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"We Demand ..."

By CHARLES F. ERNST

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CATEGORIES—like them or not—seem to be crystallizing as our accepted system of public assistance. As a result we have the aged, the blind, the WPA folk, the single men, the direct "reliefers" and all the rest of the categorized, putting on pressures for better standards, each group for itself, and each competing with all the others for funds for its cause. All this to the disadvantage of the less articulate—children for example—and the confusion of the public. At the same time social workers are on the spot, since they, who must administer the intricate system, are out in front, the first point of pressure.

I never come away from meetings with pressure delegations without a feeling that social workers have been left holding the bag. It is not easy to say just who walked out and left it with us. It might have been those enthusiasts who campaigned for office with promises of bigger and better relief, or jobs, or pensions or anything else that seemed to have vote appeal. Maybe we fooled ourselves into thinking that the federal government, through WPA and PWA, really could supply jobs for the able-bodied unemployed while states and local communities, with the help of grants from the Social Security Board, could meet the needs of the rest. Possibly we had become so schooled in budget balancing that when funds were low, we were able to rationalize the procedure of reducing individual assistance.

Can it be that we have lost perspective—have run out of ideas? Why, otherwise, should social workers have to be on the defensive before pressure groups which are asking only for the things that we as social workers already agree they should have?

The consistent aim of social workers has been to raise low standards of living and to help people gain a higher standard for themselves, by their own efforts if possible. As good salesmen, or educators, if you like, social workers have done their part to create a demand among the people for whom a higher standard of living is socially and economically desirable. Why, now, should they be placed in the position of salesmen who, having created a demand for an article, must then refuse to make the sale?

Each week for the last month, several of us have been getting together in an effort to work out some practical methods of assisting certain groups of persons who are in obvious need. Around the table at these meetings were representatives of the Works Progress Administration, State Department of Public Welfare, Board of County Commissioners, City Council, Central Labor Council, and Community Fund. Also newly-elected members of the state legislature, and delegates from organizations of youth and of unemployed single men.

These latter delegates did not claim that they themselves required work or relief. They came to present to the various public officials the case of those who were looking for one or the other. They had gone through all the steps of "putting the heat" on the home visitor, the relief supervisor, and the local administrator. They had had a sit-down strike, unsatisfactory to everyone. They had carried their case to the Central Labor Council, the mayor, the City Council and the county commissioners, all of whom had called on the state to take care of the situation.

Finally we all sat down together to dig out, if we could, the factors in the problem.

THE harvest was over and people who had been working in the fields and orchards and on the fishing banks were returning to the city. Among them were several hundred families from the drought areas who had had jobs during the harvest season but who now were homeless and destitute. There was also a strike situation with considerable disruption of normal opportunities for employment. So when, in addition to all this, word went out that limitation of funds would require reduction of jobs under WPA it seemed that indeed "The hand of the Lord was heavy upon them."

Why, we asked each other, should able-bodied men and women over sixty-five be cut off WPA? Why should widows with children be cut off WPA and forced to take a social security benefit in a much lesser amount? Why should family men be given the preference over single men

and single women? If all this had to be done because there wasn't enough money, why wasn't the home relief allowance, to which people must resort, made large enough to provide for the necessities of life? Why shouldn't there be three meals a day instead of two at the transient shelters? Why, in short, should there be categories with their varying degrees of inadequacy?

THIS and similar discussions have made it obvious, to me at least, that we must stop thinking about human beings in terms of categories. Otherwise, we simply are forcing the various groups classified as single men, or blind, or aged, or transients, or what not, into competition with one another. It should be clear to all of us, including the beneficiaries of the public assistance program, that the administrative difficulties and the inequalities of the category system are due, primarily, to the failure of responsible authorities to provide sufficient funds to make the system operate effectively. It is useless and unfair to "put the heat" on the visitor, and the supervisor, for bigger and better assistance, until the legislators and other public officials provide the revenue necessary for adequate budgets.

The pressure groups really know that social workers do not want to reduce budgets, deny allowances, or increase the number of hoops, hurdles and red tape through which the applicant must go before he obtains assistance. They know as well as anyone that, the country over, appropriations for old age allowances, unemployment relief, child welfare, and other forms of public assistance have been too small to permit grants in the number and to the amount that social workers felt were necessary. But as good administrators, social workers have applied the means test a little more firmly—denying here, reducing there—in an attempt somehow to make the available money take care of the most urgent phases of the situation.

Thus the social workers, who had thought that it was their business to help men and women rehabilitate themselves, find that their chief job now is to determine legal eligibility and rigidly to measure need. Because we have arranged our budgets on a categorical basis, we find that we chip a little from old age assistance to take care of the blind or something from the single men to take care of the minor child; that we ourselves are engaged in the competition of the categories for every last dollar of appropriated funds.

There is always the danger that a publicly supported program will follow the path of least resistance. We are apt to think that our program is assured when we have gained the interest and support of politicians. It is true that most successful candidates for office last November stood on at least one plank favoring public assistance or social security. It is also true that in most states the candidates seemed more concerned over the needs of persons old enough to vote than over those below voting age.

Now that these candidates are in office it is time to go around and claim their promised support for the public assistance program. But unfortunately we find that promised support weakened not only by our internal competition, but by the competition of other socially important programs—good roads, education, recreation, health, mental hygiene, libraries, corrections, the development of natural resources and so on. A legislator may be sincere in his desire to fulfill campaign promises on public assistance but he must balance their fulfillment against all the demands on the total state budget. Legislators know that close to 85 percent of our people are taking care of themselves, and that in the main they are willing to have their representatives work out some method of taxation to finance aid for the other 15 percent. But the 85 percent see other needs as well—roads, schools, hospitals, for example—and they have their own methods of pressing for them.

Our concern as citizens and as social workers is not that there are pressure groups; they are natural phenomena, necessary to progress in a democracy. True, their demands are frequently selfish and unreasonable, their proposed policies and procedures unworkable and impractical. Yet we may always hope to find in each pressure group the constructive agitator who, like Amos of old, turns out to be a prophet.

Our real concern with pressure groups in the public assistance area should be that their self-interest and identification with particular categories should not becloud the whole scene. We know from the history of the labor movement the technique of drawing red herrings across conflicting interests to the end that each accepts small and temporary advantages which delay, if not prevent, the development of a sound program.

Long ago we had a type of social worker who was thought of either as a crank or a crusader. He exhorted from a soap box, or put his all into the publication of a tract. He generally worked alone and exhausted himself with the emotional fervor of his own agitation. It is not proposed that social workers again adopt these methods; it is obvious however that they must find a way to promote among the self-supporting 85 percent of our people a substantial backing for a better standard of living among the 15 percent in need of public assistance. One method of promotion is to get persons from this self-supporting group to act as friendly visitors and in other ways to come into personal contact with the people touched by the public assistance services.

But we ourselves, in forwarding our program, must see it whole and not trade off one category against another, not become ourselves protagonists for the aged or the blind while we brush over the needs of children or of families who fail to fit into any of our pigeon holes.

IT would be smart of us to get all the client pressure groups together, and candidly discuss the whole situation. The better understanding which, I am confident, would result would be most helpful right now as we attempt to consolidate the gains that have been made under the social security legislation. Without such understanding it may be difficult if not impossible to hold ground already won, to say nothing of making further advances. It is altogether possible that we ourselves, from such getting together, might gain fresh notions of how to get our ideas across in places where they will do the most good.

Is it too much to ask of our legislators and governors that they insist that those who come to them in behalf of any single group of beneficiaries should demonstrate that they have weighed their particular claims in relation to those of other groups? Have they weighed the claims of the children, the handicapped, the aged, the mentally disabled? And what about the claims of public health, and public education?

We must not underestimate the value and importance of pressure groups. What we should do is to join with them in finding a way to utilize their full potential strength to help achieve equal opportunity and well-being for all of us humans, in or out of the categories. Those of us who believe in democracy dare to think that with tolerant, patient and untiring efforts, that goal can be attained.

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These Public Welfare Boards

By ROBERT T. LANSDALE

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BOARDS of public welfare are a reality in this country. To a certain extent they always have been. Just now, under the stimulus of the Social Security Act their numbers and visibility are increasing rapidly. At a conservative estimate, omitting boards of managers of public institutions, we have now at least 3000 going, legally constituted public welfare boards in our various political subdivisions.

It is never too late to discuss ideals and aims in the composition and functions of these boards, but after a year or so of close observation of the operation of a number of them, state and local, I cannot escape the conclusion that more important at this juncture than airing our aspirations is a candid facing of the realities that exist. We are not dealing with something new, to be built from the ground up. We are dealing with a going concern entrenched in local traditions and customs and fortified by statute. Progress can come, it seems to me, only if we are willing to analyze and evaluate what we have.

How much, really, do we know about the operations of public welfare boards? By and large, what responsibilities do they execute well, and what badly? Why do boards with similar powers in law differ so markedly in their methods of executing their responsibilities?

Personally I believe that we are still on an emotional level when we talk about citizen boards, with most of our thinking still confused. We have not subjected these bodies to the same scrutiny given to other parts of our public welfare machinery.

At one of the sessions of the last National Conference of Social Work three papers, each with considerable merit, were swept together into one program and into one prolonged acclaim for boards. Few in the audience seemed to realize, however, that they had been led from the uncritical statement that social workers ought to encourage the formation of boards of public welfare because boards have been so useful in private agencies (applause), on through a scrambling of advisory, administrative, and appeal functions (applause), to a grand climax which visioned an idyllic American scene with every function of local government managed by a group of self-sacrificing citizens, nobly motivated (applause).

It is not my intention to discuss the virtues of the administrative board as opposed to the executive appointment of the head of a public department. For a long time there has been plenty of discussion of that subject pro and con. But in passing it might be noted that the reports of state reorganization commissions of the past few years have recommended, almost invariably, the executive plan if a board had hitherto functioned, and the board plan if the executive plan had prevailed. My plea at the moment is that we give some attention to the thousands of boards we now have, and see where they are going and how. Regardless of how the board-versus-executive argument is settled in any one place at any one time, we are going to have plenty of boards and probably shall be creating many new and different varieties.

I wish that some of our able public welfare board members and some of our skilled public welfare executives would analyze and record their experiences, and that some of our competent researchers would busy themselves with a close scrutiny of board function and operation. As a possible stimulus to such endeavor and to a more discriminating discussion of public boards, I am here recording some of my notes based upon recent observation of public boards, although I realize the hazards of being misunderstood when the limitations of space compel me to deal bluntly with a subject so complex—and so sacrosanct.

ALTHOUGH the internal management of voluntary and official boards is much the same, their functions are different. In fact, to stress their similarities is to invite fundamental misconceptions of a political institution. A private agency board determines its own functions; the board of a public agency has its responsibilities delineated in the law. Although somewhat vaguely representing the contributors, the board members of a private agency actually constitute the agency whereas the members of an official

board are selected to represent the public in the operation of the public's business. A private agency is usually created by the board, which can also dissolve it; a public agency is created by legislative act and is dissolved by the same process.

Whether it is good social policy or not, the board of a private social agency usually has the right to determine its own course. But when a public board assumes an attitude of self-sufficiency, it has lost sight of its legal status. One can be certain that an official board is losing perspective when it begins to resent public criticism and to regard any questioning of its actions as a personal attack upon its members. Members of official boards, even though not compensated for their services, are no less servants of the public than salaried employes.

Members of official boards in very small communities, where funds are limited, frequently must perform themselves the functions of the public agency. As soon as an executive is employed, however, the board must leave the direct administration of the agency's program to the employe. Board members who try to perform executive tasks for which a particular staff member is responsible almost inevitably bungle the job. The larger and more complex the organization, the more damaging is independent executive action by board members.

BOARDS organized for a single type of program seem to function more effectively than those with a more complex program to administer. A board member is likely to be interested in one particular phase of a public department's operation—institutional management for example, or public assistance or inspection of private agencies—but only rarely does he have a poignant interest in all aspects of the work or the time to acquaint himself with the total program. Yet the degree of control of such a board member is equal to that of his associates in all matters under the board's jurisdiction. Effective procedures for preserving balance of operation of a board responsible for diverse functions can be developed—the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies offers a notable example. Diversity is, however, a major hazard to the effective functioning of a board.

Incidentally, I have come to doubt whether we can long maintain the supervision and inspection of private agencies in the hands of a public agency which has the operation of an extensive public assistance program as its major administrative responsibility. The two functions are too different both in approach and method to mix well in execution. The question of the scope of an agency program, of course, is not wholly a problem of the board.

The establishment of rules—interpreting "rule" as relating to procedure rather than policy—is a common function of generalized boards, yet rule-making requires more attention to day-by-day administration than a board ordinarily can give. When a board has many diversified activities to supervise, its rules almost inevitably become static through lack of frequent revision. Rule-making has been performed in some instances quite satisfactorily by a body which has this as its main responsibility, with members selected primarily for their qualifications for this particular task.

Likewise boards with many diverse duties do not function well as appeal boards, although this is usually one of their responsibilities. The number of appeals is likely to become so great that the board members either accept unqualifiedly the recommendations of the staff or else they jump to decisions without consideration of the effect of the action upon agency policy or upon public policy. A sub-committee selected solely to hear and act upon appeals can usually do a more judicious job. Dealing with appeals requires a type of individual different from the one who deals with management policies. Obviously the pace and procedures of a quasi-judicial body are quite different from those of an administrative body.

When it comes to the selection of personnel, I am convinced that although a board may make a satisfactory selection of its chief executive, it is sure to get itself and every one else into difficulties if it chooses subordinate staff members. Not only does the board weaken the authority of the executive officer in so doing but it almost never possesses the skill or time to do a thorough job of selection. Experience indicates that its decisions are usually subjective, based on personal grounds. The board can be of inestimable value in advising the executive both on selection and dismissal—but always on his initiative.

Most of the discussions of board usefulness assume that a board somehow interprets automatically the work of an agency to the public. In reality this is not true. In fact, some staffs have proved quite as effective as boards, in public interpretation, chiefly because their efforts have continuity and direction. The public is not enlightened concerning a social program by the fact that Mr. John Q. Joiner, prominent citizen, is a member of the local welfare board, even though his name on the roster may inspire some confidence. In order to count as interpreters, board members must be enlisted in an active and planned program. For example, the state department in Florida sends a staff consultant to work out programs of interpretation with the district boards and is continuously supplying publicity material to the districts. Interpretation by board members can be developed but is seldom spontaneous as we too often have assumed.

An evidence of the carelessness with which some boards take their responsibilities is shown by their inattention to the form and content of the permanent record made of their official actions. The New York Temporary Emergency Relief Administration has developed the most complete record of board proceedings which I have seen. A formal record prepared of all meetings includes attendance, major points of discussion, and all formal action taken. A concurrent journal is maintained in which are filed a transcript of the discussion at each meeting, copies of important administrative communications, and copies of all official bulletins and reports. Granting that all boards cannot maintain a detailed running account of deliberations, a journal is certainly a convenient device for the preservation of many essential documents which, if filed with the formal minutes, would produce a record too bulky for ready reference but which should be kept intact as an administrative record.

CONSIDERING for how long the board system has been an accepted part of our social welfare machinery it is surprising how little data have been compiled on effective methods of board operation. Such data, if they existed, would be immediately useful to federal and state agencies responsible for supervising or servicing public bodies in lesser political subdivisions. For example, supervision of locally administered public assistance programs places upon

the state agency a responsibility for advising and directing the local welfare boards. If the local program is under an administrative board, the state relations with that body should be the keystone of the total state-local relationship. Yet most states seem to leave this phase of supervision until last, if they undertake it at all. They are much more concerned with staff than with administrative supervision. Many state departments now provide manuals of administrative procedure, of fiscal procedure, of social service procedure, of recording procedure, for the guidance of local units. A manual of board procedure is equally necessary, indeed it is overdue.

Probably some of these comments on boards as I have observed them in operation strike harshly on sensitive ears. Well, I see no reason why we should not discuss public boards just as frankly as we discuss public employes. I get pretty tired of hearing that the only solution to successful board operation is to secure an executive who can "handle" the board. That may be true enough at the moment. But I, for one, am unwilling to let it go at that. Boards we have and boards we are going to have. At present a good many of them appear uncertain in the concept of their purpose and function, and fumbling in their execution. Given the whole development in the area of public welfare, good intentions and "representative" status in the community are not enough. If we are to go forward in the right direction we need some good hard critical analysis of the how, why, and what of citizen board function and performance.

Relief in the Sit-Down Strike

A SHARP reminder that "emergency" is the middle name of public relief agencies came home to the Genesee County, Mich. Welfare Relief Commission last month with the "sit-down strike" in Flint of the United Automobile Workers. An increase in the relief load from about 2500 families to more than 7800 within five weeks, a community strained and tense under the conditions of the strike, and the conflict between strikers and non-strikers, put relief workers through an acid test of strength and spirit.

When the strike broke in late December the question of relief to the strikers was an immediate issue loaded with potential controversy. "If you give relief the strike will never be over." "We are all taxpayers and we object to our money helping these ungrateful people," were typical protests. A strong public sympathy for non-strikers, "thrown out of work through no fault of their own," was evident.

Then a new thought seemed to sweep the community. It was hinted that the situation for the community and for non-strikers undoubtedly would be much worse if there were no relief; there were whispers of possible violence if relief were withheld, of public sympathy swinging over toward the strikers if they had to solicit funds for subsistence.

The County Emergency Welfare Relief Commission settled the question with dispatch. On the agenda was "Attitude Toward Strikers," and the commission's answer was: "The matter is settled. We can't know who are strikers—our business is relief." Other problems crowded to the fore, and the strike-ridden town accepted the assumption that relief workers, like doctors who care for those hurt in riots, are professionals whose one job is to give relief where it is needed.

In the relief offices, applicants packed the waiting rooms. Strikers wearing union buttons jostled non-strikers, "but always in good humor," said Ella Lee Cowgill, field representative of the state relief commission in a letter to *The Survey*. Of the staff's attitude she said:

> We forget to look at buttons, in our desire to get to the bottom of the relief need. . . . The organization has been so nearly neutral that workers have no idea of the proportion of strikers and non-strikers who receive relief.

From the day the strike was called, Flint relief workers looked for critical times ahead. They knew that many of the families affected had had a working member for only a few months, often after long stretches of unemployment. They knew also that the much talked of bonuses and high wages had been eaten up by old debts, and that only a few pay days ago, many who now were strikers had celebrated their first "real" Christmas in five or six years. Though most of Santa Claus' selections would be called necessities, inevitably they had cut into any possible savings.

In the first days of hope for an early strike settlement, it seemed that the regular staff of the relief organization might be able to "absorb" the extra load. But as soon as the first peace parley failed the scene took on a different color. On that day, the office swarmed with applicants for relief; many could not be taken care of at all; facilities were inadequate; feelings were tense.

BUT relief agency executives and staff have had long apprenticeship to quick change and the great god emergency. That day of somber news was the first and the last that saw applicants turned away without attention. By the following morning a new system was functioning which sifted applicants at their point of first contact with the relief office, so that each day everyone received some sort of attention. Executives made quick estimates and appealed to the state relief commission for the trained and seasoned workers needed for sweeping expansion. Flint itself could not supply the necessary workers though pressure was put on the relief officials to take on local people identified with one side or another of the controversy. In so tense a situation, having workers come in from outside had definite advantages.

Applications and intake surged up in waves, hitting but never swamping one department after another. On January 5, with a normal case load, the Genesee County relief office received twenty-nine applications, a fourth of them from factory workers. On January 11, applications numbered eighty-two; and a few days later 247. Then, for hectic days, they increased by daily dozens, until: "On Monday, January 25, we reached 712, what we hope is our peak. . . . Although the two factions between whom antagonism runs high were crowded together in small quarters," wrote Miss Cowgill, "the attitude of the applicants, almost without exception, was very good. On Tuesday morning . . . there was some difficulty, but since that time there has been excellent cooperation and understanding.

Clients have seemed to realize that we are doing everything in our power to take care of them. Order has been maintained without any officer of the law being present. . . . Fortunately the organization is housed in a building that is strong, fireproof and functionally adjustable. At no time have applicants had to stand out of doors while waiting. Applicants claiming an acute emergency were given relief to tide them over until the home visitor could reach them. Intake procedures were shortened and speeded up."

Meantime, behind the busy front doors and swarming reception rooms, new and old staff showed that they could "take it." "Despite the accelerated situation," reported a visiting social worker, "there was a striking absence of the lost motion and confusion which usually are transmitted to clients in impatience and bewilderment."

THE surge of new cases hit the intake department, then the investigating or visiting staff, then the auditors. "Each department draws a long breath and jumps the wave when it comes," reported Miss Cowgill, watching a "hump" of about two thousand new cases pass through the organization in the first days of the upsurge, "without a letdown in standards or care in verifying necessary data."

Night work, restricted space, "almost every partition moved in every department," were inconveniences taken with good nature, enduring cooperation, and ready adjustment to emergent demands. Workers went long hours without food or munched sandwiches at their desks. Presently the WPA was persuaded to suspend its rules temporarily and to set up and run a staff canteen, later taken over by the county office itself. A rest room with cots where momentary relaxation could be snatched was added. The hundred or so workers hastily recruited from over the state "rapidly absorbed new techniques, acquainted themselves with a new city, and in spite of the pressure, met in the tiny canteen to eat and laugh and exchange experiences. . . . They took to the arduous work and long hours without complaint."

The bill for Genesee County's unemployment relief, which mounted at the rate of about $10,000 a day during the strike, was met out of the deficiency appropriation made by the legislature to carry the state relief program for the current fiscal year. For the last four years the policy of financing relief in Michigan has been one of joint funding from city, county and state. City and county do their best—which amounted to 24.4 percent of total costs in 1936—and the state takes care of the remainder. The possible need for another deficiency appropriation this year as a result of the strike is still in the realm of future worries.

The attitude of the community in general toward the relief efforts was cooperative. The executive secretary of the Community Fund volunteered three workers from fund agencies and two from his own staff. The newspapers printed statistics, for the most part with small comment. Wholesale and retail merchants, a little uneasy over large credits rolling up, accepted the assurance of the State Emergency Welfare Relief Commission that their bills would be met. About the only conspicuous failure in the community's general cooperation with the relief staff was on the part of an active battalion of influenza germs. These, it is reported, employed inexcusable obstructionist tactics.

The welfare committee of the United Automobile Workers was in conference with relief administrators from the first. "The committee seemed to find few points for complaints and all seemed to be in good order," Miss Cowgill observed on one of the first days of the strike. However, in the subsequent days of strain, it was necessary to request of the committee that it should not discuss problems of clients within the building, that its watchers in reception rooms should not suggest changes in visitors' decisions and that, barring exceptional urgency, decisions on intake be accepted by client and committee. On the question of preference, in the lines of applicants, to families of "men occupying the plants as strikers," it was decided that no special consideration could go to the "sit-downers" as against others waiting for attention. In general, a fine rapport between the relief organization and the UAW welfare committee was reported. The committee showed willingness to accept established routines and procedures and the relief office to correct mistakes.

The impact of the sensational jump in relief on the community as a whole probably was blunted by familiarity. When seasonal unemployment in automobile factories has been long a commonplace, sensational jumps in relief loads are not exactly surprising. Though this was an extreme case, involving the question, still controversial, of relief to strikers, no particular adverse reaction has been observed. Rather, reports a *Survey* correspondent, favorable comments have been made on the way the relief agency met the touch-and-go situation.

Miss Cowgill summarizes cogently: "For four years relief in these industrial communities has been like sand dunes: the wind of unemployment blows one way and they are leveled down; the wind of unemployment blows from the other side and they are heaped up. The public is used to rapid changes and adjusts to them."

"NOW it is over," says the last installment of Miss Cowgill's notes and jottings, made as the "hump" was going through the relief office. "The facts emblazoned in the mammoth head lines changed the relief picture over night. On February 10 when the settlement negotiations seemed deadlocked, applications numbered 656. On February 11, when the agreement was signed, they dropped to 275; on February 12 to 175. All the way through the strike, the applications for relief have been an accurate barometer of the publicized success or failure of the negotiations. When the prospect was hopeful, applications dropped off. When it seemed hopeless, they increased.

"What have we learned out of this experience? For one thing—not new to be sure—that social workers can keep their heads and do their jobs under extremely tense and trying conditions. They made blunders of course, some of them amusing. For example, there was the girl from out of town who sallied forth in a bright red tam, quite unaware that this was the insignia of the 'Emergency Brigade,' women actively supporting the strikers. When doors were slammed in her face, even when she was all but chased down the street, she did not know what it was all about. Not until she reported to the office and her supervisor saw her hat did she know what had caused the trouble.

"Another thing we have learned is the value of a statewide organization which can throw its strength into a difficult situation, establishing policies, recruiting personnel and shouldering the bulk of the financial responsibility.

"Finally we have learned the value of the conference method. The relief administrators and the welfare committee of the UAW spent long hours in conference, ironing out difficulties and misunderstandings. Not once during the crisis was there a resort to force—never a policeman in the building. We are pretty proud of our social workers."

a scientifically selected sample of families in the city also are included.

New Haven is one of fifty cities for which the Bureau of the Census, with the assistance of local groups, has already established permanent tracts for small area tabulation of census data. In New Haven the present thirty-three ungerrymandered city wards constitute these permanent census tracts and most of the tables and all the diagrams of the handbook present information subdivided by these areas. The appearance of the handbook suggests that New Haven may now lead among the census tract cities in variety and accessibility of small-area statistics, although for several larger cities, collections of such statistics have been published.

RALPH G. HURLIN

Russell Sage Foundation
New York

"Mixed Company"

PARTNERS IN PLAY, by Mary J. Breen. A. S. Barnes. 185 pp. Price $1 postpaid of *The Survey.*

IN spite of our modernity, association between the sexes in recreation has been left largely to the initiative, or lack of it, of the young people themselves. Co-education does not always mean co-recreation and a normal, sensible social life. Cigarette smoking and tippling by young people is no sign that they are better adjusted to school contacts than the hobble-de-hoy boys and self-conscious girls of the last generation. Partners in Play is an apt title for an excellent and, in some ways, a unique book on recreation in what is often described as "mixed company."

The book is written for recreation leaders, but like all first class books of this character also should be on the bookshelf of every family where there are children. There are chapters on group games, dancing, hiking, camping and sports for young people together, but the book's contribution is its frank and clear interpretation of what boys and girls of 'teen age desire in friendship and good times together. The difficult problems of leadership of mixed groups of young men and young women are gone into thoroughly and sanely.

It is the first recreation book I have read with a section on such a topic as "friendship, an essential of happy marriage." It is very likely a sad truth as stated there, that "one of the chief reasons for divorce and desertion is that husbands and wives have never learned to play together." A book on recreation that has that statement on page 5 must have some good stuff further on. And the reader will not be disappointed. The vital necessity of knowing how to play together as well as what to play and do in recreational hours pervades the volume.

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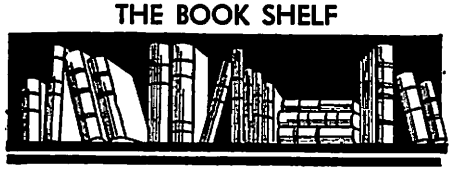

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APRIL 1937 CONTENTS VOL. LXXIII No. 4

So They Say

• A nation that tolerates child labor must expect to have child crime—AUSTIN H. MACCORMICK, *commissioner of correction, New York City.*

• Social service is not charity but self defense. It has taken a long while for experts to arrive at this idea.—MOSES STRAUSS, *managing editor, Cincinnati Times-Star.*

• The best thing that America can do for its farm youth is to train them to farm, help them to own and teach them to conserve America's greatest heritage, its soil.—HOMER PAUL ANDERSEN, *Utah farm boy, at New York's Town Hall.*

• In human society primitive self-interest and arbitrary power seem to defeat social-minded reasonableness. Yet the social value of reasonableness is so great that it plays a steadily increasing part in human affairs.—ARTHUR E. MORGAN *in Antioch Notes.*

• Perhaps one percent of the "profoundest convictions" of the ordinary man is motivated by adequate information, close reasoning and logic; the other 99 percent are a mere reflection of his economic and social status.—JEAN RICOCHET BOYD *in The Forum.*

• It is not possible to separate the stability of industry from the security of its workers. . . . Where industries are chaotic and disorganized the wage earners take up the shock of a brutal competitive system.—JOHN G. WINANT, *former chairman, Social Security Board.*

• There is no static definition of what it means to be a social worker.—FRANK KINGDON, *president, Newark University, N. J.*

• Men are not always as good as the causes they lead. You do not necessarily damn a government when you debunk its leader.—GLENN FRANK.

• The average youth of sixteen, thanks to our pretentious but slipshod methods of education, can neither read intelligently, write correctly nor think clearly.—I. A. R. WYLIE *in Harpers Magazine.*

• The most subtle type of revolution which confronts American democracy today is that which is easily and silently possible through taxation.—NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, *president, Columbia University.*

• The day when private charities are to be depended on to carry along those who can't find employment, is gone. From now on those with jobs are going to care for those without them through the tax route.—HARRY L. HOPKINS, *WPA Administrator.*

• At no time since English became a fully modern language with dictionaries and codifiable standards of usage, has there been so high a percentage of slovenliness, laxity and downright anarchy in the public use.—WILSON FOLLETT *in Atlantic Monthly.*

• Beyond sufficient incomes what can you do with more money except give it to the government?—SYLVIA SIDNEY, *motion picture actress.*

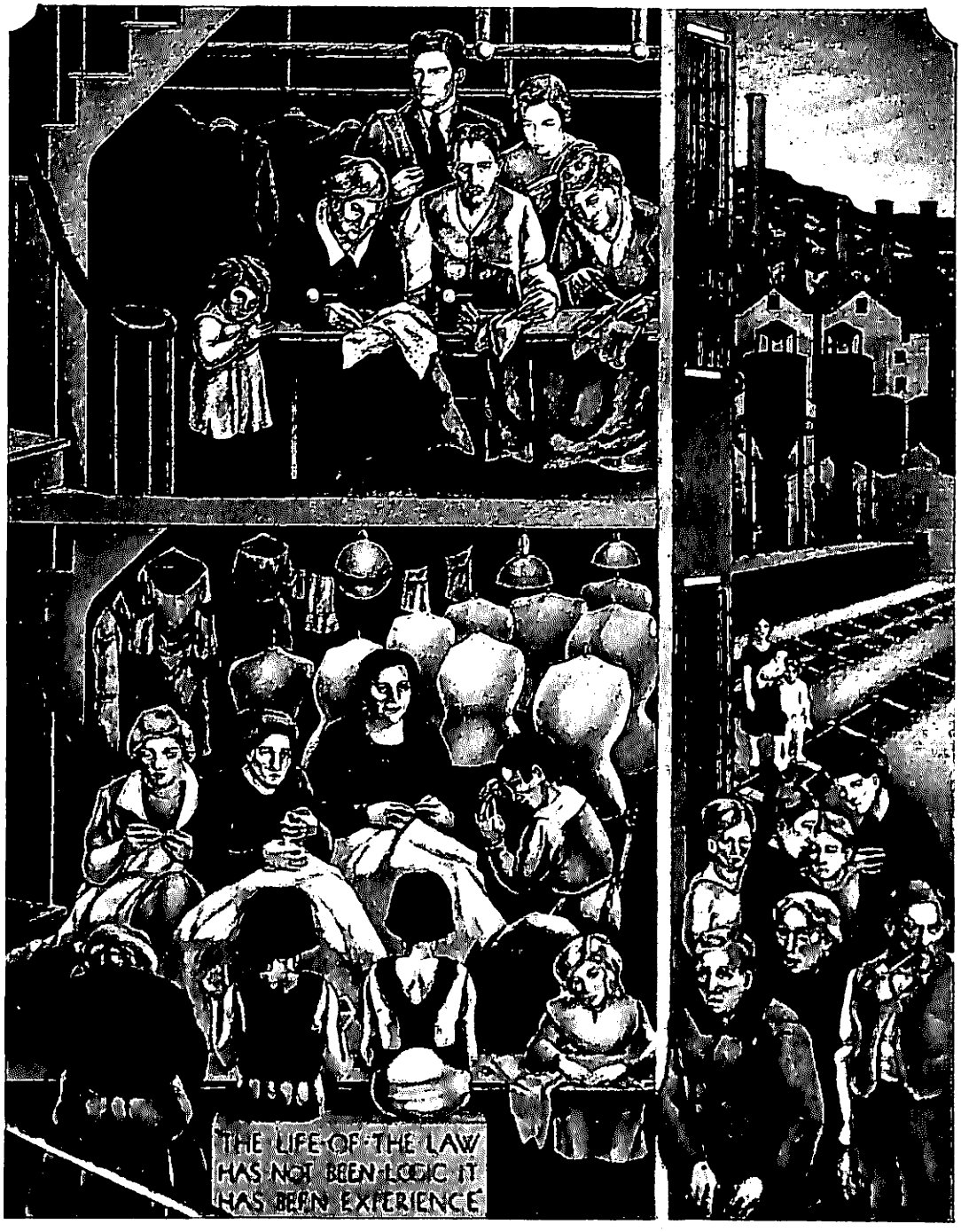
• In any epic contest, like your Civil War, both sides are right or the war would not go on.—STEPHEN LEACOCK, *McGill University, Montreal, to Amherst College Alumni Council.*

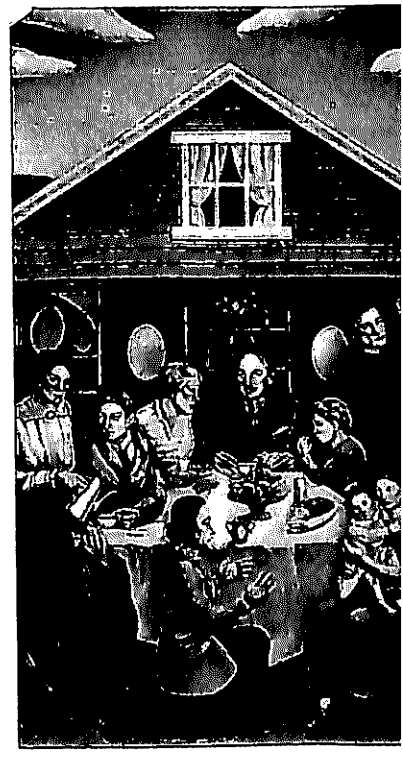
• After all we northern ministers are as deeply involved in the sins of a cruel industrialism as are our southern brethren in the sins of a racial feudalism.—*The* REV. RHEINHOLD NIEBUHR *in The Christian Century.*

• The guiding of social change is a concept that attracts. Most of us want to be in on the guiding [which is] merely social reform in a new dress.—WAYNE MCMILLEN, *University of Chicago, to American Association of Social Workers.*

• Happily much has been done toward the cure of mental disorders in individuals, but so far we have no protection against collective lunacies which are far more terrifying in their results.—*The* REV. JOSEPH FORT NEWTON, *Philadelphia.*

• Is it now apparent . . . that modern man is selling his biological birthright for a mess of morons; that the voice may be the voice of democracy; but the hands are the hands of apes?—EARNEST A. HOOTON, *professor of anthropology, Harvard University.*





These murals painted by George Biddle for the main hall of the new Department of Justice Building in Washington would be equally appropriate in the Children's Bureau. Now celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary the bureau through these years has promoted the welfare of children at home and at work, in institutions, in courts—wherever children are. In 1912 when it first came into existence, the sweatshop with its child workers of the mural above was still common. Like the artist in his second mural the bureau looks ahead to the time when all children will have their chance to be healthy, happy and sound.

THE SURVEY

APRIL 1937 VOL. LXXIII NO. 4

1936—Relief in New Jersey—1937

By DOUGLAS H. MACNEIL

NOW, in April 1937, a year has passed since New Jersey's relief crisis, since the legislative deadlock over funds, the charge that abandonment of state relief would put New Jersey back in the middle ages, the counter-charge that the state relief administration was trying to prolong its own life in order to save jobs for its workers. There was excitement, recrimination and prophesy of disaster but no one could tell wherein lay the truth.

What really did happen in New Jersey? How good or how bad is relief in New Jersey today?

On April 16, 1936, the New Jersey Emergency Relief Administration, unable to conduct a relief program on a month to month dole of funds from the legislature, withdrew from the "businesss of relief." Before doing so it satisfied itself that no real hardship need result. Due to WPA and improved business, the number of families receiving emergency relief in March 1936 was half the number on ERA work and relief rolls in March 1935, and was falling rapidly. Most large municipalities and many smaller ones could finance a full relief program, temporarily at least, however reluctant they might be to do so. Where municipal finances were in bad shape, it was believed that indirect arrangements might be made by which distress would be avoided. The chief fear was that certain municipalities would revert to the poor relief tradition under which only the hopelessly destitute qualify for aid. But if municipal officials kept their heads and observed the spirit of New Jersey's liberal poor relief statute, no calamity, the ERA believed, need follow the cessation of state relief.

But this was "inside" reasoning. Not knowing the particulars the public looked for the worst, for starvation, mass evictions, riots. When only isolated cases of extreme suffering were found, the public began to feel that the relief crisis had been exaggerated. This coincided with the hopes of the taxpayers. Although a sit-down demonstration in the state capitol by the Workers' Alliance gained national publicity, there were few defenders of the ERA while even fewer persons were ready to think about long range planning for future public assistance.

The legislature therefore abolished the ERA and passed a statute leaving the administration of relief with the municipalities, but creating a new agency, the Financial Assistance Commission, to disburse state grants-in-aid to help municipalities finance any relief costs over and above a stated millage in the local real property tax rate. However, no funds were appropriated to this agency until a long-litigated inheritance tax case was settled in the state's favor and the proceeds, $6 million, was placed at the disposal of the commission.

This appropriation enabled the commission to meet by far the major part of municipal relief costs in the last half of 1936. But as the commission's practice is to wait until the municipalities' monthly relief expenditures have been audited, then to reimburse for expenditures in excess of a municipal share fixed according to a mathematical formula, definite figures are not yet available as to the costs to the municipalities and the state. The commission estimated that the total relief expenditures in the last six months of 1936, exclusive of administration, amounted to approximately $6,700,000, of which the state will provide $6 million. The municipalities will provide $700,000 plus administrative expenses of about as much again, or $1,400,000 in all. As this is written, the legislature once more is deadlocked over methods for financing state relief aid in 1937.

RUMORS that municipal relief officials were more successful in cutting down case loads than their ERA predecessors are not substantiated by a recent estimate by a national research committee studying relief in New Jersey. This estimate, comparing the total number of cases aided by direct, work and categorical relief monthly in 1935 and 1936, is as follows:

	Cases Under Care	
	1935	1936
January	187,750	190,000
February	190,000	190,000
March	187,750	190,000
April	184,000	178,750
May	174,000	163,000
June	167,000	152,500
July	167,000	146,500
August	163,500	143,750
September	159,500	147,750
October	162,000	150,786
November	177,000	151,500
December	182,500	166,000

These figures suggest that relief trends in New Jersey, despite all the excitement and furore which accompanied last spring's crisis, have followed a course consistent with improving business conditions. It is doubtful whether the reduction is appreciably greater than in neighboring states where there was no comparable administrative upheaval.

But what of actual relief practices in New Jersey since the ERA went out of business? Who is now eligible for aid? How is eligibility established and maintained? How adequate are relief allowances and personnel standards? No general answer can be made to these questions for the state as a whole. In most of the larger cities—Newark, Jersey City, Trenton, Elizabeth, to name a few—relatively little change from ERA may be observed. The same general methods of establishing eligibility and case supervision have been maintained. Scales of relief allowances and costs remain more or less comparable with ERA, although some upward adjustments have been made to meet rising food prices. A few smaller municipalities are experimenting with cash relief. The morale of the workers in some city relief offices seems better than under ERA. On the other hand, there are various increasingly disturbing features. Certain urban relief agencies have limited the vendors eligible to fill relief orders in such a way as to lead to rumors of favoritism or worse. A local residence requirement has forced out many qualified workers who have been replaced by persons about whose qualifications judgment must be reserved. Much criticism has also come from the medical profession and from others, over the return to the city doctor system in most of the large centers.

IN a group of smaller cities, Montclair, Irvington, Perth Amboy, Princeton, Lakewood, Westfield, the ERA policies have been retained intact and in addition a campaign of interpretation has gained a popular sanction for them that was lacking when the ERA was operating. Perth Amboy offers a fair example. At the low point of the depression almost a quarter of its 45,000 residents was on relief. Its financial status was precarious. Although in March 1936, WPA had cut relief rolls to 841 cases (2650 persons), the danger implicit in the discontinuance of ERA was acute. But Perth Amboy, under the leadership of a courageous young mayor, met the crisis standing up. With the backing of the local chapter of the American Red Cross, by whom the salary of the ERA case supervisor had been paid, the mayor called in a group of leading citizens—two industrialists, the editor of the newspaper, representatives of mercantile interests, the medical profession, private social and health agencies, and organized women's activities as well as of the financial and legal branches of the city government. This group the mayor organized into a Board of Public Assistance and in spite of pressure to make a patronage appointment, named the ERA case supervisor as municipal relief director. The Red Cross agreed to continue paying her salary. The Board of Public Assistance reviewed the policies inherited from ERA, found them sound, and sponsored them in the community. The result, in terms of changing relief practices, has been very slight, but the community has faith in its relief program, and Perth Amboy citizens actively defend it when neighboring towns claim to be doing the relief job for less money and without benefit of social workers.

In many rural sections and in a few industrial communities, the fear has been realized that abandonment of the ERA program would cause a return to the worst features of traditional poor law administration. How this tradition operates is illustrated by an excerpt from the report of a recent survey interview with a typical rural overseer of the poor.

This overseer is more than seventy years of age. He has held the office on a part time basis for many years. His salary is nominal. He is querulous but not wilfully unkind. He is terribly fussed about paper work: "Slips for WPA jobs, slips to get boys into CCC camps, slips to get government foods, all kinds of slips. All day long I sign slips. Can't the government run anything without slips?" He can't help anybody who hasn't lived in the township for the last five years. "The law don't let me," he says. Nor will he help any one who is working, regardless of how inadequate the income may be. "Can't help nobody who has a job. No. And I can't help anybody who turns down a job." No records are kept except the relief order stub. (He has a book of relief orders something like a check book.) The only help he gives, except "slips" for WPA commodities, is food relief. All orders are given out weekly and all are for $3. "I have to treat 'em fair. I can't give one fellow $2 and another $5. 'Tain't my fault if some of 'em have a lot of kids."

FROM files of this survey come examples of two different concepts of racial discrimination. In a small industrial city the overseer grants Negroes a slightly smaller allowance than he does whites. "Negroes are fitted by nature," he says, "to subsist on coarser fare than whites." Not ten miles away, in a semi-rural township, the overseer of the poor says, "Six Eyetalians will live like kings for two weeks if you send in twenty pounds of spaghetti, six cans of tomato paste and a dozen loaves of three-foot-long bread. But give them a food order like this [$13.50, state minimum for six persons for half a month], and they will still live like kings and put five bucks in the bank. Now you ought to give a colored boy more. He likes his pork chops and half a fried chicken. Needs them, too, to keep up his strength. Let him have a chicken now and then and maybe he'll go out and find himself a job. But a good meal of meat would kill an Eyetalian on account of he ain't used to it."

The trend since the abandonment of ERA perhaps may best be illustrated by figures showng the range of monthly costs per case under ERA and under municipal auspices:

	ERA *December 1935*	FAC *December 1936*
NUMBER OF MUNICIPALITIES REPORTING	452	368
NUMBER WHOSE AVERAGE MONTHLY COST PER CASE IS:		
Less than $10.00	11	48
$10.00 — 14.99	53	82
15.00 — 19.99	159	84
20.00 — 24.99	139	87
25.00 — 29.99	76	37
30.00 and more	14	30
MEDIAN	$20.11	$18.21

From this it will be seen that the average monthly relief costs under ERA, and presumably, therefore, the actual family relief allowances, were much less standardized throughout the state than has been assumed. Nonetheless, since the abandonment of ERA, the spread has increased. Although a greater number of municipalities appear in the topmost bracket, the number in the lowest bracket has increased even more conspicuously and the median definitely tells the story that the trend is downward. It is only fair to

add that the Financial Assistance Commission is watchful to avert flagrant local cuts in relief standards, else the general level might be lower.

All this will suggest that the state of relief in New Jersey might be worse but that it ought to be better. What is being done to make it so? Little enough, in all conscience. The whole question is bound inextricably with a host of factors, reorganization of the structure of government, tax reform, municipal home rule and economy on the positive side; and on the negative, factional politics, expediency and public lethargy, which make it difficult to get a clear cut division of opinion on what the state's relief program should include. However, any return to the ERA basis, with its often cumbersome, centralized procedures, would be generally opposed.

But here and there articulate groups are striving to organize public opinion toward a recognition of the need for thorough revision of the relief set-up, with closer coordination between general and categorical relief agencies. In December 1936, the New Jersey State Conference of Social Work in its "town meeting" session, discussed and voted to support a report submitted by its Committee on Relief Practices. The committee's proposals resemble the Maryland and Louisiana public assistance laws and the proposals made to Governor Earle by the Pennsylvania Committee on Public Assistance and Relief. They are, in brief:

Expansion of the federal social security program to include federal grants-in-aid for general as well as categorical relief, provided that minimum standards of relief eligibility, adequacy of relief allowances and of personnel are maintained.

Inclusion within an existing state department of authority to coordinate general and categorical relief and services over a wider area than the municipality.

Establishment of county welfare boards to administer general and categorical relief in the localities, with the proviso that municipalities of ten thousand or more population be given the option of retaining general relief functions now in their hands.

Almost all factual evidence available tends to support the validity of these proposals. But much potential opposition exists. Somewhat similar proposals were badly beaten in county referenda in 1931. Those who claim that municipal relief is traditional and implicit in American democracy will fight from an emotional opposition to change. This group overlaps the group that sees in any proposal to equalize or liberalize relief processes only an increase in taxation. There is another group, well-informed thinking citizens, who hold that the theory of municipal relief is all right, but that New Jersey's present division into municipalities is a crazy quilt, a monument to gerrymandering and local jealousies to which efficient government and equitable taxation are the first sacrifices. This group would let the relief laws alone and would reconstitute municipal boundaries to form real community lines.

In 1835, Thomas Gordon published his Gazeteer of New Jersey. Concerning poor relief in the state, he said, "The wisdom of these methods is less than equivocal, but it defies the genius of legislation to create a better." Mr. Gordon, there is every reason to believe that you are still right.

Salute to the Children's Bureau

SPONSORED by a distinguished group of social workers and citizens, a dinner was given at the Hotel Mayflower in Washington on April 8 in honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

This is the twenty-fifth year of Survey Associates; our own anniversary comes next November. As setting for our hopes and good wishes for the bureau in the years ahead, here is reprinted, in part, the paragraphs which led off *The Survey* of November 16, 1912—one of the first issues brought out under the aegis of our new cooperative society. All the more warmly because this past month saw the celebration of Miss Wald's seventieth birthday—founder of the Henry Street Settlement, member of the board of Survey Associates throughout the quarter century, and originator of the conception of a federal bureau for children:

"The head of a bureau of the federal government is called 'chief.' It has become a uniform custom among government employes, when writing to such an officer, to address him as 'Dear Mr. Chief.' Consequently, official Washington was thrown into consternation at the announcement that Julia C. Lathrop had been placed in charge of the new children's bureau; for there seemed no escape from the salutation, 'Dear Miss Chief.'

"That mischief is not to enter into the plans of the bureau is made clear, however, in its first official bulletin, just issued. Though the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill, granting funds to the bureau, did not pass until the latter part of August, the bulletin presents an impressive statement of things which will be done first, admitting that the program thus mapped out is a mere beginning. . . . Credit for the first suggestion that a children's bureau be established is given to Lillian D. Wald, head of the Nurses' Settlement, New York.

"The immediate work of the bureau, as outlined, falls into two classes: bringing together existing material within its scope and making original investigations. . . .

"In the field of original investigation one of the first things the bureau plans is to study infant mortality. Not only is there declared to be urgent social need of a fuller knowledge of conditions, but such knowledge is fundamental to the later work of the bureau. The field of inquiry will be confined for the present to a few comparatively small communities. On this point the bulletin continues:

" 'Because the importance of adequate birth registration in reducing infant mortality is universally recognized, the bureau will cooperate with the organizations, governmental and volunteer, now working for registration in this country. The New England states, Pennsylvania and Michigan were in 1910 the only states included by the Census Bureau in the registration area for births as having laws for birth registration so enforced as to give reasonably satisfactory results. . . . Unless there can be secured reliable knowledge as to children born, there can be no reliable knowledge as to the birthrate, nor as to the proportion of those who die.' . . .

"In carrying out what it regards as the intent of the law creating it the bureau will become a clearing house for information regarding passed or pending state legislation affecting children. . . ." —P.K.

Case Work and Group Work

I—Where two social work areas meet and how they contribute to each other

By GRACE L. COYLE

Associate Professor, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University

SOCIAL work, in the normal course of growth from its early undifferentiated form, has developed so much specialization and social workers have acquired so varied a collection of techniques that anyone who would "speak our language" must possess the gift of tongues. Such differentiation and specialization is likely to lead to separateness and often to mutual recrimination. The sense of superiority is very comforting to us all. Our own problems we know are more urgent than those of others, our techniques are more scientific, our understanding more basic. We social workers are in a way to becoming ourselves a social problem unless we can coordinate our specialties in a spirit of mutual understanding and respect to the end of better service to the community.

As a group worker, with a great concern for social action especially in the field of industrial problems, I have been concerned increasingly with the better integration of all phases of social work. The relation of case work and group work is one which needs both intelligent analysis and cooperative action. What contribution have these two fields to make to each other? What are the points of difference in their basic concepts? Case workers and group workers often deal with the same individuals; usually with the same types. How do their two approaches fit together?

There are, I believe, several definite points at which case workers may contribute to the development of group work of better quality. Their practice is rooted in appreciation of the individual and a sensitive awareness of his needs. The group worker usually works with people on a more impersonal level. The group as a group must be his major concern. He cannot single out individuals within the group for special attention or subordinate the good of all to the special needs of one. These necessities are liable to make him relatively unaware of individuals except those who stand out, either as leaders or as problems. I believe that contact with case work thinking can do much to correct this tendency in the group worker and can make him sensitive to the symptoms of personal need or personal maladjustment as they show themselves in group behavior.

Group behavior, just because it is the spontaneous reaction of people in their own setting and among their peers, provides an eminently realistic approach to the understanding of individuals. If the group worker can acquire the elements of that understanding he can use the group experience to assist individuals to opportunities for individual help where they are needed, and can gauge better the real significance of the behavior he observes. I do not mean that group workers can or should become fully equipped case workers. Theirs is another function. But they can with the help of some of the elements of case work develop sensitiveness to the individual which will make their observations sounder and their methods of handling individual problems wiser.

The second point at which I believe the case work field may contribute to group work is in the better understanding of the importance of family relationships and of the early life of the child. The group worker, like the school teacher, deals with individuals away from home and usually among those of their own age and kind. Occasionally, a brother or sister will appear in the same group but usually individuals function without any obvious family contacts. This is characteristic of course of our impersonal, urban life. All unknowingly the group worker may be contributing to family conflict, weakening the tie between a child and its foreign-born mother, substituting group activities for courtship interests during late adolescence, or in some other way treating the individual in isolation from the dominant fact of his family life. The emphasis on the family, so basic to case work, can serve therefore as a healthy corrective in group work agencies, especially those not organized on a neighborhood basis, and can help group workers to fit activities more constructively into the total pattern of the individual's life.

A third contribution which I can see coming from case work, especially in its psychiatric aspects, is a greater realization of the therapeutic possibilities of group experience. Group workers have tended to deal with fairly well adjusted individuals and to concern themselves with education and the enhancement of life. Case workers deal more with those who need treatment before they are ready to take part in normal social activities. Therapy and education differ merely in their place on the scale of individual growth. A better acquaintance with case work will reveal, I believe, therapeutic possibilities in group experience under certain controlled conditions. Various experiments in institutions, hospitals, and case work agencies are making group workers increasingly aware of these possibilities.

FINALLY, comes the technical matter of record keeping in which I think the group work field can gain extensively from case work. Group workers have a growing interest in both group and individual records but the methods are fairly new and there is little general conviction of their importance when it comes to providing the necessary staff time or stenographic service. Until we get more adequate records, we cannot proceed much farther toward improving our methods of dealing with individual or group.

On the other hand the group worker has a contribution to make to case work. One of the most important, I believe, is to enhance the case worker's understanding of the place and function of group life outside the family—both in its relation to individual development and in its function in society. Last winter I read a case record of a family living in a crowded city environment. It dealt fully and adequately with the relation of father and mother, of each of them with the children, and of the children with each other. But there was not a single reference to the group relations of those children or of the parents. They might have been the Swiss Family Robinson. The gang life of the twelve-year-old boy, the club life of the fifteen-year-old girl, the possible union affiliation of the father, the interests of the

mother in the Sodality, were never mentioned. I am not suggesting that this narrow vision is a universal failing among case workers, but it is perhaps inevitable that absorption in the family should obscure somewhat the other relationships playing on the life of the individual.

As soon as the child goes to school his group life, organized and unorganized, becomes a dominant factor in his growth. It is true he may be working out in his club or his gang earlier patterns toward authority, established habits of hostility or affection, but as he finds opportunity to do that outside the home, in groups of his peers, his earlier experience will be modified and directed. Group pressures, group standards, the hold of the group leader, the search for congenial companionship, all become increasingly important as the child grows into the community. It is the function of group workers to attempt to domesticate these social processes and control them for educational ends. They may well contribute to the case worker a deeper understanding of the functions of organized relationships of this kind and of their potential value in the group of individuals.

A closely related contribution which I believe the group worker can make is to stimulate an increased interest in education and the enrichment of life, and perhaps also a better understanding of how education comes about. As I said earlier the concern of the case worker is inevitably with therapy but as treatment succeeds, the client becomes ready for education.

It has been said that the function of the case worker is helping people out of trouble. But it is not enough merely to be out of trouble. Important as that is, society must provide for its members opportunity for all kinds of experience that widens interest, develops latent capacities, increases knowledge of the world, encourages creative expression, brings forth intelligent, socially valuable human beings. The use of leisure for these purposes is one of the functions of the group worker. Group work's contribution to case work, therefore, is, I believe, complementary. Its emphasis on the enhancement and enrichment of life through educative experience may bring to greater fruition the necessarily therapeutic functions of the case worker. The skilled group worker attempts to use in this process those educational methods which reduce authoritative control to a minimum and which develop activities out of the interest of the group into channels of personal enrichment and social usefulness. There is, I believe, a great deal in common between the best methods and purposes of modern case work and the educational procedure of skilled group work in this encouragement of self-determination. The group worker is simply carrying on the process in the area of recreational and educational interests and within a group setting.

However, the contribution of the group worker is not limited to the point of the developmental effect on the individual of directed group experience. We are living in a period of intensive collective life. Our communities are highly organized, pressure groups are everywhere, participation in group life of all kinds is the new form of citizenship. Every individual exists in a network of group relations, involving conflicting loyalties, varying group pressures and standards. The membership of our clients in collective effort of various kinds is a healthy evidence of their ability to participate in modern life. Maturing responsible citizens need as never before to be able to find their way among these forces. It is at this point that the group worker may make some contribution to the understanding of the total social situation by his acquaintance with group life, its functions and processes.

In suggesting this possible contribution, I am proposing that sociology as well as psychology needs to be brought to bear upon the understanding of the individual in his world. What the concepts of psychology and psychiatry are to the understanding of the internal life of the individual, sociology is to the understanding of his social relations. Embryonic as sociology is at some points, including the scientific study of the group, it has I believe certain essential insights and concepts which are needed in a picture of the whole. Case work through its application of psychiatry has done much to make these disciplines fruitful in actual human relations. Some of us hope that in the same way the insights of sociology applied in part through the knowledge of the group worker may help to illuminate the path to more satisfactory human relations.

"Case work" said Miss Coyle in an earlier article in *The Survey*, (May 1935) "deals with individuals in a one-to-one relationship. . . . Group work relies for its effect upon the interaction of a face-to-face group of people bound together by a common interest." This discussion of how the two may be integrated to the enrichment of their services, will be continued in next month's issue of *The Survey* where Miss Coyle will discuss Social Workers and Social Action. Both articles have been drawn from a paper presented to the Illinois Conference on Social Welfare.

These insights are applicable at two points; the group relations of our clientele and our own group relations. In regard to the former, I have come upon two attitudes occasionally among the case workers of my acquaintance. The first is a tendency to regard affiliations primarily from the viewpoint of the emotional effect upon the client. If the client can work off the hostility produced by facing a destitute old age through joining a Townsend club, the social effects of increasing the strength of the Townsend movement are no great concern of the social worker. If it appears that the egocentric drive of some obviously maladjusted individual is expressing itself by heading a current strike or an unemployed council this is regarded as damaging evidence against his organization. It is of course true that all sorts of attitudes and emotions are seeking expression in the organized movements of the community. Psychiatry and case work have much to contribute in unraveling the tangled skein of motivations always present in social movements. It is not enough, however, to regard these movements wholly as clues to the emotional life of the participants. Whatever their psychological origin they also must be viewed sociologically in terms of their social consequences. These are related to but not identical with their origins. I have often wondered what might have been lost to the religious and cultural life of the Middle Ages if some social worker had gotten hold of young Francis of Assisi before his conflict with his father finally sent him on the road.

Another attitude which I have come upon occasionally does recognize the social implications of group membership but tends to judge them conventionally. We do not hesitate to refer our clients to their church or to a nearby settlement if they need recreation. But we do not show the same free-

dom in recognizing the value of their relation to controversial organizations, such as unions, political parties, youth movements or pressure groups for legislative purposes.

Social work if it is to make a really integrated approach to human situations must, I believe, view the individual in his world, seeing both the person and the network of relationship in which he moves. That network is a complex of forces in which each person plays his part. It is my hope that the group worker's understanding of the group and of the community, added to the case worker's insight into the life of the individual may give us a more realistic approach to both the motivations and the social consequences of our collective behavior.

And finally there is the contribution which I hope group work may make to the group relations of us all. We have seen in recent years the development of increasing interest in the improvement of group life itself. Instances of this can be seen in the rise of new forms of discussion which encourage free, more creative and more intelligent group thinking. What is back of this? Is it merely the pleasure of spinning fine theories for their own sake? It is more than that. It is a faith, born of experience, that our collective life, our living and working together—yes, even in committees—has in it some of our profoundest satisfactions if we know how to handle the relationships involved. What we want for our club members in the group work agencies, we want for ourselves. We know by experience that where autocracy can be banished, where each is freed from fear or sense of inferiority to make his contribution creatively to the group, there may spring up a wide expanding experience for us all. We are beginning to formulate what socially mature group experience may be and to have some glimpse of how it can be brought about. One of the contributions therefore which I should like to see group work make is the study of this process, and the developing of group techniques so that we may help to create for us all a group life more effective in group achievement and more enriching to its participants.

Social Security for Social Workers

By KATHRYN CLOSE

"CHARITY begins at home" is a commendable adage too often honored only in the breach. A flagrant example in the past came to light when the public learned that half the slums of New York City were owned by one of the country's richest churches. A current illustration confronts the social agencies which, after their successful efforts to help launch a Social Security program, find their own workers excluded from its benefits.

The executives of many agencies were surprised and shocked by this exclusion. Certainly nothing in the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on National Economic Security suggested that those organizations which were doing all they could to further unemployment and old age insurance should be excluded from the eventual legislation. But while social workers were liberally represented at congressional hearings, so, too, were representatives of hospital associations and educational councils. And while the social workers were busy examining the proposed bill from a long-range viewpoint, the hospital associations and educational councils were concentrating on the financial aspects which threatened their traditional privileges of tax exemption. They finally secured a definition of "employment" in the act, which excepted any "service performed in the employ of a corporation, community chest, fund or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual." [Section 210 (b) (7)—U. S. Social Security Act.]

Having been caught napping, the representatives of various social agencies are now wide awake, demanding that their employes also be granted the right to old age benefits and unemployment compensation. Initiated by the National Board of the YWCA several meetings of prominent social workers have been held in New York to discuss the matter.

As the conference and discussion progressed it became apparent that the social workers were more interested in the possibility of gaining admittance to old age benefit provisions than in unemployment compensation.

It was partly this same point of view which resulted in the exclusion of the non-profit agencies from the federal act. Robert Jolly, representing a joint committee of the American Hospital Association, the Catholic Hospital Association and the Protestant Hospital Association, and Cloyd H. Marvin, representing the American Council on Education, whose statements at the hearings on the bill were chiefly responsible for the exemption, urged that employes of hospitals and educational institutions do not need social insurance because they have steady work. It never was clearly brought out in the hearings why constant employment precludes the need for old age insurance, especially since Monsignor Griffin, representing the Catholic Hospital Association, testified at the hearings that during the depression many hospitals avoided lay-offs by cutting salaries, until some employes received only maintenance.

Although the heads of a few national agencies have expressed interest in unemployment insurance for social workers, among them Allen T. Burns of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. and James E. West of the Boy Scouts of America, the greater number have been concerned with exclusion from the old age security provisions of the federal act. Only a handful, however, were interested enough in either phase to put in a word while the act was being debated. There was no concentrated effort to overcome the opposition of hospital and educational administrators. Early in 1935 Walter West, spokesman for a group of national agencies, including the American Association of Social Workers, the YMCA, National Recreation Association and others, wrote the chairmen of both House and Senate committees pointing out that non-profit organizations "would be severely compromised in asking or accepting any exemption from a measure whose social purposes these agencies advocate for commercial or industrial enterprises."

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So They Say

• New York started to decline when it lost the neighborhood spirit.—JAMES J. WALKER.

• We didn't win one thing we set out to win in the last war.—SENATOR GERALD P. NYE.

• Vindictiveness and denunciations are indicative of a weakness in argument.—SENATOR JOSEPH T. ROBINSON.

• A thoroughly good school is *ipso facto* the best agency for crime prevention we have.—AUSTIN H. MACCORMICK, *commissioner of correction, New York City.*

• The underlying cause of unrest is the violation by a few great interests and not by the majority of fair-minded employers or workers, of fundamental industrial liberties—SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER.

• To develop the technique of encouraging the growth of good will and reasonableness, while preventing its exploitation by those insensitive to such motives, is one of the most difficult problems society must face.—ARTHUR E. MORGAN *in Antioch Notes.*

• We are suffering from a superiority complex when we assume that all that is required to protect those foolish souls who insist on settling in areas subject to flood, is engineering skill and federal funds.—JAMES K. FINCH, *professor of civil engineering, Columbia University.*

• We're all workers together, the men and I.—HENRY FORD.

• Mr. Ford . . . has but one automobile company and a lot of quaint ideas.—JOHN L. LEWIS, *leader, the Committee for Industrial Organization.*

• Labor unions are backed by war-seeking financiers and take away a man's independence. They are the worst things that ever struck the earth.—HENRY FORD.

• Chances are bright for taking a census of the unemployed, according to Commerce Department officials. In fact, it may be just around the corner.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch, editorially.*

• The guiding of social change is a concept that attracts. Most of us want to be in on the guiding.—WAYNE MCMILLEN, *University of Chicago, to American Association of Social Workers.*

• Each of us as a human being feels himself to be more or to possess more of a personality or self than he ever expresses or can express in appearance or action.—DR. WILLIAM HEALY, *director, Judge Baker Guidance Center, Boston.*

• The Constitution does not recognize an absolute and uncontrollable liberty.—CHIEF JUSTICE HUGHES.

• You stop thinking when you begin to hunt for disciples.—H. G. WELLS, *in the Anatomy of Frustration.*

• Hang the teacher if the pupil commits murder.—*Old Chinese proverb quoted in The Educational Review, Madras, India.*

• The time has passed, then, when we need to fight for democracy. The time has come when we need to think for democracy.—EDWARD A. FILENE, *Boston.*

• Lying-in is neither a disease nor an accident, and any fatality attending it is not to be counted as so much percent of inevitable loss.—FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

• Where industries are chaotic and disorganized—where the average life of a business venture is less than four years—the wage earners take up the shock of a brutal competitive system.—JOHN C. WINANT, *former chairman, Social Security Board.*

• A hundred times every day I remind myself that my inner and outer life depend on the labors of other men, living and dead, and that I must exert myself in order to give in the same measure as I have received and am receiving.—ALBERT EINSTEIN *in The American Traveler.*

Philadelphia North American

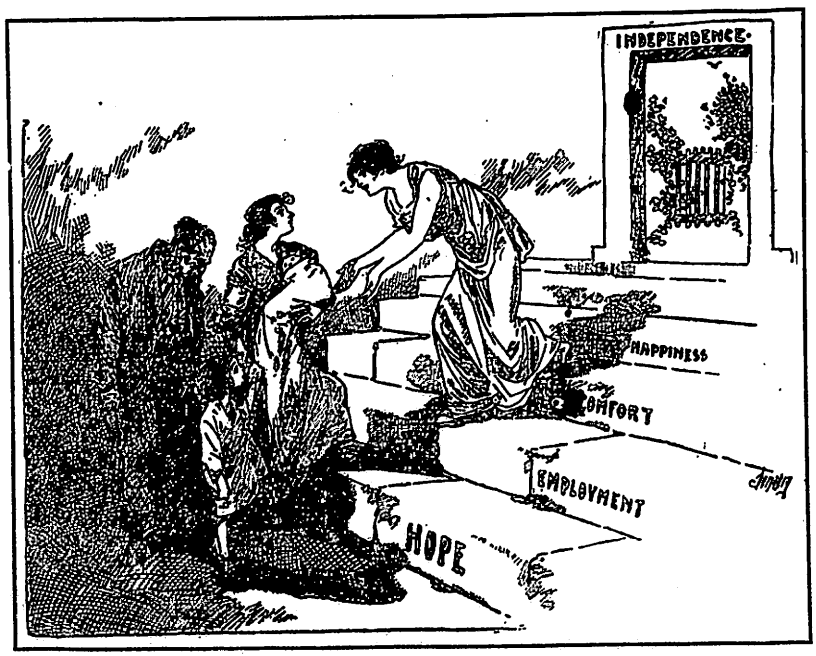
What Chance Has This Child? (1916)

New York Evening Post

Getting Tired of It (1916)

Louisville Courier-Journal

Use It Wisely



Cleveland Plain Dealer

The Helping Hand (1916)

United Features Syndicate

The Great Enigma

After twenty-one years the National Conference of Social Work meets again this year in Indianapolis. Cartoons reproduced in *The Survey* in 1916 here balanced against cartoons of 1937 are clues to how far public social thinking has come. [See Russell Kurtz's article, page 154.]

Buffalo Evening Po

Testing the Keystone

Poor Carrie! All she could bring out was, "I'm pretty strong."

Carrie Perkins literally danced her way through highschool. In order to stay in the gym classes, she worked like a beaver to pass in the academic subjects for which she had scant preparation and slight relish. She danced through the May Days, the carnivals, the school benefits, right up to graduation. At this event the faculty made an exception and allowed her to give an exhibition dance instead of an essay. She created her own dance, and performed it with such exuberant gaiety and grace that the audience cheered and clapped and cheered again. The gym teacher, remembering the dun cocoon from which this bright butterfly had burst forth, pinched herself to make sure she was awake. Down in the front row Carrie's old grandfather grinned and tapped the floor with his stick.

I see Carrie's name in the papers now and then, when she puts on a pageant or arranges dances for summer operas, or for the dedication of a new stadium. But it is no longer Carrie Perkins. It is Carra Perna, who brings down the house with her dancing of elfish, outlandish steps which, she says, she learned from her old-world grandfather.

The question often discussed, but never settled, by her former teacher is, "Where, when Carrie Perkins entered highschool, was Carra Perna hidden away?" Carrie claims that she never knew that Carra existed, nor why she—Carrie—persisted in a schooling which she liked so little. Was Carra Perna there all the time—shrouded in gray gingham, restlessly pounding on Carrie's prison bars, forcing her to dance, determined to be free?

With this issue THE SURVEY *concludes this series of sketches, drawn from an unpublished book, described by the author as "life occurrences without label."* [*See* THE SURVEY, *November* 1936, *page* 333.] *Order and arrangement were by the editors.*

On Giving Away $1,000,000

MY DEAR SIR: Since you are a retired business man I assume that the million dollars you now wish to leave to your community represents the profits made from your business. I cannot imagine that the business was a one, or even two or three man affair. Rather do I assume that a considerable number of persons have worked for you over the years in which you have accumulated the million dollars now to be given away. If I am right in that assumption the counsel I would offer you is this, that you put aside all thought of a memorial of a philanthropic nature and that you set about to distribute a part of your fortune to the human beings who gave of their daily toil toward its accumulation.

Let me say at once that I am not of those who clamor for a distribution of so-called surplus wealth with the thought that such distribution would bring answer to the insecurity which is the lot of a large part of the working population during most of their years. Yet from my years of observation of people and of analysis of the situations that bring them sometimes easily, yet more often reluctantly to relief organizations, I do believe that the large majority of such people would have found it quite unnecessary to turn to this or that organization for assistance of any kind, if over their working years they had received the whole product of their labor.

What, you may rightly ask me, shall determine that "whole product?" I would answer, surplus profits, defining as surplus profits which should go to those whose labor has helped to produce them, all receipts over and above those required to meet all proper liabilities. Such liabilities would, of course, include your own share of the receipts in recognition of the contribution made to the business by capital invested, by your forethought, your inventiveness, without which the beginning and development of the particular business would not have been possible.

Your experience as a successful business man should enable you to determine under what rulings such distribution now can be made. My suggestion would be that you list all persons who have worked for you for any substantial period, perhaps for a year or more and then, on some equable basis, determined probably by the amount of wages received by each person as a measure of his usefulness to the business, distribute among those persons the determined percentage of the surplus profit represented by the million dollars of which you mean to dispose. If on the list are employes who have died since their period of service with you, their share in the distributed funds should go to the surviving members of their families. No conditions must be attached to the acceptance of the money. Real men want what they earn. This, then, the first part of my plan for the distribution of your fortune.

Following it, and assuming that the business by which you accumulated your fortune is still in operation, I suggest that the balance of your million dollars be used to study and to set up a surplus profit-sharing program by which present and future employes shall from time to time receive the whole product of their labor, a program by which a worker could come to regard himself as a property owner by reason of his participation in the business.

Why do I believe that those who have worked for you over the years would spend wisely the whole product of their labor? My first answer is that whether a man spends wisely or otherwise should have nothing to do with his receiving all that he earns. My second answer is that we can never hope to have a community of free men except as we assume that the average human being has the desire and intelligence to manage his own personal life. You have evidently weathered the present and perhaps other business depressions by reason of profits accumulated in good years. Many others have done likewise. But that is not true of a host of men and women who give their best in the way of toil whenever opportunity offers. We must assume that had they received the whole product of their labor they too would have accumulated sufficient to meet periods of industrial slackness, to combat illness, to insure themselves against this or that untoward happening. They would not have been compelled to turn to relief lines, which, under one guise or another have spread a blanket of pauperization over the land.

I could, my dear sir, suggest to you a dozen programs, some of which are part of my today's work, for the alleviation of present and the prevention of future poverty. They would, I believe, have merit. Instead I offer as a far bigger and finer adventure a program that will clear the road for the release of individual initiative and enterprise, along which men will travel freed from the fear of insecurity. Thus you will give challenge and set example for others to follow. Thus you will demonstrate faith in the doctrine that the average man, if treated greatly, will in turn prove himself great.

WILLIAM H. MATTHEWS

On its merits and with no apologies because it failed of the prize, *The Survey* offers the letter submitted by William H. Matthews, of the New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, in the contest sponsored by the *Atlantic Monthly* at the request of a retired business man for a plan by which he might usefully return a million dollars to the community in which he had acquired it.

Anniversary Project

THE MIDMONTHLY SURVEY

To aid this JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK ride circuit

in American communities everywhere

"If wishes were horses, beggars might ride!"

AFTER all, there's good riding in good wishes—for a prospectus such as ours, which must carry what might be dubbed a beggar's wallet at its saddlebow. Perhaps the old saw stands to be rewritten anyway in this age of motor cars and cooperative effort. Certainly in putting our *Midmonthly* project before you, we are rich at the start in the streamlined energy of conviction with which leaders in social agencies and community organizations have given their endorsement on pages 150 and 151.

From the outset, The *Midmonthly Survey* has spanned the fields of social work. Social invention has not by any means been left in the dust by mechanical invention. Social responsibility has deepened; social techniques gather head; social organization takes on new and creative forms. You are part of it all. We can count on you to be very much alive to how much more is called for nowadays to cover these fields, or to reach and serve their participants in your community, than when our first *Midmonthly Survey* came from the press in 1922. For this is a double anniversary. We are celebrating not only 25 years of Survey Associates, as a national social agency, but 15 years of this modern service periodical which sprang from educational and publishing activities that indeed go back for half a century.

THE *Midmonthly Survey* carries its budget of news, ideas and experience, twelve times a year, to every state in the union. It reaches well over 15,000 subscribers; four or five times that number of readers. For 3000 copies go to libraries—an unusual showing; and many more than that are available for office reading through social agencies. Over 12,000 copies go each month to such agencies, to social workers and volunteers, to board, committee and commission members, and to citizens who are up to their elbows in community activities.

To all these, and the societies, institutions, chests and councils with which they are identified, this prospectus is especially directed. Our objectives in this anniversary project are three-fold:

(1) To enhance the service that is compact in every issue of The *Midmonthly Survey* in ways that will take full advantage of the times.

(2) To extend its reading in every American community in ways that will reinforce the work that goes forward there in this period of social adjustment.

(3) To lift contributions to our Midmonthly Fund from a meagre $2280 in 1936, to a modest $10,000 in 1937 by soliciting individual and agency contributions to these ends. *From you and yours for example.*

LET us look at these objectives in the light of the opportunity before us, bearing in mind that Survey Associates have no endowment, no angel, no annual drives; but only a centipede-like faculty for pulling ourselves up by the bootstraps of mutual interest and a common concern.

Like concentric rings out from Washington, since the country was plunged into the stark miseries of the depression, have come unemployment relief, works programs and now the social securities. We are witnessing the spread of public welfare departments, city, county, state and (in prospect) federal. There has been nothing like it since the spread of public education bristled with similar promise and similar shortcomings. Not only has all this made a draft on the personnel of social work: it has been a charge on lay and professional leadership, on swift mobilizations of local and national opinion to urge, to criticise, keep politics at its distance and shape administration constructively. These public developments have trebled our load in supplying dependable information and gauging far flung activities through The *Midmonthly Survey* and in affording opportunity for the keenest sort of first hand discussion. We have added a second full time editor to the *Midmonthly* staff. In "Miss Bailey Says," we carried out a scheme of adult education among hundreds of newcomers on emergency jobs; and now, in collaboration with the American Public Welfare

Association, we are projecting the series in newer and more permanent fields.

But this is only half the story. As part of the process of recovery, there is every anticipation of a revival of initiative regionally and locally. Communities are feeling their muscle. Private activities have adjustments to make with the public setup; taxation affects fund-raising; industrial unrest throws up fresh problems. Surveys and inventories take stock. New methods and inter-relationships win their way. (For example, see Mrs. Wembridge's series, "Behavior As It Is Behaved," as an all round overture to the resurgent interest in mental hygiene). Again, such voluntary developments augment our load of work. The *Midmonthly Survey* takes on more and more significance as a shuttle of understanding not only among social workers but among the men and women to whose insight and support community leadership must look. *Your own agency for one.* Right there is the nib of our opportunity—and your share in it—to enhance our service and yours, and extend their reach.

One version was put in a recent letter from Earl N. Parker, secretary of the Community Fund of Seattle. You may recall that the National Conference of Social Work meets there in 1938, and Mr. Parker proffered us help in increasing our readers in Seattle and the Pacific Northwest. "It's not an onerous task," he wrote, "to do what we can to boost *The Survey,* because it is constantly fostering thoughtful consideration of social progress both in the large and the particular." And he added:

"We need very much to widen the circle of those who are keeping informed as to the broad developments in the whole social work field so that my interest in this is both selfish and one of helpfulness to *The Survey.*"

THAT is typical of the collaboration we prize. Time, work, friendliness, information, reports, articles, freely given, make The *Midmonthly Survey* a living thing. Yet the work that goes into it is at once independent and integrating. It is not an organ though it has a funnybone. It is in a sense an exchange, drawing on all parts of the country and all the fields we span; a medium for interplay between such fields as have their own specialized journals. But its essential bent is original, no less than coordinating, and calls for extensive correspondence, exacting digest, for travel, investigation and close-in writing.

What can be done and how to do it may be fashioned in one place; through our pages it can be taken over elsewhere. We search out innovations and principles worked out by one agency and adaptable by others. Yet here is an exchange for ideas and experiments which have no trade market. Unfortunately for us, neither case work nor group work resort to advertising! The one thing that distinguished the earlier periodicals that were merged in *The Survey* was an inveterate propensity for deficits. Had it been a plumber's journal, the combined venture would have been worth a million dollars.

Facing this quandary, the founders of Survey Associates put our publishing operations on a business basis; but, at the same time, they set out to enlist cooperating members and contributors, as for any other welfare or educational agency, to support our non-commercial activities and to make for growth. We have entered our 25th year with something over 1600 members who thus back up their interest by contributions of $10, $25, $50 or $100 or more annually to the work. They totaled last year $62,649; while magazine subscriptions, sales and advertising brought in $80,695. They turn not only The *Midmonthly Survey* but *Survey Graphic* (as a magazine of social interpretation, with its more than 20,000 subscribers, and its special numbers which have reached circulations of 40,000 and 50,000) from mere scrapbooks of good will into forces for education and social progress. Two of our 25th anniversary goals are to bring our members to 2500; our subscribers to 25,000 in 1937. Then, to build on that.

TAKE our *Midmonthly* as a journal of social work. In 1936 publishing receipts of $35,410 more than met its publishing maintenance, but they fell short by $7728 in carrying the things it lives and grows by. We had to forego editorial assignments which because of expense no less than distance were beyond our reach; had to cramp our circulation efforts. Through field workers who attend conferences, speak at staff meetings, and the like, we have developed an unusual type of promotion which takes in a dollar for every dollar spent. That ratio is welcomed by general magazines which look to their advertising to cover the cost of filling the subscriptions. We must find it from another source; find also fresh means to enhance our service to readers in these times, when our general funds are hard pressed and the claims upon us are incessant.

That source lies in the interest and support of individuals and agencies who want to see The *Midmonthly Survey* live and grow; who recognize that every new reader increases by one the body of informed opinion; who see it as a carrier of intelligence that has little more than scratched the surface of its possibilities. Something worth its salt as an instrument of enlightenment—worth bringing to higher calibre and before wider groups of people.

THESE are the objectives of our midmonthly project; the focus of our appeal to you to join forces with us in this anniversary year. The tax on any one individual or agency is light. The total is small.

Without such fresh support we will be crippled before we start; but with good backing, no less than good wishes, The Midmonthly Survey *can in good time ride circuit in American communities everywhere.*

AGENCY MEMBERS OF SURVEY ASSOCIATES

American City Bureau, Inc.	Chicago, Ill.
American Public Welfare Association	Chicago, Ill.
Associated Jewish Philanthropies	Boston, Mass.
Associated Welfare Agencies	Springfield, Ill.
Association of Junior Leagues of America	New York, N. Y.
Baltimore Federation of Churches	Baltimore, Md.
Boston Council of Social Agencies	Boston, Mass.
Brooklyn A.I.C.P.	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Brooklyn Bureau of Charities	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bureau of Maternal & Child Health	Trenton, N. J.
Canton Welfare Federation	Canton, Ohio
Chicago Commons	Chicago, Ill.
Children's Aid Association	Boston, Mass.
Children's Aid Society	Buffalo, N. Y.
Children's Aid Society of Pa.	Philadelphia, Pa.
Children's Bureau	Philadelphia, Pa.
Children's Village	Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.
Children's Welfare Federation	New York, N. Y.
Cleveland Children's Bureau	Cleveland, Ohio
Cleveland Foundation	Cleveland, Ohio
Community Chest	St. Joseph, Mo.
Community Chest	San Diego, Calif.
Community Chest	San Francisco, Calif.
Community Chest	Tampa, Fla.
Community Chest	Washington, D. C.
Community Union	Madison, Wis.
Community Welfare Federation	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
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Council of Social Agencies	Buffalo, N. Y.
Council of Social Agencies	Cincinnati, Ohio
Dayton Bureau of Community Service & Community Chest	Dayton, Ohio
Detroit League for the Handicapped	Detroit, Mich.
Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund	Chicago, Ill.
Family Service Society	Buffalo, N. Y.
Family Service Society	New Orleans, La.
Family Society of Philadelphia	Philadelphia, Pa.
Family Welfare Association	Baltimore, Md.
Family Welfare Organization, Inc.	Allentown, Pa.
Family Welfare Society	Rochester, N. Y.
Federation of Jewish Philanthropies	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Franklin Street Settlement	Detroit, Mich.
Girl Scouts, Inc.	New York, N. Y.
Hyde Park Library	Dutchess County, N. Y.
Irene Kaufman Settlement	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Jewish Board of Guardians	New York, N. Y.
Jewish Home Finding Society	Chicago, Ill.
Jewish Orphans Home	Los Angeles, Calif.
Jewish Social Service Association	New York, N. Y.
Jewish Welfare Federation	Cleveland, Ohio
Labor Co-operative Educational & Publishing Society	Washington, D. C.
Loyal Order of Moose	Mooseheart, Ill.
Maternity Center Association	New York, N. Y.
Merrill-Palmer School	Detroit, Mich.
Methodist Children's Home Society	Detroit, Mich.
Montefiore Hospital	Pittsburgh, Pa.
New England Home for Little Wanderers	Boston, Mass.
New Haven Community Chest	New Haven, Conn.
New York Guild for Jewish Blind	Yonkers, N. Y.
New York School of Social Work	New York, N. Y.
Ohio Humane Society	Cincinnati, Ohio
Pittsfield Community Fund Association	Pittsfield, Mass.
Playground Athletic League, Inc.	Baltimore, Md.
Provident Loan & Savings Society	Detroit, Mich.
Publicity Dept., Detroit Community Fund	Detroit, Mich.
Railway Clerk	Cincinnati, Ohio
Red Cross	Cleveland, Ohio
Research Work Dept., Community Chest	Cincinnati, Ohio
Roxbury Neighborhood House	Roxbury, Mass.
St. Paul Community Chest, Inc.	St. Paul, Minn.
Salvation Army	San Francisco, Calif.
Seattle Community Fund	Seattle, Wash.
Social Service Federation	Englewood, N. J.
Society of St. Vincent de Paul	Detroit, Mich.
State Child Welfare Commission	Pierre, S. Dakota
Stuyvesant Neighborhood House	New York, N. Y.
Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Association	San Francisco, Calif.
Tulsa Community Fund	Tulsa, Okla.
Visiting Nurse Association	Detroit, Mich.
Welfare Federation	Cleveland, Ohio
Welfare Federation	Newark, N. J.
Western Reserve Academy	Hudson, Ohio
Wieboldt Foundation	Chicago, Ill.
Young Men's Christian Association	New York, N. Y.

ENDORSEMENTS

The *Midmonthly Survey* attaches itself to my office routine like the morning newspaper to my breakfast.

PIERCE ATWATER, executive secretary Saint Paul Community Chest

The *Midmonthly Survey* ought to be read by every social worker. It is the best thing of its kind in existence.

RICHARD C. CABOT, M.D., founder of Hospital Social Service

After the world-wide voyage with the *Survey Graphic,* the *Midmonthly* brings us into our home port where we feel the pull of the routine job and have steadying contact with folks. Each is indispensable, but the *Midmonthly* is we at work.

(MRS. JOHN M.) MARY WILLCOX GLENN, former president, Family Welfare Association of America; New York City

Information based on thorough-going research, absolutely accurate interpretation in a readable form, is made available through *The Survey.*

SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN, executive vice-president Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City

For years I have turned to the *Midmonthly Survey* for current information about social work. It has been invaluable to me as a source both of news and of ideas.

KARL DE SCHWEINITZ, executive director Emergency Relief Board, State of Pennsylvania; Harrisburg

The *Midmonthly Survey* carries to every field of service some of the significant developments in all. This is an important service to anyone concerned with the community aspects of social work. We need to be kept informed of the fresh attacks being made on old problems, and of the new problems which are constantly arising. Best wishes to Survey Associates in increasing the participation of social agencies in its cooperative enterprise.

LEA D. TAYLOR, head resident Chicago Commons

The appearance of *The Survey* on our library shelves is like a badge of distinction. Its use by students and other consultants is constant. It is likewise the writer's guide, philosopher and friend.

ELMER SCOTT, executive secretary Civic Federation of Dallas, Texas

Most of us are so immersed in our day-to-day jobs that we sorely need perspective. To me the *Midmonthly* isn't just an ordinary tool; it is a field-glass through which social workers can see what is being done, both near and far, and can discern the directions in which social work is moving.

EARL N. PARKER, executive secretary Seattle Community Fund

I am glad to endorse heartily the appeal to social agencies and social welfare leaders to support generously the *Midmonthly Survey*. To me this magazine is the authoritative and most comprehensive house organ of all social work. No agency or leader can afford to be without it or neglect reading it. Whatever its publication costs the social agencies and leaders of the country ought gladly to contribute. In the work of Community Chests and Councils I find it indispensable and I cannot see how local leaders can but feel the same.

Allen T. Burns.

ALLEN T. BURNS, executive vice-president Community Chests and Councils, New York City

The *Survey Midmonthly* has contributed uniquely to the establishment of social work as a national, unified factor in social progress; and it has given social work a courage and perspective that holds it ever on the road of exploration and adventure.

FRANK J. BRUNO, director department of social work, Washington University, St. Louis

I am delighted to learn that the splendid service now rendered by the *Midmonthly Survey* is about to be still further enhanced. A running record of the varied developments of social work on a national scale will be invaluable not only to social workers but also to board members and other public-spirited citizens. This broader usefulness to agencies, councils and public departments, should make readily attainable in contributions, the $10,000 necessary for The Midmonthly Fund.

Robert F. Keegan

MONSIGNOR ROBERT F. KEEGAN, executive director, Catholic Charities of New York

The *Survey Midmonthly* is indispensable to those who desire to keep abreast of the social service movements in this country and elsewhere. It did essential service in reinforcing public and private social work during the depression. Generous support must be forthcoming so that its usefulness may be continued and so that it may take full advantage of the opportunities for leadership and interpretation during the days of social readjustment just ahead.

C. M. Bookman

C. M. BOOKMAN, executive vice-chairman Community Chest, Cincinnati

The *Survey Midmonthly* is essenial reading for everyone who wishes to keep up with current developments in social work or the social aspects of education, health, industry or organized community life. It is practical, accurate, concise, vivid and constructive. It is unique in this field and indispensable to those who would know that field.

Elwood Street

ELWOOD STREET, director of public welfare, District of Columbia

I wish to lose no time in writing you the fact that the *Midmonthly Survey* is a magazine of interest and value to me . . . in keeping track of what people are thinking and organizations are doing. It seems to me that you really ought not to have any trouble selling the value of the *Midmonthly* to everyone interested in social service.

Joel D. Hunter

JOEL D. HUNTER, general superintendent United Charities of Chicago

The *Survey* is of highest value to social workers, public officials and intelligent citizens who wish to keep abreast of affairs in community, nation and the world. It is a clearing house of essential information, and an interpreter of significat developments in contemporary society at home and abroad.

George E. Vincent.

DR. GEORGE E. VINCENT, chairman Hospital Survey Committee of United Hospital Fund, New York City

The social workers, like the rest of us, need constant education. I do not know any place where you can get a better and fairer presentation of social and economic problems of the day from a social viewpoint, than in *The Survey*—and there is so much material it takes the *Midmonthly* to cover it. The rest of us need it, too.

Charles P. Taft

CHARLES P. TAFT, lawyer and member City Charter Commission, Cincinnati

There has recently been discovered, near the shore of San Francisco Bay, a brass plate, inscribed and left by Sir Francis Drake on his venturesome voyage over 350 years ago, briefly indicating his vision (which was not to be realized) of the future of the land he had discovered. It has been said that he sailed away leaving an empire behind him hidden by a veil of fog.

The millions who now occupy that empire still encounter fogs, but they are of human creation and can be dissipated The caravel of *The Survey* is dedicated to that service; thus it explores a different world from that of Drake and the Golden Hinde, and its records have more significance for their readers than that story "writ in brasse."

The extension of its Midmonthly voyage to wider horizons should arouse the enthusiasm of all who are interested in the navigation of today's windy seas.

O. K. Cushing

O. K. CUSHING, member of the San Francisco Bar

Social agencies, chests, funds, and councils can strengthen their own work by sustaining the *Midmonthly Survey*. It brings country-wide experience to their doorsteps.

Jacob Billikopf

JACOB BILLIKOPF, director National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees from Germany

Those of us who are trying to serve our communities through social, religious and educational agencies—whether as volunteers or as professional workers—need a good general medium of interpretation and leadership. It should help us to discover the underlying unity of spirit and methods in our various forms of work. It should aid us in relating our efforts to public and other social developments of ever-increasing scope and significance. The *Midmonthly* has been this sort of thing for many years. It can continue on an even more satisfying level with more extensive enrollment by those who should be its readers and users. The anniversary extension project should more than succeed. The *Midmonthly* is indispensable to well planned work in any community!

J. E. Sproul

J. E. SPROUL, program executive National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations

The Common Welfare

Counting the Jobless

LATE in April the suggestion of a whirlwind one day tally of the jobless was again brought forth by its advocates. There was also the proposal that the regular census of 1940 be moved forward to 1938, so that the figures would give a clear picture of the economic background. Although the Departments of Labor and Commerce are on record in favor of an enumeration of the unemployed, their experts are not agreed on methods or definitions. The President has indicated that so far as the relief budget is concerned, federal, state and local relief lists, plus the figures of the U.S. Employment Service, provide a sufficient basis for federal relief policy. The census schedule of 1930 was inadequate; but as yet no satisfactory definition has been produced that will show not only how many persons are unemployed, but the nature of their unemployment. Disregarding objections from many quarters a Senate subcommittee is holding hearings on a bill providing for a census of unemployed persons in the United States over eighteen and under sixty-five, classified by "race, sex, customary occupation and the cause and duration of their unemployment." The bill proposes a census this year, in 1940, and every two years thereafter, with a federal commission to fix weekly working hours based upon the findings.

The Labor Front

MACHINERY for the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes is in operation all up and down the labor front. Serious trouble on eastern railroads, the first threatened since 1926, has been halted by a sixty-day truce called by President Roosevelt under the Railway Labor Act. At the request of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, the President appointed an emergency board to investigate the difficulty between the brotherhood and eleven major railroads in New York and vicinity. Under the act, the board has thirty days to study the situation, and an additional thirty days must elapse after it reports before strike action can be taken. The board is called on to consider the demands of the brotherhood affecting wages and working conditions, and also the jurisdictional dispute between the brotherhood and the Longshoremen's Association. . . .

The agreement signed by General Motors of Canada, Ltd., and representatives of employes who went on strike April 8, granted the principle of seniority but did not include formal recognition of the United Automobile Workers of America. Notice of termination may be exercised June 11, the date that also governs the agreement in the United States between General Motors and the union. . . .

The first labor dispute in which the National Labor Relations Act was invoked after the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court upholding the measure, was that at the Hershey Chocolate Corporation, Hershey, Pa. As part of the agreement ending a strike of the chocolate workers, the director of the Regional Labor Board conducted an election in the plant to determine the employe agency for collective bargaining. By a vote of 1542 to 781, a two-to-one majority, the employes rejected the "outside union" affiliated with the Committee on Industrial Organization. . . .

Complaints of discrimination have been made by former Ford Motor Company workers to the United Automobile Workers of America and sent to the Regional Labor Board in Detroit. If the complaints are verified, the board, under the Wagner Act, will be required to draw up formal charges and order hearings. This is the first brush between the Ford Motor Company and the National Labor Relations Act.

Peace Day

MORE than a million students on 700 campuses took part in the anti-war demonstration the last week in April, according to the estimates of the United Student Peace Committee. The committee, which engineered this year's protest against war, represented thirteen national organizations, including the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, the National Council of Methodist Youth, American Student Union, Foreign Policy Association. A highlight of the demonstration was an official proclamation by Governor Elmer A. Benson of Minnesota, setting aside April 22 as "Peace Day," and urging the public to "join this enlightened movement of our young people, and direct their thoughts and energies to an analysis of the causes of warfare, its futility, and the means of its prevention."

Simultaneous mass meetings, indoors and out, were held at eleven o'clock in the morning. Most of the participants were "on strike," though some institutions, like New York University, suspended all classes usually meeting at that time. Highschools were not included in the "strike call." In many communities, highschool students attended special peace assemblies, arranged with faculty cooperation. Only in a few scattered instances did the demonstrations become disorderly. For the most part, the press reported them as serious, sincere expressions of youth's belief in peace, youth's abhorrence of the waste and futility of war.

The Senate Must Act

THE savage torture to death of two Negroes by a mob at Duck Hill, Miss., last month shook the federal anti-lynching bill out of congressional dalliance. In spite of efforts to sidetrack the issue the House, after a sharp debate marked by sectional rather than partisan division, passed the Gavagan bill by the definitive vote of 277 to 119. The provisions of this bill are substantially those of the Costigan-Wagner bill which died in the previous Congress. [See *The Survey,* March 1935, page 78.] It provides for access to the federal courts where the constitutional right of equal protection is not enforced by the state, for federal fines or imprisonment of peace officers whose failure to protect prisoners leads to their injury or death, and for the institution of personal damage suits by victims or their kin against counties in which occurs injury or death of prisoners by mob violence. Repeated efforts to amend the bill by such red herrings as the inclusion of sit-down strikes in the definition of crimes to which it applies, were sharply voted down.

The bill is in the Senate under the sponsorship of Senators Wagner of New York and Van Nuys of Indiana. Its path

there promises to be rough but by no means hopeless. It runs the successive chances of being buried in committee, of being kept off the calendar and of being talked to death by a filibuster. Active and unremitting pressure at every stage is necessary if the bill is to survive the forces opposed to it.

Angelo Herndon Free

ANGELO HERNDON, sentenced to twenty years on a Georgia chain gang because he attempted to organize the unemployed in Atlanta, was last month set free by the United States Supreme Court. The young Negro communist was arrested, tried and convicted in 1932 under a Civil War statute barring "any attempt to persuade or otherwise induce others to join in any combined resistance to the lawful authority of the state."

In a five-to-four decision the Supreme Court held that there was no proof that the appellant had "incited to violence," and that without such evidence, the law unreasonably limited freedom of speech and assembly. Further, the majority of the court found that "as construed and applied" in this case, the statute "does not furnish a sufficiently ascertainable standard of guilt." While the decision does not specifically declare the Georgia measure invalid, it holds that "so vague and indeterminate are the boundaries thus set to the freedom of speech and assembly that the law necessarily violates the guarantees of liberty embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment."

Interested legal experts see in this ruling reason to believe that the court would overthrow other convictions in parallel cases. At present twenty-three Georgians are under indictment for violations of the same statute, their trials postponed from time to time, pending the Herndon decision.

Mr. Herndon, who has been free on bail since 1935, now plans to "return to the South and carry on my efforts to improve the lot of the sharecropper, Negro and white."

Back on the Books

A LAW protecting the wage standards of New York State's wage-earning women and minors was again put on the statute books when on April 27 Governor Lehman signed the Fischel bill. The measure was passed by the legislature with little opposition. It was drawn along the lines of the Wald law, declared invalid by the U.S. Supreme Court a year ago, and the Washington State law, recently upheld by the same court. [See *The Survey,* April 1937, page 110.]

The new law states: "It is the declared public policy of the State of New York that women and minors employed in any occupation should receive wages sufficient to provide adequate maintenance and to protect their health."

The first step toward the enforcement of the Fischel law was taken when officials of the State Department of Labor unanimously approved a fact-finding investigation to establish minimum costs of "adequate maintenance and protection of health." The inquiry, recommended by Frieda S. Miller, director of the division of minimum wage, will have two aims: to construct a budget representative of the kinds and quantities of commodities and services required for "adequate maintenance in a modern community"; and to price the budget items in the communities to be covered.

The investigation will be pushed with all possible speed, since the Department of Labor must have available currently, for the use of all wage boards, adequate, up-to-date and accurately established information as to what constitutes adequate maintenance and protection of health in New York State. Among the sources to be drawn on in constructing the minimum budget are schedules already worked out by other agencies, scientific evidence in regard to "basic human needs and the means of meeting them," and studies of actual purchases made by families and individuals.

EDWARD T. DEVINE AT SEVENTY

THE SURVEY'S first editor, and president of the National Conference of Social Work in 1903. Mr. Devine was president *in absentia* for he was in San Francisco, as chief of relief operations following the earthquake and fire, breaking ground for the Red Cross for the subsequent development of its national program of disaster and civilian relief.

And So On. . .

BAD news on the child labor front. The federal amendment was rejected in Missouri and Maryland and its prospect in the five legislatures that can act this spring is not "hopeful." • • Those interested in renewed federal attention to the transient are urged to address their Senators with requests for the just-published preliminary report on migratory labor, growing out of S.R. 298. [See *The Survey,* July 1936, page 207.] A new resolution (S.J. Res. 85) to allow $20,000 for completion of the study, seems to have a good chance of passage. • • The Quakers are back at their old job of feeding refugees behind the battle lines. The first unit of the non-partisan Spanish Child Feeding Mission sailed May 4. The project has the cooperation of other religious, peace and social organizations. • • Southside, Virginia, Inc., headquarters at Lawrenceville, Va., has set its face against industries running away from other communities in order to exploit "cheap southern labor." This Chamber of Commerce refuses to help such enterprises secure free sites, remission of taxes, or other inducements, and urges southern organizations to join in discouraging "the immigration of these sweatshops."

Back to Indianapolis

National Conference Brings 1937 Social Workers to an Old Stamping Ground

By RUSSELL H. KURTZ

Editor, Social Work Year Book

ON a spring day twenty-one years ago, as the National Conference of Charities and Correction was assembling in Indianapolis for its forty-third annual meeting, Ringling Brothers' circus arrived on the scene. *The Survey* of May 27, 1916, in reporting the outcome of that conflict in dates, gave the conference the best of it: "The exhibitors of the biggest two-horned rhinoceros in captivity and other monsters of the animal kingdom were able," it said, "to hold the attention of the city for half a day. But the National Conference was a seven-day wonder, with unabated interest from beginning to end, not only of the delegates but of the people of the city."

When the conference, now the National Conference of Social Work, visits Indianapolis again this year it will offer —without circus competition this time, it is hoped—an even more exciting bill of attractions than that which aroused such interest back in 1916. The "charities and correction" trappings are gone, it is true, but new panoplies of security and social work have taken their place. [See frontispiece.] The stage is larger, the acts more daring. As a seven-day wonder, the conference will still be found to have no equal.

At that earlier meeting they discussed relief, public health, child welfare, and many other of the subjects appearing on the 1937 program. Some of their emphases may seem a bit odd to us now; "the municipalization of charitable work" for example, and "charities endorsement by chambers of commerce." Good old fashioned words and phrases, such as "What we do when the breadwinner is intemperate" adorned the program. One entire section was devoted to "inebriety" and its consequences. (Less than three years later we had national prohibition.)

Certain hardy perennials in today's garden of unsolved social problems were thriving even then. Employment stabilization was seen by the conferees to be essential to unemployment control; and planned public works, to be put into operation as the need arose, were advocated. Everyone agreed that an effective national employment service should be set up at once.

The late Dr. I. M. Rubinow, speaking for health insurance, said (and remember this was twenty-one years ago) "I confess that after talking nothing but social insurance for some ten or fifteen years and little but health insurance for the last two or three years, I cannot help getting wearied occasionally." He kept at it, however, for twenty years longer and although he did not win out on health insurance, he had the satisfaction of seeing unemployment and other forms of social insurance he had fought for widely accepted before his death last year.

With the World War nearly two years old in 1916, war relief was a highlight of interest. A year later we were drawn into the conflict ourselves.

Public assistance was still "outdoor relief" and as such was discounted by certain charity organizationists of that day. The tide of sentiment was beginning to turn, however, as a result of the pioneer efforts of Gertrude Vaile and others, toward "socializing" this traditional competitor to private charity.

Case records were discussed at the 1916 meeting, but not the practice of case work; delinquency, but not behavior in its other aspects. The group worker had not yet begun to identify himself as a technician in a special field. Social action was a reality but was not talked about as a specific function of professional social work. In fact, professionalism was hardly a point of focus at all, emphasis being largely divided between social problems and the agencies created for dealing with them.

A few financial federations had come into existence by 1916 but the community chest development was still a thing of the future. Community organization, through councils, had sunk a few tentative roots into the individualistic soil of that era, with emphasis on the promotion of new social programs. Interpretation was admitted to be an art of which social workers knew very little. One speaker warned, "The truth is, though our purposes in promoting community programs have been social, communal, collective and public, our methods have been bureaucratic, aristocratic, autocratic and oligarchic. We have not felt it necessary to secure general community support."

There was no "youth problem" in 1916 and no CCC; no Social Security Act nor WPA. Only the slenderest beginnings of federal participation in welfare planning were to be found, as represented in the activities of the then-young Children's Bureau. The various states limited their responsibilities to the institutional care of delinquents and defectives. It was a day of local social service, with private agencies carrying a large share of the burden and destined to shoulder a great deal more before they were relieved of a part of it by a later public welfare development.

Social work has been through a war, a boom and a major depression since Indianapolis last entertained the conference. Its practitioners have been drafted into new types of service, chiefly governmental and frequently in areas more economic than social. It has grown in all directions at once—outwardly, toward fuller participation in the life of the community and nation, and inwardly, toward greater skill in the performance of its daily tasks. Its relationships with other disciplines have been clarified to some degree, although each step in that direction has uncovered new areas for exploration. Its literature has expanded rapidly and its vocabulary has become more exact. As a profession, social work has been growing up during these crowded years.

A glance at the 1937 conference program reveals the extent of this change. Here we find plans for a discussion of "cultural restraints" on the lives of individuals; the "interplay of case work and group work" in releasing human personality; the significance of "mass organization" in relation to social legislation—to mention just a few.

"Charities" and "correction" seem to be out for keeps.

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So They Say

• A boy has a right to make a mistake.—SANFORD BATES, *director, Boys' Club of America.*

• We shall never be rich enough to repeat the mistakes of the past.—DR. HAVEN EMERSON, *study director, Hospital Survey of New York.*

• News by radio can't take the place of a newspaper. You can't hunt it up later to settle an argument.—*The Beacon-Journal, Akron, Ohio.*

• We approach the ultimate questions of life in the spirit of a man who has overslept and is trying to catch a train.—PROF. WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, *Union Theological Seminary.*

• Progress, we must remember, is not the mere correction of evils. Progress is the constant replacing of the best there is with something still better.—EDWARD A. FILENE, *Boston.*

• I am asked to talk about that simple question—the transition from emergency relief to relief on a permanent basis. I hope I live that long!—EDMUND B. BUTLER, *secretary, the New York City Emergency Relief Bureau.*

• However far the present drift toward dictatorships may go, it is not a change in the course of social evolution, but a temporary eddy. It remains true that the essential process of civilized society is a common search for fairness and reasonableness, and not reliance on arbitrary power.—ARTHUR E. MORGAN *in Antioch Notes.*

• Personality is the individual's social stimulus value.—DR. WILLIAM HEALY, *Boston, in Salmon Memorial Lectures.*

• As we inspect the state of learning in America we discover that the higher it gets the more confused it becomes.—ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, *in Progressive Education.*

• The endowed university that yields to the clamor of the press, of the public, or even of its graduates, abandons the sole claim that it has to their support.—JAMES B. CONANT, *president, Harvard University.*

• The real aggressor (in war) is the one who so arranges matters that the other must strike the first blow or suffer something almost as unbearable as defeat would be.—PROF. ROBERT MCELROY, *Oxford University.*

• In your devotion to freedom, you appear to forget too often that liberty is not inevitably accompanied by intelligence and self-restraint.—HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM *to the International Conference on Land Value Taxation, London.*

• American democracy is ultimately based on the ideal of the greatest goods sold to the greatest number, and that is where the common man, representing the greatest number comes in.—LIN YUTANG *in Hearst's International-Cosmopolitan.*

• Impatience is a phase of violence.—MAHATMA GANDHI *in Modern Indian Thought (Bombay,* 1932).

• Knowledge is the only thing that can enrich but cannot be taken from one.—IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI, *in The Saturday Evening Post.*

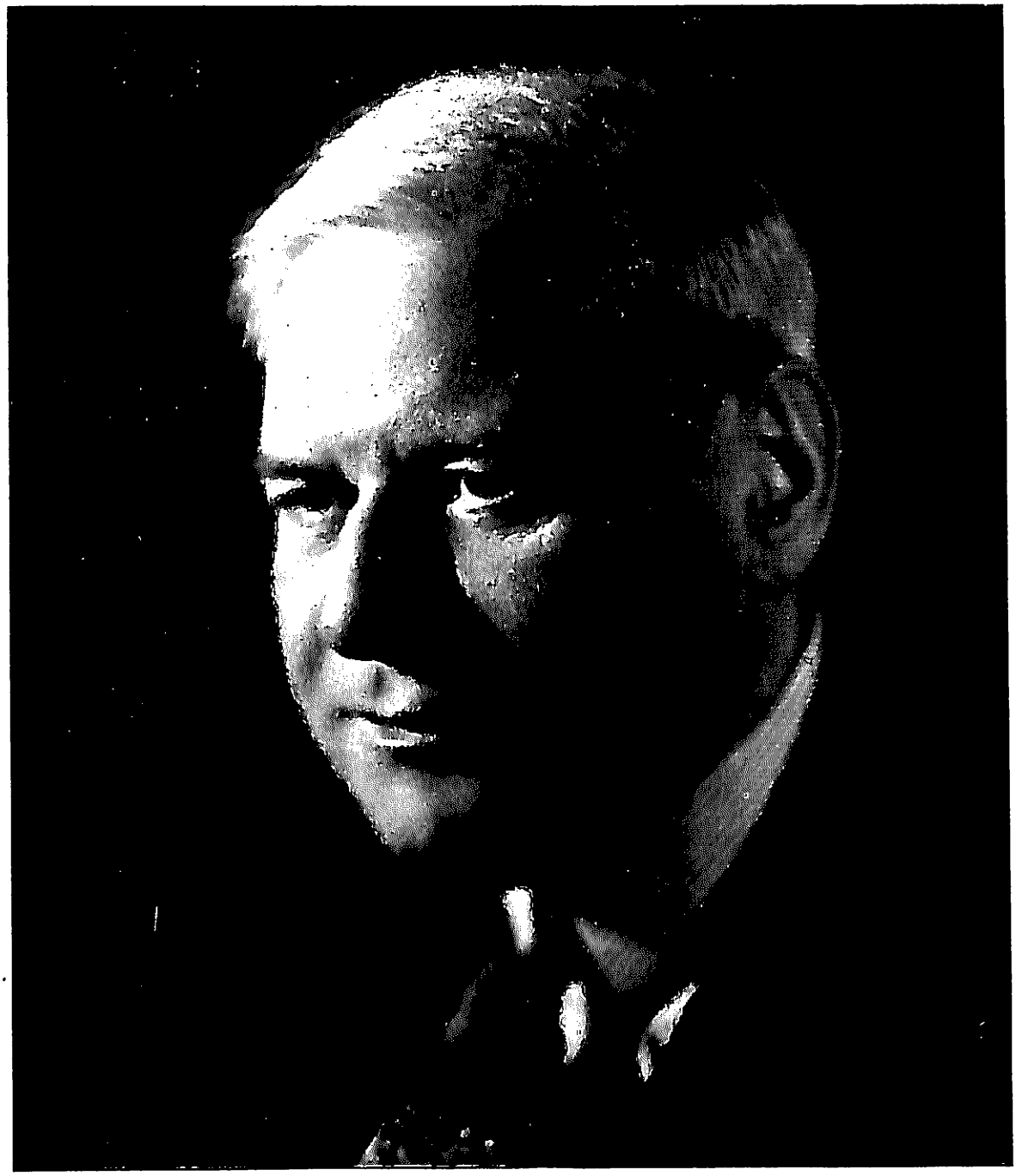
• There never yet was a teacher who could teach lies without his students knowing it—LLOYD K. GARRISON, *dean, University of Wisconsin Law School.*

• I have often noticed that people redouble their zeal when they lose sight of their ends.—DOROTHY THOMPSON, *lecturing at the New School for Social Research, New York.*

• I must confess that I have always loved knowledge only as a means to an end, but truth I have always loved for its own sake.—THOMAS MANN, *German author, to The University in Exile.*

• Short of homicide, a man has practically no chance of outliving his wife; females, after attaining a certain age, become almost immortal.—DR. EARNEST A. HOOTON, *professor of anthropology, Harvard University.*

• In spite of the democratic idea of equality of men, proclaimed in the American constitution as one of its basic principles, there are probably no other people so interested in individual accomplishments . . . and as ready to honor such individuals in every way as the Americans.—KURT LEWIN, *State University of Iowa.*



Elected president for the Seattle meeting in 1938 of the National Conference of Social Work is Solomon Lowenstein (above), executive vice-president of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City. Many other organizations have the benefit of Mr. Lowenstein's cooperation, as this magazine well knows, for he is an active member of the board of directors of Survey Associates, Inc. (Left) Looking ahead to 1939, Paul Kellogg, editor of *The Midmonthly Survey* and *Survey Graphic*, has been nominated for president of the conference meeting that year in Buffalo.

THE SURVEY

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Social Workers Grope for Unity

By GERTRUDE SPRINGER and HELEN CODY BAKER

GROPING for direction in thought, in action and in practice on their changing jobs, the social workers of America assembled in Indianapolis the last week in May for the sixty-fourth annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. It was a groping conference in more ways than one. Taxing to the utmost every facility of the city, the social workers first groped their way in steadily mounting heat through noisy traffic-burdened streets to widely scattered meeting places; they groped their way through a program which has resisted all efforts at simplification and which seems to grow every year more crowded and intricate, and finally worked their way through toward a clarification of their philosophies and objectives. At the end of the week they turned their faces north, east, south and west with probably more sense of unity than has resulted from any conference of recent years.

Physically it was an uncomfortable conference. This was not the fault of Indianapolis but of "our own inordinate size" which has outgrown the capacity for hospitality of all but a few cities the country over and has narrowed the choice to a hard-boiled counting of hotel rooms and meeting places. The physical confusion registered itself in the temper of the meetings for the first two days. Delegates were jittery. They gave up trying to find the meetings they wanted and wandered in and out of any that were handy. They took no chances on relatively unknown speakers but crowded in on "big names," and if the big names did not deliver promptly to their liking, they crowded out again. It was no reflection on a speaker if he lost his audience during those first two days; every speaker suffered the same experience.

For the rest of the week, the conference steadied down and found itself. Discomforts were accepted and laughed off; manners, at least reasonable manners, reasserted themselves, and the whole big gathering took on form which opened the way to its substance. There is no denying however that physically the conference has burst its buttons and must find some way of making itself more comfortable, else of its own weight it will fall apart as the representative sounding board of social work. It might be said here that the conference officers are fully aware of this situation and that a special committee has been at work for a year studying the whole subject of the place of the annual meeting in relation to size and present method of financing. This committee, which will report next year in Seattle, is considering various possibilities, among them the selection of four adequately equipped cities in four different regions, the conference to rotate among them.

Meantime, lest conference goers become discouraged, assurance is given that Seattle is prepared to take care of any crowd that reasonably can be expected so far from the center of social work population. Moreover Seattle proposes to drive and drive hard, for a program with enough nooks and crannies in it to leave room for the expression of Seattle hospitality and the enjoyment of Seattle scenery. Buffalo, chosen by the hard-pressed time and place committee for the 1939 meeting, has two years to prepare and promises that it will meet the challenge even if it has to bring in the big lake steamers and operate them as hotels. "Meet me at the life boat," may be the slogan of the Buffalo meeting. Stranger things have happened.

EMOTIONALLY speaking this was not an exciting conference. There was no hoop-la or hero worship, no sharp controversy to line up social workers in different camps. And this in spite of the journalistic efforts of the local newspapers to read political implications into this utterance or that and to watch hopefully for some one to "slap back" at a previous speaker. There was plenty of mental reservation over the premises of various speakers and plenty of off-stage discussion of what they had to say. But there was no public slapping back. Social workers have either gained more tolerance or they realize that, with the whole broad program of social welfare in the balance in public opinion and in Congress, public controversy in their own ranks will do their cause no good.

It is possible too that the conference has lost in emotion from a change in tempo in what might be described as the youth movement. The rank-and-file group which established its identity at the Kansas City conference in 1934, and which has been a yeasty element ever since, was this

year less concerned with converting the conference body to its beliefs and policies and more concerned with identifying itself with organized labor. Its daily bulletin was called Trade Union Notes and its organization was changed to conform to trade union methods. At its delegate meeting the National Coordinating Committee of Social Service Employe Groups—formal name of the rank-and-filers—voted to dissolve. To quote: "Its organizing function will be assumed by the public and private agency unions in the field. Locals of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employes throughout the country will provide centers of information and guidance for public agency workers as yet unorganized. The Social Service Employes Unions of New York and Chicago will serve similarly for workers in private social agencies.

"The responsibility for rank-and-file activities at future national conferences will be assumed by an elected trade union committee."

THE programs of this associate group turned, largely, on broad bases of economic and political philosophy, good for the head no doubt but not so stirring to the emotions. It seemed too that its developing leadership, or at least its program timber, was coming more from its converts from "the old-line crowd" than from youth itself—chronologically speaking. "Why do they have to have so many grown-ups?" queried an observer who frankly missed the "fizz" of the earlier manifestations of the youth movement.

The youth movement within the conference is not as clearly defined as it was three years ago. For one thing the insurgents of Kansas City are three years older; three sobering years for youth or anyone else. Out of the colleges and professional schools into the conference and social work have come large numbers of young people who have chosen social work as their calling. They face its realism and limitations philosophically, and their present leges and professional schools into the conference and or even toward professional solidarity than toward personal professional competence. On the other hand there was at the conference this year a gathering of zestful students of schools of social work, who came from near and far, some of them on the proverbial shoestring, to discuss means of furthering student organization, locally and nationally, to participate in shaping the curricula of the schools. Curiously enough the one formal meeting of this enthusiastic group was addressed by a professor with the result, common to most meetings, that there was little or no time left for the desired discussion.

Because of their obligation to see the conference whole, these two chroniclers of the annual conclave of social workers often are asked, "Well, what is the keynote?" The answer is never easy—is sometimes impossible. If it had to be put in a word for the Indianapolis meeting, that word would be "Interdependence." If three words were allowed, they would be "Integrate or perish." For if the long and complicated program jelled at any one point, it was in the realization that no one can go it alone. In every aspect of conference concern there was evidence that the barriers that have hedged off public and private areas of activity, specialized skills, lay and professional concerns, large and small units of administration, and the rest—are gradually but definitely going down. They are giving place to an emerging awareness that no activity, no skill, no traditional concern will count for much or perhaps even survive unless it finds its place and adjusts itself to the furthering of the common cause of security for the mass of the American people.

This was a public welfare conference, not in any narrow sense but in the large sense of partnership between government and organized social forces. There were differences, plenty of them, about ways and means, methods and procedures, emphasis on next steps and so on, but at bottom a new unity was crystallizing. There was a firm core of agreement that American life can and must be made more secure within the framework of American institutions, and that all the skills developed by social work through the years must be utilized and directed to that end, with each giving and taking, learning and adapting.

Right here, it seemed to these two observers, was the confluence of the main streams of conference thought. To trace those streams back through the multitude of meetings

News photographs courtesy *Indianapolis Star*

Unselected sampling of genus social worker, species mixed; often found in this habitat, usually in large masses.

President Edith Abbott

SOCIAL workers today are not willing to settle down and accept any permanent or chronic hand-to-mouth life of dependency for large numbers of people. Unfortunately instead of efforts to continue the breaking up of the mass relief pool, in line with the general trend in the public assistance program, we had a fatal turning back of the wheels of progress when our leaders in Washington, after an experience of two and a half years, suddenly announced the end of federal aid except for work relief, and the handing back of the complicated program of general home assistance to the local authorities. The resources of the minor local and state governments could not, of course, carry this load adequately, especially at the same time that they were being pressed to develop the social security program. . . .

The federal government's withdrawal from the home assistance program led to the chaos in which we now find ourselves. The whole relief program has collapsed in many areas. Competent workers have been dismissed and those people who had been our clients are now nobody's responsibility. "We are none of us equal to the cause we profess." If we were, we should have been able to present the case for this basic program and make the President and the Congress see what the social workers of this country have seen during the past year—the homes without food and without fuel in bitter weather, children too hungry to go to school, whole families without warm clothing and bedding, the people without provisions for medical care, and the evictions that have gone on so relentlessly. If we had been able to tell our story, we should have had federal aid again long before this.

DARK AS THE PICTURE IS, WE DO NOT want merely new relief funds. We want a continued development of new methods of abolishing relief by making other and better provisions for those now in despair of their release. What we need now are new categories. We must, for example, find a way to do something better for that great category mislabeled unemployables, a large proportion of whom are really employables—or near-employables at any rate. This hard and fast division between the work relief program and the so-called direct relief program has been carried too far, and somewhere there must be an authority with funds to help the large numbers of men and women now labeled unemployables, who can, with the right kind of help in the way of retraining, be brought back to employable level. Distinctions between work relief and home assistance disappear when we consider the great problem of prevention and the importance of refusing to accept relief as a proper way of life for several millions of our people. . . .

OTHERS CALLING URGENTLY FOR HELP ARE those in need of special care for invalidity—those suffering from chronic illness—who should be cared for on the basis of sickness and invalidity and not as families in a general relief pool. . . .

The tragic era called the depression is now slowly drawing to its close. We have come out of the Slough of Despond into the Valley of Decision. We know that our great objective is the complete liquidation of the great relief pool. We are determined that the near-employables shall be made employables. We are convinced that our administrators instead of being urged to give their time to spreading relief thin, must be allowed to spend that time constructively in working out methods of retraining and finding opportunities of reemployment. We are concerned about relief, but we are concerned still more about abolishing the need for relief.

and of papers and addresses is not easy. Certainly many equally competent observers would not agree as to their course or their significance. It seemed to us however that the springs of major conference concern were tapped by speakers at the general sessions: by Edith Abbott of Chicago in her presidential address, Public Assistance—Whither Bound; by Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, speaking on Requirements for Permanent Security; by Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, on Public Welfare and Efficiency in Government and by Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan, on Economic and Social Forces and Industrial Relations. These were the general topics, broken down into details as the week wore on.

The conference opened formally on a Sunday night in a vast bare tabernacle crowded to the doors. This was the pulpit of a popular radio evangelist, some of whose followers had come expecting to hear him. Hence the wailing baby and the barking dog whose lamentations occasionally punctuated Miss Abbott's address but never her aplomb. With its past presidents in the front row on the rostrum—including Amos W. Butler (1907) and Edward T. Devine (1906)—the great gathering was opened with an invocation by Bishop Joseph E. Ritter of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Indianapolis, and welcomed by Governor M. Clifford Townsend of Indiana. Presiding was Hugh McK. Landon, chairman of the hardworking local committee on arrangements which filled the rostrum.

The subject of Miss Abbott's address was in a field in which her forthright views are well known. It was confidently believed that she would let the chips fall where they would—and she did. With due respect to the beginnings of a social security program and revival of the historic principle of public responsibility for those in need, she asserted that "the inadequate foundation of uncertain pauper relief on which millions of people depend for their only security, means that we have been building our house upon the sands." Tracing the development of better care for special groups—"labeled in the rather grand New York manner 'categorical relief' "—and the rise of state funds to supplement inadequate local resources, she pointed out that there have always remained great numbers in need, cared for in makeshift ways. She gave credit to the FERA accomplishment, which "poor as the relief level was, gave the four million families something better for a time than some of them had ever known before and better than they have known in most states since that tragic decision of the federal administrator and his chief to end this business of relief" and to turn direct relief back to the communities.

Miss Abbott denied "as no argument at all" the argument that relief for "unemployables" is traditionally a

Senator Robert F. Wagner

IN the federal social security act is embodied the most concentrated effort made by any nation to alleviate the hazards of modern industrial life. Upon that foundation we have just commenced to build. We must extend the act to those groups as yet uncovered by its provisions. We must develop a higher standard of comfort for the old, a wider margin of protection for the unemployed, a more far-reaching system of aid to the crippled and the destitute. Vocational rehabilitation, a more pressing need now than ever before, must be pushed forward. Methods must be devised shortly for removing the risks which the wage earner faces through ill health. Vistas of human achievement stretch before us, awaiting only our will to achieve.

Experience has taught us that a program's merits do not insure its adoption. The future of low rent housing, of social security, of industrial justice, depends upon the energy, the determination, and the resourcefulness of those who are fighting for social progress in America.

state or local responsibility: "Only yesterday work relief was also traditionally a local program. There is absolutely no reason in theory or common sense why the federal government should aid the states in work relief and not in the general home assistance program." But what is needed, she said, is not merely more relief but more and new ways of removing people from the "great relief pool"; more categories—for the chronically ill for example; retraining for employables and near-employables; better ways of finding jobs for those on relief rolls. As to standards of relief:

> The greatest difficulty in getting decent standards comes from the low wages and the inadequate incomes of the families just above the relief level. If the independent wage earners are not able to earn even the minimum of subsistence, we shall not be allowed to give adequate care to families supported by the help of public funds. . . . To find some way to help that group, who are above the relief level, but below the minimum standard of living, is the great problem that the social worker and the community must find a way to solve together.

But what about funds to finance an adequate public assistance program, Miss Abbott asked and answered:

> It is one of the tragedies of our democracy that taxes are so often large enough for many of the most urgent needs, but that these great funds are not used for the people's benefit. First, there is that enormous section of the federal taxes that goes for the army and navy, the Veterans' Administration, the national debt incurred for war purposes, and all the other expenditures for past and future wars. Then there is all the money wasted to reward the political friends of the successful party. I am sure you will agree that this is the real boondoggling. . . . It is like a great sieve letting the tax collected funds disappear. You know how it is even in the new social security program which we have been watching so anxiously. Here, there, and everywhere, political friends of somebody are appointed as administrators of old age pensions, administrators of child welfare, administrators of this or that, and then we are told that some social worker will be appointed as an assistant to do the work. The money is there, but it is thrown away. . . . Is it unreasonable then to ask for enough to give the people a little hope of security? At any rate we are going to ask for more money from taxes, and some other interests can take less.

Senator Wagner's speech at the second evening meeting—and incidentally all the general sessions "played to capacity"—came only a few hours after the Supreme Court decision upholding major sections of the social security act. As the sponsor of that act he was given a welcome that must have been startling to the rafters of the big bleak tabernacle. Social workers long have looked to Senator Wagner for leadership in social legislation, and he gave the conference a lift that lasted through the entire week by pledging his influence toward the establishment of a federal department of public welfare in the President's cabinet and toward child labor legislation, and by staking his judgment that a form of health insurance "can be worked out that will be satisfactory both to the public and the physicians."

On the same program with Senator Wagner was Mayor Neville Miller of Louisville who told of the welfare problems created by last January's floods—"our mid-winter damp spell"—and the community of effort that dealt with them. He pointed out that in dollars and cents a flood is less expensive than a full-blown strike. So rosily did he paint the picture of Louisville's recovery that a flood seemed almost a blessing.

The following evening, Tuesday night of conference week, again brought two speakers to the platform, Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati and Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, Washington, D. C. Mr. Taft, whose subject was Public Welfare and Efficiency in Government, was of the opinion that in the whole matter of unemployment, "the root of our problems today," there can be no coordinated governmental effort until "the governments, from Washington to the townships and villages, think of themselves as partners." More than that, employers, the unemployed and the run of the mill people of each and every community must be taken into a partnership of understanding with all the social agencies, public and private, dealing with the problem. "The democratic way is to educate us all about the facts and then to plan our attack and mobilize everybody in the community. . . . Educate the public in plain simple words, not the shop talk that saves your own time."

Mr. Taft is a firm believer in the function of lay boards, committees and volunteer workers as interpreters:

> If you build up over a period of years real lay committees and volunteer workers, you won't need to worry about public relations. They will interpret your work for you and they will multiply your hands. They are likely to be individualists; you can't bawl them out or order them around, and they are sometimes nuisances; but they are nevertheless a cross section of the people of the United States, and you had better learn to make them your friends and helpers if you really want social work to play the part it can in healing the wounds of our machine age.

Dr. Johnson, in a deeply moving address, pleaded for economic opportunity for Negroes who had suffered during the depression out of all proportion to their numbers, and whose mass migration northward has transferred to northern cities the so-called race problem:

> It should be the policy of every northern city to open employment to every human being on the basis of ability and standing. . . . It is a serious and solemn obligation on the party in power to set the Negro peon and the poor white tenant slave free economically. If the party does not attempt that it will be haunted to the day of its inevitable death.

At the final evening meeting of the conference, Governor Murphy, fresh from the auto strikes of Michigan, asserted that the one outstanding failure in efficiency in American industrial organization has been "in the relationships between the two groups who together run industry—the employers and the employes." He discussed strikes as an index of the status of industrial relations, went on record as "unable to endorse" proposals for compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes, and outlined the role of government as the agent of the public interest in such disputes. He summarized the role of government as a mutual friend, intelligent moderator and active participant with labor and employers in finding a solution and reiterated his faith that "the peaceful way is the right way."

Although Harry L. Hopkins, Works Progress administrator, spoke under the auspices of the American Public Welfare Association and not of the conference proper, his address gave to the association's big dinner all the interest and impact of a general session. Mr. Hopkins' topic was The Works Program, but he had little to say bearing directly on it. Rather he argued for "a permanent social policy, not only to mitigate the evils of unemployment, but also to provide for those who are unable to find work inside the economic system." He discussed at some length the necessity of extending and strengthening the coverage of the social security act and emphasized his belief that "any unemployment insurance is a step forward so long as we realize that it acts only as a first line of defense and must be supported by other means of helping the unemployed."

Mr. Hopkins studiously ignored all the challenging gloves that had been cast in his direction during the week and entered into no discussion whatever of the question of federal funds for direct relief. This, it might be added, to the disappointment of those who had anticipated if not actually hoped for a revival of the controversy over federal responsibility for relief that ran through the conference last year in Atlantic City. With the WPA appropriation on the floor of Congress and the whole program in the balance, Mr. Hopkins perhaps had enough argument on his hands without taking on the social workers.

In attempting to trace major currents of interest through the conference it is not possible to stick to the divisions of subject matter as indicated by the section and committee programs. It didn't work that way. Anyone who expected to get the full range of discussion of a subject by following a single section found, long before the end of the week, that he was missing some pretty important contributions. Take, for example, the subject of public assistance. Against the backdrop of Miss Abbott's presidential address that subject, in one aspect or another, ran through two or three sections and as many committees.

In considering the "great relief pool" the social workers at this conference gave less attention to analyzing the size and content of the pool—all of which they knew too well—than to proposals for liquidating it and to problems of administration, planning and finance, not only of relief but of all public assistance. Charlotte Carr, executive director of the New York City Emergency Relief Bureau, set the stage when she said, "Public relief must now meet the challenge of contraction. Its expansion was not planned; its contraction must be, as it is related to a permanent set-up."

Miss Carr reviewed the methods of reducing the relief

Administrator Harry L. Hopkins

A COMPREHENSIVE and well integrated program for the unemployed must be established for the future. It must include the unemployment insurance program to care for the short term type [of employment]. I believe that the unemployed should be given some other form of public assistance as soon as their unemployment benefits run out, and that form of public assistance should be work. I believe that there will always be projects of a worthwhile character to furnish work for the unemployed. The basic elements in the proposed remedy are in existence and functioning. There is need to integrate and strengthen what is being done now in order that the unemployed will be assured the security they have the right to expect from their government. . . .

During the past four years we have laid the groundwork for a system of social economic justice in America. There remains the greater task of its growth and fulfillment. All of these things can and will be done because they must be done. For me, the question is, "How long must we wait?"

pool in New York, and concluded that unemployment insurance offers the most impressive prospect.

But the answer to much of the relief problem, Miss Carr holds, is not in security services or in bigger and better relief, but in better labor conditions and higher wages:

> I am tired of hearing of minimum wages. I want to hear of maximum wages to enable men to care for their own families and to meet their own needs, including unemployment. As for large families now on relief—if they are to be removed from the relief rolls, wages must be higher than any minimum figure that I have yet heard proposed.

In more than one conference session William Hodson, commissioner of public welfare in New York City, urged the proposal, first broached last year, of a presidential commission "to study the baffling national problem called relief and unemployment." To the American Association of Social Workers he posed some of the questions that are perplexing the whole country and said:

> The time has come when the President should bring to his aid the best brains of the country to study this national problem. We need such study, not only by government officials but by the ablest private citizens and recognized experts in the fields of finance, economics, industry and social work who can be brought together in a presidential commission along the general lines outlined in the Murray-Hatch resolution now pending in the U. S. Senate.
>
> Such a commission will need time and money to undertake this monumental task of study, analysis and program making. This is no job for politicians and headline hunters; the solution of this problem requires the highest type of statesmanship and its work can be made of inestimable value to the country. It may take a year or longer to do this job—it will certainly cost more than $50,000 if the work is properly done, but it will be worth its weight in gold if it gives the nation a true appraisal of the situation and some sound leads for future action.

The persistence of the idea that unemployment is a temporary phenomenon calling only for emergency treatment is a serious handicap to dealing with it, said Joanna C. Colcord of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, in discussing provision for the unemployed:

> The British know better. They realize that once unemploy-

ment seriously attacks an industrialized capitalistic economy its grip cannot be completely loosened again. The British have decided to live with unemployment, checking it by all means possible and cushioning its inroads by means of the social services. . . . Eventually we shall reach the same conclusion.

Saying, "Let's keep our feet on the ground and set down only what might really come to pass," Miss Colcord offered a three point program which she called "lines of defense":

First would be a combination of health insurance with a liberalized system of unemployment insurance . . . set up and financed so that income and outgo will balance, over a period of years. This means necessary restrictions upon eligibility and upon amount and duration of benefit, though none of these need to be so rigid as in our present laws.

The second line should be a work program to absorb as many as possible for a second limited period after right to cash benefit is exhausted. Such a program should be headed up in a federal department of public works, with funds to distribute on a grants-in-aid basis to states and through them to localities.

The third line should be a nation-wide, federally-supervised and federally-subsidized system of public welfare. Here, for the first time in the course of his period of unemployment, the worker would be expected to demonstrate his need for assistance.

When it came to the problems of administering public assistance there was plenty of testimony from people close in to the job, but abundant evidence that the whole thing is a tough proposition and that no one knows all the answers.

Personnel, it was agreed, is the crux of good administration. Without it the best of programs however adequately supported will falter and fail. But how to get it is something else again.

In this connection Lewis Meriam of The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C. discussed civil service tests for social work positions, admitting somewhat sadly that, "No one has yet discovered a method for testing, in the examination room, those skills in human relationships and those basic attitudes toward life and work that are the heart of the profession of social work."

Mr. Meriam looked far ahead in the difficult business of catching personnel. Agnes Van Driel, of the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board, came closer in to the current situation when she talked of in-service training. "It does not work miracles but it helps." Both of them left unanswered some of the most plaguing questions. For example: What price high qualifications if the residence rule rears its ugly head? What chance is there for in-service training in places where a single worker is at once the crew and the captain bold?

The discussion of the administration of public assistance ran the whole gamut of relationships, federal-state-local, right down to the man in the street. The problems of the state, said William Haber, administrator of the Michigan Emergency Relief Commission, are made more difficult because of the fact that it is a relatively new agency in welfare administration and because it has not always, "and certainly not everywhere" succeeded in getting itself accepted by the counties. "The present turmoil indicates that the counties expected and hoped that, the relief emergency over, the state would get out of the picture and permit them to return to their old ways." In that, the county authorities are probably going to be disappointed, for the state will continue to finance the job particularly for the categories under the social security act, and will scarcely be satisfied to disburse funds without some control of administration.

Nevertheless, said Mr. Haber, the state administration is on the spot. It has inherited all the criticisms and all the local prejudices that have come out of every phase of improvised emergency organization. Only in rare instances has interpretation been such as to cause federal and state concepts of welfare administration to be understood locally:

"The reaction which has taken place in several states gives tragic evidence of how easily four or five years' wholesale experience in building state standards can be overthrown in a short time when public good-will has not been built up, and when understanding is not present."

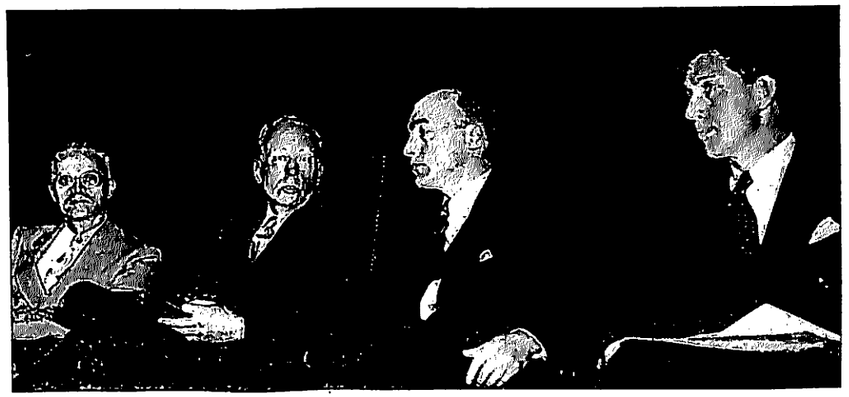
Mr. Haber held the close attention of his audience in spite of the fact that the amplifier broke down and hearing was most difficult. "Listen to this," whispered this observer's seat neighbor, "He's going to town." Effective administration without local participation is, he said, well-nigh impossible except in an emergency "with the imposition of standards rather than education to standards." Take, for example, personnel:

The local fear of imported social workers is terrific. . . . Whether merit systems stick and the communities accept the workers and their methods depends to some degree upon due weight being given to the difference in types of problems between the small and large community.

Even more controversial are the issues involving budgets:

An inflexible, standard formula cannot be enforced. The local public welfare official who resents the fact that a relief recipient has coffee in his budget while he, an independent farmer, does not have sufficient cash income to afford coffee presents a point of great local effectiveness.

When it comes to the state's function of planning, the administration is on safer ground, said Mr. Haber. "But as in all else, planning is useless if it cannot get itself accepted. . . . The problem of state administrations therefore is one of determining what it can afford to postpone until the educational process of understanding is more effective, and what are the minimum essentials which must be secured even at the risk of being imposed."



Quartet of wisdom including (left to right): Benjamin E. Youngdahl, division director, Minnesota State Board of Control; Richard K. Conant, secretary, Massachusetts Conference of Social Work; J. O. Wilson, Citizen's Committee on Public Welfare, Madison, Wis.; Ernest W. Witte, regional representative, public assistance bureau, Social Security Board.

The counties have their own problems in their relationships with local organizations and agencies. These were put forward for county welfare officials by Arlien Johnson, now with Washington University, Seattle, and for private social agencies by Pierce Atwater of the St. Paul Community Chest. Neither one of them disagreed with Mr. Haber's emphasis on the necessity for local understanding and participation. "Successful social planning for the future," said Mr. Atwater, "must have its roots in local soil, be built around local needs and spring out of the consciousness of a local citizenship."

Both Miss Johnson and Mr. Atwater saw the device of the community council as most promising for future planning, on a county or even a regional basis, drawing in every aspect of local organization and steadily widening its circle of interpretation. The important point, Miss Johnson believes, is "to individualize the county and to start where it is."

THE matter of relationships came out clearly in the discussion of financing public assistance with evidence of a lot of hard sober thinking and less tendency than in some other conferences for social workers to see the desired end and to brush over the practical means of reaching it. But the net result was largely an analysis of the dilemmas facing state and local units, rather than solutions. The whole situation, all the speakers agreed, is filled with paradoxes and contradictions, yet "it remains the most acute problem that faces government. No welfare program can work satisfactorily until a solution is found."

Pierce Atwater of St. Paul could find no answer outside of a complete reorganization in the levying of taxes and a changed orientation in the conception of what constitutes relative priority of expenditure in all tax budgets.

Roy Blough, professor of economics at the University of Cincinnati, had no answers either, but analyzed the problems of public policy involved and urged that their solution be sought by means of research and not emotion. He posed and discussed three questions:

How much public assistance can we afford? How should the financial burden be divided among the federal, state and local governmental units? When the federal government or the states contribute to relief financing through grants-in-aid should the grants be fixed or variable percentages?

Almost as old as the conference itself, the question of the expenditure of public funds by private agencies apparently will not down. While it may have been settled in principle, its vestigial remains in practice offer a footing for various

Governor Frank Murphy

THE positive role of government, if it is to aid in settling industrial disputes, should be, first, as a fact-finding agency. It ought to have all the facts pertinent to each dispute, to make possible an intelligent public understanding of the issues in controversy. It should sift the conflicting evidence, the controversial data, and get at the truth insofar as it is possible to ascertain the truth in a conflict involving not only facts but emotions.

Second, the government's function ought to be that of a mutual friend and intelligent moderator. On its own initiative, or at the request of either or both parties, it should enter the arena to aid in the search for those formulas upon which peace can be built. Nothing dispels suspicion so quickly as a discussion of the issues. Nothing makes for better mutual understanding and self-respect than the give and take which inevitably comes from the comparison of the problems which face both labor and industry. Fortunately employers have been changing the attitude that there are many issues which "are not subject to discussion." The two parties must appreciate their respective responsibilities and find that meeting ground upon which mutual confidence and understanding can be obtained.

THIRD, THE GOVERNMENT MUST ALSO BE prepared to take its place as an active participant with labor and employers in finding a solution. Its attitude must always be impartial. Its influence must always be in the direction of moderating the attitudes and demands of the two parties. Its view must always be the public view. Public interest is paramount. The government must insist on peace and orderliness. It must insist on the building up of mutual self-respect. To these ends, the public must be represented by continuing agencies specializing in the problems of industrial relations. Government must make available at all times the most effective possible kind of mediation agencies. These must be set up on the basis of each industry if necessary, as well as on a geographical basis. Every measure and method of conciliation and mediation must be at hand, always in the name of impartial government.

First and last, we must all remember that industrial peace is no easy goal. It will be achieved only when industry and its leaders realistically face today and tomorrow and forget the past which trained them to resist instead of to cooperate; when labor and its leaders courageously assume the great responsibilities which are theirs; and when government exerts a positive, enlightened, and constructive influence. . . .

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN INDUSTRIAL relations presents an incomparable opportunity for enlightened government to show its worth. The need for sound judgment and insight is more profound than at any time in the past, for we have no successful pattern for dealing with industrial disputes. A proper appreciation of the forces involved, a proper understanding of the issues in the conflict will show that the peaceful way is the right way. In time, as these are achieved, the parliament of industry, embodying the intelligent, peaceful methods of democracy, can and will result from self-organization and mutual self-respect.

hard pressed private agencies and public officials to revive proposals for subsidies of public funds to private undertakings. Kenneth L. M. Pray, secretary of the Pennsylvania Committee on Public Assistance and Relief (the Goodrich committee), whose own state has been "conspicuous for its consistent adherence to the lump sum subsidy plan of meeting certain of its public responsibilities," discussed the question and the principles of sound public administrative policy that point to the answer.

Public service supported by public funds must be equally accessible and available to all those in need of the services, he said, but if this principle is to prevail it is obvious that the selection of the particular services that are to have this large coverage must be made, not at random, but with reference to specific factors of expediency, logically analyzed and appraised. From this follows the principle of:

> . . . direct and specific responsibility of public officers for the execution of public policies and the administration of public funds. . . . Only by strict accountability of public officers for administrative action can intelligent social purpose be clarified and brought to intelligent realization.

IF this report of the stream of conference concern which we have called public assistance is over long, and it is, it is because it caught and held the attention of so many of the conference delegates. It might be added that, long as it is, this account has done scant justice to the length, breadth and thickness of the whole discussion and has passed over many contributions quite as notable as the ones quoted.

In the stream which we have called permanent security, projected against Senator Wagner's address to the conference body, there was less concern evident this year than last over problems of administration and more over the extension of the social security act. Social workers have taken seriously the statement that the act is a "good beginning" and are pushing for its prompt extension.

The most immediate push seems to be for health and medical service—health insurance if you like. There was no argument as to the need of medical care for the relief population or for the great numbers of people who now and in the future look to the social security services for protection against dependency. Of the persons now employed on work projects, said Josephine C. Brown, administrative assistant of WPA, more than a fifth have serious physical or mental disabilities. Their security wages leave nothing for even emergency medical and dental services. A permanent program of care should serve not only these people but all those receiving any local or state aid, and those whose income does not provide the minimum cost of adequate medical care in addition to a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health: "The program should be considered one of medical service, not relief, and should be an integral part of the federal social security provisions."

The most obvious gap which social workers seem to see in the security system as it is operating at present is in relation to invalidity—chronic illness and incapacity. The subject bobbed up in many meetings with pretty general agreement that this must be the next step.

The conference, all except the newest newcomers, was already aware of the stand of John A. Kingsbury of New York, former director of the Milbank Fund, in the matter of health insurance. None the less it savored to the full and heartily applauded his forthright and vigorous presentation:

> We now have public medicine in the care of the insane, the mental defective and the tuberculous. It is not a question of whether we shall have public medicine but whether we shall have more of it. . . . A comprehensive national health program should be designed not only to protect all the people from contagious disease, to promote their health and vitality, to give special protection to mothers and children, but also to furnish protection against wage loss and to make good medical service available to all the people. We are making progress both in the direction of public medicine and public health service. But our progress is too slow. . . . I am convinced that we can meet the needs which confront us, and do this within the near future, only through a comprehensive national health program which includes compulsory health insurance, supervised and subsidized by the federal government. . . .

This Year and Next

REGISTRATION at the 1937 conference reached an all-time high of 6788, with an estimated additional 2000 persons in attendance who more or less bootlegged the meetings without the formality of registration. The previous record of 6670 was made last year in Atlantic City.

In addition to the conference proper, with its five sections and seven special committees, fifty-one associate and special groups conducted meetings of their own during the week. At the headquarters in Murat Temple fifty-one national social agencies maintained daily consultation services and sixteen additional agencies had exhibits and headquarters. The program, ninety-three closely printed pages, listed a total of 306 different meetings from Friday, May 21, when the National Probation Association opened the ball, to Saturday, May 29, when the 1937 conference closed. To this total could be added probably another fifty called-on-the-spot meetings of school alumni, state delegations and so on. Speakers, discussion leaders and presiding officers at the programmed meetings numbered 600, of whom sixty-nine appeared twice; eleven, three times; and two, Katharine Lenroot of Washington and Bleecker Marquette of Cincinnati, four times.

Officers elected for the 1938 meeting to be held in Seattle June 26 to July 2 are: president, Solomon Lowenstein, New York; vice-presidents, Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta; Ruth Fitz Simons, Olympia, Wash. Chairmen of sections: Social Case Work, C. W. Areson, New York; Social Group Work, Louis Kraft, New York; Community Organization, Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio; Social Action, Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago. The section on Public Welfare Administration did not report.

The 1939 Conference will be held in Buffalo, N. Y. Officers nominated for that year, to be elected at Seattle, are: president, Paul Kellogg, New York; vice-presidents, Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., Chicago; Ida M. Cannon, Boston; Jane M. Hoey, Washington.

Mary E. McChristie, referee, Cincinnati court of domestic relations and Albert B. Carter, Massachusetts Commissioner of Probation, enjoy a two-way conference.

Community Chesters Louise Clevenger of St. Paul and C. Whit Pfeiffer of Kansas City, see the cheerful side of things.

All through the conference program ran urgence for the extension of the security services: for easing the requirements for old age assistance and providing the aged with social and medical service; for widening the scope of assistance to children; for extending unemployment compensation to groups not now protected, notably farm laborers, domestics and social workers.

To all of this came advice from Arthur J. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board, to "Go slow," and from Ewan Clague, of the board's division of research, to study the figures and, in effect, to masticate what we have before we bite off any more.

The Social Security Board is as aware as anyone else, said Mr. Altmeyer, that the real job of providing social security for the people of this country still remains to be done. But, he said:

"Since we are still in the pioneer stages of this great enterprise, it is sound policy to make haste slowly. . . . The board definitely favors the liberalization of existing provisions insofar as our present experience and present circumstances seem to warrant. . . . It believes profoundly that no program of social legislation is ever complete or final; that in social legislation to 'finish' would be to fail."

Mr. Clague is one of those people who speak from cryptic notes and hence cannot often be quoted directly. But of excluded groups, he said in effect: You have to exclude them because it would be impossible or at least impractical at the present time to administer the law for them. When they are self-employed you can't tax the employer and the law provides for employer contributions. It is almost impossible to tax the farm laborer because he is so often a seasonal migrant. Household employes—laundresses, gardeners and the like—often have six to a dozen employers. Imagine the bookkeeping! Non-profit agencies in most cases are now tax exempt; if you levy a tax on them for this purpose you let down the gates for all kinds of taxes. And consider our present volume—twenty-seven million applications. And in June all the boys and girls leaving school and going to work will be coming in. By 1940 we shall be covering thirty-three million persons; by 1950 fifty million.

While some of Mr. Clague's hearers differed with his implication that some things are too hard to be tackled, many more found his arguments clear and understandable and left with the realization that in a country of some 130 million people it is one thing to know what ought to be done for all of them and something else to find practical ways of doing it.

THE stream of conference interest which we have called public relations was fed by that part of Mr. Taft's address which dealt with community partnership and volunteer interpretation. It was fed by discussions in every wing of the big gathering—discussions of public attitudes toward social work and social workers, relationships between public and private agencies, board members and staffs, professionals and volunteers—as those relationships get back to the public and create public opinion. Interpretation, too, came in as a large tributary.

One trouble with public understanding of social work, said Benjamin E. Youngdahl of the Minnesota State Board of Control, is that to the public "social work is social work" while to social workers it is an aggregate of activities each of which deals with its own field, pleads its own special cause and emphasizes its own restricted interests. He urged social workers to come together on a unified platform if they hope to educate their communities to the programs they propose:

> There is needed in each state one representative social work group that can speak for social work on all points. This does not mean that agencies would lose their identities but that a coordinating group would work out and formulate a body of agreement on what social work is, what it does and what it believes. . . . An adolescent profession comes of age by finding itself and being accepted by the public. We must bear in mind that the sheltered existence and phenomenal success of some private agencies is not public acceptance in the wide field which has opened to social work during the last five years.

The constant discussion of the role of public and private agencies does social work as a whole little good, said Sidney Hollander long associated with both camps in Baltimore. For behind all the vast machinery of organization and the

Veteran conference-goers Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, University of Chicago; Katharine F. Lenroot, U. S. Children's Bureau, and Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago Council of Social Agencies.

spate of discussion, the layman, if he looks hard enough, sees the client for whom it all exists:

We are told that the public agency supports the client and the private agency refines him, but when we really look at him we see that often he hasn't enough food, is miserably housed, wears clothes that would embarrass a scarecrow and as for refinement, he lacks even the minimum decencies of life. And we laymen wonder what all the pother is about.

Mr. Hollander, whose good natured frankness met with hilarious appreciation, is convinced that public and private agencies must get together in their claims as well as in their programs if the public is not to make their divergences an excuse for "passing the buck."

That some social workers are anxious to clarify the public-private relationship and are striving to do so was indicated by a discussion at a meeting of the Family Welfare Association of America. Summing up, it appeared that this group held that the trend in relationships should assume that the public agency will render a rounded case work service to the economically dependent group, a service which the private agency should help to develop. The private agency would render service to families at a marginal economic level, ineligible for public relief; would supply financial aid in forms not available from the public department; and would provide service to economically independent families requesting it, possibly on a fee basis.

IT is a conference tradition that its president-elect should address the big annual luncheon of the Child Welfare League of America. Last year it was Edith Abbott; this year it was Solomon Lowenstein of New York who spoke, as a social worker, on participation in the life of the community. Social workers, he said, are all citizens and their only special position is because of their expert knowledge in a particular phase of community life. By participating in community life in all its phases, by doing their job well and letting their doing be known, they become interpreters of their profession. "We must be evangelists preaching a positive gospel, opposing ignorance, selfishness, forgetfulness."

The Social Work Publicity Council, which was battling for intelligent interpretation long before most social agencies knew that they needed it, was top o' the heap this year with its meetings crowded and its exhibits of material in demand from morning till night. For, as it came out in many meetings, it is one thing to know that public relations are not too good and it is another to know how to make them better, how to analyze difficulties, to evaluate approaches, to use effectively all the ways there are to public understanding. Apparently social workers, if this conference was a measure, realize that they must have these skills.

In the stream of conference interest that converged on industrial problems, inter-relationships were in the middle of the current: the relationship of government and labor, as visioned by Governor Murphy; of the worker and the job; the worker and modern production methods; organized labor and modern industrial society and so on.

The suggestion that workers should be geared to jobs drew fire from Nels Anderson, director of labor relations of the WPA, who queried sharply:

What about gearing jobs to workers? Are we to assume that jobs exist if only the workers can be persuaded or coerced or adjusted to take them? I am afraid that such a conception lingers too frequently in the subconscious of social work thinking as it does in the conscious thinking of industrial leaders.

Mr. Anderson asserted that industrial leaders who demand a census of the unemployed would be more convincing if they also demanded a survey of employment possibilities:

What can the big industrial leaders promise to the millions who have to depend on public work to live? What encouragement can they give the youth who have never had a chance? Do these critics of public work know what private employment has to offer next season or next year? What kind of workers will be needed or where needed?

I have no faith in these schemes for gearing the workers to private jobs that do not exist. . . . It is not enough to manipulate the jobless men; the situation must also be manipulated.

In commenting on the relationship of government and labor, Edwin S. Smith of the National Labor Relations Board, urged that federal and state governments keep legislative hands off organized labor's right to strike and instead turn their attention to encouraging and protecting the unionization of labor:

When industries are well organized strikes are comparatively rare, although the threat either spoken or understood of a withdrawal of labor power by strong unions is always an important factor in keeping up wages. A weak union can marshal no such respect. If a union is protected by government in its efforts to organize it will soon grow strong enough to command the necessary influence with the employer. In the meantime minimum wage legislation to prevent employer exploitation is highly desirable, serving among other things to raise competition to a level of decency. . . .

If the present strike epidemic seems to demand more mediation let this be accomplished by strengthening the conciliation service of the national and state labor departments. Such simple means of governmental help leave labor free to work out its economic destiny without being hampered and possibly hamstrung by elaborate statutory and administrative red tape and by delay which saps its strength.

Discussing the social significance to Negroes of recent labor developments, T. Arnold Hill of the National Urban League, more or less warned trade unions that Negroes did not mean to be excluded from the benefits of unionism:

There is now a greater faith among Negroes in the efficiency and value of trade unionism and the certainty that their chance of securing working conditions comparable with those of whites are slight unless they and their fellow white workers realize the oneness of their common cause and fight valiantly to realize it. Convinced in this position there is the determination to follow the organized pressure techniques—the American pattern of securing opportunity: pressure from within and without the trade union movement to the end that Negroes will be excluded neither from work nor from membership in the unions because of the prejudiced attitude of recalcitrant labor union organizations.

The real heroine of this conference was Mary Van Kleeck of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, who not only addressed two large meetings and presided at a third, but saved the day for Mary Anderson, chairman of the Social Action Division, by agreeing to speak in place of Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, who was unable to fulfill her engagement. With only overnight notice Miss Van Kleeck spoke brilliantly and without notes for almost an hour. In her first address of the week, Recent Trends in Standards of Living, given at a meeting of the National Coordinating Committee of Social Service Employe Groups, Miss Van Kleeck said:

Standards of living have for the social worker the same significance as the health of the population has for the physician. . . . It is not enough for social workers today to be concerned with the problem of relief. It is important, of course, to insist that the federal government shall measure up to its responsibility for meeting present needs. . . . But beyond the problem . . . social workers must develop a program for raising standards of living by increasing control over natural resources; by insisting upon governmental expenditures for housing and for public works; and by increasing also the public expenditures for education and public health.

IN her second address, The Social Programs of Economic and Political Organizations of Labor, Miss Van Kleeck said:

The situation may be summed up by saying that the energies of the labor movement are now concentrated upon economic organization, but with recognition of the fact that the very right to exist has been won only by growing political strength. As economic gains are won and consolidated by the new unions a new social program will be formulated, which may be expected to arise out of the needs of the masses.

For the social work program this development will have profound implications. Social work will have a new and constructive role to perform in perfecting plans to meet the needs of the people as interpreted by the workers. Social work will concern itself with legislation and governmental administration. It may be predicted that social workers will be recruited from the labor movement. New content and methods of training will be developed both for social workers and for labor leadership. Both must be trained to build a new structure for the fulfillment of an adequate social program.

In her third address, substituting for Secretary Perkins, Miss Van Kleeck discussed what the International Labor Office may mean to American labor.

These two chroniclers are well aware that there were in the conference many wide currents and deep pools of interest that do not fall neatly into the main streams.

There was clearly evident, for example, a mounting interest in group work, its philosophy, relationships and methods, which centered in the Group Work Section of the conference, the meetings of which had a much larger attendance than in any previous year. The discussions revealed, among many other things, a concern for fruitful cooperation with public schools and a reaching for what progressive education has to give to this area of social work. "The group workers are knocking on the schoolroom doors," said one observer, "and at least some of the school men have put 'Welcome' on the mat."

The group workers steadfastly refuse to be jelled into any hard and fast mold of methodology but none the less they are earnestly striving to analyze their own problems, of which group leadership is one. Here Grace L. Elliott of New York contributed a paper which many people considered outstanding in the whole conference program. What kind of a leader should a group have, she asked—and, in summary, answered:

Somebody who has a life of his own, and can share it. "To be called is more dangerous than to be chosen."

Somebody who believes in himself. If you don't you are too heavy a burden on your neighbor.

Somebody who is "Free, in thought, convictions and emotions."

Somebody whose goals, standards and ideals are rooted in himself; who lives and acts by his own convictions.

Somebody willing to leave other people free to follow their own convictions.

Somebody who has enthusiasm, faith in youth, imagination, sympathy; can see the differences between symptoms, causes and results; can distinguish between individual and cultural problems; has outgrown his own childish or infantile reactions; can honestly budget his own time; can delegate responsibility.

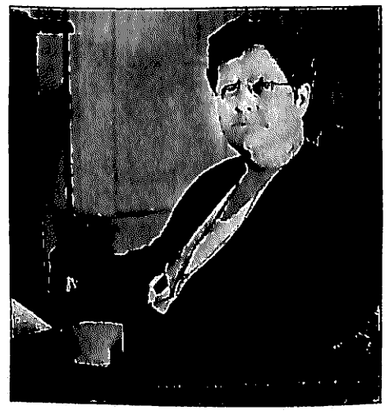
Somebody who recognizes that there are no short cuts to life and that neither revolution nor dictatorship will transform society; who lives in the present, and has a dynamic, though not necessarily orthodox, religious faith.

And, she added, "No old maids, male or female, need apply."

The group workers are intent on cooperating with each other to improve their own skill, in availing themselves of the best guidance that can be found in recent community and agency studies and in following experiments in group life adapted to various age, minority, racial, religious and rural groups, and to various aims—education, recreation, social change and so on. Last, but far from least, they are concerned with the common social objectives of education, religion and social work.

Bearing on this last point, was a paper by Rabbi James G. Heller of Cincinnati, which some people regarded as the high spot of the conference, not only for its breadth and depth of philosophy but for its organization and good writing—a commentary perhaps on certain other kinds of conference writing. It would not be fair to Rabbi Heller—perhaps it isn't fair to anyone—to lift out any one "chunk" of his closely organized paper in which he traced the reasons why education, religion and social work got themselves organized in different institutions but still remain aspects of a common human task. Concluding, he said:

The task of society is one. Out of the matrix of the past have emerged specialized functions, but all of them, deeply enough considered, still represent one task, one ideal, one interpretation of the world. They may diverge at times, but the exigencies of their own labors and their own struggles to think



Last speaker of the conference was Florence E. Allen of Cleveland, judge of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Peace by law, she said, offers a vast field of adventure in understanding individually, nationally and internationally.

Incoming president Solomon Lowenstein talks over the conference with outgoing president Edith Abbott.

their way through will cause them to converge again. Mankind is one and its pilgrimage has been one final goal.

Rabbi Heller's paper was welcomed by his hearers as "clarifying to confusion." Another paper which won the same appreciative comment was given by Eduard C. Lindeman of New York in the Community Organization Section. "This," said a not-so-easily stirred delegate as he came away from the meeting, "was worth coming for. It did something for me. It showed me the reasonableness of huge bureaucracies due to our urban set-ups, and the wholesomeness of pressure groups to give diversity and freedom. The balance between the weight at the top and the thrust from below is democracy, the middle way between fascism and communism."

To Lea D. Taylor of Chicago Commons, readers of *The Survey* are indebted for the following impressions of Mr. Lindeman's observations on New Patterns of Community Organization:

Complete integration means decay. Vitality lies in diversity and freedom. Social action from primary groups challenges secondary groups, national and state. Pressure groups are a good American habit. They force self analysis on our administrators, and have a wholesome influence on legislation. The CIO type of organization has brought a "new audacity" into the picture. This is also good, making for freedom and diversity. But look out for the reactionaries. There is always resistance to new freedoms. Among these reactionary forces we find many social agencies jealous of their integrity, which is threatened by any change. Coordinating committees are good for these vested interests in social work, and keep them from going dead on us. The professional coordinator who comes in from outside can't do much but a live coordinating council, composed of laymen, citizens and social workers can do a lot. Long time planning is better than a flash in the pan of spectacular activity. What we need is not high-powered individual leadership, but leadership by groups.

THERE was in this conference less ebullience than last year over the techniques of psychiatric case work—no one knew why. Meetings in the social case work section were large and eager, but there was no such stampede of young and old as was seen at Atlantic City. Case workers, following the ground swell recently evident among them, turned their attention largely to the implications of cultural factors in the lives of their clients, and to methods of utilizing an understanding of cultures in the practice of case work; whether with families, children, or "adolescents who have run afoul of the law."

The treatment and prevention of crime occupied a large area of conference interest, beginning in the meetings of the National Probation Association and heading up in the Committee on Social Treatment of the Adult Offender. This committee, led by Sanford Bates now of the Boys' Clubs of America, Inc., had an uncommonly well-organized and cohesive program. It presented, at its first session, three basic papers: The Arrested Offender, by Nina Kinsella of the Federal Bureau of Prisons; The Incarcerated Offender, by Morris N. Winslow of the State Prison Colony, Norfolk, Mass., and The Paroled Offender, by Winthrop D. Lane of the New Jersey Juvenile Delinquency Commission.

These papers stated the problem and laid the groundwork for six group discussions which went on fast and furiously for a whole day, with the various findings later summarized at a single large meeting. The gist was:

Jails: They cannot be made a factor in treatment. They should be abolished and regional detention places set up.

Probation Selection: The essence of selection is treatability. Each case should have study and diagnosis covering mental and emotional factors, environment and the attitude of the offender and of society. If diagnosis is followed by a well considered plan of treatment "you are off to a good start."

The Staff Approach in Institutional Treatment: An inmate may be treated by the staff approach, which means that it is an inside job, or by the case work unit approach, which means that an outside case work agency takes responsibility. The advantage of the staff approach is that it utilizes all of the staff and makes the treatment program an integral part of the institution.

The Place of the Social Worker in a Penal and Correctional Institution: A social worker who knows how to get material, organize and use it, can "see the offender whole," bring all the facilities of the institution to him, and "help to socialize the guards and wardens" is needed. But the social workers have not as yet much authority in institutions, and most of them find this hard to take. They need to learn more about law and institutional precedent.

Preparation for Parole and Supervision of Parolees: Preparation begins at the time of commitment and continues during the period of incarceration with the institution functioning in cooperation with a community agency to improve the inmate's family and social milieu before his release. If parole officers could relax control and turn professional problems over to social workers, then supervise without coercion, all things would work together for good—especially if the offender could "participate in the planning of his parole program."

Parole Selection: Parole is sound, but the public is not "sold on it." It should be available for all offenders, and the indeterminate sentence is the answer. Prediction tables fall short of the practical use that was hoped for them. Prisons should be encouraged, but not compelled to use them.

Removed from the discussions of the "crimers" but closely related in content was the paper, The Emotional Background of Delinquency, given by Dr. Franz Alexander of the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis, at the packed and jammed dinner meeting of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers. In concluding his talk, for notes on which *Survey* readers are indebted to Martha Wood of Evanston, Ill., Dr. Alexander anticipated the surprise of the audience at hearing a psychoanalyst speak on sociological phenomena. As other fields have shifted emphasis from treatment to prevention, psychiatry and psychoanalysis have recognized that the focus of attack on crime lies not in detection and individual therapy, but in recognition and education as to the mass phenomena.

Research in criminology for the purpose of establishing types and characteristics has produced few, if any, valid generalizations. Dr. Alexander endorses only the discovery that the principle of relativity permeates this field. Specifically, today we worship at the altar of the spectacular, the virile, the independent. Therefore the fundamentally timid, passive, receptive souls must over-compensate to achieve recognition and this (because socially acceptable success is possible for only the few) most often adds up to produce the headlined criminal. Historically we know that group standards always lag behind existing social conditions; the remedy would seem to lie in hastening the natural process of adjustment between the two by means of education.

Some day these two reporters hope to be able to write a conference story that is different, that will concern itself first, and perhaps last, with the many things that happen on the rim of the big program, in meetings which hold pay ore that we have never been able to mine.

Notable this year was the ferment in the Church Conference of Social Work in relation to social action. Here the Rev. James Myers, of the Federal Council of Churches, warned that the church is in danger of becoming fettered and bound by capitalism. "While the church cannot identify itself with any 'ism' it should be understood clearly that capitalism is also an 'ism.' . . . The church must judge all social and economic systems by their effect on human life, and should support all the forces seeking to abolish poverty, slums, unemployment and war, and seeking to maintain the institutions of political democracy, to develop economic democracy and to assure world peace."

In the various meetings under the wing of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. there was pronounced interest in the subject of community planning, but, commented one of the "chesters," "not nearly enough. Financing still has the right of way on our track." At a panel meeting the troublesome question of employe contributions, particularly in relation to labor organization, was brought out into the open by R. G. Corwin, business man of Dayton, who urged the chest men to face up to the criticisms that past and present practices have engendered. There was lively discussion, but on the whole an unwillingness to admit that "we have any trouble in our town."

Because any meeting that cuts down the number of meetings at the conference is to be cheered a word must be said here for the one in which nine agencies concerned in one way or another with the immigrant and his problem joined forces in a program which posed the question, Who Shall Inherit America? In a nutshell the answer seemed to be: The immigrant—for aren't we all?

IT was a sober, hard-working, long-suffering conference, full of young people looking for light and leading, but in the main led by veterans full of experience. It was not exciting, but it was "sound." It was not gay. The Conference Follies, After Hours, put on by the Social Work Publicity Council, drew a packed house, and gathered in more laughs than all the rest of the week's program put together. The reception tendered to President Edith Abbott by the Indianapolis Committee on Arrangements afforded a welcome opportunity for old timers to congratulate her on her leadership of the conference, and for newcomers to savor the personality of a woman whose contribution to their profession, and indeed to her time, is well known to them.

On the side of its content this conference indicated that social workers are approaching a new unity of thought and purpose. On the side of its organization it indicated that "something must be done about it," and that that something —whether a new means of financing, a break up into regional conferences, a simplification of program by divorcing associate groups—must be done promptly if the conference, the "front" of social work, is not to lose prestige both within itself and without.

"Why can't we always go to Atlantic City?" moaned a delegate who preferred sand in her shoes to blistered heels. One answer is Seattle in 1938; another is Buffalo in 1939. After that, time and the conference will tell.

For the Children of Spain

A MASS meeting filled the Egyptian Room of the Murat Temple of Indianapolis May 26, under call of the Social Workers Committee of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy and $1500 was raised for its drive for $15,000. Dr. Fernando de los Rios, Spanish Ambassador, was the chief speaker, Harald H. Lund opened the meeting, Peter Cassius presided, and Dr. Pedro Villa Fernandez spoke. Following a vivid presentment of conditions by Anna Louise Strong, and on motion of John A. Kingsbury, the weight of the meeting was thrown behind a new move in behalf of Spanish children "regardless of battle lines." To quote:

"As social workers . . . we cannot ignore the cry of hundreds of thousands of children, enduring the perils of hunger and war in Spain. . . .

"We recall with pride the world-wide child saving work of America, during the past two decades, of Belgian and Serbian children from the aftermath of war, of German children from the results of food blockade, of Russian children from the Volga famine, of Japanese children from the great earthquake, of Chinese children in recurrent famines and floods.

"We note that America's tremendous genius for humanitarian endeavor, so accomplished in the past in breaking barriers, has not yet found a way to give adequate help to the children of Spain. For, while recognizing all existing efforts in this direction, we find them totally incommensurate with America's great tradition of saving life.

"We, therefore, call upon the leaders of this country in all walks of life to establish a National Joint Committee for Spanish children, which will initiate a large nation-wide drive for funds and will administer these funds through existing agencies for the benefit of children regardless of battle lines. . . .

"We call upon other American organizations actually administering relief in Spain and upon leading social workers and other citizens to organize the *Joint Committee for Spanish Children* in answer to the cries of the hungry, sick, homeless and parentless children of Spain!"

The Common Welfare

Next Steps in Federal Relief

THE panel discussion on federal relief, carried over a nation-wide hook-up by the N.B.C. from Indianapolis, served somewhat the same purpose as one of those inventions of the radio engineers to strip transmission of its blur. For the National Conference of Social Work was itself wrestling with this issue which had come to a head that week in Washington. Taxpayers were calling on the federal government to turn full responsibility back to states and localities. WPA workers in New York were staging a one-day stoppage against the inadequacy of the administration's bill. And drives were under way in the lower house of Congress to earmark big chunks of its billion and a half dollars, gouging out a third of the assurance it held of work and wages for 1,625,000 persons.

The panel brought together executives shouldering heavy responsibilities, public and private: the director of the American Public Welfare Association, an assistant administrator of the WPA, the director of public assistance of the Social Security Board, the executive vice-chairman of the Cincinnati Community Chest, and the commissioner of public welfare of New York. Listeners-in could not fail to get the consensus of their testimony that there is a great overhanging bulk of unemployment today which is still an unmet charge on the conscience of the American people.

True, employment has picked up, but private enterprise falls inescapably short of supplying enough work to go around. Certain cities fly the flag of returned prosperity; public welfare departments are gaining ground; but in some states, in parts of many if not most states, local relief is a travesty, surplus food commodities are often turned to as a meager barrier against starvation, and existence dips so low that it is an indictment of us all.

Our new systems of old age insurance and employment compensation were upheld by the Supreme Court while the conference was in session. We can build on them, recast them where they are weak, extend them to new groups, expand them to cover sickness and invalidity—but their ultimate protection does not reach the mass need of today.

Again, the public assistance provisions of the social security act are bringing succor to well toward two million people; but what of the others who do not fall in its categories? They must look elsewhere for help.

The WPA has been one of the few distinctive American contributions to the strategy of fighting unemployment —going beyond public works in projects that have found use for back muscles and old craftsmanships, and also for the new skills and arts and aptitudes we like to think of as evidences of American progress. But any billion and a half cannot be stretched to cover all the unemployed now rated as employable; much less those uncounted numbers whom we should bring back into the working stream through physical and vocational rehabilitation; to say nothing of the vast remainder on relief—or in need of it.

With this estimate of the situation it was significant that all members of the panel were for the pending WPA appropriation; and that almost with equal unanimity they held that federal revenues, through grants-in-aid, should underpin the states in meeting these grueling needs so long as we fail to prevent them. The majority recommended a presidential commission to map out the basic features of our future program.

Clearly ground was broken long since by the White House and the federal relief administration for the conception of national responsibility toward unemployment. A presidential commission will make for awareness and sound planning. But if the social workers of the country are to help secure action by Congress on this new extension of direct federal relief they will have to get the need for it over to representatives and senators from their own districts. That is where their conviction can count.

Citizens' Job

STIRRED by recent revelations of the extent and convolutions of New York's "crime system," startled citizens have come together under the leadership of Harry F. Guggenheim in a new Citizens Committee on the Control of Crime which will study not the causes of crime but crime itself and the functioning in relation to it of the instrumentalities of criminal law. The committee proposes to cooperate with Thomas E. Dewey, special prosecutor, to supplement his efforts and consolidate his gains in breaking up the dark labyrinth of crime and racketeering. More than that it is prepared, "calmly and unintermittently over a long period of time, step by step," to accumulate information through systematic observation and tabulation of the work of the police, the district attorneys and the courts, which will reveal the strength and consistency of the underworld, the trend in crime and the measure and methods of law enforcement. Its indices will afford, it believes, a running record of crime conditions throughout the city, the recurrent appearances of professional or near-professional criminals, the incidence of various types of crimes in various neighborhoods, and the promptness and manner of handling cases by courts and district attorneys.

The new committee disclaims any approach to the role of vigilante or reformer. Its plan, following that of similar committees in Chicago, Cleveland and Baltimore, is to maintain a systematic watch on crime and on the functioning of criminal justice and to serve as an independent check, an aid and a prod to law enforcing agencies. "This is a citizens' job," says Mr. Guggenheim, "and we might as well face it."

Security Upheld

TWENTY-ONE months after the social security act became law, creating for the first time a scheme of unemployment and old age insurance in this country, the measure was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court. By two more five-to-four decisions, the Court endorsed the unemployment insurance titles of the act and state measures adopted under them. The division on old age benefits was seven-to-two. Justices McReynolds and Butler dissented all along the line. Justices Sutherland and Van Devanter joined them in the unemployment insurance cases.

lated in the press, giving the practical reasons why experienced, well-equipped personnel are a *sine qua non* to the success of "the greatest experiments in social protection ever undertaken in any nation."

Pursuit of Knowledge—The Summer Institute for Social Progress meets on the campus of Wellesley College from July 10-24 for its fifth session. Colston E. Warne, professor of economics at Amherst College will head a faculty including: Prof. Percy Wells Bidwell, from the University of Buffalo; Prof. Carl Joachim Friedrich of Harvard University; Prof. Alfred D. Sheffield of Wellesley; Prof. John H. Williams of Harvard and Leroy E. Bowman, of the United Parents' Associations of New York. Members representing many interests and occupations will confer on the general subject "The World Challange to Democracy—Can America Meet It?" Information from Dorothy P. Hill, 420 Jackson Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

Courses in housing will be offered at a number of New York colleges this summer. Edith Elmer Wood will conduct two courses at Teachers College, July 12-August 20. . . . With the cooperation of some twenty other experts, Carol Aronovici is planning a course in housing, city planning and low rent housing management, at the School of Architecture and Applied Arts, New York University, June 14-July 28. Under the auspices of Poconо Study Tours, 545 Fifth Avenue, New York, Mr. Aronovici has arranged another summer activity. Assisted by Dorothy Shaffter, he will conduct a European housing tour, sailing June 28. A field course in housing and city planning is scheduled, with visits to England, Norway, Sweden, Holland and France, returning September 14. . . . The American Institute of Real Estate Appraisers and the School of Business of Columbia University will cooperate in two courses at Columbia, during June and July. . . . The Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians is sponsoring a series of eleven weekly discussions (evenings) on recent housing and planning developments, at the federation's school, 114 East 16 Street. Open to the public at a nominal fee.

Contingent on the number of new candidates presenting themselves, a course in interpretation of social service has been planned at the Northwestern University division of social work, with Helen Cody Baker of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies as leader. Information from William Byron, director, social service department, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. . . . A full listing of summer courses in public health is published in the May 1937 issue of the *American Journal of Public Health,* page 546. . . . Annual summer institutes of the Community Chests and Councils, Inc., will be held: for the Great Lakes region, at College Camp, Wis., July 19-24; for the Blue Ridge at Blue Ridge, N.C., July 26-31. . . . The annual conference on marriage and the family, with emphasis upon problems of teaching marriage, will be held July 5-9 at the University of North Carolina. Full information from R. M. Grumman, extension division of the university, Chapel Hill, N.C.

Memorial—Honoring the three staff members of the Denver Public Welfare Bureau who were killed at their jobs last spring by a supposedly demented client, a scholarship loan fund has been undertaken. Bearing the names of the three young men for whom it is a memorial, the Tunnel-Milliken-Di Dio Scholarship Loan Fund aims "to foster in the community a deeper understanding of the principles and aims of this profession" through encouraging a high standard of social work education. Efforts are being made to raise a fund of $10,000 to be granted to the University of Denver School of Social Work and administered as a revolving loan fund for needy students pursuing studies in social work.

Checks contributed to this fund should be made payable to Leo A. Steinhardt, treasurer and sent to the fund, care of the International Trust Company, Seventeenth and California Streets, Denver.

Injustice—Grave injustice was done the American Association of Social Workers in *The Survey* of March 15 when only a half a year's new noses were counted

THE PAMPHLET SHELF

Public Affairs

RESTLESS AMERICANS, by Cliffton T. Little. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 9. Price 10 cents from the Public Affairs Committee, National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

Analysis of large areas with low living standards in this country and of the need for better population distribution.

LIGHT ALONG TOBACCO ROAD, by Robert C. Dexter. The American Unitarian Association, 25 Beacon Street, Boston.

A description of sharecroppers, with a discussion of methods suggested for the alleviation of their situation.

Housing

HOMES FOR WORKERS—Housing Division Bulletin No. 3, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

A joint project of PWA and WPA, prepared for use in the adult education classes of WPA's educational division, this primer analyzes the problem in simple terms.

WHAT PRICE SUBSIDY—Pamphlet No. 4.

HOUSING CONFRONTS CONGRESS—Pamphlet No. 5. New York City Housing Authority, 10 East 40 Street, New York City.

Showing why government subsidy is the only method under present conditions whereby low cost housing can be achieved, and analyzing the various types of subsidy.

Preparing for hearings on the Wagner-Steagall housing bill the authority replies to some of the statements made during the last year's Senate debate on the 1936 Wagner bill.

Buying Health

EIGHT YEARS WORK IN MEDICAL ECONOMICS, 1929-1936. Recent Trends and Moves in Medical Care. The Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago.

A discussion of the fund's interest and activities in an economic experiment in medical care, and a discussion of the expansion and present shortcomings of socialized medical care.

COOPERATIVE HEALTH ASSOCIATIONS—The Essentials of Organization and Function, prepared by the executive board of the medical bureau, The Cooperative League of the U.S.A. Price 25 cents from the Bureau of Cooperative Medicine, 5 East 57 Street, New York.

An outline of the types of associations suitable to the needs of widely varying communities and groups.

IS HEALTH THE PUBLIC'S BUSINESS, by James Rorty. Social Action pamphlet, Vol. III, No. 6. Price 10 cents from Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York.

Offered as "primary factual material for churchmen," the pamphlet surveys the whole problem of what is characterized as "the chaos in our health services." The case for group medicine is presented and the opposition scrutinized.

Professional

CAMPAIGN WORK BOOK, issued by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 71 West 47 Street, New York City. Price 65 cents.

Intended as "a practical guide to the organization of successful Federation and Welfare Fund campaigns."

SOME EMOTIONAL ELEMENTS IN SUPERVISION. Family Welfare Association of America, 130 East 22 Street, New York City. Price 25 cents.

A study by a group of social workers who have recently become supervisors, on methods and problems of supervision and the orientation of the worker as a beginning case worker.

SALARIES AND PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN CHICAGO, 1935, by Merrill F. Krugoff. University of Chicago Press. 89 pp. Price 50 cents.

A study undertaken at the request of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies concluding a series of studies in special fields.

as a 1936 total. Actually, the association admitted to its circle, in 1936, 1156 neophytes instead of the 715 noted by *The Survey*.

People and Things

THE Consumers' National Federation, a clearing house to coordinate consumer protective activities recently was formed. Helen Hall, president of the National Federation of Settlements is chairman of the new organization; Persia Campbell, economist, is executive secretary; Robert Lynd, of Columbia University, vice-chairman; and Benson Y. Landis, of the Federal Council of Churches, treasurer. A major purpose will be "to establish criteria by which bona-fide consumer organizations may be identified." In general the organization will act as a central body for the consumer organizations which affiliate with it and will conduct a general educational and information service on consumer problems.

New Jobs—Elizabeth J. Mundie, local director of Girl Scouts for Chicago since 1929, this fall will become director of Region II, New York and New Jersey, with headquarters at the national office in New York. . . . Beginning forty-two years ago as a student kindergartener at Hull House, Gertrude Britton has made a large contribution to Chicago social work. This year she is retiring after twelve years' service as executive secretary of the Chicago Heart Association, but has been given the title of "executive director emeritus" by the board of the association which in 1922 she helped to organize.

Michael M. Davis, widely known as director for medical services of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, recently moved from Chicago to 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, to open an office for the Committee on Research and Medical Economics, of which he is chairman. The committee recently received a five-year grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund to pursue studies in this field in which Mr. Davis long has been interested.

The Rev. A. J. Muste, field and industrial secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and former head of the Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, N. Y., has been named director of the Presbyterian Labor Temple of New York, to succeed the late Rev. Edmund Chaffee. . . . The Rev. Harry J. Pearson, for ten years in charge of the Mariner's Church in Detroit, and organizer of the Episcopal City Mission there, is now director of social welfare for the Seamen's Church Institute of New York.

Marjoriedel Hubers, new staff secretary of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies' section on nursery care, comes from Buffalo, N. Y., where she was regional supervisor of fourteen emergency nursery schools. . . Imogene Poole Callaway is the new executive of the Associated Charities of San Antonio, Tex., succeeding Maud Dee who resigned on account of illness. . . . Mary J. Cronin has been appointed deputy institutions commissioner for Boston, Mass. in charge of the child welfare division of the city Department of Welfare.

Jamboree—This month a new migration of American boys will move on Washington, D.C.—twenty-five thousand Boy Scouts of America on their way to their first national "jamboree," to be held June 30-July 9. The scouts have been given the personal invitation of President Roosevelt. They will be quartered upon land "furnished" by courtesy of the Congress, upon the shores of the Potomac and under the shadow of the Washington monument. Dr. James E. West, for twenty-seven years chief scout executive, will be Jamboree camp chief and is directing the erection of the huge "city under canvas." Scouts from twenty-four foreign countries, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and the Canal Zone are expected.

Public Office—Dr. H. E. Chamberlain from the University of Chicago has been appointed consultant in psychiatry in the California State Department of Social Welfare, to assist in the organization of child welfare services "in relation to home, school and community life."

A key post in child welfare in New York goes to Grace A. Reeder, who recently resigned as director of the child welfare division of the Welfare Council of New York City. She will be director of the Bureau of Child Welfare in the reorganized New York State Department of Social Welfare.

Other recent professional appointments under the new New York State set-up [see *The Survey*, April 15 1937, page 120] include: Abbott Ingalls, a district social worker under the former New York Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, who will be general assistant to Commissioner David C. Adie; Glenn Jackson, formerly assistant executive director of TERA who will direct the bureau of public assistance; Fred Schumacher formerly of TERA who will direct home relief; Richard W. Wallace to direct old age assistance; Gladys Fisher from the Westchester County, N. Y. Department of Welfare who will be administrative officer of the department of old age assistance; James H. Foster, of the state department who will continue as assistant commissioner and will direct aid to dependent children; Harry Hirsch, also an assistant commissioner who will be in charge of "state and Indian poor." Under the new plan of division by area offices, up-state area directors will be Patrick A. Tompkins for Albany, Royal C. Agne for Binghamton, Harold S. Tolley for Buffalo, Alden A. Bevier for Rochester, Paul W. Guyler for Syracuse, H. Sherbourne House for the suburbs of New York City.

Health Workers—Robert W. Osborn has come back to the State Committee on Tuberculosis of the New York State Charities Aid Association as assistant executive secretary, after some years with the Buffalo Tuberculosis Association. Mr. Osborn was administrative assistant of the committee, 1924-30. Janet A. Scott succeeds Mr. Osborn as executive secretary of the Buffalo Tuberculosis Association, where she has been health education director.

Carl O. Lathrop of Kenmore, N. Y., is the new executive of the Niagara County Health Association, succeeding Margaret Newman, now associated with the social security program in Pennsylvania. . . . Dr. Conrad S. Sommer from the Institute for Juvenile Research of Chicago has been appointed medical director of the Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene. . . . Dr. Lowell J. Reed of the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health has been appointed dean of the school, succeeding Dr. Allen W. Freeman.

Dr. H. E. Kleinschmidt, of the National Tuberculosis Association, is now on leave of absence to direct public health training for the New York City Health Department. His "university" of 2500 students will include the entire personnel of the department. . . . Amelia J. Massopust, formerly director of social service at Bellevue Hospital, New York, has been appointed director of social service for the city's Department of Hospitals.

At Home and Abroad—The American Home Economics Association will meet June 21-25 in Kansas City, Mo. . . . The Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will meet in Detroit June 29-July 4, for its annual conference.

The fifth international hospital congress will be held in Paris, July 5-12. . . . The World Federation of Education Associations will meet August 2-7 in Tokyo, Japan, for its seventh biennial congress. The Junior Red Cross Regional Conference for Far Eastern countries immediately precedes the federation meeting. . . . Le Congres International de la Protection de l' Enfance will meet in Paris July 19-22. . . . Plans are beng made for an international health congress in New York in connection with the 1939 World's Fair. The congress will be sponsored jointly by the National Health Council and the advisory committee on medicine and public health for the fair.

Readers Write

General Headache

TO THE EDITOR: In *The Survey* of March 1937, page 81, you quote the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, apropos of Headache in Missouri, that "Missouri politicians have transformed a finely humanitarian movement into an ugly racket. And the unfortunate result is that the really deserving old people are not getting the $30 a month which the law calls for, but about $11 a month . . . to keep body and soul together."

Let us be realistic. Where are really deserving old people getting "the $30 a month which the law calls for?"

In Monmouth County, N. J.—one of the richest counties in one of the richest states in the whole United States—really deserving old people are getting average old age allowances of $16.38 monthly in winter, around $13 monthly in summer.

Even the average of $16.38 monthly does not represent the situation fairly as the majority of these old people are existing on $12 to $14 monthly, with no other sources of income or supplementary aid. They are compelled to pick up coal along railroad tracks, to beg for cast-off clothing or to depend upon private social agencies for supplementary aid.

They receive actually less than the allowance for single persons granted by many New Jersey overseers of the poor. The local overseer allows $27.30 for a dependent single person. A decent existence for a single person with no other resources, requires a budget of at least $30 monthly. And the cost of living is higher in New Jersey than in Missouri and many other states.

What can be done about it?

We suggest that, as a first step, your caption read Headache over the U.S.A.

LILA B. TERHUNE

Executive Secretary, Long Branch, N. J. Public Welfare Society

Gover'ment Layette

TO THE EDITOR: We have not had a gover'ment cow comparable to the one reported by Louis Towley [see *Survey Graphic*, December 1936, page 647] but we have a surplus commodity layette which was the cause of a good deal of distress to the conscientious young gentleman in charge of a local distributing unit. As witness his memo on the subject:

"To: Unit Supervisor Social Service. From: Unit Supervisor of Commodities. Re your letter 23 inst, subject—Alfonso Gonzalo. According to my records Alfonso Gonzalo case No. SW 1419 is opened for foodstuffs and clothing and no question is raised on this point. However Mrs. Gonzalo called recently and asked to be listed for a layette. I checked her form PA-29 and found no remarks that would indicate that she expects to be confined in the near future. From a casual and discreet observation I could not justify that it was a case for immediate attention, I told the lady that I had to limit myself to members of her family only as otherwise I would be exceeding my authority, but if she desired to call on you and if you authorized me to increase her family members or to list for a layette, that would be enough to clear me in a future audit. This morning the lady called again and I wrote on a slip, 'This certifies that Mrs. Gonzalo will be confined in the near future.' I told her that if she would get her attending physician, midwife or clinic nurse to sign it I would be glad to list her. The tendency of every woman in that condition is to make preparation long ahead of the time. I do not know if a relief client has that privilege or not and I am anxious to have a ruling on the subject. I also believe that some one, physician, midwife or clinic nurse, should decide when to issue a layette or you may send an unofficial slip saying that in your opinion it is necessary if you do not care to order me to insert the remarks on form PA-29.

"On March 17 Mr. Jesus Francisco called and requested a layette. I told him they were not made yet but if he would secure someone in authority to certify that it was a needy case that I would be glad to list him. In less than one hour he brought back a certificate from the nurse of the county health unit stating that his wife would be confined during April. This I consider official and eliminates fraud or hoarding.

"You know well that no lady cares to be questioned on the subject except by a professional and the method that I have suggested is simple and decent. I will do nothing that may be construed as an abuse of power or careless procedure."

KATHLEEN RANDOLPH

Florida State Board of Social Welfare

Well Remembered

TO THE EDITOR: We readers of *The Survey* rejoiced over the verdict of the Supreme Court in the Washington State Minimum Wage case. In allocating credit for this timely establishment in our government of the principle underlying the sustained law let us not forget our indebtedness to the late Mrs. Florence Kelley, a contributing editor of *The Survey*. There was something in her tutoring which made it mandatory for us to keep pressing on, once our facts justified our conclusions. It will be remembered that she was for years the chief proponent of minimum wage legislation and was the general director of the National Consumers' League, which sponsored and drafted the bills and devoted its funds and energies to factual briefs in their defense in state and federal courts. When a young co-worker—for such she always called us in her warm generosity—once showed tail and a bit of weakness, Mrs. Kelley very philosophically asserted that our defeat could be but temporary for undoubtedly there would come a depression which would demonstrate anew the necessity for the law, and bring a reversal from the Supreme Court. For those not too close to the facts, may I point out that whereas the latter prediction is clear to him who runs, the former is there for him who reads. Says the Court, "What these workers lose in wages, the taxpayers are called upon to pay. The bare cost of living must be met. We may take judicial notice of the unparalleled demands for relief which arose during the recent period of depression and still continue to an alarming extent, despite the degree of economic recovery which has been achieved. It is unnecessary to cite official statistics to establish what is of common knowledge through the length and breadth of the land. While in the instant case no factual brief has been presented, there is no reason to doubt that the State of Washington has encountered the same social problem that is present elsewhere. The community is not bound to provide what is in effect a subsidy for unconscionable employers. The community may direct its law-making power to correct the abuse which springs from their selfish disregard of the public interest."

New York ESTELLE LAUDER

Regrets Are Mutual

TO THE EDITOR: In the beginning of the depression *The Survey* printed an article by a social worker who lost her job, used up her savings, but was confident *she* would never become a case number. But she did and her feeling can be understood only by another ex-social worker (mostly voluntary) who was equally confident that, "It couldn't happen to me."

But it has—and I no longer have money for my subscription to *The Survey* or for many other things which an American should have—most of all the fierce independence I once knew.

Sara, the Gover'ment Cow, in the December *Graphic*, was worth the whole year's subscription price—only victims of SERA can understand that, especially those "who knew it could never happen to them." I regret that I cannot renew.

California B. M. S.

Book Reviews

Middletown Revisited

MIDDLETOWN IN TRANSITION. A STUDY IN CULTURAL CONFLICTS, by Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd. Harcourt Brace. 622 pp. Price $5 postpaid of *The Survey*.

AGAIN the Lynds have held the candid camera up to Muncie (Indiana), and as some pessimists would believe, to America. In this second sociological portrait of a community we find Muncie, or Middletown, a little older, a little larger, but no wiser than it was a dozen years earlier. It is, indeed, a marvelous picture, done with beautifully dispassionate frankness, richer in detail and warmer in color and tone than its predecessor, the famous Middletown. The Lynds have not only improved their own technique of community portraiture, but have had the great advantage of previous acquaintance with their subject, so that this time, more nearly than before, they have caught its spirit as well as its lineaments. In short, a livelier and maturer masterpiece.

The gist of their findings as sociologists is that Middletown overwhelmingly is living by the values by which it lived when the first survey was made. From the depression, regarded as "just a bad bump in the road," nothing seems to have been learned; no essential change has taken place in the local folkways, beliefs and attitudes; no major new symbols have been developed. In spite of all the strange and startling happenings of the depression period—even in Muncie—Middletown's social and economic credo, like its religion, is still strongly Fundamentalist. The prevailing ideology remains that of the ruling business class—of Main Street, Zenith and Babbitt, with more than a little intimation of It Can't Happen Here. Not to mention, as part of this thought pattern, such gospel truths as those of the McGuffey Readers, the Horatio Alger stories and The Red Network.

There have been changes, though not in ideas. The population has increased from 35,000 to 50,000. A number of new industries have come to Middletown because of the inducement of low wages, long hours and the almost complete submissiveness of the labor supply. The workers for the most part continue to think that the blessings of life flow chiefly from the men of wealth and the employers, even though they got a little taste under the New Deal of the benefits of governmental action. Apparently they believe in the open shop as devoutly as the Chamber of Commerce. Thus they have emerged from the experiences of recent years of boom, depression and recovery with virtually no leadership and no sense of class solidarity or the possibilities of group action in their own behalf. They may wish to rise, but in the good old fashioned way, by individual ambition and merit.

Social distinctions have sharpened, especially at the boundary line formed by the railroad tracks which bisect the city. Opportunity in other respects has narrowed. Even membership in the Rotary club is tending to become hereditary. Getting and holding a job depends more and more on having the right opinions and beliefs, or none at all, or on keeping them to oneself. Middletown's fearfulness has increased, until on occasion it amounts to a state of jitters: fear of centralizing tendencies in government, of social legislation, of labor organization (the CIO in particular), of radical ideas; "fear by laborers of joining unions lest they lose their jobs; fear by office holders wanting honest government of being framed by politicians; fear by everyone to show one's hand, or to speak out."

Rightly, the authors of Middletown in Transition have devoted a whole chapter to the pervasive, controlling influence of the "X family" of manufacturers and philanthropists—namely, the Balls—in the community life. The degree and extent of their domination of business and industry, of schools and churches, of newspapers and welfare agencies in Muncie has not been exaggerated by the Lynds, who give full credit to the kindly virtues and thorough well-meaningness of the reigning family. The reviewer wonders, however, if the ramifying power of this family does not signify something besides the business class control which it is supposed merely to typify. In Muncie people speak, in careful confidence, of "this feudal barony."

Another query that might be raised is how many American communities are so nearly without articulate dissent and audible liberalism as the Muncie which is here described as Middletown, and how many have succeeded so well in keeping themselves unspotted from the outside world of liberal ideas and movements. If Middletown were America, or rather if America were Middletown, there would be no class conscious labor movement, no workers' education, no open discussion of controversial issues (on both or all sides), no youth movements or even forums where established institutions and accepted ways are questioned. They wouldn't be allowed. We should not merely discern a trend toward fascism (under some other name), we should actually be living under a fascistic regime, albeit a benevolent one.

Because the reader of Middletown in Transition will recognize many familiar and largely discouraging trends and tendencies of American life, he may too readily jump to the conclusion that this is America. There is an America that Middletown represents, but there is another America—bolder in questioning, more imaginative in action, more promising for the solution of the problems posed by change and conflict in the different parts of our material and spiritual culture. After all, even the employers of this America have learned something from the depression and its attendant events, as may be seen today by reading the newspapers. RAYMOND G. FULLER
Newtown, Conn.

Credit Unions, Limited

COOPERATIVE CONSUMER CREDIT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CREDIT UNIONS, by M. R. Neifeld. Harper. 223 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of *The Survey*.

THIS interesting volume traces briefly the development of cooperative consumer credit. The author mentions the forerunners of cooperative credit associations, beginning with Raifeisen and Schultze of Germany, the later rise of cooperative credit in Canada under the leadership of Alphonse Desjardins, and the work of Edward A. Filene in promoting the credit unions of the United States.

Comprehensive descriptions of credit unions in the rural areas of America, among employes of various government units, in big industries, in church parishes and so on, are given. The book recounts the history, philosophy, machinery and statistical growth of credit unions and shows their proper place in the consumer cooperative movement.

Characteristic of the book is its rather vigorous deflation of the claims of those credit union promoters who find in them an agency capable of serving almost all the credit and banking needs of people of small incomes. Mr. Neifeld considers that credit unions have proved unsuccessful when the membership has been expanded beyond groups that have close acquaintance and maintain face to face relationships. He points out the weaknesses of "open" unions, and claims that the low rates which credit unions are able to offer are due largely to the free service given by union officers. Without the active interest and democratic participation of members, he says, credit unions that succeed financially tend to become dishonestly managed and those that are not making money die for lack of interest.

While allowing that credit unions are very useful, Mr. Neifeld believes that they are adapted only to a limited field of operation and by no means furnish a complete substitute for such forms of consumer credit as the Morris Plan banks and the small loan companies that lend on household furniture and valuables. Although these forms of consumer credit, functioning side by side with credit unions, have greatly surpassed them in volume of business done, the author points out, no substantial effort has been made to establish a cooperative basis for them. L. A. HALBERT
Washington Consumers Club
Washington, D. C.

Intimations of Importance

FACTORS DETERMINING HUMAN BEHAVIOR: Harvard Tercentenary Publication No. I. Harvard University Press. 168 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of *The Survey*.

TO this first publication of the three symposia of the Harvard Conference of Arts and Sciences in 1936, we naturally turn with great interest. Because of the importance of the occasion, we know that this small volume must represent the most mature thought of the contributors. Eight addresses were given in this series by a cosmopolitan group. Only a hint of their content can be given within the limitations of reviewing space.

The nervous system and the endocrine organs as factors in behavior receive short attention through articles by Adrian of England and Collip of Montreal. They could do little more than suggest the importance of the researches being developed in their fields. Piaget of Geneva offers his conception of determinants of intellectual evolution in the child. Jung surveys some theoretical and phenomenal considerations of the psychological factors in human behavior, with emphasis upon the groups of instincts and the way in which they work. Janet has a considerably longer paper entitled, Psychological Strength and Weakness in Mental Diseases. As a matter of fact, he deals with and gives many illustrations of conditions of psychological weakness in those who are not mentally diseased. To the reviewer it seems curious that he entirely neglects one part of his subject, namely, psychological strength. Logic as a determinant of behavior is rather discredited by Carnap, formerly of Prague. He discerns clearly that men are more dominated by their passions than by their reason. Lowell, president emeritus of Harvard, draws upon history for material demonstrating that men may attain a self-consistent and harmonious system of conducting their affairs, "if conditions happen to be just right." In his conclusions he seems to be backing and filling not a little, but perhaps justifiably. Malinowsky of London, anthropologist, gives a number of illustrations of how culture determines behavior, and argues that in modern society the machine has been allowed to overpower man. "Our present situation is undoubtedly passing through a very

severe, perhaps a critical, stage of maladjustment"; but, he thinks, we may yet hope that the spirit of science will prevail in the conduct of human affairs. The reviewer in the interest of his own craft has read most of this little book a second time and expects to come back to it again—perhaps this proves its significance. WILLIAM HEALY, M.D.
Judge Baker Foundation

Cum Laude

APPLIED DIETETICS, by Frances Stern. Williams and Wilkins. 263 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of *The Survey*.

IN my perusal of many books I have found none like Applied Dietetics. The scientific facts are clearly, briefly and accurately stated. The tables and charts are excellent and should prove of great help to those in the field of practical dietetics and to those whose duties involve the simplification of the field of nutrition. The time, labor and effort that has gone toward the building of this book are readily apparent in the carefully worked out and clearly expressed charts and tables. This is an admirable summary of information based on years of work, tireless effort and a thorough acquaintance with available literature. E. V. MCCOLLUM
Department of biochemistry,
Johns Hopkins University

A Hard Road to Travel

SOCIAL TREATMENT IN PROBATION AND DELINQUENCY, by Pauline V. Young. McGraw-Hill. 646 pp. Price $4 postpaid of *The Survey*.

THERE are two kinds of people, both making valuable contributions towards the control of juvenile and adult delinquency in this country. In the first group are those intrepid souls who have joined the ranks of actual workers in the fields of social work, probation and institution management. The other group consists of students, college professors, social surveyors and office workers who sit on the side lines or in their professorial chairs and tell the first group how it should be done. The persons in this latter group are intelligent, public spirited and possessed of a real desire to bring order out of chaos in a very difficult field. They have naturally, in recent years, brought dismay and discouragement to those in the first group. We have had surveys which have successfully demonstrated the failure, first, of our prisons, then in turn of our reformatories, training schools, juvenile courts, social case work agencies and group work agencies. We could be pardoned for thinking that many of our efforts in the prevention of juvenile delinquency are wholly futile. Quite recently a study by the U. S. Children's Bureau concerned itself with the adjustment in the cases of 751 boys who have been released from five training schools in this country. The persons who developed this study were obviously charitably inclined and yet they could only point to a successful adjustment of about one third of these boys. In the case of at least three of these five schools, the institution was presided over by men who were generally regarded as leaders in their field. If such men cannot succeed, there are those who are ready to predict that success is impossible.

We may hazard such an opinion as a result of the Glueck study of the Boston juvenile court and the Healy clinic cases. In all these social studies the critic points out in a manner which seems reasonable enough the defects in the procedures which he has studied. He suggests the thought that after all perhaps the task was impossible and our communities must be entirely reorganized before any of the more orthodox instruments for individual social rehabilitation can function adequately. Roscoe Pound in his penetrating foreword to Mrs. Young's book puts his finger upon the outstanding difficulty of expecting law enforcement or police activity and social or remedial case work from one and the same agency.

Inevitably therefore the demand is made for a more Social Treatment in Probation and Delinquency. Pauline V. Young of the University of Southern California takes this exact title for a treatise intended as a handbook for those who work with young offenders. As such it is a valuable piece of work. It proceeds upon the case method made famous a generation or two ago by the Harvard Law School, and in addition to actual cases discusses the many and abstruse aspects of work with juvenile delinquents.

To the general student of modern sociological questions, there is much to ponder in this volume. Can we combine that kind of procedure which the Anglo-Saxon has come to regard as fundamental to our civilization, namely the trial of a case in court, with the somewhat inconsistent procedure known as individual case work? After presenting in Part I the new method of approach in the handling of a juvenile offender, Mrs. Young discusses the possibility of individualizing justice and socializing court procedure. She then makes these rather general terms clearer by applying them to life studies.

We can well make the plea that the probation officer or the institution worker needs all the sympathy and support and assistance that we can give. Mrs. Young comes to the same conclusions we must all reach: that in the long run the utilization of all community resources will more surely prevent crime and that work with unadjusted youth and parents will more surely succeed as we modify the deleterious neighborhood environment. Nevertheless many an underprivileged boy has risen above his environment and many a more fortunately placed youngster has become a social problem. After coordinating councils have improved our neighborhoods, the probation officer will still be struggling with the case of the individual delinquent.
New York SANFORD BATES

Practical Handbook

CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY, by C. M. Louttit, with a Foreword by L. T. Meiks. Harper. 695 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of *The Survey*.

INTENDED as a textbook of clinical psychology, this is a practical handbook for students of children's behavior problems. The author recognizes that clinical psychology draws its data and methods from psychology, medicine, education and sociology. With this point of view, he presents diagnostic methods and analyzes problems related to special abilities and disabilities. The discussions of human behavior and personality disorders are based upon present concepts concerning functional and organic disorders.
IRA S. WILE, M.D.

Lessons in Labor

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BUILDING TRADES, by Frederick L. Ryan. University of Oklahoma Press. 241 pp. Price $3 postpaid of *The Survey*.

HERE is an excellent study of labor relations in the San Francisco building trades and an invaluable contribution to the history of unionism in the United States Mr. Ryan has done a workman-like job in describing the political and economic factors which led to the downfall of the once powerful San Francisco Building Trades Council.

The volume holds a pertinent and timely lesson for those who cling to a belief in the virtues of horizontal unionism and who look upon autocratic control of union affairs as the best means of achieving unity among organized workers. Chapters IV and V detail the petty jurisdictional disputes between the several crafts which caused constant bickering among the unions in the council and which were in large measure responsible for the rise of the San Francisco Industrial Association, arch enemy of organized labor in that city.

The following pithy paragraph epitomizes some of the author's principal findings:

"It seems clear, from the above description, that the craft type of organization, and the policy of collaboration between the unions' leaders and the employers, created disunion politically as well as industrially. The dictum of rewarding labor's friends and defeating labor's enemies resulted in labor's ultimate defeat. The voting strength of one union was nullified by the opposing votes

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• The boy without a playground is father to the man without a job.—JOSEPH LEE, *Boston.*

• In our present ferment the people seem more interested in the drama of experiment than in the lessons of experience.—LEON WHIPPLE, *in Survey Graphic.*

• Sometimes we wonder if it wouldn't have been better if the earth had been made up into a lot of smaller planets with fewer people on each one.—*Editorial, Ohio State Journal.*

• A very pleasant question which we are occasionally being asked now by employers is, "How much shall I have to pay?"—EDITH STEDMAN, *director appointment bureau, Radcliffe College.*

• Many of the oldest minds in the world, of which by no means the least number are to found in the United States, have not yet reached their thirtieth birthday.—NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, *president, Columbia University.*

• The time has come when no cause can prevail, no expert be recognized, no benefits conferred on society by philanthropy without the coincident use of the tools of deliberate popular persuasion. The expert, be he doctor, lawyer or philanthropist who ignores this fact, is doomed.—DR. FLOYD S. WINSLOW, *president, Medical Society of the State of New York.*

So They Say

• Social work isn't everything under the sun.—PROF. HOWARD W. ODUM, *University of North Carolina.*

• A divided church has little moral authority in a divided world.—THE REV. E. STANLEY JONES *to the Federal Council of Churches.*

• There is not a single culture in the world which we could honestly call autonomous.—FRANZ BOAS, *anthropologist, at the fourth anniversary of The University in Exile.*

• We have a great many hand-minded boys in the colleges, and I should not be surprised if we have some book-minded boys in the CCC.—ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, *president, University of Chicago.*

• No one in the United States can describe the social machinery of economic democracy because only just now is the desire for inventing it being born.—HENRY A. WALLACE, *Secretary of Agriculture.*

• One or two federal convictions will do more to stop lynching than all the resolutions passed by all the good will societies, all the tall talk indulged in by all the humiliated governors, and all the moral indignation released by all the uplifters.—WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, *Kansas.*

• If (housing) conferences were houses, the underprivileged would live in palaces.—MAYOR LA GUARDIA, *New York.*

• We have tried to civilize our apparatus of living until we are well nigh civilized to death. —THE REV. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, *Riverside Church, New York.*

• Nowadays nobody knows when a war is a war, or when you are restoring order, or building a new Utopia and having of course to "break a few eggs."—DOROTHY THOMPSON, *news commentator.*

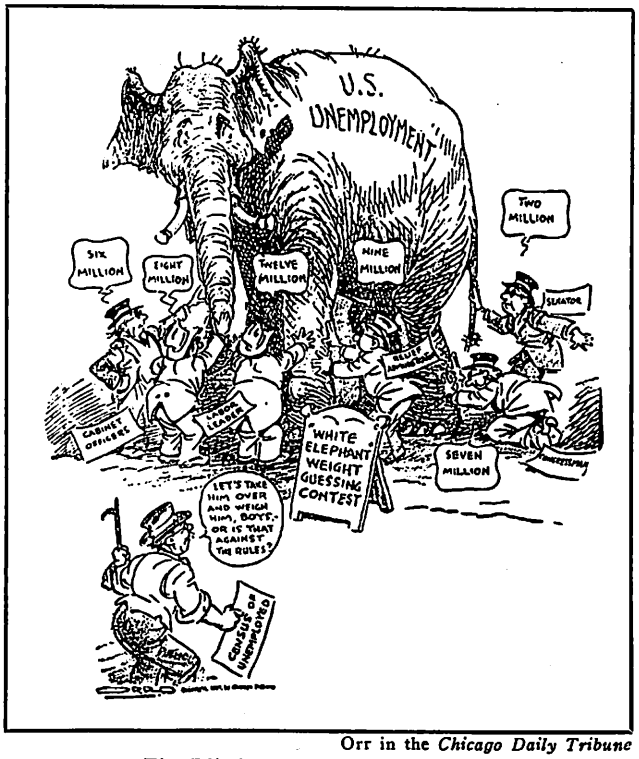
• I rip 'em wide open once a month and the rest of the time I pour in oil and wine.—*A preacher's prescription for "getting by with the social gospel" made at the National Conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Service.*

• I believe that the ideas that people actually hold are no less important for a complete understanding of economic phenomena than the ideas which economists think they ought to hold.—PROF. EDWIN E. WITTE, *University of Wisconsin.*

• I predict that the world's working men and women will not forever be content to stand by while civilized living is sacrificed on the altar of armaments, nor longer be willing to forge a means of their own destruction.—EDWARD F. McGRADY, *U.S. Department of Labor, at the International Labor Conference, Geneva.*

Fitzpatrick in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

Both Going Strong



Orr in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*

The Blind Men and the Elephant

Thomas in *The Detroit News*

Running Away with the Leader

Simple world— eh what?

Elderman in the *Washington Post*

Babes in the Woods

Carmack in the *Christian Science Monitor*

On the Strike Front

THE SURVEY

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In This Real World of Ours

By ALVIN JOHNSON

Director, New School of Social Research

THE Welfare Council in drawing together into a working unity the multitudinous agencies engaged in various forms of welfare work, is creating order in what has always been the most chaotic and disordered division of human affairs. Thanks to these developing activities we shall eventually possess a fair working map of the problems of welfare as they present themselves in the greatest city of the continent. We shall know what there is to be done if our society is to establish a solid claim to the title of a rational and humane civilization.

What there is to be done will foot up to enormous figures, both in human and in financial terms. We have scarcely touched the problem of housing for the low income classes. Welfare agencies have deployed magnificent energies in their efforts to awaken the public to the evils of the slums, but the results in positive action have not been impressive. The city still has its hundreds of thousands of children suffering from inadequate nutrition, its tens of thousands growing up in a condition of neglect that tends inevitably toward delinquency and crime. We fall far short of humane standards in our provisions for the hospitalization of the sick, particularly the mentally sick. Our efforts to rehabilitate those who have fallen into crime and have paid the penalty to the state are still mainly in the stage of promise. We have not made very notable progress in the reeducation for a useful place in our economic life of those whose skill has been broken by accident or disease, or rendered obsolete by technological advances.

These are commonplaces. But it is worth reiterating them, in order to emphasize the point that a large core of welfare problems remains with us, in good times as in bad. The depression has made us more conscious of the existence of these problems. It has heightened our sense of responsibility. We shall never again be able to lapse back into the laissez-faire attitude of pre-depression days. We shall never return to the old level of public appropriations. We shall never again exhibit the childlike confidence in the adequacy of private charity that even our highest political authorities expressed in the first years of the depression. We shall never forget that we need strong, well organized welfare agencies, not only to handle the problems that chronically remain with us, but to supply the trained organization needed to grapple with the problems of the next depression. Just as we have what is, for these mad days, a small army of regulars capable of leavening a vast army of volunteers or conscripts in case of need, so we need to keep up a standing welfare organization capable of extending out its front to meet the invasion of the next depression.

As a social economist Mr. Johnson looks at welfare work, "the most chaotic and disordered division of human affairs," and pleads for "rational social engineering." This article is drawn from an address at a meeting of the Welfare Council of New York City.

I AM sorry to introduce so gloomy an idea as the next depression before we have unbandaged the wounds of the last one. I am so much of an optimist that I refuse to believe that we can have so severe, so prolonged a depression as that of 1929-36 within a space of twenty years. You can not have a second great forest fire on the same ground until the trees have made a certain growth and litter has accumulated on the ground. You cannot have a second great earthquake until crustal stresses have had time to accumulate. We shall indeed have many a minor quake, "recessions," which may throw some hundreds of thousands into temporary unemployment. Our economic balance is so delicate that even a breath may produce violent oscillations, particularly a breath from Washington. Or an evil rumor, growing sky high in the poetic atmosphere of Wall Street. But this gnawing remorseless monster that has been devouring our substance and our hopes since 1929 we may count as quieted for the time.

He will, however, come back. We have indeed developed many weapons in the current depression for combating the next one. But the next depression will come upon us with a new offensive technique against which the weapons of the Roosevelt era will be like flintlocks.

I dwell upon this prospect of a coming depression not out of the professional economist's dark delight in dismal con-

clusions, but because recognition of probable future contingencies is the basis of sound strategy. I take it that the social agencies have no ambition to live as a kind of civil Red Cross, waiting with Christian resignation for the casualties to be dumped into their encrimsoned lap. No: they wish to play a part, and a significant part, in keeping the peace, in avoiding needless casualties.

THEREFORE professional social work will strain every effort to go behind the phenomena of distress to the causes that produce them. It will recognize the obligation to supply the essential requirements of relief for the hopeless. But it will be most deeply concerned with techniques for reducing the number of the hopeless. It will throw all its force on the side of a sound social engineering that grips the causes instead of spending itself on the effects.

And, most difficult of all, social workers will recognize that the job of lifting the mass of the disinherited to a tolerable living level is a slow and painful job, to be done quarter inch by quarter inch, not by ells and yards, and that wishful thinking and hocus-pocuses never rise above the level of private indulgence.

In this real world of ours there is, alas, not money enough to go around. There is not one single branch of welfare work that does not need, and could not use profitably, twice or thrice or ten times the money it gets. Alas, we do not as a nation produce the needed money, or what I really mean, the money's worth in the form of the necessities and conveniences of life. It is written, the poor always ye have with you. We, the United States of America, said to be rich, are really poor. Too poor to fit out our children as we would wish.

Someone will say, we are not paying the taxes we could afford to pay. We have forgotten the proverb, current from 1450 throughout Europe, that where the hoof of the Turkish horse struck the ground, grass refused to grow. What this meant was simply that the Turk took one tenth of every man's product in taxation. The flourishing industry and agriculture of Asia Minor did not die all at once. It gradually decayed.

We are already taking in federal, state and local taxation, direct and indirect, more than the ruinous Turkish tithe. When our income is normal, we take nearer one sixth than the Turkish tenth. True, we can afford a heavier tribute because we get something for our money, while the Turks gave only oppression. Nevertheless, we are lost if we fall generally into the delusion that the taxpaying capacity of this country is indefinite.

It will be said that we have plenty of rich wasters who would be morally better off if we lifted the superfluous weight of gold off their shoulders. Granted, in the individual case. The statistical case would argue that we are already imposing about all the traffic will bear. We can tax more heavily and find the yield less.

Public revenues will not flow much more abundantly than they flow now until we have a more richly producing economic system. We could produce more than we now do. We could not realize the dreams of the technocrats, which, like other dreams, have not one catch in them, but several. But we could double our production, raise the standard of living 100 percent, if every general and colonel and captain of industry, if every sergeant and corporal and private would do his best. So corrupt is human nature that it does not do its best under excess of taxation.

But someone will say this is a naive and reactionary view. It is not necessary in an age of credit to finance welfare work through oppressive taxation. The credit of government is virtually unlimited. Have we not borrowed billions upon billions? And can we not still borrow at incredibly low rates of interest?

Moreover, has it not been proved that in this depression for every billion of borrowed money spent by the government some three billions have been added to the national income?

This may be true. I am one of those who believe that the priming of the pump is an efficient device when there is water below and the valve is too dry. I am committed to the view that in time of depression the government ought to borrow freely and boldly, and put to national use the labor and industrial power that would otherwise go over the dam. But I am also convinced that when normal conditions return, the chief business of the government should be to pay off its depression debt so that it may be in a position to meet the next depression. For unless we suddenly become much wiser, there will infallibly be a next depression. And this means that hosts of worthy projects of social welfare must go over to the future for want of funds.

It also means that the social welfare agencies must join in the revolt against conditions that unload upon them problems for which society will not supply sufficient funds. They must raise their voices in support of a rational social engineering.

Consider the growth of Harlem. Here is an increasing pressure of population, congestion, the problems of disease, juvenile delinquency, disorder and crime that go with congestion. The people of Harlem are not adequately housed. They can not pay for adequate housing out of their wages, meager and inadequate.

WHAT are we to do about it? Go in for subsidized housing? Yes, if we can afford it. That is not enough. The children need milk, green vegetables, meat. But the meager wages of the population cannot afford these in adequate supply. Subsidize their nutrition? Yes, if we can afford it. Subsidize medical care. Subsidize education.

The social engineer will inquire, why do we have these masses of population crowding into Harlem, adding their labor force to a supply that was already superabundant, committing themselves to starvation wages and helping to reduce wages for other labor?

The answer is simple. They have come here, in the majority of cases, not because of the irresistible lure of the city but because they were starved out of their home environment, in the old South, in Puerto Rico, in other West Indian islands. And social engineering will inquire whether this was necessary. Could not the problem of congestion in Harlem have been met at its source, with some better plan than a perpetual subsidy? The South, the West Indies, including even Puerto Rico, are far from the limit of their natural resources. There is fertile land not cultivated, or at least not cultivated intensively. There are traditional systems of land tenure that stand in the way of the family that could meet its essential requirements on its own. Would it not be more rational for social agencies to demand of the federal government that it seek to cut off immigration to Harlem by creating conditions under which the southern Negro population could live in hope and comfort on southern soil, rather than to ask for subsidies to house adequately in New York a population not needed there?

To some this will sound Utopian. What land is there in the South on which to plant the population now on the wing? There are millions of acres of highly productive land in the coastal plain, overgrown with long leaf pine that can be rooted out by modern engineering methods at an extremely low cost. Hundreds of thousands of families could be planted on small farms each costing less, fully equipped, than the construction of a decent flat in Harlem. House and living as contrasted with an apartment and no job, or an irregular job—would any social engineer hesitate about the choice?

There are millions of other acres in the Middle West, much deteriorated under extensive cultivation but capable of restoration under a system of small intensively cultivated holdings. Much of this land is in the hands of the government and of the banks. A social engineer will inquire, why under the sun do we not plant it with the millions of families that are disillusioned with the depression ridden cities?

BUT we already have an excess of agricultural production. Would not any such homesteading of people who find it too hard to live in the cities aggravate the problem of overproduction? It is the verdict of history that overproduction attends the system of large farms, not of small ones. The small farmer consumes a much larger proportion of his produce when prices are low.

There can be no question that we could take tens of thousands of families off relief permanently, if we were willing to proceed as systematically as the Danes have proceeded, or the English in Ireland, even in their imperial days, to plant a population on small self-sufficient farms. Nor can there be any question that such a program could be made self-liquidating and would not need to divert inadequate public funds from the inescapable requirements of relief. Why do we do nothing about it? Because we are hypnotized by the brilliancy of industrial progress, and are not sufficiently familiar with social engineering to appreciate the importance of a balanced state.

Social engineering will recognize also that we do not manage our strictly urban resources as well as we should. We faint before the problem of technological unemployment, although our history has made it clear that the periods of most rapid technological advance have been the periods of most general employment. If the lung power of a glass blower has to yield to the vastly greater lung power of a machine, if a mechanical chicken picker in a packing house displaces sixty hand pickers, yet the industrial and commercial system requires more labor, labor to bring up more material, labor to handle and sell the product. Other labor, however. The man who has invested his personality in glass blowing lungs, the woman who has made a career of pulling the feathers off chickens, are out in the cold.

They are out in the cold if that is all they are good for. But the social engineer will consider whether we cannot produce schemes of education, and reeducation, that will yield the mobility required by a rapidly changing technique. We need to produce more jacks-of-all-trades. And if that smacks of cheap and nasty workmanship, let me point out that the Anglo-American antipathy to the jack-of-all-trades is nothing more valid than a relic of ancient guild monopoly. A Swedish workman will plaster your house, mend your clock, build you an armchair, knit you a sweater and instruct you in working class philosophy besides. And he will do all these things well. In these days there is no sense in a training that binds a man to an economic function that may become obsolete at the next technological turn.

It may seem that in these humdrum suggestions of mine I ignore the great and sovereign remedies: a better distribution of wealth that will raise the standard of living of the working class and develop the capacity of the market for industrial products; a reduction in working hours that will make possible the reabsorption by industry of more of the unemployed; and above all, our new institutions of social security.

I do not really ignore these projects of social policy. I do most ardently believe in the social beneficence of high wages and a high standard of living. It is true, I cannot subscribe to the doctrine that we have solved the problems of production and have only to solve those of distribution. I know of no branch or sub-branch of production which is not infested with unsolved problems. And if we were to stabilize our development of production at the present point while trying to improve our situation through a better distribution, we should be renouncing all hope of a really adequate standard of living in the future. If we want more of the good things of life distributed, we have to produce more of them. I believe that in the long run high paid labor with moderate hours will produce more than low paid labor with long hours. And though I do not believe that a mere shift of purchasing power from one class to another offers any substantial promise of capacious and steady markets, I do believe that highly productive, highly paid labor makes the best market that industry can have.

Nor do I undervalue our social security institutions. It is socially of immense importance to take the burden of the old and the sick off the backs of the weakest classes in our society. It is also of the greatest social importance to accumulate provision in time of prosperity against the distress of a time of depression. But let us not forget that no country can carry insurance that would be really adequate against a depression like the last, when from twelve to fifteen million workers were losing fifteen to twenty billion dollars in wages every year for several years. A hundred billions in lost wages would be an underestimate of what the depression cost our wage earners. No social security system ever will be able to collect reserves against such losses as those.

BUT social engineering will not rest with the details of employment. It will also work out mechanisms by which the flow of purchasing power remains fairly even from year to year, throwing in government credit when the normal current drops too low, draining off excessive flow by way of taxation. The problems involved are difficult but after all incomparably simpler than the problems involved in detailed economic planning such as Russia has undertaken with some show of success. At best we shall sometimes miscalculate and have a depression in consequence, just as Russia miscalculated once and had a famine, and is likely to do so again. But we cannot be excused if we renounce the attempt to even out the excesses of the economic cycle.

I have wandered far from the immediate field of the Welfare Council. You might well say: We are the Red Cross, not the great General Staff that provides us with the material for our humanitarian activities. But I wonder whether civilization would not profit if every general staff, in planning a heroic campaign, were compelled also to consult with the Red Cross. Certainly public opinion might be less bellicose if the budget of lives lost and limbs and eyes, shattered bodies and minds, were drawn up in cold

tables and presented alongside of the anticipated gains in national prestige and profit. Welfare councils throughout the country could give us luminous forecasts as to the casualties in the form of jobs to be expected from the introduction of the mechanical cotton picker or any other brilliant invention.

But first of all, through case studies and surveys, the social agencies as a group can apprise the public of the sources of the poverty, illness and delinquency with which they have to deal. In the end they will force upon our minds the need for action, the wisdom, if necessary, of spending money freely in the present to check the growth of evils that will involve vastly greater sums in the future.

After all, it is not through defect of good will that we as a nation manage our social problems so badly. It is through defect of real understanding. And the social workers will be forced in the exercise of their functions to supply us with the relevant facts in ever increasing volume, until the thickest bandage of indifference or self interest will be insufficient to protect our ears from the din.

What About Volunteers

By FLORENCE LUKENS NEWBOLD

Executive secretary, Volunteer Service Bureau, Philadelphia

TWENTY-FIVE of the largest cities in the country are now approaching the development of effective volunteer service in social work by means of central placement bureaus; the National Committee on Volunteers is now a recognized associate group in the National Conference of Social Work, with its discussions at the annual meeting closely integrated into the large program; progressive public welfare officials are discussing seriously the active participation of volunteers in the expanding public services; in the State of Washington a Friendly Visiting Service, staffed entirely by volunteers, is an integral part of the program of old age assistance and, says the director of the State Department of Public Welfare, "is well beyond the experimental stage."

All of these things—and the list might be longer—are indications of renewed interest in the function and contribution of the volunteer in social work. They are encouraging in their implications but they do not in themselves answer certain questions still being pondered by both lay and professional workers: What is the function of the volunteer today? Does it fulfill a basic need of the social agency—of the community—of the volunteers themselves? Is the whole concept of volunteer service outmoded?

In Philadelphia, where the central placement agency, the Volunteer Service Bureau, is now in its third year, enough experience has accumulated to shed light on what may be the answers. Here, as in most large cities, volunteers have always had a part—sometimes more, sometimes less—in social work as it developed under private auspices. However, there was not much rhyme or reason either to their general recruitment or placement until several years ago when the Community Council became interested in the subject and appointed a committee to study it. Active on this committee, along with representatives of agencies using volunteers, were members of the Junior League and of the Clearing House for Volunteers of the Jewish Federation, both of which had been receiving more calls than they could possibly fill.

The upshot of the committee's study was a new enterprise, the Volunteer Service Bureau, with a board of directors drawn largely from laymen with a wide variety of social agency affiliations. A budget providing for an executive secretary, office space and necessary expenses was assured for a period of years by the Junior League, an interested individual, and additions from other sources. The avowed purpose of the bureau was to serve:

Volunteers, both men and women, by helping them to find volunteer work in the field where their talents can be used to the best advantage.

Lay workers, by arranging training courses to broaden their vision of community and social conditions and to increase their interest in volunteer service.

The community, by supplying civic, cultural, educational and social agencies with dependable volunteers.

Community agencies, by cooperating with other volunteer placement bureaus and acting as a clearing house for volunteer workers.

From the beginning the Volunteer Service Bureau has maintained close relationship with the Junior League and the Jewish Clearing Bureau, referring calls back and forth and cooperating in many undertakings, notably in the educational program and in emergencies requiring large numbers of volunteer workers.

OUR volunteers are people with every variety of background and experience, about their only common denominator being a certain amount of leisure and a desire to use it in some constructive, "growing" way. We have debutantes and professors' wives; graduates of highschools and of foreign universities; young women and old, bored with the futilities of social life; mothers whose children have grown up and business women reaching for satisfying after-hour activities. We have men too—retired men, busy men, young men who want "to understand life." But not nearly enough men to fill all the calls for them.

Our recruiting methods are various: leaflets distributed at large general social work meetings; talks by the executive secretary to social agency boards, alumnae clubs, women's clubs, church groups and the like; letters to and conferences with college deans and university professors. The largest number of volunteers come from sources not directly cultivated—from a friend telling a friend, from callers at the social service building, from telephone inquiries inspired by our listing under welfare agencies in the classified directory.

Our most successful recruiting effort was by means of a list of about two hundred debutantes of the past five years who were not members of the Junior League. To this list we sent, in a single autumn month, first, an attractive folder headed The Best Investment of the Year; second, an invitation to our annual luncheon, and third, a notice of the course for volunteers. This effort yielded nineteen active volunteers and many good future prospects.

Newspaper publicity brought many applicants, but only one out of four was considered eligible for placement. Most

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So They Say

• What bothers me most about thinking is that it has to be done with words.—THOMAS H. BENTON *in Common Sense.*

• Above all we need a reasoned plan for curbing crime instead of the chaos that proceeds from ever-changing emotional swings.—JUDGE JOSEPH N. ULMAN, *Baltimore.*

• The attitude "If you do this, I'll do that" between employers and employes will never make for good industrial relations.—JAMES W. HOOK, *president New England Council.*

• You cannot have a peaceful world without economic and military disarmament. Neither can you have disarmament without a peaceful world.—NORMAN H. DAVIS, *accepting the Woodrow Wilson medal.*

• Liberalism will never be a useful force in America until the children of light have made up their minds that they must be at least half as smart as the children of darkness.—HEYWOOD BROUN *in The Nation.*

• In the new unionism there is no personal feud of labor, there is no dictator, there is no political program and there is no radicalism.—MARY VAN KLEECK, *New York, at Conference on United States-Canadian Affairs.*

• Governments all over the world today address each other in terms of what will appeal to the public rather than what will appeal to the officials of the governments addressed.—DR. FLOYD S. WINSLOW, *president, Medical Society of the State of New York.*

• It is the responsibility of the police to teach people how to get along together, a lesson badly needed everywhere.—SIDNEY J. WILLIAMS, *National Safety Council.*

• America's primary difficulty is that it has too many people who are politically unemployed and spiritually on relief.—THE RT. REV. IRVING PEAKE JOHNSON, *bishop of Colorado.*

• The days of private breadlines and soup kitchens are gone and gone forever. And we are faced with a serious problem for the next ten years.—FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA, *mayor of New York City.*

• We are not going to be able to liquidate the relief problem in the United States in any other manner than by giving jobs to the unemployed.—EDMOND BORGIA BUTLER, *secretary, New York Emergency Relief Bureau.*

The Survey's "Miss Bailey" is on vacation and her usual article in the series Miss Bailey Says . . . is missing this month. Early this fall she will resume her observations on the social security services as she sees them at work "at the grassroots."

• Whatever democratic government may or may not be, it is deliberate government.—DOROTHY THOMPSON, *news commentator.*

• If I can't read a book without having the author intrude upon my consciousness, it is no book but a literary cock's crow.—ALVIN JOHNSON, *New School of Social Research.*

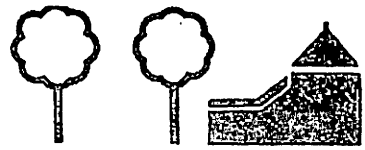
• I am glad to hear of the constitutionality of the social security act because if it's all right to have a poor system it's all right to have a good one.—DR. FRANCIS E. TOWNSEND.

• The political consequences of popular education develop slowly, the time unit being a generation, but they come on with the unlimited measure and irresistible force of a great flood.—Prof. DEWITT CLINTON POOLE, *Princeton University, in Public Opinion.*

• We parents have molded, planned and dreamed an environment for our children until the great danger is that they will become, not themselves, but merely the sum of all our yesterdays.—EMMA GELDERS STERNE, *Pelham, N. Y., before American Library Association.*

• The fallacy of social ethics lies, I think, in the assumption that all human life is inherently good and worthy of preservation, and that by a process of environmental tinkering fools may be transmuted into sages, criminals into saints and politicians into statesmen.—EARNEST A. HOOTON, *professor of anthropology, Harvard University.*

MORE OUTINGS IN CITY PARKS



1933

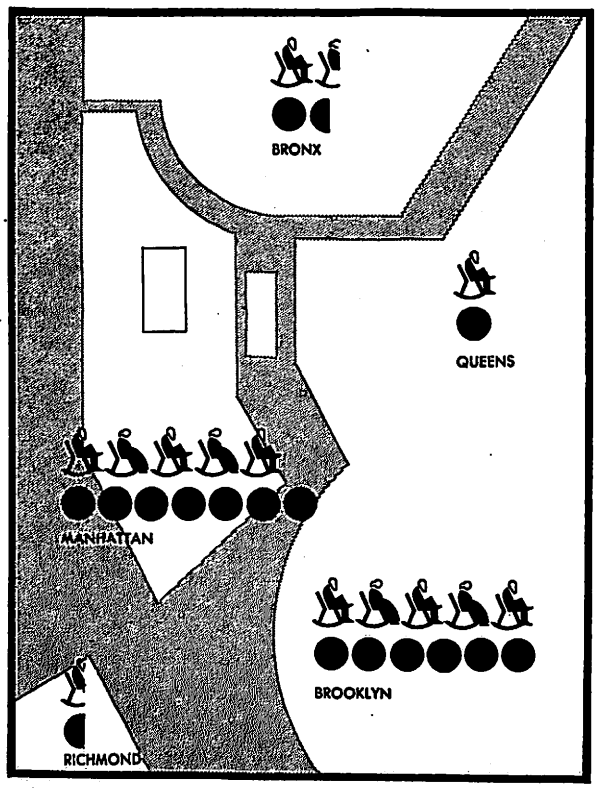
1934

1935

1936

Each symbol equals 10,000 children

OLD AGE ASSISTANCE



Each symbol represents 2500 clients
Each circle represents $500,000

CHILDREN PROPOSED FOR CITY CARE

ACCEPTED NOT ACCEPTED

1929

1931

1933

1935

1936

Each symbol equals 1000 children

How New York City is "advancing toward social security" is told in the annual report of the Department of Public Welfare for 1936. Many pictographs, illuminating easy-to-read text and easy-to-understand statistics, portray developments of the year in activities requiring a budget of $11,328,132, of which nearly $10 million was for cash relief to veterans, the blind and the aged. "The trend of government," says Commissioner William Hodson in a foreword," is toward social justice rather than 'charity.'"

their having or having not attended any college. . . . Appointees should be of good moral character. . . ."

3. Local committees of experienced men and women were dismissed by the chief of the aid for aged division, and the service was operated directly from the state office with no local committees.

Other recent legislation provides that, "The chief of the division [state] with the approval of the director [state welfare] shall appoint advisory boards in each subdivision consisting of five citizens of such county. The chief shall prescribe qualifications for members . . . and shall prescribe duties. . . ."

OHIO has been discussed at this length because it is one of a very few states in which the study of welfare needs by a citizen group was begun more than two years ago. The results have been negligible. New York, one of this same group, is at the other extreme. Here the Wardwell Commission, appointed by Governor Lehman, recommended the integration of the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration with the permanent welfare department with improvements in organization and procedures in line with new conditions. The legislature responded favorably and the results are sound legislation and good organization as the cornerstone of efficient service.

Commission recommendations in various states have been ignored consistently in respect to persistent evils. The old pressure for local talent as against "carpet-baggers," for example, found expression in several laws enacted during the current year. Residence requirements for personnel varying from one to ten years were written into the laws of Arizona, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Illinois, Florida and Indiana.

The Missouri Commission on Social Security, appointed by Governor Park early in 1936, recommended that the executive officer of the proposed department of welfare should be chosen solely on the basis of qualifications for his duties. The resultant law reads, "The state administrator shall be qualified by education and experience and shall have been a citizen and a tax payer of the state for ten years."

The Department of Public Welfare, as envisioned by the commission, would have included all forms of public assistance and institutional control, with services under the supervision of a board and an executive officer. It recommended: an integrated relief and public assistance service; unified county boards of public welfare; county staff appointed on the basis of qualification in training and experience.

The law passed June 23, 1937, provides for a State Social Security Commission responsible for old age assistance, aid to dependent children, disaster relief and child welfare services, but leaves blind pensions and the board of control for institutions as separate state agencies.

Actually, the state of Missouri has no integrated service, and each county has a social security commission with functions restricted to the services found in the state commission. There is a residence requirement for the staff administering county services, and the county executive must have been a resident of the state for five years. Missouri has denied to its citizens any experience which might have been brought in from a state or locality well along in the development of public welfare services.

Then there is Wisconsin. In 1936 the governor appointed the Citizens Committee on Public Welfare which, early in 1937, made an exhaustive report with recommendations for state programs of social security, mental hygiene, corrections, public health, and education. County boards of social security were proposed for local administration of social welfare services. The need for adequate standards of personnel and service was emphasized.

The Wisconsin legislature met and adjourned with no action whatsoever on the recommendations of the Committee. For the time being at least the old order of things continues in "progressive" Wisconsin.

In spite of the effort of state commissions to improve the standard of relief and the methods of granting assistance, several states have written into their legislation such provisions as this: "It shall be the duty of the administration to report monthly to the county commissioners . . . the names and addresses of all persons [children in one case] receiving care or assistance with the amount and character of such aid or assistance."

As against the discouraging examples of Ohio, Missouri, and Wisconsin, there is, here and there, evidence of significant improvements resulting from commission reports. A layman in Michigan writes, "With what is far from the best legislature Michigan has ever had, it has come through with one of the most sweeping welfare reorganizations that ever has been enacted in any state in the Union."

A study of the report of the Emergency Welfare Relief Commission of Michigan and of the laws which followed it sustains at least the latter part of the statement of this observer. A single state agency, a Department of Public Assistance, replaces six agencies which formerly existed in the welfare field. A commission of five chooses the director of the state department and the deputy director. Many duplicating local agencies are abolished and county departments of public assistance are created. Employes of state and county services qualify and are appointed under a merit system and have civil service status. The provisions of the senate bills reorganizing the public welfare services of the state are almost identical with the recommendations of the Governor's Commission.

THE Pennsylvania Committee on Public Assistance and Relief, headed by Herbert T. Goodrich of the law school of the University of Pennsylvania, reported to Governor Earle in December 1936. The legislation embodying the substance of its recommendations was enacted after a long bitter fight in the closing hours of the legislative session. It is now reported that the law which abolished the old county poor board system will be challenged in the courts. The unified program of public assistance and relief proposed by the Goodrich Committee and accepted by the legislature has already been outlined in *The Survey*. [See January 1937, page 10 and July 1937, page 228.] However it might be noted, as an indication of the temper of lawmakers, that while the committee recommended that all officers and employes of the State Department of Public Assistance, other than those in policy determining positions, and all officers and employes of all county boards of assistance be placed under the merit system, the legislature and the governor took exception to what the committee intended as a merit provision. The law as enacted reads: ". . . examination shall be practical in character . . . which will test the relative capacity and fitness of persons . . . to be appointed, but no applicant shall be required to be possessed of any scholastic education or training in order to be permitted to take any examination or to be appointed to any position."

In spite of such indications there is a hopeful side to the

personnel picture in most of the laws passed during 1937. A combination of "training," "experience," and "ability" in public welfare administration are the terms used in the laws of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Georgia, New Mexico, and Wyoming to describe the qualifications for the director. Two states, Montana and Texas, add education as a qualification. A few states have in-service training provisions in their laws. The state of Washington has pioneered by actually providing scholarships for those who show ability to grow under further educational advantages.

Forty-eight states, Alaska, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii are concerned with welfare legislation. During the past two years, about a fourth of them appointed commissions or committees of one kind or another to recommend such legislation. This in itself is a hopeful indication of recognition of the need for study and planning in this area of public affairs. Each of the forty-eight states and the other units passed some sort of welfare measure. The examples that I have cited of commission efforts and resultant legislation—some good, some bad—are typical of what happened the country over.

During the first six months of 1937 twenty-two states enacted laws which reorganized old welfare services or created new welfare departments. In most of them consolidation in the interest of efficiency and economy was a factor; in almost all, advisory boards were set up to further the democratic process in government service; in a majority some degree of competency of personnel, by selection on a merit basis was assured. In all the new laws there is mention, in one way or another, of the need for prevention and rehabilitation, and the recognition that any sound relief or public assistance program must contain provisions to aid in the reduction of the tragic effects of old age, sickness, and unemployment.

In spite of the spottiness of welfare legislation this past season there is, I believe, no reason for discouragement. No one aware of the realities of practical politics believed that we would in a single year bridge the gap between confusion and order in what Alvin Johnson pessimistically describes as "the most chaotic and disordered division of human affairs." As a matter of fact we have made definite progress, most encouraging in that the states have made a start toward meeting their larger obligations and responsibilities. As the importance of the public welfare functions of government is realized by the people who must pay the bill, there will be improvements in the laws, in the quality of personnel and in the efficiency of services. For, in the final analysis it is the people who pay the bill who have the last word.

Morals and Mothers

By HELEN B. LAUGHLIN

Mothers Assistance Fund, Philadelphia, Pa.

HOW "proper" must a mother be to be proper enough to receive public assistance for her children? Thirty-seven of the forty-six states, along with the District of Columbia, Alaska, Puerto Rico and Hawaii, that have endorsed the principle of mothers' aid have written some form of moral character requirement into their laws. Some put it one way, some another: a mother must be "proper and fit," "fit morally," "proper guardian," "suitable person morally," "of good moral character," "competent morally," "capable morally," "possessed of sufficient moral fitness," "of proved character and ability," and so on. The laws show a variety of wording but a constant reiteration of the basic idea "proper and fit morally."

What does it mean to be proper? Webster defines proper as "particular, peculiar, suitable in all respects, appropriate, right, fit, decent, well-formed and handsome," which, if taken literally, would be a pretty severe test of eligibility for assistance. Fortunately, in some states the very looseness of the wording of the character clause, subject to interpretation by every wind that blows, has been a virtue in disguise making for flexibility in practice, but in more conservative states definitions have been frozen in and flexibility has been frozen out.

Eligibility for assistance for minor children under the law of Pennsylvania has certain limitations so well defined that there is no question of their meaning. But as the years have passed, the point that a mother must be "of proved character and ability" has had many interpretations.

Undoubtedly this "character" clause was written into the law with a very literal intention, since at the time of its writing the care of fatherless children in their own homes instead of in institutions was a very radical departure from precedent. It was necessary continually to prove that children brought up under the care of their own mothers had a better chance to develop into good citizens than those cared for in institutions. At that time too the whole approach to dependency was inclined to be judgmental and inflexible, with little tendency to accept people as they are, with all their individual limitations and differences. The method was to tell clients what they should be and how they should be it.

Later mothers' aid laws took their pattern of properness more or less from the early "radical" measures. But as time has gone on and new currents have altered case work thinking, flexibility of interpretation of "proved character and ability" has greatly modified actual practice under the laws. However the extent of modification still depends largely on the degree of tolerance and freedom from prejudice possessed by the individual interpreter.

In the early stages of mothers' aid in Pennsylvania interpretation of the character clause was so literal as to limit intake to what might be called "standard" mothers. A mother with an illegitimate child, or an addiction to alcohol, or who had a "man lodger" in the home usually was refused benefits. Should any of these derelictions become apparent after a mother had been accepted for benefits she was firmly removed from the rolls.

The trouble with this virtuous practice was that it resulted in penalizing the children without reforming the errant mother. We found that when we rejected or dis-

continued an allowance with the recommendation that the children be taken out of the home, our advice was not being followed. Judges were most reluctant to sign orders to break up a home unless conditions in it were clearly intolerable; private child placing agencies frequently were unable to persuade the mother to accept their program. Therefore the family, mother and children, went on as a unit, getting relief where they could find it but lacking entirely the supervision which it is the responsibility of the Mothers Assistance Fund to give to widows and children. All that our virtuous withdrawal accomplished was to leave children unprotected in a home situation where their interests should have been the first consideration.

LITTLE by little, as experience with border line cases accumulated, interpretation of "proved character and ability" became more flexible. In practice we began to get away from moralistic judgments and to realize that what is best for the child is the only safe measure in appraising the "character" of the mother.

Take for example the whole crop of problems raised by the fact of an illegitimate child in a home with legitimate children. Under the interpretation of the Pennsylvania law a mother may not receive assistance for an illegitimate child born after her husband's death, but may, while illegitimately pregnant, receive aid for her legitimate children. Query: is an illegitimately pregnant mother of "proved character and ability?" The interpretation implies that she is, but that she ceases to be for her illegitimate child as soon as it is born. Such situations as that spread confusion in our thinking until we realized that the question to answer was, "What is best for the children?" To focus on the one factor of the mother's illegitimate pregnancy was not enough; a sound decision in the best interests of the children could be reached only by weighing and balancing all the elements in the family situation.

I remember well the puzzling case of Mrs. Smith—which wasn't her name—and her three little girls. Mr. Smith had been a steady worker and a home loving man, and the first two years after he died were pretty hard on the widow. Just the same she adjusted to her changed economic situation and showed herself a mother of "proved character and ability." Then she became pregnant. She told a story that showed great emotional disturbance and intense loneliness. She had met the man in the case at a neighborhood party. He lived in another state. After a good deal of discussion a tolerant interpretation of the character clause was reached and Mrs. Smith was kept on the assistance rolls. The new baby became an important member of the family, accepted and loved by the other children. The satisfactions that this mother's affection gave her children, and their wholesome development, far outweighed the moral issue.

In Philadelphia County, there were, at a recent date, thirty-nine mother's aid families, out of a total case load of 1752, where the first child was illegitimate and twelve where an illegitimate child had been born since the husband's death or commitment.

There is actually nothing in the Pennsylvania law to exclude an alcoholic from mothers' aid benefits. But the question of whether a mother addicted to drink is or is not a proper mother will not down. Here again by weighing all of the factors in the home life and keeping a firm eye on the whole welfare of the children we have reached flexibility of definition of properness. There was, for example, Mrs. Jones —that will do for a name—who shared her departed husband's reputation for drinking. She had two little boys to whom she was devoted, though she overindulged them and had no great capacity for home making. However after careful investigation and consideration she was accepted for an allowance. For two years it was uphill work. But slowly, under the security of a steady income and the aid and encouragement of the case worker, Mrs. Jones became more self-sufficient, finding satisfaction in her little boys and in her home. The children improved physically and in their school work and the atmosphere of the home became conducive to their growth. Mrs. Jones is still no paragon but the boys are thriving and that, we hold, is the basic test.

We have ten Mrs. Joneses on our Philadelphia County Mothers' Aid rolls and in no case have we any doubt of the wisdom of continuing the aid.

The man lodger is another problem to which mothers' aid everywhere is heir. There is nothing in the Pennsylvania law that prohibits the man lodger but a ruling by the Attorney General's office has made him unacceptable. The result has been considerable confusion of interpretation of the legal properness of a mother with a lodger in her home. Here our aim is to protect those mothers and children whom the ruling was intended to protect and at the same time to give careful consideration to certain exceptional cases.

There was, I remember, Mrs. Robinson, or some such name, and her seven children, living in a large comfortable house which they were buying—that being cheaper than renting. They were a united lot, each of them doing his part to keep the family going. But there wasn't quite money enough, and to eke out Mrs. Robinson rented a room to a widower, a life long friend of the family. He had a good job and a car, was fond of the children and they of him. He was a real asset to the family and was so accepted by the community. Certainly Mrs. Robinson has no less "proved character and ability" because she took this means of helping to keep her home and family intact.

In Philadelphia County we have twenty-nine Mrs. Robinsons receiving mothers' aid. Each case demonstrates that different situations should be treated differently.

I WOULD not have it thought that because I argue for flexibility of interpretation of existing laws I am one of those social workers who think of the law as an obstacle to "our" kind of approach, as a stereotyped set of unrelated rules rather than as a system of justice. On the contrary, laws are but the outgrowth of the accumulation of human experience. They change and grow as human experience changes and grows. It is only when social workers supinely accept "as is" the laws under which they work, and become as inflexible in practice as the laws are in terminology, that a law becomes "frozen in."

Many years and much experience have gone over the dam since the first mothers' aid laws were written and the "proper" pattern was set for mothers needing assistance to keep their children with them. Although many of the laws have been amended in various ways the character clause still sticks in one form or another, a deterrent, at least to the literal minded, to that flexibility of treatment that simple common sense dictates. Now with the coming, under the Social Security Act, of a broad federally aided program of assistance to children, it is more than ever important that the state laws should be freed, by amendment, from the old moralistic limitations that hamper their functioning in the interest of those whom they were designed to serve—dependent children who cannot lobby, vote or protest.

Mopping Up the Floods

By DOUGLAS GRIESEMER

Director, Public Information, American Red Cross

IN the Ohio and Mississippi Valley floods of 1937 an unusually large percentage of the sufferers were city and small-town dwellers, heretofore unknown to social agencies, entirely and proudly self-reliant. It is estimated that more than 322,000 families, about 1,450,000 individuals, in twelve states were directly affected by the year's record high water. Of this number, 1,164,946 persons (258,877 families) were registered with the various Red Cross offices for emergency relief or for assistance in rehabilitation.

What types of persons were assisted? How much assistance was given them? What problems arose out of this flood that had not been encountered in others? What type of workers administered relief? Now that the period of rehabilitation is closing, what of the families themselves?

When the disaster occurred, the spring planting season was at hand; spring business was just opening up; spring rains were still expected. The Red Cross realized that speed in rehabilitation was essential to families, farms and communities.

To investigate the needs of 258,877 families required a large staff of case workers, case supervisors and responsible relief directors. Personnel was "borrowed" from scores of other agencies—from the federal government, the states and municipalities, public and private social agencies, and in some instances from metropolitan banks and business organizations. A system of mutual referrals was organized in the most extensive example of cooperation between federal, private and municipal agencies in the history of American social work. Case work was simplified as far as possible.

Thousands of refugees were concentrated in camps. They were inoculated against smallpox and typhoid, and efforts were made to initiate the uninformed into the rules of balanced diet and personal hygiene. Many of the refugee children got their first glimpse of a tooth brush in the tent colonies. Much good, it was later proved, came from such Red Cross teaching, hurried as it often had to be.

At the end of the emergency period homes scattered along the rivers were a depressing sight. Mud covered everything. Walls were caving in, plaster falling, many buildings crumbling. It was at this time that governmental agencies, including the Works Progress Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps and others, began the gigantic clean-up task that was of incalculable value not only to householders but also to the agencies for family rehabilitation that followed. While workers from these federal organizations were in theory limited to clearing up public property and highways, and removing dangerous obstacles left by the flood, they managed to lend a hand to discouraged flood victims whenever the opportunity offered. These clean-up efforts greatly speeded rehabilitation.

Flood victims included Americans of all types and conditions—from the well-to-do to the squatters. The tasks of sorting and rehabilitation were not simplified by this fact. In some flooded communities, government money had never been needed for local relief. In others, 62 percent of the registrations came from families previously known to relief agencies. Four-fifths of the families in one southern town were flood victims, and most of them were registered for assistance. In seven counties of another southern state hired hands or sharecroppers from 75 percent of the plantations were on the Red Cross lists, in addition to many registrants from small towns.

Briefly, Red Cross rehabilitation is based on present and future needs rather than on past losses. Homes are rebuilt or repaired for needy home owners, but not for renters. Furnishings are provided for both. The aim of relief directors is to restore earning capacity, self-respect and confidence. The Red Cross always gives outright help, never loans.

Thousands of acres were inundated, and in many localities water lay on the land long after the flood had passed. Red Cross assisted the harassed farmers by replacing machinery, re-stocking farm animals, poultry, and seeds, supplying feed for livestock until hay and grains could be harvested, and repairing damaged buildings.

When the Disaster Loan Corporation, the Rural Resettlement Administration, or the local bank found that an applicant was not in a position to borrow money for rehabilitation, they passed the sufferer along to the Red Cross. Conversely, when a Red Cross applicant was found eligible for a loan, he was referred to local institutions or federal agencies.

When the waters had receded, surveys of damage had been made, and building got under way, new problems arose. Given a small town where three fourths of the homes need rebuilding or repairing, or a larger city where 60,000 houses must be renovated, a building boom is inevitable. With a shortage of materials, contractors and independent builders bid for existing supplies, and wages rise. Extravagant price ranges for materials and labor developed in the various sections of the flood zone.

It is long-established Red Cross policy to purchase materials of all sorts—nails, cement, household furniture, food—in the affected communities, for the dual purpose of restoring community morale and stimulating local business. So far as possible this policy was enforced in 1937.

STRAGGLING registration slowed up later stages of rehabilitation. After the first "awards" (as Red Cross grants are known) many families concluded that if the Joneses did why shouldn't they? As a result, case work had to be made more thorough even if it delayed operations.

Because, especially in southern communities, so large a number of flood victims were Negroes, Red Cross took on doctors, nurses, and case workers from the growing ranks of competently trained Negroes in some of the larger flooded cities for work with their own people. Even in the "deep South," these Negro nurses and doctors were welcomed.

Urban rehabilitation dealt with two types of towns. In a growing community, with industrial enterprises, active trade, and a high employment rate, rehabilitation went forward rapidly. But there were many so-called "dead"

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SEPTEMBER 1937 CONTENTS VOL. LXXIII No. 9

So They Say

• Someone has to tackle the fundamentals. —C. F. KETTERING, *Detroit.*

• You keep out of war by being sound in the head and light on the feet.—DOROTHY THOMPSON, *news commentator.*

• The first lien upon the gross earnings of any company is a living wage for its employes.—CHARLES P. TAFT, II, *Cincinnati.*

• Can you imagine the effect if all the nations of the world would join together and sing "Hallelujah?"—KITTY CHEATHAM, *pacifist and singer.*

• The ordinary American just does not enjoy the spectacle of anyone who thinks he is more than life-size.—WALTER LIPPMANN, *news commentator.*

• No amount of skill in administration and no perfection of organization can take the place of human understanding.—DAVID E. LILIENTHAL, *Tennessee Valley Authority.*

• If we can embrace the world with maternal love it will shine with peace and grace. Let us shake hands together and endeavor to create peace in the world through mothers' love.—COUNTESS NOBUKO SAJONISHI, *sister to the Empress of Japan.*

• The competence of the public to decide wisely depends largely on the degree to which pressure groups enlighten the public mind; not upon the extent to which they arouse our emotions.—PROF. HARWOOD L. CHILDS, *Princeton University.*

• There is nothing so deadly as a completely unified social structure.—EDUARD C. LINDEMAN, *New York School of Social Work.*

• The two dominant facts in the modern economic world are technology and corporations. —HENRY A. WALLACE, *Secretary of Agriculture.*

• Some day I hope to see humanity free from bunkiology, but not today, beloved, not today.—BRUCE CALVERT, *editor, The Open Road.*

• The life of the conscientious editor is a warfare against the misuse, misunderstanding and misspelling of words, and the end is defeat.—GEORGE E. MACDONALD, *editor, The Truth Seeker.*

• The idea that any one denomination is the exclusive or particular channel of God's grace is as dead as Queen Anne. Only some people don't know it.—THE REV. E. STANLEY JONES *to the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.*

• We have yearned for peace, we have prayed for peace, we have planned for peace, we have talked for peace, but always we have been unwilling, or at least not ready to pay the price of peace, and that price, which bears the stamp of Heaven, is good will.—THE REV. EDWARD L. STEPHENS, *Richmond, Virginia.*

• Public relations consist of everything we do.—SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN, *New York.*

• You cannot fight evils by resolutions.—THE REV. J. H. OLDHAM, *secretary, International Missionary Council.*

• Propaganda, like medicine or law, can be socially used or abused.—EDWARD L. BERNAYS, *public relations counselor, New York*

• No one knows how many limitations the human will can overcome.—PROF. HARRY D. KITSON, *Teachers College, Columbia University.*

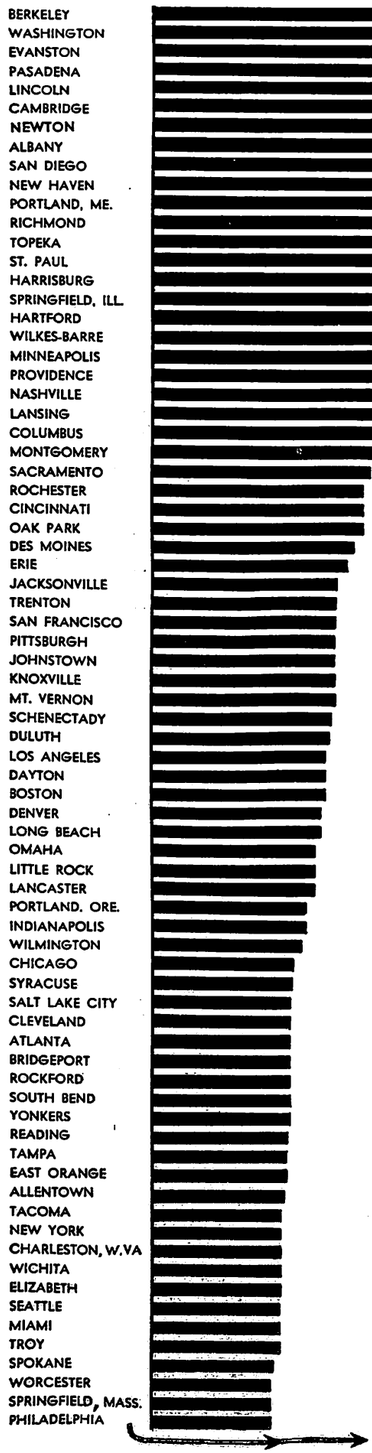
• Politics here [Italy], as in the United States, has long been a sphere into which gentlemen hesitated to venture.—HAROLD CALLENDER *in New York Times.*

• The American conception of decency, morality and respect of government is far more important than a billion dollars worth of revenue.—GOVERNOR FRANK MURPHY, *Michigan.*

• It is impossible to achieve universal justice, efficient administration and complete coverage all at one stroke.—JOHN J. CORSON, *assistant executive director, Social Security Board.*

• O Lord, bless our homes as they go from place to place, and watch over our friends and loved ones as we run across them from time to time.—*Benediction from "Sunday Morning in Trailer Town,"* MARCUS BACH *in The Christian Century.*

If intelligence is to serve us in this age of confusion, certainly The Survey must be considered an indispensable guide for peaceful evolution - - - - - - Solomon Lowenstein, *president, National Conference of Social Work*



Try This Social Intelligence Test On Your Town

WHERE THE SURVEY IS READ

Run down the column at the left (read up at the right) and see where your city stands. Is its line long enough? Or will it bear stretching?

Each line shows, not our actual circulation, but the proportion of Survey subscribers to population. To our way of thinking they are good lines, for they are elastic.

Where The Survey is read, there you will find citizens who believe in the fundamental right of all the people in their community to "live with dignity as human beings"; who know that adverse conditions can be changed by concentrated responsibility and concerted effort; and who, through The Survey, learn from month to month what other men and women in other communities are doing to bring this about.

Where The Survey is read, there you will find something which, for want of a better term, let's call social intelligence.

For example, take the field of social work. Is there need in your city for better understanding of social measures; for a wider base of support for social agencies; and for more effective personnel and administration, public and private? Consider how important an element the number of Survey readers in your community can be, in meeting these needs and putting social intelligence to work.

WILL YOU HELP US TO STRETCH THESE LINES?

More than most magazines, The Survey grows through the good will of its readers. The soundest circulation gains we have ever made have come where Survey friends introduced The Survey to their friends. In some instances these friends of theirs were social workers who needed to keep abreast of advances in their profession. Or they were board members, volunteers, citizens, who without personal recommendation might think it "just another magazine," or had never heard that it was ready to serve them as an indispensable guide in "this age of confusion." Will you put The Survey before just such friends of yours?

HOW TO GO ABOUT IT

Make a list of half a dozen, or a dozen,—people you know who are "natural" Survey readers. Put it to them as strongly and as personally as you can. Make them understand that this subscription of theirs is wanted in your town no less than in our office; that you have singled them out as just the sort to lengthen the line of social intelligence locally.

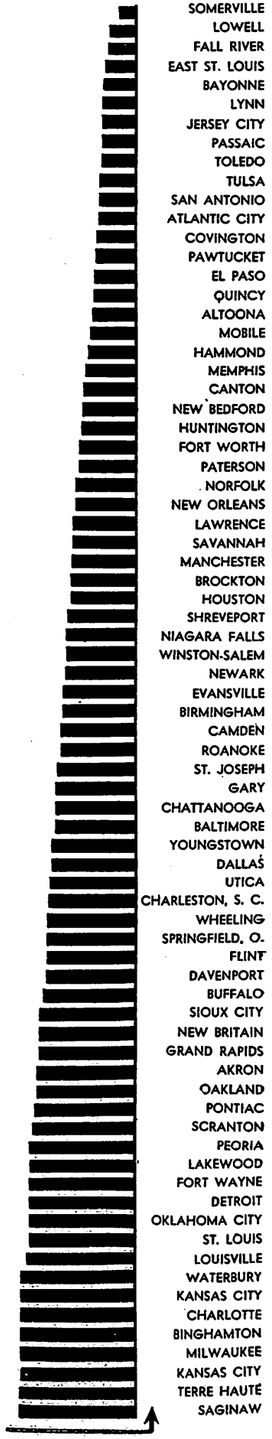
Come away each time with an order for a $2 trial subscription. For this sum, as part of our extension program in this anniversary year, we will send to each NEW reader recruited by you: either **7 months of both our magazines, Survey Graphic and The Midmonthly Survey** (this will save a dollar) or **12 months of either periodical** (again a dollar saved).

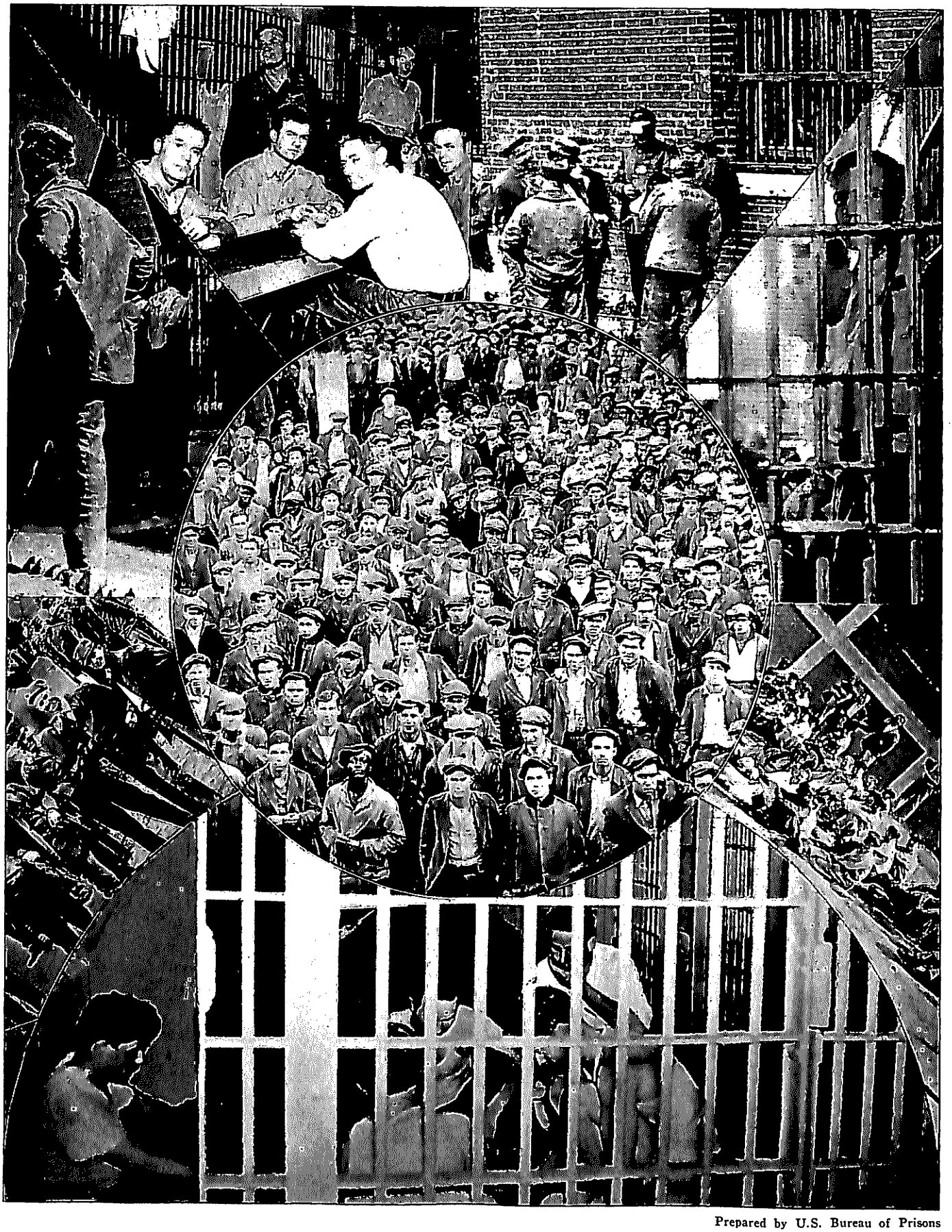
Set a goal for yourself at the start of at least three such subscriptions. Send us their names and addresses, together with the $6.00—and as some token of our appreciation we will enter a Free Anniversary Gift Subscription **to some fourth person of your choice.** For every three additional new subcribers you send we shall in turn accord you an additional gift subscription.

WHAT TO AIM FOR IN YOUR TOWN

If every reader of The Survey should send in three new names, our circulation would jump to over 100,000. Berkeley's line would shoot across both pages and beyond. That's day dreaming perhaps, but there is no reason why Somerville, Mass., for instance, should not extend to the length of Roanoke, Va.; why Philadelphia should not stretch to that of Washington, D. C. and Evanston, Ill.

Being realistic, we have set quotas city by city; also for smaller towns which do not appear in the list. Drop a post card to The Survey, 112 E. 19th St., New York, and we will tell you what the quota is for your town, in stretching its line of social intelligence. Perhaps you can get others to help give it a tug.





Prepared by U.S. Bureau of Prisons

"Nothing to do"

THE SURVEY

SEPTEMBER 1937 VOL. LXXIII NO. 9

Horse Collars and Prisons

By JAMES V. BENNETT

Director, United States Bureau of Prisons

HORSE collars have come to mean more to the American prison system during the past year than the iron collars so generally worn by American convicts a hundred and twenty-five years ago. The Supreme Court has said in effect that the manufacture of horse collars in prison must stop. It did this, in a case turning on a shipment of horse collars, when it upheld the validity of the Ashurst-Sumners Federal Prison Labor Act prohibiting the shipment of prison-made articles into states regulating their sale or use. The decision itself not only points out a new way by which federal powers can implement otherwise ineffective state laws but it also marks the end of an epoch in the American system of prison management.

The managers of our first American prison, the old Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia, solved the problem of employment by riveting iron collars about the necks of the prisoners, chaining them together and working them on the streets of the city. But the blood-abhorring Quakers soon changed this and evolved a system of solitary confinement and handicrafts which developed alongside of the Auburn scheme of employing the prisoners in congregate workshops and housing them in massive cell blocks. While the Pennsylvania system was followed abroad, the Auburn plan has been followed here, almost universally. Now a substitute must be found for a system which required the employment of men in shops and the disposition of their products in the open market. True, for some time most of our prison administrators had seen the handwriting on the wall and had been casting about for some substitute, but so far the expedients tried have failed woefully to solve the problem of prison idleness.

No better example can be found of the problems arising from the Ashurst-Sumners Prison Labor Act and companion state legislation than in the situation in Kentucky where the test case arose. Just before the Ohio River flood mercifully forced its abandonment, I visited the old Frankfort Reformatory and, in company with the warden, walked about the institution. Everywhere about the yard men were squatting on the ground or leaning in little groups against a wall or pacing restlessly back and forth across the narrow enclosure. The warden told me that a year before his institution had been a humming workshop with every man provided with some kind of a job. Some of them made work-shirts, some of them made chairs, others made horse collars, mule whips, dog leashes and the like.

In 1931 about 3000 of the 3800 men in all Kentucky institutions were employed. Just before the floods early last spring, only about 1200 out of a total population of 4000 had any kind of work whatsoever. Nearly 800 of those reported as working were engaged on "maintenance," that is, cleaning, cooking and taking in each other's wash. And all of these nearly 3000 idle prisoners are in a state where the first "homemade" prison developed.

IN 1796 the daring and desperate horse-thieves of the frontier state of Kentucky were placed in a prison constructed by popular subscriptions of money or land. "An amiable gentleman, very sanguine and somewhat visionary in his notions," by the name of John Stuart Hunter, was given the delightful job, with the munificent stipend of $333.33 a year, of guarding the prisoners and making them earn their own keep. The prisoners made nails, log-chains, axes, hoes and shoes which the agent advertised at "the most reduced prices for cash or for whiskey, brandy, cider, lacure, pork, bacon, etc." Until relatively recent times the Kentucky prison system, thus inaugurated, was self-supporting and incidentally also paid considerable dividends to those in charge and to the state, through its system of leasing prisoners and allowing manufacturers to contract for their labor.

The situation in Kentucky is no worse than in most of the other states. As a matter of fact conditions are better there just now because the state has embarked upon an intelligent program of using its inmate labor to construct a new institution to replace the old Frankfort Reformatory. But mobs of idle, aimless prisoners can be seen in almost every American correctional institution. In Maryland, for example, the contract labor shops were shut down

overnight, and the men do nothing but march back and forth, back and forth, and round and round a small yard. In West Virginia, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and many other states thousands of men who formerly were employed have been jammed again into already overcrowded prisons with absolutely nothing to occupy their minds and bodies.

What is to become of the American prison system? Is there such a thing as penology? Will men go out of prison equipped with something else than a prison pallor and the label "Ex-Con."? Can we overcome the public prejudice established in pioneer and reconstruction days against a system and methods which rightly brought public condemnation? All of the psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, sociologists, classificationists and moralists in the world will not be able to redirect the tendencies of the men and women who get into prison unless they have some tools with which to work. As James A. Johnston, now warden of the Alcatraz Penitentiary and formerly in charge of one of the largest prisons in the United States, has said:

> The great necessity in prison is work. If I had to manage a prison upon condition that I make my choice of one thing, and only one, as an aid to discipline, as an agency for reform, for its therapeutic value, I would unhesitatingly choose work —just plain, honest-to-goodness work. Of course, I wouldn't like to have to concentrate so on a choice and it would be unwise to be so restricted. Physical examinations, medical treatments, bodily repairs, educational opportunities, spiritual guidance, psychiatry, psychology, are necessary and helpful. But the habit of work is what men most need.

SINCE the time when the free citizens of Nineveh rioted because one of their triumphant kings returned from a single campaign with 208,000 prisoners whom he put to work immediately in competition with "honest" citizens, there has been opposition to the employment of prisoners. Basically this opposition has sprung from the feeling that the labor of prisoners has been exploited and the products of their industry have been thrown on the market at ruinous prices. It is true enough that instances exist of graft and exploitation in the management of prison industries by private contractors, of misbranding convict-made goods, of dumping distressed prison merchandise upon the market, and of undue concentration of prisoners in particular trades or industries. It has seemed to many prison officials that it would be possible to cure these evils without the total elimination of opportunities for prison employment. Many of them have believed that the changing attitude of the taxpayer would make it possible now to evolve a penal system based upon profit for the prisoner instead of for the prison. But perhaps, after all there was no way out short of absolutely barring the sale in the open market of prison-made products. Be that as it may the plain facts are that drastic prohibitory legislation is now upon the statute books and the prison men must find a way out of the dilemma thus created.

It is futile to argue that the American system of imprisonment can continue in its present form without providing some means of occupying the minds and hands of those sentenced to "hard labor." To understand this, one must gain some concept of the routine of the prisoner and his world. The prison corridor, the lock step, the wall, the bars, the criminal's warped ideas of manhood, his undeviating faithfulness to a remorseless code, his bitterness toward the social order and his scorn for the thrifty and industrious, are all attributes of life in a world altogether foreign to most people. Never is there relief in a prison from the exacting regularity of every action and every move from morning until night. Precisely on the moment, the cell doors are unlocked and the men march to their meals. Three, four or five times a day, at exactly the same moment, they stand at the door of their cells to be counted. In many prisons, for months in advance, the content of the diet can be predicted. From eight to fourteen hours a day the prisoner must lie on his bunk in his cell, often with nothing to occupy his mind. Worry, lack of work and exercise may make it impossible for him to sleep more than a few hours. All that many of them can look forward to is the adventure of combing their hair or cleaning their teeth, cursing the guard or booing the warden as he goes by on his daily inspection tour. The prisoners "build time" listlessly, unsmilingly, usually sullenly. The result is that the whole prison atmosphere is charged with bitterness, rancor, slothfulness, and an all pervading sense of defeat.

How is all of this to be changed and hope substituted for futility, industry for idleness, and cooperation for sullen opposition? The answer in a single word is "Work"—hard, constructive, habit-forming work. A way must be found to employ the hosts now shuffling aimlessly about the prison yards. Almost everyone recognizes the economic justice of employing the prisoner and making him earn a portion of his upkeep. He must be taught to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow and must, as President Roosevelt has stated, "learn that work in itself is honorable and is a practical substitute for criminal methods of earning one's livelihood."

Recent statistics are not available as to the situation in the state institutions. But we know that only about fifteen thousand prisoners are now employed in those states which continue to make goods for sale in localities which do not prohibit their marketing, and that another forty to fifty thousand prisoners are occupied more or less usefully in various maintenance tasks about the institutions with a few thousand employed on farms, road construction and similar assignments. The prison administrator must now find employment for the remaining hundred thousand men who, on account of their character and the nature of the crimes they have committed, must be kept within the walls of an institution in the manufacture of articles and commodities for use in other state institutions and agencies.

IN some states there is very real ground for believing that such a state-use system will work if further restrictive legislation is not enacted. The prisoners can manufacture such things as automobile tags, road signs, clothing for state wards and school equipment. But already manufacturers concerned are lobbying for legislation prohibiting prisoners from engaging in such industries. The printers, for instance, have secured laws which make it impossible to do any printing in a prison. A bill nearly passed last year in Ohio which would have prevented prisoners from manufacturing any furniture for the school system. Already Ohio has a law which has shut down the plant formerly manufacturing paving brick for Ohio highways. Some groups are opposing the use of prisoners in the construction even of the buildings in which they themselves are confined.

The federal government must also be called upon to assist the states in developing a constructive prison program and must aid them in finding the necessary funds to reorganize their prison systems. A new type of administrator must be found, men who are ingenious and powerful enough to develop a new penal philosophy. The wise use of parole must be extended and greater numbers of men placed in the community under the guidance of understanding and efficient probation officers. In advocating the strengthening and extension of parole and probation one need not be maudlin about the poor prisoner. It is the only constructive answer yet found to his problem. Moreover the ferocity of some of our judges must be mitigated so that sentences will be less drastic and at the same time more uniform.

While we are aiming at these distant and somewhat nebulous objectives we must contrive somehow to solve the prison labor problem, or else we must abandon the belief that the prisoner can be released from the institution better and not worse than when he entered it. Until we have solved prison labor, we must stop speaking of penology as if it were a science and stop talking of the prison as a protection to the public. It is no protection to society to release into it men whose bodies and spirits are so atrophied by idleness that they can do nothing but return to crime as their means of a livelihood. Here is a task and an objective for the humanitarian, the crusader, the socially minded who can look tough facts in the face. Horse collars must leave the prisons; let us not substitute horsefeathers.

Looking Back at the Long Vacation

By CLARA LAMBERT

Associate in Teacher Education, Summer Play Schools, Child Study Association

SEPTEMBER brings the opening of schools all over the United States. The children are off the streets, out of empty lots and back in harness. Mothers breathe a sigh of relief. The children themselves, for the first few weeks at least, welcome work and routine.

It is time to evaluate what the long vacation has brought to the millions of children pouring back into the classrooms. Usually this precious period has been only a hiatus in living. Parents, by and large, work on the theory that after nine or ten months of regimentation children need this time to do as they please. Actually most urban parents have no choice. For, outside of the relatively few playgrounds, how are city children to spend their time? Few have resources beyond games in crowded streets—including cards and dice—or sheer idleness. Individual agencies in both country and city, have become concerned about the destructive results of the sudden sag into summer leisure, but they have not made use of one of America's greatest investments—its public school plants. True, they have tried to provide summer activities for the small number of children who could be sent to "fresh air" camps, day camps, playgrounds or parks. But, however helpful these efforts have been, statistically they have not been consistent or numerous. Despite the development of recreational facilities in the depression, the summer still means empty school buildings, unemployed teachers, children with leisure but with no technique for using it, and parents in homes with limited facilities. The conclusion is a sad one—that relatively only a very few children have had a summer enriched by vital activity.

The summer play schools committee of the Child Study Association of America for the past twenty-one years has been trying to determine what is the most profitable kind of summer for young children. Its efforts, and those of other groups similarly experimenting, point the way to a possible solution.

The summer play schools committee was organized during the War, when many mothers were working while fathers were in the army. Children in underprivileged neighborhoods were then more neglected than ever. They had no play places and no homes. A group of interested women set themselves to meet the problem. In the original play schools of New York City the settlements provided the school centers, the board of education supplied some teachers, and other social agencies gave additional help. Today there are added to the list public service companies that furnish transportation for trips and excursions; museums and libraries that open their doors, and WPA and NYA assistants. The combined efforts of the committee and these agencies have now made possible the development of all-day summer play schools in New York City.

The children who made up the first summer play groups knew schools as places in which to learn reading, writing and arithmetic. They knew settlements, for in the crowded quarters of the large cities these institutions had long offered children after-school opportunity for recreation and social life. They knew playgrounds, some of them, as places to use apparatus, play games and learn handicrafts. But the play school was a new concept. They came to it at nine in the morning and stayed until four-thirty in the afternoon. In groups of twenty-five children of the same age, they played, worked, and learned new ways of living with one another and with adults. The program included lunch, a rest period, and perhaps a cooling shower or even a swim. In the settlements, these first summer play schools began to work out their techniques. To those who have watched the schools over a period of twenty-one years, it is amazing to see what has developed.

THERE have been three stages in the development of the summer play school. To begin with, the committee was chiefly concerned with the health of children. Summer groups were kept small. The plan was worked out for children between the ages of four to thirteen. The workers devoted much time and attention to physical examination, rest and nutrition. Lunch became an important educational and social factor in the play school routine. Here many of the children for the first time ate vegetables and drank milk. Here too, they were introduced to the simple social rites associated with meal time. This was the most complete meal of their day, often the only one.

Paralleling its work with children, the summer play schools committee through meetings and conferences instituted what we call today parent education, helping the mothers in their home problems as well as in their parent-child relationships.

As health measures became accepted routines in play school, the interest of the committee extended itself. The

summer play schools naturally drew on the new ideas in recreation and the play skills. The best leadership available was obtained, in trying to develop a wholesome, active program adapted to the age and interest of the children.

About the same time that the summer play school movement was developing, the progressive school movement was gaining momentum. Small laboratory schools had sprung up, in which carpentry, painting, clay modelling, printing, cooking, singing, dancing, games, trips and academic work were all woven into a meaningful pattern, motivated by purpose and use.

THE trends in summer play schools began to reflect the influence of these new schools. Projects were introduced, and many a Dutch house and Indian village flourished in a play school classroom. The day was fairly well divided between games and projects, both indoors and out.

As the summer play schools grew, the committee found it necessary to institute a special training course for its teachers, with a demonstration school. Here a private agency, rather timidly and modestly, entered a field which was not strictly speaking its own—the field of education—in an effort to help solve the year-round problem of the underprivileged child. Private organizations, I suppose, have always been the catalytic agents for big movements, and perhaps that is one of their chief functions.

As the work committee of the Child Study Association went forward problems arose—some as yet unanswered. The most urgent is the question: what should a play school ideally offer children who cannot leave their communities for the summer? Growing out of this is the question: how shall teachers be trained to meet children's needs? Finally, how can schools, playgrounds, welfare agencies and organizations interested in the complete development of the child cooperate in bringing about a twelve-month program of education with a flexible, unregimented, vacation plan for more than 30 million children? Playgrounds in 1932 served fewer than 2 million children; camps, private and public, 1,682,907. The figures may vary for 1937, but the proportion remains almost the same.

Only those workers who have dealt with city children will believe that youngsters no longer know how to play. Children today are more inclined to be amused than to play. Anyone who spent his childhood in a small town knows how packing cases were converted into houses or castles, trains or theaters; knows, too, how readily all the neighborhood comedies, tragedies, and humdrum work were recreated by the children: playing house, grocer, fireman, doctor and so forth. The kind of play that used to take place in empty lots and back yards is practically extinct in the large cities, where almost all the open spaces are parking areas for cars, not for children. Even such games as Prisoner's Base; Run, Sheep, Run; and so on had more life values than Hop-Scotch, or jump rope, which are almost the only games for young children possible today on city streets.

People point with pride to our very youthful tennis champions, swimmers, sailors and golfers. It is true that athletic activities have been extended beyond the leisure class group to the masses, but athletics have not solved the summer problem even for older children. One cannot play tennis, swim, play baseball all day. The summer is hot and enervating. Even camps use their outdoor time judiciously. Play schools must do the same.

A summer program all "games," or all "projects," is not well balanced. There is a summer mood that must be reckoned with in carrying out a vacation scheme for all children. In one of the summer play schools a group whose teacher came from a famous progressive school began the summer with a group newspaper and ended with a "show." Half of the group were Negro children. They knew how to dance and sing, they were eager to do something together, but they wanted to have something to say about their vacation activities. They organized into groups, to work on scenery, programs, dialogue and "routine." It was a far cry from the school as they knew it, but it was close to education.

In another school the children decided to do a small sized Middletown study. Armed with 25-cent cameras they went forth every afternoon to take snapshots of their community. They developed their pictures and pasted them into an effective pattern.

In some of the schools the children wanted more outdoor time. Empty lots were found for them in the lower East Side, where tenements had been demolished. They were not opened to the children until there was adequate equipment—not just slides and swings, but large, sturdy packing cases, small wooden horses, planks, big hollow blocks, wagons, pails and shovels. The children played here every day, until the sun drove them indoors, or until lunch and rest beckoned them as a welcome recess. Real play emerged as soon as suitable place and materials were made available.

Teachers learned that in addition to play, children crave opportunity to do things with their hands. This imperative urge may be a left-over from artisan forbears, but whatever its origin, many a boy and girl was made happy using hammers, saws, nails and wood, as well as paints, clay, needle and thread. The impulse to "do something" made teachers abandon the verbal approach in extending children's horizons and adapt themselves to the reality—summer play.

THE committee watched play schools grow from health motivated institutions to schools devoted to social, emotional and recreational aspects as well. They had instituted teacher training, worked with community agencies, watched children grow. Now they saw that new attitudes toward the summer must be articulated. The progressive school had contributed knowledge of constructive play. The recreational movement contributed games and crafts. And now the great leisure time movement is demanding useful time expenditure for all members of the community, which means that the public school buildings must be kept open during the summer, with playgrounds available to children and to adults; and deskless rooms for play space. It also means that teachers must be trained for leisure time teaching in summer and after-school hours as well, and that educators must recognize summer needs of children and parents.

Signs of this trend are the activity programs in the winter schools, after-school programs in a few schools, and the growing recognition that an all-day summer play school, with lunch and rest, is necessary for young children. A national summer program, with room for experimenting in work and play for the children who need it and choose it, is the ultimate step in making our schools all-year-round institutions rather than the part time agencies they are today. Probably in time the schools will provide integrated education for our children.

Standard of Living

By SELDEN C. MENEFEE

Department of Sociology, University of Washington

WHAT is the American standard of living? Psychologically, it means for most of us what we would all like to have—a nice home and a car, a savings account, and enough leisure for travel and play. Some tens of thousands of Americans, asked by the American Institute of Public Opinion how much income per week a family of four needs merely to live decently, gave as their median reply $30 a week, or $1560 a year. In the South they said $25 a week would be enough, but on the Pacific Coast the estimate was $35. A supplementary estimate of a "health and comfort" yearly budget showed an average of $1950 considered necessary.

The U. S. Department of Labor agrees quite closely with this poll. According to its estimates, approximately $1200 a year for a family is necessary for "subsistence," and $2000 for "minimum health and decency." Our old ideas of the American living standard are knocked into a cocked hat when we realize that in 1929, 42 percent of our population had an annual family income under $1500 and 77 percent under $2000. In 1932, these figures had changed to 59 percent and 88 percent respectively. Nine out of ten did not have the minimum for "health and decency."

The Brookings Institution says that nearly six million families, or one fifth of the national total, earned less than $1000 even in 1929. According to the Cleveland Trust Company, the bottom 20 percent of our population drew only 4.3 percent of the nation's income in 1929.

Most of these figures have been quoted to us over and over again during the depression. Now, just when we are beginning to get back some of the illusions we had in the nineteen-twenties, along comes a report by the Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration to set us to thinking again. (Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March 1935, by Margaret Loomis Stecker, Preliminary Report, WPA Division of Social Research, Washington, 1937. 193 pp.)

Industrious WPA workers gathered more than 1,430,000 price quotations in fifty-nine different cities in all sections of the country. Two standard budgets were set up—one at the maintenance level, representing the minimum of current outlay necessary for supporting the families of industrial, service and other manual workers; the other at an emergency level, taking into account certain economies that may be made temporarily during a depression period. Both budgets are for a family of four—a man, a woman, a boy of thirteen, and a girl of eight.

Some aspects of the maintenance budget reveal the hardships it would entail. The man in the mythical family is a laborer, yet he is furnished with only two cotton work-shirts and one woolen one a year. The "woman in the home" is allowed one and one half dresses of silk or wool material, six pairs of cotton stockings and two of silk.

Although the maintenance budget allows one movie show a week for the family, there is no provision for giving the children a higher education. The only provision for savings is a life insurance policy for $1000. Twenty cents a person a month is allowed for fraternal or patriotic society dues, but nothing for union dues. No provision is made for an automobile, which has become a psychological as well as a transportation necessity, even among laboring families in many places.

The housing minimum requirement is one room a person, with indoor bath and toilet. The report comments: "Working class housing in general is so poor in some cities that to get reports of rents for accommodations meeting the specifications it was necessary to price dwellings not customarily occupied by industrial, service and other manual workers of small means."

The report itself admits that neither the maintenance nor the emergency budget represents a desirable standard: "Neither level will permit families to enjoy the full fruits of what we have come to call the American standard of living. Indeed, those forced to exist at the emergency level for an extended period would be subjected to serious health hazards."

THE average amount needed for the maintenance level was $1261 in March 1935; corrected for prices in March 1937, it was $1317. The average for the emergency level was $903. The indictment of our present social situation comes when we compare actual conditions with these figures, low as they are. According to Isidor Lubin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, a large percentage of working class families in these cities—in some cases more than half—had total incomes of less than $1250 in 1935-36. The WPA minimum wage of $55 a month, or $660 a year, is proved to be inadequate when it is compared with the $903 yearly emergency minimum set up by the research division of the WPA itself. The average income of American families last year, according to the U. S. Department of Labor, was about $1300, with nearly a third having less than $1000. Here is the third of our nation which President Roosevelt declared to be ill-clad, ill-housed and ill-fed.

One of the most significant results of the survey is the death blow it deals to the myth of great differentials between living costs in the North and the South. The average maintenance cost in cities of the Middle Atlantic, where costs were highest—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania—was only $117 above the average cost in cities of the East South Central States—Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee—where costs were lowest. Correcting for the smaller size of southern cities, the difference actually falls to about 3 percent. Four large southern cities fall in the top half of the scale—Washington, D. C. (which heads the list at $1415 for the emergency level), St. Louis, Baltimore and Atlanta.

True enough, Mobile foots the list with a maintenance cost of $1129 per family, but even this is insufficient basis for the wage differentials as between North and South. In the lumber industry, for example, the minimum wage set by the woodworkers' union in the Pacific Northwest is 62½ cents an hour, while in some southern states workers in the same industry are paid 20 cents an hour. Obviously the wage differential between North and South rests, not on differences in prices, but on the fact that unorganized

southern workers eat turnip greens, corn pone, and salt pork, and have a corresponding standard of housing, clothing, recreation, education and medical care.

The real differences come with size, rather than location of the city. But there is no uniformity in individual prices even among cities of similar size. Rents are highest in Washington, D. C. and food is highest in Albuquerque, Bridgeport and New York City; while Butte, San Francisco, Spokane, Portland, Ore., and Minneapolis top the list in clothing prices. Differences that loom large in particular categories tend to cancel each other, with the result that the most extreme range in the totals is only slightly over 20 percent. In more than half the cities, the cost of the maintenance level was between $1200 and $1300 a year.

Yet, low as is the standard set in these budgets, something over one third of our population does not have an income sufficient to attain even this minimum standard of living.

Certain employers and business organizations will utilize this report for their own ends. The maintenance budget may be used to justify wages at the prevailing level, in spite of its obvious inadequacy. Regional differences in prices of certain articles will be cited to justify wage differentials in the South, although the total amount of the budget varied little from North to South. Special interests will also find some of the detailed figures useful. In Seattle, rents are very low because of the comparatively scattered residential areas. Yet apartment house owners (which means mortgage companies in a great majority of cases) have already seized upon the higher rent prices of other cities as a justification for wholesale increases in their rates.

The WPA report will be most useful, however, to those who realize that our "American" living standard is very un-American indeed. Here is abundant ammunition for those who are working for minimum wages, public housing, and other legislation to benefit the minority—or majority—of our population which cannot, today, maintain even a "minimum" standard of living.

A Relief Agency Plays the Market

By BENJAMIN GLASSBERG

Superintendent, Department of Outdoor Relief, Milwaukee County, Wis.

BEFORE the rising tide of prosperity washes out the memory of all the unconventional procedures developed under the stress of emergency relief, I make haste to recount a unique activity of the Milwaukee County Department of Outdoor Relief. This department played the stock market for the benefit of its clients, and what is more, came out on the winning side.

On April 27, 1933 one John Figgis, having exhausted the little money he had in the bank, applied for relief. He was a chemist with a good record in a laboratory where he had worked for many years. When the firm went out of business he was laid off. At the end of seven months of unemployment he had used practically all his savings, had sold his 1930 Ford and had borrowed on his insurance. When he came to the relief department asking for food, he had not a thing left that he could turn into money with the exception of twenty shares of common stock of the Blank Manufacturing Company, a major agricultural implement firm. Under the law in most states, no one is entitled to relief who has any means whatsoever. As a rule he is required before receiving relief to take the so-called pauper's oath; that is, to swear that he has no means and that he has used up his very last dollar.

On the day John Figgis applied for relief his stock in the implement company had a value of $12.25 a share. He was, therefore, possessed of a considerable asset since his twenty shares could have been sold for $245. He had paid $800 for them only a few years before. Strictly speaking these shares made him ineligible for relief, but because it seemed unreasonable to insist on his selling the only asset he had at a time when the market was so low, a bargain was struck with him. He agreed to assign his shares to the relief department with the understanding that when the price of them went up they would be sold and the department repaid for the relief expenditure it had made for him. Of course, if the price went down the department would be the loser. John Figgis himself was staking nothing on the deal, for if forced to sell he quickly would consume the resulting cash. However if the price went up both he and the department stood to gain.

From April 1933 until a year ago John Figgis received relief more or less continuously. He then got a WPA job. His stock in the meantime advanced to $77 a share and its total value now is $1540, or approximately $1300 more than on the day when he assigned it. By selling it he now is able to give up his WPA job, repay the $600 worth of relief which he has received and have left a balance of $940 to tide himself over while looking for a regular job.

AND there was George Husik who applied for relief on February 19, 1934. Mr. Husik, close to fifty, with a family of seven children, had been a laborer with a large construction company. When building operations decreased, he was laid off and after a period on CWA was forced to apply for relief. His only income was $10 a month from a lodger in his home. He had no savings, but he did have ten shares of paid-up stock in a building and loan association, for which he had paid $1000 though the market value at the time he applied was only $350. Strictly speaking, he was not eligible for relief, since the $350 which he could have realized by selling his shares would have enabled him to maintain his family for a few months. Mr. Husik, however, was much opposed to disposing of his stock at such a low price, and the relief department did not insist on it, providing that he would agree to assign the shares. The Husik family received complete relief, with the exception of rent—they owned their home—until February 1935, when one of the daughters secured a job. Her wages, added to the monthly $10 from the lodger, enabled the family to take care of its own needs and to go off the relief rolls. Not until August 1936, was Mr. Husik willing to sell his building and loan stock, a transaction in which he received $745. After repaying the department the sum of $275 for the aid which he had received while on relief, he had $466 remaining. Had he been required to sell his shares in February 1934, he would have been able to pro-

charge. . . . In many districts where business men have been found delinquent in filing payroll tax returns under the social security act, it has been discovered that the majority are small employers who have confused the provisions of the security act with the requirements of state unemployment compensation measures.

Rulings—Clergymen paid for officiating at funerals do not have to pay social security taxes on such fees, the Bureau of Internal Revenue has ruled, though hired chauffeurs, pallbearers and singers come under the law. . . . In Arizona and New York tips tucked under the plate for the waitress come within the scope of the unemployment insurance laws. . . . Ordinary life insurance agents of Kansas City Life are held to be independent contractors, and not subject to Titles VIII and IX of the social security act. According to *The Weekly Underwriter*, this company's contract with its agents is so closely patterned after the usual agent's contract that "the decision is practically a ruling for all life men throughout the country."

Private Plans—The president of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, Ned R. Powley, states that the company is "watching the new federal old age benefits program with interest," but is "holding tight to its own efficient program." . . . Socony-Vacuum will continue its private retirement plan for two more years, along with requirements of old age benefits. The company plan was started in 1903. . . . Interborough Rapid Transit, one of New York City's subway systems, announces a new private retirement plan for its employes under which it "will repay to 12,500 employes approximately $2 million and for thirty years will pay $675,000 into a pension fund, while employes will be required to make no further contributions." The new agreement is put forward as an adjustment of the private plan to the federal social security program. . . . The Central Hanover Bank, New York City, is starting an annuity and insurance plan, effective August 1, covering all regular employes under the retirement ages of sixty-five for men and sixty for women. Costs are shared by the workers and the bank, but the bank "pays more than half the future cost and all the accumulated charge for past service."

Labor Trouble—The National Labor Relations Board has appointed William Savin, Family Service Association director in Washington, D.C., as arbitrator in the case of William Stumpf and William Schultz, former employes alleged to have been discharged by the Social Security Board for activity in behalf of the United Federal Workers, a CIO affiliate. The reinstatement of Harvey Hochman and David Schutzberger, whose dismissal was also ascribed by the UFW to organization activity, is announced by the union.

Study and Report—Social Security Board Regulation No. 2 is a pamphlet on old age benefits, prepared as a guide for all participants in this program. From the superintendent of documents, Washington, price 10 cents. . . . In a 600-page paper bound volume the Social Security Board has published a summary of the staff reports to the Committee on Economic Security, which paved the way for the social security act. It includes a summary of foreign experience with unemployment insurance, sections on unemployment compensation in this country, old age security, security for children, provisions for the blind, the extension of public health services, the need for federal support of social security programs. Copies from the superintendent of documents, Washington, D.C., price 75 cents.

Security Abroad

FIFTY thousand Russian office workers will become eligible for old age pensions, under a new decree extending to them old age and disability benefits previously limited to industrial and agricultural workers.

South Africa—A system of unemployment compensation has been established in the Union of South Africa, covering specified industries. For any of the scheduled industries in any area, the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare may establish an unemployment fund covering all persons in the industry in the area, with certain exclusions. The funds thus established are to be administered by management committees, made up of equal numbers of representatives of employers' and employes' organizations. The funds are to be built up with contributions by the members, and a government subsidy equal to one fourth of the member contributions. A central authority of three members will supervise the management of the funds, administer a central unemployment benefit fund into which the Minister of Labor is to pay from national revenue, a sum equal to one fourth of the total contributions of employers and employes to their several funds. From this central fund, assistance will be given to unemployment funds where it is needed.

British Surplus—The unemployment insurance fund in Great Britain which some years ago had a heavy deficit and was therefore reorganized, is expected to show a surplus of more than £17 million in 1936-37. There is a divergence of opinion as to the use to which this surplus should be put. The trade unions propose that the waiting period be abolished, the amount of all benefits increased, and the period of benefit payment lengthened beyond that allowed at the present time.

Czechoslovakian Committee—The Minister of Social Welfare has appointed a committee to study the question of the introduction of compulsory sickness, old age and widows' and orphans' insurance for independent workers in Czechoslovakia. The scope of the proposed scheme is "to make insurance compulsory for all persons exercising an independent trade and who are liable to the general tax on trade profits or the land tax." This means that peasants, craftsmen, tradesmen and members of the learned professions will be included in the proposed plan.

The one hundredth anniversary of the opening of the first kindergarten in Blankenburg, Germany, is being celebrated this year by the Association for Childhood Education. Local and nation-wide pro-

grams will emphasize the development of the movement for childhood education here and abroad. Suggestions for exhibits, pageants, radio programs, and a study outline may be obtained from the association, 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Concerning Children

THE rash of publicity last spring over child marriages brought action in several state legislatures. Minnesota prohibited marriage under fifteen years and Tennessee under sixteen. Rhode Island raised the minimum age for girls to sixteen, for boys to eighteen. Maryland's new law requires a forty-eight hour notice of intention to wed; New York's, a seventy-two hour notice. Tennessee requires a three-day notice for girls under eighteen. States that still cling to the common law age for marriage—twelve for girls, fourteen for boys—include Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Mississippi, New Jersey and Washington.

Therapy by Play—Children suffering from every type of physical handicap may enter the new Elizabeth and J. Willis Martin Orthopedic School in Philadelphia which provides schooling

from kindergarten through the entire eight grades. Covering a block in one of the city's poorer neighborhoods, the school was built by the Philadelphia Board of Education in conjunction with the Public Works Administration, to provide the best possible educational facilities for handicapped children the city over. Its cost was met from taxes plus a grant of 45 percent from PWA. It will care for five hundred children, giving them the best of skilled services and attractive apparatus for therapy by play, such as heated swimming pools, equipment for handicrafts, domestic science, a print shop and gymnasium. Treatment rooms include scientifically constructed exercise devices, disguised to have the appeal of play materials. No child capable of educational training is excluded.

The medical staff includes a physician, dentists, physiotherapists, and an orthopedic nurse. Seventeen teachers, all specialists in orthopedic work, and fifteen trained matrons will care for the children. This is Pennsylvania's first complete orthopedic unit.

Hot Weather Retrospect — Grim old Hoffman Island in New York's lower bay, long since abandoned as a quarantine hospital for immigrants, was turned into a municipal picnic ground this summer, with city ferry boats to transport mothers and children for day outings. The outings included lunch, supervised play, games and music. Various city departments cooperated, with the WPA also lending a hand. The city proposes ultimately to develop the ten-acre island as a playground but thus far red tape has held up the project.

The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor this season operated its ten fresh air camps for twelve weeks instead of eight, providing outings of an average of twelve days at seashore or farm, for 2936 children and 610 mothers and aged persons. Since 1883 the AICP has never missed a summer in sending children to the country.

The New York Charity Organization Society used its especially raised hot weather fund for a dual purpose: first, to send to the country the 2671 children in the "trouble filled homes" of COS clients; and second, to make those homes more bearable for the people left behind. Part of the fund therefore was used to move big families into quarters with more air and space, to provide extra cots and beds and to supply extra milk and ice for children and old people.

Following its successful experimentation of last year, the New York Diabetic Association again conducted a special summer camp for diabetic children. Forty children, patients in various diabetic clinics, went to camp in groups of ten for two-week periods. As one of the purposes, the camp taught the children the routines of their own treatment. Last year all the campers, even the youngest, learned to calculate their diets, test their urine and administer their insulin.

Studies—The crippled children's division of the U. S. Children's Bureau is undertaking two studies in relation to the policies and procedures in state programs for crippled children. Policies relating to "intake" or eligibility for care under state programs for crippled children are being examined. The second study is concerned with discharge procedures from hospitals where children have been treated.

By taking a sampling of state plans, the bureau hopes to learn the most satisfactory methods of intake and discharge and the extent to which medical and social factors are correlated in work for crippled children. The studies will be carried on in the East and Middle West and will be staffed by medical social workers, two supervisors, with three assistants each. After analysis of the material it is hoped that principles will be developed to help states in formulating their programs.

It's a Bureau—By some slip of the tongue or the typewriter this department misnamed, in a brief mention in the June issue, the new Jewish Children's Bureau in Chicago, calling it instead Jewish Children's League. The bureau, of which Jacob Kepecs is director, is the result of the consolidation of three well established agencies, the Jewish Home Finding Society, the Chicago Home for Jewish Orphans and the Jewish Children's Welfare Society. The merger was effected to the end of better coordination of existing services and more effective development of services for needs now unmet. For the present the bureau is working through three departments, child placing in foster families, institutional care and housekeeper service. It has been designated by the Jewish Charities of Chicago as its official child caring agency with sole authority to receive and to deal with applications for the care of children.

Birth Control

WITH two recent victories in the bag [see *The Survey,* February 1937, page 48, and July 1937, page 225] the American Birth Control League and the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau have joined forces for wider efforts. The National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control, considering its job done, has voted to dissolve. Those who supported its work are asked to give their help to a wider program of national education and research being developed under the aegis of the new Birth Control Council of America, coordinating the efforts of the league and the bureau. Objectives of the new council are to eliminate overlapping and duplication, to establish joint standards and certification of birth control clinics in America and in general to coordinate activities. Margaret Sanger is chairman of the new council and Henry Pratt Fairchild, vice-chairman. Three members from each group will serve on the council. Those now appointed include Mrs. Louis deB. Moore, Drs. Frederick C. Holden and Eric M. Matsner of New York, Clarence C. Little (alternate) of Bar Harbor, Me., Drs. Hannah M. Stone, Ira S. Wile, Rabbi Sydney E. Goldstein, and Abraham Stone (alternate), all of New York.

Biggest Job—In response to appeals of prominent Chinese medical men for assistance in developing birth control among China's "submerged millions," Margaret Sanger this summer sailed for China with a party of her fellow-workers. In 1935 the Chinese Medical Association, responding to an earlier tour by Mrs. Sanger and her helpers, went on record as officially recognizing "contraception as a part of the activities of public health, especially in the field of maternity and child welfare."

Boston—A brush between Boston and Brookline, Mass., police and the Birth Control League of Massachusetts and clinics in that section brought the league a technical court victory. It will be fought further by the league, in the hope of clarifying the legal situation in regard to birth control clinics in Boston and Massachusetts. Several local clinics were closed during the unpleasantness of police seizures.

Good Record—A recent article, Volunteers Venture [see *The Survey,* February 1937, page 39] described the successful operation of a birth control clinic in a southern community with volunteer social workers' support. The Birth Control Educational Center of San Francisco inspired by the article writes to the editor to describe eight and a half years' successful operation of a project carried on under auspices of the local American Association of University Women in that city. Service is free to clients sent by authorized organizations; a nominal fee is asked of others.

Clinics—A ten-fold increase to bring existing birth control clinics to three thousand was recommended by Margaret Sanger in her final report for the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control. Referring to the court decision which early this year upheld birth control under medical direction, Mrs. Sanger said, "This has opened the

Readers Write

1862—Joseph Lee—1937

To the Editor: For Joseph Lee's American idealism life was not for the few and the privileged. It was not worthwhile unless it could be made worthwhile for all who were willing to play their part.

His country was not a success unless it could bring decent living and fair opportunity to all who had willing hands and active minds.

He carried the instincts of true sportsmanship into life itself with the claim that everyone must have a fair start in the race of life and a fair chance to run it.

But he gave more than good will and money. His unique contribution was a mind that thought through towards the causes that pull men down; that also reached out after the things that could best build them up.

He believed in the conquest of poverty; but not through sentimental palliatives or brainless decrees. He believed that mass poverty could be conquered by reaching down to the roots of things and dealing with basic causes.

His interest was not only in patching together the pieces of broken lives but in preventing the things that do the breaking.

He sought not only to cure life's ills, but to make ordinary life worth living when the ills are cured.

To his mind there appeared to be an unhappy combination of misguided sentiment, racial prejudice and commercial greed that was helping to spread mass poverty from inexhaustible sources in the old world over our new land through unrestricted and inadequately controlled immigration, and with this he contended from the beginning to the end.

Through the Massachusetts Civic League he helped in countless ways to correct and improve the laws of his own state and the methods of their execution.

As a director of education on the school board of Boston he gave some of his best years and the best of his mind in order that public education might be the fitting for life, which is its true purpose.

Life in the impatient vigor of youth was what especially appealed to him. It was he who saw most clearly that this youthful life was being needlessly cramped and driven into unwholesome channels, from lack of the natural and wholesome outlet afforded by the playgrounds which he instituted.

All over the land these playgrounds are giving healthier and better lives to countless numbers. For that alone his country owes him a debt of enduring gratitude.

Whether that debt be remembered or forgotten, his work remains, and he is content, for such was his nature.

Richards M. Bradley

Boston, Mass.

Teamwork

To the Editor: The Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless is most appreciative of *The Survey's* up-to-the-minute reporting of developments in the transient field. During the five years of our existence—the National Conference in Indianapolis marked our fifth birthday—your cooperation has been most helpful in our work.

The committee has been and continues to be a unique experiment in social organization. Given status in its appointment by the National Social Work Council, the committee did not become "just another national agency." Instead, it coordinated the efforts of the many national agencies concerned with the transient problem and thereby eliminated the inevitable duplication and waste had each agency gone its way alone.

We feel that largely through the efforts of the national committee and the many local and state transient committees, public welfare departments are realizing a responsibility for the transient which many of them were unwilling to concede previously. Such a realization, coupled with the more widespread knowledge of the field which is being accomplished by the Department of Labor study, the distribution of our publication, After Five Years, and the continued reporting of developments in *The Survey,* will result, we feel, inevitably in an adequate program to meet the needs of our moving population. While most of this committee's attention has been centered upon the transient, the local homeless have not been neglected entirely. Further concentration on this group is contemplated through a subcommittee on the homeless which is now planning its activities.

The unmet needs in transient and homeless care are still with us but we are encouraged by the results which have been obtained and shall continue to push for an adequate program of local, state and federal cooperation by which the needs can be met.

Executive Secretary Philip E. Ryan
Committee on Care of
Transient and Homeless

THE PAMPHLET SHELF

Professional

LETTERS AND GOODWILL, by Hilary Campbell. The Social Work Publicity Council, 130 East 22 Street, New York. 15 pp Price 35 cents.

Help for the troubled executive whose letters "lack something," a friendly quality perhaps. Many examples are offered and analyzed.

YESTERDAY AND TODAY WITH COMMUNITY CHESTS. Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 155 East 44 Street, New York. 56 pp. Price 50 cents, less in quantity.

A summary of dates, figures and facts covering the twenty-four years of the modern community chest movement.

LIFE INSURANCE FACTS FOR SOCIAL WORKERS, by John N. McDowell. From the author, Room 400, 260 Broad Street, Philadelphia. 20 pp. Price 25 cents, less in quantity.

Prepared for various public assistance agencies in Philadelphia, this contains the gist of what social workers need to know in this important area of service to their clients.

People

QUESTIONS FACING CONSUMERS: A Guide for Discussion, by Benson Y. Landis. Eastern Cooperative League, 112 Charlton Street, New York. 25 pp. Price 10 cents, less in quantity.

Material for ten sessions, each including a statement of a special phase of consumer concern, questions for consideration, summaries of various points of view and a brief bibliography.

THE LABOR SPY, by Gordon Hopkins. Vol. 3, No. 12 of Social Action, The Pilgrim Press, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York. 32 pp. Price 10 cents.

An interpretation, by a young newspaper man, of evidence presented before the LaFollette committee of the Senate and of cases in the records of the National Labor Relations Board.

CONSIDER THE LAUNDRY WORKERS, by Jane Filley and Therese Mitchell. League of Women Shoppers, 220 Fifth Avenue, New York. 64 pp. Price 10 cents.

Designed to rouse consumers to their responsibility and their power through organized action to change conditions in an industry. The home lives of the workers. "as wretched as their working conditions," are emphasized.

CHANGING RURAL AMERICA, by Ferry L. Platt. Vol. 3, No. 11 of Social Action, The Pilgrim Press, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York. 31 pp. Price 10 cents.

A summary of the complex problems of rural life, economic and social, with suggested areas for constructive action and the conclusion that "The American farmer is not yet 'stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox.' Not yet."

Book Reviews

The Unit of Need

SOCIAL INSIGHT IN CASE SITUATIONS, by Ada Eliot Sheffield. Appleton-Century. 283 pp. Price $2.25 postpaid of *The Survey*.

ANALYSIS of processes and definition of terms, as aids to better work, have been Mrs. Sheffield's major contribution to the literature of case work. In the present volume she introduces a new unit of analysis, the "need situation," as "intermediate between the whole concrete case and mere abstracted factors."

Through a dozen illustrations, she seeks to define this "unit" and its values to case work and to the furtherance of case work's claim to professional status. This "situation is the case as conceived at some juncture that is significant for the fortunes of the values at stake." In simple cases, with single "situations," the definition is fairly clear, but when the case treatment extends over a period of years, with one situation melting into another and with various "sub-situations" appearing, one wonders whether the case worker would be able to mark them off as she went along, or could discern them only through a backward view.

One of the discouraging things about case work is the difficulty of measuring success or of knowing when to close the case. If thinking is "situation-centered" instead of "client-centered," the very statement of the "need-situation" defines the goal of treatment and if there are "sub-situations" with "proximate goals," progress can be indicated still more clearly. Each situation has a "time-span," long or short, sometimes definite, sometimes merging into another "situation," but at least more "compassable" than the whole complex welter of factors which make up a "case."

Another feature of a "situation-centered" view of a case is its emphasis on relationships and on environmental factors, on the possibilities of growth that lie in experiences shared with others and "in favorable changes in objective circumstances." "The meeting of needs which cramp and distort the relations between an individual and those about him, makes for fuller living. By giving to this person a sense of security, to that one a lift from health worries and discouragement, to still another an increase in status-satisfaction or a hope for some realizable achievement, a whole stalled situation may be released from its inhibitions and set moving ahead." What a fresh vision this gives the public agency worker, worried because, in her necessary concentration on environmental factors, she has no opportunity to do case work.

A further possibility in this view of case work is the development of "situation patterns," or similarities between one situation and others. "While it is true that no case would ever be duplicated, yet the experienced worker finds certain factors taking on a major significance as more closely and persistently interactive than others, and recurrent, as such, in other situations. . . . The importance of identifying such basic patterns is that it helps us in following the social process as a complicated case develops, and in recognizing type likenesses between situations that occur at divers times and places."

So far, case workers have studied their material and procedures by either the case method or the statistical method. The former stresses the uniqueness of each case, "so that the student passes on to investigate other situations with but little carry-over of conscious implementation from her experience with this one." The latter may "establish a causal relationship for one situation-item after another," but fails to give an understanding of a "psycho-social whole" which, "like an organism, conditions the nature of its interdependent elements."

"Situational thinking . . . bids for a fresh approach to the study of case work processes by a procedure of situation-defining," a method complementary to the quantitative method and one which "might in time afford more meaningful categories for a quasi-statistical treatment than do case histories."

Such "situation thinking" may proceed on the level of helping client groups to see their own needs in terms of life relationships, on the level of the case worker's theoretical interest in the adjustive processes, or on the rigorously scientific level of the academic research worker.

Mrs. Sheffield challenges too easy dismissal of such "situation thinking" by the statement that there are "certain intellectual limitations to which case workers are liable from the very nature of their immediate responsibilities." The concreteness of their problems and their standards of "individualized treatment" tend to make them stress methods and skills. "Profuse particulars" hide "type patterns." And, though insisting on the "uniqueness" of each case, workers are prone to swing "to far-flung generalizations based on figures about abstracted fact-items, especially when these are made the basis for reforms sought by law." Better interpretation through "appropriate conceptual tools," enrichment of service and a "social spread of insights" through a "program of experimental groupings"; these, she concludes, amply "justify the continuance of private social agencies." And one wonders whether this may not be one field in which public agencies, also, may do some experimenting.

CAROLINE BEDFORD
St. Louis Relief Administration

Levelheaded Psychiatry

GUIDING YOUR LIFE, by Josephine A. Jackson, M.D. Appleton-Century. 352 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of *The Survey*.

SIXTEEN years ago, when the dynamic point of view in psychiatry was as yet unincorporated into American psychiatry, Dr. Jackson had the courage and the foresight to write a book in which the essential principles of Freud's concepts were explained. By means of homely examples, simple words and direct personal applications she conveyed, to a large reading public, information and a point of view, the helpfulness of which were proved by the book's huge sale. Many physicians prescribed her book and were pleased with the encouragement and insight which it gave to their patients. Indeed it might be said to have been one of the first intentional pieces of bibliotherapeutic writing by a psychiatrist and it still is one of the most successful.

Dr. Jackson's book was written with the advantage of added years of experience in the application of simple common sense explanations of adjustment problems. She has reduced to writing the talks which she uses regularly in her clinical work. The result is a quiet, levelheaded, sensible book, though by no means so remarkable or important as its predecessor, because in the sixteen-year interval since the publication of Outwitting Our Nerves the point of view which then was so new had been widely disseminated. The present book, however, is written in the same clear style. Some critics may think its structure too simple and discursive, but it is safe to say that to a certain public it will be appealing and helpful.

KARL A. MENNINGER, M.D.
Topeka, Kan.

Spartan Standards

THE HUMAN NEEDS OF LABOUR, by B. Seebohm Rowntree. Longmans, Green. 162 pp. Price $1 postpaid of *The Survey*.

HERE is the most recent of a series of studies to discover the family responsibilities of the average English wage earner, and what is the lowest figure at which they can be met. It bears the same title as a book published in 1918, and one of its interests lies in a comparison of standards and costs of living, then and now.

First having assured himself that the site of the earlier studies, York, is typical for industrial England in respect to family composition, earnings of unskilled labor and costs, the author checked, by an analysis of census figures, the earlier assumption that normally an adult male

wage earner must be expected to support a wife and three children. This was important because there had been much talk of a reduction in the size of the average family. Similarly, he found statistical support for the view that, while more women have become self-supporting, they do not normally support dependents.

Admitting that even a national minimum wage, on these bases, would leave large numbers of families insufficiently provided for, at least during part of their life, the author holds that such needs must be met by some other means, best probably by a system of family allowance.

The greater knowledge possessed today of qualitative dietary requirements tends to add to the food allowance. On the other hand, following the recommendations of a recent report by a committee of the British Medical Association, the author adopts a slightly lower quantitative minimum than was considered necessary twenty years ago. To provide this food for the typical family of five cost 20s. 6d. at the end of 1936, and the minimum budget comes to 53 shillings for the town worker and to 41 shillings for the country worker.

The author evidently fears that in employer circles his exceedingly modest estimate of household requirements and costs still will be regarded as visionary; he continually apologizes for this item or that, and for the budget as a whole. Yet, according to this analysis, "about one third of the children in Britain will, during five or more of their most critical years, be insufficiently provided for, even according to the Spartan standard set forth in this book."

New York BRUNO LASKER

The Facts Are . . .

PUBLIC MEDICAL SERVICES, by Michael M. Davis. University of Chicago Press. 170 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of *The Survey*.

IT is rather surprising that a country so proud of its public education as is the United States should have paid so little attention to its developments in public medicine. The actuality has run far ahead of general recognition.

Believe it or not, nearly 70 percent of all the hospital beds in the country (counting mental hospitals and tuberculosis hospitals) are maintained by government; still others have public support through public funds paid to voluntary hospitals for the care of the indigent sick. The hypothetical man in the street probably still believes that charity has a lot to do with providing medical services. Actually, Mr. Davis finds, less than 5 percent of the funds spent for the care of moderate income and low income families comes from charity; probably the amount is less than half that percentage. On the other hand, even in 1929 tax funds bore nearly a quarter of the costs of medical services for this great mass of our population; in 1936 that share

doubtless had grown to be much larger.

Mr. Davis believes—and none is better equipped than he to express an opinion on that point—that his present book is the first attempt at a systematic description of the character and development of tax supported medical services in the United States, including in that category publicly supported services in hospitals and clinics, home care and public health. Like other forms of public service, public medical service is spotty—well developed in some parts of the country, meager in others. In New York State, for example, it has been estimated that public medical services cost $6.50 a year; in many other states expenditures are far lower, in some probably as little as $2. By and large, coordination of public medical services is conspicuous by its absence, even in single communities, let alone in wider areas. Home care of the indigent by private physicians paid out of public funds during the depression, was one example. Mr. Davis believes that, "A governmental service to the sick in their homes should be under the same organization as the local governmental hospitals and their outpatient services."

The magnitude of the public's present stake in sickness, both in terms of care provided and of dependency because of sickness, gives Mr. Davis' study immediate importance. That importance is likely to increase still further in view of discussions of new developments in this field on the part of the medical profession and others. It is to be hoped that a future edition will include in appendices a summary of the detailed factual data which the author must have brought together as the basis of his present cogent and illuminating analysis. MARY ROSS

Job Guidance

OCCUPATIONS IN RETAIL STORES. by Dorothea de Schweinitz. International Textbook Company. 417 pp. Price $2.75 postpaid of *The Survey*.

THIS volume was brought into being by the cooperation of the National Vocational Guidance Association and the Employment Service. Written by a member of the staff of the service, it is a capable presentation of information collected by a number of cooperating individuals and organizations, through a survey of some 360 firms operating nearly 4000 retail stores in about twenty communities. It is prefaced by a general description of the sort of business and of work ordinarily called "retailing." It then proceeds with a description of the duties, training, earnings, promotion and personal qualifications of employes engaged in a large number of specific occupations in retail stores.

The limitations of this book seem implicit in the basic material available through the schedules of the study. There were, in all, forty-four individuals participating in the field work. It is not easy to fill in even a simple questionnaire in a way that renders the material objective and strictly comparable. The questionnaires used in this study were far from simple. When forty-four field workers, many of whom compiled only a few schedules, question employers concerning "emphasis in hiring policies," "factors determining promotion," "methods of securing increases," and "requirements and qualifications for specific jobs," the chances of uniformity and consistent thoroughness seem slim.

This lack of tough-mindedness in descriptions of specific jobs—and these are perhaps the most valuable part of the study—does not impair seriously the book's usefulness for those whom it was intended to serve—vocational counselors in schools, businesses, and employment offices, as well as individuals selecting a field of work. It is a good rough-in. The finer chiseling will be done, in part, by the U. S. Employment Service itself, as well as by other wielders of the sharpening tools of occupational guidance.

RUTH PRINCE MACK
Thetford Hill, Vt.

The I.L.O. and the U.S.A.

LABOR TREATIES AND LABOR COMPACTS, by Abraham C. Weinfeld. Principia Press. 124 pp. Price $2 postpaid of *The Survey*.

PUBLISHED shortly after the close of the World Textile Conference of the International Labor Organization in Washington, Mr. Weinfeld's book, though addressed primarily to lawyers, should prove of invaluable assistance to those whose interests in the history and development of the I.L.O. and the functions of the United States as a member thereof, were begotten or increased by that conference. Moreover the need for a work of this nature, in which the treaty-making power is examined in the light of court rulings and of conditions attending the adoption of the Constitution, has been acute ever since President Roosevelt in 1934 accepted membership in the I.L.O. and assumed the obligations contained in the constitution of that organization. Aside from a few articles appearing in legal and other publications, the question of the extent of such obligations and the power to fulfill them has been untouched.

In this book Mr. Weinfeld has done a commendable job in collecting and analyzing adjudicated cases and in gathering together pertinent historical data. This would appear to be the most important aspect of the volume, since the Supreme Court may or may not find palatable the author's conclusions that the treaty-making power authorizes the ratification of international conventions embodying labor standards, so long as the due process requirement is satisfied, and that the I.L.O. constitution, therefore, demands such action. In view of this feeling, it is to be regretted that the date of publication did not permit inclusion of the Wagner Act and the Chaco Embargo cases, as their relevance and significance to the controlling issue cannot be doubted.

Department of Labor DONALD HISS
Washington, D. C.

The Lowest Ten Percent

A SOCIAL PROBLEM GROUP? edited by C. P. Blacker. Oxford University Press. 228 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of *The Survey*.

IN 1929 the Wood Committee, charged with determining the number of mental defectives in England and Wales, and with recommending methods of dealing with them, said in its report: "Let us assume that we could segregate as a separate community all the families in this country containing mental defectives of the primary amentia type. We should find that we had collected among them a most interesting social group. It would include . . . a much larger proportion of insane persons, epileptics, paupers, criminals (especially recidivists), unemployables, habitual slum dwellers, prostitutes, inebriates and other social inefficients than would a group of families not containing mental defectives. The overwhelming majority of the families thus collected would belong to that section of the community, which we propose to term the 'social problem' or 'subnormal' group. This group comprises approximately the lowest 10 percent in the social scale of most communities."

The present book, A Social Problem Group?, was instigated in order to examine the assumptions underlying the term, social problem group. Its main purpose was to "throw light on the essential characteristics and delimitations of this group. . . . If a significant positive correlation were definitely established between defectives or retarded intelligence and other subnormal or abnormal conditions, considerable weight would be added to the view that every effort ought to be made to discourage the fertility of the social problem group, defined as a group of subnormal intelligence."

The present book consists of articles by different authorities on such topics as characteristics of the mentally retarded, the mentally disordered, epileptics, inebriates, prostitutes, recidivists and neurasthenics. Each article is concerned, for the most part, with the characteristics of the group insofar as they can be determined by case studies. For example, in the study of recidivism, consideration is given to such characteristics as incidence of mental deficiency and mental deviation, relationship of economic conditions and criminality, and the importance of heredity in the families of recidivists. Significant conclusions are derived in all of the articles.

The outstanding tendency throughout the book is the broad tolerance by the different authors toward all facts and

points of view. The introduction by Dr. C. P. Blacker, general secretary to the Eugenics Society, is especially noteworthy for its tolerant interpretation of facts. For the reader who is interested in the social importance of eugenics, this will prove a worthy scientific supplement to the recent volume of the American Neurological Association entitled Eugenical Sterilization. ANTHONY J. MITRANO

The Training School at Vineland, N. J.

More Than History

A PURITAN OUTPOST, A HISTORY OF THE TOWN AND PEOPLE OF NORTHFIELD, MASS., by Herbert C. Parsons. Macmillan. 546 pp. Price $5 postpaid of *The Survey*.

KNOWN for the past forty years as a leader and prime mover in progressive social fields, Mr. Parsons in an excellent book traces the development of his native town of Northfield, Mass., and its people, from the first discovery and legislative approval of its present site in 1669, through the roaring spring flood of 1936. It is a history of a town's people, unlike any hitherto written.

Mr. Parsons deals sparingly with dates, briefly with wars; with minute rolls, epitaphs and town meeting votes, not at all. He does treat fully, warmly and understandingly the development of the life of the people. They and their actions, their prejudices and their homely ways of living are presented in rich detail along with changes from earliest days in dress and houses, speech and travel, household goods and occupations.

This is not to say that the book is not both historical and accurate. Other books may tell of the Revolution; this book tells how Burgoyne's soldiers settled in the country, and what became of them. Other books may tell of the glories of the War of 1812; this book relates how the town's militia refused to heed the state's order to march, thus maintaining its traditional stout independence. Volumes have been written on the coming of the railroad, but this book tells how the Irish, whose labor laid the tracks, lingered to help build the community.

Just as the details of living are described, so are the larger social problems of the town's development. The individualized home care of the poor, the responsibility for public education, the treatment of the mentally ill and the feeble-minded, are traced from the point of view which has made the author a leader in many fields of social welfare. Such chapter heads as Broad Planning—Social Foundations Laid for All Time, Peace and Home Development—New Elegancies in Dress and a New Church for Their Display, Conformity to Changing Fashions—Political Ardor, Prohibition Reaction, Style in Dress and Religious Calm, hint at their contents and reveal the author's style and treatment. The book was commissioned by Northfield as its town history, and it includes necessarily much genealogical detail. However the "begats" are so flavored with anecdote and humor as to make them extremely engaging.

The format and illustrations are excellent. A biographical section of Northfield men of achievement concludes the book.

Boston, Mass. BENEDICT S. ALPER

Fathers and Sons

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY, by Percy E. Davidson and H. Dewey Anderson. Stanford University Press. 203 pp. Price $3.25 postpaid of *The Survey*.

DO sons inherit the occupations of their fathers, and fathers of their fathers? If not, what are the factors that determine a man's occupation? In this day of swift technological change, to what extent do differences in occupations originate in social conditions of an institutional character? Can education assist in directing men to jobs that turn and shift in the industrial scene like the restless mosaic of the kaleidoscope?

The report by Davidson and Anderson of a "pilot" study of some twelve hundred men in three hundred occupations bristles with scholarly answers to these and other questions. The aim is to supply working hypotheses for vocational

education. With the help of over a hundred statistical tables and diagrams, the reader is given a bird's-eye view of the occupational lives of 7 percent of all gainfully occupied males enumerated in the 1930 census for San Jose, Calif. The investigation was made under a grant from the Social Science Research Council of Stanford University.

All occupations fall into the six social-economic groupings of A. B. Edwards of the U. S. Bureau of the Census: professional, proprietors and executives, clerks and salesmen, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled. The authors gave these groups their positions on the occupational ladder and observed their vertical and horizontal movement, their occupational inheritance, schooling, nature of first occupation and the stability of their employment. Some of the outstanding discoveries were: that the preponderance of sons did not move far from the father's level, with skilled workers' sons showing more occupational inheritance than any other level (45 percent); that sons of clerks and salesmen tend to be "climbers," moving up to proprietor and professional levels rather than into manual labor; that 59 percent of the working life of skilled men and 48 percent of that of semi-skilled men was spent in their regular occupations.

More studies of this kind should be made to build up a body of information to enlighten our effort to adjust to changing methods of production with the least amount of pain. In this sample, the overweighting of farmers and teachers and the absence of mass production workers prevent generalizations, as the authors point out, but the findings are interesting and provocative.

ELIZABETH FAULKNER BAKER
Barnard College

Hostility Patterns

STUDIES IN SIBLING RIVALRY, by David M. Levy, M.D. American Orthopsychiatric Association. 96 pp. Price $1.25 cloth, $1 paper, postpaid of *The Survey*.

HERE Dr. Levy presents a study of play technique based upon testing children in controlled situations, with standardized stimulations, to determine the degree of aggression developed as an expression of sibling rivalry. Using a practiced methodology he succeeds in making a careful analysis of his studies originally developed at the Institute of Child Guidance. It represents a helpful objective approach to the study of phantasy and motives of children in their various degrees of aggression towards their younger brothers and sisters. This is an unusually clear exposition of a definite method of studying hostility patterns of children, as revealed through play situations organized to satisfy the requirements of an experimental procedure.

New York IRA S. WILE, M.D.

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So They Say

This column gives itself this month to quotations from that bit of Americana, Dear Mr. President, a slim little book in which the former chief of the correspondence division of FERA and WPA has brought together some of the things simple folk say when they write to Mr. Roosevelt to tell him their troubles and usually to ask him for something. Humor, yes, but often with it a revealing confidence that puts pathos close behind. [Dear Mr. President, by Ben Whitehurst. Dutton. 95 pp. Price $1 postpaid of *The Survey*.]

• I remain a colored woman in Christ.

• I have had a fiance for over six years—not in an extravagant way.

• I only used my car to haul in washings for my frail and already overworked wife to do.

• You see Mr. President, I do not want any more children but I havent money enough to do otherwise.

• My husband had his project cut off three weeks ago and we havent had any relief since.

• I have tryed all I could possibly do—first God and then you—and you are the only one I can trust.

• I have told the relief board about my shape and they say it is because I live on my father's farm.

• Ive tryed since last June to get in the insane asylum but they dont seem to want me because I am not insane. The joke is on them.

• I hear that the WPA are employing writers and I hereby apply for a position. I have never written anything so I ought to be chuck full of ideas.

• I appreciate the roof and food you dole out to me but how would you like to go year after year without pleasure? No radio, no bathing at beaches, no teeth filled, no headache medicine, no yarn to knit, no fruit to can, no jars. O!

• My wife works all night and she never gets any pay but that is better than nothing.

• I am writing this letter in longhand so that your stenographer may not know its contents. I don't even want you to tell Mrs. Roosevelt about it.

• I was born in that same house that my father and grandfather was born in. My naval cord was cut by his mother so you know that I am a real American. I am good stock. My nationality is white.

• I am an active social worker with a great big following.

• I have decided to go to work. I want somebody to just take me as I am.

• We lost our mule. Please give us your assistance in making a crop. Let us know at once.

• I have to keep my eight children home from school because they only have one pair of pants.

• Now, listen, your relief doctor can cut on my stomach all he wants to just so he leaves my ears alone.

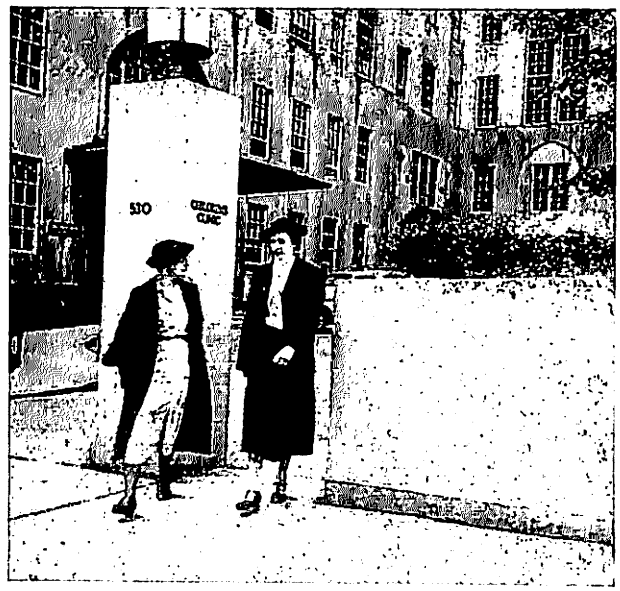
• It is not my contention to render myself a lassitudinous creature, but it is my aspiration to honestly slave to earn my existence.

• I heard tell the Government was going to give to humans and cattle. Well I am not a human neither am I a cow, but I am a widow with four children.

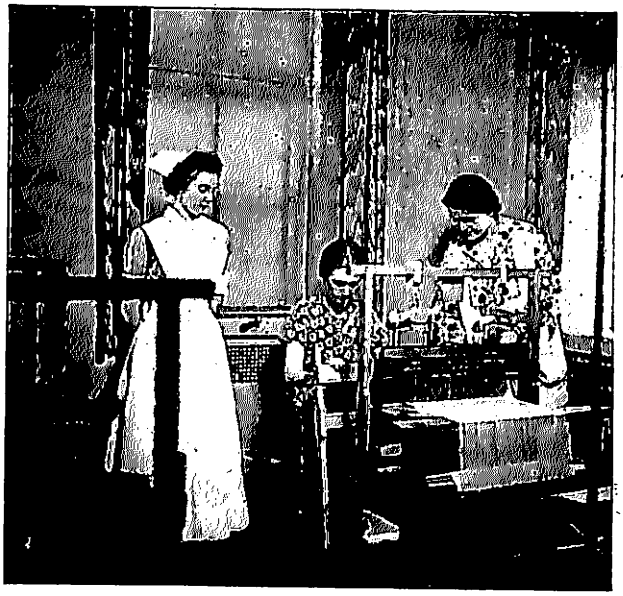
• I am not so well, hope these lines will find you the same. I cant get a fitting place to stay. I want you to please paper me a house of my own. Write me and let me know where to come.

• I am a woman 38 years old. My man works in coal mines but most of the time we live on relief. In my first 11 years of marriage I gave birth to 10 children including the twins, and in the next 10 years 6 children. Thats why I cant have money.

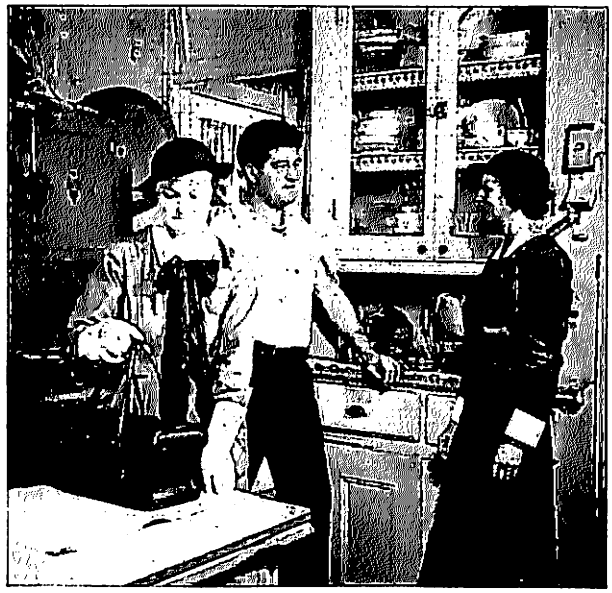
Social science discussion classes and case study are part of the curriculum throughout the nursing course



The student nurse makes visits to patients' homes with a worker from the hospital social service department



Each student has practice in psychiatric nursing and some knowledge of occupational and recreational therapy



The student gets practical experience in public health nursing under the guidance of a visiting nurse service

Widening Horizons in Nursing Education

These selected scenes from a motion picture, Nurses in the Making, just finished by the Harmon Foundation's Division of Visual Experiment, show the developments in nursing training which bring the nurse closer to the social worker. The film was prepared with the cooperation of the New York Hospital School of Nursing and the Visiting Nurse Service of Henry Street Settlement. It is designed to acquaint a public interested in community health and those who advise young people on careers, with modern standards of nursing education and professional opportunities

THE SURVEY

OCTOBER 1937

VOL. LXXIII NO. 10

Transiency=Mobility in Trouble

By ELIZABETH WICKENDEN

Assistant to the Deputy Administrator, WPA; former Assistant Director, Transient Activities, FERA

NOW that the heat which centered around the FERA transient program, both its operation and its discontinuance, largely has dissipated itself with the passing of practically the last remnants of that program, a new consideration of the problems of transiency and transient relief seems indicated. The time is ripe for a seasoned consideration, a re-analysis and a re-evaluation of the whole experience. The migrant labor survey of the Department of Labor should bring out new facts and develop fresh thinking. Moreover the possibility of a new federal department of welfare, with the new orientation of the federal government in the total welfare picture which such a department would involve, offers an excellent opportunity for the consideration of transiency as a phase of the total welfare problem.

Transients have suffered too long at the hands of their friends as well as of their enemies from the hazy thinking and unrestrained emotion which a romantic heritage inspires. Obviously the fact that an individual has either from choice or necessity moved from one place to another does not in itself make him either better or worse, either more commonplace or more romantic than any other. Nevertheless the tradition of the pioneer, the footloose adventurer and a little of the highway robber, still colors our national attitudes toward transiency. Moreover, to those who, as we say, have "settled" down to the cares and responsibilities of a world too often dull, there may be glamor in the very idea of an unsettled person. But if we are going to make any headway in solving his problems, we badly need to unravel, in a simple reasonable way, the factors that set him apart from others.

Transiency must be seen in its true perspective as a part of our broad national problem of social and economic readjustment if its particular aspects are to be isolated successfully. There has been a tendency to view transiency in itself as a broad, inclusive and comparatively independent problem requiring broad, inclusive and comparatively independent measures. This served to concentrate attention on an otherwise easily neglected area of social maladjustment and added to the available information on its nature. But for a long range program the approach clearly should be based on a broader conception.

What, in the first place, do we mean by transiency? Literally the word involves the sense of fleeting passage. As a social concept, however, we have both extended and limited its meaning. We have extended it to include movement of any kind but custom has conditioned us to the idea that "transiency" is involved only when such movement presents a social problem. In other words, transiency is the trouble function of mobility.

MOBILITY in itself is a desirable and necessary phenomenon if our present day economy is to function smoothly and efficiently. This means that transiency is in no sense an absolute. It not only varies geographically and in point of time, but is modified by a thousand different circumstances. Today's social virtues may represent tomorrow's social problems; one man's necessity may become another man's burden. For example, the current attitude of California toward newcomers was hardly characteristic of its pioneer days. To its labor-employing farmers even today an influx of non-residents is welcomed as an assurance of a cheap and docile labor supply. In terms of the local economy it may be highly desirable for the drought stricken farmer to move, but his arrival, unheralded and unwelcome, at his point of destination may constitute a serious problem.

The problems of transiency may vary but if migration is necessary and desirable the fact that transiency exists at all reflects more on the inadequacy of our social and economic organization than on the shortcomings of the individuals involved. A transient is distinguished from his fellow beings solely by the circumstance that his movement from one place to another has created a social problem. A transient doesn't look or behave differently from anyone else simply because he is a transient. He doesn't require different social measures except for those handicaps peculiar to his transiency.

The most obvious handicap imposed by transiency is the suspicion and hostility frequently accorded, both officially

and unofficially, to strangers. It would appear, however, that this hostility is primarily characteristic of a competitive economy and is not exhibited toward those who are clearly outside the sphere of economic rivalry. In a community where additional manpower is an economic asset, hostility to strangers is practically non-existent.

Closely related to these economic considerations is the most serious handicap under which the transient suffers. This is his highly unfavorable position before the law. He is a victim of our national predilection for the traditional, if now archaic, ways of our forefathers in government. In a day when our economy and social habits are both national in scope we adhere fanatically to the local and state limitations of public responsibility which were suited to the local economy of the eighteenth century. The existence of legal areas of responsibility, in no way congruent to the area of our social and economic functioning, necessarily handicaps any person who moves out of these areas. For artificial legal areas of responsibility give rise to artificial legal barriers, and residence requirements throw a tight-knit wall around the benefits which these governmental units extend to their own citizens. The newcomer finds this wall effectively denying him his right as a citizen, the franchise; frequently excluding his children from the public schools; and above all making it impossible for him to secure the benefits in the field of public welfare which local citizens through long years of struggle, have won for themselves. The fact that we have allowed communities (and states) to establish their own definition of residence and have extended none of the protection of public responsibility to those excluded by their definition, constitutes the major handicap of the transient.

THERE are clearly two major and distinct avenues of approach to a solution of the problems of transiency. The first of these is the positive approach of prevention involving long-time and sweeping readjustments in our social and economic structure. The social reforms which would tend to eliminate transiency are for the most part those which are needed to meet the major problems of our time: unemployment, improper land use, and the insecurity of the individual due to these and other conditions of the modern economy. As steps are taken toward the sclution of these problems, transiency will be proportionately reduced.

Such a program of fundamental reform is, however, necessarily slow in realization. For the present the interest and efforts of those concerned primarily with transient problems must be devoted largely to the negative approach, that is, to remedial measures designed to mitigate the effect of those specific handicaps which transiency now imposes.

This effort has unfortunately been handicapped in two ways. First there has been a belief on the part of advocates of the former transient program that its discontinuance dealt a stunning if not fatal blow to all efforts in behalf of the transient. Second, and more important, has been the absence of a clearly defined sense of objective in the effort expended. This confusion, reflecting a lack of understanding of the problem in terms of its simplest, irreducible essentials, unfortunately characterized the activities of the transient program as well as the inactivity that followed its demise.

Perhaps those who have worked closely with a program have special privilege in giving it a critical backward glance. In any case all of us who are interested in seeing the problem solved have an obligation to look back critically and dispassionately, for in the FERA transient program we have our only experience with an effort to meet the problem as it must be met, that is, nationally. Obviously any proposal or any program which does not reckon with the mistakes and hard-won knowledge of the past will fail.

The FERA transient program was conceived, nurtured and raised to maturity by people who had fought a hard battle for transients and who were determined to protect their gains. They fought fiercely to protect their infant program from what they had held in the past to be an unfriendly officialdom and too frequently an unfriendly public. Newcomers to the field caught the contagion and became advocates first and administrators only second. This approach quickly bred a series of attitudes which, under the misleading guise of a "philosophy," led the program into byways which turned out to be blind alleys instead of the long road to progress.

First there was the temptation, too long unresisted, to let the program lose all identity with the rest of the relief program in order to gain an entity of its own. The very persistence of the term Federal Transient Bureau, despite the legal reality, was evidence of this. State transient directors took their directions from and their troubles to the federal office. Many state relief administrators either refused responsibility for the transient program or ignored its existence. Locally the situation was even more extreme where relief offices for residents and non-residents functioned side by side with duplicating machinery, conflicting policies and not infrequent rivalry. The fact that relief for transients, paid entirely from federal funds, tended to be more generous than relief for local people fostered resentment among the latter. The fact that Transient Bureau officials isolated themselves and their clients from the regular relief machinery left the program in a doubly weak position.

SEPARATION of administrative control necessarily gave rise to segregation of transients and a tendency to view transiency as a social province all but self-contained in its problems, a neat if complex little microcosm. Segregation led to further segregation and in turn to the creation of new problems. The development of the transient camp program for single men was a good example of the process. Camps were started first as an administrative expedient and their advantages remained principally on the side of the administrative staff although they soon acquired a thick and stubborn philosophical sugar coating. They were praised on the following counts: rural life was morally and physically healthy and camp life had "therapeutic value" for transients; local antagonism was avoided; transients were stabilized, they were removed from the labor market; it was easier to maintain discipline; it was more frequently possible to find useful public work which they could perform.

Actually while the camps simplified life for harassed transient directors, they removed the transient from all possible contact with private employment, from normal society, from contact with women and normal family relationships and sent him into the segregated, adolescent barrack life of an isolated camp. Most serious of all was the way in which the camp program tended to brand men, once and for all, as "transients"—a breed apart. This seems inevitably to have carried with it a sense of stigma, a belief, not always conscious or expressed, that transiency was a social evil requiring corrective "therapeutic" measures. In

THE PAMPHLET SHELF

Public's Welfare

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION IN THE DROUGHT AREA, prepared by Irene Link. WPA research bulletin, series 5, number 3. 57 pp. From superintendent of documents, Washington, D.C.

Third of a series of WPA studies of conditions in the so-called "drought states," this undertakes to measure the trend and scope of federal relief programs in those areas, as well as the personal and occupational characteristics of the families concerned. The study was made under supervision of the WPA division of social research, and the Resettlement Administration's bureau of agricultural economics and social research. It contains exhaustive tabulations and charts of all types of relief given in drought states from 1932 through June 1935.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN ECONOMICS AND GOVERNMENT, by Harold G. Moulton. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C. 18 pp.

The author's presidential address at the 1937 meeting of the trustees of the Institution. His purpose, he says, is not to suggest policies but "to lay before you the primary requirements for the restoration and expansion of the standards of living of the American people as revealed by our investigations."

A SURVEY OF THE TRANSIENT AND HOMELESS POPULATION IN TWELVE CITIES: SEPTEMBER 1935 AND SEPTEMBER 1936. Prepared under the supervision of John N. Webb for the division of social research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C. 52 pp.

A check-up a year after the transient bureaus of FERA suspended intake shows a marked decline in the size of the needy transient and homeless population and a change in the personal characteristics of the group. Family cases and interstate transiency declined; the proportion of older persons and of women increased.

People

RETREAT FROM REASON, by Lancelot T. Hogben. Hampshire Book Shop, Northampton, Mass., and the Channel Bookshop, New York. 102 pp. Price 75 cents direct from publisher.

Acting as chairman at this twenty-seventh Moncure Conway Memorial Lecture, delivered at Smith College, Julian Huxley said: "Professor Hogben's ideal is a scientific humanism; he is one of the rare few who can claim to talk with authority on such a subject."

PSYCHOLOGY OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT, by Robert Leeper, Cornell College. Mt. Vernon, Ia. 61 pp. Price 75 cents from the author.

A handbook, developed by the author out of classroom experience, designed to aid more or less beginning students of psychology to give functional significance to abstract concepts. Includes reading lists and suggestions for projects.

NEW AMERICANS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, A CULTURAL STUDY, by Mary E. Hurlbutt. New York School of Social Work, 122 East 22 Street, New York. 114 pp. Price 75 cents from the school.

A preprint from the study, Greater Pittsburgh, the Community and Social Work, by Philip Klein and collaborators, which will be published this fall by Columbia University Press.

FARMERS WITHOUT LAND, by Rupert B. Vance. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 12. Public Affairs Committee, 8 West 40 Street, New York. Price 10 cents.

A dispassionate picture of the most depressed area in American life, based on recent studies of farm tenancy, including the report of the President's Tenancy Commission.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF PSYCHIATRY TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF MODERN SOCIETY. *American Journal of Sociology*, May 1937. University of Chicago Press. Price $1.

A symposium of seven articles by distinguished authorities, edited by Ernest W. Burgess, designed to raise and clarify issues in the area in which psychiatry and sociology overlap.

Concerning Health

SYMPOSIUM ON PRENATAL AND CONGENITAL INFECTIONS IN RELATION TO BLINDNESS AND IMPAIRED VISION. Proceedings, Annual Conference of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. Price 20 cents.

ROUTINE WASSERMAN TEST FOR ALL EXPECTANT MOTHERS. Reprinted from *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*. Price 5 cents.

PREVENTING BLINDNESS THROUGH SOCIAL HYGIENE COOPERATION, by Louis Carris.

All are published by the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, 50 West 50 Street, New York City.

LIFE SAVING AND WATER SAFETY, prepared by the American Red Cross; published by P. Blakiston's Son and Co. Philadelphia. 267 pp. Price 60 cents; less in quantity.

After more than twenty years of teaching water safety the American Red Cross has brought together into a single text book, fully illustrated, the material hitherto available only in pamphlets and leaflets.

HOME CARE FOR COMMUNICABLE DISEASES:

WAISTLINES (Overweight), by W. W. Bauer, M.D.

CONCERNING DIABETES, by Albert A. Horner, M.D.

Popular sized, popular interpretation put out by the Life Conservation Service. John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, Boston, Mass. Free.

RELIEF AND HEALTH PROBLEMS OF A SELECTED GROUP OF NON-FAMILY MEN, by Glenn Johnson. The University of Chicago Press. Price 50 cents.

The result of a study of 144 non-family men in Chicago, with reference to living quarters, degree of sanitation and nourishment, the extent to which they have received relief, and how much they need.

HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE ON RELIGION AND MEDICINE OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA AND THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF MEDICINE. From the council, 105 East 22 Street, New York.

A report of the work of a committee formed in 1923 "proposing to investigate the border territory between religion and medicine," and to discuss the possibility of better cooperation between religion and medicine in maintaining health and curing disease.

ALCOHOL AND HEALTH, by R. R. Spencer, M.D. Senior Surgeon, U.S. Public Health Service. Reprint from *The Health Officer*.

General points on temperance education.

Concerning Children

ILLEGITIMACY AND THE DAY NURSERY, by Luna E. Kenney and Dorothy G. Patterson. The First and Sunnyside Day Nursery, 3627 Warren Street, Philadelphia.

A study covering five years of work on "a problem which has gravely concerned the workers who have compiled it."

A HANDBOOK ON CHILD CARE. The East Harlem Nursing and Health Service, 454 East 122 Street, New York. 84 pp. Price 50 cents.

A compilation of material, tested by long experience, and approved by experts, for the use of public health nurses and others working with parents and children.

THE PUBLIC CHILD WELFARE PROGRAM IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, by Emma O. Lundberg. Children's Bureau Publication, No. 240, 18 pp. Price 5 cents from the superintendent of documents, Washington.

Straight from the shoulder discussion of the "archaic laws and inadequate funds which handicap child welfare in the national capital."

TELLING SCHOOL CHILDREN ABOUT SOCIAL WORK. Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 155 East 44 Street. 23 pp. Price 50 cents.

A collection of material indicating ways in which social agencies may use their contacts with the schools to further the social education of children. Contains the address given at the Indianapolis conference by Carleton Washburne of Winnetka, Ill.

YOU CAN'T HELP UNLESS YOU KNOW HOW. American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. 67 pp.

A collection of nine articles first published in the Junior Red Cross Journal, designed to give school children an intelligent idea of some of the major areas of social work.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF STATE SERVICES FOR CHILDREN IN OHIO, U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU PUBLICATION No. 239, PART I. Price 10 cents.

MATERNAL AND CHILD-HEALTH AND CRIPPLED CHILDREN'S PROGRAMS UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, by Doris A. Murray, M.D. Reprinted from the *New England Journal of Medicine*.

SUGGESTED METHODS OF IMPROVING THE HEALTH OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: THE PROGRAM OF THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU, by Martha M. Eliot, M.D. Reprinted from *Minnesota Medicine*.

THE HEALTH EDUCATION PROGRAM OF THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU, with PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO NEGROES, by Katharine F. Lenroot. Reprinted from the *Journal of Negro Education*.

INFANT AND MATERNAL MORTALITY AMONG NEGROES, by Elizabeth C. Tandy. Reprinted from the *Journal of Negro Education*.

A group of reprints, from various publications, concerning the work of the U.S. Children's Bureau. From the superintendent of documents, Washington, D.C.

Readers Write

Deeply Felt

TO THE EDITOR: Won't *The Survey* please help a poor soul who is rapidly acquiring an awful phobia. It might even develop symptoms of snarling, biting and ravening, if my environment is allowed to press in any longer upon me with its constant aggravation of my psychic allergy.

I am fed up on hearing people say or on reading that they "feel" what they know, think, believe, conclude, deduce, assume, are convinced of, opine, conjecture or just plain guess, hope, wish or desire, advocate, urge, recommend, have some intuition or hunch about, have an impulse to enunciate or shout, or otherwise try to give expression or call attention to. It may well be that their use of the term is in some degree accurate in that their approach to their opinion has been a groping emotional process but then why not say that more picturesquely—say that we have acquired our belief or our urge to recommend by wrapping our feelers about the subject and reacting like a gentle sea anemone—or a rapacious, ink-spraying cuttle fish. Some might vibrate to a subject like a violin.

If, however, we have arrived at a formulation of opinion by any process that has a grain of rational consideration in it, that contains any element of observing, analyzing, concluding or in any other way scientifically and intellectually examining and reporting on the subject, let us preface that opinion with some word other than that we "feel" it.

Please don't misunderstand me, I am all for letting out on the emotional side, as you can readily see by this letter, but when it is done, it ought to be with a whoop. "Feeling" an opinion or even a reasoned conclusion is such an anaemic emotional manifestation.

Yours for the immediate retirement of
"We feel that this is true."
"We feel that this should be done."

New York NEVA R. DEARDORFF

P. S. I've just found the loveliest word in the dictionary. It is "rax," meaning "to stretch out; reach; as, 'rax me your hand'"! Dear *Survey,* rax me some other words in the social work vocabulary—but let them be good!

Three Centuries of Background

TO THE EDITOR: New Haven people have the chance just now—and are taking it—to see how social work has developed in the community through three centuries. Much of the exhibit is in the form of original documents or other original material.

In preparation for the exhibit we asked the various agencies to write the histories of their organizations and searched the library of the Historical Society, and the Yale Library and elsewhere for appropriate historical material. Old timers among the citizens were asked to review their diaries and search their attics for old documents, letters and photographs. Meantime a committee of leaders in six fields of social activity was formed to review available material and to suggest additional sources for it. The six fields were: family welfare, children's work, medicine and hospitals, public health nursing, mental hygiene, and recreation. Finally, we turned loose the Federal Writers' Project, and the Federal Art Project.

As a final result of all this we have in glass show cases in our reception room an exhibit of old documents and historical curios which pretty well illustrate the long road we have traveled since the first settlers moved in. Supplementing it are nine large wall panels, contrasting old methods with new and many lithographs and etchings, old and new, as well as lantern slides showing old situations and methods which are used to illustrate the twenty-minute addresses, one each on the fields mentioned, that are a part of the daily program.

The whole exhibit forms an impressive background for the community chest campaign. HOMER W. BORST

Secretary, Community Chest
New Haven, Conn.

New England Speaks

TO THE EDITOR: Every time we have a new application for old age assistance we send out forms to each son or daughter asking what contribution he or she can make to the parent who has applied for aid. Almost literally 100 percent reply that absolutely nothing can be done.

Therefore the refreshment of spirit, not to say excitement that occurs when such an answer as this comes along:

"Receipt of this 'relatives report blank' is truly a blow to my pride. I consider it a pleasant duty and a privilege to support my father. I haven't any great means, but I am willing and able to support him—have been doing so and intend to continue.

"Application for this assistance was made without my knowledge or consent. And I might state that I do not approve of this wholesale government assistance. Government assistance in dire need and suffering is one thing, but government assistance where it tends to destroy opportunities for individuals to develop their characters and cope with their own problems is quite another thing.

"I believe this application has been made with sincerity but based on misunderstanding of the Old Age Pension and Unemployment Pension Acts. [sic.] My father has as much now as he ever had: the government hasn't given him any financial assistance in the sixty-five years of his life. So why give it now any more than at any other time?

"With the exception of myself, the sons and daughters of this family are maintaining their own homes and consequently have their own responsibilities. They may not contribute financially to my father's support, except on special occasions, but they contribute much that money could never buy.

"So, as far as I can prove, you have an application that should be cancelled until I am incapacitated."

Perhaps the sturdy old New England conscience isn't dead after all.

HERBERT E. FLEISCHNER

Agent, Board of Public Welfare,
Milton, Mass.

Why Not?

TO THE EDITOR: Judging by Helen Manahan's article, For the Good of the Cause, in *The Survey* for July, dictation of case records remains the bugaboo it was in my own social work days. Miss Manahan offers an ingenious outline to lessen the horrors of "the allotted dictation period." Any relief no doubt is welcome—but why a dictation period at all, why not type your own records?

It happens that I went from case work into a school of journalism. In order to enter the course in newspaper writing, I had to learn typewriting, which I did at night school while finishing my job. A few weeks gave me sufficient speed and accuracy to pass entrance examinations and dash off my news stories in the allotted time. It was not difficult; anyone can learn to type. Newspaper reporters who are required to type their copy seldom "take a course," yet quickly develop surprising speed and facility.

For years I have asked myself why social agencies have not discovered the obvious advantages of requiring their case workers to type their own records. One supervisor to whom I mentioned it opined that case workers would feel it a loss of dignity. Tell that to a newspaper man! Journalists do not feel that their professional standards suffer because of their ability to pound the keys.

A certain amount of stenographic assistance would of course be required by most agencies. But with a fairly stable staff and not too great a crush of work to set the plan in motion, I can see no objection that a reporter wouldn't squash in short order. Why doesn't some agency, or even some one case worker, try it?

I. R. A.

Social Worker-Journalist, California

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So They Say

• The more ignorant you are the easier it is to be an anti.—H. G. WELLS *in Survey Graphic.*

• At least it [the unemployment census] will give everybody a new wrangling point. —WALTER DAVENPORT *in Collier's.*

• Jews, Catholics and Protestants are forgetting their respective roads to heaven in a common attempt to escape hell.—NORMAN THOMAS, *New York.*

• Democracy is not a dogma, nor even a doctrine, but simply a doing. It is not a product but a process.—Prof. T. V. SMITH, *University of Chicago.*

• We have learned in America and elsewhere to make and distribute propaganda faster than we have learned how to resist and evaluate it.—Prof. EDGAR DALE, *Ohio State University.*

• The biggest, tallest figure in the field of social welfare will ever be the child. If we can deal constructively with him the problems of adult life will lose most of their terror.—ROBERT W. KELSO *in The Science of Public Welfare.*

• The success of a conservative party seems to me to depend on its acceptance of an unalterable, though possibly deplorable, change in American life. No back to anything movement will get anywhere.—D. W. BROGAN, *Oxford University in the Virginia Quarterly Review.*

• What folly that in a university, by definnition an institution devoted to the full sweep of the wisdom of earth, we should teach men to raise better hogs and not to split infinitives, and so largely ignore teaching them to create better characters and not to split one another's throats.—N. B. DEXTER, *Carlinville, Ill., in The Christian Century.*

• All jails should be changed into hand-spinning and hand-weaving institutions.—GANDHI.

• Social workers do not make social change. —JACOB FISHER *to the Alumni of the New York School of Social Work.*

• There are sometimes people on boards of education who are not enlightened.—PROF. GEORGE D. STRAYER, *Teachers College, Columbia University.*

• The word charity has no place in modern government. It is the duty of government to take care of all citizens in need.—Mayor LA GUARDIA, *New York.*

• A sound relief program can be built only on a foundation of objective fact-finding and tolerance, not on politics and complaints about the present system.—*Editorial in Christian Science Monitor.*

• Relief is being cut off in so many localities it looks like feeding the unemployed is at an end. From here on we just count 'em. I don't know what it does for a jobless man to be counted, but it must make him feel good to have that much notice taken of him—CAL TINNEY, *news commentator.*

• I hope to see the lines which the depression has placed on the faces of the business and professional women of this country replaced with the upcurves of happy individuals who have time for play as well as work. —EARLENE WHITE, *president, National Federation of Business and Professional Women.*

• German mothers must be glad to bear sons whose destiny is to die in battle.—GENERAL GOERING, *Nazi official.*

• After all, in a revolution or rebellion the winning side defines who the patriots are.—PAUL MONROE *in China: A Nation in Evolution.*

• The dominant aim of our society seems to be to middle-classify all its members.—JOHN DOLLARD *in Caste and Class in a Southern Town.*

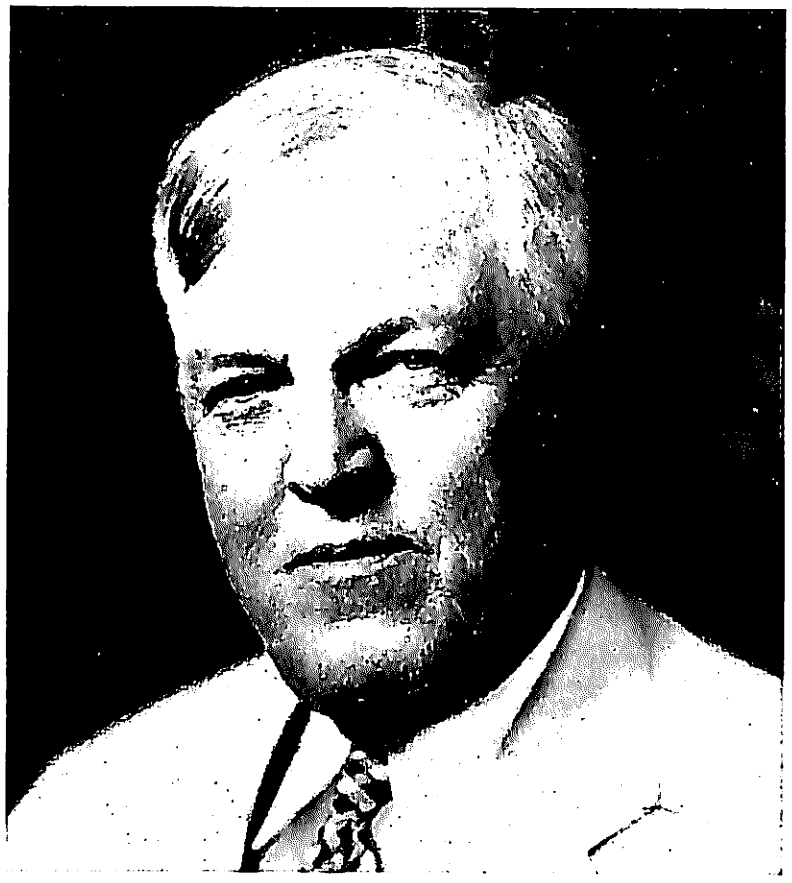
• It is impossible to achieve universal justice, efficient administration and complete coverage all at one stroke.—JOHN J. CORSON, *assistant executive director, Social Security Board.*

• If we attacked disease as unintelligently and haphazardly as we attack crime, civilized man would be wiped out in three generations. —AUSTIN H. MACCORMICK, *commissioner of correction, New York.*

• A good many of us should be fitted with silencers, but you can't muzzle a scientist with an inferiority complex.—DR. ARTHUR T. MCCORMACK, *Kentucky, president, American Public Health Association.*

• About half a battleship a year, if intelligently directed to the work of syphilis prevention and control . . . would save the nation almost as much in tax burden and blood and agony as the last war cost.—DR. THOMAS PARRAN, *Surgeon-General.*

• If a man has less than fifty shillings [about $12.50] a week, life is so anxious that he has no time for much thought concerning high things; the strain of looking after his body absorbs all his time and interest.—HENRY WILSON, *Bishop of Chelmsford, England.*



DR. ARTHUR T. McCORMACK

State health commissioner of Kentucky and secretary of the state medical society, Dr. McCormack is this year's president of the American Public Health Association. Doctors, nurses, health officers, sanitary engineers, social workers, administrators of public health agencies, mental hygienists, educators — Dr. McCormack's new constituency is a diverse group pulling together for essential goals in health.

EVART G. ROUTZAHN

Tendered formal honors at the 1937 meeting of the APHA, Mr. Routzahn was first chairman of the association's public health education section and is one of the editors of the *American Journal of Public Health.* He is known to social workers for his equally distinguished work, while associate director of the department of surveys and exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation, in developing techniques of interpretation for the social services.

ing, nature study, trips, parties, school holidays, the gymnasium and the summer center. There is a treatment of staff qualifications and of the educational consultant.

All of the work is apparently intellectually honest, giving descriptions and analyses of what actually occurred. It is an excellent and timely book, written in essence as a report of many experiments by a leader with a decided but consistent and enlightened point of view.

New York LEROY E. BOWMAN

The Problem of Syphilis

SHADOW ON THE LAND—SYPHILIS, by Thomas Parran, M.D. Reynal and Hitchcock. 309 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of *The Survey*.

SYPHILIS—THE NEXT GREAT PLAGUE TO GO, by Morris Fishbein, M.D. David McKay. 70 pp. Price $1 postpaid of *The Survey*.

A STRIKING example of the universal movement of our times which brings human problems, long hidden, into the open is Dr. Parran's new book, Shadow on the Land. The fields of scientific endeavor which the intelligent layman now is able to contemplate by virtue of "popular" works on science have enlarged tremendously in the last twenty-five years. Doctors, more than others, with a commendable breadth of social purpose, have laid before the ever-increasing reading public, the facts and problems that confront specialists in different fields of modern medicine.

Dr. Parran, as surgeon general of the U. S. Public Health Service and formerly health commissioner of New York State, has been a leader in the movement to acquaint public health boards, practising physicians and citizens of our country with the magnitude of the syphilis problem in the United States. In a concise and easily read volume, he cites the enormous prevalence of syphilis (ten to twelve million cases) and the intensity of effort and vigilance that is required to keep this plague from increasing. Dr. Parran quotes the brilliant work of the Scandinavians who, by their tireless search for new sources of infection and their compulsory treatment of cases of syphilis, have reduced the number of syphilitics almost miraculously. Thus, in Norway in 1919, 360 new cases were reported, while in 1933 only thirty new cases occurred. Again, the annual rate of early cases of syphilis in the white population in the United States is 328 per hundred thousand of population, while there were twenty in Denmark and seven in Sweden per hundred thousand.

Public health work of this type is possible only with the enlightened attitude of the Scandinavian public, the persistence of public and private physicians, and the lack of moral censure which has handicapped efforts to stamp out syphilis among us.

Dr. Parran makes an impassioned plea for a program that will eliminate syphilis. This consists of vigorous campaigns to ferret out all cases of untreated syphilis, the use of public funds to treat everyone adequately and the education of the physician in syphilology and the public in a scientific attitude towards this hitherto inenarrable plague. The book is heartily recommended to everyone who labors in the medical or welfare fields.

Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association,* covers the same field as Dr. Parran in a brief, outspoken brochure designed for public consumption. It might be noted that his subtitle, The Next Great Plague to Go, was the title of an article by Dr. Parran in *Survey Graphic* for July 1936.

New York WALTER BROMBERG, M.D.

Housing Lessons

BRITISH AND AMERICAN HOUSING, by Richard L. Reiss. National Public Housing Conference. 112 pp. Price $1 cloth, 50 cents paper, postpaid of *The Survey*.

IF American "housers" fail to learn what British experience has to teach, it will not be for lack of teachers. Here is one of the most practical of the many treatises on this subject. Based on his quarter century of work for better housing and living conditions in England and his recent lecture tour of the United States, Captain Reiss presents a blending of data and advice which is at once concise and comprehensive.

Captain Reiss finds that public housing projects are carried out and administered best by local rather than national authorities. However, local authorities cannot be relied upon to deal adequately with the housing problem unless financial assistance is provided from the national government, unless some form of duty is imposed upon them, and unless there is an adequate public opinion demanding that their powers be exercised. Public housing in England, he holds, has not interfered with private; it is confined to a market which private initiative cannot reach. If management is skilled, sympathetic but firm, unsatisfactory tenants will not exceed one family in twenty.

The author describes the PWA housing projects which he visited in the United States a few months ago as "well-

planned, both as regards the dwellings and the layout on the site. The construction was good and the provision for amenities and communal life, in most schemes, excellent." His main criticism of the projects is that they are far too costly. Why? Because:

The primary motive in starting the projects was to provide employment rather than low cost housing.

The fact that the projects were the first ventures in public housing meant that a new organization had to be set up, involving greater costs than will be necessary when organization has been perfected.

Centralization of administration in Washington of projects spread all over the United States prevented economies that might otherwise have been possible.

Direct federal administration led to an attitude of mind that the projects should be model ones, with not merely a model plan, but also model equipment and absolutely first class building.

The cost was further increased owing to the federal subsidy being in a capital rather than fixed annual form, and being proportional to the cost.

Most important, perhaps, of Captain Reiss' recommendations is his insistence on a long-term program. As he points out, housing cannot be dealt with in two or three years in America, any more than it could under the British program.

New York HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM

Understanding Kansas

PEOPLE OF KANSAS, by Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, with foreword by William Allen White. Kansas State Planning Board. 272 pp. Price $2 postpaid from the board, National Reserve Building, Topeka, Kansas.

FEW men know Kansas as does Professor Clark, of the faculty of sociology at Kansas University. One of the state's real "promoters," he has looked at its history from the many-angled vision of a teacher who would give the coming generation something of his own admiration for the state's boundless possibilities. Presumably his associate has given to the demography which the book exhibits so definitely, the same skill which Professor Clark has exhibited for the sociological aspects.

The whole book is thoughtfully executed, the tables produced for their important contribution to the subject rather than to give an official aspect or to follow a routine. The sources from which Kansas has gained her present virtues and eccentricities are indicated distinctly in this record of her history.

A concise volume, this is destined to be of tremendous value in consideration of the future of Kansas. It is peculiarly appropriate that the Kansas Planning Board should be the promulgator of this graphic presentation of and for the people of Kansas. CHARLES H. LERRIGO, M.D. *Topeka, Kan.*

THE SURVEY

NOVEMBER 1937

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Gains and Hopes for Health

Leaders of the American Public Health Association urge teamwork and wider public provision for medical and nursing care

By RUTH A. LERRIGO

IF the health of the American public is not yet all that it should be, it is not because "nobody cares." The sixty-sixth annual meeting of the American Public Health Association brought together in New York early in October a legion of health workers, rivalling in magnitude and infinite variety the assortment in the National Conference of Social Work. There were more than five thousand of them including health officers, physicians, nurses, laboratory technicians, statisticians, sanitary engineers, nutritionists, educators, mental and child hygienists, epidemiologists, health-minded industrialists, dentists and social workers.

But if diversity of specialty seemed the chief characteristic of the convention-goers there were nevertheless conspicuous trends of interest and concern which seeemed to run through the meeting. At least, so it seemed to this roving reporter, attempting single-handed (and, more important, only two-footed) to pick the high spots from nearly a hundred meetings and three hundred formal papers.

Perhaps the most meaningful trend was the emphasis on coordination of all agencies working for health. The nutritionists' assistance was invoked by the school and child hygienists, public health nurses, dentists, health officials. Mental hygienists were drawn in, at least by implication, practically everywhere. The need for cooperation with nursing forces was mentioned repeatedly in agencies concerned with treatment. The dentists this year considered formation of their own section within the association, but decided instead to work in with other sections, wherever appropriate. Dr. Thomas Parran, U.S. surgeon general and retiring president of the APHA, speaking at a Silver Jubilee dinner of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing summed it up neatly:

The Children's Bureau used a provocative slogan in a controversy some years back . . . pleading that we should not "dismember the child," should not separate the care of his health from the agencies which had to do with his welfare. . . . We must make the citizen members and sometimes the doctors in our public health team understand that the family health program must not be dismembered by a continuity of specialists each attacking as separate problems school health, infant welfare, tuberculosis, communicable disease, nutrition, bedside care, and a dozen matters which are of importance to the well-being of a family as a unit.

THE news core of the meeting, and the center of the sub-surface stream of conference conversation, was the recurrent call for wider public provision of nursing and medical care. Only once before in the memory of the oldest conference-goers has the socialization of medical care been so much as mentioned at APHA meetings. Josephine Roche, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, gave the association a clear call for leadership.

A far step forward would be taken, I think, if the American Public Health Association formally recognized the problem of the present unequal distribution of medical services and the widespread human needs of today, and charged a special committee to cooperate with the U. S. Public Health Service in extending through proper methods the long accepted functions of public health work to meet modern demands and needs of our people.

When the APHA governing council got around to its formal resolutions, it followed Miss Roche's lead and formally resolved:

That a special committee of this association shall be appointed to study the public health aspects of medical care and to cooperate with the United States Public Health Service and other federal agencies represented in the President's Interdepartmental Committee on Health and Welfare, and the American Medical Association, the American Dental Association and other appropriate bodies in extending public health work to meet modern needs, especially those occasioned by the increasing importance of chronic diseases as causes of sickness and death.

The council resolved further, in relation to the need for more maternal care in childbirth, that:

Whereas many of the deaths of mothers from causes re-

lated to childbirth could be prevented if needed medical and nursing care were available. . . . (the association) recommends that sufficient sums be made available by the local, state and federal governments to provide increased facilities for the postgraduate education of physicians and nurses, consultation service to local physicians, and hospitalization for mothers and new-born infants when necessary, and to employ qualified local physicians and nurses for all aspects of maternal care for women who are unable to secure such service otherwise.

BY the time these resolutions were made public, Miss Roche's lead had been echoed by other prominent speakers. Dr. Livingston Farrand, former president of Cornell University, predicted more tax supported medical services and asked for the development of a flexible plan, to be worked out by trial and error, by the cooperation of the medical profession, public health agencies, hospitals, social workers, nurses and other groups concerned. Sir Arthur Newsholme, British public health authority, pointed to the fact that "for several centuries in Britain there has existed national provision for the general all-round medical treatment of those who cannot provide it for themselves"; and, referring to the British National Health Insurance Act, "the doctors themselves would resent and oppose proposals for the abolition of this communal medical practice." Dr. Charles Goodrich, president of the Medical Society of the State of New York urged members of the association "to turn an icy shoulder" to "the very moderate percentage of self-seeking, narrow-minded, thoroughly commercial persons whose views are based on expectations of dollars and cents return to themselves, not on the welfare of the people." Governor Lehman of New York urged the cooperation of public health officials, physicians and welfare agencies to "achieve our goal of an equal opportunity for health and adequate medical care" for all citizens, regardless of circumstances or condition. Mayor La Guardia of New York said of tax supported medical care, "We are going to get more and it will be costly, but it is a good investment."

Unquestionably there was great diversity of philosophies within the association on this subject. A large audience heard Dr. Arthur T. McCormack, state health commissioner of Kentucky and incoming president of APHA, say in his inaugural address: "We should oppose at all hazards the socialization of medicine," and warn lest "any of the social groups that would put their unhallowed hands upon it" might win "a Pyrrhic victory," as a result of which "the finer qualities that now characterize the physician would soon disappear in the routine of the official." Dr. McCormack called upon his audience to have confidence in the medical profession, to "remember that they have always lived up to their responsibility to the people of this country and they always will," and to "be not impatient with their progress." At the same time, he spoke of the importance of increased federal assistance under the social security act, "so that the states may improve the local administrations of public health including maternal and child health, through state-devised control, plans and policies" and "the intention of this act that there shall be developed and maintained local full time public health service which will be actually in touch with and in reach of the people themselves, in their lives and in their homes. . . . The American people must decide" he said, "whether they want freedom from syphilis and tuberculosis, a reduced deathrate from cancer and pneumonia, less blindness and crippling and increasing happiness and health in old age. . . . If they determine that they do, they must pay the cost, at a per capita cost which is insignificant compared to the benefits to be derived."

There were many evidences of increased awareness of the need for treatment through public health agencies, as well as for the more familiar services of prevention and protection, particularly in controlling and combating pneumonia, syphilis and cancer through state health departments.

The call for well qualified personnel and for appointment and tenure on the basis of qualifications only, was heard throughout the meeting. In the public health nursing field particularly, the need for enlisting recruits of high type was stressed. A resolution passed by the governing council of the association urged all state and municipal governments to recognize the principle of selecting public health personnel solely upon professional qualifications and to disassociate all political interference or control from the administration of public health.

THE spread and growth of interest in nutrition is news in the whole health field. Meetings of the section on food and nutrition—once called food and drugs, and of much more limited interest—drew large audiences, made up of nurses, child hygienists, health officers, social workers, dentists, as well as nutritionists. Much of the increased interest in the subject is credited to the stimulus of social security funds. Fifteen state health departments now have established nutrition programs, through the titles concerned with maternal and child care administered by the Children's Bureau, as compared with three such state programs before social security funds became available. Health officers now are seeing the danger to the public health from undernourished disease-susceptible children, and more and more are considering the remedy of that condition as a proper function of the public agency.

Like nutrition, proper housing was a subject emphasized in many meetings beside those labelled "housing." A symposium on housing brought out for discussion the setting of health standards for low cost dwellings, a study undertaken a year ago and now under way by an APHA committee on the hygiene of housing, Dr. C. E.-A. Winslow of Yale University, chairman. The committee is cooperating with the housing commission of the League of Nations. Its membership includes experts in ventilation, lighting, plumbing and sanitary engineering, a sociologist, and others especially qualified. The committee plans to formulate not only minimum health standards for low cost housing, but also definite specifications to fulfill these standards, which may be placed in the hands of builders. Answering a criticism that the standards seemed too high to be attained in really low cost housing, the committee contended staunchly that its "feet are on the ground." One solution offered was the grading of standards for housing, from the equivalent of the nutritionists' "minimum subsistence diet" upwards to better levels.

Rollo H. Britten, senior statistician of the U.S. Public Health Service, looking at the magnitude of the job of providing proper housing for this country, expressed his belief that "health authorities must cooperate with organized labor in meeting this problem, because the persons who are going to live in the houses are the ones most directly concerned in furthering housing reform." Health officers were urged to cooperate from the start in the new housing programs, to ward against future difficulties by seeing that new building construction is planned from the first to comply with standards and specifications for healthful housing.

Just as public health nursing was prominent in related programs throughout the conference, the nurses' own programs emphasized nutrition, psychiatry, social work, better public health services. Dorothy Deming, general director of NOPHN, speaking at a session to which the public was invited, said that three outstanding goals of her profession for the future were cooperation with other health and social groups, bettering of the one-time goal of one public health nurse to every two thousand of population (a goal as yet unrealized) and, most of all, "We need superior nurses."

First announcement of the results of a study by a committee on personnel practices in official agencies, as they affect public health nursing, was made by Marian G. Randall, director of the study, "on loan" from the Milbank Memorial Fund. With more than 2500 official agencies in some 1400 communities of the United States employing well over half of the country's public health nurses, current information on personnel practices in these agencies is of first importance to nursing. Miss Randall gave advance reports from her forthcoming book, Report on Personnel Policies in Public Health Nursing. (To be published for NOPHN by Macmillan, probably next month.)

CHILD hygienists turned their attention to the seriousness of the problems of stillbirth and of abortion in the United States. Experts of the U.S. Children's Bureau reported that although registration is incomplete, approximately 80,000 stillbirths are recorded each year. A special study of stillbirths is now being made by the bureau to obtain statistical information regarding fetal and maternal conditions associated with stillbirth, in a quest for preventable aspects as well as to improve statistical recording. Dorothy G. Wiehl and Regine K. Stix of the Milbank Memorial Fund reported that three recent studies conducted by the fund, together with other evidence, indicate that about 8 to 10 percent of all pregnancies are terminated by spontaneous abortion; that the frequency of illegally induced abortions varies widely in different groups, and that these variations, as seen in different income groups, point to the importance of social and economic pressures as causes of the resort to illegal abortion.

Educational and technical exhibits designed to inform the public as well as professional health workers of the major problems of chronic diseases and the fight to suppress them were on prominent display. Josephine Roche told a general session of the conference that, whereas fifty years ago 94 percent of all mortality from disease was from acute illness, chiefly infections, chronic illness now is responsible for 75 percent of this class of mortalities. She listed the ten diseases which take the greatest toll, in order of the deathrates they produce, as: first heart disease, then cancer, pneumonia and influenza, cerebral hemorrhage, nephritis, tuberculosis, diabetes, diarrhea and enteritis, appendicitis and syphilis. She forecast that the first accurate picture of the needs of relief clients and the large group of "medically indigent" will be seen, upon completion of the U.S. Public Health Service survey of disabling illness and the volume of medical services now being received. Preliminary data show, she said, that:

> . . . disabling illness of persons on relief is 68 percent higher than among those in families with an annual income of $3000 or over; that the unemployed have twice the disabling illness that the employed have; the WPA workers have a disabling illness rate 40 percent above that of other employed persons; that one in every twenty heads of families on relief is unemployed because of disability, while only one in two hundred and fifty heads of families in the higher income groups is unemployed because of disability.

NEW developments and studies, changed techniques and currents of thought were reported in industrial hygiene, public health engineering, laboratory and epidemiologists sections, some of them of immediate interest, some remote from the layman's concern. Means to greater accuracy of tests and diagnoses, the constant quest for more and more scientific exactness in the interest of the public's health were objectives of these groups. Everywhere they were ferreting out conditions menacing to health, and working on means to abolish them. Bacteria in the air of New York, soot in the air of Pittsburgh, carelessness in restaurant cleanliness, new dangers in America's vacation habits, were subjects which struck home to everyone.

Health education, in theory and in practice, was much in evidence. An extensive display of health education and publicity materials was maintained by Evart G. Routzahn, chairman of the headquarters exhibit and editor of the health education section of the *Journal* of the APHA. Mr. Routzahn was given a "surprise" testimonial luncheon honoring his work in this field and, specifically, his fifteen years of service with the Association's Heath Section, of which he was the first chairman. The governing council of the APHA, in its formal resolutions, expressed its deep appreciation of his "pioneer devotion in establishing techniques of public information as an essential part of health promotion and disease prevention."

The Committee on Scientific Exhibits of the association gave six certificates of merit. Those recognized were: the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation; the Isotype exhibition technique, by Otto Neurath, president of the International Foundation for Visual Education; the exhibit on the medical and public health building at the New York World's Fair, 1939; the New York City Cancer Committee; the Union Health Department of British Columbia, Canada; and the American Medical Association's exhibit of mechanical nostrums. The coming World's Fair exhibit of medicine and public health was described by Louis I. Dublin and Homer N. Calver as the probable foundation for a permanent American Museum of Hygiene. An interesting feature of the health education section was a display of health movie "shorts," displayed hourly throughout the meeting. The presentation was made largely through the efforts of the New York State Department of Health, in charge of Vincent Grogan of the bureau of visual instruction.

Professor Abel Wolman of Johns Hopkins University was chosen by the governing council as president-elect, to take office at the 1938 meeting.

This year's meeting, shepherded by Mayor La Guardia of New York as honorary chairman, and by City Health Commissioner John L. Rice as general chairman, turned out to be the largest in the APHA'S seventy-five years of existence. But more significant than its size was the impact on press, public and the various professions of health which it appeared to make. Next year the membership, which is drawn from all over the United States, from Canada and Mexico, will gather in Kansas City again to check and forecast gains, losses and hopes for health.

SOCIAL AGENCY BOARDS AND HOW TO SERVE ON THEM

Why and Wherefore

By CLARENCE KING

New York School of Social Work

STARTING any new movement to promote a service needed by the community but appreciated by only a minority of citizens is like starting to roll a large snowball. At the beginning the important thing is to get the snow to pack—to mold the all-important central core. Once you have cohesion at the center, once that inner ball begins to attract other particles to itself, all you need is the right slope and a sufficient expanse of snow and the ball will roll on and grow.

Every new movement from Christianity to mental hygiene began with the building of a small, enthusiastic and cohesive central group, welded together by an inspired leader. Once cohesion and momentum had been achieved, the original leader might withdraw but the movement rolled on. The board of directors in any movement should be this core of enthusiasm and vigilance. No new social invention, no broad stroke of official action, can be substituted for it.

Years ago a dentist in a New England city conceived the idea that the teeth of school children should be cleaned at municipal expense by dental hygienists especially trained for the purpose. He did not go through the slow process of organizing a dental hygiene association to promote the idea. Instead he went straight to the source of political power, the city boss. He convinced the boss of the soundness of the idea and that, "It would be good politics not to play politics with it." Dental hygiene was introduced into the schools and flourished. The system was copied in other cities here and abroad. But in a few years that boss died and without an organized, convinced group of citizens to stand behind it the movement for dental hygiene was emasculated in the city which gave it birth.

Compare this with the development of public recreation in the same city. During the war a recreation association was formed, and an influential enthusiastic board organized. At first the movement was supported by private contributions. The snowball of increasing interest rolled steadily on until the new enterprise was adopted as a function of the municipal government with the members of the unofficial board named as the official recreation commission. The depression of 1921 brought reaction. New city officials, pledged to cut expenses and regarding this new function of city government as a "frill," eliminated it from the city budget. But they had not reckoned with the board. Militant, influential, convinced of the soundness of the enterprise, it stood its ground and so stirred public sentiment that the authorities were forced to restore the appropriation. Since then public recreation has continued as a permanent function of the municipal government of that city.

There is real danger of indulging in wishful thinking and of substituting a picture of an ideal board for a realistic view of boards as they actually exist today. Truth compels us to admit that only a minority of boards, in either public or private social work, constitute a cohesive and dynamic force. This does not prove, however, that boards have been overrated as an effective administrative device. It merely indicates that these boards have not been energized into the constructive force which they can become if well organized and led.

So long as a social movement remains unofficial, the board as a necessary device for providing sponsorship is undebatable. When a movement ultimately obtains official sponsorship and is incorporated as a government department, there are differences of opinion as to the advantages of continuing the board.

Out of the long history of privately developed social work certain definite advantages of board backing stand out so clearly that they are not to be dismissed lightly by any social agency, dependent, as all of them are, on community understanding and support. It will be enough here to discuss eight of the chief uses of boards, though more will suggest themselves.

INTERPRETING THE WORK TO THE PUBLIC: A men's club was discussing around the luncheon table the philanthropies of a certain townsman. Said a manufacturer, "The community chest shouldn't solicit Brown. He takes care of six dependent families out of his own pocket." "That's right," said a merchant, "Brown does enough in his own quiet way." There were several expressions of agreement. Then a conservative lawyer spoke up. "I don't know whether Brown should be exempted or be given a good swift kick." All present were shocked into close attention to the lawyer's informed discussion of the value of skilled service in administering relief and the dangers of well meant but promiscuous philanthropy. When he had finished, there was no dissent. Where did he get his information? From the local family society where, as a member of the board, he had become convinced that philanthropy without skill may do more harm than good. By seizing an opportunity afforded by casual conversation, he had spread his own conviction among some of the most influential leaders of his community.

All the devices of formal publicity technique may be invoked by a private society or a public department that can afford them, but it is doubtful whether any of them will prove as effective in interpreting the work to the public as the informal unplanned efforts of a board and its members who are really representative of the public. Unfortunately few boards are energized to make conscious and continuous use of the influence they possess. They are unaware of its importance. In some instances a special committee on publicity and interpretation may help to keep the whole board energized in this regard, again it may be a staff member skilled in publicity, who will urge the importance of board member interpretation in season and out.

GIVING SPONSORSHIP AND PRESTIGE: One of the obvious uses of boards is to sponsor the work; to give it prestige; perhaps even to make it fashionable. This is highly important for a new movement seeking community acceptance although a following attracted only by influence is no substitute for one with real understanding. It is a fact that a movement can gain standing just because an influential citizen takes the leadership of it. Thus in a medium-sized city the new community chest limped along unsuccessfully for two years. The president was a man of slight prestige, financially and socially. Important names appeared on an honorary committee but not on the board responsible for active direction of the work. To the town this indicated that the movement had not yet arrived. Then one day one of the most influential and popular men in the city agreed to accept the presidency. Almost from that day the chest was on a different footing in community esteem and thereafter was markedly successful.

The situation in that city might be illustrated by a pyramid, with the president at its apex. The position of the first president in the community was not very exalted and the pyramid of his influence therefore had a narrow base. The second president raised the apex of the pyramid of influence so high that its sides sloped out to reach nearly the entire community. Thus the organization, by the simple device of raising the apex of its leadership, immediately broadened the base of its support. An ideal board from the standpoint of prestige would include a leader from every important group in town. Thus collectively their various pyramids of influence would reach the whole community.

RAISING MONEY OR INFLUENCING APPROPRIATIONS: Raising money is not the chief reason for a board. Successful financing depends far more upon interpreting the work to the community than upon the individual gifts of board members themselves. For this reason it should not be assumed that when the work begins to be supported by tax funds a board is no longer necessary. Adequate public appropriations do not come without interpretation and public confidence. When a public welfare agency presents its financial needs to an appropriating body the weight of an influential board backing up its proposed budget frequently proves more effective than the clearest logic or the most compelling statistics. Even from the standpoint of securing private contributions, the policy of electing board members and asking nothing of them but their gifts is ineffective and shortsighted. Neither intelligent enthusiasm nor large gifts will result long from such a policy.

INTERPRETING THE COMMUNITY TO THE STAFF: Here a board is indispensable. Harold J. Laski, writing on the limitations of the expert, explains the biased point of view which results from specialization and discusses the need for someone to mediate between the expert and the general public. A board representative of the community takes up that slack for a social agency. At the same time it affords the executive a testing place for his ideas. He quickly will learn from his board whether he is proceeding faster than the community is prepared to follow. This need not mean that the board is only an inhibiting force. The board should be a step ahead of the community, fully aware of its attitudes and adroit in meeting them. Thus the president of a central labor council serving on the board of a community chest was able not only to explain the bitter opposition of organized labor to the chest but to devise ways to overcome it.

In England the British genius for democratic government is displayed in the general use of citizen committees to reflect local opinion. In the administration of non-contributory old age pensions, every community of 20,000 or more has a local committee although the entire expense is paid by the national government. These committees hear appeals from decisions of the local pension officer and have power to determine questions of fact.

CHOOSING, SUPERVISING OR REMOVING THE EXECUTIVE: One of the chief duties of a board, unless it is merely advisory, is to choose its executive officer. After his selection the board stands sponsor for the quality of his performance. If his work is not satisfactory, it is the board's responsibility to take necessary action, even to the point of removing him. The task of choosing, supervising and removing the executive will be discussed in detail later in this series.

MAKING POLICY DECISIONS: This frequently is regarded as the chief task of the board. These decisions may be as simple as choosing new office space or as difficult as determining an adequate weekly relief budget for a large family in need of special medical service. As social work becomes more complex and scientific, debate arises as to the capacity of a lay board to determine policies which require expert knowledge. If the board has a skilled staff, should not the experts make such decisions? But if these decisions are to be made by the experts what is the use of a board?

In English local administration, the position of the board or functional committee in reference to expert policy decisions is clearly established. The executive, generally a career man with special training, serves as an expert adviser while the proposed policy is under discussion. The committee takes full responsibility before the public for the decision reached, the executive accepts it and thereafter becomes the agent of the committee to carry it out. Public disapproval might force resignation of some of the committee but the executive would not be held responsible for the policy in question even though he advised it.

We have no such clear distinction in this country. When a partisan, aldermanic investigation of the Emergency Relief Bureau in New York City succeeded in making "boondoggling" seem ridiculous to the general public, it was the director of the bureau who resigned. The public hardly knew that there was an Emergency Relief Board and none of these board members felt called upon to resign though presumably they had approved the challenged policies. A sound rule would seem to be that all boards that establish policies should assume responsibility for them.

Centralization of responsibility is much simpler under the English system of local government. There the public assistance committee is composed of party representatives in the same proportion as in the city council. Thus the dominant part is at all times in control. Our effort, however, is to have administrative boards strictly non-partisan with long, overlapping terms so that no single elected city head can control them. This frequently is offered as an argument against administrative boards because responsibility can be centered neither in one executive nor in one party.

The answer is clear if we remember that on major policies neither the executive nor his board makes the final decision. In the last analysis the community, the voters or

THE SURVEY *is indebted to Harper and Brothers as well as to the author for the privilege of offering to its readers a series of four articles drawn from Mr. King's book, Social Agency Boards and How to Serve on Them, to be published by Harper early in the new year. Articles to follow this first one are: In a Changing Scene, The Necessary Executive, and Community Roots.*

contributors, decides because it puts up the money. The decision may be slow, but it is sure. Here the board has an expertness in appraising community temper seldom possessed by the most skilled staff. It knows how the community feels. If it is really representative it can outline, better than anyone else, the steps by which the community temper may be modified to accept new policies advised by experts.

Certain social workers make small effort to share information about complicated social work practices with their boards on the theory, it seems, that the boards, lacking professional background, "would not understand." In that critical hour which may come to any social agency when it can go forward only if influential laymen do "understand," such workers will find themselves lacking the support of those who should be their strongest backers.

STARTING NEW MOVEMENTS: The impetus to set going a new social or civic movement usually comes from a small group of people whose conviction moves them to action. Later the members of such a group may elect a board, but at the outset it generally works the other way—the original group is the board until the movement has gained enough adherents to permit a wider base of selection. An example of this is offered by a mental hygiene society formed in 1925 in a small city. It began with only seven persons who constituted themselves a board and set out to get members for the proposed society. It was more than a year before the whole membership came together in an annual meeting officially to elect a board.

Many new movements in social work started as offshoots of an established agency which sponsors the development through a committee of its own board until the new effort is strong enough to stand before the public on its own feet. Thus the movement for joint lay and professional effort for the prevention of tuberculosis received a most significant stimulus if not a chronological beginning through a special committee of the New York Charity Organization Society. The board of that established agency knew keenly the need for such an effort, some of its members were stirred deeply by it. Thus the society gave its prestige and certain of the board members their individual drive to a movement that soon grew to national proportions.

GIVING CONTINUITY TO THE WORK: "A board," says Francis McLean, "is the continuing stream of the life of a society. The board continues in the eyes of the public as trustees for the work. It is the visible sign of the community's endorsement of a project."

It is in this area of a board's service that its various other aspects of usefulness come together. Executive and staff may come and go, public opinion may fluctuate, conditions may change, but the work goes on and it is for the work itself that the board is responsible. Service, standards of performance, flexibility and growth should not be dependent on the enthusiasm, the drive or the backing of a single person. This is just as true, perhaps even more so, of a public agency as of a private. The enactment of a law may create a needed and useful welfare service, a political boss may give it his blessing, but that is no guarantee that the service will be effective or will continue to function if opposing forces get control or the boss passes out of the picture. At such a juncture it is the board, convinced and convincing, that serves as guardian of the public interest and protects the service against emasculation or even destruction.

100 Young Delinquents—and Why

By LISBETH PARROTT

WHY does not juvenile delinquency dwindle and die away, but instead continues to flourish and grow strong?

Seeking an answer to that vexing question, Jacksonville, Fla. through its Council of Social Agencies had the courage to make a searching self-analysis. At the instance of the Blue Ridge Institute for Social Work Executives, which wanted some laboratory material for a study of delinquency prevention, Jacksonville volunteered to be the guinea pig. During 1936-37 the council conducted a survey of a hundred juvenile delinquents, their families and their community setting. The efforts of a full time research staff, in consultation with the Community Chests and Councils, Inc., produced an almost photographic picture of the cases studied. But more than that—and this feature is believed to be unique among such studies—the picture of the young delinquents themselves is framed by a detailed report of the services which local social agencies have given them. Seen together, these findings portray a fairly conclusive answer to the question which launched the whole study.

The facts revealed about the boys and girls and their families involved in delinquency cases are moving enough; but the most stirring picture, to the social worker at least, is that of the lack of coordination of services and focus of program in an American city that may be regarded as fairly typical. Here we have a picture of each social agency busy at its own appointed task, going its own separate way, the right hand unaware of the left hand.

Subjects of the Jacksonville study were a hundred juvenile delinquents who had been committed to state training schools from Duval County. Starting at the end of 1936 and going backwards, this meant that all the children committed in 1936 were included, with a few committed at the close of 1935. Of the hundred, thirty-one were white boys, twenty-three white girls, and forty-six Negro boys. As there are no institutional facilities for Negro girls, none was included in the study. Most of the young delinquents were from twelve to seventeen years old, but four were under ten years. Nearly all were of native stock.

In natural endowments and economic and social privilege, the study revealed, most of the children had been woefully short-changed. Reports obtainable on the intelligence of seventy-three showed that 44 percent had I.Q.'s below 70. Only fourteen fell in the 90-100 classification regarded as average for school children. Three were "bright"—their I.Q.'s over 110. Investigators said that "even on the surface there are many indications of emotional disturbance among the children and their families which seem to call for skilled treatment in mental hygiene."

In school the children were markedly retarded, but only eight had been enrolled in special classes. Fifty-three had been truants, but there were no attendance officers to find out why. A surprising bareness of recreational life was revealed. Only eighteen children had ever belonged to any of the organized programs for young people's activities. Many of their families did not know how they spent their leisure time. Mothers reported that they were usually "running around the streets."

In spite of their youthfulness, the majority of the children had been in gainful employment. (One had been giving "spiritual readings.") Health problems abounded; some had syphilis and gonorrhea, others had equally serious ailments. Nearly half had diseased tonsils.

THE Jacksonville group focussed its attention on the families and homes of the children, rather than upon the children. Nearly all the families were in serious economic straits. Fifty-nine of them were living on incomes below minimum needs, as defined in the FERA's Weekly Budget on Restricted Diet; twenty-four were living at the level of this budget; only eleven were "comfortable." In a large number of families children had been kept out of school for varying periods of time because of lack of clothing and other essentials.

Sixty-five mothers of the ninety-two about whom such information was available had been regularly employed over a long period of time, almost all at very low-paying jobs, so that it was impossible for them to hire anyone to look after the children while they were away. Interviewers for the survey often heard the remark, "This wouldn't have happened if I had been at home with the children."

Fourteen families were intact so far as both parents went but in only five was there no outward evidence of family disharmony. All the other homes were broken by desertion, divorce, death. Seven children were illegitimate.

Housing in a majority of the cases was inadequate, particularly so for most of the Negro families. Sixty-two percent of the children lived in the "underprivileged area," a section where dependency, morbidity, mortality, and delinquency rates were higher than the average for the city.

Forty-seven of the families were known to have official criminal records for one or more of their members. Researchers believed that this rate would have been higher had complete information been available. Other types of recorded misconduct throw light upon family relationships; for example, twenty-six parents had deserted their families at one time or another; thirteen fathers had been markedly cruel to their wives and children.

Many serious health problems were found among the families: twenty-eight cases of syphilis, three of gonorrhea; eleven of undernourishment and anemia; six of severe cardiac disorders; five of tuberculosis. Ten of the children's parents had been committed to institutions for the insane, and six of their brothers and sisters to institutions for mental defectives. And even at that, workers were convinced that there were other cases unreported.

Having learned something about the problems in these homes, Jacksonville next wanted to know: What chance have the social agencies had to do something abut them?

In the first place, it was learned that 88 percent of the families were known to the agencies; most of them to several. These agencies represented a variety of services: family and child welfare, health, group work, and so on.

Since it is generally agreed that an early start is important in working with a child, particularly an underprivileged child, it is interesting to note that in a large number of these cases the agencies did start early. They began work with forty-six of the families when the future delinquent was less than ten years old; yet all but thirteen of the children were over twelve when committed. In two instances, fifteen years had elapsed from the time of the family's first contact with a social agency until the child's committment; in thirty-five cases, five or more years had passed; in sixty-three, two or more.

Although the problems in these families were so numerous and so serious, they were not usually recognized by the agencies in their first year of contact. Economic need, medical problems, the obvious fact that one or both parents were not present, made up the bulk of the problems recorded in the first year's diagnosis, this in spite of the domestic difficulties, immorality, mental disease and deficiency and other such problems which seem to have existed in high degree. Where the family had contact with more than one agency during the first year, one agency frequently was unaware of problems diagnosed by another.

Delinquency is mentioned in the records of forty of these families—but since in the end there were delinquent children in all of them, it is obvious that in many cases, in spite of repeated appearances of the child in court during the time of the agency contact, delinquency was not recognized by the agency.

A GOOD many services and facilities generally regarded as important in a community are non-existent in Jacksonville or are available only to a very limited extent. Grants for relief are inadequate, being usually 25 to 50 percent of a family's budgetary need, depending on the money available. Mothers' aid cases at the time of the study were getting $5 per child per school month, and less or sometimes nothing during vacations. No assistance of this kind was available for colored children. There is no family case work agency; the need for relief was the determining factor in the opening and closing of cases. There was some foster home work, but not enough to meet the need.

Neither the agencies nor the courts have psychiatric or psycholgical services; the schools have one full time but overworked psychologist, no visiting teachers, no attendance officers. Bedside nursing, clinic and hospital facilities and medical social services fall short of the community needs. Playgrounds are far too few; there is none within walking distance of the most spotted delinquency area. Group work programs are limited by funds and facilities.

The juvenile court is recognized as one of the best in the South, but it has no authority over its probation department. There is no merit system for probation appointments, which are made by the governor. Reports to the judge usually consist of unverified face sheet data. The probation division does not clear or register its cases with the social service exchange. Probation is usually limited to routine reporting once or twice a week.

Other cities may suffer from inadequate facilities in the same degree as Jacksonville; some are undoubtedly more blessed, some even less well off. At any rate, after studying Jacksonville's self-analysis, the Blue Ridge Institute committees concluded that filling in the gaps will not be sufficient to meet the situation. Changes in organization and procedure are needed to bring about a real coordination of the specialized services into a total community plan which will not only treat problems as they arise here and there, but will be geared to detect and to prevent them.

Discovery of problems at an early stage, the Blue Ridge discussants reiterated, is just as important a part of the community program as investigation and diagnosis. In behavior problems as in public health, as the beginning of a preventive program, responsibility for discovery of cases needs to be fixed and methods of case finding worked out. In pointing out the need for early diagnosis, the committees observed that agencies often spend their time and resources in treating end results, when it would be less costly and more fruitful to find problems in their incipient stages.

Furthermore, they went on, most of these Jacksonville families need long time treatment. Cases should not be closed when relief is no longer needed and reopened when a husband is sent to prison; closed when syphilis treatment is finished with a mother, reopened when the disease appears in a child.

As more than half of the families came to the attention of an agency after the normal family relationship had been disrupted, the Blue Ridge committees observed that: "social problems become agency cases only after the situation is severe enough to have a nuisance value, causing the client to apply for service or someone to refer him to an agency. The data show that, even then, the application is for the most part in terms of obvious needs such as economic assistance, medical treatment, or care for children."

The individualized agencies, the institute concluded, need to think of themselves not as completely segregated units, but as parts of a whole community system, with dispatching, signalling and operating units. Under such a plan, the headlong flight of children into the juvenile courts and training schools, and later into the adult prisons, might be checked before it had even started to gain momentum.

Self-Help, Practical and Proved

By UDO RALL

Former director, Division of Self-Help Cooperatives, Federal Emergency Relief Administration

THE self-help program of the FERA which burgeoned so hopefully at one time is now a thing of the past. Although it averaged better results, dollar-for-dollar, than any other federal relief expenditure its significance lies less perhaps in that fact than in the evidence it offered of what the cooperative self-help technique holds for marginal and submarginal income groups. This evidence can be presented most clearly I believe by means of specific illustrations of where self-help has worked effectively and is continuing to work, through methods which could be employed in many places and under various conditions. These illustrations might be multiplied, but three will be enough. They are: low cost housing requiring no subsidy, extension of the purchasing power of old age pensioners, the spare time production of food for home consumption by low income families.

A small self-help cooperative in the little rural community of Iona, Idaho, on analyzing the needs of its member families, found that their greatest lack was adequate housing. Most of the members had part time employment or were on relief and managed somehow to get necessary food, fuel and clothing. Many of them owned small plots of cheap land acquired before the depression but since they could not hope to save enough money to build, and could pay no more than $10 or $15 a month rent, they seemed doomed to tenancy in neglected shacks.

At that time the self-help division of the state ERA had a modest revolving fund from FERA available for self-help projects and to that office the group appealed for advice and assistance in tackling their housing problem. By a cooperative procedure ultimately worked out, seventeen families so far have obtained or, in a few instances, improved their own homes.

The state office provided standard plans for basement dwellings which could be constructed almost entirely by unskilled labor. Typically these dwellings consist of a waterproof concrete floor and outer walls enclosing four rooms equipped with modest plumbing and heating facilities. The walls project several feet above ground to permit the necessary windows. The roof, flat or pitched, can be raised when the owner is ready to complete the house with a superstructure. The entire cost of materials for the house runs under $300. A report by the group briefly describes the cooperative procedure:

A man must first own a lot on which he proposes to build. He makes application to the cooperative for both the cash and the labor needed for his proposed construction or improvement, specifying in the application the repayment terms he can meet. If the application is approved by the executive committee and the state director, the applicant deeds his lot to the cooperative as security. The cooperative as a whole borrows from its own grant fund [the FERA revolving fund mentioned above] sufficient cash to purchase the necessary materials, at the same time giving to the state self-help department an agreement to pay back to the grant fund the advance which it has received according to the same terms as those specified in the agreement between the cooperative and the applicant. The labor for the construction is provided through an exchange of services by different members of the cooperative wishing to build. The contracts for repayment of the cash advances specify a monthly repayment rate, in most cases less than the cash rentals which families have been paying, and in all cases providing for paying back the entire sum in a twenty-four months' period. In this way our building fund is kept intact and can be made over a period of years to serve many families. Each builder pays back to the cooperative 10 percent more in cash than it has borrowed on his behalf, to offset necessary cash expenses of the organization. Our people are modest in their demands and in several cases have borrowed from $200 to $300 for materials to construct a basement and are living in the basement until it is paid for, hoping to procure the same assistance for the superstructure after the basement has been paid out.

The state reports that payments are being made regularly and that several families have paid off the entire loan and are ready to tackle the superstructure. As to the comfort of these dwellings under severe conditions the report of these enterprising cooperators concludes:

We are in the grip of old man winter now. We live in a real winter country in which the mercury sometimes goes out of sight. Our members who are in their warm basements want to express their gratitude to the Boise office and to all concerned in this good work for the added comfort that has come to them in these cold winter days. They say that others may look down on basement dwellers, but for real warmth and comfort there are few houses in the land that can compare with a good basement house.

Here then, in essence, is a practical method that can be used to provide suburban and rural housing without subsidy, at an extremely low cash investment per home, and with little danger of financial loss. It can be applied to thousands of submarginal families, even if they do not own building lots, by buying up cheap tracts and subdividing them, adding the cost to the individual construction loan.

It is true that this plan offers only a minor attack on a major national problem and that its application is limited further by its dependence on the willingness and ability of the cooperators to contribute their labor without cash compensation. However, the new half-billion dollar housing act, expected to provide for no more than 150,000 families, is likewise a drop in the bucket leaving plenty of room for other approaches to the problem.

Under the Iona cooperative method the cash investment per room is not $1250 nor even $1000, but from one tenth to one fifth of that amount, and the amortization period, without working undue hardship on the borrower, would more likely average five than twenty years. In twenty years, therefore, a given amount of loan funds can be expected to provide at least twenty times as much housing under this plan as under the federal housing act. And by what other plan can people on relief or part time employment expect to get any decent housing at all, except with heavy governmental subsidies?

There is no federal agency at present ready to put such a common sense plan into operation. It is not even possible to obtain federal loans for such housing projects, as the director of the Idaho Self-Help Cooperatives discovered when trying to extend this plan to other communities.

WE now come to the second example, the purchasing power of old people who, under the security program, are receiving monthly assistance of $30 or less. Admittedly it is difficult for those without other resources and with no family attachments to get along on such a small income. Here the experience of college student groups operating rooming and boarding houses on a self-help cooperative basis holds a lesson. I am not referring to fraternity or sorority houses but to the spontaneously organized efforts of impecunious students particularly at a few western universities. Why should not the same technique work with recipients of old age assistance?

Admitted that old folk are less active and enterprising than young college people, they can, on the other hand, devote their full time to the enterprise of managing their own rooming and boarding houses and in addition can engage in varied supplementary activities of their own selection, such as gardening and canning for home use, dressmaking, and possibly even the production of saleable handcraft articles requiring more patience than dexterity.

With a regular though small monthly income, it becomes possible for unattached old people to get together in groups of six or more, to organize their own rooming and boarding house on a cooperative basis, to divide the lighter housework among themselves equitably and to hire someone for the heavier work. Living together in one house, they will have better opportunities for recreation, companionship and nursing care in case of illness. Members who do not fit in for one reason or another can withdraw (or be made to do so) on short notice, and will be no worse off than before joining the group. The fact that the arrangement is voluntary and that the regulations are of the residents' own making will tend to minimize dissatisfaction and irritation.

The first practical demonstration of this idea has been made in the state of Washington, where a group of about fifty old men organized to take over a dilapidated rooming house belonging to a lumber company. Instead of paying rent, the group agreed to recondition the building and to keep it in repair. As a further outlet for the members' energy the group obtained the use of a small tract of land nearby, on which to grow their own vegetables. The rent-free house was a windfall that cannot be counted on ordinarily, although the scheme of repairing houses in lieu of rent has been utilized often by self-help cooperatives.

BY and large, it must be assumed that the old age pensioners lack the imagination, experience, and initiative to undertake such a cooperative venture without prompting and guidance from the outside. Unfortunately, state welfare agencies are usually hesitant to initiate or sponsor activities for which they have no direct legislative mandate. It happens that in the state of Washington self-help cooperatives have thrived for some time with state sanction and encouragement. Therefore this further extension of the self-help technique seemed quite proper to the state social security officials with whom I discussed the possibility more than a year ago. But for this plan to have a wide extension would require the endorsement and active encouragement of the federal social security officials. With such backing and the right kind of advisory service, thousands of needy old men and women, at no extra cost to state or federal governments, would be enabled to stretch their allowances to obtain comforts impossible to any one of them going it alone.

A third significant application of the cooperative self-help technique has been made in the field of truck gardening for home use. The early years of the depression saw many garden programs carried on by relief agencies with much enthusiasm and often disappointing results. In time most of them were dropped as too costly. But in St. Louis the program has been transformed, on a somewhat reduced scale, into a self-governing, self-sustaining enterprise that does not cost the taxpayers a cent. Credit for this transformation belongs primarily to the former state supervisor of the garden program who guided its reorganization.

The St. Louis Cooperative Garden Association took over from the relief garden program several suburban tracts that were fenced in and had a temporary network of water lines for irrigation. Each tract has a garden supervisor, paid by the association which is supported by small membership fees and by the annual rental charge of $3 for a 30 x 50 foot garden plot. Except for the free use of the land, it receives no subsidy from any source. The rental of a plot includes free use of water and expert advice as and when desired. Seeds are purchased wholesale by the association and retailed to the members at cost. As in all real cooperatives, the board of directors is elected by and from the members, and the membership has a controlling voice in determining policies and major expenditures.

The number of plots a member may rent is limited but he is free to grow whatever he pleases and as many crops as he may be able to coax out of the soil in a season. He is the sole owner of whatever he and his family produce. Returns on single plots average well over $50 per season, reckoned by the prices of the green-grocer around the cor-

ner. A seasoned amateur gardener knows how to double or triple this yield. This accounts for the fact that, despite the cash fees and rental charges, the association in its second year had grown to a membership of more than three hundred. It should be noted that the membership consists largely of relief clients, factory workers and other persons of small income. Members are not recruited. The gardens themselves and the fruits thereof are their own advertisement. This year the demand for plots was so great that new acreage was added.

This group was fortunate in starting out with ready-to-use garden tracts. To duplicate this plan elsewhere an initial loan from private or public sources might be necessary as well as organizational and technical advice at least for a limited period. But private assistance of the right sort is difficult to obtain in most communities, and there is at present no governmental agency to sponsor a cooperative garden program. Yet, without such sponsorship there is little hope that people who might be eager to use this means of adding to inadequate incomes will be able to do so.

It is well to remember that cooperative self-help in the fields discussed, and in many other activities to which the technique might be applied, cannot be expected to take the place of large scale governmental programs of an ameliorative nature. The cooperative process, based on voluntary participation and on the willingness of the participants to coordinate their individual efforts and to join their individual resources for mutual benefit, can be applied, to begin with, only by relatively small groups. Its growth depends on the gradual education of the people, around a periphery of slowly expanding circles, to an appreciation of enlightened self-interest and democratic functioning.

Nevertheless, there are grave and sound reasons why the federal government should undertake to offer competent advisory service and possibly even limited financial assistance to groups of underprivileged citizens who are willing to apply the cooperative self-help technique to specific economic problems with which they are individually unable to cope to their satisfaction. However modest the results may be in the beginning, their effect in each instance will be either a creation of new material values or at least an extension of purchasing power for more or less submarginal incomes. In either case it will mean economic benefits for those in need of them, through their own efforts and at a negligible cost to the government, for it would require no elaborate administrative machinery and little or no subsidy.

But aside from the material aspects there are other benefits to be gained. Active participation in a voluntary, democratic enterprise calling for the exercise of the very qualities essential to good intelligent citizenship in a democratic nation will be a means of regeneration for the participants, restoring to them a healthy sense of self-confidence and a belief in their usefulness to society.

Here is an effective technique, demonstrated as practical in method and application, that encourages individual initiative and voluntary effort toward economic betterment. It does not "put government into business" since by its very nature it precludes government operation. To whatever extent it is used, it will decrease rather than increase dependence on governmental hand-outs.

Farmers on Relief

By IRVING LORGE

Teachers College, Columbia University

IN becoming accustomed, as we have of late years, to line graphs representing unemployment of workers, decline in wages and in purchasing power, number of industrial failures, foreclosure of farms and hundreds of equally depressing indices, we have become inured to the human tragedies they chart. The descending curves from 1928 through 1935 depict more than an abridgement of physical and economic values. Huddled on the sheer slopes of these graphs were human beings—men and women and children—without jobs, resources or hope, people whose deprivations were aggravated by the hostile natural triumvirate of drought, dust and flood.

Of all the federal alphabetic agencies designed to spell restoration and recovery, none was more certainly directed to save human resources than were the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and its successors, and none affected more individuals as individuals. In the beginning the attempts at rescue were haphazard, often providing straws instead of buoys. The history of the emergence of plans for human reclamation is gradually being recorded in a series of research monographs of the division of social research of the Works Progress Administration. The eighth study, Farmers on Relief and Rehabilitation, records the operation of the rural relief and rehabilitation program.

In this study, Berta Asch and A. R. Mangus show that "farm families that received public assistance under various federal relief programs were only in part victims of the depression." More than a million farmer and farm laborer families needed and received relief grants or rehabilitation advances under federal programs. Taking a sample of 138 agricultural counties as of June 1935 as representative of the nine agricultural areas in which farm relief problems bulked largest, the monograph surveys the extent and causes of farm distress, relief and rehabilitation programs, types and amounts of relief, social characteristics of relief recipients, employment in relation to the land, factors in production, and programs of reconstruction.

The June 1935 farm relief load varied widely among states. In New Mexico, the Dakotas, Oklahoma, and Colorado the incidence of relief and rehabilitation included more than a fifth of all farmers; and in Kentucky, Florida, Idaho, Montana, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, South Carolina and Wyoming more than 10 percent of all farmers received such aid. These fourteen states contained only one fourth of all the farms in the United States in June 1935, and yet contained over half of all farmers receiving relief and rehabilitation aid. Look at the distribution of these states on a map, and you will see the effects of drought, dust and floods in 1934. If there are gaps in the succession of the states, if some states have heavier relief loads than others under the same unfavorable conditions, it must be remembered that relief programs varied from state to state. The monograph points out that relief policy was more liberal in some states than in others depending upon administration, standards of living, prevailing crop and employment status. Variation in relief load does not

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So They Say

• The great problem of the feeble minded is that there are so many of us.—*The late* JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

• Social reform is the final objective of all social work.—EDITH ABBOTT, *School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.*

• I am willing to stop worrying about the unemployed when there are no more unemployed—but not until then.—HARRY L. HOPKINS, *WPA administrator.*

• We forget that we deal with young men. We think we see red when what we really see is green.—DEAN HERBERT E. HAWKES, *Columbia University to Association of American Colleges.*

• Men who are radicals more often talk in their sleep than the non-radicals. Women radicals talk in their sleep less often.—MAURICE H. KROUT, *Chicago City Junior College, to American Psychological Association.*

• The thinker's search for truth has been traditionally bound up with formal techniques of exposition in which the logical couplings of thought called for as much attention as the matter thought about.—THOMAS H. BENTON *in Common Sense.*

• A new profession comes into being whenever there is a widespread demand for special expert services which can be performed only by those who have mastered a mass of technical knowledge and are able to apply it independently in novel situations and in unforeseen emergencies.—CHANCELLOR SAMUEL PAUL CAPEN, *University of Buffalo.*

• I believe that America is dance hungry.—ANNE MORGAN, *New York.*

• Most of our questions of public policy are matters of more-or-less rather than of yes-or-no.—*Editorial, The Christian Century.*

• Our present system of relief cannot continue indefinitely any more than it can stop suddenly.—MAYOR LA GUARDIA, *New York.*

• I have always thought that it would be interesting if some insurance company would work out the expectancy of life of a theory.—M. MAXWELL REED at *N. Y. Times National Book Fair.*

• Unless job security can be provided, social security is impossible except in the form of benefits and grants.—PROF. WILLIAM HABER, *University of Michigan, to Illinois Conference on Social Welfare.*

• The best guarantee of permanency of the general old age pension is the fact that the number of taxpayers who expect to die young is never enough to win an election.—DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE, *in Age Without Fear.*

• Ministers who stand before the public and urge the police to make more arrests for moral delinquencies for which the nightstick is no salvation, are only complicating the problems of American youth.—ANNA M. KROSS, *city magistrate, New York.*

• You can't preach adult education unless you practice it.—FREDERICK P. KEPPEL, *president, Carnegie Corporation.*

• I think that a man ought to be hung on a tree if he advocates overthrow of government.—GOVERNOR FREDERICK P. CONE, *Florida.*

• Personality isn't what a person does but what a person doesn't.—DR. JAMES S. PLANT, *director, Essex County Juvenile Clinic, New Jersey.*

• To follow the course of good books in library circulation is to gain new faith in democracy.—ALVIN JOHNSON, *The New School for Social Research.*

• Mother love is the only element with which I have come in contact as a college president which makes me think less of human nature.—WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON, *president, Smith College.*

• How to establish an equilibrium between the equality of educational opportunity and the inequality of human ability is one of the most intricate problems of our civilization.—EDWARD C. ELLIOT, *president, Purdue University.*

• Our present complex social structure requires the development of a new social virtue, not in contradiction but in addition to the traditional ideals of personal accomplishment, independence and undertaking spirit. This new group ideal is the sense for order and cooperation.—DR. FRANZ ALEXANDER, *Institute for Psychoanalysis, Chicago.*

Wide World

The postman equips himself with cards to leave at every door on November 16

"Care of the Postmaster"
Uncle Sam's First Unemployment Census

Harris & Ewing

A report card reaches John D. Biggers, administrator of the Census

Pictures, Inc.

"Are you:
***(a)* Totally unemployed and want work?"**

Wide World

"You can get help in answering these questions from any postal employe"

A New Day for a Juvenile Court

By WENDELL F. JOHNSON

Director, Social Service Federation, Toledo, Ohio

WHEN a schoolboy startled Toledo recently by shooting his principal and then himself, the town was remarkably free from the usual hysteria that follows a tragedy of this sort. Significant was the comment of a newspaper editor in his daily column: "It is comforting that if this boy recovers, and his case goes to court, we have here in Lucas County a juvenile judge and a probation machinery which is unusually intelligent and well equipped for such an extraordinary proceeding."

It is less than a year since Lucas County, Ohio, installed a new judge of the court of domestic relations and juvenile court, but in that time an amazing transformation has taken place in the handling of children's cases and divorce hearings.

The probation department has had a complete change of personnel, the old political appointees being replaced by a chief probation officer and staff chosen on the basis of training and experience. The Juvenile Detention Home has been converted into a child study institute, headed by a psychologist brought from a children's clinic and staffed by case workers with a background of psychological training. Divorce applications, as well as juvenile court complaints, are routinely cleared in the social service exchange, followed by a summary of information on the family from other social agencies, which is made available to the judge before the hearing.

The physical set-up of the court has been altered. Whereas, under the old regime, divorce hearings attracted large crowds of curiosity seekers, eager to hear all of the lurid details, the new judge holds these hearings in a small room to which are admitted only the persons immediately concerned. This has released space for private offices and interviewing rooms for the probation staff in the interest of greater privacy for parents and children.

Not only is the new judge using case work service as an aid in making decisions regarding custody of children in divorce cases. His trained probation staff also is utilizing as never before the facilities of children's agencies to provide needed care for particular children, and he has prevailed upon the county commissioners to pay board for both dependent and delinquent children in boarding homes when such placements seem advisable and parents cannot pay.

When the National Probation Association sent Francis Hiller to make a survey of the Toledo juvenile court in 1931, he found little to praise and much to criticize. Political appointments of probation officers who lacked both general educational background and special training; failure to use the social service exchange; lack of coordination with other social agencies; slipshod records; inadequate probation work and absence of protective work for neglected children—these were the conditions described in Mr. Hiller's report. Today these faults have been corrected.

The survey was made at the request of a group of social agency executives and the Toledo Rotary Club. When it became evident that the judge then on the bench intended to ignore the recommendations made in the report, a large citizens' committee was formed, representing forty-five civic organizations. After an effort to get action, this committee soon decided that no improvement could be expected until the expiration of the judge's term of office at the end of 1936.

A year before the scheduled election, the group began a search for an available candidate to run against the incumbent. They chose Paul W. Alexander, an assistant prosecuting attorney, graduate of Harvard Law School, active in the YMCA, member of the board of a community house. He had held a number of appointive offices, but did not relish the idea of campaigning for an elective office. He finally agreed to run, provided he were indorsed by the Bar Association. That indorsement was given.

IT was a hard campaign, for the incumbent judge, although seventy-eight years old, had forty years of successful political campaigning behind him, and throughout his years on the police bench and later in the juvenile court, had built up strong political support. Various strong elements in the community rallied around the new candidate. Protestant ministers and Catholic clergy came out openly for him. The secretary of the League of Women Voters resigned in order to assist in his campaign. Social agency boards for the first time encouraged their staff members to work for his election. He won by a substantial majority.

Once elected, Mr. Alexander began to prepare himself for his new position. He visited the best juvenile courts in other parts of the country. He consulted the National Probation Association. He devoured all the reading matter he could find on the subject. He counselled with social agencies in touch with the problem. Although court positions were not required by law to be filled by civil service procedure, he asked the State Civil Service Commission to conduct examinations for probation officers and required the existing staff to take them if they wished to be considered for reappointment. He asked the commission to waive its usual requirements as to residence within the state, and through the National Probation Association he sought trained workers throughout the country who would submit their applications. Charles L. Chute, of the Probation Association, participated in the oral examinations, and his office assisted in grading the examination papers.

For chief probation officer Judge Alexander selected L. Wallace Hoffman of Detroit, at that time president of the Michigan Probation Association and a lecturer at the University of Michigan. Mr. Hoffman was recommended by a special examining board from among a dozen applicants brought from other cities. His performance has fully justified his selection. As girls' referee the new judge appointed Rita O'Grady, graduate of the National Catholic School of Social Service, teacher of case work at the University of Toledo, and a case supervisor in the County Relief Administration.

The new court is hampered by cramped quarters and inadequate physical equipment, but the judge wisely decided that the greatest need was a strong professional staff. He hopes to get a better physical layout at a later date. In the meantime, the court has made a real start in intelligent treatment of dependent and delinquent children.

SOCIAL AGENCY BOARDS AND HOW TO SERVE ON THEM

II-In a Changing Scene

By CLARENCE KING

New York School of Social Work

CERTAIN social work administrators seem to regard the lay board as a sort of vermiform appendix which had a function when social work was young and under private auspices but which now, given the present trends in social work, its professionalization and its increasing support by public funds, is merely a nuisance if not actually useless. The soundness of this view may be tested by reviewing some of the chief uses of a board [see Why and Wherefore, *The Survey,* November 1937, page 342] and estimating their present and future usefulness.

Boards form the nucleus for "starting new movements." Social work is not today a "new movement," certainly not to social workers. But some parts are newer than others and there is abundant evidence that no single part of it is wholly an old story fully understood and subscribed to by all the people. So far as entrenchment in public understanding is concerned every area of social work still has its pioneer phases. Take for example the matter of relief, oldest of all aspects of social work. The necessity for relief is admitted, but its administration as a skilled function has not yet been accepted, generally and permanently. Only a few years ago the commissioner of public welfare, more commonly and still frequently known as the poor master, was no more important in many communities than the dog catcher or the sealer of weights and measures. It took not a crystallized social conviction but the sudden multiplication of relief expenditures in the depression to take the poor master out of his musty cubby-hole and raise his stature in the public mind. We Americans are prone to measure the importance of anything by what we pay for it. Public welfare became important to us when it zoomed into the top brackets of local government expenditures second only to education. But did this mean that the social philosophy of public welfare and the wisdom of its administration by skilled and competent personnel, had been taken permanently to the public's heart? I do not think so. Public sentiment does not change so quickly and it is notoriously fickle. I believe that in the area of skilled administration and modern methods, relief and every other part of social work is a "new movement" in American life, calling for just as much imagination, energy and conviction in its promotion as any movement in the history of social work. It is already in the record that the run-of-the-mill taxpayer and the "practical politician" have no great enthusiasm for even the little that has been built up in this area. Can any one question that the bulwark of an able board is necessary to hold the gains of the emergency and to root them for permanency and growth?

Boards give "sponsorship and prestige" to the work. If a community chest has admitted a social agency to its support, or if a city council has established a social service by ordinance, what more does it need, ask some of our friends. Anyone who has ever seen a Salvation Army captain before the budget committee of a community chest knows the answer to that one. The Salvation Army is one of the few private social agencies that get along without a board. Being a from-the-top-down organization it demonstrates extremely well the advantages and weaknesses of centralization of power and responsibility in a single executive instead of in a group. Without intervention of any committee structure, authority descends from the international commander in London, through national, district, and state headquarters to the captain of the local corps. The Salvation Army has been admitted to most chests, but the local captain appears before the budget committee unsupported by any local prestige group. The state or even the district commander may come with him but it is not the same. Budget committees are human and much affected by the presence of influential laymen, even if they do not say a word. Every other agency has a board to plead for it. The Salvation Army has none. It is sure of *some* appropriation, but it finds hard going when it asks for funds to expand services or to start any new work.

As an example of the usefulness of sponsorship to a public agency I recall the experience of a small city where in 1932 the expenditure of the welfare department came to $90,000. The needs of the community were such that that amount would have to be quadrupled in 1933 if they were to be met with any decency. The welfare commissioner knew this but he was under heavy political fire at the time and dared not ask for an increased budget. At that juncture his department was put under investigation by a commission of seven influential citizens, representing the dominant leadership of all parties. Three of them were the commissioner's political enemies, bent on removing him, and three his partisans, bent on whitewashing him. The seventh man was sufficiently strong and impartial to lift the investigation above the partisan level, to make it an examination of services and needs and not of personalities. The upshot was that the commission declared that at least $360,000 was necessary if the department was to meet its responsibilities.

THE commission did not stop at this point. It believed that it had a duty to interpret as well as to sponsor. Unofficially and informally it invited the members of the city appropriating body to meet with it and hear its reasons for the staggering increase that would be asked for officially the following week. The meeting was held on a Sunday afternoon in the neutral atmosphere of the YMCA, with time enough for thorough discussion. As soon as the budget request was in, the members of the commission made it their business to carry interpretation to the community. They went before the Rotary Club, the Chamber of Commerce, the American Legion and many other representative organizations and presented the facts and figures so effectively that the quadrupled budget gained united community support and was approved by the appropriating body with hardly a dissenting vote. Secure in their collective influence, these men accomplished what the hard-pressed executive, suspected of bias, had not even dared to ask.

Boards "interpret the community to the staff." But does the staff of an official department, entrenched by law, still need such interpretation from a representative board? In January 1934, federal grants for emergency relief were administered in a western state through a commission of five appointed by the governor. One member came from a lumber district west of the Rockies; one from the southern mining section of the state; two were railroad men, one from the southeast, the other from the northeast. The chairman was a wholesale grocer and milling man. Twice a month these five men, each a leader in his part of the state, journeyed to the state capital to confer with their executive officer. Each brought with him a fund of information about conditions in his corner of the state and of the effectiveness of the local offices. One told of the unwillingness of local officials in the depressed sugar beet areas to feed Mexicans imported during prosperity but now rated as "undesirable aliens"; another, of the efforts of political agitators to "arouse" the drought-stricken farmers.

TO be sure many quick decisions had to be made by the executive between board meetings, but those decisions were made against the background of interpretation of local conditions and popular temper brought to him by the board. It will be asked why an adequate field staff could not have reported these same conditions. Probably it could have, provided always that it were adequate, equipped with sound business judgment and mature community insight, and enjoying the full confidence of the community, a combination which, it must be admitted, a professional staff is not as likely to possess as are citizens experienced in public reaction and with roots deep in community life. In any case the executive who has two channels of information, one through his staff and one through his board, is in the advantageous position of being able to check one against the other. An executive's problem rarely is one of too much information.

Boards "choose, supervise or remove the executive." Clearly they must, in the case of a local, private agency. But if the city takes over the work, cannot these functions be performed by a mayor or city manager; or better yet, cannot the executive be chosen by some civil service or merit system and be removable only on charges? The public assistance officer of an English city (corresponding to the commissioner of public welfare here) is thus chosen as a career man. He can be removed only on charges presented to the Minister of Health in Whitehall. The chairman of a public assistance committee, discussing this with me, said: "You see we can't remove Bob, and it's a fine thing. He can tell us just what he thinks we should hear. He doesn't have to fear making himself unpopular with us."

Certainly our persisting spoils system is a cogent argument for boards as a part of our public welfare organization. A board with long, overlapping terms, longer than that of the mayor, has proved an effective device for protecting the executive and his staff from removal for "the good of the party." Growing sentiment in favor of the merit system may make the protection of a board unnecessary so far as the staff is concerned. It probably will not protect the executive, generally regarded as a policy-making official. Most advocates of the merit system exempt such officials on the ground that if a mayor or governor is to be held responsible for his policies he must be able to appoint his own department heads and to remove them at will. This results in what is called the cabinet form of government. Older countries have achieved continuity of service under this form of administration by putting as second-in-command in each department a career man who does not change with the political head of the office.

Boards "make policy decisions." To permit them to do so is diametrically opposed to the philosophy of the cabinet form of government. Those who favor that form would concentrate all power in the hands of one elected official and through him in his appointed cabinet. If the cabinet should not make good, the official, it is argued, would not be reelected. One trouble with this doctrine is that the public, when there is no board interested and familiar with the work, has no accurate, unbiased way of learning whether or not the administration actually has made good in each particular department. Another is that changing the chief executive and his entire cabinet every time there is a breakdown in one department, seriously interferes with the continuity of other departments which may have been running satisfactorily.

The collision between the two philosophies of government, one of which would vest policy-making in a board, the other in an executive, is well illustrated in the report of the New York Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief. The majority said: "The trend of governmental progress during the past few decades has pointed inevitably toward the centralization of administrative authority in the hands of single executives in order that these individuals may be held directly responsible for the execution of the duties which are placed upon them." The minority replied: "The philosophy of one individual should not control the social welfare policy of the State of New York. State social welfare action, with its rapidly expanding horizon, touches so intimately and with such potential control, the lives, thoughts and philosophies of those served, that (we are) opposed to resting responsibility for that action in any single individual."

A number of states which have recently reorganized their public welfare departments have established policy-making state boards and county or district boards. In Maryland the department is headed by a board which appoints the state executive from a civil service list. The American Public Welfare Association in the assistance which it has given to various states in reorganizing their welfare services, seems to have favored consistently the continuation of administrative boards for both state and local departments. On the other hand certain states which have reorganized with the advice of such bodies as the Institute of Public Administration and The Brookings Institution, have adopted the cabinet form of state government and eliminated all boards. A wise compromise between these two positions might lie in centralization of responsibility in a single executive assisted by a board with advisory powers only.

Given the long history of lay boards in sponsoring and developing social welfare services, and the fact that those services are still, in many areas, in the frontiers of public opinion, there seems little ground for the notion that boards are no longer useful. The day may come when all social work will be so entrenched in public favor that its progress will no longer require the informed conviction of any single body of citizens as a driving and interpreting force. But should that millennium ever dawn, with it will come new horizons of service calling for new efforts.

THE SURVEY *is indebted to Harper and Brothers as well as to the author for the privilege of offering to its readers a series of four articles of which this is the second, drawn from Mr. King's book, Social Agency Boards and How to Serve on Them, to be published early in the new year. Articles to follow are: The Necessary Executive, and Community Roots.*

25 SURVEY YEARS – AND 25 TO GO

• The service which you have rendered to the social work field is beyond calculation. —KENDALL EMERSON, M.D., *National Tuberculosis Association.*

• Never did I believe more profoundly in the work which you and your associates are accomplishing with such discernment and high efficiency than I do now.—JOHN R. MOTT, *International Missionary Council.*

• The Boys' Club of America extends greetings and congratulations to a "band of prophets of a better social order" on this twenty-fifth anniversary of Survey Associates, Inc.—SANFORD BATES, *Boys' Clubs of America.*

• I am confident that, through the years to come, your magazines will continue to exert the same stimulating, thought-provoking influence over the minds of the American people that they have in the past.—JAMES E. WEST, *Boy Scouts of America.*

• Congratulations upon the twenty-five years during which *The Survey* has so effectively interpreted the aspirations of social workers and our concern with the social setting in which we operate.—LINTON B. SWIFT, *Family Welfare Association of America.*

• My hearty appreciation of the services that *The Survey* and *Survey Graphic* have rendered during these many years. You know I date back to the time when you were *Charities and The Commons,* and the world do move!—C. C. CARSTENS, *Child Welfare League of America, Inc.*

• When I first came to the National Consumers' League nearly ten years ago, Mrs. Kelley said to me, "Always cooperate with *The Survey.* It is an important magazine which will become increasingly important." Of course, she was right.—EMILY SIMS MARCONNIER, *National Consumers' League.*

• The settlements over the country have received stimulus and inspiration from *The Survey* and have gained immeasurably from the sympathetic interpretation which you have given the movement. . . . The consistent policy of presenting all sides of controversial opinion has borne testimony to the open-mindedness and fairness of its editor and its supporting group.—LILLIE M. PECK, *National Federation of Settlements.*

• Our best hope for permanent progress in the quarter century ahead (as in that which has just passed) is the service, the cooperation, and the stimulation which we can count upon from the able men and women always vigorously ready to put first things first in this generation. Survey Associates is a composite of able minds. It has been a privilege to work with you and we can look forward together with courage.—THOMAS PARRAN, M.D., *Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health Service.*

• For its second twenty-five years may *The Survey* fulfill and justify the promise of its first.—LOUIS BROWNLOW, *Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago.*

• Over a period of a quarter of a century *The Survey* has been not only a pioneer in social thought and theory but one of the most effective tools in social work practice. —FRANK BANE, *Social Security Board.*

• You have proved the soundness of the cooperative principle in publishing by establishing the tradition of courageous journalism and progressive leadership in social thinking.—ALLEN T. BURNS, *Community Chests and Councils, Inc.*

• At the quarter century mark, you have the freshness and virility of youth, together with the experience and knowledge of the mature adult. We appreciate your splendid contribution to the field of social welfare during these years.—FRED K. HOEHLER, *American Public Welfare Association.*

• To those of us actually engaged in the social work field, *The Survey* and *Survey Graphic* have provided a channel for the exchange of information, and have kept us abreast of developments. To lay-persons they have been most useful in interpreting the difficult problems with which we are all concerned.—HARRY L. HOPKINS, *Works Progress Administration.*

Close to the heart of the Silver Anniversary of Survey Associates have been the messages from friends everywhere bringing us the best of birthday wishes for the future. These, for example, from national and New York agencies which collaborate with us year in and year out.

The fall of 1912 saw this membership corporation of ours launched. Our span of twenty-five years was celebrated on December 2 at a dinner in New York, with a nation-wide group of sponsors; with Mrs. August Belmont presiding, and with the speakers: Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan, Mayor Fiorello La Guardia of New York, Prof. Felix Frankfurter of Harvard University and Walter S. Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Kindred to the dinner theme: The Shape of Things to Come, is that of the special issue of *Survey Graphic* (December) and of a special issue of *The Midmonthly Survey,* covering the fields of social work, to be published when the "Mid" turns fifteen in 1938.

• Outstanding has been your contribution to the popular understanding of social problems.—HOWARD R. KNIGHT, *National Conference of Social Work.*

• Congratulations on this twenty-fifth year —and what a twenty-five years it has been! Through it all you have done a fine job and are steadily doing it better.—DOUGLAS P. FALCONER, *Brooklyn Bureau of Charities.*

• I have marveled at the way you have hewn to the line and throughout the years have continued to sound that note of social intelligence which is not easy to define.—DAVID H. HOLBROOK, *National Social Work Council.*

• During a quarter of a century marked by extraordinary economic and social changes your organization has been of vital aid in keeping forward-looking people abreast of changing conditions.—H. G. MOULTON, *The Brookings Institution.*

• It is a cause for wonder and admiration that *The Survey,* while helping to fashion effective tools for services for those who lack most, has never failed to keep its ideals so high and its vision so clear.—COURTENAY DINWIDDIE, *National Child Labor Committee.*

• Twenty-five years ago your organization, like ours, was born to undertake a great new venture. Through the years Survey Associates and the NOPHN have worked in the closest harmony to interpret the place of the public health nurse in the social picture.—DOROTHY DEMING, *National Organization for Public Health Nursing.*

• I doubt if any other quarter of a century since the American Revolution, certainly none since the Civil War, has had the importance in social and political reform of the twenty-five years ushered in by the Pittsburgh Survey. *The Survey* magazine has been hub and axle of the progress of these years.—AUBREY WILLIAMS, *National Youth Administration.*

• We bear first hand and heartfelt testimony to the influence on both ourselves and our professional associates of *Survey Graphic* and *Midmonthly Survey.* By some editorial magic your issues strengthen our spirit and raise it above the daily annoyances of the job. May the brightest days of your first twenty-five years be darker than the darkest of the next twenty-five.—ROBERT P. LANE, *Welfare Council of New York City.*

• Speaking for ourselves and for the workers in the courts all over the country, we have appreciated and benefited by the constructive and progressive discussion of all related problems included in *The Survey* from time to time. We do not forget the services of those who, in the past, have contributed to your upbuilding, among them our friend, Arthur Kellogg.—CHARLES L. CHUTE, *National Probation Association.*

• Salutations to Survey Associates for their distinguished service in marking new frontiers for civilized living.—SIDONIE M. GRUENBERG, *Child Study Association of America.*

• I am confident that our membership values the free-handed, intelligent, well-balanced and progressive policies of the managers of *The Survey.*—E. R. CASS, *The Prison Association of New York.*

• Your journals have proved a tower of strength to all engaged in the task of improving living conditions, of preserving and extending civil liberty, of advancing the cause of social security, social justice and world peace.—HARRY W. LAIDLER, *League for Industrial Democracy.*

• In keeping thoroughly alive to all the conflicting issues and demands of the changing times the social worker needs *The Survey.* Disagree with it, dislike parts of it, want to change it—but take it, read it, grow with it and through it.—HOWARD BRAUCHER, *National Recreation Association.*

• I hesitate to think of what would have been the present status of social work without a magazine like *The Survey* to guide, enlighten and push back the horizon not only of social workers but of thoughtful Americans generally.—WALTER WHITE, *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.*

• During the last quarter century Survey Associates have played an indispensable role revealing and recording conditions, in lyzing problems, and in spreading in- ation, helpful and stimulating to all shed to implement their purpose to common good.—SHELBY M. HARRISON, *Russell Sage Foundation.*

• During these last twenty-five years *The Survey* and *Survey Graphic* have filled a special need for all of us in picturing so graphically the whole American scene in which social work is practiced. We need these two interpreters more than ever during our changing times.—BERTHA MCCALL, *National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service.*

• I am grateful for the social vision which *The Survey* has brought to ministers and religious workers throughout the country. I myself feel deeply indebted to *The Survey* and I am only one of many ministers who have gained deeper understanding of social problems and social needs because of what it has done.—SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT, *Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

• Those twin chroniclers of social change in the United States—*Survey Graphic* and *The Midmonthly Survey*—should be sung in verse for their youth and vitality despite the quarter century during which they have scorpioned and reformed and yet remained cheerful and tolerant. They have been bitter at times, but never sour; stern but never forbidding; critical but never whining; always intelligent and full of understanding.—LEIFER MAGNUSSON, *International Labor Organization.*

Our thanks to every good wisher at this quarter century mark; to all those throughout the country who share the spirit of this celebration and bear a hand in making it a turning point in our fortunes and our service to the times. And when it comes to good wishes for the years ahead — the same to you. Paul Kellogg

• You have made important contributions to the world of social work, and by your support of our work, to the dignity of family life. More power to you!—MARGUERITE BENSON, *American Birth Control League, Inc.*

• It has been heartening to find Survey Associates, pioneer explorers of so many undeveloped areas of social responsibility, applying their unfailing implement of factual information to conquest of a remaining frontier—the slums.—HELEN ALFRED, *National Public Housing Conference.*

• Until our association acquired strength to establish a journal of its own in 1911, *The Survey,* under its earlier name, regularly gave it a column for expression of its "growing pains." Education for action has cemented our cordial relationship through the years.—JOHN B. ANDREWS, *American Association for Labor Legislation.*

• *The Survey* constantly reminds me that no one can carry on social work without having to face the fact that social welfare is one and indivisible: that no one activity can be carried on without affecting and being affected by the whole wide range of social life.—HOMER FOLKS, *New York State Charities Aid Association.*

• As one who during almost the whole period of *The Survey's* existence has relied greatly upon it for information and stimulation of thought regarding the vital social issues of our day, I am glad to express my gratitude for the significant service it has rendered over the years.—ANNA V. RICE, *National Board, Young Women's Christian Association.*

• In a period which has been characterized by as much change in social and economic relationships as in industrial and mechanistic methods, Survey Associates have not only rendered an invaluable service which all thinking people must applaud but have developed a distinct field in which their operations have a unique and gratifying usefulness.—HOWARD P. JONES, *National Municipal League.*

• *The Survey* and *Survey Graphic* consistently offer to an active group of socially minded citizens a broad understanding of the nature of the social problems inherent in our society and of the aims and purposes underlying the day to day activities of social agencies. *The Survey* is more than a journal —it is a stimulator of social progress.—H. L. LURIE, *Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.*

• *The Survey* today is a part of social work, the expression of current thought and a stimulus to progress.—EUGENE KINCKLE JONES, *National Urban League.*

• *The Survey* has been indispensable to social workers and has been chiefly responsible for the elevation of the profession to its present high standing.—A. EPSTEIN, *American Association for Social Security.*

• Salutations to Survey Associates on the completion of a quarter century of service, and congratulations to you on the splendid prospect for your leadership during these momentous days ahead.—REGINALD M. ATWATER, M.D., *American Public Health Association.*

• The present-day crop of professional and lay leaders in governmental and private fields of social work have had motivation in large part through the progressive and thorough analyses of social trends made possible by Survey Associates.—JAMES L. FIESER, *American Red Cross.*

• It is difficult to put into words the keen sense of obligation that I feel towards you and those who have been associated with you in *The Survey* through the years, and for the breadth of vision, statesmanship and courage which *The Survey* has consistently shown.—KATHARINE F. LENROOT, *U.S. Children's Bureau.*

• *The Survey's* quality of sound information on matters of social import, together with a certain gaiety of presentation, has helped to take the whole field of social change away from the statistician and the sob-sister and to commandeer the loyalty of the great body of thinking and acting Americans. It is a rare job in journalism.—CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *American Friends Service Committee.*

• *The Survey* has fulfilled its promise. By its thorough gathering of facts revealing the social needs of the times, and by its fair analysis and striking presentation of such facts, it has stimulated many of the important social advances made during the quarter century of its existence.—STANLEY P. DAVIES, *Charity Organization Society of the City of New York.*

• What other journal brings together so many of the elements that are activating forces in education, medicine (particularly psychiatry), business life, industry, labor conditions, and art as it portrays any of these—all to the end that many features of our social living and our efforts at social work may better be understood and appreciated.—WILLIAM HEALY, M.D., *Judge Baker Guidance Center.*

• For twenty-five years *The Survey* has been the indispensable help of every social worker. It has given him the fullest information on all developments in social work and in the related fields of industry and government. It always has been in advance of actual accomplishments in these fields and has provided their leaders with guidance and inspiration.—SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN, *president, National Conference of Social Work.*

The Common Welfare

Tally Ho!

THE chase of relief chiselers has taken a new turn in Ohio where a commercial firm, known chiefly as a credit and bill collecting agency, announces that it is "definitely satisfied" that from 20 to 25 percent of the people on relief are chiselers and offers to run them down for $3 a head. Activities thus far seem to have been confined to Toledo and Cleveland, but the firm is looking for business elsewhere, assuring its prospects that it is "effective in detecting clients who are attempting to conceal wealth."

In Toledo the firm, after "checking" a block of relief cases, announced that 28 percent of them were "definite chiselers" and only 24 percent "unquestionably entitled to relief." The Council of Social Agencies, through a special laymen's committee, promptly swung into action and began its own check of the cases dubbed "chiseler." Of 120 examined at the time of the report five, in the committee's judgment, were "definite chiselers."

In Cleveland, the business firm's report to the City Finance Commission on the first 2600 of the six thousand cases it was authorized to examine showed 47.7 percent "actually in need"; 23.4 percent "borderline"; 17.4 percent "chiselers" and 4.4 percent "possessed of resources." Here many social workers, while deploring the effect on the clients of the whole ballyhoo, admitted that the "more or less detective" type of investigation had turned up new information in a number of cases.

In Chicago the much investigated relief clients seem to be in for "a complete and realistic reexamination" at the instance of a committee of the Illinois Council on Public Assistance and Employment, a body of business men appointed in October by Governor Horner. Just how or by whom the reexamination will be made has not, at this writing, been announced, but Joseph Moss, director of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, has reminded the committee that "the confidential nature of social service records is recognized in law," and that, "the investigators must be capable of approaching their task of evaluating the situation in a scientific research spirit . . . with some standards by which judgment as to need can be measured. . . ."

The Automobile Workers

BENEATH the surface of the recent wildcat strike in the Fisher Body plant at Pontiac were forces and counter-forces that may determine the future of the collective bargaining agreements that the United Automobile Workers of America now have with all the motor manufacturers except Ford. The left wing faction of the union believes in militant tactics, not only to secure contracts with employers but also to enforce employer compliance with them. This paradoxical strategy was repudiated by Homer Martin, UAWA president, in refusing to authorize the sitdown at Pontiac. Governor Murphy of Michigan informed the UAWA that the law enforcement agencies of the state would not tolerate a continuance of wildcat sitdowns. President Martin now informs General Motors that the union will assume responsibility for unauthorized actions of its members if the company will assume responsibility for disciplining company subordinates who violate the agreement. The negotiations begun last summer enter a new state, in a recession rather than a boom, when the pressure for production is not so urgent on the manufacturer, with the union leadership divided and the rank and file increasingly skeptical of the delay.

The drive to organize the Ford Motor Company, begun at scattered assembly plants, was the occasion of a strike at Kansas City in October and St. Louis in November. The Kansas City plant had not yet reopened as this was written. At St. Louis the Ford plant continued to operate on a reduced schedule, turning out new models for the local automobile show. In Detroit the UAWA was cheered by one development. Several officers of a so-called Independent Association of Chrysler Employes, claiming the organization was a thinly disguised company union, resigned and came into the UAWA fold.

Straws in the Wind

"THE volume of private placements reported in October represents a gain of 21.2 percent above the number reported in October 1936, and 79.6 over the volume for October 1935," said Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins in giving out the latest employment service figures on November 20. "Private placements, however, were 12.3 percent fewer than the number for September." In each of the three preceding years October had shown a gain over September.

An Associated Press dispatch from Cleveland on November 24 stated that while the lowest point in steel production in three years had resulted "in the lay-off of only 10 percent of the nation's 600,000 steel workers, observers said the prevailing work week averages between twenty and twenty-five hours." Earlier this year, the work week was approximately forty hours. . . . Mayor Harold H. Burton of Cleveland reports that the number of relief applications in that city increased last month from 400 a week to 1000 a week. . . . Clinton S. Golden, director of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee of the CIO estimated (November 20) that 200,000 men have been placed "on furlough" in the industry, including those on part time.

The Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industry reports that the index of persons employed, on the basis of a 1925-7 average, dropped from 81.1 in September to 78.9 in October, while the index of wages fell from 78.7 to 72.4. "These changes were largely the result of curtailment of production in the shoe and textile industries."

In Pennsylvania, "applications for relief during the week [ending November 20] totaled 10,352, a rise of 2710 over the previous week due largely to increases reported by urban centers and coal producing areas." "Of the 5754 cases opened that week, 3949 were accepted for relief because of loss of private employment or decreased wages."

In spite of a 3 percent increase over the country in community chest funds, the private agencies find themselves in no position to assume relief obligations. A group of chest executives is considering a constructive policy on national