movement in England and Scotland, the dissensions that arose and the psychological environment in which it developed. It is always personal reminiscence and tinged with humor.

One is tempted to quote many passages of insight and sympathetic interpretation of the human element in those happenings, near in years but remote dynamically when held up against the present position of socialist labor organization in Great Britain and the world over. English socialism has essentially remained what William Morris and his friends made it; fellowship and ethical considerations still form the connecting link of a movement which, though economic and political in aim, is primarily socio-idealistic. Morris admitted that he could not read Marx's Capital and was not interested in the literature of economics beyond such generalized statements as Ruskin's Unto This Last. He was a Puritan in taste and morals, notwith-

standing his enjoyment of good times and sensitiveness to beauty; he was, as Glasier points out, the first English writer to preach the dignity of manual labor, not condescendingly from above but addressing his comrades sincerely as a fellow worker. Mr. Glasier has omitted no traits from his portrait that could help establish its identity; withal he has created a work of lasting beauty, as creditable to the nobility of his own mind as to that of the hero he worshipped above all others. B. L.

TABOO AND GENETICS

By M. M. Knight, Iva Lowther Peters and Phyllis Blanchard. Moffat, Yard and Company. 301 pp. Price, $3.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $3.15.

A "taboo" is a "no trespassing" sign or warning. All well regulated communities have them; the more completely regulated the community, the more such signs appear. Germany was regulated to death; *verboten* to destruction. All well organized institutions have them. Marriage is almost completely surrounded by them. Sex has been under a "conspiracy of silence." Children have been told lies about the origins and nature of life. Young men and women have gone into marriage in rapturous ignorance, or in possession of mazes of knowledge most of which was false. One of the most unimpeachable facts of our times is that marriage is being discredited and the family destroyed by the taboos of ignorance and superstition that have surrounded them.

This book breaks with ignorance and superstition. Dr. Knight undertakes to state the problems of sex in terms of modern biological knowledge. Dr. Peters traces the origins of these institutionalized sex taboos and shows how baseless they are in biological fact, or psychological necessity, and how much harm they are now doing, however valuable they may once have been in more primitive times. And finally, Dr. Blanchard gives a constructive statement of the problem of sex in the light of the facts of modern psychology. All these discussions are straightforward, balanced, judicious. They strip off the wrappings of tradition, superstition, falsehood; they leave the body of truth standing out clean, desirable, beautiful, though incomplete as yet. There will be renewed hope for the family and marriage when men and women face the facts of life, honestly and decently, as these writers have done, and when knowledge like this takes the place of old ignorances and superstitions in the education of the young. Let scientific understanding take the place of taboos in the control of the destiny of the race! J. K. H.

YE OLDEN BLUE LAWS

By Gustavus Myers. Century Co. 274 pp. Price, $2.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.20.

The defenders of personal liberty in their attacks on prohibition always seem to forget that this change in the American constitution was arrived at by a complicated process of voting in which the citizens had more than one opportunity to stop anything being "put over" on them, and in which they were acting with a full knowledge of how that measure worked or had worked in many states. The comparison between the dictatorship of privileged classes in Puritan times with the power of the churches and affiliated groups today, therefore, is without basis of fact. Moreover, Mr. Myers, quite as much as the eulogists of the Pilgrim Fathers whom he justly criticises on that ground, attributes to these responsibility for attitudes and actions that were not original with them at all, but imported from England where they had arisen from well known historical causes.

In spite of these defects which unfortunately color the whole book, Mr. Myers has accomplished a worth-while task in reminding us of the futility, and worse, of the many restrictions of personal liberty, which afflicted the pioneers and which the American people have not yet quite outgrown. His description of the present campaign against tobacco, for instance, set against that background, illustrates how little we have learned from past experience. The ban on theatrical entertainments in Pennsylvania is so recent as to come almost within living memory; yet in relation to the motion picture, the advocates of state censorship show practically the same lack of discrimination between socially injurious and socially desirable forms of entertainment which rendered the outcome of the stage's fight for freedom a foregone conclusion. The difficult lesson which the American people evidently have yet to learn is that any tests of the need for legislative restriction on the liberties of the people, to be effective, beneficial and lasting, must rest on the basis of ascertainable social effect, and not on that of preconceived moral judgments. Moreover, society has become more complex, and any lumping of restrictions for all ages and groups is bound to result in hardship, inability to enforce, and eventual breakdown of laws and regulations. Complete absence of regulation on such matters as amusements, habits and customs is no more a solution of the problem than a harsh, uniform and unalterable regulation imposed on all. B. L.

COMMUNITY CIVICS

By Edgar W. Ames and Arvie Eldred. Macmillan Co. 387 pp. Price, $1.48; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.63.

The old, much hated, formal civics has been superseded, for some time, by volumes of marked improvement, but to our knowledge nothing has appeared which is so thoroughly adapted to the psychology of the seventh or eighth grade as the present book.

The authors assume that it is the business of a text to arouse the student's interest and involve him in questions of his own asking. They therefore begin in easy narrative style with The Beginning of a Community and the development of the various functions of government. From this the student is drawn by logical sequence and with the help of searching questions regarding his own community into an analytic attitude which prepares him for handling the closing chapters on governmental forms and the terms of the constitution. The realistic and dramatic quality of community life it not submerged, yet there is no soft pedagogy or "talking down" to beginners. The narrative, anecdotes and pictures are not in the nature of a sugar coating, but are pithy stimulating introductions to vital problems.

It is a pleasure to notice the erasure of the artificial boundaries between economics, history, sociology, ethics and civics. The historical approach is used throughout the book, and the economic background of civic development is not forgotten. The patriotism which the book unobtrusively emphasizes is not that of empty boasting but rather that of the citizen who appreciates his country's vivid history, recognizes its present problems, understands his own rights and admits his own responsibilities.

A. E. MORRY.

A PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

By E. J. Urwick. New Edition. Methuen & Co., London. 244 pp. Price $3.00; by mail of the SURVEY $3.15.

In a new introduction to this book, first published in 1912, Professor Urwick draws new evidence from recent world happenings for his thesis that "the prevision of social changes is impossible." If his teaching were adopted, the motive and method of social science would be reduced to absurdity. But, more than this, if the interpretation of social facts and deductions from it are hopelessly falsified by the "elements of unanalyzed bias," then it is very difficult to maintain that any other science is not similarly affected. For, if unconscious impulses "determine action at all the critical moments of life," they certainly determine also physical and biological discoveries, for instance, and all measurements. Until about sixty years ago, a great majority of educated people thought the history of the human race limited both in origins and destinies. What Mr. Urwick calls the "life-motives in the individual and the group" until a few years ago maintained what should have been obvious misconceptions of time and space. In fact, the whole history of human knowledge would seem to show that a recognition of the laws governing social conduct is no more influenced by prejudice than that of other natural laws.

Another curious anomaly in Mr. Urwick's thinking is that, instead of allowing for the imponderable elements in human conduct and trying to arrive at general fact conclusions in spite of them, deducing probable trends of social progress from a comparison and analysis of recorded typical mental processes in individuals and groups, he assumes an altogether intangible social goal—one certainly not held by the masses—and measures against this the processes of human evolution. This goal is not happiness or the creation of a superior type but the self-development of the individual. If Mr. Urwick took more seriously the findings of modern psychology, he would have to recognize that this self-development is a by-product rather than the ultimate ideal of individual striving; but with acceptance of that fact his whole social theory would fall to the ground.

B. L.

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NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION—Anna A. Gordon, president. Headquarters, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. To secure effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, to advance the welfare of the American people through the departments of Child Welfare, Social Morality, Scientific Temperance Instruction, Americanization, and other allied fields of endeavor. Official publication, "The Union Signal," published at Headquarters.

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Welfare Federations

IV.

The National Agencies: General Considerations

By Edward T. Devine

NATIONAL agencies for the promotion of social welfare have a common, although not altogether identical, interest in the federation movement. The very term "national agencies" covers activities which differ not only, like the local agencies, in their specific aims, but, even more widely than the local agencies, in their form of organization and its relation to their means of financial support. The American Red Cross has its annual roll call in which it desires to enlist as nearly as possible the whole body of American citizens. The National Tuberculosis Association has its seal sale, through which it desires to reach all the people in order to keep alive their interest in the crusade against the white plague. The Boy Scouts have a program in which they wish to enlist all boys of appropriate age.

The Y. M. C. A. has perhaps the hardest question to settle in connection with federation. It is national and international, but its local branches are largely autonomous. It is Protestant and evangelical but not sectarian. It is educational, recreational, and religious. Although difficult to classify, there is no doubt of its eligibility to membership in a federation of social agencies. The difficulty arises in another direction and is typical. The association has a large and loyal constituency. It has critics also, but that is another story and has nothing to do with the present one except that hostility to any one agency may sometimes be so strong as to become an appreciable factor in the general financial campaign. These loyal constituents of the Y. M. C. A. provide not only current funds but new buildings and equipment. They are beginning to leave legacies. Probably the association is a beneficiary in many wills already drawn, but subject to change while the testators live. Can the Y. M. C. A. afford to see this constituency transferred to a federation of all the social agencies, secular and religious, Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic? Even if the federation furnishes the amount required for present annual needs, is there any assurance of permanency? Is there a suitable margin for growth? Is there not a certainty of loss if the intense personal loyalty to the association is merged in a more vague and diffused interest in the community? These are serious considerations. They may arise in the case of other agencies but they have in fact arisen most persistently and have found most articulate expression in the case of the association.

There are none who have seen more clearly than the general secretaries of the Y. M. C. A. in the cities which, like Cleveland and Detroit, have had most experience with joint financial campaigns, that such considerations are relics of an institutional partisanship, of a sectarian provincial view. The institution exists to foster the general good. It should defend its claims in a reasonable, fair, and public presentation, and in comparison with claims for support from other agencies which also exist for the good of society. When the institution becomes the end instead of the instrument, the final instead of the intermediate object of loyalty, devotion and enthusiasm, it defeats its end. Associations for civic, religious, and charitable purposes above all others need to keep clearly before their members that individual welfare and the common welfare are their only excuse for being. They must therefore confer together and work together in the interests of individuals and the interests of the common good; else they will waste their resources and may even thwart other and perhaps better projects than their own. If there is a conflict of loyalties, the larger loyalty, the one which subordinates the particular institution or agency to the central idea of a high standard of life in the community as a whole, must prevail.

The National Consumers' League and the National Child Labor Committee present more simply one of the problems which will have to be faced if the local welfare federations are to continue to occupy the strong position which they have attained in a few cities and if the movement is to become general. These two and several other national associations are dealing with controversial subjects. The evils which they attack have apologists and defenders. The reforms which they advocate cannot be carried through without angry opposition. They are obliged to insist on the duty of the state to protect certain workers from practices which are profitable to individual employers, and even to parents. Their programs may run counter to the general philosophy of some very good citizens who have no selfish private interest at stake. Of course, these two bodies do not have identical programs and either or both of them may include in their activities certain objects which are generally popular. The Y. W. C. A. has also of late attracted to itself the enviable kind of hostility to which I refer and might equally be chosen to point the issue.

Are the welfare federations to regard themselves as representing only the majority sentiment in deciding which organizations are to be included in their plans for the joint raising of funds or should they make provision also for organizations which in the nature of the case would be supported only by a minority? The question may equally arise in connection with some local agencies—as it did in Cincinnati during the war in connection with an Americanization house whose head worker was of foreign birth and was for this reason, in the rather absurd opinion of some possible contributors, disqualified to teach Americanization. The Council of Social Agencies after investigation held that the work of the settlement was such as to justify including it; but in the more famous case of the Social Unit, the council decided for exclusion, having ample evidence that to include it would endanger the whole campaign of the welfare agencies.

It would seem as if the only basis on which Jewish, Catholic or Protestant institutions of social welfare can be assured of permanent support in any plan of community organization is that under which all recognized forms of social work are included. If religious differences can thus be reconciled for purposes of a joint appeal for philanthropic activities—and experience has shown that this is quite possible—why should permanent unity of community endeavor be threatened by differences on economic or industrial questions? If any agen-

The last of a series of four articles on Welfare Federations. The first, How Not to Do It: Philadelphia, appeared in the SURVEY for May 14; the second, The Spirit of the Mid-West: Louisville, in the SURVEY for May 28; the third, Where It Works: Cleveland and Detroit, in the SURVEY for June 18.

cies are excluded for such reasons, they will feel compelled not only to make their appeal independently but to give as a reason for seeking independent support that the local federation, or the controlling element in it, is opposed to their program. This might from the point of view of an aggressive propagandist body become an actual asset. It might advertise their cause, and give it a hearing. From the point of view of those who believe that there is a common civic concern for the social welfare to which appeal can always be made, which needs only to be enlightened, informed, aroused, and self-directed when thus alert and informed, it would seem to be unfortunate.

Organizations that have legislative programs, and indeed all that aim to modify public opinion, have need of members, of a constituency, as well as of money. In the case of the Red Cross the Cleveland Welfare Federation adopted the plan of enrolling all contributors in that body, considering the first dollar as given for Red Cross membership. This may have corresponded fairly well to the wishes of contributors at the time when the first joint appeal which included the Red Cross was made; but it is obviously arbitrary and indefensible whenever there are those who do not wish to belong to the Red Cross or who prefer that this particular contribution should be used for some other purpose—and it is evidently not applicable to other organizations. Some contributors give only one dollar; of five dollar gifts it is an arbitrary assignment of 20 per cent. The Cincinnati policy of encouraging designations—that is urging all contributors to specify to what agencies their gifts are to be applied and in what proportions—might solve this difficulty, provided each agency is supplied with a list of those who have thus expressed a desire to be regarded as contributing to its support, and provided contributors specify also the agencies which they do not wish to help.

An unofficial consensus of opinion on the part of the executives of a number of national social and civic agencies is found in a circular letter which at their request was sent by the National Information Bureau in April of this year to such of the federations as are members of the bureau. This was summarized in two resolutions:

> That a proposal be made to community funds and financial federations that these funds and federations undertake to educate their citizens as to the claim of national agencies for adequate local support.
>
> That these federations be asked (a) to leave the way open to national organizations having proper claims to get their own support with the federations' cordial cooperation; or (b) to include adequate support in their own budgets for such national organizations as make application therefor.

These propositions are evidently only a starting point for discussion. They seem to indicate that the national bodies now recognize that the welfare federations must be dealt with realistically as "going concerns." They recognize the wisdom if not the necessity of making a combined approach to the federations on a basis of good faith and seeking their cooperation. They imply an expectation that the spirit of those who are managing the community fund is as national as their own; that their public spirit is not exclusively local. This is gratifying and on the whole justified, in spite of the narrowness and abuse of power by local federations in a few well established instances.

The welfare federations have thus far adopted no uniform or general policy in the matter of including the national agencies. Some support local agencies exclusively and these usually include any local branches of national agencies which function in the community where the federation exists. Some federations, while not including the support of national agencies in their appeal, have drawn upon a reserve or undesignated fund to make a contribution which would obviate the unwelcome alternative of an appeal to their contributors. Still others have considered and passed upon the appeal of certain national bodies, and included them in their campaign on the same basis as if they were local agencies. In this case the local federation has to consider of course not only the merits of the cause, but also the question as to what part of the burden of supporting it can properly be apportioned to their own citizens. Still a different question arises when an enterprise, such as a southern school for Negroes or a western Indian mission, seeks support from a federation in a distant city but does not profess to be national in any other sense.

In deciding which national or non-resident agencies to include and for what amounts respectively, the welfare federations have naturally followed different procedures according to their own notions of propriety. They have sometimes allowed a local branch or affiliated body to include in its budget some allowance for the national body with which it is associated. They have sometimes, in the case of a national body which does not have a local branch, asked that there should be created some local group which could be held responsible for the use of funds raised by the federation and for cooperation in general. They have sometimes required that the national body should furnish evidence of local interest by first securing a certain sum of money or a list of members in the community, after which an application for inclusion in the common budget would be considered. Like the informal resolutions of the national executives, all this may be considered preliminary jockeying for position while the time for deciding on some plan for permanent cooperation is close at hand.

The National Child Labor Committee, like other agencies which see both the difficulties and the opportunities involved, has been giving this subject special attention. I quote some paragraphs from its acting membership secretary, suggesting a whole-hearted sort of cooperation which might take place between a welfare federation and a national organization which has no local chapters or committees:

> In general, our attitude toward them should be one of closest possible cooperation. The people of the city form their federation to avoid repeated appeals for money, and we should respect absolutely their attempt at efficient giving. We should approach the federations with the feeling that we can help them as well as with the hope that they will help us.
>
> It is very important, however, that we shall approach them, knowing that the time will come when the community budget system of giving will be generally accepted. We must recognize in doing this that "charity begins at home," and that our approach to them must necessarily be one of education along the line of responsibility for nation-wide social activities.
>
> Long before the local campaign begins we should present our case in writing to the board of directors of the federation. We should ask them for consideration when their budget is framed, and should accompany our request with a comprehensive statement of what our organization stands for, what it has accomplished and what it hopes to accomplish in the future. We should offer to send a staff representative, if necessary, to present our work and our plan for cooperating with the federation at the time of their campaign.
>
> If we want this sort of cooperation at all we should go into it thoroughly. We should have a representative on the ground during the entire week of the drive, presenting our work with the same sort of enthusiasm and efficiency that the local organizations are using. In my estimation the most important thing in this connection is that we should closely conform with the local methods of conducting the campaign. If the federation begins the drive with a parade, each local organization providing a float, we should have some sort of float. If during the whole week each local organization is given the opportunity to exhibit its work in the window of some store, we should have some sort of display, and we should make every possible attempt to make it as attractive and as inexpensive as possible.

> It seems to me the whole success of cooperation between the national organizations and local federations depends upon the contact during that week of the national social representative with the people in the local federation. If I were the staff representative I should want to do everything I possibly could to make the whole campaign successful, making speeches when called upon, working in the factories if they have an industrial day, working in the offices of the executives when necessary, and doing everything within my power to convince the local people that the national agencies are making no attempt to take from local charities what rightfully belongs there, but that they are hoping to broaden the whole scheme of business-like budget making and concentrated publicity to the extent that they can easily give a splendid appropriation to national work.
>
> All of this would take a great deal of time, but I feel certain that the results would warrant employing a staff member whose full time, during the season when appropriations are made and campaigns are waged, should be given to this work.

John R. Shillady of the National Consumers' League has expressed the opinion that the time is ripe for an analysis of the support of national agencies both by localties, looking to a spreading of support over larger areas, and by sources, individual, federation, and foundation. Such a study might include not only social and civic bodies but also educational and religious institutions. The movement for community trusts or foundations, such as already exist in many cities as a means of consolidating legacies and other individual gifts under a permanent community trust, and the plan for a uniform public trust for charitable purposes, have already attracted the lively, not to say alarmed interest of national and international bodies which have been accustomed to receive bequests from all parts of the country. There is an intimate relation of a psychological kind between plans for consolidating bequests in a fund which will benefit the community in whatever way a representative board of trustees from time to time may think most desirable, and the federation plan, under which current activities of social agencies are financed in the general interest of the community. In both cases there is a grave danger that national and world interests may be unduly subordinated to the community interests which are thus emphasized. In both instances the remedy is for those who have the national or world view—and they are apt to be found among the leaders in the community movements—to guard against this danger. Safety is not to be found in blind opposition to community organization, of which we have too little rather than too much. The national bodies may wisely seek to sink their roots deep in the fertile soil of local neighborhood responsibility which the federation movement is cultivating and watering and clearing of tares. The inquiry which Allen T. Burns is about to undertake for the National Investigation Bureau into the functioning of the national agencies in selected cities will give an early opportunity to open up certain aspects of their financial support.

I AM fully conscious of the omissions in this series, as I bring it to a close: and, dealing with so elusive and controversial a subject, I can hardly hope even that all its sins are of that class. I have not explained, for example, why my good friend Knowlton Mixer, who became secretary of the Federated Charities in Baltimore on his return from Red Cross service in France, remained for so short a time in that position. I do not know. I am reasonably sure, however, that the explanation that he was forced out arbitrarily by the Alliance of Charitable Agencies is far too simple to fit the facts. I have not dealt with the religious complications in Worcester. I have not gone into the serious grievances of the Associated Charities of Erie, Pa., in regard to the apparently arbitrary policies of the federation and community chest in that city. It is alleged that the federation—which in Erie was formerly a combination of givers but is now a federation of social agencies, mainly of the institutional type—has attempted to interfere very seriously with the proper organization and management of the work of the Associated Charities; that the federation has issued orders which the society has refused to carry out; that the federation has directed the society to lay off workers and forbidden it to make increases in salaries; that notwithstanding increased demands for relief caused by unemployment, the society's budget, approved months before, has been decreed to be unalterable. I have had no opportunity to investigate these charges on the ground and refer to them only to say that it is to be hoped that no federation will long endure which practices such "strong-arm" methods. Whether they have prevailed in Erie or not they are conceivable and are among the risks in any federation which assumes the financial function. The constituent bodies are not without their defenses, as the experience of Erie itself shows. Even those who find themselves in the minority, or standing alone, as exponents of ideas which they can defend, can always carry their appeal to the public. Federation creates a favorable atmosphere for entertaining such appeals.

Of the two outstanding types—a federation of givers and a federation of agencies—the latter is less likely to develop the big stick attitude; but no form of organization will afford complete security. Very much depends upon the standards and the spirit of the agencies which are federated. If their spirit is narrow and bourbon, if their morale is low, then the spirit and morale of any central body which they create—whether it be a council of social agencies or a federation exercising financial functions—will be likely to correspond. Fortunately, the managers and officers of the leading federations have been showing increasing appreciation of trained service, of adequate compensation for expert workers, of standards objectively measured and tested, of searching studies into the causes of poverty, of educational as distinct from palliative relief, of an aroused and enlightened public opinion as a constant support to the work of the social agencies. The federations should be judged by their success in attaining or approaching these and similar objectives, not alone or mainly by their success in raising money. The actual present form of organization of all the principal federations has been greatly influenced if not determined by accident—local and temporary—and it would be the height of folly for a new community to copy any such accidental features as for example the relation between the Community Union and the Community Fund in Detroit.

Dayton, O., has something to teach other cities in regard to the technique of publicity, as might be expected of the city of the National Cash Register and the airplane. The Dayton plan contemplates a trinity: financial federation; council of social agencies; and community council. Seven labor unions have joined the Bureau of Community Service, which is the name of the federation in Dayton. It is the "newspaper," however, published at intervals to inform the people about the work of the agencies, which most completely reflects the unique Dayton spirit.

St. Paul, Minn., has a "Community Chest Inc." which has some merits although its form of organization is one which can hardly be recommended to other cities. The report of the joint committee of the St. Paul Association and the Central Council of Welfare Agencies which led to the creation of the Community Chest stated the problem so convincingly that subsequent reports both in Philadelphia and in Denver adopted portions of it, the latter with due acknowledgement.

In St. Paul, as in Grand Rapids, the theory is that the

Community Chest should be equally representative of contributors and of the social service agencies. The theory is, however, differently applied. The St. Paul Association (chamber of commerce) elects six of thirteen managers, the social agencies six, and one is appointed by the mayor. It is not surprising that the Trades and Labor Assembly, when its president was elected to the board of managers, took up the question as to whether it should thus indirectly endorse the chest, and after an investigation by a special committee and several debates, decided by a divided vote to withhold endorsement. This meant not only that the president of the Trades and Labor Assembly must decline to serve on the board but also that the secretary should withdraw from the budget committee on which he had been serving for several months. The merits and demerits of federation of welfare agencies and of the chest plan of raising funds did not enter as a determining factor into this decision. The reason for the attitude of labor was that several members of the chest were active in the Citizens' Alliance which is conducting the "open shop" campaign. It would be extraordinary if a board of thirteen members, six of whom are chosen by a single commercial organization, even one as representative as the St. Paul Association, should be satisfactory to labor, especially in a time when there are such sharp conflicts of interests and views as are revealed by the present "open shop" movement. That the cooperation of labor was sought reflects credit on the managers of the chest. If it had been understood to be acting only for the agencies to be financed, the effort would have been more likely to be successful. There is no prohibition in the Articles of Incorporation against paid social workers serving on the board of directors.

The St. Paul Chest takes pride in its low administrative expenses, which for the first year amounted approximately to $40,000 or little more than a dollar apiece for its 38,000 subscribers. Its auditing department is highly developed. This embraces a regular financial audit of the various organizations for which it raises funds, following the usual excellent practice of the financial federations. But in addition, each report analyzes rather more fully than is customary the business operations of each department of the institutions, arriving at such facts as per capita costs, amounts properly chargeable to overhead, losses in revenue producing departments, etc. In nearly every agency examined, the auditors have suggested improvements, not only in accounting methods, but in business and administrative methods. This at once suggests another danger with which social workers in administrative positions have sufficient reason to be familiar. Within their own province, auditors are most useful. When, assuming a wisdom which they do not possess, they undertake to legislate or to make executive decisions, they may become an intolerable nuisance. When the executives of the agencies assume that the auditors have such responsibilities they are either shirking ther own duties or exaggerating those of the expert.

Probably the most obvious and serious of all of our omissions thus far has been in reference to the Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies and its allied Community Chest, which belong in effect with Cleveland and Detroit as most fully illustrating the successful operation of the federation idea. It is appropriate to end with Cincinnati, where under the most adverse business conditions, there has been brought to a close, since these articles were begun, a typical and successful campaign for $1,750,000. There are 60,000 contributors. Over six thousand volunteer workers took part in the canvass. Never before, even in war times, has the community responded more freely or with more enthusiasm than it responded to this year's appeal for the charitable work of the city and county. The Cincinnati policy of encouraging specific designations has proved its soundness and wisdom at least for that city. Practically all of the local organizations are now members of the Community Chest. All of them appear to be not only friendly but enthusiastic advocates of it. At the final rally over one thousand people—all the hotel could accommodate—met at a banquet to receive final reports of the district chairmen. Every team, to revert to war vocabulary, went over the top. The various chairmen and their workers are now perfecting a more permanent organization, having in view not only financial support for the agencies but so coordinating and developing their activities as to promote the general welfare of the community.

In Cleveland, partly because of Mr. Kingsley's enthusiasm for child welfare, the federation has especially emphasized various aspects of child-caring. In Cincinnati, partly perhaps because of the pre-occupation of the Social Unit with the subject while it was actively at work in the Mohawk-Brighton district, but also because of Mr. Bookman's appreciation of its importance and because of the activity of several public and voluntary local agencies, public health has been in the forefront of the advance of recent years. However, children's agencies, recreational agencies, organizations dealing with family standards of living and with the correction of bad social conditions have made perceptible progress with the enlarged resources and the more vigorous backing which the Council of Social Agencies has supplied. There is an obvious community consciousness in Cincinnati which during the last winter showed itself in a satisfactory handling of the difficult emergency presented by the lack of employment.

The Council of Social Agencies in St. Louis has appointed as its new executive Elwood Street, until now secretary of the Louisville Welfare League. The Chicago Council of Social Agencies has secured funds for a full time executive and is calling Wilfred S. Reynolds to the position. For several months Boston has had such a council with Robert Kelso as its secretary. New York alone among the larger cities is wholly without either a council or a federation; either a community fund or machinery for developing a community program.

This study has not canvassed the work of the non-financial councils in Boston, Chicago or St. Louis. The time during which any council has had an executive and staff at its disposal has been too short to permit much more than the formulation of plans and ideas, and the present study has intended to report achievement rather than programs; the analysis of forms of organization has been from the point of view of their practical working. That a democratic and educational spirit is of more importance than administrative machinery is to be taken for granted; but that machinery is also worthy of consideration is evident from the recent history of welfare federations. The ultimate test of a welfare federation is not in the amount of money which it collects, nor in the number of its contributors, nor in the degree of immunity which it may give from annoying drives; but in the number of well informed and well disposed citizens whom it discovers and associates for the purpose of doing what they can to secure a good life for themselves and their neighbors.

At Milwaukee

The Forty-Eighth National Conference of Social Work

By Paul L. Benjamin

AS I travelled east from Milwaukee, through reaches of golden grain rippling in the sun, past trim green and white farmhouses, deep woods and cities teeming with activity, the Forty-Eighth National Conference of Social Work gradually assumed its proportions. And now as I write its place in the general scheme of things comes with a sudden jolt: Well-nigh a hundred thousand men and women huddled in a huge yellow bowl have been watching two men battle for the heavyweight championship of the world.

In sharp contrast were the meetings held in that auditorium in Milwaukee where hundreds of eager men and women wrestled with some of the problems confronting present-day society. There was, for instance, the opening session. The hall was filled in spite of the sweltering heat, the memory of which remains as one of the outstanding impressions of the week. There was a hush as the president of the conference, Allen T. Burns, in thoughtful, balanced speech struck the note that was to recur again and again throughout the sessions. His story of the child standing upon the table beside its father was a plea for building upon the past and building surely for the future. "See," said the child, "I am taller than you, daddy." Mr. Burns was interested in the great groundswells of social action, in organic social laws, as he termed them. He played a variety of figures upon this central theme, thus bringing into relief the idea that we have come far enough to be interested in something more than mechanics, in forms and devices, in method and technique. "If we are to have an organic relation to social progress we must understand social laws as the farmer studies every factor of seed and soil." "The demand is for the organic chemist rather than for the social alchemist." "A kind of social soil analysis is the next step."

Prof. E. C. Lindemann, secretary of the National Country Life Association, who followed Mr. Burns with a brilliant address upon the organization of rural social forces, stressed the influence of the country church, which, he stated, is now passing through a veritable renaissance. All social problems are human problems, Professor Lindemann said, but he declared that the social forces of our time are too dynamic and too fluid to produce laws. There is, he continued, a new farmer upon the soil of America who is more important than the farm. The need for this new farmer was illustrated by a speaker at one of the later sessions who told about a group of country boys who were being trained for rural life through their high school courses. All of them when questioned, however, said that they were not going back to the farm. One youngster was asked the reason. "Well," he drawled, "life is too short to spend half of it under a cow."

The conference itself was like a ten-ring circus all under one huge, billowing tent. The auditorium was the tent, with its main hall for the evening meetings, its other halls seating as many as a thousand people for the section meetings, its large adjoining room with tables for the kindred groups, its ample registration facilities, and, swinging around the circumference, for all the world like animal cages, the booths for exhibits. It was essentially a human group, earnest to get at the business in hand, but with a ready quip at the heat—"the melting pot," Otto Davis termed the auditorium—or at the poor acoustic properties of some of the halls. These folks had come almost literally from the seven seas to exchange ideas and gather inspiration. Here a wisp of a woman with a shawl about her shoulders hoping to get something to take back to her boys and girls in the mountains; there a group of college girls, note-book in hand, button-holing celebrities, thrilled at their first conference; here a southern community leader gathering material for the ten articles she was to write for a Birmingham newspaper; there a conference veteran and a distinguished psychiatrist, ice-cream sandwiches in hand, laughing and chatting with a changing group. It wore the democratic air of the circus. Anyone was free to talk to anyone else. Perhaps it was the heat, perhaps it was the poor hearing qualities of some of the halls, perhaps it was the fact that everything was under one tent, but there was also a restlessness, a dipping into this meeting and that, and a constant milling around. This was in spite of the fact that the conference was exceedingly well-managed, and the Milwaukee hosts showed a hundred courtesies to their guests. Speakers often found it necessary to speak rather than to read their papers, and to shorten them to crispness. To be sure, where something original or especially challenging was presented the audience remained to the last word

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IX. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES—*C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati*
X. UNITING OF NATIVE- AND FOREIGN-BORN IN AMERICA—*(temporary committee)*

Meeting 1922
Providence, R. I.



ROBERT W. KELSO, PRESIDENT-ELECT

Mr. Kelso is secretary of the Boston Council of Social Agencies

of discussion. This was true for instance, of the papers given by Hastings H. Hart, How to Leave $25,000 to $1,000,000 and Do It Wisely, and by Cyrus F. Stimson entitled Main Street —What is the Great Need of American Communities To-Day?

There were also many individual conferences, partly because of the tables set up like so many side-shows by the kindred organizations. In the galleries around the room people gathered in knots of two's and three's. Snatches of conversation would drift down: "Tell me, now, how did you get your children's code." "But how do you know that social work is a profession?" "What does the visiting teacher do in your schools?" It is this opportunity to exchange views with specialists from all parts of the country which gives the conferences their particular value to those who are conference-broken and who have certain definite things to learn.

Though Milwaukee did not offer the romantic charm of New Orleans nor the recreational facilities of Atlantic City with its inviting stretches of sand, hospitality was one of the keynotes. There was the picnic at Waukesha Beach with the fat man's race (how fast Fred Croxton can run!) and the ball-throwing contest and the swimming and dancing in the evening. And in the Badger Room of the Wisconsin from ten to twelve the sessions were continued over cooling drinks. There were expeditions of small groups to the near-by lakes and beaches. The final session satisfied the play instincts of the five hundred who remained for a last foregathering. With a full-piece orchestra at one of the halls alternating with the song leader there was little opportunity for glumness. In addition, Louise F. Brand of the Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association had written a dozen social service songs which were sung with gusto. One of the most popular was to the tune of My Bonnie:

Whenever folks get into trouble,
Whenever they get in a muss,
Care floats away light as a bubble,
They always unload it on us,
We're goats! We're goats!
But things get under our skin, it's thin
Bill, Nan! All goats!
It's part of our job to butt in.

The real atmosphere of Milwaukee, however, was caught by a group from the Lake Division of the American Red Cross who spent an evening on the shore of Lake Michigan. As night drew on the lake changed from crimson to a wonderful blue and then to lavender and a deep purple with warm, soft lights in it. A sailboat, like some fluttering white moth, drifted across the golden track of the sunset. In the distance the silhouette of the city faded away.

The ten-ring circus was evident, finally, in the multiplicity of meetings, luncheons, and conferences. The conference itself was organized into ten main divisions:

I. Children: Chairman, J. Prentice Murphy of Philadelphia;
II. Delinquencies and Corrections: Chairman, Martha P. Falconer of New York city;
III. Health: Chairman, Richard A. Bolt, M. D., of Baltimore;
IV. Public Agencies and Institutions: Vice-chairman, Annie Hinricksen of Springfield, Ill.;
V. The Family: Chairman, Frances Taussig of New York city;
VI. Industrial and Economic Problems: Chairman, Sophonisba P. Breckinridge of Chicago;
VII. The Local Community: Chairman, Howard S. Braucher of New York city;
VIII. Mental Hygiene: Chairman, Thomas W. Salmon, M. D., of New York city;
IX. Organization of Social Forces: Chairman, Otto W. Davis of Minneapolis;
X. Uniting of Native- and Foreign-Born in America: Chairman, Grace Abbott of Chicago.

Nine general sessions were held, including the conference sermon preached Sunday afternoon by Bishop Charles H. Brent of Buffalo. There were fifty-nine section meetings held by the ten divisions, usually five or six going on at the same time. In addition, a score of extra luncheons, teas, and special conferences was scheduled. Preceding the conference and also during it no less than eighteen kindred groups held their sessions, which are reported on adjoining pages. The story of a tenement mother told by Mr. Burns has application here. She was taken to the ocean for a day's outing by a fresh air association. "Oh," she exclaimed, "isn't it good to have seen something there is enough of!" One of the most significant conferences was that on social investigation and research which was informal in character and limited to those interested in research. At these meetings Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago discussed sociology and social research; Mr. Burns gave a report of the Carnegie Americanization Study; Raymond Moley, director of Cleveland Foundation, outlined the local survey of the Administration of Justice; and Graham Romeyn Taylor and Charles Johnson presented the methods used by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. It was suggested that sections on investigation and research, boys' work, and objectives in social work be added to the conference.

Each main division of the conference had its own side-show. The Children's Division was decidedly forward-looking in its program, clearly reflecting the intellectual curiosity of its chairman. It attacked such problems as new values in child welfare and the public school. Together with the National Probation Association, it gave considerable time to defining the scope and function of the juvenile court. It is the "legal duty of the judge to save the child," said Judge Charles W. Hoffman of Cincinnati in a plea for modern methods in handling child delinquents. This was seconded by Wiley H. Swift of Greensboro, N. C., when he said: "There

should be no jury trials in juvenile courts. The juvenile court in the rural district should have exclusive jurisdiction over the children. The only way to do effective work in the rural districts is to have a paid social worker in every county." The division on delinquents and correction was given scareheads in the public press largely because of its discussion of sex problems. Arthur W. Towne of Brooklyn discussed child marriages before this group. "Marriage," he said, "should be founded on sociological, medical, psychological and ethical grounds in addition to biological and legal reason. Marriage on any other basis brings with it a long series of social ills."

The social aspects of modern medicine was one of the keynotes struck in the section on health. Although at first blush the division on the family seemed to concern itself largely with methodology and technique, discussing such problems as the identifying of clue aspects in social case work, the sessions were not in such conflict with the note struck by Mr. Burns as it might appear. As the true mystic is the person really practical so family case work, it was felt, is based on the fundamentals. Mrs. John M. Glenn expressed it: "Ours is not the patience of resignation but the patience of vision." That the members of this section are alive to the industrial situation was shown by the number which jammed the luncheon meeting at which was discussed the problem of what relief organizations should do in case of strikes.

Although Mrs. Florence Kelley and Roger Baldwin were sorely missed at the section on industrial and economic problems it presented the same challenging front as in previous years. Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, discussed housing co-partnership. Mrs. Edward P. Costigan of Washington, D. C., aroused the members of this section with her charge that the packers are misleading people in their statements regarding profits. "The only hope of the public lies in cooperative organizations of farmers. If farmers are loyal to these organizations and resist attempts of the packers to crush them by temporarily underselling them, there will, ultimately, be a reduction in the cost of living." It is of particular note that Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Whiting Williams were the speakers at the public meeting of this section. The problem of unemployment was the keynote of the division, with strong papers by Joseph Remenyi, immigration expert of the Cleveland Trust Company, who discussed unemployment and the immigrant, and by John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin. One of the most interesting sessions of the Local Community Division was that at which questions based on local situations were answered by leading community workers, such as John Elliott and Charles F. Weller of New York city, and John Ihlder of Washington. As has been true in the past, the division on mental hygiene put forth a number of thought-provoking papers. That by Dr. Herman M. Adler, state criminologist of Illinois, knocked out some generally accepted concepts. He found, for instance, that the mental distribution of the prisoners in the two Illinois penitentiaries corresponded almost exactly with that of men of corresponding race and color in the army classification. The division on organization of social forces was unquestionably the largest attended and had some outstanding papers.

Organizing as a Profession

The keynote sounded by Mr. Burns was reflected in the discussion of the professional organization of social workers. The interest of the delegates was centered upon this more than on any other topic. This was reflected in several meetings held by a younger group of ardent enthusiasts, dubbed the Bolshevists, to discuss objectives in social work. It was significant that the Association of Training Schools for Social Work this year discussed training for community work; next year it will discuss the curriculum. In the past some of the schools have gone upon the assumption that the fundamental basis of training is case work, and have therefore built the curriculum around that.

The interest in professional organization came to a climax when a thousand delegates turned out on a hot, sweltering afternoon for the annual meeting of the National Social Workers' Exchange. To those who recalled the handful who had turned out on previous occasions this one was epoch-making. The new national director, Graham R. Taylor, gave a vigorous presentation of the need for "practitioner's control" in social work. He linked the problem of the social workers to that of academic freedom in the public schools. He declared that a strong professional organization is necessary to stand back of individual social workers when they are hamstrung by the machinations of political organizations. Edith Shatto King and J. B. Buell outlined the development of the exchange from a placement bureau to an organization more and more capable of serving the whole field of social work. The new president, Owen R. Lovejoy, stated that America has reached the cook-stove and sewing-machine stage in social work. "It is a job in social engineering," he said. "No machinery is so delicate as the mechanism of human life." "The social worker must give others to understand that he is not for sale." "We must not be job getters or job holders." For a new name, the meeting decided upon The American Association of Social Workers.

Another salient note was the interest keenly evinced in the discussions of financial federations and central councils. For instance, a meeting held previous to the opening of the conference was so well attended that it had to adjourn to larger quarters. From the small group of a score or so a few years ago, the attendance showed a remarkable growth, upward of a thousand being present at some of the sessions. This was partly due to the fact that most of the largest cities of the country now have central bodies of one kind or another. The thread in these meetings was not as in the past the discussion of adequate fund-raising but rather the consideration of the social implications involved in this type of organization. From how to raise funds the movement inevitably is passing to how to raise standards. The careful coordination of work in Cincinnati so that the associated charities is now doing most of the case work for other agencies; the various surveys made in Cleveland; the block representation in Louisville; the various committees on illegitimacy, child labor and truancy in Chicago; the research studies made in Erie, Pa., and the recreation survey made in Des Moines were pointed out as indicative of this tendency. Certain of the federation leaders admitted candidly that democracy does not consist in control imposed by a group of givers but that purposeful organizations must have a voice in community policies as well as in benefits. "A federation must not control the case work of a society for organizing charity nor the economic point of view of the consumers' league," said Elwood Street. It was unfortunate that much of the publicity displayed by various of the federations overstressed the appeal of sickness, poverty and misery. The executive committee of the American Association for Community Organization has been directed to take steps looking toward a permanent national organization with offices and executive staff. Publication of a manual dealing with federation practice is also planned.

Although the conference was in no sense a war nor a reconstruction one, it would have been strange if there had not been repeated echoes from the great conflict. Provision by the government for disabled ex-service men likewise received constructive attention. Division managers of the American Red Cross with W. Frank Persons, vice-chairman in charge of domestic operations, spent a hot Sunday afternoon discussing this problem. Dr. Haven Emerson, medical advisor of the War Risk Bureau, declared that we have not done a decent job for the ex-service man. There are just eighty social workers doing intelligent work in the employ of the government, he stated, and the rest is being done by volunteers. "There

must be a personal service in every element of treatment of the ex-service man." Dr. M. P. Ravenel, of the University of Missouri, who followed Dr. Emerson at the general session on health, devoted the first part of his paper to a discussion of various bills before Congress, particularly the one to create a department of public welfare with a cabinet officer in charge. He stated in no uncertain terms that the first duty of the government is to take care of its disabled soldiers, and that the administration of laws to that end has been woefully inadequate. As illustrating the size of this problem he gave the estimate of Dr. Thomas W. Salmon that 50,000 returned soldiers in this country are in danger of becoming insane unless properly cared for. Our approach to these problems, he explained, is much like that of the small boy who said his prayers at night but felt that he could take care of himself in the daytime. Julia C. Lathrop, chief of the federal Children's Bureau, likewise discussed the establishment of a department of public welfare. Although granting the need for coordination and correlation in the various departments of social welfare, she cautioned against putting too much "federalized power in the hands of government in such work."

Disarmament

The temper of the conference upon the question of disarmament was that of touch and go. Probably the most inspiring and soul-stirring moment at Milwaukee came at the final wind-up, jollification dinner, when Miss Lathrop flung our her clear, ringing call for disarmament. "We are just beginning to sense the fact that we cannot continue to pile up expenses in preparation for war and have any left for the social progress of our people." Wave on wave of applause showed unmistakably where the social workers of America stand upon this issue. Professor Lindemann at the opening session brought forth the same applause when he said, "Lifting the burden of war from producing people will happen because the farmer has always consistently hated war." Although the conference tabled a resolution on disarmament, the following petition was signed by several hundred of the delegates:

> We, the undersigned social workers, respectfully petition the President to call an international conference to consider the question of international disarmament.

The question of endorsing platforms or of adopting resolutions other than complimentary ones has for years been a moot one. As illustrated in the report of the Committee on Expression Concerning Standards or Ideals of which Otto W. Davis of Minneapolis was chairman, the insistent demand for some method of expression concerning standards has been so strong that since 1903

> . . . the Conference has digressed from its pronounced policy and has adopted, in no less than eleven instances, platforms or resolutions, several of which were obviously for propaganda purposes. For instance, the resolution relating to war-time prohibition, the one advocating the league of nations, the three relating to the evil of family desertion, the one calling for more uniform statistics in state institutions, the one favoring limitation of armaments, and the one in behalf of uniform legislation.

At the final business session of the conference it was decided to continue for the present the policy of non-action. The report of the committee also suggested that there might be a closer affiliation between the various kindred groups and the national conference itself. This matter was left in the hands of the executive committee.

The business session was in the nature of a Billy Sunday revival meeting with Mr. Burns exhorting organizations to hit the sawdust trail with institutional memberships; that is, $25 subscriptions by organizations, to supplement the income from the various classes of individual fees. Various others, such as Martha P. Falconer, Gertrude Vaile, Dr. Richard Bolt, and Amelia Sears passed up and down the aisles calling people to the mourner's bench. William H. Parker, the general secretary, kept the tally. The frequent applause and the high pitch of excitement were punctured by the staccato cries of "What does Connecticut report?"—"Here's three more from Kansas,"—"Rhode Island pledges sixty,"—with a burst of hand clapping, and "What's the score now?" Altogether $12,000 was thus pledged, clearing the conference's budget for the year and giving it a new foundation of support.

One of the most heartening indications that the conference is reaching a widening circle was the presence of numbers of delegates representing state federations of women's clubs. The League of Women Voters gave a brilliant luncheon at which four hundred were seated. Senator Lenroot, who was the principal speaker, talked upon disarmament. It was unfortunate, however, that certain other groups were conspicuous by their absence, namely, Y. M. C. A. secretaries, college presidents and teachers, and the rank and file of Red Cross workers who turned out nearly a thousand strong at Atlantic City. The absence of tuberculosis and public health secretaries was probably explained by the conference of the National Tuberculosis Association in New York.

At a luncheon meeting of the division managers of the American Red Cross and the division and chapter representatives, progress was reported in the face of a post-war apathy and sensational attacks made upon the organization by the Hearst newspapers in New York. Mr. Persons analyzed the situation. As confuting the charges of extravagance he stated that the national administrative expenditure at headquarters for the year beginning July 1 will be $725,000 instead of $1,458,000 as during the year just closing, and in the divisions two and one-quarter million instead of more than three and one-half million dollars. This marked decrease in expenditures is offset by an increased attention to chapter autonomy. Mr. Persons took cognizance of the difficulties confronting the organization, the moral reaction which has followed the war and slowing down of the war momentum. "We know," he said, "that from now on what the Red Cross accomplishes for constructive organization for the betterment of conditions of life, must be based upon the convictions and, earnest endeavors of those who are willing to assume the burdens of social education in the community."

Foreign Relations

Many a conference member had seen overseas work during the war. But the program was all but exclusively domestic. There was proof, also, of the isolation of America in the lack of discussion of problems of the Orient although many American social workers have served as links between the East and West. There was, for example, no discussion of the Japanese and the Mexican problems whatever, even as they affect California and the border states. Robert A. Woods of South End House, Boston, and J. S. Burgess, head of the Social Service Department of the Princeton University Center in China, whose series of articles has been brought out in the SURVEY [issues of April 23, May 21 and June 25], presented the Macedonia cry of the Orient to the social workers of America. Of particular significance was the presence of Anton Sum of the Czecho-Slovak embassy—the social welfare attaché sent to Washington in lieu of a military one. The Prague number of the SURVEY [issue of June 11] was featured at Milwaukee. So decided was the interest in the possibility of inviting foreign delegates to these American conferences that the section on the local community sent a request to the executive committee that a special division on international relations be created next year, which conceivably might hold joint sessions with the other divisions and so create new points of contact between foreign and domestic social workers.

At a dinner meeting of former presidents of the conference it was suddenly realized that 1923 or 1924 will be the fiftieth anniversary of the conference, depending upon the reckoning which is used. The newly-elected president, Robert W. Kelso, appointed the retiring president, Allen T. Burns, chairman of a committee to prepare for a jubilee conference to celebrate it, probably to be held in Washington, D. C.

DIVISION MEETINGS

Delinquents and Correction

THE motif of the delinquency section was brought out by Carrie Weaver Smith, superintendent of the Texas State Training School for Girls, when in her speech on the elimination of reformatories she described how effective treatment of delinquents requires a revision of the popular song:

> Get 'em young,
> Treat 'em rough,
> Tell 'em nothing,

into

> Get 'em young,
> Treat 'em gently,
> Tell 'em everything.

We need to keep those we hope to reform out of the reformatories and to have judges, particularly in juvenile courts, who are trained for their work and who stand in the community for at least some of the virtues they are trying to inculcate in their charges.

Especially illuminating was the presentation by Dr. William Healy, director of the Judge Baker Foundation, Boston, of the methods of studying a case of delinquency. As he analyzed processes and methods, it became more and more evident that it is a waste of public money to employ for this work anyone who has not had special preparation.

In the discussion of social hygiene, Dr. William A. Evans emphasized the necessity of hospitalization and quarantine and Dr. Valeria H. Parker gave an interesting description of the program of protective social measures which has been carried on under the United States government by the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board.

Against a background of knowledge of mental capacity revealed by the army tests, Dr. Herman M. Adler, state criminologist, presented material gained through a survey of the inmates of penal and correctional institutions of Illinois. From this it appeared that the latter were representative samples of the communities from which they came. At the same meeting Orlando F. Lewis discussed organization and administrative needs and Prof. J. L. Gillin, of the University of Wisconsin, the effect of prohibition on crime.

The main promise of the future in the delinquency field is in the contributions of the psychiatrists to diagnosis and treatment. Those who are contending that the public school system should be the great administrative agency both on the preventive and curative side were competently represented by Dr. Helen T. Woolley of Cincinnati, Dr. Elizabeth L. Woods of Madison, and Anna Pratt of Philadelphia.

An advance was made in Milwaukee in defining the functions of the parole officer, the probation officer, the policewoman, and the protective worker. A report outlining these functions, presented by Henrietta Additon of the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, was unanimously adopted.

Ruth Topping, field secretary of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, and George E. Worthington, of New York city, associate director of the Department of Law Enforcement Activities of the American Social Hygiene Association, gave a joint paper on a study of the morals courts in Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, recommending the abolition of all courts of criminal jurisdiction except one of general criminal jurisdiction, with plenary powers in the establishment of ample special courts and with authority to develop its social side, thereby providing a laboratory for the diagnosis, treatment and cure of delinquency.

In the administration of its affairs, the delinquency section of the national conference faces a practical problem which calls into question the very reason for its being. On the one hand there is the possibility of its becoming a meeting place where, more and more, there will be scientific discussion and the mobilization of public opinion for the elevation of standards and the generating of ideals. On the other hand there is the possibility of its becoming an occasion for the endorsement of forms rather than substance and where ideals may be correspondingly destroyed. This question was on the lips of many this year. MARTHA P. FALCONER.

Health

THE division on health exemplified the rugged Anglo-Saxon meaning of the word which connotes wholeness and soundness of life. Both its negative phase of absence of disease and its positive phase of promotion of abounding vigor were dealt with in the sessions. The latter received more emphasis and drew forth animated discussion.

In the opening session the national attempts in cooperation and coordination of health work were discussed comprehensively by Dr. Donald B. Armstrong and Courtenay Dinwiddie, the former outlining the organization of the National Health Council and the latter the activities of the National Child Health Council. The ways in which voluntary organizations can best cooperate with health officials were brought out with homely illustrations by Sherman C. Kingsley of Philadelphia. "Too often," he said, "the voluntary organizations do the cooing and the official organizations are left entirely to do the operating."

Health centers were discussed by Philip S. Platt of New Haven, whose clear-cut treatment focused attention upon the larger opportunities before them. Elizabeth Fox of Washington, speaking of the public health nursing program of the American Red Cross, pointed out the strategic importance of the rural situation and showed how public health nurses were doing pioneer work. The necessity for more trained nurses was stressed.

One of the most practical and helpful papers was that by George R. Bedinger of New York city, who sketched graphically the cooperative health plan of the New York County Chapter of the American Red Cross. He showed clearly how the Red Cross in a metropolitan center could integrate its activities with the health work of the community. Attention was called by Seymour Stone and by Blanche Renard to similar work being attempted in Boston and in St. Louis.

The social significance of child health work was presented from different angles by Dr. J. Mace Andress of Boston University, Ida M. Cannon, director of medical social service work of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, and Dr. Ada E. Schweitzer, chief of the Child Hygiene Bureau of the Indiana State Board of Health. Although thirty-eight states now have bureaus of child hygiene—most of them connected with state departments of health—their appropriations, standards and types of work differ widely.

The last day was devoted to nutrition, and so great was the interest that an extra session in the afternoon was called to continue the discussion. Nina Simonds, who is associated with Dr. E. V. McCollum at the School of Public Health and Hygiene of Johns Hopkins University, brought out how in recent years we have gained a remarkable amount of knowledge as to the extent and manner in which a properly selected diet can promote health. The use of the leafy vegetables, of milk and its products and of fruits in preference to a meat and potato diet was stressed.

The practical application of our newer knowledge of nutrition to the growing child was discussed by Mrs. Ira Couch

Wood of Chicago. At the general session Dr. Haven Emerson made the statement that while health education should be universal it is most logically and easily applied to the school child. Dr. M. P. Ravenel prophesied a new era of preventive medicine in which the medical man should be a leader, with nurses, teachers and social workers as his co-laborers. He pleaded for better coordination of government departments as related to health and expressed the hope that a national department of health would finally be established.

RICHARD A. BOLT, M.D.

Public Institutions and Agencies

PUBLIC officials proved a stronger division than for many years. This is the more noteworthy in view of the fact that the machinery of administrative departments in many states is undergoing changes and repairs, as a result of which public officers and employes have found it hard to secure official sanction for their attendance at the conference.

The first discussion of the series in this division fell upon the moot question of wages to prisoners. The report of the New York Prison Survey Committee presented the problem as a question of business, and maintained that on a business basis fair wages could be paid and the enterprise continue solvent. But the discussion group would not have it that way. Persons are not put into prison for the business profit which can be made out of them. As a business they are a failure. They are confined for the public good and for their own reformation. Yet it is likely that wages large enough to constitute an inducement to the support of their dependents can be paid without great monetary loss. The division felt so sure that the topic has not yet been sufficiently analyzed that a special committee was created to work with Division II and to report at the next conference.

The next topic brought out equally vigorous discussion. It dealt with the relationship between public and private agencies in the care of children. The dividing line between public and private care is frequently thought of as a vague no-man's land in which citizens in distress and needing care are more than likely to get lost and should be expected to get lost. Analysis showed that there need be no failure of contact nor any uncertainty as to what care should be given by the public and what supplied by the private agencies. The private society in its capacity of public trust is in general the experimenter and the educator; the public department is an administrative machine for carrying out those processes in relief which have been demonstrated to be necessary at the expense of the whole people.

In the third section meeting, the relationship between state and local government in the development of public welfare service was presented, with special reference to county government plans. So far as this year's meetings were concerned, those who contend for complete state control of all matters of relief appear to be losing ground. The tendency in the discussion was toward the conclusion that supervision and general oversight should be centralized in the state government; that administration, or the actual details of the task, should be decentralized in the hands of local officials.

At its Monday session the division continued to discuss relationships, this time between state institutions and agencies and private concerns. The text of the entire program was inter-relationships, and the subject matter, methods and plans of coordination. This is the outstanding factor in public social welfare this year. The question is not what to do with private agencies, nor how to keep them from unloading their burdens upon the public department, nor how to unload public burdens upon them without paying for the service; but rather how to build up the public social welfare system so that it may work in close cooperation with private agencies, gaining their interest and support, and working out with them a more rational way of dividing the field.

ROBERT W. KELSO.

The Local Community

"WHAT has the American social worker to offer China, Japan and other foreign countries, and how can the resources in music, art and other cultural phases of community life in which these age-old civilizations are so rich, be made available for America?"

While many of the problems discussed by the Local Community Division were old problems, while there was little new in the discussions of the various phases of neighborhood and community life, there was a distinctly new note in the emphasis on the need for internationalism in connection with social work.

That America has a distinct responsibility in helping oriental and other foreign countries who are eager for her aid to develop the leadership for solving their social problems was the message not only from Robert A. Woods of South End House, and from J. S. Burgess, head of the Social Service Department of Princeton University Center in China, but, as a testimony carrying great weight, from Anton Sum, of that Czecho-Slovak Republic—that far-seeing country which has substituted for its military attaché at Washington a social welfare attaché.

So keen was the interest in this newly recognized phase of international friendliness, that from the Local Community Division went the request to the executive committee of the national conference that every effort be made to secure the attendance at the conference of delegates from foreign countries, and that consideration be given the creation of a special division for the discussion of social and community problems in foreign lands.

Technique—the best methods of securing results, and of measuring achievements—was the subject of discussion at the meetings of all the divisions. It was natural that the members of the Local Community Division should make some attempt to apply standards of measurements and tests to their work and to themselves. Not numerical standards—not insistence on "cut and dried" methods—but tests of intelligence, of skill, of understanding, of friendliness, of ability to focus the "pleasant gossip" of the neighborhood and make it a factor in the development of neighborhood life; not a technique which destroys the spirit, but a a technique which will help the neighborhood and community worker to develop the right relationship between man and man; these, it was insisted, were some of the standards of achievement for the measuring of community work. Throughout the conference came this emphasis on the spirit of the community worker himself—the necessity for purging himself of any elements of contempt and bitterness, and his need for faith.

That the by-products of the cooperative movement in terms of neighborliness, community-mindedness and a richer social and recreational life are fundamentally important to community life was the testimony of those who told of experiments in cooperative buying and selling in which they were interested. The accounts of successes and failures brought out the universal testimony that in cooperative enterprises nothing is more important than the development of sound business management and the training of store managers and directors who will have social vision.

The housing problem—its extent and seriousness, and ways of meeting it—was discussed practically at two section meetings. Whether through federal loans, through private corporations or through the co-partnership plan which is gaining in favor, each community suffering from housing shortage should delay no longer in beginning to solve its problem. But whatever the method, was the warning of John Ihlder, we must do nothing which will lower social standards and make it impossible to regain the accomplishments of the pre-war period.

As a thread running through all the meetings of the division was the conviction that community work is very much larger than the social workers' program or the plans of any group; that nothing can stop the growth of a movement which means the participation of every element in the community, and which gives every member of the community, however untrained in the technique of social work, an opportunity to make his contribution.

ABBIE CONDIT.

Organization of Social Forces

THE note of questioning introduced into his revolutionary presidential address by Allen T. Burns found no reflection in the papers of this division, and little, if any, in the discussion of them. To use Mr. Burns's phrases, most of the division people were thinking along the line of the organization of social work, rather than along that of the organization of social forces. Even those few who complained that the division program did not deal sufficiently with fundamentals did not all define fundamentals in the same way. Some were philosophically inclined like Mr. Burns, it is true; but others sought a formulation of platforms of essential services and minimum standards of activity.

In spite of the self-searching thus encouraged in the leaders of this division, there has probably never been a conference at which the soundness of joint-finance in social service has been so generally accepted. David A. Brown of Detroit, James F. Jackson of Cleveland, and C. M. Bookman of Cincinnati presented strong points in its favor from the standpoint of the giver, the constituent agency, and the federation official respectively. "Joint-finance," said Mr. Jackson, "is neither a bogey nor a panacea. While there are disadvantages to the constituent agencies, we feel in Cleveland that those disadvantages are far outweighed by the advantages. Mr. Bookman, in enumerating a formidable list of achievements in Cincinnati, from the recent raising of $1,750,000 from 60,000 people to the coordination of social service to the point where agencies now tend to think in terms of the services to be performed rather than in terms of individual budgets, did a good deal to substantiate Mr. Jackson's statement. Perhaps it was not at all unwholesome, therefore, that a doubt still remained in the minds of many as to whether social service, even when financed to the degree that its leaders have courage to ask, is as effective as the standards set up by Mr. Burns would require. For example, relief budgets continue to grow. Perhaps the necessity of considering social work as a whole which federation officials face, plus such considerations as Mr. Burns raises, are to result in a new critique of the effectiveness of social service specialties.

However, under the leadership of Otto W. Davis of Minneapolis, the program of this division successfully avoided something which he confessed had to be guarded against; namely, the identification of the "organization of social forces" with the specialized interests of joint-finance.

Citing among many other examples the decision of the Memphis Y. W. C. A. to develop a city-wide work among young women along a variety of lines rather than to build a large central boarding home for them, Francis H. McLean of New York city substantiated his case that central councils of social agencies had demonstrated their value in every phase of cooperation except the coordination of budgets (apart from joint-finance), and apparently left his audience open-minded as to the possibility of good service in the field of budget review as well.

The organization of rural forces was up on two occasions, first in the paper presented by Prof. E. C. Lindemann of the National Country Life Association, and again in the discussion of state councils of social agencies, by Fred C. Croxton of Columbus, and Elmer Scott of Dallas. Professor Lindemann's two points were, first, that city social services and institutions must have counterparts in rural communities if life in the country is to progress; and, second, rural social services must be specialized. Mr. Croxton warned his hearers against the notion of a uniform program for an entire state and advocated sub-councils which could find out local needs and enlist local resources. Mr. Scott characterized the Texas council as one of state-wide agencies, and as an example of its work, described a study of the Mexican problem in Texas, in a single community, on the basis of which a text-book is to be written as a guide for other communities.

A real clash of opinion developed when Hastings H. Hart of New York city discussed how legacies might be left wisely to social work. Dr. Hart found some possibilities in the development of community trusts, as guarding against the endowment of defunct issues, and also in general approved of the will of Mrs. Russell Sage. Edward T. Devine emphasized the necessity of pressing back upon the legator the duty of making up his mind as to how the gift should be used; Robert W. Kelso of Boston insisted upon the importance of educating ministers and lawyers to advise legators sensibly. Raymond Moley of Cleveland suggested the elasticity of the community foundation as a desirable element, while W. J. Norton of Detroit defined the question from the standpoint of the community fund as not so much how money may be wisely bequeathed, but as to how legacies may be stimulated by federations for constituent agencies. This source of revenue must next be tapped, he said, if resources in successful joint-finance cities are to continue to increase.

HOMER W. BORST.

Mental Hygiene

IT was particularly appropriate that most of the papers in this division were devoted to the mental hygiene of children. There is a growing realization that many social problems have their origin in childhood. This period presents the golden opportunity for establishing proper training and habits. Many personality difficulties date back to mistakes in childhood training. Children should be encouraged to face the difficult situations of life as they arise and not be permitted to turn away from problems or deny their existence. "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" applies most forcibly in the mental hygiene of childhood. Preventive aspects of mental hygiene and the importance of conserving the mental health of the normal child were emphasized by the various speakers.

The intellectual differences in children have long been recognized but it is only recently that their emotional differences have been taken into account. Intelligence tests are not enough when it comes to examining the mentally defective child. There is a tendency more and more to take into consideration etiological factors involved and behavior characteristics, and to study the social reactions of the individual before attempting to find a suitable environment for him. It is generally recognized that there are different types of mental defective requiring different kinds of care and training. Permanent segregation is no longer considered the only effective way to deal with them. It is true that many require institutional care, some for life, but there is a growing tendency to consider the institution for mental defectives as a way-station in the lives of the individuals who enter it; and to discharge as early as possible those who, by virtue of the training and their own temperamental stability, can get along in the community.

One of the best possible places in which to recognize and correct handicaps is the school, which is often the first social environment to which the child must make a conscious effort to adjust himself. It is necessary that teachers know the principles of mental hygiene and apply them, especially in dealing with the "difficult" child. Conduct disorders are often the result of unhappiness due to the assignment of tasks that a pupil is incapable of doing. Teachers should adapt the work to the ability of the child and seek to understand the emotional factors in his personality. Speech disorders also should be understood and corrected, not alone for the sake of good speech, but because they often involve mental factors.

Strong pleas were made at Milwaukee for the teaching of mental hygiene in normal schools and for the attention of colleges to the mental health of their students. The educational value of such agencies as psychopathic hospitals, mental health clinics and psychiatric social work was clearly shown. Emphasis was laid upon the urgent need for specially trained social workers in the field of mental hygiene and for psychiatric instruction for all social workers. The action taken this year by the conference in making the Mental Hygiene Division a permanent one indicates that social workers recognize the social aspects of the problems in this field, although they are primarily problems of conserving individual mental health and of bringing about the necessary adjustments between individuals and their environments. Although the points brought out in the papers and the discussions would indicate that much remains to be done, on the whole an optimistic tone characterized the meetings of this division.

EDITH M. FURBUSH.

The Family

ANOTHER year, as recorded in the annals of the division on the family, has piled up evidence in favor of individualization of the treatment of social problems affecting family life. This year testimony was given not alone by the orthodox group of family case workers, born to the faith, but by converts from new fields—public departments, the law and industry. Even the community was regarded as a candidate for case work treatment. At the division's general session, Frances Perkins, a new evangelist recruited from the proud field of "preventive work," told of the effectiveness which has been added to the work of the New York State Industrial Commission by the introduction of an after care program of case work among recipients of workmen's compensation insurance.

Another new field for case work was presented in the general session by Joel D. Hunter of the United Charities of Chicago, filling the place of J. H. Wigmore of Northwestern University, who was unfortunately prevented by illness from participating in the program. The adaptation of the case method in the teaching of the law, following long after its introduction into the medical schools, has led to the organization of a legal clinic. Cases for the clinic are furnished by the legal problems arising in the work of the United Charities and under the joint supervision of the law school and the charities. Senior students receive ninety hours of this specialized case work training during the senior year.

While there was much discussion of the work of governmental agencies, the old time functional controversy between public and private agencies was missing. The papers on mothers' pensions, which now are administered in forty states and under as many laws, showed the possibilities of constructive case work in public departments, given adequate supervision and intelligently made and interpreted laws.

In the general session of the division on the organization of social forces, a challenge was sounded to the social agencies working in rural districts to bring social justice to bear on the life in the small rural community. The challenge was echoed in the meeting on problems of organization in smaller communities. With more direct responsibility and necessarily broader functions, representatives of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, the American Red Cross, a state conference of social work, and a state mothers' pension organization agreed that possibly the greatest contribution of the social worker is in the organization of the small community to recognize and meet its own responsibilities.

In two meetings of the division, one an informal luncheon and one a joint session with the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, the responsibility of the family agency for meeting situations which arise through changes in industrial conditions, was discussed. Prof. W. E. Hotchkiss, director of industrial relations for the National Federation of Clothing Manufacturers, presented the theory that the increases of wages, which are brought about by a rising cost of living, bring with them automatically changes in living habits and standards which make impossible corresponding decreases at times of decreasing costs. It was agreed that the burden of downward readjustments, of unemployment and of the inadequate earnings of fully employed, able bodied wage earners, were not legitimate problems of the family case agencies.

In a joint session with the committee on mental hygiene, Dr. William Healy of Boston warned case workers of the pitfalls which might beset them in the use of mental age tests, particularly with adults. That they are alive to the possibilities of intensive work for those whom these tests, used alone and at their face value, might have condemned to institutions, was shown in Elizabeth Dutcher's paper on possibilities of home care with border-line women. The thrill of the meeting, however, came in Dr. Marion Kenworthy's statement that the social case worker, to participate effectively in a program of family case work involving behavior problems, must go with not more than fifteen families!

FRANCES TAUSSIG.

Uniting of Native- and Foreign-Born in America

THE program of the section of uniting the native- and foreign-born was planned to present five aspects of the post-war immigration problem; namely, European causes of emigration, administrative problems of regulations, the economic and cultural aspects of immigration, and the schooling of those who are here.

A question which many Americans are asking is whether, so far as emigration in the past resulted from political and economic oppression and unrest on the part of racial minorities in Russia, Austria Hungary and Germany, it has ceased with the changes in the map which have been made since the armistice.

Anton Sum, of Czecho-Slovakia, who has the distinction of being the only social service attaché connected with a foreign embassy in the United States, opened the discussion of this subject. Both he and Captain Lazarevitch, consul general for Jugoslavia in Chicago, believe that the removal of racial and economic discriminations from which the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugoslavs suffered in the past and the thoroughgoing agrarian reforms already initiated in both countries will reduce the migration from those countries. Relatives and friends will, they believe, continue to come as long as economic conditions are sufficiently better here to make them willing to undertake the American experiment. Dr. Sum also reported a government bill which provides for the control of steamship companies, examinations of emigrants by representatives of the government, so that those who are not eligible for admission will not be allowed to sail, and protection from exploitation for those who start from or pass through Czecho-Slovakia.

Judge Hugo Pam, recently returned from Eastern Europe, described the conditions of Jewish refugees in Warsaw, Bucharest, Belgrade, Budapest and other sections. Aged parents, wives and young children prevented from joining relatives already in America, by the operation of the 3 per cent law, had nothing before them but unspeakable wretchedness.

Ruth Crawford of the national board of the Y. W. C. A. gave an interesting account of the difficulties which developed when the emigrant stream was diverted from Hamburg and Bremen, where facilities for the care of thousands had been developed, to French ports which were entirely unprepared to handle the crowds.

The limited field of teaching English was admirably discussed by Ruby Baughman, formerly of Los Angeles, now of the University of Minnesota, and by Genevieve Bane, home teacher in Springfield, Ill.

In cooperation with the section on industrial and economic problems the organizing of immigrant workers in the present unemployment was considered. Whatever was talked about, the tragic despair caused by the widespread unemployment was only temporarily forgotten. This fact gave new interest to the discussion led by Mr. Burns, of means by which immigration could be regulated on an economic rather than a racial basis.

The meetings of the division came to a close with a discussion of the whole subject of the cultural aspects of immigration. The paper of Prof. Julius Draschler of Smith College on the cultural contribution of the immigrant and a policy of assimilation was so enthusastically received that the division hopes it may be shared with SURVEY readers in the near future. Prof. Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago closed with some concrete examples of what is taking place and urged that we should spend more time in deciding what can be done rather that what we might perhaps like to do. The applause indicated that those present were prepared to do what they could to promote cultural democracy in the United States.

GRACE ABBOTT.

Industrial and Economic Problems

THE program of the section on industrial and economic problems was organized about the conviction that the collective effort of government agencies (found to be possible during the war under the pressure of the patriotic motive) should be looked upon as possible in time of peace under the pressure of a humanitarian motive and of a desire for juster relations among the groups in the United States. The representatives of the bureaus and divisions of the federal government dealing with industrial problems, that is, the Woman's Bureau, the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the United States Employment Bureau, were asked to report as to their present status and activities and their outlook. In addition to this, reports of the state government were also discussed and special efforts to secure control over monopolies in food stuffs were given a place.

The interest of the division was aroused chiefly by the subject of unemployment. This was due to the fact that many in the division had been concerned with the formulation of preventive measures during the years 1913-15, and others (social case workers) find themselves now facing an impossible situation in the burden that is laid upon them by the stoppage of industry. In an effort to frame a constructive policy or, at any rate, to formulate for themselves some statement, the members of the division stayed together from eleven until four o'clock on Saturday, June 25. During this discussion, Prof. John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin and Prof. F. S. Deibler of Northwestern University gave patiently and constructively their help in the deliberations.

It was recognized by the division that a formal report was neither timely nor appropriate. The division felt, nevertheless, that however great the confusion characterizing the present situation, the two essentials for an effective and orderly program are (1) sympathetic understanding among groups and (2) constructive leadership. These two factors in possible advance were both represented in the persons of Whiting Williams, who spoke at the general meeting on What is on the Worker's Mind, and Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, whose contribution to the substitution for anarchy in the clothing trades of a reasonable degree of law and order now receives national recognition. Mr. Hillman spoke on organizing immigrant and unskilled labor.

SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE.

Children

THE theme which quite definitely dominated the meetings of the Children's Division was that of emphasizing the ideal that every child should, if he is in any measure mentally and physically capable, be given a decent home life and a chance to be educated in the public schools. The program was concerned not merely with emphasizing the ideal, but with developing methods and techniques which would bring about the desired result for all classes of children—the dependent, the delinquent and the physically handicapped.

Homer Folks, of New York city, secretary of the State Charities Aid Association, opened the discussion at the first session by emphasizing the importance of the entire preventive program. Mr. Folks believes that we have made real progress in the last twenty years in understanding the forces which make for poverty, delinquency and physical defect, and in beginning to control them.

Dr. William Healy of Boston in discussing the importance of understanding the personality and conduct problems of children, agreed with Mr. Folks that, in general, institutional life is bad for children because it takes place under conditions which preclude the personal devotion of some adult who stands in the relation of a parent to the child.

At a session presided over by Emma O. Lundberg of the federal Children's Bureau, consideration was given to problems of juvenile delinquency as dealt with by the juvenile court. Judge Charles W. Hoffman of Cincinnati stated frankly that the juvenile courts are not on the whole living up to the expectations of their founders. The reason may be, however, that a stupendous task was assigned them without a proper appreciation of its difficulties, and without proper facilities. The task of the court is no less a one than the saving of every delinquent and dependent child. Wiley H. Swift of the National Child Labor Committee made a plea for the thousands of normal children who are neglected and abused and for whom nothing is at present being done.

One session was devoted to the vital topic of the school as a little used social agency. Just as previous sessions had emphasized the right of every child to a normal home life, so this one emphasized his right to a school life adjusted to his individual needs. Jane F. Culbert of New York city gave the first paper from the point of view of the visiting teacher. She wholesomely emphasized a fact apt to be overlooked by the social worker—that the public school is already the greatest child welfare agency of the community, though its usefulness can unquestionably be widely extended.

Marietta L. Johnson of Fairhope, Ala., made an eloquent plea for a more vital type of education genuinely based upon an understanding of the child himself and his real needs. Education should be a life-giving, joyous process. It should be regarded not as a preparation for life, but as life itself. Newton H. Hegel of Minneapolis pointed out how far we are at present from securing to each citizen the fundamental rights of democracy.

The final session of the committee was given over to a consideration of how the benefits of normal home and school life could be extended to children who are handicapped—those with visual defects, the crippled, and children whose mothers work. Winifred Hathaway of New York city told of the extent of unrecognized visual defect in the schools, resulting in school failure not for lack of brains but for lack of glasses. Edith R. Solenberger of Philadelphia also laid stress upon the importance of considering carefully what kind of care might be given a child in its own home, before recommending institutional care.

Mabel A. Gillam of Chicago in presenting the work of the day nursery for the children of employed mothers, did not undertake to argue the theoretical desirability of the plan. She simply stated that as yet such nurseries were a necessity in cities because there were many working mothers for whom no other assistance was available.

HELEN T. WOOLLEY.

KINDRED CONVENTIONS

The Association of Social Workers

THE American Association of Social Workers is an accomplished fact. Amidst a veritable riot of amendments and suggestions, the members of what had been the National Social Workers' Exchange voted to set their faces toward the goal which this new name signifies. It is to be an organization of social workers. It is consciously to direct the development of this new profession. It is to be organized on a national scale, and most important of all, perhaps, it is to afford an opportunity for social workers to control the performance of certain definite and concrete functions, such as placement, professional research, vocational guidance, recruiting and popular education.

The meeting at Milwaukee was itself testimony to the deep and widespread interest which has been aroused during the past year in this idea of a working organization of social workers. Approximately one thousand people attended, nearly one-half the entire registration of the conference, marking it as one of the largest, if not the largest sectional meeting held during a very hot and very busy week. And as the meeting progressed it was apparent that they were not there because of their personal interest in speakers on the platform although the tribute given to Graham R. Taylor and Edith Shatto King came dangerously near to being an ovation. They were there because they wanted to know how this idea of professional organization and professional activity was going to tie up to their own particular jobs and their own specialized fields, and more than that they wished to have an active part in the formulation of policies.

The program had been definitely planned to make this possible. Mrs. King told how, when a year ago the exchange was in serious financial straits, a series of conferences resulted in a determined effort to make it something which it had not been before, a real organization of social workers. J. B. Buell paid tribute to members of the different committees—finance, publicity and education, vocational information, placement, recruiting, professional requirements—who, tackling the jobs which these titles indicate, have by their time and labor made possible the progress which has been made.

With these achievements as a setting, Mr. Taylor and Owen R. Lovejoy outlined the very serious problems of organization and policy which are before the association. Shall we limit membership? Mr. Taylor asked. If we do what should be the qualifications? How shall we organize nationally and on a democratic basis? What should be the relation of a local social workers' club to the nucleus of association members in a city. How can we best conduct a study of professional requirements which will really analyze the social worker's job? How can we better interpret our function to a public which still thinks of us as long-haired uplifters? His appeal was not for a quick and ready-made solution but for sober consideration in every part of the country and by every specialized group which has a stake in this outcome.

Mr. Lovejoy has been chairman of a committee which has studied the relation of the exchange to other national social agencies. The success of their program, he said, is in the last analysis always dependent on the personnel which they are able to secure, or with whom they must cooperate. To raise standards, to recruit new workers, to develop a real professional class is the fundamental purpose of the new association. In this early period a moral and financial obligation lies with the progressive national agencies. And then, as someone said afterward, the meeting really began. Homer Borst of Minneapolis, Karl de Schweinitz of Philadelphia, Mary Congdon of Pittsburg, Dorothy Kahn of Baltimore and representatives of other local committees told what they had done, of the problems in the field as they saw them, of their interest in the ideas which were being promulgated. The amendment changing the name was introduced, and for over thirty minutes President C. C. Carstens struggled with a mob which resembled nothing if not a battling political convention.

The new year is ushered in with a new name for the organization, with Owen R. Lovejoy as president, Clare M. Tousley, first vice-president, Gertrude Vaile, second vice-president, Rose J. McHugh, third vice-president, J. B. Buell, secretary, and W. W. Norton, treasurer. Sixty council members, representing every field of social work, every geographical section of the country, are to be the governing body. They in turn have elected as an executive committee to serve with the officers Harriet Andrew, Grace H. Childs, Mary Van Kleeck, David Holbrook and Philip P. Jacobs. They start the year with an inspiration and impetus such as has been seldom given to social workers. J. B. BUELL.

Child Labor

CHILD labor is not an isolated problem. This was evidently the thought in the mind of every speaker who addressed the annual conference of the National Child Labor Committee at Milwaukee on June 24. The child laborer is not a distinct type—he is simply a child, not a phenomenon—and he cannot be set apart from other children because he works. He must be considered as his fellows are considered, as entitled to all the care, protection, training, and opportunity for self-expression and development that we seek to give to all children. The child laborer, whether in the factory, the mine, the store, the street, the home, or on the farm, will be no better off because of prohibitive laws, even when well enforced, unless his health be safeguarded, his play promoted, his schooling made available, and a normal home life assured.

Most of our child laborers are now and always have been in the country. Nearly three-fourths of those from ten to fifteen years of age found by census enumerators in 1910 were on farms; we do not yet know how many were found there in 1920 but the number, when announced, will probably be far below that for 1910, because in the latter census the information was gathered in April when farming operations were under way, while in the former it was gathered in January when they were everywhere at a standstill. We know, however, that large numbers of young children work at hard tasks in the cultivation of sugar-beets, onions, tobacco, cotton, berries, and other crops raised on large areas, to say nothing of those who are kept busy at different occupations on small areas devoted to general farming. No labor laws apply to them, no inspectors oversee their work. It will not be sufficient to pass such laws and to provide for such inspection; but little will be accomplished until their parents—their employers—think of their work in terms of health, of play, of education, and of wholesome childhood. In a word, child labor everywhere must give way to suitable work for children—work that has disciplinary value, educative value, recreational value. As Charles Gibbons of the National Child Labor Committee declared, the matter is one of education rather than of legislation.

The problem of child labor cannot be considered apart from the problem of neglect, for the abuse of the child in employment is neglect—on the part of the parent, the community, the state. Especially is this true, said Sara A. Brown of the national committee, in regions where community spirit is lacking, for this lack means absence of proper play, of health protection, and of real schooling.

Country people, particularly young country people, leave the farms and go to the cities not only because conditions have changed but also because the people themselves have changed. They demand more than they did in former years, said Homer Folks, and if their wants cannot be supplied in the country they go to the cities to satisfy them. What we need more than anything else in the country, in the opinion of E. C. Lindemann of the National Country Life Association, is a revitalised rural life that will hold the best in the country and not let it slip away to the cities. EDWARD N. CLOPPER.

The Episcopalian Social Workers

OVER one hundred representatives of social service commissions and other organizations of the Protestant Episcopal Church gathered at Milwaukee-Downer College, June 20, at the call of the Rev. Charles N. Lathrop, secretary of the Department of Christian Social Service of the church. The chief purposes of the conference were to bring together Episcopalian social workers with a view to closer mutual acquaintance and support; to discuss the responsibilities and opportunities of the church in this particular field and the mutual relations that should be established among Episcopalian organizations and between them and similar organizations in other religious bodies; and to provide for continuing the meetings of the conference every year and for its permanent organization. One of the specially valuable results of the conference was that most of the delegates remained over for the meetings of the National Conference of Social Work.

The liveliest session was one at which the question of whether commissions should assume responsibility for expressing the conscience of the church on social matters was discussed vigorously by Bishop Irving P. Johnson of Colorado, who urged that the representatives of churches should be cautious not to trespass on territory that belongs to the state and should be sure that they spoke only the truth; and by Mary Van Kleeck, who laid stress on the importance of applying Christian principles to the conduct of every-day industrial life and of the preservation of the freedom of the truth. Unfortunately lack of time prevented further discussion of this subject, but most of the audience made it clear that its verdict was in the affirmative. The general sentiment of the members of the conference on the relation of churches to social problems and conditions was well expressed by the following passage in the report of the committee on parishes:

> The problem of industry is a part and a very important part of the larger social problem. What shall be the attitude of the Christian church toward the great world movement, which is seeking to make more just and righteous the relations which obtain between the employer and the employe today? This is a much mooted question. But we venture to say that it cannot be denied that industrial questions, dealing as they do with the welfare of human beings, are, at bottom, social and moral questions, and that they are, therefore, the rightful concern of religion and the church. This being so, it follows that the promotion of industrial well-being and peace must find a place in the social program of every living and awakened parish. The members of the parish must study industrial problems from the moral point of view. Real good would undoubtedly come from the holding, under parish auspices, of conferences between employers and employes. But such conferences would have to be carefully arranged for, and wisely and skilfully handled. Then the industrial forum plan has been tried with success as part of a parish program.
>
> The church cannot take sides with either the employer or employe as such; she must study both sides, and fearlessly use her great influence to help bring in justice and righteousness wherever they are lacking, and to safeguard them when threatened.

The conference voted by a large majority that it would not adopt declaratory resolutions nor indulge in propaganda but would confine itself to free and open discussion and conference. On the other hand, it suggested to the department that the latter should prepare and present to the church a statement of Christian social principles. It also voted to meet next year in Providence just before the National Conference of Social Work. It requested that the executive secretary of the department appoint a council of advice to be composed of one or more members from each province.

The atmosphere of the conference was full of friendliness, tolerance of differing opinions, a sincere desire to learn and religious feeling and faith. Its keynote was struck in the devotional service held in the cathedral on the second night of the conference preparatory to a corporate communion the next morning. Bishop Charles H. Brent of Buffalo urged a more thoroughgoing practice of the principles of the Sermon on the Mount in dealing with social problems, as well as throughout all our life. But, he said, it was essential to remember that the two great commandments were inseparably coupled together by Christ and that belief in and fellowship with God are the foundation for the fullest fellowship with men. JOHN M. GLENN.

The Social Service Exchanges

FOR some twenty years these exchanges have served as clearing houses for local social agencies by maintaining central card indices of the families known to them. Most exchanges have not ventured far beyond this clearing house service. Some exchanges have cleared Christmas and summer outing lists; a few have initiated case conferences; one or two have undertaken to act as consultants for agencies perplexed with record problems.

It has remained for the Minneapolis exchange to adopt a definite policy of seeking new services which the exchange may offer to the agencies. The results were brought out at the Milwaukee meeting of the American Association of Social Service Exchanges. In an able paper on the relation between the social service exchange and the case worker, when the service is extended, Pearl C. Salsberry, district secretary of the Minneapolis Associated Charities, discussed five experiments undertaken within the last two years by the Minneapolis exchange. It has directed student research work; produced an interesting chart of related families known to many of the agencies of the city; carried on a clipping bureau service; registered relatives for a limited number of agencies; and conducted an experiment in inter-city inquiry. Referring to the argument of an eastern registrar that routine skill is the backbone of the exchange's service, Miss Salsberry advanced the startling biological proposition that the exchange "has two backbones—one of routine skill, the other of unlimited imagination—each of importance in supporting the effective exchange." Naturally, the Minneapolis experiments were both criticized and commended in the general discussion. Probably the clipping bureau evoked the most interest, and fortunately, the delegates were able to examine at first-hand a similar clipping service maintained by the Milwaukee exchange.

Not only individual exchanges but also the national association has faced questions of scope and function. The executive committee undertook to review and extend the "standard forms" adopted last year and to compile standard filing rules. The suggestion was made that the association take in the whole field of social record-keeping, on the side of office organization and mechanics. The executive committee will report back on this matter at the next annual meeting. Margaret Byington of the American Red Cross spoke in one of the conference division meetings on the organization of the exchange in the small city. Bessie E. Hall discussed the relation between the social service exchange and (a) case work and (b) community organization.

The officers of the association elected at Milwaukee are as follows:

President: Bessie E. Hall, Cleveland;
Vice-President: W. Learmouth, Montreal;
Secretary: Arthur Dunham, Philadelphia;
Treasurer: Daisy I. Rice, Rochester.

ARTHUR DUNHAM.

Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy

PAPERS on illegitimacy were brought together this year under the auspices of the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy instead of under the Children's Division of the National conference. Dr. Marion Kenworthy of the Y. W. C. A. in a forceful presentation of the mental aspects of illegitimacy, asked: What is it besides the actual sex experience which leads the girl to indulge in illicit sex relations and what is it she seeks in choosing this method of expression? She classified unmarried mothers into two groups; those in whom we have a combination of definite mental pathology and sexual promiscuity and those in whom illicit sexual expression is reflected as a definite behavior tendency. For the unmarried mothers who have normal sex development but lack normal inhibitory equipment, a satisfactory solution is an environment which may insure their safety.

Instead of viewing the problem from a moral point of view, we should turn our efforts toward understanding the conditions as a problem of behavior. The individual must be helped to accept himself as he is, to recognize his assets together with his limitations and to recognize certain urges within himself that need control. We must not lose sight of the fact that in pregnancy itself we may find a potent factor for good. Dr. Kenworthy pleaded that we aim to discover the motive behind every act and to recognize the elements at work in the personality of the unmarried mother, which may be the influencing factor in producing the maladjustment. Our problem of education toward a satisfactory social adaptation should begin before the girl has reached the age of motherhood; we should furnish sublimational outlets before the damage is done.

Dr. George Ruhland, commissioner of health of Milwaukee, presented the plan of that city in approaching the subject of illegitimacy from the standpoint of public health. A ruling of this department, issued as a public health measure, requires the breast-feeding of every baby for at least three months wherever physically possible. He told of the success of the plan in reducing the infant mortality of children of illegitimate birth and of the opportunity afforded, at the same time, to make a more satisfactory social adjustment and plan for the unmarried mother and her baby during this time.

In a report on standards worked out by the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood, Irene Haywood of that city presented general standards of case work with the illegitimate family and standards for hospital social service. In presenting next steps, the following principals were enunciated:

That the unmarried mother is essentially and primarily a problem for the general family welfare agencies, and logically the major part of the social case work—study, diagnosis, planning and treatment—should be done by these societies;

That the agency dealing with the unmarried mother should supplement its case work through specialized agencies providing shelter before confinement, hospital care, post-natal care, placement of the baby, separate placement of the mother and child, legal protection through the courts, and vocational advice and guidance;

That the foster-care needed for many unmarried mothers and their children beyond the mother's pre-natal care should be closely related to or a part of the work of a general child welfare agency;

That the period of care in maternity homes be limited to approximately two or three months before and two months after confinement; and

That the after-care work in a community should be done either by the workers connected with the homes or by the general or special agencies to which the mothers are referred.

LOUISE DRURY.

The Visiting Teachers

THE underlying theme of the meetings and discussions held by the National Association of Visiting Teachers was the concept of the school as a potential social agency, and the visiting teacher as the organizer of this latent energy for effective social service. As was brought out by the retiring president, Jane F. Culbert of New York city, in her address on the treatment of the socially handicapped child, the visiting teacher anticipates social inadequacy and treats the symptoms —pauperism, inefficiency, behavior problems, mental diseases, beginnings of delinquency—so as to counteract the handicap, and eliminate the need for reeducation and reform later. Her position within the school enables her to be on hand when trouble appears, and overtake it early. Furthermore, she makes it possible for the school to render better cooperation to social agencies, since through her training in social work she understands the traditions of both the school and social work.

Newton H. Hegel of Minneapolis brought out the fact that the visiting teacher teaches not classes, but standards of living and of morals, needs of childhood, of the individual child, of his family. Jessie Taft of Philadelphia speaking on individualizing the child, emphasized the helpfulness of the visiting teacher to the class teacher in bringing to her a picture of the individual child, enabling the class teacher to individualize Johnnie or Jennie, and so adapt the school to the child's particular needs. Thus the visiting teacher has a double function—to educate homes and the individual child in school and life relations, and to awaken the social possibilities of schools for better service to childhood.

JESSIE L. LOUDERBACK.

The American Association for Organizing Family Social Work

PERHAPS participation is the word which best describes the spirit manifest in the meetings of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. Francis H. McLean of New York city, is his report of the year's field work, emphasized not only the nation-wide development in the standards and ideals of family case work but also the individual responsibility of the local societies in this development. Beginning with this report and including the more informal talks at the general secretaries' dinner there was evident a desire to give and take, to share the experiences and lessons gleaned from the dealing with every-day human problems. Mr. McLean spoke of experiments in Georgia and Tennessee, in Ohio and some of the states farther west, where the established family societies have assumed definite responsibility in helping the smaller cities meet their social problems. This is already bearing fruit in a better understanding of the fundamental purposes and problems of family case work agencies, whether in large or small, eastern or western communities.

This year, if ever, family case workers from North and South, East and West, met on common ground. Whatever the disagreements, and there was plenty of frank and wholesome difference of opinion, there was always a genuine readiness on the part of the disputants to go some distance with the experimenter.

There was very little theory in the nine group meetings—only enough to give a forward look to the discussions. Helen W. Hanchette of Cleveland and those who spoke on her subject had proved that domestic economy is a working force in family case work and based their belief in its future on the actual accomplishments of the past.

Ida M. Cannon, who is in charge of medical social service work in Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, John E. Ransom of Chicago and Elizabeth G. Fox of Washington spoke of steps already taken in differentiating the functions of family case work agencies from those of medical case work agencies as indicative of what the next steps might well be. The experience of the Chicago society in the careful recruiting of workers was a genuine contribution toward the solution of the personnel problem of social agencies.

But the absence of theoretical discussion does not by any means imply that there was any lack of challenging ideas. Whether or not one agreed with the process of identifying clue aspects in family case work presented by Ada E. Sheffield of Boston, one felt the thrill of her presentation of what case work thoughtfully performed and thoughtfully analyzed may contribute to the science of human behavior. Virginia P. Robinson of Philadelphia, in urging case workers to indicate the processes by which they accomplish their end, placed an additional burden upon the worker, but at the same time indicated a necessary next step in the development of the profession. Indeed, whether in the pioneer work of a western society, in the sharing of case work responsibility with new groups in the community, or in the accomplishments of the intensive field work in Ohio, the concrete actualities served but as windows to a wider vision of future possibilities.

It would probably be out of the question to expect in such large gatherings—and the association has never had larger or more enthusiastic meetings—to have continuous group thinking; but to one member of these audiences there came a definite conviction that the listeners were doing more than merely listening—that they were themselves helping to create the ideas. From such participation comes the steady growth of group ideals.

MARGARET E. RICH.

Aid for Travelers

AMONG the youngest of national organizations, the National Association of Traveler's Aid Societies in its third annual conference showed a spirit of determination to apply to its own technique the principles and methods which have been found fruitful in the more highly developed fields of social service.

The seventy-nine delegates present included representatives from such widely scattered cities as San Francisco, Dallas, Ashville, N. C., and Norfolk, in addition to cities of the Middle West and Canada. This broad representation, while bringing out special local problems, such as those in cities of undeveloped social resources discussed by Mrs. L. G. Irish, secretary of the Traveler's Aid Society, Milwaukee, also disclosed more typical problems. A session was devoted to consideration of the special knowledge and skill needed by the traveler's aid worker as the "social worker in the station," led by Miss O. M. Jaques of Boston.

The subject of traveler's aid and protective work was discussed by Miss V. M. Murray, secretary of the Traveler's Aid Society of New York city. She urged that the traveler's aid societies should work solely as private protective agencies without police power.

> Not only can we do more effective work without any police power, but if we accept it we are assuming legal authority without legal responsibility to any legal agency. No private organization should place itself in this position. Police power for women should be exercised only by regularly appointed police women.

This opinion was confirmed in a resolution unanimously adopted in the business meeting of the association.

The possibilities for greater service in guiding and protecting the newly arrived immigrant en route to his destination were discussed by Allen T. Burns. That few problems of the new arrivals to our shores are more serious in nature and greater in magnitude than that of the girl coming here to be married was strongly emphasized by Margaret Wead, field supervisor of the Traveler's Aid Society of New York city.

> A large group of these girls [said Miss Wead] have never seen their fiances. Frequently they change their minds upon arrival, but as marriage has been stated on the manifest sheets as their reason for coming to America they fear deportation if they do not marry, although this is not in fact the law. When such girls are discharged to our care they are told by inspectors that they are to follow the directions of our worker. Immigration inspectors very frequently refuse to discharge girls to the fiances, no matter what the credentials, and often offer them the alternative either of having the girl cared for by our society or of having her sent to Ellis Island for detention.

In Miss Wead's opinion tragedies which have resulted in many of these cases could be avoided if federal provision were made for a social investigation in the man's home town before the girl arrives, following an affidavit filed by the man at Ellis Island, and for temporary detention, perhaps, of the group of girls who have never seen their fiances, until an investigation is made.

A. IRVING HALLOWELL.

The Child Welfare League

THE Child Welfare League of America emerged from its chrysalis stage into a full-fledged organization at its first annual meeting held during the National Conference of Social Work in Milwaukee. With a new constitution adopted at this meeting and with a board of directors representing various localities and forms of service, the league stands ready to carry forward the purposes stated in its constitution; to secure:

The better understanding of child welfare problems.
The improvement of standards and methods of the different forms of work with children.
The making available for all of its members the assured results of successful effort in any part of the field.
The development of inter-society service.

The promotion of these purposes will be under the direction of C. C. Carstens who, pending a permanent form of organization, has been conducting the work of the league since the first of this year under a preliminary working arrangement following the grant made by the Commonwealth Fund.

The report presented by Mr. Carstens of his first six months of service shows visits to forty-one of the constituent members of the league in the East, South and Middle West for the purpose of getting acquainted with the field, besides the rendering of definite services to at least a dozen member agencies in response to requests for advice and assistance in meeting local problems. Thus the field service to which many of the league's members have long looked forward became an established fact before the organization itself was completed.

Other services already rendered by the league are the establishment of a small circulating library of books and articles bearing upon child welfare which will be loaned to members, and the sending of trained workers upon request to assist member agencies for limited periods in developing new work or in effecting changes.

An adjourned session of the annual meeting considered the practicability of developing certain record forms that would embody the minimum of information which it is believed should be recorded about all children accepted by agencies for care. The interest called forth indicated that this is a live question upon which some further experimental work in cooperation with member agencies will be undertaken.

The officers and executive committee elected at the annual meeting are:

President, H. Ida Curry, New York city; vice-president, Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago; secretary, Georgia G. Ralph, New York city; treasurer, Frederic H. Knight, Boston; executive committee, H. H. Hart, New York city; A. H. Stoneman, St. Joseph, Mo.; W. A. Weston, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Mrs. E. H. Stedman, St. Louis; James E. Ewers, Cleveland; Dr. F. S. Stoddard, Philadelphia; Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville; D. F. Shirk, Topeka; Rush Berolzheimer, Chicago; Caroline Crosby, Minneapolis; Belle Sherwin, Cleveland; Henry W. Thurston, New York city; May F. Hallett, San Francisco; Judge S. D. Murphy, Alabama; Ada E. Sheffield, Boston; J. V. Hawk, Helena; E. D. Solenberger, Philadelphia.

The offices of the league are at 130 East 22 Street, New York city.

GEORGIA G. RALPH.

National Probation Conference

A CRITICAL analysis and re-statement of the principles and functions of the juvenile court by leading judges and experts, and a strong defense of the probation system, properly used, as one of the great crime preventives, featured the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the National Probation Association in Milwaukee. The conference brought together 250 judges, probation officers and other court workers from almost every state, who set out to examine and redefine the place of social work and social organization in the courts. They got down to intensive discussion.

In the adult divisions, figures and statements were presented by the secretary of the association showing that newspaper intimations of a general "crime wave" were largely exaggerated. For this very reason, however, there is greater need for high standards in probation work. The probation worker should utilize the present public interest in crime to strengthen his work.

John M. Cooper of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., speaking on the responsibility of society for delinquency, urged that workers in the courts should give the public more information as to their work. Students in schools and colleges should be taught practical, present-day civics—the duties of the police, the work of juvenile and other courts, and the place of the correctional institutions. Strong defense of the probation plan was voiced by Judge A. C. Backus of Milwaukee and George W. Kirchwey of New York.

The family or domestic relations court, the movement for which is growing, was discussed by representatives of the Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and Cincinnati courts. Judge Charles W. Hoffman of Cincinnati reported the probable establishment of such courts with broad powers in the cities of St. Louis and Baltimore. Non-support and all strictly family problems needing court action should be dealt with largely in conformity with practice in the juvenile courts.

The sessions on the juvenile court, arranged jointly with the federal Children's Bureau, opened with a statement by Julia C. Lathrop pointing out "the danger of emphasizing the social aspects of the juvenile court at the expense of its legal authority;" but answering in the negative the query: "Have we prevailing accessible provisions for the children and youth of our country who are brought into courts in need of the protection, guidance or restraint which have failed them elsewhere?"

This question was dwelt upon by Judge Hoffman, who showed that beneficent laws had generally failed to reach the delinquent child until the beginning of the Twentieth Century. The juvenile court idea has been of inestimable value but the courts are in general not yet functioning as they should, owing to legalistic views. Besides this, lack of probation staffs, detention homes and clinical facilities tend to subject the courts to severe and merited criticism. The National Probation Association and other agencies should spread the gospel throughout the nation that the juvenile court exists "not to try children as criminals but to save them."

Standards for a good juvenile court were outlined by C. C. Carstens of New York. There must be, he said, a specially selected and qualified judge giving to the work of the court a considerable part of his time, adequate probation service, private hearings, and medical and psychological service; the court finding its place in cooperation with other agencies serving children in the community. "The juvenile court has suffered in the house of its friends," and is still on trial.

Judge Edward Schoen of the Newark Juvenile Court pleaded for a broader jurisdiction. Adults contributing to the child's misfortune, he declared, should all be triable before the socially minded judge of the juvenile court. There should be full equity powers. The tribunal which exists to protect and help children should not be handicapped by the necessity of stigmatizing the child a "juvenile delinquent." This term should be eliminated. Even the term juvenile court has outlived its usefulness. The majority of children are victims of circumstances. To this theory of the court Judge H. S. Hulbert of Detroit agreed, but Judge Kathryn Sellers of Washington and Judge Edward F. Waite of Minneapolis suggested certain limitations. Judge Waite presented fundamental legal aspects, such as the necessity of regarding preponderance of evidence, but both urged the paramount importance of good probation service—the "eyes and ears" of the court.

The statements made and the conclusions agreed upon will form the basis of the work of a representative committee on juvenile court standards, to be appointed by the Children's Bureau and to work in cooperation with the National Probation Association during the coming year.

Special problems of unprotected girls were discussed and methods compared. The functions of probation officers, police women and protective workers were defined in a special report. Many resolutions were adopted, one authorizing a committee to formulate a plan for an ideal family court suitable for small as well as large communities; another providing for a committee on criminal research and statistics. The association's bill now pending in Congress to establish probation in the federal courts was endorsed. Plans for the work of the association during the coming year were reported upon and these will be entered into with a greatly strengthened and more representative board of directors and executive staff.

CHARLES L. CHUTE.

Hospital Social Worker

AMONG the topics discussed at the meetings in Milwaukee of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers were the need for definition of the relation of hospital social work to other fields of health and social work, and for the establishment of training courses. That the discussion was fruitful is shown by the report of a committee appointed to formulate a statement of functions. This was adopted, as follows:

PERMANENT FUNCTIONS:

(1) CASE WORK: By the method of social case work to care for ward patients and out-patients whose medical and social conditions indicate need of adjustment in order to render their medical treatment effective and restore them to health and sound social condition.

(2) RESEARCH: To study social causes of health and behavior.

(3) EDUCATION: To cooperate with schools of social work in training of students for hospital social work.

To give to students from training schools for nurses, from medical schools, and from schools of sociology and psychology, insight into the social environmental conditions through lectures, required reading, and field work.

To interpret the hospital to the community by posters, charts, public speaking and other means and to make the resources of the institution available to persons in the community.

To educate the public by the same means in hygiene and to teach the relation between social conditions and health.

To cooperate with such outside agencies, institutions, and interested individuals as may serve to enlarge the function of the hospital and to render its care of patients more effective.

TEMPORARY FUNCTIONS:

It may be necessary to undertake, for a time, certain duties that are not essentially the function of hospital social work, such as the duties of clinical clerk, admitting clerk, financial investigator for the hospital, messenger, which may be performed for a time with the intention of helping the hospital to fulfill its obligation toward the community as well as to the patients. In undertaking these temporary and supplementary duties it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the primary function of hospital social work is social case work and the best contribution of hospital social work both to the hospital and the community is to perform this function.

The vote to have a poster contest and permanent exhibit for

use at meetings of the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association, the National Conference of Social Work, and at other times when hospital social service may be presented, showed clearly the desire to interpret hospital social service to others, and to see that it functions in relation to other social and health agencies.

The need of courses in training was stressed by representatives from all sections of the country. It was unanimously agreed that the committee on training should work with a similar committee of the American Hospital Association, recently appointed to study and formulate curricula. This committee will yield to the hospital association's committee the practical experience and viewpoint of the practitioner.

Running through all the meetings was a keen appreciation of the need for keeping open-minded toward the problems which confront the hospital social worker and for analyzing these problems in order to help the hospital itself fulfill its social responsibilities.

RUTH V. EMERSON.

Neighborhood and Settlement

THE eleventh conference of the National Federation of Settlements was held just in advance of the Milwaukee meetings, at the Bowen Country Club, Waukegan, Ill., the summer camp of Hull House, Chicago. Amid the most beautiful surroundings the settlement folk gathered together, the value of the conference being enhanced not only by the intimacy of the delegates, but also by their seclusion from outside interests.

Among the exceptionally good addresses setting forth new and important thoughts, that given by Dr. William R. P. Emerson of Boston outlined forms of health work through nutrition clinics which the settlement houses could well afford to mother. In like manner the address of Andrew J. Thomas of New York on housing elicited the most intense interest and questioning from the delegates. His plan of multiform housing was interestingly and vividly portrayed, and he brought home the possibility of settlement house assistance in preaching the gospel of this new housing plan.

Robert A. Woods, head worker of South End House, Boston, drawing on his recent trip around the world, interpreted the development of neighborhood and community organizations in the Far East and its influence on international relations.

The conference was also important in that it showed a very evident and far-reaching evaluation of their work upon the part of the various settlement houses themselves, and a more intelligent and firmly founded faith in their fundamental philosophy that social progress comes through neighborly and personal contact. This faith of settlement people kept coming to the surface at the various meetings, round-tables and discussions. The war had passed and the settlement folk for the last year have been more or less unconsciously making an analysis of their work and the faith that sustains them. They are now going forward with a new faith more intense from this evaluation itself.

This was reflected in the address of the president, John L. Elliott of Hudson Guild, New York city, in which he differentiated the mechanical or scientific side of democracy and life from the intangible and yet more important spiritual or cultural side. He touched to the quick the common thought in the hearts of settlement folk.

The heart-searching that has marked the settlement movement in the past year, and which has brought a more refined and intense faith, was evidenced on the practical side in discussions of such matters as administrations, board membership, and by the unprecendented number of committees appointed for work during the next year.

For the first time the conference work was divided into distinct and separate departments such as boys' work, girls' work, and work with adults.

The settlement house still intensely believes in neighborly and personal contact as the basis of progress, yet it seeks more scientific and modern methods in developing its technique and in presenting its work and the philosophy underlying it to the general public.

CHARLES C. COOPER.

The Spirit of Jewish Social Service

CONFERENCES, not being like political campaigns, do not always offer to reporters a keynote. Yet each gathering from year to year has a character of its own and leaves in the minds of the delegates certain outstanding themes, indicating the trend of ideas in a particular field. The National Conference of Jewish Social Service at Milwaukee this year afforded an exposition of Jewish social values as a matter of race philosophy; the projection of these values into the work of the Joint Distribution Committee overseas, and their expression in various practical fields in America.

The Jewish conference has probably never heard a more satisfying exposition of the basic philosophy underlying Jewish social work than that given in the presidential address of Louis H. Levin of Baltimore. Mr. Levin stated as his thesis that Jews have group and hereditary traits of social value and that their long socialized life has created customs or mores, the social implications of which are significant in modern life. He indicated that the recent growth of nationalism on the one hand and universalism on the other is reconciled, not in the policy of the assimilationist but rather in that of the federalist. The latter believes that "the great society is to be inspired by a uniformity of spirit with a variety of specialized feeling." This is exemplified in the history of the Jews—a people with a corporate soul, yet expressing a wide range of strongly individualized opinion, feeling and philosophy. Mr. Levin gave a clear picture of the history of the Jews as a socialized people. Going back to the prophets, he characterized their work as social criticism and explained the basis of the familiar philosophy that every Jew bears responsibility for every other Jew.

The effect of this basic philosophy on the social life and social program of the Jews was worked out in an interesting manner, showing that what we like to think of as a modern conception of social work is, in reality, a matter of ancient ethics. This, as interpreted by Dr. Kohler, demands "a higher justice which is not satisfied with mitigating the misery of the unfortunate by acts of charity, but insists on the readjustment of the social conditions which create poverty."

Certain definite tendencies and institutions are traceable also to this underlying doctrine; for instance, the general use and effectiveness of mass action for social aims on the one hand, and the expectation (on the part of the less fortunate members of the community) of intelligent and constructive treatment—an attitude often misunderstood as effrontery, but more sympathetically explained as "a high standard of receiving." The interaction of these two tendencies upon one another has produced a "combination of generosity and expectation that supports the morale of a people and prevents any large number from reaching or remaining in the lower social levels." It is social data of this kind that the Jewish social worker needs to study and build upon. Such study must underlie technique and the newer implements provided by the social sciences. If, then, a proper balance is maintained between the use of Jewish social data and modern methods in social work, Jewish specialization may effect a worthy contribution to social progress.

The statement at Milwaukee of the program of the Joint Distribution Committee in its work in Europe was the most complete and gratifying that has come to American social workers. There were elucidated plans for discontinuing

what was known during the worst of the European emergency as "general relief," now being replaced by reconstructive work in the nature of loan banks, cooperatives, trade schools and shops, encouragement of agricultural pursuits and subsidies for various types of cultural activities. The utter inadequacy of refugee work indicated the inability even of organized forces to deal with so overwhelming a problem.

The work for war orphans is being expedited on the basis of financial adoption, in spite of considerable sentiment on the part of lay groups in favor of wholesale transportation of children to our shores. Throughout the discussion of work in Europe there was notable emphasis upon building up local institutions, fostering self-sustaining enterprises, and placing reconstruction work on a loan basis.

The theme of utilizing existing social values was again dominant in the discussions of local problems. A session on preventive philanthropy pointed the need for social workers to correlate and present evidence of maladjustment to the "joy-riding indifference of the public." This contribution was made by a board member, a social worker without a job, who sees the social worker with a job too much absorbed for the good of his own cause. Discussion pointed to the fact that the federation principle has sometimes acted as a deterrent in putting across the message of the individual society, that volunteer service should be more widely used for interpretive purposes, and that social agencies are too ready to relieve industry of its responsibility. An earnest plea was made for "less giving and more guiding," a doctrine doomed to unpopularity among those who think in terms of overhead expense. The appearance of the theme was noticeable again in discussions of Jewish contributions to industrial relations and of types of group adjustments in a democracy; in outlining a coordinated program for small communities, and in Prof. Julius Drachsler's paper on the blending of immigrant heritages in America.

DOROTHY C. KAHN.

Tuberculosis and Public Health

THE Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the National Tuberculosis Association, held in New York June 14 to 17, inclusive, was the most successful gathering of its kind in the history of the organization, registering approximately 1,050 people. Perhaps the most important feature of the meeting was the reorganization of the National Tuberculosis Association along lines contained in the by-laws adopted last March, and recommended by the committee on reorganization of which Dr. David R. Lyman of Wallingford, Conn., was the chairman. The board of directors of the association has been extended from 60 to 100, including 50 directors at large and 50 on nomination of affiliated organizations.

Particular stress was laid upon medical and social research. Dr. Gerald B. Webb in his presidential address sounded the keynote of the meeting when he said:

> We must frankly state our knowledge of tuberculosis and also the extent of our ignorance regarding it, so that we can more wisely guide the efforts made in prevention and cure, and direct research to bring further enlightenment. . . . While the association is teaching it should also be learning.

The report of the executive office, the discussions in the pathological and clinical sections, the resolutions adopted, and in fact the entire atmosphere of the meeting contributed not a little to this emphasis, laid particularly upon research in those obscure lines of the social and medical aspects of tuberculosis about which we are still in ignorance.

Dr. William R. P. Emerson of Boston presented the problem of nutrition and the program of the Modern Health Crusade came in for discussion. The educational exhibits and the demonstrations of Humpty-Dumpty, the new health clown of the National Tuberculosis Association, as well as other features of a similar character all contributed toward the general impression that work with children is a focal point at the present time for the anti-tuberculosis movement. This impression was strengthened by the reports from the laboratory presented at the pathological session.

Lee K. Frankel, in his paper on statistical evidence of the effect of intensive anti-tuberculosis effort upon the death-rate, showed that where the tuberculosis program has been properly emphasized and where the results can be adequately measured, results are forthcoming in decreased mortality. Dr. James Alexander Miller, the newly elected president, also pointed out that the tuberculosis death-rate in this country is rapidly declining, thanks to the cumulative results of the efforts of the tuberculosis movement during the last ten to fifteen years.

The problem of the tuberculosis ex-service man was much discussed. Dr. Lyman pointed out, and the resolutions adopted by the association clearly stated that the ex-soldier patient presents not only the most difficult single problem of the kind that this country has ever faced, but also a broader and more serious problem in public health. Dr. Lyman stated at the conclusion of his paper that unless proper measures were taken "we face the certainty of a future death-rate among these boys that will stamp our work for them as a tragic failure."

How well rounded was the program will be made clear in enumerating the meetings of the advisory council, three clinical sessions, two pathological sessions and a joint clinical and pathological session, three sociological sessions and a joint sociological and nursing session, and two nursing sessions. The local committee of arrangements also provided several unique features. A pageant staged on Thursday night, entitled The Spirit of the Doubled-Barred Cross, was written by Helena V. Williams and Elizabeth Cole of the staff of the National Tuberculosis Association, and was directed by Eugene Roder, who directed The Gay White Way, Naughty Marietta, and other well-remembered productions. Costumes and settings were designed by Miss Williams. The cast was composed mostly of amateurs. The pageant was presented in six episodes, a prologue and an epilogue. It dealt with the sweep of the campaign against tuberculosis from the discovery of the stethescope by Laennec to the rapidly advancing Modern Health Crusade of the present time. The spirit of the crusade was depicted in the death and return of King Arthur.

An occupational therapy exhibit, the poster contest exhibit, the county fair exhibit, the Framingham exhibit, and others showed the methodology of these various phases of tuberculosis work. On Thursday afternoon Humpty-Dumpty gave a performance before 700 children in the grand ball-room of the Waldorf-Astoria.

The most significant resolution adopted was with reference to rehabilitation of ex-service men. This resolution recommended that Congress be urged that the various services of the federal government be given necessary assistance in order to establish the discipline so essential to the maintenance of the much needed morale in government tuberculosis hospitals. It also recommended such changes in the compensation act as will result in the immediate and material reduction in compensation for those cases who refuse to make proper use of the facilities provided for their benefit and that appointments of individuals charged with the care of the tuberculous ex-soldier be based on the welfare of the man and the country at large and not upon the desires of the individual constituents. The American Legion has been urged to give its full cooperation to the government services, in an effort to prevent an uncontrolled minority of its members from seriously interfering as they now do with the chance of the recovery of their fellow-patients. Local tuberculosis associations were also urged to inaugurate a campaign of publicity in order to give the public the true facts of the situation.

HELENA V. WILLIAMS.

The Federations

DEFINITE progress toward standardization of the welfare federation movement was made at meetings at Milwaukee of the American Association for Community Organization.

The executive committee of the association was authorized to work on plans for financing and organizing a full-time paid executive staff, which would be available for advising communities interested in establishing federations, community chests or councils of social agencies or in carrying on the activities of such organizations already in existence. The executive committee was also ordered to proceed at once to issue a hand-book on the methods and principles of community organization.

Definition of the movement was reached in the generally accepted statement that a community chest is considered to be a money-raising organization financing practically all the local philanthropies of a community as well as all national and foreign relief agencies making local appeals for funds; that a financial federation or welfare federation usually is less all-inclusive in its scope; and that a council of social agencies may be considered a cooperative endeavor by local agencies without joint finance as an activity.

Among the opinions which seemed to gain general acceptance were these: That the control of a community chest or federation should be as democratic as possible, inhering rather in the cooperating agencies than in any clique of contributors; that a community chest or federation which neglects social considerations is seriously defective; that in general it is inadvisable to attempt to conduct both a federation and a council as separate organizations in any city, for financial coordination should be but one of the functions of a council, which may include many agencies not engaged in joint finance but cooperating in other respects.

Rapid progress in the community organization field was shown. Reports were heard from community organizations in thirty-six cities. It was stated that during the past year probably as many as twenty new federations or councils have been established, most of them with joint financing among their functions. New York now is the only large city of the country without a community organization with a full-time secretary; Philadelphia, Chicago and St. Louis having been added to the list within the last few months. Inquiries were reported from cities large and small in all parts of the United States and Canada, and a successful community chest was reported in operation in Hawaii. It was shown that in practically every city where an adequate plan has been adopted with a competent executive in charge the movement has been successful; and that failures have been due to the absence of one or both of these features. Most of the community chests and federations had been successful in raising their budgets, even in spite of adverse financial conditions, as victoriously faced in Rochester and Cincinnati this spring. Even where federations had not raised their full budgets, there was serious question as to whether their individual member organizations would have done as well had they sought their funds separately.

Officers elected for 1921-22 are:

President, William J. Norton, Community Union, Detroit; first vice-president, Elwood Street, Central Council of Social Agencies, St. Louis; second vice-president, L. A. Halbert, Council of Social Agencies, Kansas City; secretary, Raymond Clapp, Welfare Federation, Cleveland; treasurer, H. P. Wareheim, Patriotic and Community Fund, Rochester.

Additional members of the executive committee: C. M. Bookman, Community Chest, Cincinnati; C. Whit Pfeiffer, Community Chest, St. Paul; Otto W. Davis, Council of Social Agencies, Minneapolis; Sherman C. Kingsley, Welfare Federation, Philadelphia; H. D. Wehrley, Bureau of Community Service, Dayton.

ELWOOD STREET.

The Librarians

DURING the years of the war librarians' efforts were largely centered on aiding war activities. Their contribution need not be dwelt on here, but now that these activities are being discontinued or taken over by the government, the American Library Association is endeavoring to establish not a pre-war, but a normal post-war status.

The forty-third annual conference of the American Library Association, held at Swampscott, Mass., June 20 to 27, recorded the largest registration of any conference since the founding of the association in 1876. More than eighteen hundred librarians were in attendance and sessions covering every phase of library activity were on the program.

Some of the outstanding features of the year's work, as noted in the secretary's report, are the membership campaign, resulting in 850 new members, a gain of 19 per cent; a growing employment service carried on at headquarters; a recruiting committee appointed for the purpose of persuading young men and women to consider library work as a vocation; the preparation of a form for library statistics; consideration of the question of national certification of librarians and accredited training agencies; and the hospital library service, begun in February, 1917, as an adjunct of camp library work and probably to be brought to a close this summer and transferred to the government. Book wagon service was exhibited at the conference, and it was voted to finance a special car as a forerunner of a series of "book wagon" routes to far places in the country. The most important matter to be considered by the conference as a whole was the final ratification of the new constitution which was adopted at Colorado Springs last year.

Some of the resolutions submitted and adopted at the meeting endorsed the Smith-Towner bill for a department of education; urged the creation of a government division devoted to the stimulation of library activities in the United States, and advocated the passage of one of the bills now before Congress for the reclassification of the government civil service. "The disintegration of the service in government libraries through loss of trained and experienced members of their staffs, who cannot afford to remain at the low salaries now paid, should be averted as soon as possible."

These resolutions reflect the keen appreciation felt for the services rendered by the Library of Congress and a strong desire to bring about better working conditions there.

The association went on record as urging "upon the President of the United States and Congress the initiative movement looking to a reduction of armament at the earliest possible moment," and that members of the American Library Association make individual requests to their congressmen for such action.

As the federal government is the world's greatest publisher, there is no cause for surprise in noting that one of the largest and most successful section meetings held was on the popular use of documents in libraries. The function of the librarian has changed from that of being a custodian of books to that of being a dispenser of knowledge: so is his raw material no longer limited to bound volumes, but includes all printed matter. John Cotton Dana, of the Newark Public Library, in a recent article on the librarian's widening field says: "To be a librarian worthy of the name today is to be a person skilful in making print more useful to those who pay his wage."

The Special Libraries Association which held its twelfth annual convention in connection with that of the American Library Association was concerned with the collecting, organizing and distributing of information. Business men's libraries show rapid progress and demonstrate the expert application of knowledge to the practical problems of modern business, industry, and commerce.

ANNA C. REQUE.

Out of the Beaten Path

The Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor

By David J. Saposs

LABOR BUREAU, INC.

THE Gompers administration is still intact. But the threatened alignment of forces at the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor gave it the worst shock it has ever experienced. The administration forces were worried. Gompers himself took occasion to break all precedent by delivering an extended campaign speech explaining his position on the Irish question. So tense and uncertain was the outcome at the time of balloting that the veteran president of the Cigar Makers' who, at previous conventions had indifferently arisen and nominated his chief with a few eulogistic remarks, thought it necessary to recapitulate at some length the achievements and qualifications of his candidate.

On the final count Gompers received 25,022 votes against 12,324 for Lewis of the Mine Workers', who contested the presidency. Neither Gompers nor Lewis carried his entire delegation. The size of the opposition vote was as large as that of pre-war times when the Socialists had a candidate against Gompers. But the complexion of the vote was entirely different.

It was not the traditional opposition of Socialist and Labor Party elements that the administration feared, but the defection of the "Indianapolis crowd," and the railroad union bloc. By joining forces these two groups would have been in a position to control the convention. Adding the votes of the Socialist and Labor Party delegates from other unions the odds were indeed in favor of the opposition. The surprise of the convention was that none of these elements voted as a unit. Of the Indianapolis group only the Carpenters' and Miners' voted for Lewis—the one with its entire delegation, the other with a majority. Six of the ten railroad unions voted for Gompers. Out of the remainder, one—the Machinists'—cast its entire vote for Lewis. Even the Socialist unions split, the Journeymen Tailors' voting solidly for Lewis, the Bakers' and Brewery Workers' supporting Gompers. Four of the six delegates from the Ladies' Garment-Workers' headed by its president voted for Gompers. The Painters' International is the only one that last year endorsed the Labor Party. But it too voted against Lewis.

Why the Splits

What was the reason for this odd splitting of elements? The reasons were as various as the elements themselves: First of all, the majority of the delegates to federation conventions still have much personal loyalty for Gompers, and greatly admire his ability. In their eyes he and the American Federation of Labor are synonomous. Gompers' followers have always cleverly construed an attack upon him as an attack upon the labor movement. Hence, to many delegates, he is more than a personality; he is the symbol of labor. They are easily captivated by his witticisms and sarcastic jibes at opponents. His oracular manner of speech and his ornate vocabulary throw a spell over home-grown delegates. For, after all, he is the "grand old man of the labor movement," and to them nigh infallible. Not unlike children, they are kept in leash by fear of the momentary descent of a terrible ogre. In past years this ogre was socialism; more recently, bolshevism; and at the Denver convention, Hearstism. Being a master of applied mob psychology, Gompers becomes the valorous knight who stands between them and the horrible monster.

This year, also, there was a very tangible enemy abroad which had to be reckoned with. Experienced members of the conservative unions felt that in the midst of the onslaught of the "open shop" campaign this was not the time to discard their ablest and most seasoned leader, notwithstanding the fact that many of them personally chafe under his dictatorship. Clearly, while the "Indianapolis crowd" may combine to carry its measures at conventions, or to dominate the executive council, it is not ready to scrap Gompers.

Of the railroad group, the Machinists' Union can be classed as having a consciously radical rank and file. Its delegation came to the convention instructed to oppose Gompers, and to support and advocate principles endorsed by progressives and radicals. But most of the leaders of the railroad unions are conservative, except where circumstances or the rank and file prod them on to take a different course.

Two of the old-time Socialist unions have been for some time voting either in part or entirely with the administration. Because of their peculiar internal problems they cannot afford to antagonize it. The plight of the Brewery Workers' is generally understood. The Bakery Workers' has always had a hard fight to maintain its organization, and has found the union label its readiest weapon. Only the enthusiastic support of the entire labor movement can make the label effective. In recent conventions, each of these unions had divided its vote between administration and anti-administration forces. At this convention they voted solidly with the administration on all issues. The ladies' garment workers were partly influenced by similar considerations in the presidential contest. Many of the dress and waist manufacturers of New York are locating in small industrial towns where woman and child labor is plentiful and unorganized. To overcome the prejudices of these workers and the opposition of the local authorities, the aid of the local labor people is indispensable.

Although the Painters' Union endorsed the Labor Party its leaders are mostly conservatives, and like the other building trades unions was probably influenced in voting against Lewis because the carpenters were his chief support. In jurisdictional disputes Hutchison of the Carpenters' has trampled upon and ignored the rights of the other building trades unions. With his candidate in power, they could expect little consideration from the federation in these matters.

The Insurgent Group

Those Socialist and Labor Party delegates who supported Lewis did so under no illusions. They did not endorse his record as president of the Miners'. Nevertheless, they felt that a change in administration would make it easier to bring about further changes in policies. Some policies have already been radically reversed in spite of the persistent opposition of Gompers and his administration. But they felt that the displacement of the "sanctified" guiding genius would give them, as a minority with the balance of power, a better standing and greater influence. They would have representation on committees and more consideration in the conduct of conventions. Besides, with the ablest man of the other side removed, it would be easier to convert the labor movement to their point of view. They also argued that Lewis, coming from a union with a militant and radical rank and file, was bound to carry out progressive policies, or at least not fight them so vehemently as Gompers does. His is an industrial union, committed to nationalization and other progressive ideas opposed to the National Civic Federation, in favor of affiliation with the international trade union movement. Lewis has publicly committed himself to several of these propositions.

The International Institute of the Y. W. C. A. has done much individual work with foreign-born women in cooperation with charity and certain municipal organizations. Perhaps the most specific contribution has been their recruiting for the educational authorities of home classes. They have done much in the way of recreational work. The home classes appear highly successful. The aim of these classes is "to keep the family united and happy, with English as the common language, and with a truly comfortable home."

E. EVERETT CLARK.

Americanization Notes

THE latest Americanization movement has arisen among sculptors, who have formed the Society of American Sculptors, for the purpose of Americanizing their art. The secretary of an older established rival society points out, not without a certain show of justice on his side, that an attempt among artists, the great majority of whom are foreign-born, have been educated abroad or have long lived abroad, to teach principles of Americanism is rather far-fetched. The real American school that is gradually coming into being does not concern itself with origins or theories of nationalism, but only with the highest possible standards of work in the forms of expression that come naturally to the individual artists.

Foreign-born for June-July is almost entirely devoted to the subject of the immigrant in American agriculture. An Armenian at New Orleans is credited with having the largest silk-worm nursery in the world. Czech settlements are enumerated for thirty states, Wisconsin coming first with 145 of these colonies. Of the Italians in Connecticut, Olive G. Runner writes that, though remote from native American life owing to their geographical isolation, they are most loyal and friendly to American approach. And of the Poles of Massachusetts, Louis M. Lyons says that "in three generations many of them have passed through successive stages as farm laborers, tenants and land owners of some of the most valuable acres."

Beginning two decades ago with about two hundred families on the land, the Jewish farm population of the United States has grown to 50,000, tilling more than a million acres, and distributed over all states. The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, in its latest annual report, takes less pride in these figures, however, than in the fact that the Jewish settler is much better protected now than he has ever been before against the twin dangers of exploitation and his own ignorance of American conditions. In the work of the society the discouragement of the "unfit" plays as important a part as the aid extended to applicants for farms who are likely to make good.

Information for New Americans, a booklet recently issued by the Connecticut State Board of Education, is a new type of publication in that it does not attempt any preaching of Americanism but aims simply to aid the immigrant to find his way about in his new home and thus, by avoiding pitfalls and disappointments, to become the sooner a good and satisfied citizen. Sections of the pamphlet deal with Home Matters and Domestic Relations, Illness, Legal Matters, Licenses, Money Matters, and Work; even with Loss of Baggage and "If You Are in Trouble," as well as with Education and Good Citizenship.

Mexicans in the United States are discussed in a section of a little book by Fred Eastman recently issued under the title: Unfinished Business of the Presbyterian Church in America. The situation among such Mexicans, he says, is complicated by the fact that a definite propaganda against Americanization is going on among them and that mazes of misunderstanding are in the way of friendly, cordial cooperation between them and their native American neighbors. After enumerating the various activities of his church to educate Mexican immigrants, Mr. Eastman says: "Through these channels the Presbyterian Church is reaching a few thousand Mexicans each year—but the Mexicans are pouring into the country by hundreds of thousands." He looks upon social work, through "homes of neighborly service" as an essential inspiration to Christian living.

Vigorous Americanization work is carried on at present by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It has in every state an Americanization superintendent directing the efforts of the local unions under the general superintendence of Mrs. Culla J. Vayhinger, the national director. In April and May a six weeks' school in Americanization was held in Chicago for practical workers, in which emphasis was laid on the right approach to the different nationalities and to the mothers in the home with whom the 500,000 members of the national union are best able to work.

That the salaries offered to teachers of English in evening classes are too low to attract the right kind of instructor was the principal burden of N. Behar's annual report, recently, to the National Liberal Immigration League, of which he is the managing director. A recommendation was adopted that such teachers should be given a permanent tenure and be employed at annual salaries, not day wages such as they now receive. Mr. Behar further pleaded for more discrimination between the minority of literate and educated foreigners and the much larger number who have a slower grasp and should be taught separately and by different methods. The league, incidentally, is one of the few national agencies that have stood out in protest against further restrictions upon immigration; it again adopted a declaration to that effect.

A storm arose recently in Erie, Pa., when W. D. Kinney, park director, refused to obey an instruction of the council to discharge employes of foreign birth so that their jobs might be given to American-born taxpayers. He was upheld in that refusal by many leading citizens, including Prof. H. E. Stone, director of the Bureau of Americanization, who said: "Those who seek to divide our residents into jealous camps are enemies of true Americanism. Only the refining fire of intelligent patriotic influences can fuse the polyglot elements of our population into true, comprehending and, hence, loyal American citizens." He also referred to a demand that the foreign language newspapers of Erie be excluded from the award of city advertising. Both the Polish and the German paper, he said, had responded to every call made to them by the Americanization departments of city, state and nation.

Americanization work among prisoners is planned by the National Security League, according to a recent statement of E. L. Harvey, its executive secretary. If effective cooperation can be found with the state departments in charge of penal institutions, he said that the league would be only too willing to undertake such work.

A Netherlands Immigration Commission has recently been established in New York under the auspices of the Dutch consul general. It aims particularly at aiding immigrants from Holland on their arrival in the port of New York.

The Immigrant is the name of a new monthly news-sheet published by the Department of Immigrant Aid of the Council of Jewish Women, New York. It is devoted largely to the activities of that body, which have extended to thirteen centers of immigrant population.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

Conducted by
JOSEPH K. HART

The County Libraries of California

"NO single influence is doing more to make rural life attractive," writes James A. Barr, of the California Council of Education, "than the county library. County library service means 'any book, at any time, at any place.' The California Teachers' Association has been making a special study of county library work for the past half year, and we are persuaded that we have only just begun to understand the significance of the movement to the people of the state."

Some of the important findings of this survey of library service in the state of California are set forth in the June number of the Sierra Educational News, the official organ of the state Educational Association. The American Library Association has found a live and growing interest in the county library movement throughout the whole country. The movement, however, has been effectually rooted in but a very few states; and there is, as yet, very little printed material on the subject. But such a plan, national in scope, is now under way to take books to all people, whether in the city, village or rural districts. Carl H. Milam, secretary of the American Library Association, says of this movement:

> County libraries were not by any means unheard of, nor untried, but the county library movement, as we now know it, really started with the California legislation of 1911. That legislation, the rapid development of California county libraries under the new plan, and the significance of the idea were soon apparent. Librarians and others interested in libraries were enabled to visualize a library service which would be available to every man, woman and child in America.
>
> Apparently we have found in the county library system a scheme which is feasible in most of the states. It can be operated at a small cost per capita. The size of the unit and of the organization makes possible an adequate professional staff and a large central collection from which books may be drawn by anybody. Branch libraries in the small towns are kept up-to-date with fresh, new material from the central supply. Deposit collections, frequent exchanges, parcel post deliveries, book wagons and the telephone are all used to bring books to the folks who want them, to make the service easily available to everybody in the country.

The plan as it has developed in California shows some very astonishing figures—figures which should become widely known over the country. Milton J. Ferguson, librarian of the California State Library, discusses the matter as follows:

> Do figures mean anything? Forty-one county libraries in California, income 1919-1920, $718,984.03; books, 1,519,331; branches 3,584; school districts served, 1,982. These figures are almost a year old; and figures, however startling, cannot tell the story. The fact that the children and the adults of a great state have access to the books in their own neighborhood branch, in their own central collections at the county seat, by inter-library loan in all the county and public libraries of the state and finally in the splendid central reservoir of print containing more than 300,000 volumes of the state library—such fact is, I believe, worth pondering. Nor is the poor boy or girl, the struggling student, the mechanic or the professional man or woman asked to pay for this service, even to the postage for book carriage. It is all taken care of by public tax; thus making books educationally and recreationally as nearly free as is possible among a self-respecting, independent people.
>
> California has also demonstrated the possibility of close co-operation between school and library. Each branch of popular education has come to recognize the place of the other, and that the other has a work to do which may not be delegated. The turning over of 2,000 school district libraries to the county library system does not mean something lost to teachers, school administration or pupils; but it does mean better library service given by persons making that work their professional life's endeavor; it does mean the linking together of school and library in such fashion that the individual may be induced to use the one long after he has graduated from the other.

From Our Public Schools, Oakland, Cal., for June

School's Share in Nation's Wealth

This nation spends annually on our Public Elementary School Education.	$ 762,259,154
Each year the nation spends on face Lotions and "beautifying" Cosmetics.	750,000,000
Normal Schools training teachers in the United States of America cost yearly.	20,414,689
The bill paid with jolly alacrity for Chewing Gum in this broad land.....	50,000,000
Higher Education totals yearly in the Institutions of Learning in America..	137,055,415
Sundaes, sodas and Drinking Fountain Delights cost annually and gleefully..	350,000,000
All Departments of Education in the Whole Nation cost annually less than.	1,000,000,000
Joy Rides and Pleasure Resorts present a Yearly Bill totaling the goodly sum of	3,000,000,000

One gage of the possibilities before the rural library movement, now in its incipiency, is to take the figures for a great urban district where the results flow from years of effort. For example, the report of the New York City Public Library for 1920 shows that 2,696,609 people visited the central library building in that one year; and that 976,164 readers made use of the books in the various reference departments of the central library. Nearly ten million books were issued for home use through the circulation department. To make the story complete for New York city, the figures for the forty-two branches should be included, as many of these branches are elaborate libraries in themselves. These figures for 1920, however, are not yet available.

Readers of the SURVEY will remember an article published in November 1920—Under the Orange Sign—the story of the remarkable book distribution carried out in Santa Barbara, a California county, itself the size of the state of Rhode Island. This was reprinted by the Indiana Library Administration and distributed in every county in the state as part of its campaign for encouraging county service.

Of the 2,964 counties in the United States, but 794, or 27 per cent have one or more libraries of not less than 5,000 volumes. The other 2,170, or 73 per cent do not possess libraries properly equipped to give any sort of adequate service. Of the forty-eight states of the union, thirty serve less than half their population; six states reach less than one-tenth of their residents through public libraries; and one state reaches less than 2 per cent of its people. These figures show how much has been done, what a large field is still unoccupied and how much still remains to do, to make the potential service of libraries actual in the life of the whole people. What is that remaining task? Let Mr. Ferguson, quoted above, make answer for his profession:

> The library has been spoken of by many wise and hopeful philosophers as the people's university, as something which could give constant and daily assistance not to the few alone but to the many. Unfortunately, this optimistic expectation has not been realized; and the reason therefor is not hard to find. No public institution is destined to be of great and far-reaching importance that is founded upon unbusinesslike principles, that is content with and even glories in penury and makeshifts, and that reaches and influences the lives of only a small part of the people. And of all of these sins of omission and commission the library under ordinary circumstances is guilty. What force would the public schools exercise if they were dependent upon volunteer teachers, upon donations for text-books and if they reached only the children in towns and cities? For too long a time such a policy has been pursued by too large a percentage of the libraries. It is not, therefore, surprising that the library has been looked upon as weakly recreational, and has been classed with the village sewing club or literary society, as something for the women folk to play with.
>
> The library is without doubt capable of far greater results than even its most sanguine advocates have dreamed for it. Several things are required to secure success: the right personnel properly trained and experienced, sufficient capital, a workable plan. It can scarcely be said that the library has had the advantage of all of these elements, except in isolated cases, mainly, of course, in some of the larger cities. The time was when every family killed and cured its own meat; packing houses, business organization, have made that method obsolete. Libraries alone of the greater popular institutions have continued to function on such an out-of-date plan.

Americanizing Americanization

INDIVIDUALS are sometimes described as possessing "all the defects of their virtues." Movements and programs may be characterized in the same way. The "Americanization" movement is especially open to such a description just now. No two people seem to be able to agree as to just what is meant by the term, nor just what it should be trying to do. In the multitude of the many counsels there is much confusion. Into the midst of this confusion, the federal government, through the Division of Citizenship Training of the Bureau of Naturalization, in the fourth annual report of Raymond F. Crist, director of citizenship, has thrust itself, with the purpose of introducing a little order; but the net result seems to be to make the confusion all the worse confounded.

In defining his terms, Mr. Crist says of "Americanization":

> The term "Americanization" has been used and misused. The Americanism of the native American may be at a low ebb, but he cannot be Americanized. He may be inspired to higher ideals, but to view him as a candidate for Americanization means to make "Americanization" meaningless. It remains, therefore, for the term to be applied to people not American.

But other writers are not able to see these things in such elemental terms. For example, Frank V. Thompson, superintendent of schools in Boston, in his book, The Schooling of the Immigrant, recently published as a volume in the Americanization Series of the Carnegie Corporation, tells the story of a certain happening in Cleveland in war-time:

> Americans in Cleveland during the war were cheered as well as astonished by an inscription on the banners of marching Czecho-Slovaks: "Americans, do not be discouraged. We have been fighting these tyrants for three hundred years. We are Americans through and through by the spirit of our nation.

It must be confessed that the majority of the more effective workers in the field of Americanization are coming, more and more, to a profound doubt of Mr. Crist's conception, and to a firm belief in Mr. Thompson's doctrine:

> The native-born (Americans) must rid themselves of two kinds of obsession before they will be spiritually fit to undertake the task of securing the whole-souled loyalty and cooperation of the foreign-born. These delusions are, first, that native Americans constitute a superior race when compared with the foreign-born, and, second, that our institutions and aspirations are peculiar and distinctive to our own people and country.

In carrying out the work of Americanization, Mr. Crist suggests that "the public schools of the land offer the possibilities for accomplishing these results." But evidently much remains to be done before we can become properly complacent about the achievements of the public schools in this regard. For example, Edward Hale Bierstadt, in an article on How Russians in the United States Educate Themselves, in the New York Evening Post for July 9, points out that the attendance of Russians in our public night schools and industrial centers in those cities where large Russian colonies exist, was as follows:

> In Detroit, with over 20,000 Russians, hardly any were in public schools.
> In Pittsburgh, with over 12,000, 9 were enrolled in the schools.
> In Boston, with over 8,000, there were few if any enrollments.

On the other hand, Mr. Bierstadt says that in Detroit over six hundred of these Russians were, prior to the famous "Palmer raids," in schools of their own, preparing themselves along the lines of English and certain technical studies for more complete citizenship here in America, or for a possible return to Russia. In Pittsburgh, about one hundred and twenty-five Russians were in their own schools; and in Boston, over four hundred. Mr. Bierstadt concludes that our public schools have been a complete failure so far as the adult Russians are concerned. And Mr. Thompson feels that while the public schools will prove, ultimately, to be the instrument best fitted to the task, yet "our present educational technique will require many adjustments as to both outlook and method before this problem can be successfully solved."

But it is in connection with the content of instruction that Mr. Crist's report shows the most interesting features. Many writers have called attention to the fact that our old-time instruction in the civics of the constitution scarcely prepares students of today for an intelligent share in the actualities of government. Elihu Root has recently been quoted as having pointed out the serious discrepancy between the theory of our government as set down in the constitution and legal enactments, and the actual practice, as shown in the facts of leadership, domination and control by particular individuals, often by individuals having no official status in the government. Can education, the schools, Americanization take any account of these factors of our "invisible government?" Mr. Crist seems to think that Americanization has nothing to do with such intangibles. He quotes with quiet pride the prize essay in an Americanization contest conducted under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce, in the public schools of Rochester, N. Y. The essay is entitled Why I Became an American, and reads in part:

> The first American citizens considered freedom their greatest glory and their greatest happiness, and by their loyal patriotism America now stands for union, justice, domestic tranquility, and the blessings of liberty to all its inhabitants. The United States has an invaluable constitution. Under this highest and most permanent law the citizens govern the country. Each American is a sovereign instead of being a subject, and however poor or humble, they can not be disfranchised or be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.
>
> Americans have the right to a trial by jury, in public and by counsel; they have the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, and can not be inflicted with excessive bail and fines, nor cruel or unusual punishment nor be put twice in jeopardy for the same offense. The freedom of worship is guaranteed to all. Thus Catholic, Protestant, Jew, and agnostic stand on equal footing. Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects. They may peaceably assemble and petition the government or any department thereof, and each is guaranteed civil and political rights and can vote and have a voice in the government. A citizen is bound to be loyal to the United States, whether it hunts him or whether it benefits him, and he is both a protégé and a protector of the glorious Red, White, and Blue.

This essay, says Mr. Crist, "is but meager evidence of what has been produced in thousands of classes that are now flourishing throughout the country, and in the atmosphere of patriotism in which thousands are being transformed into loyal Americans, even before they become entitled to citizenship through the operation of law." But one may well wonder what will become of this man's "Americanism" in the midst of the years, after he has worked for a while in some large-scale, "open shop" industry.

J. K. H.

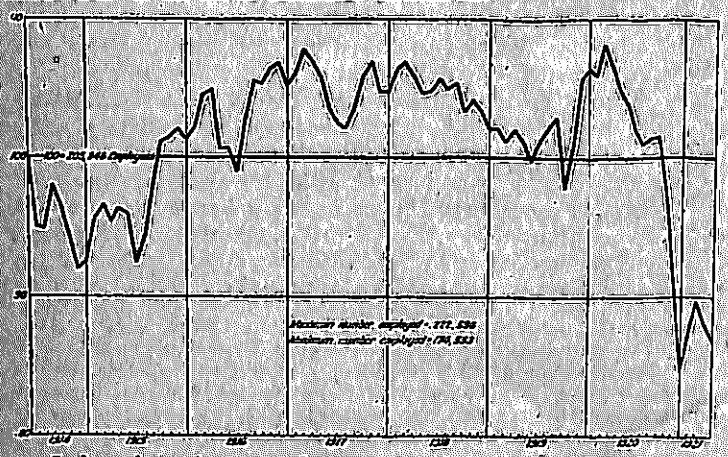
INDUSTRY

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WILLIAM L. CHENERY

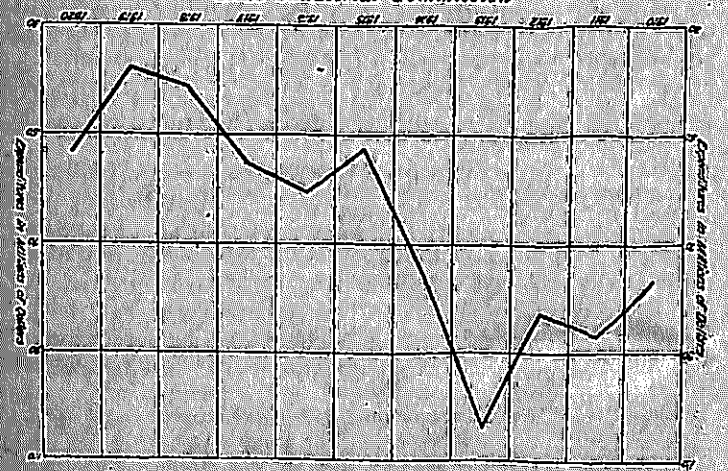
Unemployment in New York

VALUABLE surveys are being made by the Coordinating Committee on Employment Activities of New York city of which William E. Mosher of the Bureau of Municipal Research is chairman. The committee has estimated that during June, 19 to 20 per cent of the workers of New York city were unemployed. In the aggregate, it is estimated that there were well over 300,000 idle workers in New York city that month.

In contrast with this enormous number of jobless men and women the work of the employment agencies is meager. During May, 11,412 workers sought employment through these offices. Employers called for 9,514, and 7,313 places were reported to have been filled. This included the work done by the state public employment offices and by the offices managed by philanthropic agencies. The committee draws attention to the fact that the state Industrial Commission reported during May—a time of almost unprecedented unemployment—a decrease of 25 to 30 per cent in the number of registrations, requests and places filled. This decrease in business is explained by the closing of one of the five employment bureaus maintained by the commission. On June 1, two more bureaus were closed. The force for all the employment bureaus in the state has been curtailed from 278 to 71. This is drastic economy, but it means that the state is failing to perform one of its most essential functions.



Index of employment of 750 to 800 factories in New York city, June, 1914, to May, 1921. Index figures supplied by State Industrial Commission



Actual cash expenditures of New York city for more or less permanent construction of public improvements, 1910 to 1920. Charts supplied by Coordinating Committee on Employment Activities in New York city.

The committee has also drawn attention to the failure of New York city to profit by the construction proposals made in the report of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment of 1914 and 1915. The Mayor's Committee has urged that "serious efforts should be made to promote a method of planning public improvements and expenditures for a period of from seven to ten years so that a certain percentage each year would be postponed to be undertaken in the years of extraordinary unemployment." The coordinating committee observes:

> Again a period of depression is upon the city, that, according to all available data, has brought in its train even more unemployment than existed in 1914; but so far as remedial measures are concerned, the city is just where it was in 1914.

The committee pointed out that the advantages of postponing certain public construction until a period of depression, by setting aside reserve funds in times of prosperity, have been so generally demonstrated in foreign cities that the policy could no longer be considered an experiment. The accompanying chart [below] gives a view of the amounts expended in New York and of the fluctuations from year to year. Instead of spending more money during times of depression the municipality has spent less, thereby adding its unnecessary quota to the sum of those for whom no jobs exist.

Massachusetts has lately considered the policy of setting apart 10 per cent of the appropriations for permanent improvements in order to make possible a reserve fund for employment during hard times. If this policy were adopted in New York city, the committee reports, it would mean the accumulation of a fund of $6,500,000 a year at the average rate of expenditure during the past eleven years. Without interest, this would accumulate a sum of $65,000,000 in ten years. The committee assumed that 60 per cent of such a sum would be used as wages in carrying on building and other construction projects. This would provide 1,500,000 weeks of work at the wage rate of $26, the present average for factory workers in New York state. It would also mean five weeks' work for 300,000 workers, the number estimated now to be idle.

The obvious advantage of such a fund is not merely to furnish jobs for the unemployed, important as that is, but also to act as a general stimulus of employment and to neutralize the decreased demands of private employers for workmen and the products of work. No suggestion which promises greater success in the prevention of unemployment has been proposed.

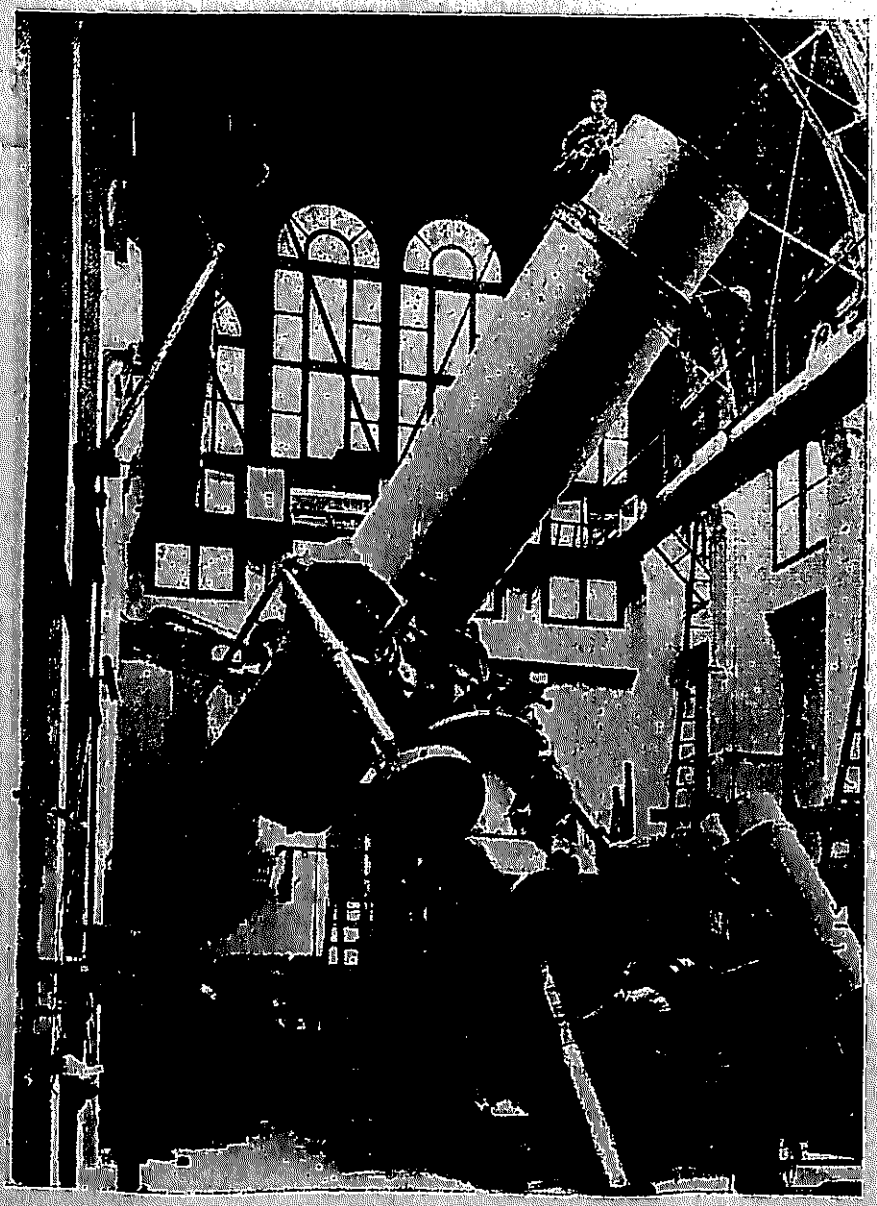
The committee also asked a considerable number of manufacturers to report what methods they had used to retain a larger working force than would otherwise be employed during the period of depression. One hundred and eighteen manufacturers responded. Most of the important industries were represented in the list, although about half of the responses came from manufacturers in textile, needle and printing trades. Of the 118 manufacturers, 38 replied that they had passed through their period of depression and were again on a normal basis. Eighty stated that they had employed various methods to retain as large a working force as possible. Their replies were summarized as follows:

Shorter working hours	41
Pro-rating lost time	14
Cleaning up, making repairs, etc.	11
Dropping unskilled, transient or unreasonable workers	7
Accumulating stock	6
Shifting from dull to busy departments	4
Manufacturing goods other than regular line	3
Pro-rating piece work	2
New construction	2

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Children—J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia.
Delinquents and Correction—Louis Robinson, M. D. Philadelphia.
Health—Donald B. Armstrong, M. D. New York.
Public Agencies and Institutions—George S. Wilson, Washington, D. C.
The Family—Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis.
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The Local Community—George C. Bellamy, Cleveland.
Mental Hygiene—George A. Hastings, New York.
Organization of Social Forces—C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati.
Uniting of Native and Foreign-Born in America—(Temporary Committee.)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—Edward M. Van Cleve, managing director; George D. Eaton, field sec'y; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, sec'y; 130 E. 22nd St., New York. Objects: To furnish information, exhibits, lantern slides, lectures, publish literature of movement—samples free, quantities at cost. Includes New York State Committee.

been realized by the Communists; but in the meantime the relief has been accomplished and the Friends have been able to command support from groups such as the Red Cross in their campaign at home. Their work has necessarily been limited to towns and populous areas; and their resources cannot be sufficient to cope with the new famine.

Official America in the person of Mr. Hoover has at length taken action in reply to the strange and somewhat inconsistent appeal of Maxim Gorky. It is not altogether Mr. Hoover's fault that he has been delayed. It is no secret that in the early part of the year the American Relief Administration had a couple of representatives in Moscow discreetly negotiating for the entrance of that body into the Russian field. Negotiations dragged; the Soviets were especially insistent on the demand that they should be in general control of the relief; it is a fundamental principle with Mr. Hoover that his machine shall be independent, absolute and mobile. The exchanges came to nothing and indeed there was some hope that with changing conditions Russia might weather the situation without disaster. Fate has decreed otherwise, and Mr. Hoover has once more the last word in the debate. He has laid down certain conditions of relief, of which one —the demand that American prisoners be released—is political, while the others—liberty to come and go, freedom to organize local committees, free transportation with priority, no diversion of rations from the relieved population and safe conduct for all his workers—are administrative necessities. He has pledged on his part that distribution will be without regard to race, religion or political creed; and that no representative will engage in political activities.

Granting for the moment that the political condition is beside the point, it is one which Russia could well afford to meet. The detention of Captain Kilpatrick, of Kalmatiano, of Mrs. Margaret Harrison, of the two movie men and of some of the other American adventurers who are charged with espionage or with less political crimes, cannot assist the Soviet government very much. It is but two years ago that a handful of American doughboys, prisoners from the Archangel front, were held prisoners of war in Moscow. An enterprising young newspaperman who was loose in Russia without leave either from American officials or from the Soviet foreign office, went to Moscow and asked their freedom. With a gesture of swift generosity, Tchicherin released them off-hand. The gesture could well be repeated now. The other requirements, which look to the formation of a strong distribution committee system independent of the Soviets, raise another issue. If there is nothing to hide, they can be, and should be agreed to. Hoover's record for keeping clear of politics in his relief work is fairly clean; even his well known hatred of the Bolsheviki would hardly lead him to break faith in the essential element of the task. But there have been reports of a Soviet mobilization on the Polish border, and the recently reported levy of additional conscript classes into the army lends color to the talk. The Soviets want no freely passing agents if they are on the verge of a war. Equally, we do not care by relieving famine to assist a war elsewhere; hence the requirement that American relief should not be made pretext for withdrawal of the usual rations.

The Soviet government is fast approaching the end of its revolutionary phase. It is the second military power in Europe, its government has had the longest career in office of any save that of Great Britain, and its revolutionary activities have been rapidly diminishing. Whatever spiritual change may have been in process has already taken place; the problem now is to handle the administrative situation. This merely comes to the proposition that the Russian government, like every other European government, has its good and its bad features and is entitled to no preferential consideration. Mr. Hoover was right in demanding that the Roumanian and the Hungarian and the Jugo-Slavic authorities should not assume dominance over his well considered plans. Exactly the same considerations apply to the Lenin government, with the additional fact that like all newly organized bodies the efficiency of the machine is at a low ebb. If the Russians want American relief to assist them politically, they want what they cannot have. If they want relief with the assurance, which the Red Cross and other agencies received, that it will not be used to assist their enemies, they are entitled to it, and the assurances have now been offered. It is fair to suppose that with sincerity on both sides Maxim Gorky's famine massage and Mr. Hoover's reply may lead to real results.

One hopes devoutly that it may be so. American liberals have for years been telling the United States Government that it has no right or business to be making political capital out of Russian misery. Like a bright ray comes word from Paris that responsible Russians have issued warnings that anti-Bolshevist leaders must not attempt to turn the famine to their own dynastic or partisan ends. The same may be said with equal force to the Soviet government. One touch of simplicity; one moment of plain speaking without afterthought, and we may be able to come together. Both Russia and America would profit thereby.

ADOLF A. BERLE, JR.

THE SPRINGFIELD OF THE FAR FUTURE

Some day our town will grow old.
"She is wicked and raw," men say,
"Awkward and brash and profane."
But the years have a healing way.
The years of God are like bread,
Balm of Gilead and sweet.
And the soul of this little town
Our Father will make complete.

Some day our town will grow old,
Filled with the fullness of time,
Treasure on treasure heaped
Of beauty's tradition sublime.
Proud and gay and grey
Like Hannah with Samuel blest.
Humble and girlish and white
Like Mary, the manger guest.

Like Mary, the manger queen
Bringing the God of Light
Till Christmas is here indeed
And earth has no more of night,
And hosts of Magi come,
The wisest under the sun
Bringing frankincense and praise
For her gift of the Infinite One.

VACHEL LINDSAY.

—The Golden Whales of California. The Macmillan Company, 1920. Price, $2.25.

OVERTIME

Thank God for generous darkness
Covering tired faces,
Changing men to shadows
That claim no greeting in passing.

But soon eyes and hearts learn the ways of the dark,
And the passing shadows
Shuffle wearily, grey, and intrude,—
Bent figures of persons,
Telling the crooked tale
Of unkind hours.

VIOLA I. PARADISE.

BOOKS ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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By Sidney Osborne. Macmillan Co. 286 pp. Price, $2.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.20.

WHAT SHALL I THINK OF JAPAN?
By George Gleason. Macmillan Co. 270 pp. Price, $2.25; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.45.

BREAKDOWN OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE FAR EAST
By George Bronson Rea. Published Privately.

JAPAN AND WORLD PEACE
By K. K. Kawakami. Macmillan Co. 196 pp. Price, $1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $1.65.

MUST WE FIGHT JAPAN?
By Walter B. Pitkin. Century Co. 536 pp. Price, $2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.70.

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HEARINGS ON JAPANESE IMMIGRATION
House of Representatives Committee on Immigration. 4 vols.

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By Kakuzo Okakura. E. P. Dutton & Co. 227 pp. Price, $3.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $3.10.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF JAPAN
By Katsuro Hara. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 411 pp. Price, $2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, $2.75.

THE CASE OF KOREA
By Henry Chung. Fleming H. Revell Co. 360 pp. Price, $3.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $3.20.

MASTERY OF THE FAR EAST
By Arthur J. Brown. Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1919. 660 pp. Price, $6.00; by mail of the SURVEY, $6.15.

In view of the epochal Conference on Limitation of Armaments and Far Eastern Policies which President Harding has called, the stream of new books on American-Japanese relations, bearing significant witness to the rising interest of Americans in our contacts with that virile people of the Far East, is most opportune.

The most thought-provoking and also sensational work before us is Sidney Osborne's book, The New Japanese Peril. The writer presents a distinct thesis; "Japan, led by the stern directing hand of her Military Party, stands only upon the threshhold of her designs which embrace all Asia." His vivid language, wide range of fact, rapid movement, ceaseless progress in clinching arguments and unquestioned sincerity, render the volume at once commanding, interesting, informing and highly convincing for the average reader.

Although Mr. Osborne rejects in advance the anticipated charge of being anti-Japanese, the reader can hardly fail to see that spirit cropping out on nearly every page. But his trenchant criticisms of British Oriental diplomacy and America's well-nigh criminal lack of diplomacy and of the treachery of all the Allies to China at the Paris Peace Council, by which China has been ruined, humiliated and alienated, together with his belated acknowledgment that "to be just to Japan" one must admit that her ominous achievements of the past thirty years and her ambitious program for the near future are "not her fault so much as they are the fault of the western nations," in the end almost persuade one that the writer is not entirely so anti-Japanese as he usually appears.

This volume is one of prime importance for all English-speaking students of international policies, for it states most effectively the problem of the white and yellow races in the light of secret diplomacy, of actual recent history and of successful aggression. In reading it one wishes that Japan's side of the case could have been a little more sympathetically understood and expounded.

This, however, is well done by George Gleason in his maiden volume, What Shall I Think of Japan? Mr. Gleason relies on his own personal experiences with the Japanese not only in Japan proper during two decades of Y. M. C. A. service before the war, but also during nearly a year in Siberia in Y. M. C. A. war work. He sees and frankly acknowledges Japan's faults, blunders and wrongdoings, but he also has a spirit of sympathy for Japan and tries to get at the exact facts in every case. Rabid anti-Japanese haters should read and ponder his many concrete illustrations, especially his closing chapter describing a few eminent Japanese Christians. One gets a new insight into Japanese character.

Mr. Osborne too readily accepts sinister interpretations of Japanese diplomacy and deeds, while Mr. Gleason is loath to believe the worst until forced to it. For instance, Mr. Osborne accepted at its face value the charge of the Hearst papers and the New York Herald that Japan pretended that the Asama got stuck in the mud in Turtle Bay in Lower California in order to gather a substantial Japanese fleet near the Panama Canal and thereby threaten America should she attempt to intervene for China's benefit at the time of the "Twenty-One Demands." Mr. Gleason refers to that same charge but gives the report of Commodore Irwin of the United States Navy, who visited Turtle Bay, that beside the Japanese cruiser aground, her own and two British colliers, there were only four fishing craft in the bay.

In studying the Far Eastern situation the cautious reader who wants to get light from every side should not fail to read George Bronson Rea's Breakdown of American Diplomacy in the Far East, as well as K. K. Kawakami's Japan and World Peace. The former presents Russia as the real culprit in the Far Eastern tangle, while the latter shows how an intelligent and wide-awake Japanese looks upon the whole international tangle from the standpoint of a broad-minded Japanese patriot.

Professor Pitkin, in his work, Must We Fight Japan, attempts to handle his topic both exhaustively and constructively. He seeks to show that we are surely drifting toward war; that both countries are virtually impregnable; that Japan is essentially the Prussia of the Far East; that she nevertheless has a right to an expanding place for her increasing millions; that our problem with the Japanese in California is essentially the same as our problem with all immigration from Europe; that America is facing a serious danger of becoming "Balkanized," because of the many permanent foreign-language groups occupying distinct areas in our country; that a drastic policy of regulating (or stopping) all immigration is essential and that the building up of a new type of agricultural village enjoying "civilized" life is imperative.

The volume discusses a much wider range of material than the title suggests. It deals with the food problem of the world, with the respective birth and death rates of the nations and races and sharply attacks Lothrop Stoddard's The Rising Tide of Color. The volume has many merits and some defects. It deserves wide and thoughtful reading. Its positive proposals are suggestive.

J. O. P. Bland's China, Japan and Korea should not be overlooked by any student of the Far Eastern problem. Mr. Bland was for more than thirty years secretary to Sir Robert Hart, the eminent British administrator of China's salt monopoly. In this capacity Mr. Bland had exceptional opportunity to know and understand China and the Chinese. Ten years ago he re-

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Russia as a Sphere of Relief

REPORTS regarding the extent of the relief problem Mr. Hoover and his associates are to face in Russia differ almost as much as the length of the amateur fisherman's catch. Much of the information in regard to the catastrophe which has fallen upon Southeastern Russia is manifestly speculative. The American public has long since learned that Helsingfors is an unreliable source of Russian news. Here are some of the reports made in the newspapers in the past fortnight: Twenty million people are starving; six million of the twenty—or is it an additional six million?—are marching over the province of Tambov, Veronezh, and Pensa. "The peasants are moving chiefly in four directions—toward Moscow, Siberia, Caucasus, and Ukraine. The peasants of Western Russia are now all on the move." This last cablegram appeared under large headlines on the front page of a New York morning paper and in at least one evening paper. The four directions, one can easily see from his geography, constitute all directions possible except up and down, and the fiction compiler has forgotten that he started with Eastern Russia and ends up by transferring his whole story to Western Russia. Moreover these peasants have been marching around in the newspapers regardless of distances as great as from New York to Chicago over territory which has suffered from the drought. Moscow dug trenches around itself for protection several days ago. Someone apparently realized the futility of taking so seriously unarmed starving peasants who were to walk hundreds of miles over desolate wastes, and so added large numbers of Red troops to the peasant horde, thereby justifying the trenches.

All this sounds puerile and recalls the propaganda of other days. Tchitcherin, commissioner of foreign affairs, cables in Mark Twain style that reports have been greatly exaggerated, and Senator France on coming out of Russia states that a more accurate estimate of the population suffering from famine is ten million. The population of the ten provinces which have suffered, wholly or in part, from the drought is but eighteen million.

In attempting to picture present conditions in Russia, there are several points which tend to support the more temperate statements of the Soviet officials. The principal food of the Russians is black bread. The grain crop is not harvested until July or August; therefore the results of the recent drought cannot yet have had quite the horrible effect pictured by the propaganda centers. However, Russia is infinitely more sensitive to rumor than more developed countries. Years of war, foreign and civil, have resulted in a neurotic population, eagerly seizing any rumor as fact. The drought has been real. Starvation, unless quick action is taken, will result, and a certain movement of the population may easily have been produced by wild rumors of impending death. Even though railways have in part broken down, much of this movement of population would be by the Volga which is an artery of communication in many of the provinces in question. Tchitcherin affirms that such emigration as is occurring is being carried on by the Soviet government.

Another factor which may have some bearing on the situation is the refusal of the peasants the last few years to turn over the grain to the government for city and army consumption. Worthless paper rubles were offered in exchange and the peasant was already supplied with money which would purchase nothing. The peasant, therefore, unable to sell his grain, is much more likely to have some of his recent crops left than during any previous famine of the old regime.

From the standpoint of the cities, the winter of 1918-19 was a period of greatest food shortage. Siberia and the South were closed to the Moscow government by counter-revolutionary forces. The Allies were in Archangel, and Red armies were on the Finnish and Baltic fronts. All transportation facilities were centered upon supplying these armies, which formed a complete circle of defense around Moscow. Today there is peace upon every Russian front. The transportation facilities are as good as, if not better than, in the winter of 1919. Moreover, the cities have Siberian supplies and those of the Ukraine to draw upon in addition to such food supplies as may be imported.

Politically the present situation has doubtless an enormous significance. The problem which the American Relief Administration is to face from this standpoint can hardly be over-emphasized. The Soviet government has an intense mistrust of the American Red Cross, reflected in the altercation at Riga last week between Senator France and Col. Edward W. Ryan, head of the American Red Cross in the Baltic States. According to the New York Times, Senator France accused Colonel Ryan "of having fomented the abortive Kronstadt revolution last spring." The relations of the American Red Cross to Kolchak and Wrangel, the rumored entrance of Red Cross representatives into Russia under various disguises, and now Senator France's accusation of Colonel Ryan's participation in the Kronstadt uprising, as well as the character of the report on Russia by Colonel Ryan which was given wide publicity in this country some months ago by the State Department, have all added to this antagonism. The Soviet government has had little experience with the American Relief Administration, but has demonstrated its ability to cooperate with the English and American Friends.

The organization of local committees to distribute relief, stressed by the American Relief Administration as fundamental, is going to present an especially difficult problem.

"THE KINDEST LOAN OF THE UNITED STATES"

According to a special dispatch to the Chicago Tribune, Jane Addams is so characterized and she has been given the official thanks of the German republic. Miss Addams is teaching in the school of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at Salsberg. President Ebert of the German Republic has addressed the following letter to her:

MUCH revered Miss Addams: In the name of the German government and people, I take advantage of your presence in Europe to express our deep-felt thanks for everything you have accomplished in such warm love of reconciliation of nations, and your big-hearted humanity. Shortly after hostilities ceased, you and a number of similarly minded women visited Central Europe, suffering under terrible consequences of war and upsetting changes. Germany's condition then was nearly unknown in your country. I must thank you for your reports for necessary understanding of these conditions and for the fact of many broadly conceived relief conditions, especially children's relief work of American Quakers, made available.

Now you are untiringly active in relieving suffering of mankind as chairman of the Constitutional Women's League for Peace and Freedom, leader of new relief organizations, public congresses and circles. The world now needs more than ever minds which are sharp for the troubles of nations and work for solutions. Only through cessation of hatreds created by sanguinary years of war and through determination of nations to join hands in the task of reconstruction may we count upon extricating ourselves from the present emergency.

May these principles always advocated by you finally assert themselves and social and national peace crown your work.

This expression my highest esteem. EBERT.

These committees, it has been promised by Mr. Hoover, are to be absolutely non-political, and the success of the American program largely depends on whether they can be kept so. If the French newspapers represent the public attitude in France, the sending of relief to Russia is regarded there as a means of overthrowing the Soviet government, and certain influential circles in Washington are reported to regard the present situation as the end of the Soviet regime, a guess in which the writer has little confidence. The character of the local relief committees will depend in the first place upon the type of representative of the American relief organization. These representatives must obviously be persons who are willing and able to keep themselves out of a most difficult political situation. That this can be done is demonstrated by the success of the English and American Friends.

The second part of the problem is the difficulty of selecting local committees of Russians who are willing to substitute for the intense partisan feeling recently engendered in Russia a desire to help all who are suffering. In 1916-17 committees of Germans and Austrians were organized by American representatives in various parts of Russia to administer relief to civil and war prisoners. The representatives of the Czar's government at that time were constantly attributing political significance to these committees. The problem then was but a political one. Today the population of Russia has been divided on economic lines and the hatred resulting from confiscation of property and the execution of individuals because of economic beliefs has developed a spirit even more bitter than that of the Fascisti and Arditi del Popolo in Italy. It will require an enormous amount of tact to avoid these deep rooted divisions in the population. However, it must be done and a less suspicious attitude on the part of officials of the Soviet government plus foreign representatives of the type of the American Quakers in Russia may solve this difficult political situation.

The appointment by the Soviet government of a large famine relief committee on which a minority are communists is indicative of a new spirit of cooperation and confidence lacking in the policies of Moscow previously. This is encouraging to those of us interested in an efficient non-political relief organization in Russia. That, regardless of propaganda, the famine is threatening vast communities of men, women and children is altogether clear; and it is fortunate that the American Relief Administration is in position to act.

WALTER W. PETTIT.

The Sacco-Vanzetti Case

"THE Mooney case of the East" has at last come to a close. The prisoners have been in jail for more than a year, awaiting trial. The trial at Dedham, Mass., exhausted a volunteer defense fund of $50,000.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti have been pronounced guilty in the first degree of murdering the paymaster and the special officer of the Slater and Morrill Company at South Braintree, Mass.[1] Both the defense and the prosecution pleaded for a no compromise verdict. All agreed that the crime was exceedingly vicious and that the guilty ones should suffer the extreme penalty. Many of those who attended the trial, such as representatives of liberal organizations in Boston, were convinced that the case of the prosecution was wholly inadequate, and that the prisoners would be set free. Throngs of Italians, including a representative of the Italian consulate in Boston, attended sessions of the trial, and the verdict came as a great shock to those who had been led to expect liberation.

The judge who presided over the case was undoubtedly fair to both sides. It was obvious that he endeavored to aid the process of discovering the unbiased truth from all the witnesses. His charge to the jury laid special emphasis upon the dangers of prejudice against the prisoners because they were Italians and radicals, and urged the twelve men to narrow their consideration to the one question as to whether the prisoners were guilty of the crime with which they were charged. In a noteworthy utterance he declared that it was the worst form of anarchy for American citizens, supposedly believing in government, to prostitute justice to prejudice.

The case for the prosecution consisted of two parts. First, it tried to show that a certain Buick car was used by the murderers and it then tried to connect this car by roundabout methods with Sacco and Vanzetti. Second, it produced witnesses who by direct testimony tried to identify the prisoners with the men who fired the fatal shots. Also, it tried to prove through gun experts that the pistol which was later found on one of the prisoners was a pistol which had formerly belonged to the special guard who was shot.

It seems to the writer that the evidence relating to the automobile was circumstantial in the extreme, and that the argument on that score was of little weight. Of those who said they could make positive identification, it is noteworthy that nearly all were located at such a distance that positive identification would seem to be exceedingly difficult. Most of those who claimed to recognize either Sacco or Vanzetti saw the bandits as they were escaping from the scene of the murder, and not as they were shooting, and none of them claimed to have known either of the defendants before the crime was committed. The testimony of the gun was damaging, but the expert for the defense denied the statements made by the prosecution.

The case for the prisoners consisted primarily of three parts. First, witnesses were produced who had been at or near the scene of the crime and who positively denied that either Sacco or Vanzetti committed the murder. It is noteworthy that nearly all of these men were nearer to the shooting or to the automobile in which the bandits escaped than were the witnesses for the prosecution. But it is also significant that most of them were "foreigners"—excavators and railroad workers—for the most part Italians. Thus far a decision in the case would rest upon the comparative credibility of the two sets of witnesses.

Second, the defense set up an alibi, which was especially strong for Sacco. From a man in Italy who had been in the Italian consulate at Boston on the day of the crime, a deposition was received swearing that Sacco was in the office on that day trying to get a passport. Sacco's mother had died in Italy and he had desired to go back home. This fact was also corroborated by others who claimed to have seen Sacco in a Boston restaurant. Vanzetti's alibi consisted of witnesses from Plymouth who said that they talked with the prisoner at that city about the time of the murder in South Braintree. Last, the defense produced the two prisoners themselves who told their stories with absolute frankness. They revealed their radicalism and admitted that they had dodged the draft. Evidence damaging to the general credibility of the defendants was drawn out by the prosecution in cross-examination.

The impression which the writer has gathered from the trial is that the evidence of the defense was stronger than that of the prosecution. But prejudice against the foreigner and the radical is strong and cannot easily be overcome, and it probably was of influence during the entire trial.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

[1] The circumstances surrounding the Sacco-Vanzetti Case were outlined by Professor Skinner in the SURVEY for June 25. He reported the trial for the New York Evening Post. A motion for a new trial has been made. If not granted, the case will be appealed.

THE SURVEY

From Hired Man to Premier

The Farmers' Victory in Alberta

Nellie L. McClung

Pellagra and Poverty *Willford I. King*

The New Zionism *Horace M. Kallen*

The Women's Congress at Vienna *Florence Kelley*

A Great Public Servant *William L. Chenery*

The Cotton Strike *Gerald W. Johnson*

The Institute of Politics *Marion Clinch Calkins*

Snapshots in Berlin *B. L.*



"Paul," twenty-one months old, never before lived above the level of the sidewalk. His mother was a janitress. Down in the basement his rachitic legs would not hold him up. Yet here he is four weeks after the Henry Street Settlement took him out to the "Rest," to sunshine and fresh air and nourishing food, walking around in his pen having just thrown his rag doll far into the yard

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THE PROVIDENCE

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to supervise their work; to hold in trust and administer all special trusts, whether in money or in the shares of such corporations given for Palestinian purposes; and to apply any profits that may accrue to the common stock for the benefit of the Jewish people in Palestine.

Both the twenty-one members and the nine trustees are to serve at first in three groups—one-third for two, three and four years respectively, and at the annual meetings, all the members will elect their successors for a period of three years.

Such are the program and the form of organization which, it has been decided, are likely to prove most effective in the development of the New Zionism. In this Zionism the compensatory interest in Palestine has quite given way to the objective and realistic interest; the magniloquent all-embracing project, to the itemized sequence of specific enterprises specifically undertaken. As compared with the character of the Keren Hayesod, it is modest, sober, limited. But on the record, only in proportion as these qualities prevail is success probable.

founded 1912 ?

A Great Public Servant

By William L. Chenery

PUBLIC service in America is a richer, finer, more adventurous experience by reason of the brilliant administration of Julia Clifford Lathrop during her nine years as chief of the federal Children's Bureau. During the last year of Mr. Taft's presidency Miss Lathrop went to Washington to assume direction of what might easily have become an insignificant agency of petty reform. To another Republican President she has surrendered an office and an organization which, measured by far-sighted purpose, instinctive loyalty to democracy, and capacity to achieve, are almost without parallel in Washington. A great and noble service has been performed. Miss Lathrop resigns at the height of her powers. In other fields she may work as valiantly during years ahead. She goes out of office happily; knowing that her successor, Grace Abbott of Hull House, Chicago, is as able as any in America to carry on the high tradition which has been established.

The public officials who are wise leaders of the people and at the same time shining examples of effectual administration are all too few. The gift of wisdom often seems to preclude high executive ability. If one attempts to recount the number of those who during the last quarter of a century have combined such traits, the list is dismayingly brief. Roosevelt at times had the feel of the future and Roosevelt could translate his purposes into action. Woodrow Wilson transcendently was the prophet and priest in office but after the Armistice Wilson was caught in the snare of circumstance. Of the galaxy of high officials not many are memorable. Franklin K. Lane had vision and competence. Others have been efficient and a few have looked about them with the eyes of statesmen, but who during recent years has been conspicuous as a seer and a doer?

Miss Lathrop accepted the opportunity of office at an interesting time in American history. Social reform in a narrow sense was in the ascendant. Social justice, however, had not played its tragically transitory role as the shibboleth of an ill-fated political party. It was easy to fall in the rut of conventional reform. Also with facility one could go out into the desert to utter futile appeals in melancholy loneliness. An ordinary personage would almost inevitably have fallen a victim to one of these dangers. Miss Lathrop manifested her genius by escaping from the dilemma on which were impaled so many of the rainbow hopes of her contemporaries at Washington. She hesitated not to hitch her wagon to a star because she had a mastery in the stellar spaces.

The first, and perhaps, the most important work that the Children's Bureau essayed was a study of infant mortality. When Miss Lathrop directed the bureau's efforts into that field some good citizens imagined that she had abandoned her faith as a social reformer for the subtleties of statistical research. A commonplace official would have tripped into that pit. Not so with the first chief of the Children's Bureau. Her reports were dry only to the dull. Infant mortality was studied with the immaculate passion of pure science. But the inquiries were not arrows loosed at random into the darkness of mortuary facts. On the contrary they were aimed at discovering important human relationships. When completed they made apparent conditions and tendencies of primary importance to the entire nation.

The Children's Bureau sought to ascertain the facts concerning the wastage of infant life. In that pursuit a veritable unknown land was charted. The bureau grappled with poverty and ignorance and social maladjustment. The conclusions reported were appalling but they were curative. Miss Lathrop discovered that the babies of the very poor perish with amazing rapidity. Her investigators returned with the information that one child out of every four born to families where the father's earnings were $10 or less a week died within twelve months. But families whose income approached in the pre-war days $100 a month lost only one in twelve. Community after community revealed similar conditions. In time a social principle as absolute as mathematical logic began to emerge.

Miss Lathrop told the American people that the lives of tens of thousands of children were being sacrificed to poverty. The full import of that truth has not yet sunk into the minds and the hearts of the millions of men and women in whose judgment lies the destiny of this republic. But the message came back once and again. Calmly, dispassionately, with the detachment of the scientist the word was uttered. The findings did not stop there. The death of children was studied in connection with other social and economic facts. Congestion, housing, sanitation, the employment of mothers before and after their babies are born were studied in their relationship to this cardinal fact of infant mortality. The Children's Bureau was able to cut squarely athwart an endless social struggle. Its facts were unconquerable and its logic was not to be denied.

To picture the first chief of the Children's Bureau merely as the detached administrator of a corps of students who discovered social facts of revolutionary significance would, however, be to fail to give a true impression of a diversified and charming personality. If Miss Lathrop were asked what she had been doing these nine years in Washington she might say that she had been conducting an educational institution. The answer would be just. The Children's Bureau has been an agency for the translation of such facts as have been brought to light by its investigators into the consciousness of the

women of America. The campaigns which the bureau has conducted to enable women here and now better to care for their offspring have been amazingly successful. At one time it was reported eight million American women were working with the bureau weighing and measuring babies. Genius was required to enlist the service of such a host even in so simple and immediate a task as the effort to give better care to children. That feat is in itself a record of service which ought not soon to be forgotten. For it is the essence of self-government that knowledge be made available to the people and that citizens be led to act in accordance with what is known.

In this vast educational activity as in the scientific work the bureau has struck at essentials. The Children's Bureau has had a broad conception of its obligations. Nothing that affected the well-being of childhood has been alien to its interest. Miss Lathrop has consistently refused to be diverted from the great objective. In doing this she has sought light from every quarter. Immediately on assuming control of the incipient organization she began the policy of making the fruitful experience of other countries available to Americans. New Zealand has from the standpoint of child life been the most prosperous of all lands. The methods which were used in the Australasian island to protect children were studied and reported so that the advantages there enjoyed might be of service in this country. That episode was typical. Under the lash of war Britain and France in particular learned better how to care for their children. As soon as the rumor of what was transpiring reached this country the Children's Bureau instituted inquiries in its own behalf. When this country entered the war there arose a tremendous and unthinking agitation in favor of tearing down legislation built up during a half century for safeguarding of the women and children of the nation. The Children's Bureau was able to challenge instantly the mockery of such a false patriotism. Miss Lathrop was able to show from the experience of France and of Great Britain that such sacrifices were not revelant to the prosecution of the war. The fact that the Children's Bureau sensed what was coming long before it happened and made ready for the mad onslaught was of enormous worth to the country.

The work of the Children's Bureau has not of course been limited to infant welfare nor has it been narrowly medical or statistical. When the first federal Child Labor Law was enacted the Children's Bureau was given the responsibility for its enforcement. Grace Abbott who now succeeds Miss Lathop was placed in charge of the operation of the law. Miss Abbott had already won distinction as an authority on immigration and as a practical reformer in that field. Under her lieutenancy the Children's Bureau gave an admirable example of intelligent and vigorous law enforcement. The bitterness of the feeling of many southern textile mill operators against the women who were the agents of the nation in the protection of young people against premature labor is one measure of the thoroughness of the service rendered. Courage and high competence were required for that service and the bureau met the occasion.

When the war was over Miss Lathrop called a fruitful conference of experts from many countries in order that all might ascertain what has been learned of benefit to children during the awful years of the world struggle. Out of it emerged certain "standards of child welfare." These are in reality criteria of civilization. For the nurture which a people provides for its children is in truth the measure of its place in the scale of life. The standards drafted under the auspices of the Children's Bureau are a standing challenge to the people of this country.

Miss Lathrop has had the practical statesman's wisdom of beginning to approach her great objective as soon as the people were ready. One of the first measures proposed to reduce the great waste of infant life is the Sheppard-Towner Maternity bill which would foster a medical service for the mothers and children of the nation. The bitterness of the tory attack on that proposal is an indication of the genuineness of the benefits it would afford the people.

All these things and the numerous other activities which have given distinction to the Children's Bureau have been rendered possible because of high quality of the personnel of the organization. Miss Lathrop has been an unbending protagonist of the merit system. The positions in the Children's Bureau have been the reward of competence. No mean consideration has led to any appointment. Great pressure has been exerted but politicians invariably found Miss Lathrop adamant. It is of unbounded value to women who are just now coming into political recognition that the first conspicuous office holder of their sex should have been so courageous a protagonist of civil service. Miss Lathrop's struggles should smooth the path for her successors.

In spite of this truly Puritan passion for skill in service the chief of the Children's Bureau has been unusually gifted in making and in retaining friends. Few residents of Washington are better liked. Even reactionary senators who did not understand what she was driving at and who had no taste for what they understood, count Miss Lathrop among their honored friends. The play of that remarkable personality on the entertaining stage of Washington official life, the flashing irony, the human understanding are the parts of another picture. Nevertheless they aid in the explanation of a successful public servant. Miss Lathrop has succeeded. During nine years her bureau has been a model of what a governmental organization might be. Having attained much the first chief steps out and leaves to her successor, a younger woman trained in the same school, bound by the same loyalty to fundamental democracy and driven by an equal respect for science and truth, a corps of men and women competent to carry on a great tradition. That in truth is success.



HUNGER AND CHOLERA IN RUSSIA

As seen by the cartoonist of Der Wahre Jacob, an organ of the Majority Socialist Party in Germany, which, though constantly under attack by the communists, is appealing widely for support of the effort to aid the Russian people

Russian Relief Problems

THE American Relief Administration has acted promptly on the conclusion of the agreement between Secretary Hoover's agent, Walter Lyman Brown, and the Soviet envoy, Maxim Litvinoff. Already, it is announced, representatives have proceeded into Petrograd and Moscow to ascertain the facts in the Russian famine situation. The personnel of these scouting parties is made up, at least in part, of men who have had consideable experience in Russia. Shipments of food have entered Russia from various European storehouses and will soon be sent from the United States.

In addition to taking these preparatory steps for actual relief, the American Relief Administration has been attempting to develop cooperation among the various American relief agencies which may work in Russia. President Harding has considered the matter of sufficient importance to write Mr. Hoover on August 18, of the necessity for carrying on the distribution of all charity in Russia through one American organization. He has gone so far as to say, "I am asking the Department of State to cooperate in directing that passports be given for travel to Russia on relief work, only to persons who may be in the service of the American Relief Administration."

At a meeting of the European Relief Council held in Washington it was agreed by the various organizations that all work should be carried on under the direct supervision of Col. William N. Haskell, who is to be Mr. Hoover's representative in Russia. All relations between the distributing organization and the Central Soviet authorities are to be conducted by the director of the American Relief Administration or with his approval.

This arrangement, while essential from the standpoint of efficiency, results in the American Friends' Service Committee's placing its organization, which has accomplished such excellent work and has distributed something over a million dollars in relief, under the supervision of the American Relief Administration. However, in the plans which were made at the meeting of the European Relief Council on August 24, it was stipulated that a definite district was to be assigned the Friends and that their association should keep its own identity and work according to its ideals.

Certain liberal organizations and more radical labor unions have been planning the formation of a Russian relief committee to act in cooperation with the Friends rather than with the American Relief Administration of which they have felt some suspicion. This recent agreement, by which the Friends apparently came under the supervision of the American Relief Administration, has placed these agencies in the dilemma of either cooperating with Mr. Hoover or turning their relief efforts into the support of the Nonpartisan Russian Famine Relief Committee in Moscow, a representative of which has recently arrived in New York and is busy organizing a committee to send funds to the Russian organization.

In Europe a meeting is to be held this week of the International Russian Relief Commission, instituted by the Allied Supreme Council, delegates to which have already been appointed by England and France. The presence of Senator Joseph Noulens, former French ambassador to Russia, as a member of the French delegation, probably indicates the reactionary attitude of France in the matter. Delegates to this commission from the United States have been invited though the first meeting is to be held with Walter L. Brown, representative of the American Relief Commission, and not of the United States government, the only American present. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen has been in Moscow representing the International Red Cross and has arranged with the Nonpartisan Russian Famine Relief Commission to distribute relief on terms similar to those which the American Relief Administration has made.

These European organizations will doubtless have very limited funds for relief purposes from private sources. The British Save the Children's Fund is utilizing Dr. Nansen's organization as a distributing agency. The European organizations apparently are hoping for government appropriations to make possible their efforts. More reliable news from the famine area makes it evident that the catastrophe is assuming proportions which private efforts cannot begin to meet. Dr. Nansen, cable dispatches report, is asking for $50,000,000 from the governments of western Europe and from as widely separated sources as Argentine and Denmark.

WALTER W. PETTIT.

The Institute of Politics

THE Institute of Politics just closed at Williamstown, Mass.,[1] was enormously successful—so conceded by every member. From the university bedside manner of Baron Korff, who would warn the anxious against the airs of Germany, to the poor English of Viallate—or more fairly to the lack of French of the Americans which protected the applauding dowagers from any comprehension of his sly, excellent analysis of American imperialism—it was indeed a safe first summer for an institution thankfully announced, not still-born, and congenitally so robust that its diet need not be prayerfully watched.

There is no doubt in any one's mind that the institute is already an institution. It was born under every auspice of longevity. A more gracious spot for a conflux of students could not have been found: beautiful country and large houses. Also there is something in the nature of the subject contemplated that makes its study a matter of polite occasion, calling forth a slight exhilaration rather than the depression which one might expect. The institute was intellectually swank. Its subject matter gave it flair. Its personae were hand-picked.

Lord Bryce was, of course, the most popular of the lecturers, commanding reverence, affection and most minute attention. His spirit dominated the conference with the liberalism of another day. Next to him in popularity came Baron Korff who had the advantage, not accruing to the other foreign lecturers, of having no government ties to his tongue, but who had perhaps what was more noticeable in him than in the others since he was more obviously a propagandist—untransplantable roots in old Russia—modified. Russian history to him is in a state of suspension. Like those of the reign of Charles II, the annals of Russia will be resumed after an interval, but with no hiatus, and the past will be reseated. Viallate, French economist, financier and student of American imperialism, and Signor Tittoni, president of the Italian Senate, their defects in intelligibility overruled, seemed to be best liked by the more discriminating. Tittoni, Panaretoff and Teleki unfortunately had to speak into the wax discs at home. The lecturers for the most part did not use their powers of generalization, popular alike with the lay public which did not care for chronology of diplomatic episodes and the student who was already aware of such of these as might be divulged in public lectures.

The real life of the conference, however, was in the round table groups to which only members of the institute were admissible. The treaties, reparation, unsettled points of international law, boundaries, Pan-American questions, the tariff and fundamental concepts in international law in relation to political theory and legal philosophy were the subjects considered. The work was done seminar fashion, but by committees, and progressed animatedly under the management of able men in the respective fields. By careful selection the members of the round table were mainly contributors to the subject matter in hand. Propagandists and the garrulous, though present, were unpopular and fortunately few.

The faults of the institute, which even by its keenest critics is hailed welcome, are easy to discover and fairly easy to justify. It was held in the halls of a rich man's college in New England. Its heavy expense was, furthermore, borne by a financier who has written a book to prove that the treaty though bad could not have been better. It was, moreover, attended for the main part by members of the diplomatic service and the military intelligence, and students of history and political science. The first fact speaks for itself; the second also, for its support in the second and third years is dependent upon its first year's success. Presumably, the institute will be endowed and if given academic freedom will possibly bear invaluable fruit to the science of politics.

[1] See page 640.

As it was this first year, the political jargon was mainly of another era. The science of politics is still true to the veil. It is, as one of the men at the institute choicely put it, a chimera ruminating in a vacuum. Sociology, ethics and economics play in another yard. The stupendous changes in social structure which will soon make its terms dust and ashes were scarcely mentioned. Ireland was not mentioned. India was not mentioned. Reasonable omissions, considering that the whole labor movement of England was not mentioned. Domesticity and internationalism were completely divorced, and this session was devoted to international affairs. The relation of the new internationalism based on domestic changes in structure to the old internationalism based on marriages of kings' daughters received no accent. Until the last week, of the experiment in Russia nothing was spoken, even *sotto voce*. When discretion could hold no longer Soviet Russia was rubbed in the dirt, and that time prayerfully awaited when American capital might have its safe day. The Turk seemed to bear, however, the white man's burden of being the real goat. He was thrown hither and yon from lecture platform to lecture platform. New Germany, it goes without saying, had no representation. The enemy states of Bulgaria and Hungary had their spokesmen in statesmen safe and sound in those subjects more dangerous than chauvinism. It did, however, mean much that they were heard. A comment of a drummer overheard in a garage revealed its importance. "I wish," quoth he, "that the institute was over with them foreigners here. It's dangerous and un-American."

The whole tone, of course, was made by its historical atmosphere. Political scientists, not being notably creative, share their intellectual pleasures with historians, who are holding a perpetual wake. History forty years behind the times is as interesting as contemporaneous history. History of the future is no history at all.

MARION CLINCH CALKINS.

The Cotton Strike

[*The situation in the North Carolina cotton mills illuminated by the following article has long been one of the most baffling of the industrial problems of the United States. More than ten years ago the historic study of Woman and Child Wage Earners embodied in a report to Congress laid bare conditions of vital importance. That inquiry showed that owing to low wages and irregular employment men, women, and little children were compelled to seek employment in the textile factories in order that families might be supported. It made clear the fact that in many communities the average man employed in the cotton mills had not the slightest opportunity to maintain his family by his own earnings. The North Carolina cotton mills have more recently furnished the opposition to the federal child labor laws and it was as a consequence of litigation begun by a North Carolina mill owner that the first law was declared invalid by the United States Supreme Court. The existing law has also been held unconstitutional by a federal district judge in a North Carolina court. In view of these facts the efforts of the mills workers to better their own condition by trade union activity and the consequent struggle into which they were plunged has more than ordinary significance.*—THE EDITOR.]

THE first break in the "silent strike" of cotton mill operatives in North Carolina occurred August 11, when the Locke mills, at Concord, began operations with between 100 and 125 of its former 450 operatives. These workers, however, had been out since February 22. The great effort of the United Textile Workers of America began June 1, when strikes were called in four groups of mills—the Cannon chain, the Johnston chain, the Chadwick-Hoskins chain, and a group of independent mills—and approximately 8,000 members of the union quit, throwing out of work about 2,000 other employes not members of the union.

The immediate cause of the strike was the inauguration of wage cuts ranging from 38 per cent to 50 per cent. The question of hours is not in dispute, the ordinary week being 55 hours, raised, in a few instances, to 60 hours. The union

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government and he is reimbursed for the cost of his voyage in credit to account in equipment and land. The second is recruited by Brazilian governmental agencies in European countries: Transportation is at government expense. When these immigrants arrive they can buy land at prices ranging from $ .96 to $3 an acre, and amortization payments do not have to start until three years after colonization. The government also has state colonies upon which immigrants can be placed. At these colonies the agent, or director of colonization, has the prerogatives of a dictator. The immigrants cannot of course be dependent upon their land until after their first crops; therefore they are given work upon government roads and railroads. It is on this point that a charge of peonage has been made. Mr. Marcus says that this charge has not been proved, but that the rumor of it is so general that it must of course be disproved or investigated before any definite encouragement is given to the Jews to migrate to Brazil in numbers. It is possible that Mr. Marcus, who was for some time with the Latin-American Division of the federal Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, may go to Brazil to investigate the charge of peonage with immigrants, after his work in Cuba is finished.

"THE GOVERNMENT OF COAL"

AN extraordinarily interesting announcement of the attitude of more progressive miners toward coal has come from District Number 2 of the United Mine Workers of America. Last February at their meeting in Du Bois, Pa., 43,000 coal diggers through their representatives formulated the "Miners' Program." [See the SURVEY for March 12, p. 845.] The program is founded on the policy of nationalization passed by the Cleveland convention of the United Mine Workers in 1919. The Pennsylvania district proposes to work toward the fulfilment of this program through a campaign of education and now, as a step in this direction, a pamphlet entitled The Government of Coal has been issued.

This publication shows evidences of thorough research and of considered writing. It states the miners' arguments for the nationalization of the coal industry. The miners specifically reject the suggestion that they be given control of the industry on a syndicalist basis. They favor the development of a system which with national ownership and collective bargaining will, they argue, both protect the public and regard the well-being of the workers, technicians and managers engaged in digging and in distributing coal.

The argument which is carefully wrought proceeds on the assumption that coal being a necessity is a natural public utility. Constitutional support is found for this contention. The avoidable waste in the coal industry is then set forth. Abundant authorities including the statements of operators, engineers and public officials are cited to support this position. The various kinds of waste are described in some detail. The national loss both in materials and in human well-being is described. These wastes, the miners hold, are inherent in the competitive system. It is impossible to eradicate losses that threaten to squander a large proportion of this essential natural resource, it is argued, without unifying the production and the distribution of coal.

The industry could be integrated, it is suggested, by the formation of a super-trust. The method of John D. Rockefeller with oil and of Messrs. Gary and Schwab with steel is recalled. The miners are, however, as much opposed to a new trust as they are to a syndicalist adventure. Accordingly they fall back upon national ownership relying upon the experience of the nation with the post office for a precedent.

The miners' proposals are a novel development in part because of the care with which they are elaborated. With the exception of the Plumb Plan for the railroads no such program has been produced by the American labor movement.

"Philanthropic Doubts"

PHILANTHROPIC doubts are presented, and on the whole confirmed rather than dissipated, in the opening article of the Atlantic Monthly for September. Its author is Cornelia James Cannon, wife of the George Higginson professor of physiology in Harvard University. About a year ago, Mrs. Cannon, in a brief article in the Atlantic, raised the startling question as to whether our American civilization can maintain itself. The author's doubts on this point, as it is a little cruel to recall now that we have some millions of unemployed, were based on the premise that the "final result" of our six-year effort to "manufacture our own population"—that is, suspension of immigration during the war period—was "a shortage of workers everywhere." We had "a working population too small for the demands put upon it and too restless and intelligent to accept the pay and position of inferiority." The inquiry nevertheless was a legitimate one and the philosophy suggested, rather than expounded, in this earlier article was better than its basis in fact.

The same thing is true of Mrs. Cannon's present philanthropic doubts. Her analysis of the present situation is incomplete and her history very defective; but her philosophy is admirable and her advice excellent. Her major premise here is that "the apparently solid support" of the philanthropic societies "has shown signs of giving way"; that "whatever the future may hold in store for us, the community of the present will no longer support private charities on the scale and in the manner it has done in the past"; that there is "a general refusal on the part of the public to back the philanthropists." We are informed that "the public is bringing the whole matter to an issue by refusing any longer to support private charities on the present scale." The evidence for all this is not presented; and the facts appear indeed to be quite the opposite. More and not less is now given for philanthropic purposes than in the past, remote or recent. Our greatest foundations are of very recent origin. In many cities great sums are gathering—as in the Boston Permanent Charity—to be devoted to any philanthropic purposes which the trustees approve.

Charitable societies, like the colleges and the churches, are putting forth extraordinary efforts to raise money, as merchants and publishers are putting forth great efforts to market their wares. But that is only our post-war psychology. The "dazzling streak of lightning" of the war did not show less but vastly more than before poured out in charitable relief. To be sure, in our patriotic fervor, we preferred to call it "home service," or by some other euphonious name. As the author herself sees, in so far as there was a change in the status of the philanthropies, it was not so much their revenues as it was the demands upon them that diminished; and this, as she says, was because of high wages, prohibition, general employment, and (what she does not mention) large expenditures by the emergency war relief agencies, diminishing to this extent demands on other philanthropies.

Doubts there are and ample grounds for them; but a "revolt of the giving public," if by that is meant any demonstrable diminution in the current support of charitable enterprises, cannot be included among such grounds. The fact is that the spirit of true democracy which prefers "reforms from within" is nowhere more in evidence than in the vast majority of the active volunteers and professional workers whom Mrs. Cannon includes along with the founders, contributors and directors in her indictment of "philanthropy." She admits that "social workers, the professionals of the philanthropic movements, are themselves becoming weary of their dependence on the uncertain generosity of the patrons of the poor," which is much as if she were to say that doctors are becoming weary of relying on drugs and are turning to hygiene. The

fact is that for a generation at least "philanthropy"—some philanthropy—has been doing just what Mrs. Cannon advises. It has been insisting on that "fastidious respect for our brother's personality," which "makes such heavy drafts on our tolerance." To the inquiry, "Where is the reformer who ever feels that, once a law is passed and a department created, there is any further responsibility on his shoulders?" the answer is that in scores of cities there are faithful reformers who have "the wit to see" that our responsibility is then but "just beginning" and have acted accordingly. Housing, playgrounds, tuberculosis prevention, workmen's compensation, remedial loans, mothers' pensions, public school extension, are only so many fields of reform in which there are any number of reformers who have never had any "inner scepticism as to the fundamental character of their work," simply because they have never had any other intention than that of "animating the community as a whole with the spirit they have developed."

The central idea of Mrs. Cannon's article is sound. It is unfortunate that she has given it the form of an "indictment against philanthropy" and then fails to make clear what she means by philanthropy. Her conclusion that "the philanthropist's contribution must be experimental work" is sound. Her illustrations, as in the case of the anti-tuberculosis societies, are not convincing. There are philanthropies which cling to work which could be better done by the state or which might be abandoned. The anti-tuberculosis societies are not among them. In an extraordinary degree they avoid this very pitfall. They have been creating the public opinion which demands efficient public health service and adequate appropriations; but their pioneer work, as they well know, is not yet done.

Again Mrs. Cannon is right in rejecting the idea that the altering of a few lives for the better through contact with philanthropic associations is not a sufficient defense or justification. We have to ask, "How large do these cases bulk in the total number of individuals dealt with?" Here is the most disturbing of all "philanthropic doubts"; but to raise this question is not to answer it. The philanthropies may fairly be asked to present their evidences.

EDWARD T. DEVINE.

The Third Tool

Basle, August 25.

THOSE who view the progress of humanity as a slow emancipation of the people from poverty and unfreedom often speak of the three great branches of the struggle for democracy: the political in which the masses are organized as voters, the vocational or syndical in which they are organized as producers, and the cooperative in which they are organized as consumers. The last named is usually regarded as the weakest; and the reason is that in his capacity of purchaser the average man or woman is most conservative, most disinclined to risk his resources in the pursuit of a distant social ideal.

As one looked over four hundred or so delegates assembled in the casino of Basle for the first international cooperators' congress since the war—mostly grey heads, mostly countenances speaking of long years of responsible work in some administrative capacity—one could not help sympathizing with the visitor who asked: "And are these old fogies going to remake the world?" No, revolutionary action was not to be expected from this crowd. And yet, as one session followed another, as the picture unrolled of what has actually been accomplished in the cooperative movement since the last congress in 1913, as difficult questions of international organization and policy were more or less amicably settled by the representatives of twenty-three different countries who, most of them, were not visionary internationalists but typical products of their respective countries, one could not help being impressed with the immense potential force of this movement for world progress. And not potential only. The cooperative movement has come out of the war greatly strengthened. In more than one country, when the plight of the consumer was at its worst through the derangement of the normal machinery of distribution, it was not to private initiative but to the sound principles and the proved sagacity of the cooperative organizations that the governments entrusted the task of building up emergency lines of coordination between producer and consumer, between importer and consumer, between town and country.

At first, the conference was skeptical of its own ability to achieve greater international cooperation. It was said privately by many of the delegates that this coming together at a time when feeling still runs high, when the military armistice of Europe has not yet been followed by any real, lasting peace, was no more than an amiable attempt to gloss over differences by smooth speeches and that, for many years to come, the real forward movement must be looked for in the growing strength of the cooperative organizations in the different countries and communities, separate from each other. Indeed, it looked at times as though divisions on national lines were to emphasize differences in national viewpoints and as though unanimous votes would be given only on innocuous topics or matters of no particular concern to any one. As the agenda proceeded, however, important resolutions were passed which definitely lined up the whole of the international cooperative movement behind principles which establish a common fund of aspirations and working principles.

The first clash came on the subject of Russian representation. This had been threshed out previous to the congress by the central committee with the result that the general secretary himself, in introducing its resolution, had to make a plea on his own behalf and that of the British delegation to which he belonged, for its rejection. The argument of the majority of the central committee, especially of the French delegates, was that the central cooperative organization of Russia, the Centrosojus, had been so changed in character by the interference of the Soviet government that it no longer constituted a voluntary cooperative organization within the definition of the membership rules of the International Alliance. They were strengthened in their attitude by the presence of Russian delegates appointed for the previous congress who, though not reappointed for the new period of representation, affirmed that they were the only true representatives of the Russian cooperative movement—the Bakhmetieffs of the cooperative movement, as someone observed, since they did not represent any existing organization. On the other hand, five of the six delegates appointed by the Centrosojus did not reach the congress because the German government did not permit them to travel to Basle except on conditions which they could not accept with any regard for the honor of the great organization—the largest consumers' organization anywhere in the world—that had sent them. One delegate, however, Dr. V. N. Polovtzeva, who had come from London, was present and informed the congress of the actual situation in Russian cooperation. After an acrimonious debate, the view of the British delegates—backed up by their solid vote and that of other states—prevailed, that the Centrosojus, in the past one of the most honored constituent bodies of the Alliance, was itself the best judge as to who should represent it and that its form and constitution was primarily a matter for the decision and approval of the Russian cooperators in Russia. The delegates appointed by the Russian union for the central committee were admitted.

Another debate of some heat developed around a resolution introduced by Albert Thomas for the French delegation on the subject of international cooperation. Here again the principal combatants were the solid ranks of the French and English delegates; but the latter were strongly supported by German speakers. As originally worded, this resolution went directly against the traditional adherence of the cooperative movement to the principle of free trade; it demanded that commercial treaties should be multiplied and that they should be renewed for a sufficiently long period to assure the sound development of industry. It was said in the lobby that French political influences had been brought to bear on the drafting of this resolution and that it did not represent the real opinion of the rank and file of French cooperators. Norway and Austria, through Carl Renner of Vienna, announced their intention to abstain from voting since they approved of the major part of Thomas' speech and resolution. Dr. J. P. Warbasse, of New York, drew attention to the inconsistency of a declaration of policy which described as "ill-considered schemes" the movement on the part of consumers' organizations to reach back for the control of land and raw materials, since the accomplishment of such control was one of the major achievements of cooperators in recent years, especially in Great Britain. But more especially did the opposition express its distrust of a system of commercial treaties which would perpetuate economic warfare and its belief in free imports as the only safeguard of consumers against exploitation. Thomas finally deleted the objectionable passage, and his report and resolution were adopted.



Emblem of the Swiss Federation of Consumers' Cooperative Societies

Expressions of opinion, such as these, may seem futile enough when one considers how little influence the cooperative unions of the different countries have hitherto been able to exert upon the policies of their governments. But, as Professor Gide pointed out, the forces that make for the adoption of reactionary economic and militarist policies in the different countries also are minorities; and with its twenty-seven million organized workers, the International Cooperative Alliance is likely in the future to have a very considerable effect upon world opinion, especially if it perfects its educational and propaganda methods. Much of the subsequent discussion, indeed, was given to the subject of education. A special conference was held of those who as teachers or administrators are primarily responsible for the educational work of the cooperative bodies in the different countries, and it was agreed to form closer links among them, especially to the end that the spirit of international fellowship might be more strongly developed within the movement. The women delegates likewise held separate meetings and, principally under the influence of the great work accomplished by the Women's Guild of Great Britain, decided to form an international organization of women's unions within the central cooperative organizations of the different countries to extend their educational work among the women members.

Professor Gide's paper and resolution on the principles of international right according to the spirit of cooperation—a daring restatement of first principles—unfortunately also underwent a significant change under the pressure of French reaction. As originally drafted, his resolution demanded:

> In the event of the folly of men letting loose a new war, it [the International Cooperative Alliance] relies on the cooperators of all countries not to linger over irritating discussions as to which side was the aggressor and which the defender, but fearlessly to face patriotic prejudice and official censure, uniting in a unanimous protest which would not cease as long as the war should last.

For this he substituted:

> In case that the folly of man should provoke another war, the I. C. A., without contesting the right of every country to defend its independence, but considering that any war, even a defensive one, should not be allowed to settle differences between nations, is confident that the cooperators of all countries, even those who believe themselves to be victims of aggression, will not hesitate to defy patriotism and official censorship and will unite to impose on the belligerents the cessation of the conflict and the adoption of the method of peaceful arbitration.

Even worse was the departure from his original report in a speech in which he compared the responsibility of the cooperators to that of the guide at the rear of a mountaineering party whose duty it was to follow his party [his country] even when he knew that it was on the wrong path!

In its practical work, the congress was conservatively progressive. It was unanimous in its desire for increased machinery of international cooperative trading but did not see its way to establish immediately an effective new machinery for that purpose, leaving it rather to the principal national cooperative concerns to make their own arrangements and to report at a later time on desirable steps for closer coordination of such efforts. It listened with great interest to various proposals for organizing international credits, especially with a view to facilitating the exchange of goods between countries with fluctuating exchange rates, but came to no definite conclusion as to the establishment of an international credit agency of its own. It voted, however, in favor of "all possible measures to ensure the removal of any government or other obstacle to international cooperative trading" and of watchfulness on the part of the International Alliance and the International Committee of Wholesale Societies (which is the agency primarily responsible for the fostering of international cooperative trading) to the end "that any special schemes set up under the League of Nations or by individual governments for the facilitation of trade by credits or otherwise are on lines suitable to the circumstances of the cooperative movement and are used to the utmost by the movement."

The constitution of the Alliance itself underwent a number of significant alterations, aiming in the main at raising it from the position of a loose federation of organizations and individuals to a position in which it may definitely attempt to influence social and economic conditions internationally; in other words at making it a real international, comparable

in influence to the internationals of the socialist and trade union movements. This is to be achieved in the main by a gradual substitution of membership of national unions for that of individual cooperative organizations and a strengthening of the financial position of the Alliance.

A subject of considerable concern to all cooperators proved to be the relation of the consumers' cooperative movement to the trade union movement, and more especially the relation of the cooperative organizations to their own employes. It was felt generally that both on the employers' and the employes' sides the right attitude had not yet been found, that too often the natural desire of the workers to have a share in the management of the plants was thwarted by too one-sided a representation of the consumers' interests in the management and that, on the other hand, too often the unions treated the cooperative establishments exactly as though they were concerns of private capitalism and exacted terms that were not reasonable considering the special difficulties of a form of organization the success of which should be looked upon by them as of the greatest consequence to their own. Finally, the relations of the cooperative movement to the International Labor Bureau were discussed at some length, and the desire to be represented as strongly as possible in that bureau was general.

The city of Basle proved an ideal meeting place for cooperators. It has more to show of concrete cooperative accomplishments than any other city of its size. Its cooperative dairy, for instance, supplies nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants with milk. By investing in the shares of the largest meat packing concern, the Swiss unions are gradually "socializing" this important industry. The shoe factories, bakeries and other producing establishments of Basle are models of modern organization. Lastly, a fête given on the village green of Freidorf, the first modern industrial housing experiment of some size to be financed entirely with cooperative capital (to be described in a later issue of the SURVEY) demonstrated to the delegates the great possibilities of cooperative enterprise in that neglected field.

The next Congress will probably be held at Ghent.

B. L.

Dante After Six Centuries[1]

By Joseph K. Hart

THE period culminating in the century of Dante was one of the world's great ages. Our own age, so different from it in many ways, grew out of it, rests back upon it and is largely explained by it. Any great man is a window through which later ages may, if they choose, look long and steadily at the age in which he lived. Through Dante, the Middle Ages live for us again. But a window, to be useful, must be set so that the light can shine through it. If we are to see Dante aright, and through him his age, we must see him in the light of history.

All ancient civilizations developed within the bounds of their own traditions and folkways. In Greece, in the expanding days of the Persian wars, those traditional bounds were broken through and the Greek spirit overflowed in what history has since called, usually with some invidious implication, the "sophist movement." This movement was the first great adventure of the human mind beyond the bounds of established habit and custom into the untraveled regions of imagination and intellect. Inevitably such an adventure made room for many sordid and petty deeds; on such events we need not dwell. The movement as a whole provided a profoundly positive outcome. The fact that most of the sophists produced nothing of worth proves nothing. One of them, the greatest of them all, Socrates, carried his task to its completion, opened a pathway into the unsuspected realm of moral intelligence, and promised a new era to the race of men. Of him, because of these things, John Stuart Mill wrote, many centuries later: "Humanity cannot be too often reminded that a man once lived by the name of Socrates."

But Socrates died in 399 B. C., bringing to its close that first brief adventure of the human spirit outside its ancient walls of habit. To most, the period seemed wholly destructive. Few were brave enough to want to see it continued or repeated. Socrates paid the penalty for his adventuresomeness. The world wanted safety, not adventure. From that time forward for some seventeen hundred years, the major efforts of the race were to be directed to the setting up of impregnable defences against any further contacts between the assured civilization inside the walls and the chaos that assuredly lay outside. Plato and Aristotle, moving backward toward security, gave the intellectual "slant" to the developments of those centuries. In good time, the Roman Empire established what looked like permanence in the political affairs of the world. Humanity attempted to surround itself with definitions and limitations and legalisms and to intimidate itself with soldiery. The world seemed on its way to a permanent and finished social order.

But two fundamental movements, one from within, the other from without, challenged and tested this finality. The first of these, coming from within, took the form of a demand for the release of the inner, personal life of men from the limitations of old definitions and from the degrading fears of the unknown and the new. This was the Christian movement, a movement that for two centuries threatened to destroy the Empire. But by the end of the Third Century, Christianity had been safely organized into the Church, the Church had been accepted as the official religious organization of the Empire, and, though the Middle Ages had many adventurers, the danger from that direction was largely over for many centuries.

The second challenge came from the outside. Barbarian invasions from the North threw terrific primitive energies against the weakened forces of civilization in the South. This conflict went on for centuries; it came to its climax in the Fifth Century of the Christian era. The issues were long in doubt. All over the outlying provinces, the older forms of civilization practically disappeared. In the center of events, Rome succumbed, outwardly; but after several centuries of turmoil, that newer Rome, the Holy Roman Empire, arose and became the bulwark of order throughout the remainder of these centuries. For nearly a thousand years, along the borders of this ordered world, social chaos continued, invasions and warfare preoccupying the time and energies of men. What wonder, then, that in the centers of order all the substantial thinking of men was turned to the task of protecting the civilization that remained from the dangers that lay beyond the bounds of order! Statesmen labored for a thousand years to develop a permanent, unquestionable political order, based on the unimpugnable forms of law. Religious statesmen directed all their energies to the organization of a "Christendom" so august that not only would none within its borders dispute its sway, but even those outside would be compelled to bow before it! Even scientists labored to

[1] September 14 marked the six hundredth anniversary of Dante's death.

To facilitate the work of the instructor, the shop meetings could be provided with carefully prepared outlines, which could serve as introductory statements and guides for discussion and could greatly help the instructor, especially the less experienced, and the shop chairman. These could be prepared somewhat on the lines of the Fabian tracts, either by the educational department of the respective international unions or, whenever the problem was of a general nature, by the Workers' Education Bureau.

The local union meeting could be made available even more than the shop meeting for purposes of mass education. The attendance at the local union meetings ranges anywhere from 10 to 25 per cent of the entire membership and reaches that element which takes an active interest in the life and administration of the affairs of the union. Because of their devotion to and preoccupation with union work, this active membership has little opportunity to look for education outside of that connected with their immediate organization activities. It is needless to explain that everything said about the spontaneous educational value of the shop meeting applies to a much larger extent to the local union meeting and the executive functions connected therewith. But just because of this spontaneous education received by the active union element, just because of its important functions and part in the labor movement, it needs a much broader acquaintance with the general problems of social and economic life. At the same time, popular scientific lectures arranged for these meetings should become a sufficient attraction to make attendance much larger, a need which is acutely felt by every labor organization. The local union meetings are usually held every other week and it would therefore be quite possible to arrange short series of three, four or more lectures each, devoted to a single subject. Since attendance at the local union meetings always has a permanent nucleus of the same members, such series would actually amount to a popular class.

The same project method as that described for the shop meeting can be applied, with necessary modifications, to the local union meeting. The experience of the United Labor Education Committee which has prompted such lectures at local union meetings for about two years has shown that with a little persistence they can be made a success. Those given by the United Labor Education Committee included a series of lectures on recent tendencies in the labor movement; the state and the worker, discussing such subjects as picketing, injunctions and labor legislation; the history of the labor movement; methods of trade unionism, a discussion of strikes, collective bargaining, collective agreements; forms of trade union organization, discussing craft and industrial unionism; the shop steward movement; the worker and the community, discussing the municipal, state and federal government; and some single lectures were also given on the theory of evolution and other natural subjects, which, with the proper lantern illustrations and motion pictures could be very successful.

The labor press, consisting of the official journals of the various national unions and the papers endorsed by central labor bodies and state federations, could become an important educational factor. Unfortunately, with the exception of a very few labor journals, the labor press and especially the endorsed labor papers are mostly beneath criticism. They seldom contain even readable information on local union events and almost never go beyond that. But with a real effort on the part of the Workers' Education Bureau a more sensitive public opinion could be created among the local unions of every locality; the number of papers could be reduced, and they could be supplied with greater support and subjected to greater responsibility. They could be given the means to become of real service and of educational value to the labor movement. This is an urgent task and its necessity cannot be too strongly emphasized.

The pamphlet and the book have never been fully appreciated by the American labor movement. The experience of the labor movement in other countries supplies indisputable evidence that the pamphlet and the book could become the most valuable factors of mass education. I have mentioned how the short tract could be used at shop meetings and for all groups of workers as a guide and stimulus to intelligent discussion and educational work. But it is even more important to develop among the rank and file the taste for reading and the ability to read. This might be done if the worker could be supplied with the necessary guidance to facilitate his reading, and with such reading matter as will have a bearing upon the questions of his every-day life, including the problems he struggles with in his individual, family, community and industrial life. The pamphlet and book must also be brought within easy reach of every worker.

The travelling or portable library is perhaps the best means of bringing reading matter within the reach of workers and of fitting the reading to the readers. The educational departments of the international unions could arrange a number of small portable libraries each consisting of about twenty-five or fifty carefully selected pamphlets and books, including fiction and the social sciences, encased in a properly arranged cardboard box. Such a collection could pass from shop to shop and remain in each shop long enough, under the care of the shop chairman, to enable every worker who might so desire to make use of it. A few posters which might perhaps be put up in some shops, with the permission of the employer, could also help in calling the attention of the workers to the libraries as well as to the other educational activities of the organization. But the travelling portable library in charge of the shop would itself work as a great stimulus, and if the reading matter were selected to meet the immediate demands of the workers, it could become of inestimable educational value. The same could also be done for smaller organizations by the central bodies and even for single local unions with the cooperation of the Workers' Education Bureau.

The film or moving picture could be used to great advantage. The hold of the commercialized film and its demoralizing and degrading effect upon the masses of the people is now generally recognized as an almost irreparable social evil. At the same time the film's power for good could be almost as great. There are a number of good films on natural sciences. There are very few tolerable productions of literary masterpieces. These could be selected and used, perhaps with the accompaniment of adequate short talks, for mass education. The difficulty is that most of the labor union halls are entirely unfit for this purpose, and the number of pictures is so limited at present, and some of them so lacking in thrilling elements, that not a great deal could be done. A central educational body such as the Workers' Education Bureau could, however, accomplish much in this direction. Perhaps the Labor Film Service could be of assistance.

The dramatic reading and play whenever possible would be no less valuable. Drama appeals to the imagination and thought at the same time. The United Labor Education Committee has had several dramatic readings with Edith Wynne Mathewson and Charles Rann Kennedy, and the writer knows of few activities of equal educational value in stimulating thought, waking up interest, creating a desire for knowledge and the fullness and beauty of life, and in helping to shape the elements of personality. Masterful interpretations of such works as Man and Superman, The Terrible Meek, The Servant in the House, Sister Beatrice, always leave an indelible impression on the minds of the workers. The United Labor Education Committee had a fine dream of establishing a workmen's theater, but our workaday world proved to be unready for the holiday. Perhaps a country-wide organization like the Workers' Education Bureau could now be more successful in this regard.

J. M. Budish.

INDUSTRY

Conducted by
WILLIAM L. CHENERY

Savings for Old Age of Women Shoe Workers

CAN women wage-earners make adequate savings from their earnings for their old age? This country, unlike England or Germany, has not provided old age pensions or insurance for wage-workers. The assumption seems to be that working men and women can be expected to maintain themselves in their old age by the fruits of their labors during working years. To throw some light on the question of whether this assumption is justifiable, a study of women shoe workers in Lynn, Mass., was made by the author and Elna Anderson working under the direction of Lucile Eaves, of the Research Department of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston. It is generally believed that workers in the shoe industry are skilled and capable of earning good wages. They should, therefore, be able to make savings for old age if such savings are possible for any group of wage-earning women. What is the situation?

The women workers found in the stitching rooms of the small shoe firms of Lynn, were particularly adapted to this study, because large numbers of them were elderly and had spent their lives in shoe factories. Four-fifths of the 408 women visited in the course of the investigation had passed the age of forty and 79 women had passed their sixtieth birthdays. One-half had worked more than twenty years at the trade and a quarter of the whole group from thirty to fifty years. Many of these women were of a high level of intelligence, which made it possible for them to take advantage of any opportunities for saving which might occur during these long periods of service. A type which still survived in Lynn was the old fashioned spinster who wore steel rimmed spectacles and had her hair drawn back tightly from her forehead. When she spoke her severe expression was relieved by a touch of humor and her accent was that of a down East Yankee. Twenty per cent of the group were from Maine, New Hampshire or Vermont, and were mainly of New England stock. Three-quarters of the women were born in the United States and only 2 per cent outside of English speaking countries. As one-half were either unmarried or widows without children, they realized that they were dependent on their own exertions to provide for the future, and were therefore keenly interested in the problem of making savings.

Considering the superiority of these women, the amounts which they had saved seemed extraordinarily small. Two hundred and fifty-seven women, who were unmarried or widowed, stated the sums which they had been able to lay aside from their earnings. (See chart.) One-half of these had saved nothing. They might have had temporary savings which tided them over out-of-work periods, but they had nothing for the future. One-quarter had no more than $500 and of the 15 per cent who had accumulated more than $1,000, only 6 exceptional women had managed to save over $3,000. Ordinarily these sums were deposited in savings banks or invested in Liberty bonds, but in 27 instances they had been used to make payments on homes.

The amounts mentioned do not include insurance; the assumption that wage-earners usually carry industrial insurance sufficient for funeral expenses was not borne out by the statements of these women. On the contrary nearly one-half, (44 per cent), had no insurance, and only a tenth of the whole number carried policies of more than $500. One woman reported a policy of $75 and another a policy of $95—amounts hardly adequate at present prices to cover their burial expenses. Only 13 per cent, however, were left entirely unprotected against emergency and old age, as most of those who had no money in the savings bank had sufficient foresight to take out insurance.

What are the reasons that these women did not make more adequate savings? In order to understand the opportunities which they had for saving, it is necessary to take into account their earnings over a period of years, the relation of such earnings to the cost of living and the family responsibilities of the individual worker. Whether every opportunity was utilized depends on the character of each worker.

Shoe workers, at least during the war, had a reputation of enjoying high wages. Employers not uncommonly quote from their payrolls earnings of $50 and $60 a week. One of the women visited reported her maximum wage for one week as $67.80; others reported maximum weekly earnings of $35 and $40. The only possible bases, however, for a consideration of the margins between wages and living expenses are annual earnings. These figures, on account of the seasonal fluctuations of the industry, give a different impression.

Of the 403 women who reported their earnings from January to December, 1920, 91 per cent earned less than $1,000, that is, less than an average weekly wage of $19. In 1919, of 228 women, 89 per cent earned less than a $1,000. The shoe business in 1919 was very prosperous; in 1920 it was flat. The difference in the earnings of the two years may be more clearly indicated by two examples. One highly skilled worker earned $951 in 1919 and $450 in 1920; another $821 and $649 in the respective years. As the statements of the women could not be verified from the payrolls, a check was obtained by figures furnished by six representative firms, which employed 804 women in 1920 and 945 in 1919. The percentage of these women eaaning less than $1,000 was 98 per cent in 1920 and 92 per cent in 1919. The reason that the figures obtained from the employers give a larger proportion of women earning under $1,000 than those obtained from the employes is undoubtedly due to the fact that among the 408 women seen were many unusually steady workers.

The margin above bare living expenses which might be earned by shoe workers may be gaged by awards made by the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. The minimum wage established in May, 1920, for paper box workers was $15.50 a week or $806 a year. Reliable information concerning the numbers who earned as much as this could not be secured from the 408 women visited. Calculations based on data reported in the Massachusetts Statistics of Manufactures show that the average annual earnings of all women shoe workers in Lynn were $589 in 1917 and $699 in 1918. As the minimum necessary income[1] for that year was $628, the average shoe worker should have been able to save $71. To discover whether wages had kept pace with the rise in the cost of living, figures for annual earnings from 1910 to 1918 were compared with figures showing the rise in food, rent and clothing for the same period. Although wages did not increase as fast as prices, "real wages" were approximately the same in 1918 as in 1910. This average shoe woker, therefore, might have had a balance every year between $30 and $100 which could have been put aside for her old age. Even with an annual balance of $100, nearly 20 years would be required to save $2,000.

The possible savings which the individual shoe worker could make from her earnings depended, of course, on her personal circumstances, on the way in which she lived and on whether she had others to support. The minimum wage estimate for living expenses in based on the amount needed by the single woman who boards and rooms with strangers. Only a fifth of the women whose savings have been discussed lived in this way. It was considered too expensive. The price commonly quoted in Lynn for a room is $5 a week and for board $6 or $7 in addition. To reduce expenses a woman often shared her room with a friend. Two such women said that they had pared down their food expenses as much as possible by cooking their breakfasts in their room on the gas burner and eating a cold supper. They each allowed 40 cents a day for the noon meal in a cheap restaurant. Other women who had no relatives found it more economical to rent small tenements and keep house. Three-fifths of those seen made their homes with friends or relatives. Boarding with friends and relatives is perhaps the most inexpensive way of living if there is no one in the household who requires assistance. In this connection it is significant that, of the 39 women who saved over $1,000, only three roomed and boarded out and 19 kept house either alone or with friends.

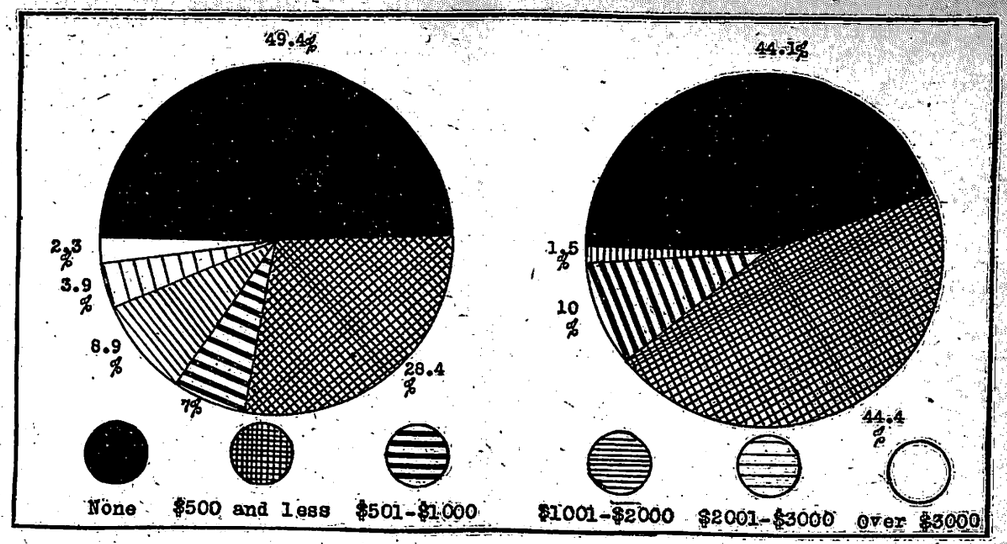
The economies in living that some women were able to make were in many cases more than offset by their family responsibilities. For these no allowance is made by minimum wage budgets. Two-thirds of the unmarried and widowed women had dependents at some time during their working lives. Though single women are not, in theory, burdened with dependents, the proportion of the 156 single women who had dependents was as high as that of the widowed. Moreover, the dependents of the single women were usually either old people or incapacitated brothers and sisters. Unlike some of the women who had been married and were bringing up and educating their children, the single women were establishing no claim on a younger generation. The money which they might have saved was expended with no hope that it would be returned to them in the future. The experience of one woman is typical: Eighteen years ago on the death of her father, her sister and brother having married, she undertook the entire support of her mother. Three years ago the mother had a paralytic shock. Every penny that the shoe worker had in reserve was exhausted in paying for the necessary care and doctor's bills. Now at the age of 54 she is free but cannot save. She says, "I used to work fast and earn good pay. Now I am too tired." One-third of the whole group gave partial or full support to two or more relatives. One plucky woman of 63 is struggling to keep a home for her aged father, her sister whose mind is affected, and her sister's son who has heart trouble. Naturally she has no prospect of saving.

The experiences of these women indicate that the burden of dependents had a great deal to do with the fact that savings were small. One-half of those who accumulated more than $1,000 had never supported any relatives and only nine had been obliged to give full support. The woman who made the record saving of $6,800 had never had a dependent during her 42 years of service, and only one of the 16 women who saved over $2,000 had entirely supported a member of her family. Whether the difference between living expenses and earnings permits of adequate saving for old age must therefore be judged by the circumstances of the individual. The only general conclusion that can be reached is that, given a combination of favorable circumstances, the shoe worker capable of earning good wages ought to save something.

Whether the small amounts accumulated were partly due to neglect of opportunities for saving, is another question, the answer to which depends on what is considered to be a proper standard of living for shoe workers. One of the six women who had a bank account of over $3,000 was known as the "stingiest woman in Lynn." The high standard of living of many of the American-born undoubtedly put them at a disadvantage in the matter of saving. Three of the six who had accumulated over $3,000 were foreign-born—a Swede, a French Canadian and a Greek. Unlike many of the others they did not regard as essential to their self-respect bath tubs, hot water, meat once a day and good clothes. The reputation of shoe wrokers for extravagance is, without doubt, partly due to this demand for many of the comforts of modern life.

The most potent cause for unwise expenditure, however, and for the low savings which result, is the irregularity of the shoe workers' earnings. Unlike salaried employes they have no fixed wage on which they can rely. On account of variations in weekly wages due to the piece rate system and to seasonal fluctuations, no shoe worker knows in advance how much she will earn. Unforeseen weekly variations are illustrated by the earnings reported by one stitcher for six consecutive weeks: $12, $10, $25, $20, $6, $27. The irregularity of employment during the year can be seen by a glance at the state statistics. Of the 13,000-14,000 shoe em-

[1] In calculating the minimum income necessary for a working woman, the list of requirements accepted by the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission, 1914, Bul. No. 3, was used. Prices of other years reported by the Massachusetts Commission on the Necessaries of Life were substituted for those of 1914 in the calculations.



SAVINGS AND INSURANCE OF WOMEN SHOE WORKERS

The chart to the left shows the savings reported by 257 single, married, divorced, or separated women; that to the right, the insurance reported by 261 women of the same groupings

ployes in Lynn, from 4,000 to 8,000 were out of work at some time during the year. Shoe workers, then, cannot make use of the elaborate budget schemes which allow a definite sum per week or per year for board, for clothing, for savings and incidental expenses. They must make special plans. One woman, for instance, allowed $10 a week for living expenses—if she earned $12 she saved $2, if $15 she saved $5. One ingenious woman had three bank accounts: in one she put money for her old age, in another for out of work periods, in a third for clothes and other luxuries. Some of the women admitted that they were extravagant; one said that she could not keep money when she had it in her pocket, but was sure that, if she had a set weekly wage, she could save $2 a week through the cooperative bank. Without a systematic plan for savings carried out over a number of years, the accumulation of substantial sums is impossible.

Still other causes which prevent permanent savings is the years of business depression and stoppages of the industry due to labor disputes. If this study had been made in May, 1920, instead of a year later, the amounts of savings would have been very much higher. The experience of one woman is typical: In June, 1920, she had $230 in the bank, but was unemployed during the next six months, and was forced to spend her savings and to borrow an additional $75. She had a similar experience in 1917 when there was a five months' lockout. Some women made painful efforts to keep their slender stock of savings intact. One woman, 62 years of age, who had been out of work seven months was said by the other workers in the factory to be in actual want of food. She had told them that she was over $100 in debt, and had spent all the savings of the past year, including $67 which she had treasured up to buy a set of false teeth. She kept the fact that she had $400 in the savings bank a secret. This was the money she had set aside for her old age, and no matter how hungry she was, she would not break into it and run the risk of the disgrace of a pauper burial.

The amounts of savings, then, reported by these women furnish a precarious protection against old age dependence. On account of unreliable earnings which make systematic plans for saving impossible, on account of the fact that the earnings of 90 per cent average less than $19 a week and on account of the pressure of family cares, it is unlikely that the majority of these women will succeed in accumulating a sum sufficient for their support when they are too feeble to work. What will become of them? Those who have children—one-half of the total—may receive care. As one employer said, "Many die in the harness." To find out what becomes of some of the others it is only necessary to visit the old ladies' home and the almshouse. If the problem of old age support of other women workers is comparable to that of the Lynn shoe workers, is it time to consider the desirability of establishing some form of old age insurance in the United States?

ALICE CHANNING.

Diseases among Steel Workers

AN important study of the diseases prevalent among steel workers of a Pennsylvania city has been made by Dean K. Brundage for the United States Public Health Service. The records of a large employes' sick benefit association were studied for the purpose of bringing out the salient facts as to the occurrence of diseases among industrial workers. What was found was not strictly typical of industry for the reason that the association was composed of a selected group. Young persons and workers over fifty-five years of age were excluded and only those cases of sickness which rendered members unable to work seven days or more were counted.

One of the startling conditions brought out by the study was the tremendous fluctuations of employment, as is evidenced by the following table:

MEMBERS	NUMBER
In good standing May 31, 1918	30,080
Admitted during year ending May 31, 1919	28,389
Left during year ending May 31, 1919	45,276
In good standing May 31, 1919	13,193
Admitted during year ending May 31, 1920	18,664
Left during year ending May 31, 1920	14,879
In good standing May 31, 1920	16,978

Among this group, 4,121 cases of illness occurred during the two-year period ending May 31, 1920. Influenza accounted for the largest percentage of sickness, 1,561 cases being reported. Grip, bronchitis, rheumatism, pneumonia and rupture were next in order. Industrial diseases and accidents were excluded from the records of the Sick Benefit Association because such disabilities are paid for under the provision of the Pennsylvania Workmen's Compensation Law.

Next to influenza, general debility caused the biggest drain on the association's treasury. The average age of the men suffering from general debility was found to be approximately sixty-eight years and the average length of their employment more than forty years. The Public Health Service suggested that application of the principles of fatigue elimination would greatly lengthen the span of the productive period in the lives of steel workers and would eventually reduce to a minimum this cause of incapacity. The service urged further that annual summaries be made in order to ascertain the prevalence of various diseases among workers. With such a procedure, it should be possible to reduce greatly the sum of diseases now suffered.

Pubic Employment in France

IN contrast to our American policy toward the United States Employment Service, it is encouraging, in visiting France, to hear that the public employment work created in 1915 as a war emergency is still going on successfully. In Paris alone there are fifteen offices, and a large number of the smaller cities have their own bureaus. France is divided into provincial offices and there is a good deal of clearance of workers from one section of the country to another through their agency.

M. Gauthier, the director of the French Public Employment Bureau, states that the work has been growing much stronger since the Armistice. The fact that soldiers out of work had to be registered at these bureaus if they wished to secure unemployment insurance has helped build up the bureaus. The public bureaus receive certain concessions in railroad fares which facilitate the transference of workers from one part of the country to another. The subsidy of the state to municipal as well as departmental offices has increased a great deal during the last few years.

In France, there is a definite attempt to decentralize the work. Individual bureaus have separate autonomy. The departmental and municipal offices can secure a subsidy from the state, providing they comply with certain regulations, but they are not regulated further by the central office. The results of this plan for decentralization in France would make an interesting study for those who wish to develop a strong employment system in the United States.

During the war, New York city had numberless employment bureaus which were part of the United States Employment Service. There was no attempt, with one exception, to make these bureaus skilled trade bureaus. The division was mainly along regional lines. Chelsea had its own bureau; the Bronx had its own bureau; other sections had theirs. The idea was that employment was to be found for workers in their own districts. This was all right for the unskilled, but when it came to the skilled tradesman it proved to be quite impractical. Skilled workers go where the job is. They do not work in their own localities. The employment secretary who could place porters was found to be quite in-

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Baby Annuities

A Scheme to Replace Industrial Pensions

By Gorton James

EMPLOYES who are growing infirm and inefficient with age present both to themselves and to their employers a problem which demands solution. Yet up to this time, as was pointed out in The Problem of the Old Man, which appeared in last week's issue of the SURVEY, no really satisfactory industrial pension plan has been found.

About a year ago, in the back pages of the report of a special committee on industrial pensions of the Merchants' Association of New York, [see the SURVEY for October 23, 1920], a plan was adumbrated which contained the kernel of a practical solution. From that suggestion the following scheme has been elaborated, which seems not only to bear scrutiny on every theoretical point and to satisfy the needs of both the employer and the employe, but also to be more practical from a financial standpoint than current pension schemes. It avoids all the uncertainties which surround the usual plans and compares favorably with them in cost. Above all it is eminently fair and equitable.

To date, so far as I know, the plan to be discussed is not in existence anywhere. No annuity contracts have even been written with exactly the terms proposed, though at least two large insurance companies have indicated their willingness to write such contracts. The rates quoted are based on rates for somewhat similar contracts which have been considered but have not been put on the market. These rates are sufficiently approximate to indicate the cost. In view of the unsatisfactory results of pension systems, new fields must be explored if industry is to discover something which will meet the need that exists.

The scheme is not a pension plan, but part of the wage contract. Like all wage contracts it can be changed each year by agreement between employer and employes. It contemplates paying yearly, on a specified date, for that quality of service called continuity, as distinguished from productive service, paid for in current wages. It pays the employe for saving the employer from the expense of breaking in a new man; an expense which is estimated all the way from $50 to $150 for each new employe.

Naturally the new employe is not paid for continuity of service until the cost of breaking him in has been met. Therefore, employes do not receive this reward, perhaps, until after the third, fourth, or fifth year of employment. This payment for continuity of service is to be made in the form of baby annuity bonds.

On the specified date, then, all employes who have been in the service over, say, five years, receive, as a part of their wage agreement, a payment consisting of a small single-premium annuity bond on some large insurance company, fully paid for and given outright. So far as the company is concerned, the payment might be in the form of a watch, or a gold medal, but in this case it is a bond which will yield to the employe a small annuity of, say, $10 a year for life, beginning at a specified retirement age. One hundred and twenty monthly payments are guaranteed, so that if the recipient dies before ten years have passed, his heirs will receive the balance of the ten years' payments. This feature is found necessary in ordinary annuity contracts in order to make them of interest and, therefore, saleable. Experience of the insurance companies in this respect probably can be accepted as indication of the value of the benefit sufficient to justify it.

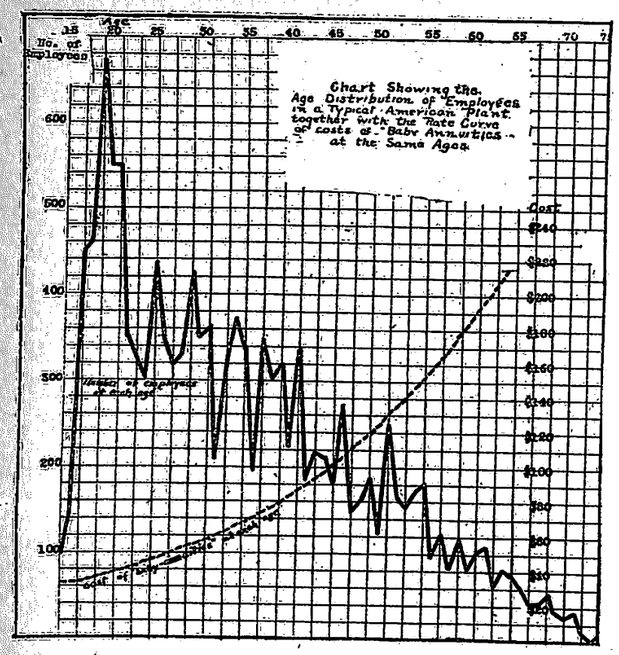
It will be seen that if an employe stays with the company a reasonable part of his productive life, under this plan he will have collected enough of these little bonds to receive comfortable support during his old age. Moreover, each year he may also be given the privilege of buying additional bonds if he desires, so that while the bare necessaries of life are assured to him because of his faithful service, he also has the opportunity to provide additional income, and, without compulsion, the incentive toward thrift is put before him.

Under the baby annuity bond scheme, a company provides for the old age of its employes incidentally, while paying them just recompense for valuable service, that is, continuity, so that the troublesome matter of providing pensions is eliminated. The employer can discharge old workers whenever they are no longer able to keep up the required pace. The fact that men reach this period at different ages may be recognized by writing the annuity contract to permit advancing or postponing the initial payment—of course with a reduction or increase in the amount received—as the bond-holder desires. These advancement or postponement privileges must be limited to five years before or after the basic date because, for actuarial reasons, it is not feasible to extend these privileges over a longer period. Cases of disablement prior to this time can probably be better covered by a separately arranged disability pension, perhaps in the group life or health insurance contract if there is one. The 120 months' guarantee runs from the date of the initial payment.

Obviously if an employe leaves the service he takes the bonds he has already received with him—his accrued rights toward a pension if one wishes to look at it in that light. Twenty years' service during the prime of life would yield just as much pension as twenty years' after middle age, and nineteen years' faithful service would provide its proportional reward just as surely as twenty years'. But the employer has nothing to do with the question of the pension. He has finished his part of the transaction when he pays his employes the baby annuities each year for that particular year's service. He reaps the reward, however, of his employes' appreciation of the currency in which he has paid them—a currency which has an exchange value very much in the employer's favor, for he can buy these bonds on a contract based on the new theory of group insurance at a price considerably below what the employe would have to pay for the same protection if each bought his annuity separately.

In the preceding article, it was indicated that there are five principal desiderata sought in the installation of most pension systems. Let us examine this suggested annuity system in relation to these five points, which we have already seen are indifferently satisfied by pension systems, if, indeed, they are satisfied at all.

1. TO REWARD FAITHFUL SERVICE. Surely the faithful employes are rewarded promptly, each in proportion to his degree of faithfulness and continuity. There is immediate payment, moreover, in currency that will retain its full value, unlike the pension promises of ordinary plans, which contain so many elements of doubt that their value to the employe is depressed far below par. The annuity bond is drawn on one of the big insurance companies and its payment is as certain as a bank note promise from the strongest of banks. The pension promise, on the other hand, not only has the discretionary reservations which permit the company to



revoke individual pensions, but contains numerous possibilities of being completely upset such as:

> Possible bankruptcy of the company;
> Possible change of administration of the company with different policy;
> Possible change of control of the company;
> Possible (if not probable) financial difficulties with the pension funds because of unexpected variations from the actuarial estimates.

Unquestionably the bonds would have a greater actual value to the employe than pension promises from even the soundest companies. Faithful service is rewarded promptly, in payments of real value, and no service fails of recognition because of later mistakes or misdeeds.

2. To Establish a Means of Getting Rid of Superannuated Employes Humanely. The old employes will receive an income proportionate to their length of service only. The usual pension varies also according to the wages. Beyond this difference, which if considered important could be recognized in the baby annuity plan, the benefits are the same under the annuity plan as under pension plans. But here again, the annuity is far more certain. Incidentally the employe can accept the income from his annuity bonds with a feeling that his faithful service has really earned it. There are none of the elements of charity that enter into those all too frequent pension plans where the rules contain a statement, which can only be justified by considering the pensions as charity, to the effect that

> . . . the company hereby does reserve to itself the right, in its sole discretion, at any time, and from time to time, to annul, modify, limit, alter, amend, discontinue, or revoke any or all its provisions. . . .

It is a vastly different matter to a man whether he is able to retire with an income he has earned during his active years for actual service rendered, or is forced to accept charity from his employer, however tactfully the gift is made.

3. To Improve the Morale of the Working Force and Thus Improve Efficiency. Studies made of the effect of existing pension systems have failed to reveal any satisfactory proof that morale has in any case been improved by the introduction of the pension. On the other hand definite indications have ben found of ill-will engendered by a belief among the employes that the systems have been installed for coercive purposes or with various ulterior motives—to prevent strikes or to weaken the power of unions—and morale has been distinctly hurt rather than improved.

The annuity bonds are to be given without strings. There can be no suspicion that they are used to control the employes. No threat can be attached to them because there is no reservation. If anything of the kind were added to the contract, such as the right to cancel bonds in the hands of employes who leave, it would destroy practically the whole value of the plan. But if granted without reservations the annuity plan would surely be more apt to improve morale than any known pension system.

4. To Reduce Labor Turnover. Pension plans reduce turnover at the wrong end of the scale. The old men who are beginning to lose their efficiency are held in proportion to the degree in which they realize their growing infirmity and fear for the future. There is no indication that young men are held by the prospect of pensions.

The baby annuity bond plan, on the other hand, is attractive in the way it accumulates. Any normal man desires to save, and here is something tangible which he can actually watch grow. It will satisfy his atavistic instinct of miserliness, which, we are told, is in all of us. It should encourage him to start other accumulations of his own. Perhaps he will even be tempted each year to stay another year with the company in order to secure another unit. So far as any system looking toward old age support may influence the younger employes to stay, this scheme, with its tangible and certain evidences of provision for old age, would be more likely to do so than any system of far distant future promises, however attractive.

On the other hand the older men have their accumulated credits. Under this scheme they do not have to stay in order to receive recognition. The unnatural hold of the pension system is eliminated and there is nothing in the way of the normal healthy turnover which is necessary to keep the working force free of incompetents.

5. To Create a New Disciplinary Hold on the Employes. Above all other points in favor of the baby annuity scheme, it cannot be perverted to disciplinary uses and the employes being quick to recognize this fact will be more willing to work honestly and faithfully for employers who deal openly and squarely with them, and who do not attempt to create artificial holds by dangling before them pots of gold, on the ends of rainbows. Under most current plans, the pot of gold, once reached, may be taken from the men, if they do not continue to obey their self-constituted masters. The annuity bond-holders, on the contrary, are free, and in the long run appreciation of the fact will redound to the benefit of the employers.

There remains the very practical question of cost. It can be said immediately for the baby annuity plan that one can find out what it is going to cost. The cost is figured on the actual force in service each year, on a scale of rates varying according to age. This scale of rates is based on the terms of the contract and depends on the details of the benefits to be provided. Roughly the scale for each $10 of annuity varies from a little over $10 at the age of twenty to over $100 at sixty-four.

It will be seen at once that the cost of bonds for a working force will depend upon the average age of the group. In an old established firm that keeps its number of employes fairly constant, the average age of the group will not vary. Therefore, if the cost of supplying the bonds be ascertained for any one year for such a concern, it can be assumed safely that that cost will not vary considerably, so long as there is no change in the employment policy or in the size of the company.

It is hardly fair to compare this cost with that of industrial pension systems in operation in this country, for no pension systems have been in existence long enough to have reached "maturity." A pension system will not reach its final level until sufficient time has elapsed for the youngest new employe at the time the scheme was put into effect to have reached extreme old age. In order to make comparisons it is necessary to turn to English experience. Even in England dependable cost statistics are not to be had, although much has been written by English and Scotch actuaries indicating the trend of their best estimates based on years of experience.

We find these actuaries talking of the cost of pensions paid to superannuated employes of industrial concerns as being between 12 and 18 per cent of the pay-roll for the working force.[1] Pensions actually paid were 21.3 per cent of the salaries in the civil service and 20.5 per cent in a large bank,[2] and in both cases the service was growing rapidly, which would tend to make the proportion less than normal. Such figures as these are startling to American pension managers, and they deserve to be, for they indicate what we may come to in this country.

Although conditions are such that we are not likely to reach percentages as high as these, we are undoubtedly bound to see our pension systems costing very much more than at present. With a normal turnover of 100 per cent a year, an average pension system providing 1 per cent of salary multiplied by number of years of service after reaching sixty years of age would probably cost ultimately between 6 and 10 per cent of the pay-roll. If the turnover decreases, the ratio of the cost of the pension to pay-roll would increase when the increased number of men staying in the service reach retirement age. This change in rate of turnover is impossible to predict and is one of the principal factors upsetting actuarial estimates time after time.

So far as may be estimated from the actual figures obtainable, systems now in effect in this country, most of which are less than ten years old, are costing from a fraction of 1 per cent up to 2½ per cent of current pay-rolls. An almost universal factor among them in keeping this proportion low is the phenomenal growth industrial companies have experienced during the life of the pension systems, with the resulting influx of large proportions of young employes who increase the pay-roll without any corresponding increase, as yet, in the pension roll.

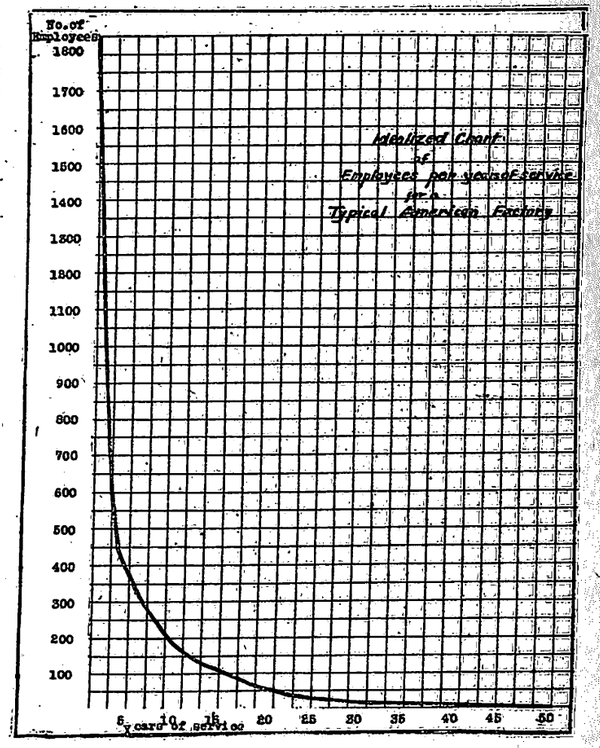
In order to make a definite comparison of costs, the service records of an actual company have been gathered and idealized for the purpose of this article. The chart here shown gives the distribution of the force of 13,406 employes by years of service except that the number of employes who have not yet served one year is so great (6,401) that it cannot be included on the diagram. Of the entire force, 47.7 per cent is in its first year of service and that is a normal figure for that company. As many as 68 per cent have served less than three years, and 75.9 per cent of the group have not yet served five years.

The average age of the entire force is about thirty-three. The average of all who have served over five years is 42.16 years. The annual amount paid out in wages is about eighteen and one-half million dollars.

Now if a $10 annuity bond had been bought for each employe who had been in the service over five years the total cost this year would have been $161,394. For all over three years' service, it would have been $200,463, or just a little over 1 per cent of the pay-roll. These figures have been obtained by computing the actual costs against the age of each individual in the service. They are not estimates based on

[1] Pres. James J. M'Lauchlan of the Faculty of Actuaries, 1908, Inaugural Address; also J. S. Manly on civil service pensions—testimony before Lord Courtney's Commission, 1917.

[2] Report of sub-committee of King Edward's Hospital Fund, page 19, paragraph 55.



average figures, but can be accepted as actual costs. The only probable variation would be a lessening of the total cost, because an insurance company would probably quote lower rates for a group of this size.

Employes retiring after thirty-five years of service under the baby annuity bond plan would have received thirty or thirty-two of these bonds, and at sixty-five (these rates are based on an average retiring age of sixty-five) they would begin to receive $300 or $320 a year, a sum as large as they would receive under most current pension systems.

The cost would remain about the same from year to year as long as the company maintained its present size. The average ages of the groups would be held constant by the flood of young men coming in and the individuals dropping out, balancing the added years of those who remained.

If the company should enlarge, the new employes being mostly in the younger ages, the average age of its force would become lower, and the cost of buying the annuity bonds for the group would decrease in proportion to the pay-roll. Likewise, if the force should be cut down, or hiring stopped, the result would be to increase the average age, and to increase the proportionate cost of the annuities compared to pay-roll. In either case, the ratio of the cost of the annuities to pay-roll would eventually return to the present or normal level after the force had become stationary at any new figure.

Therefore, without costing any more than does the average pension system of today, and probably costing much less as the pension plans mature, the baby annuity bond plan provides benefits equal to the pension plans, and in addition recognizes accrued rights. More than this it provides these benefits by a method that is more favorable to the company and more equitable to the employe. The long time obligation for the company and the financial uncertainty of the pension system are eliminated; and the men are provided support in their old age without any taint of charity or dependence on others, a support which they have earned as a part of their regular wages by actual service they have rendered.

CHILD WELFARE

Conducted by
PAUL L. BENJAMIN

Legislative Gains for Child Protection

TO the legislative mills of this year was brought perhaps the largest amount of grist that it has ever been proposed to grind into child welfare laws. Approximately a thousand such bills were proposed in the forty-one states whose legislatures have been in session. This legislative year was an "off year" for results so far as quantity was concerned. Much was hoped for from the special programs of legislation promoted by commissions in a number of states whose appointment came on the crest of war time enthusiasm for child welfare, but whose reports fell into the economy and retrenchment era. This seems to have been in the legislatures a year of conservatism, amounting sometimes almost to reaction.

Child welfare commissions or children's code commissions reported to the legislatures in Connecticut, Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas, and Indiana. The South Dakota commission submitted a preliminary report, and the Delaware Reconstruction Commission and the Colorado governor's committee of county judges also made recommendations. The Child Welfare Revision Committee of Oregon, created merely to codify legislation, not to recommend, published the results of a compilation of existing child welfare laws of the state. The commissions appointed in Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas are yet to be heard from. The Kentucky Commission is directed to report to the legislature convening in January, 1922. The New York commission appointed in 1919 did not make a report this year, but received an additional appropriation, making a total of $12,000 available for activities during the coming year.

Four new commissions for the study and revision of child welfare laws have been added this year, which makes exactly half the states and the District of Columbia represented in this movement to date. The Children's Code Commission of North Dakota, composed of one person from each of seven organizations, was created by the legislature, with an appropriation of $2,500. The work of the State Welfare Commission of Utah is broader in scope, the law directing that study be made of the needs of the state in the matter of the dependent, defective and delinquent classes, and a report presented to the legislature two years hence with bills to carry the suggested program into effect. The Virginia Children's Code Commission, consisting of nine members, was appointed by the governor. The West Virginia Child Welfare Commission was created by law; the nine members have recently been appointed by the governor. The South Dakota Child Welfare Commission was continued, with a small appropriation for two years. In 1920 the commissioners of the District of Columbia named the members of a commission to consider the needs of child welfare legislation; the scope of work was later enlarged to include adults as well as children as in the case of the Utah commission. A bill introduced in New Jersey which failed of passage provided for a child welfare commission; a group of people concerned with child welfare in Georgia are at this time endeavoring to secure the passage of such a law.

But there is, of course, no magic virtue in the creation of a commission nor yet in voluminous recommendations by the group. Instances might be cited of commissions, created after much agitation and insistence, that have immediately become dormant. Failure to unite on the program to be recommended has doomed the labors of these official bodies in some states, and frequently the work of the commissions has melted away because of insufficient attention to educational publicity that might have influenced present legislation or future aims. But the staunch groups emerge from one affray with heads "bloody but unbowed," only to begin preparations for the next struggle.

If one takes into account the amount of effort represented in the mass of bills introduced this year, the net result in terms of laws passed is discouragingly small. Measured by the gains in understanding child welfare needs, by the groups that have worked together in the interest of better laws, the legislators who have been impressed, however slightly, and the general public that has been reached through the press and public meetings, the progress has not been inconsiderable.

Undoubtedly the most significant and effective acts passed this year were those providing for the reorganization of existing boards or departments into departments of public welfare, and those providing for special child welfare divisions in existing boards. In Michigan there is created a State Welfare Department, having within it five "commissions," each charged with responsibility for certain phases of work relating to charities, corrections, hospitals, prisons, and institutions for dependent children and for the physically handicapped. In Ohio the powers and duties of the former Board of State Charities, the Board of Administration, and the Board of Pardons and Paroles are placed under a director of public welfare. In Pennsylvania a Department of Public Welfare takes the place of the Board of Public Charities, the Committee on Lunacy, and the Prison Labor Commission. The Connecticut State Board of Charities is re-named Department of Public Welfare, and has added to it a commissioner of child welfare under whose jurisdiction will come the powers and duties of the department relating to child welfare. The Department of Public Welfare created this year in New Mexico includes a separate bureau of child welfare, but the department's activities are apparenlty primarily concerned with health. The Wisconsin legislature established a Juvenile Protective Bureau as a division of the State Board of Control, with provision for the appointment of a cooperating committee in each county. In Arizona there was created a State Child Welfare Board to have authority over dependent and neglected children, and the administration of allowances to widows and desented mothers. The law provides for county child welfare boards to work in cooperation with the state board.

Several of the commissions and other groups in various states were particularly concerned with securing legislation for county organization for child welfare work. Perhaps the most notable of the accomplishments along this line is the measure passed in New York State providing for a child welfare board for Suffolk county, consolidating the public child welfare work of the county, including the mothers' allowances. After long effort on the part of successive children's code commissions, the Missouri legislature passed a bill authorizing the county court to appoint superintendents of public welfare in each county. Upon the county superintendent are conferred the powers and duties of present probation and parole officers and attendance officers, and he is to administer the funds of the county devoted to public outdoor relief and allowances to needy mothers. He may also be assigned by the State Board of Charities to act as its agent in the county. The Arkansas Commission on Charities and Correction is authorized to assist in the organization of county boards of visitation, and to cooperate in county work for child protection. There were changes also in the laws relating to county children's homes in Connecticut and in Ohio, provision being made in Ohio for the appointment of child welfare boards in counties.

The influence of the Iowa and Ohio experiments is seen in the various proposals for "research bureaus." The Kansas legislature enacted a law recommended by the Children's Code Commission creating a Child Research Bureau under the State University. The functions suggested by the commission relate to study of the causes and treatment of dependency, defectiveness, inheritance and training of "normal" children. The Nebraska commission urged the establishment of a bureau of juvenile research; this bill was so amended as to eliminate the proposed bureau but provided for a clinical psychologist to be appointed by the Board of Control. In Oklahoma a bill was introduced for a "child welfare and research station" and a "child welfare research station was proposed in California in connection with the State University.

Another especially important series of laws concern state supervision over or assistance to juvenile courts, probation, and parole. The most definite of these laws passed this year is the one in Indiana establishing the office of state probation officer, with an advisory commission. The new Connecticut Bureau of Child Welfare is directed to cooperate with all juvenile courts and establish rules for investigation and keeping of records; it is also authorized to do direct work in connection with investigation and supervision of court cases. South Dakota provides for a state parole officer. The Arkansas Commission on Charities and Correction is directed to exercise supervision over the parole work of the institutions of the state, and to promote juvenile court and probation work. One of the most important measures in connection with treatment of delinquency was last month introduced in Congress —the Underhill bill which provides for the mental and physical examinations of children brought before the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia. An appropriation of $10,000 is proposed for this work. The staff is to consist of a psychiatrist, a psychiatric case worker, a psychologist, and a woman physician for part time. This proposed clinic, recognizing in its plan the necessity for combining study of social conditions that have influenced the individual, with scientific understanding of his mental reactions and his mental level, is of the greatest importance not only locally but nationally.

EMMA O. LUNDBERG.
Director, Social Service Division,
Federal Children's Bureau.

A Junior Red Cross Hospital

IN Spokane, Washington, the 16,000 school children who are members of the Junior Red Cross have undertaken a marked departure from the usual programs of the juniors by establishing and maintaining a hospital and clinic where school children with nose and throat infections can be cared for free of charge or at small cost.

The establishment of this clinic grew out of two needs. With the end of the war and of the immediate post-war demands for hospital supplies which children could make, there came a slackening of interest in the Junior Red Cross and a consequent shrinking of membership. Since the city lacked such a clinic, it was possible to provide a definite program for the juniors and at the same time meet a serious want.

Money from the Junior Red Cross treasury provided the clinic with full surgical equipment. Junior members made and have periodically renewed most of the hospital furnishings, such as towels, bed linen, curtains; and the defective children in school classes have made chairs, tables, dressers and rugs. Friends of the institution feel that the finest thing about it is that the children do not look upon themselves as objects of charity in entering the clinic, because they consider it an enterprise in which they have a material interest as part owners and operators.

Each case is carefully checked, recorded and followed up after treatment. When a child is found by school physicians or nurses to need treatment a first record is made and notification sent the parents. If medical attention is not provided, there is an investigation; where the family is needy the clinic is offered and a second record precedes the patient to the hospital. Parents whose children receive treatment and who are able to make some contribution are invited to do so—fifty cents to $5. The average monthly expenditure from the beginning has been $423.60. The Spokane Board of Education provided housing and fuel and paid the salaries of two physicians, one a surgeon and the other a dentist, up to the first of this year. Since then these salaries have been paid by the Junior Red Cross, which has paid that of the attending nurse from the time the hospital was opened. Four hundred and seventy children had undergone operations for the removal of diseased tonsils and adenoids up to May 27, averaging fourteen a month. During the last four months, however, the average was forty-nine a month.

In the way the clinic has reached the school children, either by enlisting their services in production or by serving them, the institution has proved itself, its friends declare, the most effective instrument of Americanization work in the community.

JOHN E. DAVIS.
Northwestern Division,
American Red Cross.

Mothercraft

MOTHERCRAFT, a movement for better preparation of girls for motherhood, has within the past five years made remarkable progress in this and other countries. Starting in Massachusetts as a definite standardized course of study for girls and young women it has in one form or another been adopted in most of the United States, in the Dominion of Canada under the auspices of the Victorian Order of Nurses, and to some extent in several other foreign countries. State and national branches of the federated women's clubs have taken the initiative in promoting mothercraft. It has also had support from parent-teacher associations, Red Cross workers, girl scouts, camp fire girls, Americanization centers and playground associations.

When the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1920 adopted the Massachusetts plan and made the founder of the movement an advisory member, a district seal of national approval was placed upon the efforts of the Massachusetts Mothercraft Committee. In many public school systems and private schools the scheme of study of girls' health and care of babies has been installed as part of the work in home economics or in some other department. Educators and sociologists for many years past have reiterated that girls ought to be properly prepared for the duties of the efficient mother. It has been demonstrated that when a practical plan for accomplishing this purpose is offered it at once finds enthusiastic advocacy and support.

The meaning of "mothercraft" as the term is used in this article is restricted to a definite, carefully planned course of study, usually given in about twelve lessons to classes of young girls. The earlier of these lessons are concerned with carriage, posture, correct habits of eating and sleeping and other principles of good health. The classes then take up the right care of the baby in the home. Using a large doll as model the teacher, who is ordinarily the school nurse or some other qualified person, explains the application of the laws of health to the diet, bathing and sleeping, emphasizing the relationship of the clean happy home to child life. When the course is finished the girls write essays summarizing what they have learned.

The genesis of this very specific plan is interesting. Several years ago Bliss Dickinson was engaged as one of the pioneers in organizing industrial welfare work in Framingham, Mass. The problems of girls and mothers were continually before Miss Dickinson. They led to a conviction

of the importance of health training for the girls of this generation and of the education of the future mothers of the race in the care of babies. Then came an opportunity a little later to do public health work for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Later came the formation, under the auspices of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs, of experimental classes in mothercraft in two or three cities. The success of this demonstration was immediate. The girls were enthusiastic about the lessons. School officials and medical men saw possibilities in this form of instruction.

The social value of the mothercraft work as thus experimentally initiated was so evident that the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs organized a mothercraft committee of which the eight district directors were members and Miss Dickinson chairman, for the purpose of creating throughout the state an atmosphere favorable to introducing this form of instruction into the public schools and elsewhere. This committee met with marked success and found many school officials ready to cooperate with them. Meantime outside of Massachusetts sporadic efforts had been made to solve the problem of teaching the older sister the care of the little baby in the home. Of such sort were the little mother classes in New York city started several years ago.

An especially comprehensive application of the principles and methods of mothercraft has been undertaken in Canada. Beginning experimentally at Winnipeg with a few classes, the Victorian Order of Nurses has extended its mothercraft instruction into the schools of many communities. A recent interesting development has been its introduction into French Canadian villages. What lessons the children take home is indicated in the quaint phraseology of an essay by little Marie Larsh of a Province of Quebec village in which she says:

> Home sanitation means to keep the rooms well ventilated windows up from top and bottom the curtains up so the sun can come in. The dusting should be done with the windows open and doors open, and dusting the cloth should be damp, and when swept the doors and windows should be kept open. The dish towels when finished using should be hung out on the line to dry, and if there be any germs in them the sun will take them out. The dishes of a sick person should always be scalded and put away from other dishes, and handkerchiefs of people who have colds should be boiled.

The instant and almost phenomenal growth of this mothercraft movement is to be attributed to the fact that girls have heretofore been prepared for almost everything except intelligent motherhood.

MARION CHASE BAKER.
President, Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Child Welfare Activities

AN informal conference on the international aspects of child welfare work was held in Vienna under the auspices of the Friends' Relief Mission in July while many women in attendance at the Women's International League Congress were still in that city. Child welfare work as a factor for the promotion of international friendship and cooperation was the subject for discussion at a session at which Jane Addams, president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, pled for an international standard of child welfare which would "break down barriers, and prevent children starving in one country while food in abundance could be had near by." "A standard should be raised below which no country should go," said Miss Addams. "This would, of course, include a much higher level of education. Nine weeks after the Armistice, almost any generous peace might have been made in Paris or elsewhere, but after that golden moment was lost, everything became continuously worse. Perhaps there is another golden moment now. If the idea of the protection of child life can be seized upon, in unity with what was done in Geneva, the golden moment will not be lost."

EFFORTS of Judge Tensard De Wolf to socialize the Pittsburgh Morals Court are discussed by Charles W. Collins in the August number of the National Municipal Review. The court was created to deal with youthful offenders of all kinds and with persons charged with offenses against women and children, and "social offenders" (streetwalkers, prostitutes, etc.,) as well as domestic relations cases. In the large, 14,000 cases appear annually before the court—"12,000 brought by the police and the rest by social-working organizations and individuals—and in this round-up there are 4,000 boys." Judge De Wolf placed the responsibility for the waywardness of the boys upon the citizenship of the city. He therefore appealed to the social forces of the city. The result, according to Mr. Collins, has justified his gospel of community action. "The original personnel of the court," states Mr. Collins, "is now the directing body, the executive force, of a large staff of skilled social workers, who represent and are paid by Pittsburgh's religious and social organizations. The social conscience and energy of the city is mobilized to supplement and complete the regenerative work of the court."

A CHAIN of child welfare units is being established in Poland, Austria, the Baltic States, Hungary, and the Balkans, by the American Red Cross. Ten million dollars has been made available for this work. According to a statement from the organization several million European children are still in urgent need of care. "Poland alone has 800,000 war orphans and as many again who need clothing and medical attention. Austria-Hungary adds a million more to the list while the little country of Montenegro has 20,000. Children starved consistently for several years are shrunken in stature, malformed, and harborers of tuberculosis and all sorts of skin diseases. A distressingly large percentage of Polish children are tuberculous."

HOW the first governmental provision for working children in this country was enforced is described in a report recently issued by the federal Children's Bureau. Cooperation between federal and state authorities was obtained in inspections made under the law as well as in the issuing of certificates. State officers charged with the enforcement of state child labor laws were commissioned by the secretary of labor to assist in the enforcement of the federal act. An inspector of the child labor division of the Children's Bureau was assigned the special duty of cooperating with state officials, and joint inspections were tried out. These methods of administration resulted, among other things, it is pointed out, in a wholesome decentralization, stimulated other states to reach a standard which allowed them to issue working certificates and inspect with government sanction, and rendered the central administration more economical and effective. Many states reported that the federal law had made the enforcement of state laws easier.

IN reprinting A Name for the Times from the SURVEY for January 15, dealing with the change that is taking place in the names of many charity organization societies throughout the country, the Glasgow (Scotland) Charity Organization Society in its publication Organized Help comments that in Scotland it is customary to use the name Union of Social Service. The Glasgow Society points out that the name is not of such importance as the principles controlling and guiding the activities of the society. It says:

> If there be a wise and careful diagnosis of the social disease corresponding to the medical diagnosis which every well-equipped physician regards as essential to the successful treatment of physical disease, and on the basis of the knowledge thus gained a carefully thought out constructive line of policy followed, then it is not of any great consequence under what designation this work is done.