

"DISTINGUISHED SERVICE"
CITIZENSHIP

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL
CONGRESS

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J. G. Weidner
1920



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“DISTINGUISHED SERVICE”
CITIZENSHIP

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

1919

Edited by
J. E. McCULLOCH

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THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL
CONGRESS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

SINCE the purpose of the Southern Sociological Congress in publishing an annual report is to popularize the teaching of social welfare, the Governing Board authorized two departures from our former custom in the publication of this volume—greater condensation of matter and the use of paper cover. Of all the addresses delivered at the last Congress, we have included only those that have the most vital bearing on problems uppermost at the present hour. It is difficult to think habitually in terms of the new world order, but every article in this book has a vital message for all who desire to be citizens distinguished for public service and who wish to do their full part in making America a genuine democracy capable of world-wide service.

In pursuance of action taken at the Knoxville Congress, the Southern territory has been divided and the Southwestern Sociological Congress has been organized coördinate with the Southern Sociological Congress. The organization of each appears in this volume under the head of "Organization."

THE EDITOR.

Washington, D. C., December 8, 1919.

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THE PLATFORM OF THE SOUTHERN
SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS

For the purpose of the Southern Sociological Congress, the following platform is hereby adopted:

For the purpose of the Southern Sociological Congress, the following platform is hereby adopted:

I. THE COMING DEMOCRACY

- The Platform of the Southern Sociological Congress
- The Coming Democracy—How Shall It Come?
- The League of Nations

THE PLATFORM OF THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS

THE Southern Sociological Congress stands:

FOR the home as the institution of preëminence in our democracy.

FOR the school as the capital of the community and proper center of educational, civic, and social activities.

FOR the church as an essential institution of a democracy for moral and religious training.

FOR the coördination of social, civic, and industrial activities and agencies so as to enable the home, the school, and the church to function in the largest possible degree in the conservation and welfare of human life.

FOR every possible safeguard for women that they may be kept fit—physically, mentally, and morally—to perform the most sacred functions of the home.

FOR adequate financial support for the school that the teaching force may be maintained at the highest efficiency, and that no child may be untrained, or improperly trained, for lack of suitable facilities.

FOR the sacredness alike of seven days a week—six hallowed for honest and useful work, and one universally recognized and made to serve man in his need for rest and worship.

FOR placing human welfare above property values in industry.

FOR the reduction of the hours of labor to the point where every worker may be afforded a proper degree of leisure for mental, moral and social culture and for recreational enjoyment.

FOR the equitable division of the products of industry between capital and labor.

FOR complete justice to all and for strict uniformity in the enforcement of law, both as to person and property.

FOR justice and good-will to govern in all race relations.

FOR the prevention of mob violence and lawlessness of every kind.

For the suppression of prostitution and the abolition of the red-light districts of our cities.

For the prevention of disease and the conservation of health for the individual, for the community, and for the nation.

For temperance and the strict enforcement of the prohibition laws.

For legislation that will require individuals and physicians to report all communicable diseases.

For the proper care and treatment of defectives—the criminal, the blind, the deaf, the insane, the epileptic, and the feeble-minded—and for the segregation and treatment of incurable disease.

For thorough Americanization and such a strict loyalty to the Nation that failure of any one to meet his obligations of citizenship—such as voting, paying taxes, and obedience to law—would be regarded by the public as immoral and second only to sedition.

FLAG OF OUR FATHERS

(Tune, St. Catherine, L. M.)

Flag of our fathers, waving still,
Despite the world-wide war of might;
Columbia lifts her banner high,
Enthroned upon eternal right.

Flag of our fathers, noble flag;
We will be true to thee till death!

Work of our fathers, standing firm,
Who dared to smite the Tyrant's heel,
Devoting all to liberty,
A nation built for common weal.

Work of our fathers, noble work;
We will defend this work till death!

Life of our fathers, pioneers;
All pledged to serve each other's good;
Each lived for all and all for each,
While blazing ways for brotherhood.
Life of our fathers, noble life;
We will be true to thee till death!

Land of our fathers, hallowed land,
Red blooming still from heroes' blood,
Disgraced by mobs and banners red,
A land baptized for brotherhood.
O land, our fathers' hallowed land,
We will defend thy name till death!

God of our fathers, Lord of All,
O save us from our bitter strife,
And from blind greed for selfish gold,
Lest we disgrace our fathers' life.
God of our fathers, Lord of All,
We will be true to Thee till death!

THE COMING DEMOCRACY—HOW SHALL IT COME?

REV. WORTH M. TIPPY, D. D., SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSION
ON THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL SERVICE, FEDERAL
COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN AMERICA

THE COMING SOCIAL MOVEMENT

THE war has brought about amazing social emergencies and is forcing the United States and the world into the most radical and far-reaching forms of coöperative effort. It has seen an unprecedented advance of labor organization, collective bargaining, the eight-hour day, fixing of wages to meet advancing cost of living, equal pay for women, modern standards of housing and of welfare conditions in war industries, social insurance, and federal organization for unemployment. National control of capital, industry, labor power, food production, conservation, and distribution, which would have been impossible two years ago, have been forced by war conditions. It has also witnessed an enormous development of social effort, especially of that larger democratic effort by which organizations of citizens coöperate with the government. The entire nation has been put to training in social service.

It is now apparent that the war will be followed by an era of social action on a large scale, which will steadily increase in power. One is not extravagant who forecasts that the dominance of profiteering and personal indulgence is coming to an end, and that in the not distant future the controlling concern of the nation will be for social justice, and to insure the progress of the masses of the people. To accomplish these objectives the full power of the people—through federal, state, and municipal governments, and through a vast coöperation of social agencies—will be brought increasingly to bear.

WHAT WE ARE AIMING AT

One is helped to an understanding of the social changes that are coming by thinking first in terms of actual social welfare instead of discussing first the methods by which they

may be attained. Many of these purposes for which society is striving are now clearly defined, and great progress has been made toward their accomplishment.

1. *The Abolition of Poverty.*—To abolish poverty, or to reduce it to an inconsiderable and diminishing minimum, has become one of the fixed purposes of the more advanced states. By poverty one means not only the wretched poverty of the underfed, poorly housed, meanly clothed dependents of modern civilization, but of those millions who live in the borderland of the submerged; those who can not get ahead, who live from hand to mouth, who are thrown into poverty by illness, old age, or death, who can not pay their way to the privileges which all should enjoy, who are forced to see their children grow up without opportunities, or with painfully restricted opportunities.

2. *The Problem of Distribution.*—Efficiency of production has now reached a stage at which, while the possibilities of increased production are immense, the emphasis must be upon distribution; a distribution of the products of the common labor of the world which will be not only more just but better adjusted to the needs of various social groups. We can not in the future permit the glaring social contrasts of low wages, poverty, and grinding self-denial on the one hand and luxury and overindulgence on the other. The primary consideration can not be property rights and the legal sanction of large incomes, but the welfare of the masses of the people.

3. *Public Health.*—Poverty is as deeply rooted in disease as in economic wrongs. The modern health movement has set itself the task of sanitary conditions of living and of work, of wholesome, abundant, and balanced diet, of the control of the great plagues which afflict humanity—such as tuberculosis, typhoid, pneumonia, and venereal infections—of the elimination of occupational diseases, and overwork. The effects upon the happiness, economic resources, and industrial productivity of the nation will be incalculable if this movement succeeds.

4. *Control of Vice and Crime.*—Poverty, disease, and vice often walk hand in hand. Prostitution, gambling, the use of stimulants, the prevalence and perpetuation of crime are

enormously expensive and degenerative. Society is no longer disposed to accept them as inevitable and irremediable. It has learned that they can be controlled, and one can sense almost day by day the growth of a sentiment that they must and shall be controlled.

5. *Public Recreation.*—Wholesome and abundant recreation for all the people, universal vacations, rest for wives and mothers, the short-hour day even for business men, maids, and farm workers, education in the use of leisure time—these are written large in the program of the future.

6. *Democratic Education.*—The United States has always striven for the education of all her children and youth. But this is taking a new meaning and insistence. It means the best for the humblest; the training based upon capacity, resources for every home to allow the education of the children, food, and medical care to make minds receptive and active; childhood and youth devoted primarily to education and not to bread winning.

7. *The Extension of Democracy.*—Just ahead is a rapid and determined extension of democratic ideas and principles to religion, social life, education, industrial management, politics, and control of material resources. The purposes which inspire the movement are to make the privileges of the few the possession of many, as the political rights of the English nobility were passed on to the commons; and to destroy, by higher ideals of the dignity of life and by the increased influence of the workers, the contempt which the so-called upper classes feel for the so-called lower classes.

8. *Improvement in Public Administration, Especially of Municipal Administration, and a Widening of Its Spheres of Action.*—The war has shown the nation what can be accomplished for the common good by a larger use of the machinery of government and it will not be forgotten. Can we fail to learn the lessons of the control of venereal diseases, of the discipline and physical upbuilding of millions of young men, of the rapid training in skilled trades of other millions, of food production, conservation, and distribution, of the rationing of steel and coal, of restraint upon luxuries, of drastic taxa-

tion, for war emergencies, of the influence of an administration upon national ideals and conscience, of the training of the people in the sacrifice of nonessentials for essentials? Can we ever forget the price we have had to pay for partisan government in war time and for untrained and inexperienced officials? Some of the most vital tasks of the period following the war will be to perfect the machinery of federal, state, and municipal governments in the United States; to lift them out of partisan politics; to make official positions not a political career but a profession.

9. *International Coöperation.*—The war has also made it clear that the safety of the world is absolutely dependent on international organization, based upon friendship, good-will and adequate power, and involving world-wide industrial coöperation. Here rests the hope of disarmament, the end of all war, and the larger prosperity and happiness of every nation.

BOLSHEVISM OR CONSTITUTIONAL METHODS

This era of powerful social action which is certain to follow the war will take in the main one or the other of two forms of expression, although each will divide as now into more or less radical movements.

One will be violent and revolutionary, after the type of Russian Bolshevism. It will be opportunist under necessity, but ready at any favorable opportunity to go the whole length of social revolution.

The other will be conservatively radical and evolutionary, following the British idea of constitutional democracy, which is "Continuous evolution from one social state to another, retaining at each step enough of the old system to keep economic life functioning continuously, progress being achieved, not chiefly by force, but by education, agitation, and information." The one is class-conscious—bitterly and doctrinally class-conscious—after the idea of the Bolsheviki, the I. W. W., and the radical wing of the Social Democratic party; the other is comprehensive, following in its more radical form the ideal of the British Labor party, which aims to unite all workers, whether of hand or of brain. The one is program democracy, the other genetic democracy.

Now it is a matter of extreme importance to recognize that any of the social objective mentioned in the previous catalogue may be attained by either of these methods. It is not a question of patching up an old system or of building a new, as impatient thinkers like to say, but a choice of roads to the same destination. For example, a socialist society can conceivably abolish poverty by making an end of the wage system, setting up collective ownership and operation, and dividing the products of labor so that each shall have an abundance of life's fundamental necessities and many of its luxuries. Or poverty may be abolished under existing forms of social organization by the minimum wage, federal control of unemployment, government projects such as forestry irrigation and road-building to take up the unemployment in slack periods, industrial education, social insurance, old-age and mothers' pensions, the short-hour day, high wages, equal wages for women, control of disease and vice, graduated taxation for public purposes.

The same principle will apply to each of the other social objectives mentioned. Certain great infections have already been brought under control. Gambling and drunkenness are disappearing vices in the present order of society. The end of alcoholism is in sight with national prohibition. The short-hour day is now firmly established in the United States, provision for public recreation is becoming abundant, and recreation is being made educational and ethical as well as recreative. We can do anything we desire in public education under existing social organization. Democracy is expanding with bewildering rapidity. It is revolutionizing the churches, lifting women to an equal status with men, and forcing industrial democracy to the stage of an irrepressible movement. Industrial democracy may be obtained through collective bargaining and coöperation in ownership and management, as well as by the coöperative commonwealth, and without the immense and unreachable tyranny of the latter. The decade preceding the war witnessed a swift advance in municipal government in the United States, and as the war has progressed the determination to create a league of democratic nations to enforce peace has become one of the controlling ideas of the conflict.

A CHOICE OF METHODS

We shall each have to choose between these two methods: between the Russian idea and the British idea, between program democracy and genetic democracy. Personally I unhesitatingly take my place with the English method. I have learned in practical administration to distrust administrative prevision which reaches far in advance. Things never come out as the wisest men plan them. Too many factors are involved, and society is ever advancing and changing from within as well as from without. Nobody can know what the future society will be. I fear men who are willing to revolutionize the world quickly and to stake the lives of millions on the accuracy of their judgments. I could wish a nation no greater evil than to fall under the administration of agitators. They are usually devoted men but theorists and extremists, valuable as agitators but dangerous as governors.

The Bolsheviks are a case in point. Granting their sincerity and the difficulties under which they have worked, a tyro in administration might have known what would happen. They betrayed the democracies of the world in their hour of travail. In their fanaticism they looked upon President Wilson and the United States as upon the Kaiser and Germany. To them they were but capitalist states and capitalist rulers. They staked the safety of Russia upon their theories, and millions have died and will die from starvation as a consequence. They demoralized industry and transportation. They deliberately destroyed the discipline of the army, demobilized in the face of the enemy, opened their frontiers to the most unscrupulous and undemocratic of powers, and now find themselves struggling to recreate an army, and advocating universal military service. They carried the class-conscious idea to its logical conclusions, created a new and arbitrary government by a fraction of the population, composed of workingmen and soldiers, suppressed freedom of speech and press, murdered officers, confiscated the property of opposing classes, and slaughtered without trial until the tyranny of the German was preferable to their excesses. At a time when we had hoped wars might cease with the overthrow of the German

autocracy, they threaten the world with a new autocracy, which combines intrigue and terrorism with arbitrary military power.

No man should ever again advocate the class-conscious struggle, certainly not in democratic nations. So long as social control is based upon that principle we shall have class governments, bitterly hated, violently attacked, with inevitable cruelty and tyranny. Every triumph will contain within it the seeds of revolt. Instead of an end of war we shall have a perpetuation of wars. We shall substitute might for justice, arbitrary powers for democratic action, the law of survival for a morally directed social evolution. Theoretically it is conceivable that an end of classes may be made by the destruction of all classes except the proletariat through the triumph of the class-conscious proletariat; but the idea is savage. Actually, it will never be accomplished. The just way to secure the final coöperation of all classes is by the democratic methods.

To accomplish that coöperation we should strive with all our power, through a most determined educational propaganda. The time has come to recognize that the Christian idea is the coöperation of all classes, not by violence but by united action in a comprehensive brotherhood. Christian people should see this and stand on it as positively and aggressively as the Bolshevik stands on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The class-conscious struggle must be seen by all the people to be unChristian, undemocratic, tyrannical, and self-destructive, justifiable only when the constitutional method is impossible. Society has advanced far enough, at least in the Anglo-Saxon countries, to allow constitutional methods a chance in the social order, and to allow the direction of education toward collective action for the welfare of all classes.

Social changes are also safer and surer, from the point of view of the public welfare, when they proceed by experimental methods. It would be wiser, for example, for the people to try out government operation of railroads and to create efficient public management of such an industry before nationalizing mines and other great industries. It would be

wiser, in order to see how it will work, to allow the workers in a given industry to direct it themselves, to experiment upon some limited branch of the government service, before giving the principle of guild or craft socialism a wider application. The test of any social theory will be finally its effectiveness, its economy, its relation to the progress of the masses, and not its logical character or its sentimental appeal.

DO WE MEAN BUSINESS?

But if we are to choose the English method of constitutional democracy we must be in earnest about it, as the English have been. The danger of gentle democracy is that it shall fall into the control of the conservatives, and that it may not be constructive and effectively radical. The welfare and rights of the masses of the people are imperative. The suffering and losses in the existing state of things are so great that temporizing is out of the question. Reactionary people, profiteers, favored classes entrenched behind privileges, who will not share in the program of democracy, must be reached by education and by organized power of society acting as a whole.

Bolshevists mean business; nobody doubts that. They have taken their lives in their hands and the lives of their countrymen. They speak Bolshevik English. They use unhesitatingly military power, dictatorship, fire and starvation, secret intrigue on spoken and written propaganda on an unprecedented scale. They scorn the customs and precedents of civilized nations. They have deliberately set out not alone to reorganize Russia but to upset and reorganize the world. Let us believe that in the main they desire the welfare of the masses of mankind, that they have been set a horrible example by the ruling classes of Russia and Germany, that they are striking at intolerable wrong and tyranny.

Now can those who believe in democracy, and are committed to the constitutional method, mean business also? Can they be devoted to the happiness of the people? Or being men and women of power and opportunity, will they turn these gifts to profiteering? Will they grow indulgent, lovers of ease, sensitive to flattery and preferment? Will their social effort become that of the dilettante, timid, remedial, self-

regarding, ineffectual? Or can they sacrifice? Will they fight? Are they courageous to face the horrors of life and realities of the present order as Christ faced them? If they will not, then let them hand over the happiness of the masses to better people.

Who can know whether the powerful will become the servants of all? Only the future can determine. Personally, I think that an ample democratic movement is forming, as a thunderstorm gathers together from the wind-blown cloud. Social workers, ministers, business men, professional men, officials of city and state, working men, working women, workers with hands, workers with brain; men and women in whose hearts is love, and who stand for each and for all—these are coming together in sufficient numbers and with a power great enough to enforce an orderly social evolution, which has for its chief concern the well-being of the masses. Let us pass over to that group and burn the bridges behind us.

At the conclusion of this address, Dr. Tippy was asked by Rev. R. E. Vale, of the Second Presbyterian Church, Knoxville, what he thought the churches should do in the present social reconstruction. Dr. Tippy replied categorically as follows:

“Open every church seven days in the week with useful religious and social ministries for the people of the community.

“Close out little competing missions in the crowded neighborhoods, where the working people live, and replace them with large, well-appointed and non-competing churches.

“Raise up thousands of ministers who know economics as well as they know theology, and who desire to devote themselves to those toilers and their families.

“Federate the Protestant churches of every community, preserving denominational organization, but making it possible to act unitedly on religious and community matters. Seek coöperation in community welfare with Catholics and Hebrews.

“Bring the churches into sympathetic coöperation with civic, charitable, commercial, and educational agencies of the community, with the federal government and with national social agencies.

"Bring to bear the power of the church on the things for which the workers are struggling; such as, the living wage, the eight-hour day, one day of rest in seven, equal pay for women, a share in industrial management.

"Teach the coöperation of all men and all classes in place of the class struggle. Amalgamate classes by brotherhood instead of by fighting, murder, confiscation, and conquest.

"Teach reconstruction by orderly political and industrial experimentation, rather than by revolution and the class struggle.

"Organize the women of the churches to do social work in their own communities, especially work with women and girls who are making their living as wage earners. In the South, concentrate on the mill workers and factory toilers.

"Make the spiritual ministry of the churches more powerful than it has ever been known before. These are days when nothing but prayer and the faith of great endeavor will avail; days in which all who lead and all who work must walk with God."

When asked whether he thought the church was aroused to the gravity of the situation, Dr. Tippy replied: "They are becoming aroused and the situation is most encouraging. A new social force is being created out of the churches, and its power will be very great."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

PROFESSOR W. J. CAMPBELL, PH. D., FIELD SECRETARY,
LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

WE are at the dawning of day one, year one, of the new era in international relationships. We are standing at the zero hour in anticipation of civilization's greatest offensive against the forces of evil and chaos. How successful we shall be in attaining our objectives and how far civilization shall be able to advance depends upon the alertness and the loyalty of each of us, and of the allied multitudes of the common folk of the world who have common interests.

The wheel of social progress is constantly in the direction of the widening application of moral principles to all the areas of human life and relationships. The center of gravity in social values has shifted from the material to the personal. Institutions have come to be recognized as but the outgrowth of the struggle of the human soul for fuller and freer life.

We are living in a contracting world. It is no longer possible for any individual or for any nation to live alone. We are rubbing elbows with all the world all the time. Multiplied points of contact mean multiplied opportunities for friction—a fact which proclaims the necessity for the development of new and increasingly effective social machinery for settling international difficulties.

A world neighborhood or a series of armed camps—there is no other alternative!

Drawn into the great world-war—reluctantly but inevitably—we raised in an incredibly short time the finest and cleanest army in the history of the world. Our boys went overseas by the thousands, the tens of thousands, the hundreds of thousands, yes, even by the millions. Their fighting edge was sharpened by devotion to great ideals, great principles. These ideals were fittingly expressed in pungent slogans by our President: “A war to end war,” “A war to make the world safe for democracy,” “A war to establish the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed, sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.”

In that spirit our boys fought and on November 11, 1918, Germany quit. She quit before the wrath of God thundering through the awakened conscience of the American people, as that conscience became dynamic through the irresistible flow of men, munitions, and money to the seat of the conflict. The tide of battle was turned. The victory was won. We still face, however, the even more important task of safeguarding the fruits of victory.

The *price* of victory has been terrific—7,358,000 slain on the field of battle—60,000 of our own boys. Accustomed as we have become in these war days to speaking glibly in terms of millions and even billions, we can form no adequate conception of the magnitude of such a price—7,358,000 of the finest boys of the world slain!

The *prize* to be won at such a *price* must be worthy. Listening to the beating of the great throbbing heart of the common folk of the world, there is a persistent demand that the only adequate prize to be won at such a price is the *elimination of war as a method of settling international disputes.*

There must not be another war! Our sensibilities have been shocked and our hearts stunned by the transcendent frightfulness of the conflict through which we have just passed. But terrible as this war has been in its unspeakable methods of destruction—let us not forget that the next war will begin where this one leaves off.

We are just beginning to realize as accurate information becomes available, how nearly the allies came to losing the war with the advent of the German mustard gas with all its agonizing and deadly qualities. But are we aware of the fact that when the armistice was signed the United States was manufacturing in the city of Cleveland a poison gas seventy-two times as deadly as the German mustard gas. Nine tons of it would wipe out all life on the island of Manhattan (New York), and yet we were turning out ten tons a day when Germany signed the armistice. This gas was never used though the first assignment was ready for shipment to the front. The supply on hand has been sealed in casks and dropped in mid-Atlantic where the ocean is three miles deep. The secret formula for this gas, however, has been locked up in the vaults of the war department at Washington, and will be available for any future conflict. *The next war will begin where this one leaves off!!!*

Just before leaving New York I went aboard the great battleship *Mississippi*—probably one of the most powerful battleships afloat. As I stood in the shadow of those great guns with a range of thirty-one miles, they told me of the wonderful efficiency in marksmanship as evidenced by their recent target practice—seventy-two (72) shots in six minutes, all hits. They delighted in the story of one gunner who scored three bull's eyes with his first three shots, demolished the target with the next three, and then, that his remaining

three shells might not be wasted, trained his gun on the target of the second squad and demolished it with the remaining three shots.

A few weeks ago in Detroit I was sitting at dinner with one of the industrial leaders of that great city. He was telling us with pride of what Detroit had done toward winning the war. He had just come from an inspection of a model of the new manless bombing plane. He said the thing was weird. It was so finely adjusted and so sensitive that it responded to the slightest pressure. This invention was the result of the master genius of six of the nation's foremost mechanical engineers. It was built to rise and maintain a fixed height and a fixed direction irrespective of opposing air currents for 150 miles. It carried 250 pounds of T. N. T. At the end of its flight the wings automatically dropped off and the whole mass dropped to the ground and scrapped. The charge of T. N. T. was set to explode on any one of three systems—either at a certain height, at a certain time or on contact. When the armistice was signed Detroit was ready to turn out these machines by the thousands, at a unit cost of less than that of a shell for a sixteen-inch gun, and thus darken the heavens over Germany with these engines of death. They were never used. *But the next war will begin where this war leaves off!!* The end of human ingenuity for devising methods and machinery for destruction has not yet been reached. *Another great war will wipe out civilization.*

There must not be another war! Impossible you say! *In a world of moral order nothing is impossible which ought to be.*

Happily American history offers a precedent for the sane settlement of international difficulties. It was after the Civil War in 1865 that Great Britain began taking liberties with American shipping. Vigorous diplomatic protests on the part of the state department seemed of no avail. Feeling ran high. It looked as though there might be a clash. Then those two great civilized nations realized the foolishness of resorting to war for the settlement of their difficulties. They decided to refer the matter to a court of arbitration. They got together a jury. Each side presented its case. The jury brought in its

verdict and advised Johnny Bull to sit down quietly and draw his check for \$17,000,000. Johnny Bull smiled and drew his check and we've been better friends ever since.

Again not so many years ago trouble arose over the seal fisheries off the coast of Alaska, and again heated diplomatic exchanges brought us to the verge of an outbreak. Again a court of arbitration was summoned and both sides of the case presented. The jury brought in its verdict and advised Uncle Sam to sit down quietly and write his check to the order of Great Britain for \$7,000,000. Uncle Sam smiled and drew his check and we've been greater friends ever since. *War must be outlawed if civilization is to endure.*

What is needed is a *new world psychology*, built up on the fundamental thesis that there need not be—there must not be war. To give effectiveness to this fundamental social creed we need a *new piece of social machinery* which shall bring order out of chaos in the field of national relationships.

It was with this dual conviction that the representatives of the victorious allied nations came together at Versailles for the peace conference. Other peace conferences had been tables of compromise. This was to be characterized by the declaration of great principles. At the opening session of the conference a resolution was unanimously adopted to the effect that the formation of a League of Nations was absolutely fundamental to any peace treaty which could give promise of permanent peace. A committee was appointed to draft a covenant for such a league. February 14, 1919, this committee made its report. The proposed covenant was published and submitted to the world for discussion and criticism. As a result of this criticism changes were made in the original draft and the final report of the committee was presented before a plenary session of the peace conference on April 28, 1919, and unanimously adopted. This session was composed of eighty-four men representing thirty-two nations and a constituency of 1,200,000,000 people.

Out of the conference has come a covenant worthy of the moral purposes that won the war. Time will not permit at this late hour any exposition of its salient features. Read the covenant for yourself. Do not take your opinions second

hand. Do your own thinking, and see that your representatives in the United States Senate understand your conclusions. This is the greatest public document since the declaration of independence. It is the recognition of the essential *interdependence* of all *independent* national units. This covenant for a League of Nations makes peace the concern of the whole league; places the common good above the selfish interest of any state; makes force the handmaiden of justice and makes justice to all nations the world's first article of political faith.

The League of Nations stands or falls dependent upon the attitude of the United States. This is the conviction of those most intimate with world conditions. America now holds the moral leadership of the world. Shall she refuse to accept the responsibilities incumbent upon such a position? To do less than our best in the face of present world need and world opportunities would be nothing short of moral treason. America shall never be a "slacker nation."

What then of public opinion in the United States? The following facts are significant. Correspondence with over 7,000 labor leaders from all sections of the country has yet to uncover the first antagonistic note. *Labor is solidly behind the League of Nations.**

The farmer and organized agricultural interests are behind the League of Nations. Every great national organization of farmers has gone on record in support of the League of Nations—The National Grange, National Farmers' Union, National Society of Equity, Farmers' National Congress, Non-Partisan League, National Federation of Gleaners, National Board of Farm Organizations. A recent poll of the agricultural press shows only *one* out of ninety-nine replying against ratification of the proposed covenant.

The women's organizations are behind the League of Nations. Why not? The mothers of the world pay the heaviest price of war.

The leaders of thought are behind the League of Nations—the National Educational Association, the Religious Educational Association, and great outstanding individual leaders

*Since the above statement by Professor Campbell, the American Federation of Labor, in session at Atlantic City, voted on June 20th as follows: 29,750 for and 420 against the ratification of the League of Nations' Covenant as a part of the Peace Treaty.

such as Professor Giddings, who says, "In a federation of nations desiring peace and adequately organized to prevent war rests our hope for the further material and moral progress of mankind."

"What of the United States Senate?" some one asks. The Senate will ratify the covenant for the League of Nations because the great heart of the common folk demands it. Business interests and the pressure of reconstruction projects foredoom to failure any partisan or personal motives which may attempt to block the way. See that your Senators understand clearly how you and your neighbors feel on this great issue.

"The dream of an idealist"—yes, so has been everything of real worth in moral progress. History and personal observation uphold the fact that the idealist "who dreams on a full mind is the most practical of men." Such have been the idealists who have framed this covenant. Such will coming generations acclaim them. Let us help each in our way to make their dream a fact.

Peace rests on justice, justice rests upon law, law rests upon organization. The League of Nations is the essential foundation in world machinery if we would have the crowning desire of a war-weary world-peace.

II. COMMUNITY SERVICE

A Creed and a Crusade

The Practice of Citizenship

Community Organization for Community Service

Social Reconstruction in the South

The Proper Use of Leisure Time

A CREED AND A CRUSADE

WE BELIEVE:

1. That all men are created—not equal, but with equal rights to health, justice, fellowship, and happiness.

2. That Jesus is the supreme interpreter of the principles that should govern human society.

3. That poverty should be abolished by vocational training of every child, by universal health inspection and training, and by preventing the reproduction of the unfit.

4. That crime should be prevented by removing the causes of fear and hate, and by providing adequate moral training in childhood.

5. That disease is an unnecessary evil that should be prevented.

6. That health is the basis of happiness and prosperity, and should be the first duty of the home, of the school, of the church, and of the government.

7. That the death of children is the defeat of God's purpose, and that their health—physical, mental, and moral—should be a primary function and responsibility of the church.

8. That the promotion of the health of the pupils and of the community should be to the school of corresponding interest and obligation with instruction.

9. That the essential and first work of the medical profession is the conservation, not the correction, of health; and that the physician should be paid for preventing disease rather than for treating it.

10. That the home is the supreme institution of civilization, and its welfare and sanctity must be safeguarded above every other possession of human society.

11. That motherhood is the most sacred function in human life, and that mothers everywhere are entitled to the finest chivalry that can be paid them.

12. That the supreme object of the government, of industry, of education, of religion, and of the individual should be the conservation of human life and happiness.

13. That the time has come when the most destructive war in history should be followed by a world-wide crusade for the conservation of human life and happiness.

AND WE CALL

on every American who believes in the ultimate achievement of brotherhood to enlist with us that health, justice, and good-will may be secured for the individual, for the nation, and for the world.

COMRADES

(Sung to the tune of "Scots Wha Hae Wi' Wallace Bled")

Comrades of the Son of God,
Heirs of Martyrs' faith and blood,
Who will work for brotherhood,
Working with our Lord?

He that loves reality,
He that honors purity,
He that lives true chivalry,
*Lift your pledge to God!

Hear the mothers' bitter cry;
See the children fade and die;
Millions in the grave now lie,
Whom God meant should live.

Who will fight the fiend disease?
Who will hate a life of ease?
Who will seek his Lord to please?
*Lift your pledge to God!

Do not balance life with gain;
Do not hoard on others' pain;
Make not Mothers' praying vain;
While the children die.

Heaven hates our selfish gold;
Human life has worth untold;
Who will faith in man uphold?
*Lift your pledge to God!

Brothers still are stunned by fears;
Mothers toiling, sick with tears;
Orphans hope for better years;
God's own justice comes!

Who will fight for liberty?
Who will claim equality?
Who will live fraternity?
*Lift your pledge to God!

Come, ye brothers, hear the call,
Jew and Gentile, races all,
Every one both great and small,
Work for Brotherhood!

This shall be our Battle song,
This, our banner, leads us on,
As one loyal mighty throng,
"World-wide Brotherhood!"

*Pledges in audience to be indicated by lifting the right hand while singing this line.

THE PRACTICE OF CITIZENSHIP

HENRY E. JACKSON, A. M., U. S. BUREAU OF EDUCATION

To achieve "freemen's citizenship"; to restore and preserve government "of the people, by the people, and for the people"; to develop small communities into little democracies with schoolhouses for their capitols; to organize communities on the basis of citizenship alone; to put human rights above property rights, as our boys in the trenches of France did; to apply ethical standards to politics and economics; to enlarge the average man's opportunities and his capacity to appreciate them; to make social, political, and economic conditions to be of such a sort that all citizens, both native and foreign born, when speaking of the United States, may say "my country" and mean what they say; that they may say it not only with honesty but with such a degree of enthusiasm as to be willing to put the interests of "my country" above the interests of "myself"—nothing less than this, as I understand it, is the ultimate purpose of the community center movement. It is a movement in constructive democracy.

The war has clothed this movement with a fresh interest and a new significance. The fundamental challenge which the war has made to all thoughtful people is the need of organizing human life on juster and saner lines in the construction of a better sort of world. The German Reformation gave us a start towards religious freedom; the French Revolution gave us a start towards political freedom; the present world tragedy is giving us a still bigger start towards economic freedom. In our attempt to meet the opportunity with which the war's challenge confronts us, we have already discovered that no superficial remedy will answer because the disease lies too deep. We have discovered the futility of attempting to purify the water in a well by painting the pump. We must go deeper for our remedy.

It is my purpose to give a bird's-eye view of some of the community uses of the schoolhouse, as means for achieving democracy's aims. For this instrument ready made to our hand is most available for the practice of citizenship. Like

all great discoveries the community use of the schoolhouse grew out of a conscious and profound need. Rauschenbusch calls the appropriation of the schoolhouse for more varied purposes a master stroke of the new democracy. It is the only democratic institution existing in America, non-sectarian, non-partisan, and non-exclusive. It furnishes the only platform on which *all* the people can meet. It is our foremost industry from whatever standpoint it is regarded, with its 22,000,000 girls and boys, 600,000 school teachers, 277,000 school buildings, \$1,347,000,000 invested in property, and \$750,000,000 annually spent for its support. It is the most American institution, the greatest American invention, and the most successful social enterprise yet undertaken by any nation. Nevertheless, its golden age lies before it, not behind it. It is now entering upon a new era in its already notable history, an era which will witness its vastly increased usefulness to our experiment in democracy, an experiment which depends for its success more on the free public school than upon any other single factor.

In attempting to state in brief a subject so big, one must needs have what the poet Keats calls "negative capabilities." He must know what to leave in the ink stand, what to leave unsaid. A bird's-eye view of the facts may be had if we group them under the use of the schoolhouse as a community capitol, a community forum, and a neighborhood club.

A COMMUNITY CAPITOL

The schoolhouse as the community capitol obviously means that it shall be used as the polling place. It ought to be so used for economic reasons alone. Why should we rent special buildings, when we already own schoolhouses conveniently located in every district? If voting precincts so far as possible were made indetical with school districts, if the schoolhouses were used as polling places, if the election machinery were simplified, and if school teachers were employed as election officers, because they have the required intelligence and are already public officials, every state in the Union would have many thousands of dollars annually. But we ought to use the schoolhouse as the polling place, not only for economic

reasons, which is of the least importance, but especially for the sake of the ideal which the ballot box represents. It is the symbol of our membership in America. It is a sacred symbol. During the last campaign Candidate Hughes voted in a laundry in New York City, and President Wilson voted in a fire house in Princeton. Barber shops, livery stables, any old place is regarded good enough for voting purposes. Is such a place a fitting place in which to exercise the highest duty and function of American citizenship? The ballot box is our Ark of the Covenant, and just as the Ark of the Covenant, which was the symbol of the Hebrew Republic, was given a place in the Holy of Holies in the national temple, so our ballot box ought to be given a place befitting its importance. The one fitting place for it is the public school, which is the temple of our democracy.

The ballot box and voting booth ought to be made decorative and kept permanently in the schoolhouse, because of the permanent ideal which they embody. It would be kept to make vivid the function of the school. "The walls of Sparta are built of Spartans," sang an old poet. The walls of America are built of Americans, and the public school is the factory in which they are produced. The public school's function is to make not merely good men and women, but good citizens for the republic. The great need of our American democracy is that in every school district the public school shall be developed into a worthy university of the people, which shall confer citizenship as a degree upon those who in this school shall have made themselves fit to receive it. As soon as we put this fact in the foreground, we set in operation a formative principle whose effect on the school will be reforming and vitalizing. Because we shall be compelled to ask the further question, what kind of studies ought the curriculum to contain, what kind of studies are most worth while in the process of making citizens? The three unsettled questions which the schools are always debating are the content of the curriculum, the method of teaching, and business management. The new question concerning the use of the schoolhouse as the community capitol will shed more illumination on these three problems than anything else has yet done. It will insure a

wise solution of them. It will wed the processes of the school to patriotism and to practical human needs. It will save the school from the blight of professionalism, which is the most deadly enemy. This fact can best be stated in brief by employing an illustration.

It has ever afforded much interesting speculation and much amusement to ask and discuss the question what would modern educational experts have made of Lincoln, if, as a baby, he had been put in their care. "They would have started him on sterilized milk, clothed him in disinfected garments, sent him to kindergarten where he would have learned to weave straw mats and sing about the 'Bluebird on the Branch.' Then the dentist would have straightened his teeth, the oculist would have fitted him with glasses, and in the primary grades he would have been taught by pictures and diagrams the difference between a cow and a pig, and, through nature study he would have learned that the catbird did not lay kittens. By the time he was eight he would have become a 'young gentleman'; at ten he would have known more than the old folks at home; at twelve or fourteen he would have taken up manual training, and within two years have made a rolling-pin and tied it with a blue ribbon. In the high school, at sixteen, where he would have learned in four years that Mars was the reputed son of Juno, and to recite a stanza from 'The Lady of the Lake.' Then to college, where he would have joined the Glee Club and a Greek-letter fraternity, smoked cigarettes and graduated, and never have done anybody any harm! Well, perhaps, we don't know and can't tell what might have been, but we can't help feeling thankful that Lincoln's training and education were left to Nancy Hanks—and God."

To give the ballot box an honored place in the school as the symbol of its chief function, to wed the school to patriotism, will keep its processes sane, and it in turn will help to purify politics. Our purpose is not to bring politics into the schools, but to bring the schools into politics, and give to them the commanding influence in public affairs they were designed to exercise.

A COMMUNITY FORUM

The use of the schoolhouse as a forum is the next logical step to take after it has been made the community capitol. In every state constitution provision has been made for a capitol building, in which the *representatives* of the people can meet to debate public questions and vote on public policies, but the only place they provide, in which the people *themselves* may meet, is "in a peaceable manner." The humor of this omission would be refreshing, if it were not so serious. "A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it," said Madison, "is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance; and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives." We have adopted universal manhood suffrage in America. This may have been a blunder or it may not. At any rate it is a fact and nothing is so convincing as a fact. Inasmuch as there has been placed in the hands of average men, and many average women, the ballot through which public policies are determined and public officials elected, it is of primary importance that a means be provided for the discussion of public questions so that they may educate themselves by going to school to one another and equip themselves to vote intelligently. "For no man has a right to take part in governing others who has not the intelligence or moral capacity to govern himself." This is the practical and philosophical ground on which the necessity for a community forum rests. It is an open meeting, conducted by citizens themselves, for the discussion of social, political, economic, or any other questions which concern the common welfare.

"There are two ways to govern a community," said Lord Macaulay in the British Parliament, "one is by the sword, the other is by public opinion." Ours is a government by public opinion. It is obvious that the welfare of a democracy requires that public opinion be informed and educated. The greatest danger to a democracy is that the forces which control public opinion should be corrupted at their source. The pulpit and press are moulders of public opinion, but they are no longer dependable. We must establish public free forums un-

dominated by private interests. If it is right for the state to spend money to provide polling places, it is just as right and even more necessary for the state to spend money for forums in which citizens may fit themselves to vote intelligently. In his remarkable book, "Physics and Politics," Walter Bagehot devotes a chapter to "Government by Discussion," in which he convincingly demonstrates its essential value to all free governments.

This being the nature and purposes of the forum, it follows that its basic principle must be freedom of thought and freedom in its expression. The forum is organized on the basis of difference, not agreement. It aims not at uniformity but at unity. It is not only a stupid world where all think alike, but there can be little or no progress if we listen only to those with whom we agree. It is significant that our word misunderstanding has become a synonym for quarrels, whereas most of our quarrels would be found to involve not a fundamental difference, but just a failure to understand each other.

Inasmuch as men who do not agree with each other have to work with each other in life's activities, it is obviously important that they should try to understand each other. The Christian ought to understand the agnostic, and the agnostic the Christian; the Roman Catholic the Protestant, and the Protestant the Roman Catholic; the Democrat the Republican, and the Republican the Democrat; the capitalist the laborer, and the laborer the capitalist. These classes usually associate only with members of their own class, and read only their sectarian or partisan newspapers. They are provincially-minded. We are, of course, under no obligation to agree with each other, but as members of America it is our moral and patriotic duty to understand each other. For there is no hope of peace and coöperation in a democracy unless men have the right to think for themselves, unless they agree to disagree agreeably, and unless they try to understand each other.

The forum furnishes the means for mutual understanding. It aims to create public-mindedness. Its success depends on our ability to differ in opinion without differing in feeling. There is no way of acquiring this habit except through practice. The forum invites us to have the courage to be honest, the

courtesy to be gentlemen and to say to our neighbors, just because they are our neighbors, what Paul said to the Christians of the first century, "Therefore putting aside lying let us speak truth every man with his neighbor, *for* we are members one of another."

Undoubtedly, where freedom of speech is permitted, there is constant danger that erroneous opinions will be expressed. It is one of the risks which the exercise of liberty necessarily involves. But then it is more dangerous for them not to find expression. Exposure to fresh air is the best cure for mental as well as physical diseases. Thus freedom furnishes its own antidote to this danger. Jefferson well stated it when he said, "Error of opinion may be tolerated when reason is free to combat it." It is highly important to understand that the right to preach truth is a danger whenever the right to preach error is denied. It ought to be obvious that the right of free speech can not be maintained and indeed does not exist unless we agree to grant *complete* freedom of speech without any censorship whatever, and place our dependence on the operation of Jefferson's principle as the civilized method of overcoming error. The truth needs no apologist and no defender; it needs only a free field and no favors. The man who rejects Jefferson's principle is a skeptic and an atheist. He manifestly does not believe in the power of the very truth he seeks to defend by force. He has no confidence in the God of Truth.

It may frequently happen that the free discussion of vital questions will lead to disturbance. In an open forum, held on a certain Sunday, many centuries ago, in the village of Nazareth, where laymen were permitted to speak, a young carpenter made some remarks on social and economic justice. The speech caused a disturbance; indeed, the meeting became a mob and this workingman almost lost his life. But there is no man, who is acquainted with history, and certainly no Christian, who regrets that the synagogue was organized as a forum, and that this particular speech was made on this particular occasion. For the speaker's name was Jesus, and the speech was his inaugural address in a public career more helpful to the world than that of any other man. If there are any who do not wish disturbance there is only one place, so

far as I know, where they can be assured of quiet. It is the graveyard. Wherever there is life, there is growth, and growth means disturbance, especially if it is growth towards democracy and towards a saner and juster social order.

A NEIGHBORHOOD CLUB

When the people have learned through the use of the schoolhouse as a polling place and as a forum that it belongs to them and not the school board, they are then prepared to inaugurate its use as a neighborhood club. It can not be too carefully noted that the community center is not charity work nor an uplift movement nor a social settlement. It is organized self-help. It is not a patronizing effort to give people what you think they need. Nor is it the cowardly attempt to give people what they want. It is the neighborly desire to assist people to choose what they ought to want. Democracy is the organization of society on the basis of friendship, and this is the key to the community center ideal.

When the community use of the schoolhouse has been organized democratically then we are prepared to undertake all sorts of activities. Some of these activities may be described as *social*, such as community dinners, musical festivals, folk singing, especially singing, which is the most democratic and most spiritual of all the arts. The object of these activities is to promote a better acquaintance and the spirit of good-will. A friend said to Charles Lamb, "Come here, I want to introduce you to Mr. A." Lamb replied, with his characteristic stammer, "No, thank you." "Why not?" "I don't like him." "Don't like him? But you don't *know* him?" "That's the *reason* why I don't like him." The community center operates on the conviction that antagonisms among men are destroyed by better acquaintance.

Some of its activities may be described as *recreational*, such as dances, games, motion pictures, community dramas, especially the drama which is "The ritual of the religion of democracy." The object of these activities is to meet the need for play and the hunger for joy, a need every day more keenly felt under the monotonous grind of our machine age. Aside from the necessary relief which play brings, its moral

and educational value is as great as that of work, and sometimes greater. The community center proceeds on the assumption that the playground is as important as the school-room, that play is re-creation as well as recreation, that it is needed by all alike, and that the leisure problem is as urgent as the labor problem.

Some of these activities may be described as *educational*, such as courses of lectures on scientific and literary subjects, the Americanization of immigrants, a branch library, a savings bank. The object of these activities is mutual aid in self-development, which is one of President Wilson's definitions of democracy. The community center is guided by the principle that education is a life process, that it can be secured only through self-activity, and that it ought to be acquired not apart from but through one's daily vocation. When the people of any community perceive the formative principle that the schoolhouse belongs to them and that education is not limited to book learning, then the way is at once opened to the community use of the schoolhouse for any kind of coöperative enterprise designed to meet human needs, provided it is never for profit but for the common welfare. It is my conviction that the time is not far distant when the schools everywhere will be used not only to inspire coöperation in buying and selling the necessities of life, but also to direct and operate such enterprises, just as the public schools are now being used in Alaska, under the guidance of the United States Bureau of Education, with patriotic and economic results which are highly gratifying. The use of the schoolhouse as a polling place, a community forum, and a neighborhood club are the three chief activities which this movement aims to promote. I have stated them in their logical order, but this may not always be the chronological order. In our world human processes do not move along logical lines, but along lines of least resistance. Therefore, community center work frequently begins with some simple social activity, and from this evolves into larger activities. To learn to play together is sometimes a wise preparation for more constructive forms of coöperation.

The creation of community centers for the practice of freemen's citizenship is to-day our most urgent national need. Everywhere men and women are divided into classes according to their personal tastes or self-interest. There are social clubs, sectarian divisions, partisan groups. There are racial antagonisms, class hatreds, deep social cleavages and misunderstandings, dissimilarities of mind and purpose. It is this condition, this lack of public-mindedness, this lack of social sympathy and mutual understanding, which we have come to regard as a serious menace to our experiment in democracy, and which will guarantee its failure if unchecked. Our present urgent task is to discover some means of welding America into a community. For, as Professor Giddings says, "The primary purpose of the state is to perfect social integration." Social integration can be achieved not by physical but by spiritual means, for a nation is *the will* to be one people. "The Kingdom of Heaven is *within* you." So is the American Republic. A nation is a state of mind. How shall this welding process be effected?

That man has gone far towards finding a good answer to this question who discovers the true function which the public school is designed and equipped to perform in the unification and development of a community life; when he discovers that it is the appropriate place for the untrammelled exercise of the sacred right of manhood suffrage in a republic; that it furnishes the ideal platform for a community forum, where citizens may go to school to one another and freely discuss all social and economic questions in order to fit themselves for the practice of citizenship; that it is the logical social center and clearing-house for all enterprises which concern the common welfare, promoting organized coöperation, and preventing needless waste of time and money through burdensome overhead charges and duplication of social activities; when one discovers these community uses of the schoolhouse, he has made a discovery of incalculable value to the progress of American ideals.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR COMMUNITY SERVICE

JAMES EDWARD ROGERS

THE call for community organization and for community service has been answered throughout this country. Perhaps the finest benefit from the war has been the development of a nation-wide volunteer service by the entire people of the communities. The war was in good part won not by armies but by nations; not by soldiers but by civilians. The huge organized army of civilian volunteers that got back of the government mandates made an early victory possible.

If we are not to lapse back to pre-war conditions, we must conserve and continue this splendid development in our national and communal life. We must preserve the wonderful spirit of coöperation and sacrifice. We must not lose this potential force for great good if we are to meet wisely the perplexing problems of the future. The need for patriotism in peace is even greater than the need for patriotism in war.

There is a universal demand for community organization. Universities and colleges are creating departments of community organization; churches and societies are talking in terms of community service; schools and social agencies are advocating the wider use of public facilities. Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, Rotary Clubs, Women's Clubs, Labor Unions, Fraternal Organizations, etc., are thinking in terms of service. Besides being organized for a specific purpose, each of these organizations can be utilized for civic welfare; and, organized together, they can do much to make our towns and cities decent places to *live in* as well as to *work in*. All of these agencies have a civic value that can be utilized in the common interest of the whole community.

One of the finest "Win the War" agencies created by the government is War Camp Community Service. An agency, not an organization, established by the War and Navy Departments to coördinate, mobilize, and stimulate local communities—the people and organizations—to surround the camps with hospitality, and to create community team work so as to best

serve the soldiers. This agency was to be the community itself forming a clearing-house whereby the individuals and organizations would work together in an efficient, smooth, and unified manner for the welfare of the camp and the community.

The achievements of this war agency form one of the illuminating pages in the war record of this country. The list of 400 different activities in over 600 cities is a revelation in concrete achievement as to what communities have done and can do with a unified program and common effort. Through community executive boards and central councils, composed of leading men and women, and operating through existing organizations, a well-rounded program of community hospitality, education, information, recreation, and service was readily accomplished.

Some of the experiences of this agency, with a large staff of trained men and women skilled in community service, are worthy of permanent record. In the first place, it was recognized that community organization must be democratic; that is, it must be "of, by, and for the people." Secondly, it was realized that the community from one point of view was divided into three parts: (1) The community organization as seen in the city government in the city hall (city government after all is an example of community coöperation); (2) the organized civic groups doing community service for a specific purpose, such as Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce, Women's Clubs, Rotary Clubs, Civic Leagues, etc.; (3) the people themselves—the unorganized individuals to be gathered into volunteer groups at the school or the playground or at the block party. Any complete scheme must include all three groups.

It is apparent that any plan for community organization must necessarily include the active participation of such municipal departments as school, health, recreation, and public welfare, and also the organized civic organizations. In fact, they will form the basis for the organization of community team work. Through them in large part the community program will be functioned and *decentralized*. However, community organization must not simply be a federation. It

must be that but more than that; otherwise it will suffer from the weaknesses of federation. Community organization must have on its executive committee and on its central council leading men and women in these civic groups, but it must have an entity of its own; it must represent the whole city, the individual—the man on the street; it must have power to function directly as well as indirectly.

In a way, a community has longitudinal and latitudinal lines. Longitudinal lines represent the organized community work being done by the different organizations. The latitudinal lines are the civic interests that these different organizations cover, such as commercial, religious, fraternal, athletic, women's clubs, etc. That is, the Chamber of Commerce or Board of Trade is a community organization with a community purpose organized for a specific civic interest—commercial and business. This is its primary interest, but it touches the other community organizations, for it is interested in good schools, playgrounds, health, and morals. A Chamber of Commerce, however, is only one of the longitudinal lines in a community. It does not represent the whole community in all its interests. The Federation of Churches is another civic organization with a community program to unite the religious interests of the whole community. However, it only represents the united religious community effort—it does not represent the commercial or business interests. Women's Clubs represent a strong civic force. They do not represent the whole community, but they do represent the organized women power in that community for civic effort. The fraternal orders represent similarly limited interests. Real community organization would be the pooling by these organizations of their general civic interests into a common community interest, united in action and program. All these organizations touch much common ground, such as community singing, community hospitality, community pageants, community information, community athletics, community goodwill. They need "a clearing-house" by which they can express a common "esprit de corps" in solving these mutual problems.

There is one big essential community subject that there is no organization to handle—namely, the use of the leisure

time of all the people. People seek happiness. They ask for shorter hours and higher wages for one purpose—for more leisure and the means to enjoy it. The Declaration of Independence recognized wisely three inalienable rights, "the right to life, to liberty, and *to the pursuit of happiness.*" There are organizations for the first two, but there is need for an organization that will turn leisure from a liability into an asset. Many of our community ills and evils that demand money and effort to overcome them, come from the misuse of this leisure time which is increasing. Most of the good things in our community life that stand for order and happiness come from the right use of this free time. Multiplying the number of inhabitants of a community by eight hours gives an enormous number of free hours to use or abuse. There is here an immense problem for leadership and organization.

The schools and playgrounds as neighborhood centers offer one of the finest mediums to organize the great mass of unattached volunteers. Any complete community program, therefore, will include an intensive development of the schoolhouse and the playgrounds as a community neighborhood center where the people may meet, organize, discuss, and do community service.

To analyze community organization we must discover the community motives that prompt community organizations. A community like an individual is moved by many motives, but there are three dominant motives that touch all. First, there is the motive of self-preservation. So citizens organize a city government for self-protection. City government is one form of community organization to take care of this motive of self-preservation. So we have a police, fire, health, education, and other governmental departments as a mutual protective community organization. The people must get together. They must have a clearing-house, so we have the city hall as a center. They must have leadership, so they have the city officials. But most of the time of people is concerned with the second and third great community motives that control the lives of every citizen.

The second great community motive is the production or occupational motive. So we have community organization,

such as Boards of Trade, Manufacturers' Associations, Labor Unions, Chambers of Commerce, etc. The interest of an individual is in the job, the profession, the plant. Cities are places where things are made and men work.

The third and other big motive that dominates the time and interest of individuals and communities is the motive for improvement—for individual culture and public welfare. Here is where the reason for the "pursuit of happiness" is found. So we have civic organizations, such as Women's Clubs, Fraternal Orders, Social and Philanthropic Agencies. As the city government takes care of the first motive of self-preservation and represents the clearing-house in this, and as the Chamber of Commerce and Labor Council takes care of the second motive of production, so there is a need of a clearing-house to coördinate and mobilize all efforts of individuals and organizations that pertain to the third motive of community welfare. Such a clearing-house should not be a parallel existing civic organization, but an agency composed of the whole community—not *asking service* but *giving service*. This point is important. It is not a round-table organization to get together and centralize service, but to decentralize service.

Therefore, a community organization must include (1) The organized city government efforts that touch the public welfare along lines of the third motive; (2) the organized community civic groups; (3) the mass of the people, through the school playground, neighborhood, social unit groups, etc. This total effort is the community itself. It is "of, for, and by" the community.

Democracy, however, connotes leadership. Democracy in order not to be anarchy—mob rule—must have intelligent leadership and a common program. Otherwise it means anarchy and *drift* instead of civic coöperation and *mastery*. Our community school program does not run itself. We have schools, social center departments with skilled paid leaders in charge. Chambers of Commerce do not run themselves, but have boards of directors and secretaries. In our own city government we are asking for highly trained city managers. Our democratic social unit experiments are conducted by

funds and paid leaders. Community organization predicates a program and a program predicates administration and administration means some one on the job all the time.

Program, propaganda, and good-will alone will not continue community organization or give community service. Too many community efforts have been started, but have died early deaths because no one was on the job to carry the program through to completion. The need for the highest type of leadership is great in community service. A man or woman who is not so much the community leader as the community *servant* should be at work continually, suggesting, helping, and serving. Such a man would be a civic bishop or a spiritual mayor. He is the man *who would put unity into community*.

Community organization is simply a league of folks. The spirit should be "get-togetherness," just folks coming together to help and understand each other and meet common problems. There is need for this coming together because our communities will face in the next generation big problems that must be faced by all as a unit. The backwash of the war is yet to come and must be largely faced by the communities. The home and the neighborhood may meet personal social interests, but it is in the community that the individual expresses his civic, his occupational, and his patriotic relationships.

Practically every organization in a community next to a camp was interested in soldiers and was ready to serve them, so that there was need for a clearing-house by which every individual and organization could efficiently express its hospitality and good-will. So the city government and the different civic groups and volunteers were brought together through executive boards and community councils with representative men and women who made it possible for the whole community to function as a unit. Hence a common community program was fostered. The chamber of commerce, the churches, the schools, the fraternal organizations, women's clubs, the libraries, and all other organizations were asked to take the part in the program that they could best do. Then the group did those things that concerned all, such as community sings, community information, community girls' work, com-

munity hospitality, community pageants, community parades, etc. In this way friction, overlapping, and duplication were avoided.

War Camp Community Service has demonstrated that there is no universal formula for community organization. Each community must develop its own form of organization and service. There is no single agency that can settle all of the community problems. The bringing together of all groups and interests that pertain to caring for the third community motive, namely, for individual and community welfare, at a round table, with good-will, a common program, a recognition of each one's part in the program, a mutual respect and understanding is the beginning for real community service. It recognizes the principle that no one of the existing civic organizations in a community can handle the whole program, but an agency in which these groups play a large part can at least be the start toward common effort.

Community organization is largely a matter of the spirit; it is psychological—an attitude of mind. It recognizes the fact that a city is not a place of streets, buildings, and factories, but rather a place of people—of folks. Take the folks away and let the streets, buildings, factories remain, and you have no city. So community organization must be based on the fact that a community is a place to *live in* as well as to *work in*. Community organization is a pooling of interests of civic groups providing the use of leisure time for the "pursuit of happiness." Community organization is a blend of motives for the common welfare.

An executive group of leading men and women should be chosen, men and women who are representatives of the whole communities, men and women of varied interests and walks of life that will care for the general welfare rather than the welfare of any particular civic group. Then a large general community council in which men and women prominent in civic groups, school social centers, labor councils, neighborhood associations will be found. In this way, you get the pooling of all interests; at the same time you do not split into factions as is liable in a federation.

The three big obstacles to successful community organizations are the three old archenemies: (1) The old "laissez-faire" conservative, reactionary doctrine; (2) the modern bolshevik, who pleads for democracy that would mean anarchy—there is great danger in this second, because in pleading for democracy they do not recognize the need for leadership; (3) the third obstacle is the personal pronoun "I"—egotism and personal jealousies do much to prevent the successful fruition of a community program. In brief, conservatism, faddism, and selfishness can defeat community organization. Service, good-will, and sacrifice are the three winning graces. Community organization to be successful must be democratic—"of, for, and by" the people. It must be an agency, not an institution. It must have a program of service. It must have a public servant who will carry such a program of service to successful completion.

Community organization for community service along the lines of providing for the third motive in community life would do much to make the world safe. The proper use of leisure time by all would mean rest rather than unrest. Community organization is the best antidote for anarchy. Leisure is a right, as the Declaration of Independence guarantees. Men work for leisure and the power to enjoy it. Communities must offer the means.

Such community service as outlined would not be an institution or another paralleling community organization, but rather the medium by which all community agencies, institutions, and schemes could act together. It would prevent waste, overlapping, and duplication. It is more than a federation—it means the utilization of all efforts such as local community councils, the neighborhood school center, the block unit plan, etc. It means the projection of community fêtes, holidays, athletics, sings, information, recreation, etc. It is a plan by which all the people individually and collectively can work together with a single purpose for the good of all. It includes all the people. Its membership is every one. Its spirit is democratic. Its motto is service. It means centralization of purpose for the decentralization of service.

The call for community organization and service is heard everywhere. It must be answered soon and concretely. There is no "cure all." There is no universal community organization recipe that will apply to every community. However, War Camp Community Service has been an agency that has gone into many communities, and has developed a community program, a community purpose, and a community "esprit de corps." It has been a means by which communities have expressed their hospitality, good-will, and soul. With the Christian doctrine of service and the democratic principle "of, by, and for the people" community service has achieved community organization.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH

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THE Southern States have been profoundly affected by the European war, and by their participation in it. Great changes have already taken place in the social and economic conditions of the South, and still greater changes are bound to follow in the reconstructive processes of the next few years.

In the first place, the war has affected tremendously economic conditions. Great prosperity has resulted from the high prices of cotton, tobacco, horses, mules, and other farm products; from the expenditure of vast sums of government money for the building of cantonments, hospitals, roads, ships, and for supplies, transportation, and so forth for the army; from the resulting rise of wages whereby common negro laborers have earned \$3.50 to \$4.50 per day, and untrained negro girls have earned \$2.50 per day for manual labor, while mechanics, coal miners, and employees of steel works have earned from \$5 to \$20 per day; and from the tremendous expansion of manufacturing, coal mining, and iron mining, with the resulting expansion of all kinds of mercantile business. This prosperity is illustrated by the fact that the state of Alabama is receiving from \$40 to \$80 per month for the labor of convicts which formerly brought from \$15 to \$35,

and the state cotton mill at Speigner, Ala., operated by 155 convicts, produced last year a net revenue of \$227,000, or \$1,450 per convict.

In the second place, the war has had a marked effect upon social conditions, agencies, and institutions. The medical, physical, and psychological examinations of volunteers and selectives in the army and navy made humiliating revelations as to the prevalence of heart disease, tuberculosis, hookworm, venereal diseases, and other preventable physical ailments, together with feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, and illiteracy. The practical measures taken by the government and voluntary organizations to overcome or mitigate these evils were a demonstration to the people of the South, which is already bearing fruit in the reorganization of state boards of health, with vastly increased appropriations, in the building of state sanatoria for tuberculosis patients, in the enlargement and improvement of hospitals, in the establishment of reformatories for women and girls, in the development of state and county farm schools, and in increased state appropriations and local taxes for public schools.

In the third place, the war has had an amazing effect upon the morale of the Southern people, which, I believe, has set them forward in their social progress twenty-five years at a single bound. Their horizon has been tremendously widened; their mental vision has been sharpened, and their moral perceptions quickened. Their business men think in hundreds of thousands, where they used to think in tens of thousands; and the heads of corporations and legislators think in millions, where they used to think in hundreds of thousands. Alabama is appropriating \$150,000 annually for public health instead of \$26,000. Mississippi is for the first time establishing a juvenile reformatory on a fine farm of 2,000 acres of land. North Carolina is developing, under the leadership of its State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, County Boards of Charities and Public Welfare, in which the most progressive principles of social work are being applied to the entire field of philanthropy and public welfare.

The economic progress of the South is illustrated by the increase in the estimated value of all property in the 14 states named, as follows:

ESTIMATED VALUE OF ALL PROPERTY IN 14 STATES

1890 (a)	\$9,848,000,000
1900 (a)	12,381,000,000
1912 (a)	34,190,000,000
1918 (b)	52,890,000,000

ESTIMATED VALUE OF ALL PROPERTY PER CAPITA

	1918 (b)	1912 (a)	1900 (a)	1890 (a)
1. Oklahoma	\$ 4,208	\$ 2,475	\$ 1,027	\$ 860
2. West Virginia	3,420	1,800	688	575
3. Texas	2,686	1,679	762	942
4. Maryland	2,064	1,651	1,109	1,041
5. Louisiana	1,996	1,260	590	443
6. Florida	1,921	1,307	673	995
7. Arkansas	1,903	1,120	461	403
8. Alabama	1,571	964	424	412
9. Virginia	1,531	1,086	594	521
10. South Carolina	1,460	869	362	348
11. Georgia	1,330	883	422	464
12. North Carolina	1,270	794	360	361
13. Tennessee	1,216	864	473	502
14. Mississippi	1,096	726	359	352
Total 14 States.....	\$ 1,852	\$ 1,195	\$ 565	\$ 579
The United States.....	\$ 2,643	\$ 1,965	\$ 1,165	\$ 1,036

From 1890 to 1900 there was an actual decrease in the value of property in the Southern States; but from 1900 to 1918 the value of property in the 14 Southern States increased more than fourfold, and the value per inhabitant increased two and a half times. In Oklahoma the total value increased nearly ten fold, and the value per inhabitant increased more than fourfold.

(a) Estimates of the U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1913.

(b) My estimate based on rates of increase, 1900 to 1912. This is a conservative estimate, probably much lower in some states than the actual values.

The economic gain in the South is illustrated by the following statement of

INCREASE IN PER CAPITA SAVINGS

	BANKS, TRUST COMPANIES AND WAR SAVINGS		WAR SAVINGS		
	Per Capita 1914	Per Capita 1918	Percentage Increase	Per Capita 1918	
United States	\$ 89.11	\$ 113.45	27.3	\$ 8.95	
Western States	38.21	76.78	101.1	10.65	
Pacific States	122.66	170.05	46.9	10.44	
Middle West States.....	72.48	100.97	39.3	10.58	
New England States.....	245.78	295.93	20.3	8.34	
Eastern States	157.25	174.14	10.7	7.57	
Southern States	18.45	26.73	44.9	6.14	Rank
Oklahoma	10.57	26.88	154.3	7.81	3
Mississippi	9.20	19.29	108.5	5.56	7
Florida	19.50	39.20	101.1	5.49	9
Texas	5.11	10.10	97.6	8.47	2
Tennessee	17.37	28.64	64.2	7.68	4
Georgia	17.53	28.14	60.5	3.60	13
South Carolina	21.24	33.49	57.7	3.78	12
Arkansas	7.20	11.06	53.6	5.56	8
Virginia	31.89	44.89	41.1	5.18	11
North Carolina	17.20	24.24	40.9	6.61	5
West Virginia	52.08	68.92	32.3	10.25	1
Maryland	113.76	145.25	27.7	5.27	10
Louisiana	23.12	30.04	25.6	6.03	6
Alabama	13.02	13.73	5.4	3.67	14

This statement reveals that from 1914 to 1918 the increase in savings per capita was 44.9 per cent for the Southern States; 39.3 per cent for the Middle West States; 20.3 for the New England States; and only 27.3 per cent in the whole United States.

In internal revenue collections, purchase of Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps, the South met its full obligation in proportion to its wealth. Note the following:

STATEMENT OF INTERNAL REVENUE COLLECTIONS

PER ONE THOUSAND INHABITANTS

	1918	1916
Maryland	\$ 44,337	\$ 6,448
West Virginia	33,600	1,508
North Carolina	28,230	8,133
Louisiana	18,655	5,567
Virginia	16,110	4,351
Texas	8,696	910
Florida	8,380	2,033
Oklahoma	8,210	575
Alabama	7,984	286
Tennessee	7,707	1,260
Georgia	6,477	487
South Carolina	5,088	369
Arkansas	3,520	270
Mississippi	2,663	161
Total 14 States.....	\$ 12,000	\$ 2,160
The United States	\$ 35,102	\$ 4,560

BEFORE THE EUROPEAN WAR

The South had never recovered fully from the depression caused by the War Between the States. Cities like Richmond, Atlanta, Jacksonville, Birmingham, and Chattanooga had caught the modern spirit and taken on metropolitan ways. States like North Carolina and Alabama had developed important manufacturing and mining interests, but the South as a whole clung to the notion that she had been impoverished by the Civil War, and was unable to keep pace with the social progress of more prosperous states.

Colleges and universities had a meager income. The public schools, especially those for negroes, were badly housed, poorly supported, and manned by ill-trained teachers. Hospitals were few and usually poorly equipped, and institutions for feeble-minded and epileptics were entirely wanting. Almshouses were wretched. Prisoners were farmed out on the lease system, were ill-fed, badly housed, and cruelly treated. Good hospitals for the insane were found in Virginia, Alabama, and North Carolina, and a considerable number of well-managed orphan asylums and homes for Confederate veterans testified to the generous self-sacrifice of the people of the South in the days of their desperate poverty.

The public-school expense per capita of average attendance was as follows:

	For Salaries Only Per Pupil	Total Expense Per Pupil
The United States	\$ 19.90	\$ 27.85
South Atlantic Division	10.85	13.45
South Central Division	11.71	14.55
Alabama	10.30	10.65
Georgia	9.13	10.70
Mississippi	8.19	10.20
South Carolina	6.05	6.93

The average number of days' school attendance for each pupil enrolled was as follows:

The United States	113.0
South Atlantic Division	87.0
South Central Division	81.5
Georgia	92.5
South Carolina	75.4
Mississippi	74.6
Alabama	73.6

The value of school property per pupil was as follows:

The United States	\$40.13
South Atlantic Division	12.30
South Central Division	11.30
Georgia	6.20
Alabama	7.90
Mississippi	3.60

There was and is a wide difference between the educational provision for white children and colored children. For example, the report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in South Carolina for 1916 showed the following:

STATISTICAL FACTS

	White	Negro	Both Races
Children of school age enrolled.....	\$ 195,112.00	\$212,828.00	\$ 407,940.00
Value of school property.....	8,072,000.00	856,800.00	8,928,800.00
School property per pupil.....	41.40	4.03	21.90
Expended for school purposes.....	3,484,000.00	403,000.00	3,887,000.00
Same for each pupil:			
Based on enrollment.....	17.86	1.89	9.53
Based on attendance.....	27.38	2.86	14.49
Average teacher's salary per year.....	395.00	116.00

Housing conditions were generally bad, especially in the rural districts. Multitudes of negroes lived in one-room

cottages, without windows, and practically without furniture. Comparatively few farmers, white or black, had comfortable homes.

A great part of the farmers throughout the South depended upon a single crop, cotton or tobacco. Almost universally they ran in debt for the supplies of the current season, and the income from the crop had to be applied on debts already incurred. A crop failure meant well-nigh hopeless indebtedness.

Child labor prevailed extensively both in the cotton mills and on the farms. As was pointed out at the National Conference of Charities in Atlanta, in 1903, "The illiterate negro sent his children to school, but the illiterate white man sent his children to the cotton mill," so that the exclusion of the negro from the cotton mills operated to promote his education.

Many orphanages were established by the South by noble generosity and self-sacrifice in the days of her deep poverty. A few of these orphanages were well equipped and well organized, but the system, as a whole, was expensive and antiquated. Kentucky and Florida had discovered the adaptability of the placing-out methods for homeless children to the hospitable spirit of the South, and had developed strong and efficient children's home societies with modern spirit and methods. Georgia and Mississippi had organized efficient societies of the same sort, and other states had made imperfect attempts at such organization. Juvenile courts of good standing had been established in Richmond, Louisville, Birmingham, and other cities. And juvenile reformatories had been established in all of the Southern States except Mississippi. Most of these reformatories were imperfectly organized, poorly equipped, and inadequately manned, though a few of them were modern in their spirit and equipment.

State boards of charities existed in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and charity organization societies were found in Richmond, Atlanta, New Orleans, and a few other cities; but, for the most part, organized charity was wanting.

The traditional poverty of the South was made an excuse for starvation appropriations for the existing state institutions, and, in some states, for the perpetuation of the discredited convict lease system for the sake of its large revenue. For

example, Alabama had a state debt of \$9,000,000, which amounted in 1880 to \$7.37 per capita, and in 1918 to \$4.56 per capita; in 1880 it amounted to 2.2 per cent of the value of all taxable property, while in 1918 it amounted to only four-tenths of 1 per cent, or one-fifth as much in proportion. Yet that debt still stands as an excuse for inadequate maintenance appropriations, meager salaries for public officers, and failure to appropriate for necessary institutional buildings, good roads, and other public improvements.

The public-school system of the South was very deficient in schoolhouses, equipment, salaries of teachers, and teacher training. In 1910 the average public-school expenses for the United States, for each inhabitant, were as follows:

	Per Inhabitant
The United States.....	\$4.64
South Atlantic Division.....	2.20
South Central Division.....	2.42
Georgia	1.70
Mississippi	1.52
Alabama	1.36
South Carolina	1.29

There was a great deal of enterprise, progress, and public spirit in such cities as Richmond, Atlanta, Savannah, Mobile, Memphis, Chattanooga, and New Orleans; nevertheless, the general fact remains that the South was backward in the development of social work.

SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT DURING THE WAR

During the past four years a marvelous change has taken place. Manufacturing has been greatly developed in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Witness the wonderful expansion of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, and the development, almost overnight, of manufacturing communities like the shipbuilding plant at Chickasaw, near Mobile.

The erection of cantonments and other government work have brought into the South immense sums of money, large numbers of operatives, and abundant employment for white and negro labor at wages two or three times in excess of former rates.

Diversified farming is making rapid progress throughout the South. Modern dairy barns, silos, and herds of high-grade Jerseys, Holsteins, and Guernseys are seen in every direction. Good hogs are taking the place of the North Carolina razorbacks, and fine mules are raised for the market. Fields of corn, wheat, alfalfa, velvet beans, and other fodder crops are either taking the place of cotton on worn-out land, or are occupying land which has been heretofore uncultivated. Magnificent orchards are being developed in mountain regions. The farmers are recognizing that, notwithstanding the recent high prices of cotton, and the large profit from it in favorable years, it is nevertheless against their interests to rely upon a single crop.

As a result of new enterprises, expenditures of government money, high prices, and high wages, the Southern people have become prosperous. New houses, new farm buildings, new wagons and carriages, automobiles, expensive furniture, and fine clothes abound. Farmers are getting out of debt and buying blooded stock and tractors. At a little mill station I saw five women getting off the train, each one wearing a showy silk dress. Even the state convicts, working on the lease system at the coal mines, have shared in the general prosperity. Formerly the state of Alabama received for the labor of negro coal miners \$15, \$25, or sometimes \$30 a month. Now they are receiving for convicts of the same class, \$50, \$60, \$70, and \$80 per month. The convicts, after doing their daily task, are allowed to work for themselves, and in response to the appeal of the United States Fuel Administration for more coal, they put in vigorous "overtime," earning from \$3 to \$25 per month extra. (I saw the record of two convicts, working together, who earned for themselves \$30 extra in a single week.) They spend these extra earnings as they please, buying soft drinks, candy, tobacco, silk shirts, \$8 Stetson hats, \$12 shoes, and \$30 suits. Negro laborers, earning \$3 to \$4.50 per day, bought showy furniture, phonographs, pianos, and automobiles, notwithstanding the fact that they were living in wretched shanties, where cleanliness and order were unknown.

The extravagance of the working people is not altogether waste; it represents the awakening of new desires which call for industry and thrift, and with them come more rational expenditures for better food, cook stoves, household implements, comfortable beds, and, very soon, better housing. With this prosperity comes also a general demand from whites and blacks for better schoolhouses, more competent school teachers, waterworks, sewers, and good roads.

With the increase in public revenues, resulting from the general prosperity, there is an increasing disposition to meet the social obligations of the community.

State sanitariums for tuberculosis patients have been built by a number of Southern States, and state appropriations for health and sanitation have been largely increased, as will be seen from the following statement:

TWELVE SOUTHERN STATES

GOVERNMENTAL COSTS FOR HEALTH AND SANITATION

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

	Population July 1, 1918	General Health and Sanitation	Same for Each 1,000 Inhabitants	Tuberculosis Sanatorium	Same for Each 1,000 Inhabitants	Total Health and Sanitation	Same for Each 1,000 Inhabitants
Florida	939,000	\$ 165,000	\$175.70	-----	-----	\$ 165,000	\$175.70
West Virginia	1,439,000	* 64,000	44.50	\$123,000	\$86.20	187,000	130.70
Virginia	2,234,000	164,000	73.40	75,000	33.40	239,000	106.80
Texas	4,601,000	250,000	54.50	128,000	27.70	378,000	82.20
South Carolina	1,661,000	65,000	39.10	49,000	29.50	114,000	68.60
Mississippi	2,001,000	48,000	24.00	70,000	35.00	118,000	59.00
North Carolina	2,468,000	105,000	42.60	40,000	16.20	145,000	58.80
Arkansas	1,793,000	16,000	8.90	59,000	32.90	75,000	41.80
Tennessee	2,321,000	39,000	27.10	-----	-----	39,000	27.10
Georgia	2,936,000	31,000	10.50	36,000	12.30	67,000	22.80
Louisiana	1,885,000	40,000	21.20	-----	-----	40,000	21.20
Alabama	2,395,000	† 26,000	10.80	-----	-----	26,000	10.80
Totals	26,673,000	\$1,013,000	\$ 38.00	\$580,000	\$21.80	\$1,593,000	\$ 59.80

*Budget for 1919.

†Probably to be increased by Legislature of 1919 to \$150,000.

GOVERNMENTAL COST PAYMENTS FROM THE STATE TREASURY

	Charities Hospitals and Corrections	Same Per Capita	Schools and Education	Same Per Capita	Health and Sanitation	Same Per Capita	Totals	Same Per Capita
Texas, 1912-1918	\$ 2,243,000	\$0.54	\$ 8,341,000	\$2.04	\$ 378,000	\$0.08	\$10,962,000	\$2.66
Florida, 1918	1,604,000	1.71	490,000	.52	165,000	.18	2,259,000	2.41
Maryland, 1912-1918	1,193,000	.86	1,895,000	1.05	162,000	.12	3,251,000	2.40
Virginia, 1918	1,610,000	.72	3,350,000	1.50	239,000	.11	5,199,000	2.33
Louisiana, 1918	2,240,000	1.19	1,982,000	1.05	40,000	.02	4,262,000	2.26
Alabama, 1918	2,927,000	1.22	2,385,000	.99	26,000	.01	5,338,000	2.22
Georgia, 1918	2,326,000	.79	3,973,000	1.35	67,000	.02	6,356,000	2.16
Mississippi, 1912-1918	1,188,000	.63	2,129,000	1.14	118,000	.06	3,435,000	1.83
Tennessee, 1912-1918	2,680,000	1.15	1,267,000	.57	39,000	.02	3,986,000	1.74
West Virginia, 1912	638,000	.49	1,470,000	1.14	28,000	.02	2,136,000	1.65
Arkansas, 1918	2,405,000	1.34	443,000	.25	75,000	.04	2,924,000	1.63
South Carolina, 1918	1,195,000	.72	874,000	.53	105,000	.06	2,174,000	1.31
Oklahoma, 1912	772,000	.40	1,257,000	.66	33,000	.02	2,072,000	1.08
North Carolina, 1912-1918	1,130,000	.49	1,310,000	.47	145,000	.06	2,585,000	1.02
Totals 14 States	\$24,152,000	\$0.83	\$31,177,000	\$1.07	\$1,620,000	\$0.06	\$56,949,000	\$1.96

GOVERNMENT COSTS—HEALTH AND SANITATION

	General Health and Sanitation	Same Per Capita	Tuberculosis Sanitation	Same Per Capita	Totals	Same Per Capita
Alabama	\$ 26,000	\$ 0.01	-----	-----	\$ 26,000	\$ 0.01
Arkansas	16,000	.01	\$ 59,000	\$ 0.03	75,000	.04
Florida	165,000	.18	-----	-----	165,000	.18
Georgia	31,000	.01	36,000	.01	67,000	.02
Louisiana	40,000	.02	-----	-----	40,000	.02
Maryland	162,000	.12	-----	-----	162,000	-----
Mississippi	48,000	.02	70,000	.04	118,000	.06
N. Carolina.....	105,000	.04	40,000	.02	145,000	.06
Oklahoma	33,000	.02	-----	-----	33,000	-----
S. Carolina	65,000	.04	49,000	.03	105,000	.07
Tennessee	39,000	.02	-----	-----	39,000	.02
Texas	250,000	.05	128,000	.03	378,000	.08
Virginia	164,000	.07	75,000	.04	239,000	.11

The people of the South are American born. Only two and one-half per cent of the Southern people were foreign born in 1910, as against 23 per cent for the rest of the nation. The people of the South, white and black, are intensely patriotic, and when America went into the European war the entire population of the South enlisted in the public service. They met promptly every call for men and money. They organized state and local councils of defense to promote patriotism and to make efficient their participation in the efficient carrying on of the war.

The prosperity which came to the South reacted in a spirit of generosity. Nearly all of the Southern States met every call for Liberty Loans, Red Cross subscriptions, drives for the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and Training Camp Activities promptly and fully, and usually with a large over-subscription. Churches, women's clubs, Rotary Clubs, fraternal orders, and private citizens vied with each other to provide for the needs and comforts and recreation of soldiers and sailors in camp and in transit.

These activities and experiences affected the outlook of the entire South. People began to think in hundreds of thousands instead of thousands. The city which subscribed five millions in Liberty Bonds, and two hundred thousand dollars for the Red Cross, suddenly discovered new possibilities of revenue for sewers, schoolhouses, and street improvement. The state which increased its United States tax from one hundred

thousand dollars per year to ten millions discovered new possibilities of public taxation for insane hospitals, tuberculosis sanatoria, and good roads.

It has been interesting to see how the Southern States have enlarged their horizon under the influence of war conditions.

The physical examination of soldiers and sailors, and the medical and sanitary measures adopted for the protection of their health, has been a revelation to the people of the South, both as to the physical defects of the population and as to preventive measures. Mississippi has established a state sanatorium for tuberculosis patients which is organized and equipped along the most modern lines. Texas has built and equipped a reformatory for girls, after a careful study of the best institutions in the United States. West Virginia has reorganized its state child welfare agencies, and has created a State Board of Children's Guardians of the most approved character, with an annual appropriation of \$25,000. The director of the new board was sent at state expense to study child welfare work in other states, and the State Council of Defense offered a grant from its appropriation for the development of the child welfare work as a war measure. South Carolina has brought its new State Board of Charities up to a high degree of efficiency, and has taken steps to develop a modern social program for the state.

A notable example of the new social spirit of the South is seen in the extraordinary undertakings of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. In former years that company was never accused of sentimental weakness in its dealings with its employees. It built company houses for its miners and its steel workers like those of other companies. It ran company stores where the employees made liberal contribution for the benefit of the company. It leased state convicts for a pittance, fed, clothed, housed, and doctored them as cheaply as possible; worked them hard and punished them duly when they failed to perform the allotted task.

The present management abandoned the convict lease system and developed a social program of unexampled magnitude. The company is expending for medical work more than

\$250,000 per year. It employs 54 physicians full time, and has established a dental clinic and toothbrush drills in each of its villages. The company has established a Social Science Department, under a woman director, trained by Dr. Graham Taylor, of Chicago. This department employs more than 200 people and expends more than \$200,000 per year. It builds excellent modern schoolhouses with first-class equipment. It employs teachers of normal or college training and sent last year 12 of them for special training in summer schools at Chicago and Columbia universities. It establishes in the several villages community houses, men's club houses, bath houses, kindergartens, public playgrounds, and public parks.

The "company houses" in the new villages are of entirely new types. Instead of the ugly, bare, two-family shacks, there are neat houses of varying size, shape, and colors, with broad verandas and modern plumbing, located on winding streets and broken ground. These houses rent for about \$3 per room.

RISING STANDARDS IN THE TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO

In studying social agencies and social conditions in five Southern States, and in personal observations of conditions in four other Southern States, I found a widespread feeling among the most intelligent and patriotic white citizens that the Negro has not been receiving full justice in several respects, and that the white race, holding the authority of government and the power of public sentiment, owed it to themselves and to their black neighbors to take active steps for a change of these conditions.

The sentiment as to the necessity for improvement in these directions was apparent among state officials and legislators, state superintendents of public instruction and other educators, clergymen, social workers, and journalists. The need of improvement was emphasized with reference to education, vocational training, industrial opportunity, health and sanitation, living conditions, social justice, and mob violence. There appear to be substantial agreement between the leaders of both races, white and black, that there ought to be radical improvement in all of these particulars.

It is quite generally agreed that the emigration of some hundreds of thousands of Negroes from their natural dwelling place in the South to Northern States, while largely due to the scarcity of labor in the North, owing to the stopping of foreign immigration and the expansion of Northern industries in consequence of the war, was materially increased by the dissatisfaction caused by these conditions. Intelligent Negroes who had been North said: "In the North we find high rents, bad living conditions, and a cold climate; but our children have the same privileges with the white children; if we get into court, we get the same treatment with white persons; we do not live in fear of mob violence; and while the cost of living is much greater the wages are generally better."

In some quarters the opinion was expressed that the great increase in wages in the South, the admitted improvement in educational conditions—especially in agricultural training and in normal schools—and the earnest movement of leading citizens and the public press for the abolition of mob violence, the even administration of the courts, and the reformation of jails and prisons had effectually checked the removal of the Negroes to Northern States. My observation leads me to doubt this conclusion. The immediate revival of foreign immigration seems improbable because the European countries will need all of their man power for reconstruction, and because it appears likely that Congress, with the help of its Southern members, will impose more stringent restrictions than ever upon immigration. When business conditions become normal and building operations are resumed, the attractions of the North are likely to become greater than ever, and to result in new embarrassment for the farmers and manufacturers of the South. Self-interest as well as a sense of justice will stimulate the effort to remove all unnecessary stimulus to this movement.

NEGRO EDUCATION

There is a gradual improvement in the educational opportunity provided for the Negro population, but those opportunities are still below the reasonable requirements of even a common-school education. The opinion has often been ex-

pressed that the Negro is being over-educated, but the facts do not seem to warrant any fears with reference to this matter.

The Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior published Bulletin No. 38, in 1916, relating to Negro education. This report showed that out of 12,726 students attending "institutions of higher education for Negroes" in the United States, only 1,643 were studying college subjects, and only 994 were in professional classes, while the remaining 10,089 were in elementary and secondary grades. In the Northern colleges there were found 430 colored students of college or university grades, of whom 309 were in college and 121 were in professional schools, making a total of 1,952 college students and 1,303 professional students. This, out of a total Negro population of 10,000,000, is only one college or professional student out of every 3,075 of the Negro population.

The same report showed that the number of Negro pupils receiving secondary education (i. e., the equivalent of high-school training) in the United States was: In schools under public control, 3,800; in schools under private control, 11,527; total, 15,327, or one for every 652 of the Negro population. The appropriations for higher schools for white pupils in the Southern States amounted to \$6,430,000, and the appropriations for higher schools for Negroes amounted to about \$333,000. The appropriations for teachers' salaries amounted to \$10.32 for each white child enrolled and \$2.89 for each colored child, so that the appropriation per child was four times as great for each white child as for each Negro child. In some states the appropriation for each Negro child is less than one-tenth the amount for each white child. The value of school property shows a similar discrepancy. In Alabama the Negroes constitute 41 per cent of the population, and they have 10 per cent of the value of the school property, and 11 per cent of the appropriation for salaries of public-school teachers. The average salary of white female teachers is \$367 and of Negroes \$172 per year.

In South Carolina rural districts white schools are in session 130 days in the year, and Negro school 64 days. The average number of pupils per teacher in white schools is

23, and in Negro schools 46. The average teacher's salary is \$395 per year for whites, and \$116 for Negroes; and the average expenditure for Negro pupils is about one-tenth as great as for whites. Many Negro teachers have had no training beyond the seventh or eighth grade of the common schools. The normal schools, while gradually improving, are entirely inadequate in every Southern state.

Vocational training, especially in agriculture, has been developed to a considerable degree in most of the Southern States, with the assistance of subsidies from the general government. The success of such training in institutions for Negroes like Hampton, Tuskegee, and Wilberforce has demonstrated its practical value; but as yet it reaches a very small proportion of the Negro youth.

Formerly the impression prevailed widely that education tended to disqualify the Negro for the kind of labor which is needed in the South. But it is now generally recognized that wise and practical education increases the efficiency of all labor, and tends to diminish vice and crime.

The industrial opportunity of the Negro is probably better at the present time in the South than in the North for the reason that a greater variety of employment is open to him, and that the increase in wages is sufficient to outweigh the somewhat larger wages in the North if the difference in the cost of living, together with traveling and moving expenses, is taken into account.

Any observer of living conditions in city or country can discover for himself that the complaints as to bad housing, poor drainage, lack of sewer facilities, water privileges, and street improvements in the Negro districts are well founded. The schoolhouses of the Negroes are generally unsanitary, uncomfortable, and badly furnished. Marked improvement is manifest in some communities, but is exceptional.

It is generally agreed that Negro criminals are treated with severity, and that petty offenders often receive sentences out of all proportion to the magnitude of their offenses.

In the state of Alabama, out of 2,465 convicts, 63 per cent had sentences of 10 years or more, and 22 per cent had sentences of 50 years or more. (The great body of these

prisoners were Negroes.) A comparison of the relative mortality of white and Negro prisoners as reported by the U. S. Census Department:

MORTALITY OF CONVICTS

	Deaths per 1,000	
	White	Negro
Arkansas	59.4	69.3
South Carolina	18.0	30.8
Tennessee	11.4	29.5
Alabama	7.2	28.3
Virginia	31.0	21.8
Louisiana	8.9	21.1
Kentucky	7.5	21.1
Mississippi	19.5	20.8
Oklahoma	9.6	18.6
Maryland	7.6	18.3
Georgia	0.0	15.5
West Virginia	13.1	15.2
North Carolina	9.8	13.8
Texas	8.6	12.7
General average	8.3	21.1

I visited 15 prison camps and prisons in five different Southern States. In almost every case the prisoners had a sufficient supply of cornbread and meat (usually pork). In most cases the sanitary conditions were unsatisfactory, especially in the matter of beds and bedding. In hardly any case was there any systematic effort at reformatory influences. The prison chaplain, in many cases, did not hold services oftener than once a month, and frequently the interval was much longer. In a number of prisons there was opportunity for earning by working overtime, but in most cases the prisoners were allowed to expend these earnings in unprofitable ways, and in several prisons gambling was freely tolerated although forbidden by law. Many of the prison officers were pessimistic as to the possibilities of reforming Negro prisoners, and considered educational efforts useless.

In Alabama there was a remarkable example of the possibility of appealing to the better instincts of the prisoners. Governor Charles Henderson established a system of "short paroles" under which a prisoner might be allowed to visit a sick mother or attend the funeral of a relative, or to spend a week or two assisting his family in harvest time. In every

case the prisoner went and came, unattended. In four years 585 short paroles were given, most of them to Negro prisoners, and 580 men came back to serve out their sentences, notwithstanding the fact that the prison conditions were severe.

It is unnecessary to discuss the subject of mob violence. Its uselessness as a deterrent, the fact that it promotes and does not hinder crime, and its demoralizing effect upon the members of the mob and the communities in which they operate, are generally conceded by all intelligent and thoughtful people. Every good citizen should labor to educate the community in respect for law and in efforts for its prompt and faithful execution. The splendid efforts which have already been made in this direction, especially by this Sociological Congress, must be constantly sustained by educators, preachers, editors, public officers, and good citizens generally.

There seems no reason to doubt that the South, under the impetus acquired during the war, will continue the development of its social work. Her lack of progress in the past now offers greater opportunity for the future, because she is not hindered by established institutions which can not be changed. She is able to begin at the bottom and to avail herself of the experience of other communities. It will not be greatly to the credit of the South if the new institutions which she is now developing shall excel those of other communities—they ought to be better; but it will be greatly to her discredit if she shall neglect to improve upon the failures and successes of other states.

THE PROPER USE OF LEISURE TIME

T. S. SETTLE, SPECIAL DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVE, WAR CAMP
COMMUNITY SERVICE

THE additional leisure time, which will be created by the enactment of eight-hour laws and child labor laws as recommended in the Paris Peace Treaty, will, in many instances, prove a curse rather than a blessing, unless coupled with a constructive program.

What are the people of America, white and black, going to do with the additional leisure time they will have thrust

upon them when state and national legislative bodies carry out the provisions of the peace treaty regarding forty-eight-hour week and restricted child labor? If rightly used, this leisure time will be an untold blessing to the two races. If the people affected are left to their present inadequate facilities and limited opportunities for wholesome leisure time, this legislation will in all too many instances prove a curse.

Our draft board reports show that many of those affected by this legislation are illiterate or nearly so; fine potential citizens who patriotically responded to the call of their country and, in many instances, bled for it, but who have within them very limited training for their own leisure-time entertainment and development.

When do vice and immorality run rampant? During the hours of idleness.

What is now the chief point of friction in race relations? The leisure time.

RACE CLASHES IN IDLE HOURS

The race clashes come not so much during the hours of labor as during the hours of idleness. Shall this friction be increased or decreased? It can be greatly decreased if wholesome recreational facilities and leadership are provided.

What then should the American people do about it?

For the past two years the government has given the greatest and most successful demonstration of the proper use of leisure time that the world has ever seen. The leisure time of the four million men in uniform was the serious concern of the officials and of the general public, as well as the relatives of these men. But the President and the Secretaries of War and of the Navy determined to utilize this leisure time so as to send the men back to their homes better educated and better morally and physically than when they were taken away. Music, athletics, theaters, libraries, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., K. of C., Jewish Welfare Boards, and other activities were operated within the camps. Use of these privileges was entirely voluntary, but so attractive were they made that they were universally patronized.

In former wars the camp city had been detrimental to the soldiers and the soldiers proved detrimental to the camp city. Through the agency of Community Service, working under direction of the government, social and recreational facilities of these cities were thrown wide open to the soldiers, and the good citizenship was mobilized to extend its hospitality and brotherhood and sisterhood. The universal verdict is that never in the history of these cities has life been so wholesome, and never have four million men been gotten together who have developed such high idealism and such clean and chivalrous conduct.

The American people in times of peace need only to apply and adapt these lessons to the problems of industry and agriculture. These same gallant soldiers are pouring back to our factories and farms. They are craving the recreations they have enjoyed in army life. They also realize that their younger brothers and sisters, their fathers and mothers, need leisure-time activities as well.

NEED COMMUNITY CENTERS

Every locality needs its outdoor playground and athletic field for the people of all ages, and its indoor gathering place.

In order to insure the adequate and proper use of these facilities, trained leaders are essential.

In addition to these community centers, it is safe to say that ninety-nine out of one hundred colored communities in the South need a central leisure-time activities' building, and so do the majority of white communities. These buildings could most fittingly be erected as memorials to the soldiers of the world-war. They should be erected largely by private funds and maintained largely through public taxation. They should be built to fit the needs of the individual community. Auditorium, gymnasium, shower baths, reading-rooms, game rooms, club rooms, and cooking equipment will be required in almost every case.

This community building and the playgrounds and recreation fields should provide physical exercise and play for all ages and both sexes, promote community singing and other forms of music, give object lessons in better home mak-

ing, sanitation, and cooking, and be the central clearing-house for all things that are for the civic and moral betterment of the community.

GREATER EMPHASIS ON PLAY

Dr. Richard Cabot wisely classifies what any individual lives by under Work, Play, Love, and Worship. Love of home and country by Americans has been demonstrated in the late war. We are emphasizing worship and work, including education. I would not minimize the importance of these three, indeed there is need for greater effort along these lines. But the time is full ripe for much greater emphasis upon the fourth element—Play. Now is the time of America's greatest opportunity. Will she rise to it?

When our hearts were aflame with patriotism, we spent freely of our personal efforts and of our wealth that the leisure time of our country's defenders might become a constructive force. The fruits of their glorious victory are yet to be gathered. The demand for efficient, energetic, well-trained citizens will be as great in the next decade as it has been in the past two years. A group of Negroes laboring well in a Southern cotton field, in mill, or factory will be rendering as patriotic service as they would in the battlefields of France. If the general public can work out this idea, the unselfish service that we have been rendering will be conserved for even greater development, and our leisure time will become a blessing rather than a menace.

IT'S A HARD FIGHT TO SAVE THE CHILDREN

(Sung to the tune of Tipperary)

Through the nations of the world there stalks the fiend Disease,
Leaving death and broken hearts, from seas to rolling seas.
Will you bravely give your aid to stop this demon's blight?
For all the little children dread his cruel deadly might.

CHORUS

It's a hard fight to save the children;
It's a hard fight, we know.
It's a hard fight to save the children,
But the fiend Disease must go,
Come, men, for hearth and homeland, play up, do your share!
It's a hard, hard fight to save the children;
But the Old South's right there!

Hail ye, doctor captains, on your far-flung fever line;
And ye preacher pickets, brave with love of life divine;
Rouse, ye sons of Lee and Lincoln, heed the will of God,
Who never meant a darling child to sleep beneath the sod.

Should this smiling playground of the nation's children dear
Frown with tiny orphaned graves that make the mothers fear?
Hark, O men! a million children's bitter wail of woe;
For this is God's clear chorus call: "The fiend Disease must go!"

III. PUBLIC HEALTH

The Value of Prevention

A Community Program for Public Health

The Menace of Venereal Diseases

The Government's War on Venereal Diseases

THE VALUE OF PREVENTION

“PREVENTION is better than cure and far cheaper.”

—*John Locke.*

“Gold that buys health can never be ill spent.”

—*Daniel Webster.*

“Progress depends utterly on health.”

—*H. B. Favill.*

“Bad food has killed its thousands, bad water its
tens of thousands, bad air its hundreds of thousands.”

—*W. A. Evans.*

“Cure the sick, . . . heal lepers, . . .
drive out evil spirits.”

—*Jesus.*

A COMMUNITY PROGRAM FOR PUBLIC HEALTH

MAJOR C. W. STILES, M. D., UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH
SERVICE

To use a very extreme yet thoroughly justified illustration in order to show into what details this health principle extends, I submit that any person who dies an unnecessary death, takes away from the shipbuilding program, directly or indirectly, a certain amount of labor, lumber, and metal used in building an unnecessary coffin, and on this as well as on other accounts his preventable death, if due to his own carelessness, is an unpatriotic act on his part, and if due to the carelessness of some other person it is an unpatriotic act on the part of that person. Specifically, any town which permits conditions to continue that are favorable to a spread of typhoid fever, is disloyal to the state and nation.

Extend this line of reasoning and the conclusion is justified that nation-wide public health has become a necessity which every loyal person and every loyal community is in honor bound to support.

Public health is a purchasable commodity. Any community which will pay the price can have it. This price consists of money for materials and opportunity for their proper use. If the health officer has no budget for materials and labor, he can make only slow progress. Accordingly, I would urge you to be generous in your appropriations and your time. Every hour you spend voluntarily in keeping your own premises free from unsanitary conditions saves for the health officer time and energy which he can use in work other than compelling you to be sanitary. In other words, every social unit or community, federal, state, county, city, and family, should have its own health officers of the smallest units do their work, the less work the health officers of the larger units have to do. There is a marked tendency at present to call upon the Federal Government to assume charge of various activities, and health work forms no exception. Frankly, so far as health work is concerned, I feel that the construction of sanitary privies belongs more to the house-owner than it

does to the federal, state, or local government. Accordingly, as a fundamental principle in health matters, I would urge that progress lies more in improving the conditions in the smallest communities, namely, the families, than it does in the larger communities; hence I would urge the greatest possible coöperation with the health office by the family.

One health subject which is brought sharply to the fore by the war is the present shortage in graduate nurses. This is fast becoming an acute problem and we must be awake to its seriousness. In fact, if an extensive epidemic of typhoid were to occur to-morrow in my zone of operation, I do not know where I could find enough nurses for the civil cases.

To meet this situation which is rapidly becoming more serious I would suggest three plans:

First, that more young ladies enter hospitals as student nurses;

Second, that girls past the school age and young women take the Red Cross course in home nursing;

Third, that home nursing be introduced into every high school as part of the regular course of study, so that all high-school girls will be prepared to help nurse the sick at home.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not proposing to graduate nurses after a few hours of theoretical work in Red Cross or in high-school courses, nor am I proposing to send these girls and young women into the hospitals to attend to surgical cases. I am simply proposing to prepare all girls to do more efficiently and more intelligently certain duties they are now called upon more or less to do at home, namely, help take care of the sick members of their families, so as to be prepared to relieve the present rapidly developing nurse famine.

Scarcity of male labor necessarily means an increase in woman and child labor on the farms, and this will potentially result not only in a scarcity of certain foods, but also in a potential increase in disease and death, especially among infants. On this account, I would urge greater conservation and care of the milk supply; pasteurization of municipal milk supplies, especially during the warmer months; greater attention to a rational understanding of foods and possible food substitutions; rational economy in all foods; and in-

creased home production of foods. As a specific suggestion looking toward a much-needed increase of the milk supply, especially for babies and children, I would suggest that many families might well raise their own milk by keeping one or more goats. Goats' milk is especially good for children and it makes good cheese; goats' meat is good, and the goats are a help to the health officer in more ways than one. They can be cared for by the children, and if properly staked they will not injure trees or other valuable growth.

One of the problems we must consider very seriously is our ever-present tuberculosis. This subject is so vast and my time is so short that I must content myself with just a reference to its importance, and with just a warning that a decreased food supply and increased privations are calculated to increase this disease. Accordingly, communities should plan to meet the danger.

Malaria is tremendously important for many localities, much less so for others. A rational municipal and county campaign under leadership of a competent health officer can inhibit this disease practically to the point of eradication, provided the community provides proper labor and material.

The privy problem is always with us in the South. Practically one-half of all our Southern farms, a very large percentage of our rural schools, and nearly all of our rural churches have no privy of any kind, and are therefore in a condition that is favorable to a spread of typhoid fever. Hundreds of thousands of our rural and our urban homes have miserable, disgusting, fly-breeding, disease-spreading, open-surface privies that are a disgrace to our civilization, and a menace to the health of all. Let us wake up to this subject and insist upon sanitary privies.

This new age demands that we must think in broader terms than we ever have done before, and this fact justifies me in the frank statement that the greatest single health problem of our time is presented by the venereal diseases. Let us not deceive ourselves that the oldest known profession, namely, prostitution, a profession that was once viewed as a means of improving the race, and one that was long connected with the temples, hence under religious protection, can be easily eradi-

cated. Neither the law nor the church has succeeded in eliminating it, and if health officers fail in their efforts they will be the third profession to fail in the attempt, but the attempt must be made as a health measure, as well as a matter of race protection, for a restriction of venereal diseases has become a national necessity, and since sentiment has turned so pronouncedly against the policy known as the "restricted district," health officers must now attempt to eradicate prostitution altogether.

Any plan of community work should include the following points:

First. Every city, and every county of sufficient population, should have a full-time health officer of energy and intelligence, and this position should be free from petty politics. It is unpatriotic to make this work dependent upon peanut politics. It is not right to balance human life with the purchases of votes.

Doubtless some counties can not afford a full-time officer, but in those cases two or more neighboring counties can combine and engage a district officer.

Second. This health officer should be made accountable to a Board of Health.

Third. In order to insure coöperation between the health office and the schools, I would urge that the Superintendent of Education be made a member of the Board of Health, and that the health officer be made a member of the Board of Education.

Fourth. As local problems differ in various counties, in different years, and at different times of the year, it is not practical to prescribe in detail an exact policy of routine, but in general the health officer should be given a sufficient budget, say 50 cents to \$1.00 per year per capita of population, to enable him to build up to a rational plan. The number and the kind of assistants he requires will depend upon the area he has to cover, the density of population, and various other factors. Among the points he can scarcely escape considering are the following:

Regular morbidity and mortality records that will show to him what his problems really are.

Backyard sanitation in homes, food, stores, schools, and churches.

Medical inspection of all school children.

Inspection of food depots of all kinds, with special attention to the milk supply.

Isolation of cases of certain infectious diseases, with instruction to the families in the proper methods of preventing their spread.

Coöperation with all possible agencies in public health education.

Coöperation with the food demonstrators in the preparation of foods for children and the sick.

Coöperation with schools in teaching home nursing.

Coöperation with the police in the suppression of prostitution.

Coöperation with the water department to insure a pure water supply.

Coöperation with road, sewer, and civil engineers to keep down mosquitoes.

Institution of free diagnosis and free treatment for venereal diseases, with such isolation as is possible or practical in order to inhibit their spread. And in this work, the prostitute should be viewed as a patient, not as a criminal, and she should have the same respect and consideration shown to her that are due to any other woman. It is not her fault that Satan changed her from a church attendant into a purchasable commodity. Nor is it entirely her fault that she is just what she is in respect to health, habits, and occupation. The female prostitute would not exist were there no male prostitute.

THE MENACE OF VENEREAL DISEASES

OSCAR DOWLING, M. D., PRESIDENT LOUISIANA
BOARD OF HEALTH

SINCE I last spoke to the Sociological Congress public opinion has gone far in the recognition of the evil of the social diseases. At that time—though only a few months ago—the subject was not in the list of the respectable; it was taboo, both in newspapers and in general conversation. Those who dared call attention to the menace were thought well meaning enough, but classed in the list of Utopian reformers. There were good men and good women who referred to the past as evidence that there could be no control. Historians and philosophers were quoted in support of the opinion. The arguments were accepted in good faith by many—even by those who knew more or less of the terrible conditions that exist. But as in all social changes it does not matter what people used to think concerning reform—even a year or six months since—we are grateful now that the change has taken place, and that milestones have been passed on the road to control—let us hope eradication.

Formerly, the subject was thought of almost wholly from the moral viewpoint. The records of many American cities are evidence. In Chicago, in 1908, the red-light district was abolished. Later the same thing happened in Cleveland. The "stir-up" in the New York police department on account of the complicity with prostitution and crime is well known. The effort in Atlanta was given wide publicity. Vice-committees, women's clubs, social hygienic societies, even the "movies," in various places fostered the agitation to abolish prostitution or at least to obtain laws regulating it. Political graft, police corruption were always successful in neutralizing effort, but often the enthusiast had no rational plan of action, and therefore could obtain little support from the public. There was "organization" against the volunteer movement. Gamblers, race-horse touts, sporting men, proprietors of saloons, dives, and owners of houses of ill fame have been opposed always and in all places to the abolition of the district. It is scarcely

to be wondered at that organized volunteer effort could not make even the vestige of an impression against such opposition.

It is to the credit, however, of some states and communities that even before the war progress was made. The enactment of the Injunction and Abatement Law was a forward step. Up to 1916, twenty-six states had adopted this law. There have been others since—I am happy to say Mississippi and Louisiana are included. This law gives to the citizen in any community the right to prevent by injunction the continued operation of houses for immoral purpose, and it does not require that individuals before getting relief must prove special damage. While the injunction and abatement law varies in text, the principle is the same in all. Some of these laws were approved as far back as 1909, and the experience of those states is evidence that the law can be made effective. It was claimed that blackmail would result. In the records which I have looked over no case of blackmail has come to the notice of any court.

In the propaganda for enactment of the injunction and abatement law, and other measures pertinent to control, merciless publicity has proved the most effective means. As to results, the report of the Vice Committees of Baltimore, 1915, is of value. Among the things stated are, inmates of all houses of this character have been offered an opportunity to enter the honorable life; several hundred girls each year have been saved from lives of shame; conditions in hotels greatly improved; the white-slave traffic practically eliminated; social diseases lessened.

It will be noted that these efforts were inspired largely by the moral aspect, and where the pressure was strong enough there was success. In the recent movement to eradicate, the recognition of the social diseases as a health problem is important and is really the first step toward ultimate eradication.

It places the responsibility upon the health department, where it belongs logically. It makes definite the body which must put the law into effect, and no longer leaves the burden upon the educational or police organizations. In May, 1918, 37 states had enacted laws requiring notification of these diseases, the regulations adopted being modeled after the sug-

gestions approved by the Surgeons General of the Army and Navy and the Public Health Service. Twenty-four states, Mississippi and Louisiana in the list, have made definite arrangements to cooperate with the Federal Government by having an officer of the Public Health Service assume charge of the work under joint supervision of the United States Service and the State Health Department.

In the campaign for control there will be definite purpose along four distinct lines. These are:

(1) Educational: Acquainting the public with the nature of the diseases and the objects desired to be accomplished.

(2) Law enforcement: Securing cooperation of the physicians in reporting cases, and of the police in apprehending prostitutes, vagrants, and such other persons as can be reasonably suspected of having venereal diseases in communicable stages.

(3) Propaganda to secure local funds for providing detention homes and hospital facilities for isolation and treatment of venereal disease carriers, who by their habits are a menace to the public health.

(4) Establishment of increased facilities for early diagnosis and treatment.

In general the legal enactments in the various states are adequate. Not only are owners, agents, or lessees of property penalized, likewise solicitation, etc., but the licensing of transient hotels and rooming houses, reporting of these diseases to the proper authorities, and commitment to reformatories are included. Correlative legislation which authorizes institutions for commitment and permanent internment of the feeble-minded show that the movement takes into account many things other than the practice which has been so long condoned. There is another phase worthy of note. Laws making mandatory the appointment of health officers in all municipalities and counties, and legislative means for the expeditious removal of any officer who neglects or refuses to enforce these laws are most encouraging signs that the public is in earnest.

However, laws, no matter how adequate, are of themselves of no avail. For years there have been good statutes

on this subject. Failure has been traceable to lack of enforcement rather than to the law itself. Everywhere in the United States we seem satisfied to enact legislation. It seems we think that is our full duty. Nothing can be farther from the truth. In fact, the inertia of the public is so universal it is counted upon by those who are opposed.

As commercialized prostitution is a profitable business, real-estate owners, many firms that sell jewelry and luxuries, the liquor interests share in the profits. These are the ones who make an outcry against abolition of the district. The arguments set forth have an influence, especially where it is claimed that if not legalized the clandestine traffic will increase. Unfortunately this is believed by some, who honestly favor segregation because misled by facts.

Under ordinary circumstances, effective enforcement of laws is most difficult. Happily at present there is the support of the Federal Government, which can be relied upon. The public is becoming convinced that control of all communicable diseases is a necessity, and means to the end are justifiable. The immediate obstacle which must be overcome is treatment of the sick or those infected. This implies medical examination, diagnosis by reputable physicians, free clinics, hospital care, provision for free arsphenamine, and maintenance not only of the institutions but for the patient.

These elements make the situation tremendously complex, involving as they do both civil and health authorities, and requiring a large amount of money. The other phase which is even more difficult to manage relates to employment for those who are not infected. The latter has been the problem of the ages, and, with all our humanity and our social welfare activities, we have not yet, it would seem, found out how we may rationally make provision for the women of the district. The care of the sick can be effected with a proper amount of funds and coöperation of health and civic authorities. Local and state health and municipal officers should unite upon a plan for each municipality or county, and bear proportionately the expense. Where there are equipped laboratories the states themselves can afford to make and furnish free arsphenamine. If known to be free, many would avail themselves of the

treatment. If hospitals and clinics, with necessary treatment, would be provided, examination and detention of those who are infected would be easily solved. Generally in the discussion of this phase it is thought that women only are referred to. The new order means not only this, but includes both sexes. If in addition to medical care it could be understood that all the feeble-minded would be committed to an institution, and if the necessary arrangements were made for careful and scientific examination of prostitutes it would be found that a large percentage are feeble-minded. It would be to the benefit of the state to segregate these, especially girls and women who are so afflicted.

I understand that the task seems a herculean one, especially to the medical man who knows how widespread these diseases are and how difficult to cure. But nothing convinces like success, and, to a degree in the areas around cantonments, drastic programs during the war accomplished more than many thought possible.

There is one phase of publicity which every one will endorse. It is condemnation of the patent preparations which claim to be "cures" for this form of disease. The claims of these so-called medicines are attractively set forth, often without a semblance of truth. So exaggerated, in fact, that it would appear even the most ignorant would not believe, but, strange as it may seem, they have sufficient faith to invest their dollars and even to take the "stuff" in the hope of cure. I don't know whether you are familiar with any of these advertisements or preparations. There are many plausible curative fakes, but none so plausible, none so fraudulent as some of these. Any one who knows of the seriousness of these diseases will be appalled at the promises on the labels and cartons of some exploited frauds. The harm done by these preparations is hydra-headed—they keep some from having skilled medical advice; they offer quick cure which is in nearly all cases impossible. The "patent medicine" is on the run; it will take much effort yet to effect its final exit, but surely every intelligent man and woman should help in the campaign to show up the fraud and the harm resulting from these remedies—so-called.

I do not see why we can not use the present moment to push to the limit in civic life the same program which the army authorities have made effective. The placing of these diseases in the same category with diphtheria and tuberculosis should appeal to all—even to the conservative physician who thinks it unethical or professionally impossible to report these cases. I do not see why there should not be money invested in this kind of protection. If a case of cholera appeared, there would be no lack of funds. These diseases are more far-reaching in results on the human race, if not so immediately fatal. If the public is not sufficiently convinced to support those agencies necessary, then a campaign of publicity should be put into effect.

History is clear that the way to promote a cause is to develop the economic side; to show the money waste involved. In the field of health, the workman's compensation acts form an excellent illustration. The "safety first" which followed was only a small portion of the result. Health insurance, which is the next logical economic step, will bring home to the employer and employee alike the interest of both in health conservation. Venereal disease means waste—all sickness does. It lessens tremendously a man's working power. It costs the man himself; it costs the business which employs him; it costs the state, or will do so, we hope. When it does it will go. Society is beginning to get tired of the alcoholic, the feeble-minded, and all who are a burden through the defects which society has tolerated. The changed attitude means enforcement of those regulations which will prevent. It is good business to take care of the individual for the good of the community. It has taken six thousand years to see the light of this new day, but it is here at last.

I have emphasized the medical aspect in these brief statements, but not because I disparage the effect and value of educational work. I realize that even with adequate laws and effective enforcement of them, we shall need for many decades diligent and intelligent educational effort. I am glad that the responsibility has been shifted, that no longer the burden rests on educational forces alone, and I hope that these will continue to organize and to work as in former years.

There are many good people who need to be shown that blindness, insanity, and other physical ills are the result of syphilis and gonorrhoea. Many who must be convinced that for health and efficiency in civil life, it is as necessary to have as drastic regulations as have been found imperative to ensure health and efficiency in the army. Further, that for efficiency in the army the civil community must be equally rigid in the enforcement of what the army authorities think necessary.

We need sane judgment, kind hearts, scientific direction, a rational program for all the different kinds of effort, and we need an enlightened, insistent public sentiment which will demand not only the law but its enforcement. The problem is age-long. It must be met with the wisdom of the ages and the aggressive methods of modern times.

THE GOVERNMENT'S WAR ON VENEREAL DISEASES

FRANK H. GARDNER, M. D., UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

WHEN the United States Government was forced into this war it was forced into two wars: The one for the suppression of autocracy and the other for the elimination of all those devitalizing forces which destroy the efficiency and lower the virility of the American soldier and the American citizen.

It is a well-known fact that social vice and its accompanying diseases are co-evil with human history and co-extensive with human society, but it remained for the incidents of this war to reveal to the American people—high officials, professional men, and the common populace alike—the prevalence of these diseases, and the economic loss, the physical disabilities, and the social depravity incident thereto. It is true that we all knew something of the existence of these diseases among the low and outcast members of the human race, but any definite knowledge of them was confined to the medical profession and a few social workers. But when an army was drafted into the service from all walks of civilian life, it was found that the one disqualifying factor above any other was

the venereal diseases. And the most startling fact of all was that six times as many men were so infected in the civilian life as in army service. Facing this fact and realizing that when the war was over we would have largely a new set of social and civil conditions, men in high places in the Government and in the Army and Navy determined to find a remedy for these social and physical defects in both military and civilian life.

The whole subject had been tabooed in the home, in the pulpit, in the press, and in the schoolroom. But men like President Wilson, Secretary Baker, and Secretary Daniels began to speak out, and to call upon the press, the school master, and the minister of religion to join in the crusade against social vice and against venereal diseases. The Surgeons General of the Army and Navy and the Public Health Service joined in the fight, and called upon the entire medical profession to join in this warfare for the suppression of vice and the control of these diseases.

Congress was called upon for both legislative action and the appropriation of money for this campaign. Secretary Daniels, in his appeal to a Committee of Congress for an appropriation for this work, says:

"I think that every consideration of public safety calls for the coöperative action we are proposing. I need not tell you of the far-reaching and varied damages that come from venereal diseases. You know that they are universal; that they are associated with sin and shame and crime; that they ruin the family and the home; that they are passed from the guilty to the innocent; that they make men sterile and unable to become fathers, and women sterile and unable to become mothers; that they destroy more young and unborn infants than any other cause; that they place more men, women, and children in asylums for the insane, idiotic, and feeble-minded than any other cause; that they cripple the brain, the nerves, and the joints, and deform and incapacitate men, women, and children mentally, morally, and physically; and that they destroy individuals, ruin homes, demoralize communities, and defeat armies. With these facts in mind I feel that there is every justification for spending this sum in coöperation with the states for the control of these diseases."

Major Wm. F. Snow, of the staff of the Surgeon-General of the Army, in a statement before the same Congressional Committee, says:

"We draw our men, by the decision of Congress, from every state in the Union according to a proportionate quota distribution. It was decided that it was wise, so far as venereal diseases are concerned, to accept as a part of the quota from each state all those persons infected with venereal disease who reasonably can be treated in the army and made useful for military service. That changed the policy, as compared with past practice of the Army, and it is a vitally important change, I think, in relation to our combating these diseases. Approximately five-sixths of these cases the Army has had to treat since mobilization were thus brought in from civilian life. Each time we have brought in a large increment of new troops the rate in the Army has increased. All of our figures indicate that these diseases are more prevalent among the same class of young men uncontrolled, unadvised, and untreated, as many of them are in civil life, as compared to the number of cases among the same class after we have them in the Army under control, under medical instruction, under the protection which the Army has now thrown about the man even when he is on liberty."

And of the 80,000 men who had been drafted into the Army with these diseases he says:

"Being called into the draft is the best thing that could have happened to them. Many of them had never been near a physician. They had received the misinformation which medical charlatans give, and the kind of information that all of us, as we have grown up, have had about the harmlessness relatively of gonorrhoea, and about the ease with which it can be cured by a druggist, or by ourselves when we go and buy a patent medicine which is supposed to be a sure cure; and similar misinformation about syphilis and how it can be cured. In the Army these men are brought to understand from the education they receive, and the treatment, the importance to themselves and to the community later, of their being under treatment. Again, the taking of these men into the Army has removed immediately from the community a very considerable

number of persons who were carriers of venereal diseases. But, perhaps, the most valuable influence of all has been the awakening of health authorities, and simultaneously, the business men and influential men and women generally, to the fact that this is a communicable disease problem; that it can be met if we apply the same scientific methods that we have applied to the control of yellow fever and other diseases. The Medical Department of the Army has done everything it could to aid in stimulating the interest of the public in this problem, because, as you can see from the administrative point of view, the Surgeon-General can do very little about the control of venereal diseases other than treat those cases that develop, unless he has the coöperation of the public."

In response to the widespread interest in the suppression of those diseases, the Congress enacted in July, 1918, what is known as the Chamberlain and Kahn law. The provisions of this act are briefly as follows, viz.:

1st. There is created a board to be known as the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, to consist of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Treasury, as ex officio members, and of the Surgeon-General of the Army, the Surgeon-General of the Navy, and the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service.

2d. To establish in the Bureau of the Public Health Service a division of Venereal Diseases to be under a commissioned officer of the Public Health Service.

3d. (a) The duties of this division are to study and investigate the cause, treatment, and prevention of venereal diseases. (b) To coöperate with the State Boards of Health for the prevention and control of such diseases within the states. (c) And to control and prevent the spread of these diseases in inter-state traffic.

4th. Appropriating \$1,000,000 a year for two years to be allotted to the various states for the use of their state health organizations in the prevention, control, and treatment of venereal diseases.

In order to carry into effect the provisions of this law, the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board has worked out and as rapidly as possible is putting into operation, in coöpera-

tion with the several states through their health organizations, a comprehensive program. Realizing, as this board does, that a stupendous task has been appointed to it, the work is being entered upon with a view to meeting all the conditions involved. For while the venereal diseases are the immediate object or cause of this campaign, all recognize the fact that these diseases are but the accompaniment—the exponent so to speak—of the real trouble. The real trouble is social vice.

When this agitation was first started the statement was made that this matter was ninety per cent a moral question and the other ten per cent medical or scientific and political. And in order to make the medical and scientific campaign a success we are calling upon the recognized moral and religious, educational, social, and civic forces for the heartiest possible coöperation.

We all recognize the fact that the Church has always been, is, and will ever be the bulwark of social morality and personal purity. If the law of Sinai and the teachings of the Nazarene were but kept by all, as they are by the faithful ones of the Church, the problem would soon solve itself. The Church is now being called upon to redouble its energy in behalf of this campaign.

That mighty engine for moulding public opinion, the public press, is also called into play, and is not disappointing us, but is lending willing and mighty help. In a single state in the South more than 100 weekly papers are publishing at least a column in each issue for this interest.

Then the entire educational system of the United States is embraced in the program, and the important subject of sex education is receiving attention. Along with this, and really as a part of it, the matter of sports, which has hitherto been left to the uncertain and doubtful taste and initiative of the young people themselves, is receiving the attention of trained experts who are trying so to adapt these means of social entertainment and physical development as to replace the objectionable features. Wholesome sports and wholesome social mixing of the sexes under proper supervision will go far toward eliminating a perverse and prurient sex impulse so frequently found in a large class of young people, and which if properly controlled in the young will not be found in after-life.

For carrying out the purpose of this law, as it applies to persons who are already infected with venereal diseases, the U. S. Government proposes to take this department of medicine and surgery out of the hands of quacks and charlatans, and to standardize it, and put it upon the high plane upon which it belongs. It was in this branch of medical practice that this term quack first originated, and surely the quacks and advertisers who play upon the credulity of the ignorant and who fatten upon the miseries and misfortunes of humanity—these sneak thieves of the medical profession, whose profits are at the expense of its honorable members—have had their day.

The first step for the cure and control of these cases is to be taken by the doctors to whom they report for treatment. Let the doctors promptly report the cases to the State Health Officer; not the name and address of the patient, but the number representing the name and address, and, so long as the patient faithfully follows the doctor's direction and treatment, no other report is necessary. But if that patient fails to take treatment until cured, or at least rendered non-infectious, let him be promptly reported to the State Health Officer by name and address, so that officer may report the case to the County Health Officer, whose duty it shall be to locate him and see that he is treated. If this plan of reporting cases is faithfully carried out by the doctors, and similar reports made by drug stores of their sales of remedies for venereal disease, it will be but a short time until we will have a large percentage of the carriers of venereal disease under observation and treatment.

The second step in this work is the establishment of free clinics for the treatment of these diseases in all important centers of population. These clinics serve a fourfold purpose:

(a) They are a suitable place for administering the best treatment to all classes of patients infected with venereal diseases. (b) They afford the best means for reaching a large part of the population who especially need literature, instructions, etc. (c) They afford centers for social service workers, community nurses, etc. (d) They become clearing-houses for taking care of that class of irresponsible patients who have largely made the problem at which we are now working.

The third step in the control of venereal diseases is the repression of vice and prostitution. This was once looked upon by many as a necessary evil, and was commercialized in all our populous centers. It has, like its companion evil, the saloon, been clearly demonstrated to be not only not necessary but at once a moral abomination, an economic waste, a social disgrace, and a hygienic menace. The red-light district, the brothel, the prostitute must be abolished! Law enactment and law enforcement to this end must be effected; where necessary there must be places of detention provided for delinquents with a view to their being cured of disease, and also rehabilitated and made, if not useful, at least self-sustaining members of society. Surely none must be allowed to be persistent, willful carriers and propagators of these diseases.

As in every moral, social, educational, and medical interest of these Southern States, we have in this matter the complex Negro problem. In the examinations of the draftees for the Army, it was found in some cases that as high as 70 per cent of the colored men were infected with venereal diseases. Whatever interest we may feel in them, and however hopeful we may be of their ultimate future, the fact remains that their low average of intelligence, their lack of personal cleanliness, their lack of self-control, and their lack of high social and moral ideals render them a menace to themselves, and to the white population as well. When they were in bondage they were carefully looked after in small groups, and as a race were practically free from what are now their most prevalent diseases—venereal diseases and tuberculosis. But, now, with bad housing, bad hygienic and bad social conditions, they are literally being consumed by these two plagues. This matter has a most important bearing at several points, viz.:

(a) Economically, we are largely dependent on the Negroes for help in the house and out of doors. These diseases lessen their efficiency as servants and laborers. These diseases are expensive to deal with in our own race, but for every dollar we lay down for disease control in the white race we must lay down two or three more for the work for the Negro.

(b) Hygienically, it is easy to understand how venereal diseases and tuberculosis can be accidentally carried from the Negro to the whites in the homes, shop, and elsewhere, and it is also easy to see how venereal diseases may be conveyed by not more than three carriers from the lowest Negro prostitute to a respectable white woman in any community.

(c) The two extremes of overfamiliarity on the one hand and race hatred on the other embarrasses the work in the clinics, with social workers, and elsewhere.

Notwithstanding these hindrances the work must all be carried on together, for venereal diseases will not be eliminated until it is all eliminated from all races and nationalities on our shores.

In the prosecution of this stupendous undertaking the Government has assumed that the medical profession will join hands and coöperate heartily; and that largely without pay. In this assumption it has not been disappointed. Just as the medical profession has always done, it is doing now, not measuring the task by the pecuniary returns, but by the results to suffering humanity. The doctors with remarkable unanimity are responding to the call and are giving their time and skill without stint and without pay. All honor to these self-denying, poorly paid public servants, who, like the Divine Master, go about doing good, visiting the sick, comforting the distressed, helping the poor and outcast; surely all the world owes them a debt of gratitude!

Our Government to-day stands for a citizenship that is physically fit, intellectually sane, morally clean, commercially honest, and religiously evangelical, as no other nation does or ever has in the history of the world.

Some people, looking at this matter of venereal disease control out of a limited horizon, have said that from a Government standpoint this is not a moral question at all, but purely a medical one; in such a view they miss the spirit of men like President Wilson and Secretaries Daniels and Baker, who say in the spirit of the Great Teacher, "Go, sin no more lest a worse thing befall thee." And, while calling on the medical profession to apply its healing art, they are at the same time calling on the church to use its moral and religious function,

and upon the schools for better understanding of the laws of personal hygiene, and upon social organizations for a better social standard. By so advancing step by step we may in a little while leave our social vice with its disease and disgrace in the regrettable past along with human slavery, the saloon, and the brothel. And so when we look at it from this standpoint it is but one of the ordinary functions of Government asserting itself for the common good.

If our nation should get nothing out of this great war but the realization of the purposes and ideals of this campaign, we will have been amply repaid for all our outlay of blood and treasure.

IV. CHILD WELFARE

A Prayer for Children

Child Welfare in Belgium

Child Welfare in England

A PRAYER FOR CHILDREN

“O THOU great Father of the weak, lay thy hand tenderly on all the little children on earth and bless them. Bless our own children, who are life of our life, and who have become the heart of our heart. Bless every little child-friend that has leaned against our knee and refreshed our soul by its smiling trustfulness. Be good to all children who long in vain for human love, or for flowers and water, and the sweet breast of Nature. But bless with a sevenfold blessing the young lives whose slender shoulders are already bowed beneath the yoke of toil, and whose glad growth is being stunted forever. Suffer not their little bodies to be utterly sapped, and their minds to be given over to stupidity and the vices of an empty soul. We have all jointly deserved the millstone of thy wrath for making these little ones to stumble and fall. Grant all employers of labor stout hearts to refuse enrichment at such a price. Grant to all the citizens and officers of states which now permit this wrong the grace of holy anger. Help us to realize that every child of our nation is in very truth our child, a member of our great family. By the Holy Child that nestled in Mary's bosom; by the memories of our own childhood joys and sorrows; by the sacred possibilities that slumber in every child, we beseech thee to save us from killing the sweetness of young life by the greed of gain.”

—*Walter Rauschenbusch.*

THE CHILDREN OF BELGIUM*

MISS L. E. CARTER, OF BRUSSELS

BEFORE the war our little country had done well with regard to education, but when the war broke out nearly everywhere our schools were destroyed. Some of the towns have been destroyed entirely. In other towns the schools were used by the Germans as hospitals or for barracks or for other purposes. One of our great difficulties in carrying on the school work was the want of clothing. Our little children in cold weather had to dress as warmly as possible, and even then their clothing was not enough to keep them warm. We had to break the lessons every quarter of an hour to let them play to get warm a little. But the children wanted to be as brave as their soldiers—as brave as their heroes. I remember when the Senior Class in a Latin lesson were reading Julius Cæsar they came to the passage that “of all the people of Gaul the Belgians were the bravest,” there was almost a fight among the pupils to have the honor to read that sentence.

But though they were very brave the struggle was hard. In spite of the help that was given us by other countries—and America gave us great help with food and clothing—but in spite of the good things that were sent us from your beautiful country and from others, our children were generally underfed. Perhaps you have felt the sensation of hunger—of not being able to work when this sensation was felt for half an hour, but with us it was felt day after day during two years, and, of course, we could not require from our pupils the same attention to their work as they would give in other times. We had to understand this and to let them play as much as possible, and they were quite unable to do the individual work at home that they had done before. Also that weakness brought on in many cases, especially among the Senior pupils, fits of fainting. We knew perfectly well that these fits of faintness were brought on by want of food. The poor people were well looked after and the children were served in school. In many cases the parents of the well-to-do

*Printed from stenographic notes.

part of the population would not receive help. They wanted to struggle along on account of a feeling of dignity, and it was very difficult to do something for the children of that class. Some of our Senior pupils were obliged after a time to interrupt their studies for a time, and there were many cases of breakdown. Not only was this weakness seen during the study hours, but what was very sad was that during the play time little children had not the same possibilities of play. They invented new games even during the war, but very often they would stop long before the normal time because their strength gave way. Of course the little children did not know what was happening to them, but we knew and were very sad. Many of our little children were so afflicted with swelling of the neck they could not remain in Belgium. There was no possibility of sending them out to the holiday homes that had been created, and we were obliged to accept the sacrifice of sending them over to Holland—of separating them from their parents, and this for a long time—for two years and in many cases more.

In spite of physical weakness our children worked and kept on going to school every day. I will give you the effect of the war on our children. By statistics it has been shown that all of our children are one year backward from the normal general development, intellectually as well as physically, owing to the war. Our boys have lost, on an average, three pounds in weight, and our girls four pounds. That is one of the results—an exterior result—but I don't think it is the only one. I think the shocks the children have received have worked on their nervous system, and that signs will appear later on which will be very serious indeed. The atmosphere in which they lived for so very long was quite abnormal. Instead of being in an atmosphere of joy and freedom and liberty, they have lived in an environment of fear, of care, of anxiety, and of sorrow. You may imagine, even if you have not seen it, the state in which the children were when they knew that perhaps during the night they would be obliged to escape with their parents. Their little parcel of clothing and necessaries was ready beside their bed in case they should have to escape that very night. It is not possible for children

to sleep soundly and well in such circumstances. Other children were made to escape with their parents, and some have been seen after tramping with their mothers, their grandfathers and grandmothers—their fathers were already away at war—little children have been seen after tramping for many days, dying at hospitals and elsewhere. These little children died of different illnesses—died for want of food—and it was one of the most dreadful sights to look upon, the spectacle of those little children, their eyes expressing horror until the very last moment.

The war has taught us many lessons. It was during the war that we established in Belgium our first organization of children's welfare. This child welfare system had to give to the children in Belgium—those who were in need—the food that they wanted, and to many clothes and shelter. We have organized a home for our orphan children. The system is one of separate houses and separate homes where the children live as if they lived in their families, special attention being given to children who were very delicate. Since the war broke out there has been the drafting of a law for the protection of children which provides that no infant, no baby, will be sent to board out of the family. They will have to remain with their mothers or in day nurseries until they are three years old. There will be medical consultations in every town of Belgium under the superintendence of doctors and nurses.

I conclude not only with thanking you for having listened to me, but thanking you for everything America has done for Belgium. It is due to the efforts of the American women beginning their work as early as August, 1914, that Belgium was provided with the food that was absolutely necessary. I know, too, that not only men and women have helped, but children also have sent in gifts and clothing for our little ones. Words are inadequate to express our gratefulness for the generous help from the American people that made it possible for us to live under war conditions. It is from our hearts and souls that we cry out, "Thank you!"—not only to you grown people, but to the little children who sacrificed so much to help our little ones.

THE CHILDREN OF ENGLAND*

SIR ARTHUR NEWSHOLME, M. D., OF LONDON

I AM asked to speak particularly respecting child welfare work in relation to democracy in England. Perhaps the best thing I can do is to get right away to what we have been doing during the war. But before doing so, let me say just a word as to the relative loss of life in war and in peace. During this war England—the United Kingdom and colonies of England—has lost something like seven or eight hundred thousand lives given for their country. That is a stupendous loss, and there is scarcely a family in the entire British Empire that has not reason to mourn for its dead or for its maimed. Yet the horrors of war are no greater than those of peace. During the four years which preceded the war over two million deaths occurred, while during the four years and a half of the war only about one-third as many deaths occurred. It is quite true that the deaths of the war were deaths of men in the prime of life, and a large proportion of those in the preceding time of peace were deaths of children and aged persons. But, all the same, a great many of them were but instances of a vast proportion of preventable mortality which we have not taken the proper measures to prevent.

The ideal of all in regard to length of life is to die of old age. You remember the story of the jester who was arraigned before the king. The king, unwillingly obliged to condemn him to death, said, "I will give you one last concession. You may have twenty-four hours to think it over and choose the form of death which you prefer." At the end of that time the jester came back and said to the king, "May it please your Majesty, I will die of old age." That is the intention of most of us. That is the ideal toward which social workers and the public health service are reaching. There is nothing more valuable than life and health, but most of us realize their value more fully in their absence.

Even before the war we were in England and the colonies reducing the infant mortality rate very much. This reduction

*Printed from stenographic notes.

in our country began about 1900. Notwithstanding all efforts made before that time no reduction in the mortality rate of the first year of life was noticeable; but, from about that date, owing to improvements in sanitation and the prevention of some of the most fatal diseases, the death rate has gone down very much. Before that time it was approximately 150 per thousand; since that time it rarely reaches 100 per thousand. What is most remarkable of all is that notwithstanding the fact that we were in the midst of a great war, during which there were a million and a half women employed in munition plants and other industries, our nation's death rate among infants continued to decline right on through the war. That is a most remarkable fact, and the result would never have been realized had it not been for the efforts of all in many directions. It was brought about not by any one thing, but by the combined efforts of the whole population working in different ways, but all to the same end.

I think one factor in bringing about this reduction in the infant mortality rate has been the separation allowance for the wives and children of men who have been in the war. The wife received a minimum of \$5.50 per week with an additional amount for each child coming within a certain age limit. This was a fair allowance under conditions that existed in England, and as the expenses of living went up the allowance was increased. There can be no doubt that this money coming steadily into the household and enabling the mothers to feed their children properly, kept down a great deal of sickness, and reduced the rate of mortality among the children. It is only fair to add that in many instances—I am thankful to say exceptional instances—the absence of the husband enabled the wife for the first time in her domestic experience to spend all the money earned for the family on the welfare of the family, for there are many husbands who have not yet learned to appreciate their parental responsibility, and spend a far greater proportion of their weekly earnings outside of the domestic circle than they should.

In addition to this there is another important fact that has a decided bearing on the question of the reduction of infant

mortality—that is the restrictions on the sale of alcoholic drinks have increased in our country. Those who have studied the situation have made the public begin to realize that there is a very close connection between alcoholic excesses and an excessive infant mortality rate. If the father can not spend his earnings for drink, he will naturally spend more for rental, food, and clothing for his children.

The decrease in the infant mortality rate was also facilitated very greatly by the universal effort to make good the losses occasioned by German submarines. Nearly every head of a family, if he could get hold of a piece of waste ground, began to till and plant. That increased amount of open-air life had a very marked effect in increasing the health of the people, and the national welfare generally.

In addition to this, very great effort was made for the common good in establishing national kitchens in the larger towns, and especially in London. These kitchens were carried on by the government. Good, wholesome food was bought at the lowest prices, well prepared and served at the cost price. The result was that large numbers of working women, who had to have their noonday meal away from home, were greatly benefited. This was done on a very large scale, but the same plan was followed by many families, who found that coöperative housekeeping had many advantages, and could be carried on more economically than by having separate kitchens for each family. When the additional million and a half of women engaged in well-paid employment had intervals of rest and good meals at the factory a great improvement was brought about in their condition, which produced a very noticeable effect in bettering the condition of the young children.

Another agency which has helped to improve the condition of mothers and children greatly is the work of the public health nurses. At the beginning of the war there were in England 620 of these public health nurses, who visited the mothers after the birth of a child, and advised them and helped to promote the welfare of both mother and child. At the end of the war there were 1,320. Similarly, the records in regard to child welfare centers, which are securing for mothers the

advantage of consultations, congresses, etc., show that these and similar organizations, all leading toward the same thing, have greatly increased in numbers and efficiency. Before the war we had 250 of these child welfare centers. Near the close of the war there were 1,250 of them in England. These represent an enormous amount of increased voluntary activity on the part of the ladies of every class of society who come into these centers, and are determined to help the mothers and the absent soldier and sailor husbands as much as possible in taking care of their children. A strong wave of public sentiment went through the country upon receipts of appeals from the soldiers and sailors to help make things safe for the mothers and children left behind, and the ladies of all ranks responded heartily, and not only established these social centers in various parts of the country, but the central government in London, England, in Cardiff, Wales, Edinburgh, Scotland, and Dublin, Ireland, have given large amounts and made large grants for child welfare work. Parliament has even agreed that if local authorities or voluntary societies will prepare to spend five hundred thousand dollars in increasing the number of health visitors they will give half of that amount. We know that on a fifty-fifty basis throughout the country there will be an enormous increase in the results they can accomplish. At the end of the war over a million dollars had been donated by the central government, and a similar amount was being spent by local authorities in this child welfare work. We have found that this coöperation between the central government and the local governments was a great advantage in securing additional workers throughout the country.

It has been shown that something like one-fourth of all the still births and about one-fourth of all the deaths that occur during the first week after live births are due to syphilis. Syphilis is one of the two great venereal diseases in men, which are usually caused by sexual immoralities, and which unfortunately are not confined to the persons who are guilty of the immorality. The effects are visited on their innocent wives and children, and produce most harmful results which pass on from one generation to another. Because of the war

we have been made more alive to the necessity of doing something to stamp out this evil. There is not a town in England and Wales in which public meetings have not been held and the evils resulting from these terrible diseases have not been laid bare. Any one who sins in the future will sin with actual knowledge, and not because of ignorance or lack of instruction.

V. RACE RELATIONS

- The Congress Resolution on Lynching
- The Program of the Congress on Race Relations
- Introductory Statement
- The Outlook
- Inter-Racial Coöperation and the South's New
Economic Conditions
- The Call of the South to Prevent Lynching

RESOLUTION ON LYNCHING

ADOPTED BY THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS
IN ANNUAL SESSION AT KNOXVILLE, TENN.,
MAY 12, 1919

THE Southern Sociological Congress strongly condemns lynching and mob rule, which are unAmerican and subversive of law and order. We pledge ourselves to do everything possible to prevent lynching, and we call upon the editors of the public press, the ministers, the teachers, and other leaders responsible for creating public sentiment to proclaim against this practice which constitutes both a disgrace and menace in our own land, and also discredits American democracy abroad; and we urge the immediate exercise of all possible state and federal power to put a speedy end to these outrages throughout the country.

THE PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF RACE RELATIONS

At the suggestion of President Wilson the following Program for the Improvement of Race Relations was presented to the Governors' Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 20, 1919:

Recognizing that the Negro is a permanent and increasingly important factor in the development of our national life, the Southern Sociological Congress considers the solution of the problem of race relations as the most delicate and difficult single task for American democracy. We believe that no enduring basis of good-will between the white and colored peoples in this country can be developed except on the fundamental principles of justice, coöperation, and race integrity. The obligations of this generation to posterity demand that we exert our utmost endeavor to preserve the purity of our democratic ideals expressed in the American Constitution, as well as the purity of the blood of both races. With this belief the Southern Sociological Congress has worked out a program for the improvement of race relations which we respectfully submit to the Conference of Governors in the earnest hope that this body of distinguished leaders may lend its powerful influence toward making this program effective throughout the Union.

THE PROGRAM IS:

First, that the Negro should be liberated from the blighting fear of injustice and mob violence. To this end it is imperatively urgent that lynching be prevented:

1. By the enlistment of Negroes themselves in preventing crimes that provoke mob violence.
2. By prompt trial and speedy execution of persons guilty of heinous crimes.
3. By legislation that will make it unnecessary for a woman who has been assaulted to appear in open court to testify publicly.

4. By legislation that will give the governor authority to dismiss a sheriff for failure to protect a prisoner in his charge.

Second, that the citizenship rights of the Negro should be safeguarded, particularly :

1. By securing proper traveling accommodations.
2. By providing better housing conditions and preventing extortionate rents.
3. By providing adequate educational and recreational facilities.

Third, that closer coöperation between white and colored citizens should be promoted (without encouraging any violation of race integrity) :

1. By organizing local committees, both white and colored, in as many communities as possible for the consideration of interracial problems.
2. By the employment of Negro physicians, nurses, and policemen as far as practicable in work for sanitation, public health, and law enforcement among their own people.
3. By enlisting all agencies possible in fostering justice, good-will, and kindness in all individual dealings of the members of one race with members of the other.
4. By the appointment of a standing committee by the governor of each state for the purpose of making a careful study of the causes underlying race friction with the view of recommending proper means for their removal.

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS

THEODORE D. BRATTON, *President.*

J. E. McCULLOCH, *Secretary.*

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS*

JAMES HARDY DILLARD, D. LITT., LL. D., IN PRESIDING OVER
THE RACE RELATIONS SECTION

So far as I know, the first time that representatives of both races, wishing well, meaning well, and wanting good to our country, ever met together for frank and honest talk was at the Atlanta conference of this section of the Southern Sociological Congress six years ago. That was a very remarkable meeting. Each year since that time the Congress has had such a section as this. That it is good to have such a meeting I am sure nobody who has ever attended one of them would doubt for one moment. I am glad to welcome all of us here again this year, because each year marks another step in the progress of race relationship in our Southern States, and it is good that each year we should have an opportunity of seeing "where we are at."

I should like to make two statements. One of them is this: Never in the history of the world has any race in the same length of time made such progress in physical, intellectual, and moral improvement as the colored race has done in the last sixty years. Such a statement does not mean that there must not still be a forward movement in all these lines. There are still thousands who are uneducated, thousands who are very poor and in need of moral advancement. When I say that the history of the world shows no instance in the same length of time of such improvement along all human lines, I am not saying it in the way of flattery or in the way of making any one feel that efforts should cease, but simply as a fact.

Another statement I should like to make is this: We are apt to think that our own time and our own nation are excessively peculiar, but there have been race problems all over the world. Now, I believe it to be true that never before in history during the short period of sixty years have two races—thrown together as these two races—been known to reach such an approach toward satisfactory adjustment. We have

*Abbreviated from stenographic notes.

certainly not reached perfection, but I do say that the two races, considering the relations with which they started sixty years ago, considering all the bad things that have been said and done, have within the last sixty years made an approach toward sensible coöperation and mutual good-will such as history does not show anywhere else.

We forget that a period of fifty or sixty years is a short time in history. We forget that habits of thought and habits of feeling are not changed overnight. It takes time for individual habits of thought and individual habits of feeling to change. It takes even longer for the habits and morals and customs of a whole people to change, and we have got to be patient, as Carlyle said, yet a while.

I have watched each year, especially during the last twelve or fifteen years, this question of race relationship in the South. I have been over the South from time to time, have talked with the people of both races and in all conditions of life. I am sure that each year has marked a forward step towards good relationship between the races. We are here in the South together, we are going to stay together, and the sensible people of both races know and feel and believe more and more that it is much better for us to stay here in good fellowship and coöperation than in hostility. That was a beautiful prayer with which we opened the meeting this morning, "Live together and love together." Let us live together in good-will. Nobody can predict the future, but we all know what we ought to do to-day and to-morrow, and we know that every human being should have a fair chance to develop. Those who have been working for the improvement of the colored people in education and in other ways, knowing that only by steady processes can right relations be established in our midst, have a right to feel encouraged. Last week there was an informal meeting of the white superintendents of education from all the states of the South, and they bore testimony to the growth of sentiment for appropriations of public funds for the education of the colored children.

We have just passed through a great war. The colored people have been called upon to take their part in the nation's various activities, and I have yet to hear any informed person,

North or South, who does not bear witness to the fact that the colored people have been doing their part in the field and at home. I recently took a trip through the South, met hundreds of workers, white and colored, heard their testimony as to the amount of money raised for Red Cross work, Y. M. C. A. work, and all sorts of war work, and the statements of the subscriptions from the colored people were amazing. After such an exhibition of patriotism as this and such coöperation, it must follow that the relations between the races are going to be further improved. I believe this to be true in spite of what some people of both races are saying. I believe the South, certainly the thinking South, has come to the conviction more than ever that justice, fairness, and good feeling are the best way.

The world has been suffering greatly from nervousness. The South, both white and colored, has shared in this nervousness. We must not allow ourselves to become hysterical. The good work that has been started must be kept going. Let us remember and be thankful that the great masses are everywhere going about their own business. It is the relatively few who make trouble. These we must make more effort to influence and improve. We must all try to make conditions better. There is too much work to be done for us to quarrel. Fairness must prevail on each side, and men must learn to think well of each other, while recognizing and respecting differences.

One of the best ways of doing that is to get together as we have come together here this morning. Let us listen to the people who are interested in this work, who have thought about the matter for a long time and have come here to speak to us frankly and at the same time in a spirit of good feeling. In all of these meetings of the Sociological Congress we have never had the slightest unpleasantness, never the slightest disturbance or misunderstanding, because all have spoken in a spirit of wanting to be helpful. If we want to be friends we can say things frankly. It does no good to use camouflage. What we want is knowledge and understanding.

I said that nobody could prophesy, but I feel like saying this much: it is my firm belief that it is entirely possible for

the two races in the South to live together harmoniously on terms of coöperation and friendship with a satisfactory adjustment of the differences on both sides. We all know that race is a fact. We accept it as a fact. We also know that the influences and forces of education and religion are facts. So let us day by day, as we see the next step, do our part in forwarding the progress of these two great means for human welfare, education and religion; for these are the only true and permanent adjusters.

THE OUTLOOK

PROFESSOR J. L. KESLER, PH. D., Y. M. C. A. COLLEGE,
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THE outlook isn't all one could wish. There are clouds in our sky. But only yesterday, while night was still heavy on the hills, I heard a woodthrush's note mingle with a whip-poorwill's song. Like that I seem to hear in the darkness the notes of breaking day, and every breath is a challenge to justice for a new world order, as we promised in war days, in which all weak or backward peoples shall cease to be exploited by the strong, and democracy shall really come, according to promise, to all peoples and races among us.

The race problem, public or private, industrial or institutional, is a human problem. Until we face the issue as human in its human relations; until we think of all citizens as human beings with human rights, human interests, and human possibilities; until we insist upon equality of opportunity—economic, industrial, educational—equality before the law, equal sanitary provision, equal protection of person and property; until we become conscious of a common brotherhood, and cease to exploit the weak and to treat them as chattels and property; until we play fair and put justice into our program for less fortunate individuals and races; until we put democracy into our own life as we speed its splendid hope to the world, we are not even in sight of a solution, and futility faces our tasks of reform.

It is not simply a Negro problem. It is also a Caucasian problem. It is not simply the "white man's burden." It is also the black man's burden. It is a problem of both races. It is mutual. Its solution means mutual understandings and adjustments. It can never be settled by proxy. It can only be settled by participation. It means mutually a more generous sympathy and respect, without which there can be no common standing ground. Hate, distrust, suspicion are grounds of alienation. Love, confidence, respect alone can build a loyalty and stability for racial, national, or international solidarity and strength. It means, therefore, not only new insights and ideals, but new attitudes, both personal and public, and a more delicate regard and consideration of racial courtesies. That race which fails to respond to fine courtesy is already insolvent and bankrupt of preëminence. This new attitude must not only be intellectually allowed by the white people, it must be consciously felt and communicated, so that a new atmosphere of dignity and freedom and possibility shall meet and strengthen the aspiration of the Negro race and superinduce a conscious self-respect and hope. By some such means alone may the perils of two segregated races, living in the same territory, with mutual interrelations, be reduced to a minimum.

The greatest prejudice, with its incurable blindness, is found in the lowest types of both races. They occupy the danger zone, and they are in contact with each other. The finer types of both races are thinking in larger terms. More generous sympathies and more practical and constructive programs emerge for the healing of past years in proportion to enlightenment and vision. They are our hope, but they are not in contact with each other. What we need everywhere and among all races is a more general intelligence and a closer human adjustment. With the disappearance of ignorance and its paralyzing antagonisms our problems will be greatly simplified. But ignorance goes a thousand fathoms deeper than illiteracy, and it will take the highest type of culture to eradicate it and save us from its peril and doom. There isn't any hope while ignorance holds its scepter above our heads and flaunts its red flag of hate.

The white people have not always in all sections thought together about our Negro population. For one part of the country to think of them in one way and another part to think of them in another way, while perfectly natural, is most unfortunate for both sections and both races. Every divisive factor tends to weaken the nation's program of good-will to all of its citizens. While, therefore, on account of their numbers in the South, they may be thought of as creating a problem peculiarly Southern, yet on account of the oneness of the nation and the oneness of humanity the sectional feeling and division of sentiment must be merged into a national unanimity. There is no other solution. For what is of interest to one part of the country is of interest to other parts of the country. We are one people, however many nationalities or races we represent. We are one nation, however widely separated by color or climate or craft. No part suffers but every part suffers. No part limps but every part shambles and halts in its progress. In the deepest sense, therefore, it is a national problem.

There is no hope of unanimity, however, except on grounds that are fair and just and generous. No partisan bitterness, no sectional bias, no racial prejudice, no selfish insolence may enter into this larger hope. A general friendliness is to take the place of racial antipathies. All citizens are to be given the privilege of rising to their full height as human beings. Intelligence must dominate public sentiment and a kindlier religion move in the minds of men.

There is no hope for the South if one-third of its population is to remain undeveloped and inefficient. If the submerged third is to remain ignorant, the South will not only fail of one-third of its potential, but the other two-thirds will descend in the scale. If unsanitary conditions and disease are allowed to plague one-third of the population, the other two-thirds can not escape the contagion. No community is safe so long as there is one neglected spot within it. No race is safe from every wretchedness so long as it allows a wretch of alien race beside its door to remain uncared for and unprotected. This is true economically, industrially, socially, morally. Every injustice to the Negro is an injury to the white man and imperils the best interest of the national life.

If the Negro is to live among us, then we must give him a chance, and an equal chance with all others—not by handing things down to him, but by helping him to get up; not by working *for* him, but *with* him; not by tips and charity, but by a fair wage, just treatment, and proper recognition of his worth. We give him an open road and a fair chance everywhere to spend his dollar. We ought to give him everywhere an equal chance to earn it. He asks no more, he deserves no less.

The Negro is here to stay. He touches at every angle every public enterprise—business, industry, politics, education, religion, courts of justice, public welfare organizations, social work. Living together we have innumerable contacts which must be mediated for the mutual advantage of both races. It is necessary that this shall not only be fair and just but coöperative and efficient. It is a mistake to suppose that just anything will do for the Negro; that he does not understand, does not see. He does see and he does not forget. Nature does not forget either. She fixes the penalty on the spot of the crime. "The moral law, the nature of things," as Emerson says, "keeps its eyes wide open."

1. EDUCATIONAL POLICY FUNDAMENTAL

Our educational policy is fundamental. We have been accustomed to consider all moneys spent on Negro education as a gift, and to congratulate ourselves on our generosity, since in the last fifty years his taxes were but a small part of his educational apportionment. This attitude is changing. Education is an investment according to needs and not according to tax receipts. As a citizen the Negro deserves and necessity requires that he should have equal educational opportunity with white citizens.

In the last fifty years the South has but meagerly provided for any of her children. As representative of what we have been doing, though we are beginning to do better in some places, in 1911-12 the scholastic per capita in California was \$36.30; in Massachusetts, \$25.40; in New York, \$25.00; while in North Carolina it was \$6.14; South Carolina, \$6.92; and in no Southern state did it rise but a few cents above

\$7.00. Still this does not relieve us entirely from censure for the too-great discrimination between the races. The average educational per capita, 1911-12, between the ages of six and fourteen in the South for white children was \$10.32; for black children, \$2.89. The greatest discrepancy was in Louisiana, where it was \$13.73 for every white child, and only \$1.31 for every black child. Here, too, illiteracy is highest for both races, 14.4% for the white, and 48.4% for the black. South Carolina comes next with \$10.00 to \$1.44 per capita, and an illiteracy of 10.3% to 38.7%. These figures have been changed, but too great a difference still remains. Everywhere there is the greatest discrimination coincident with the highest illiteracy and the greatest density of Negro population. No wonder that the Negro is crying out for better protection, for better education, better economic and living conditions. No wonder that he has been migrating to the North half-million strong to better his chances and the chances of his children.

Those who speak of giving the Negro in education "the crumbs that fall from the white man's table" need to finish the parable, "and he lifted up his eyes in torment."

Private and denominational schools have in property and permanent funds over \$28,000,000 with an income of \$3,000,000. But only 4% of Negro children attend these schools. What does this mean? It means that if Negro children are ever to be educated, they will have to be educated in public schools provided by public taxes, and made effective by compulsory attendance. This is the heaviest responsibility and obligation of the educational forces of the South—providing adequate schoolhouses, equipment, money, teachers, and keeping the standards high not alone to eliminate illiteracy, but to overcome ignorance and to provide training for appreciation, character, efficiency; to develop good citizenship in the Negro not simply for safety and suppression of crime, but for race realization in sanitary, moral, and industrial progress—making crime impossible by eradicating or leaving behind the criminal instincts.

2. SOCIAL EQUALITY AN IGNIS FATUUS

Those who want to keep the Negro down need to get up themselves. Those whose social position is unquestioned need not be concerned about "social equality." General social equality is an *ignis fatuus*. There isn't any such thing anywhere in any race. In all races there are higher and lower, according to merit, and social intermingling is attracted by compatibility, congeniality, genuine community of interest, or it is pure social camouflage and sham. In the South neither the Negroes nor the white people want to intermingle socially. There are, perhaps, a few exceptions. I am speaking of the rank and file. Racial integrity and social separateness are desired by both. This social separateness by general agreement presents no implication of either racial valuation or indignity. The whole question may be relegated to the low politician and the junk heap.

3. EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITIES AND CONVENIENCES

What the Negro does want and what the best white people of the South want for him is an equal chance for personal and social development, equal protection and security under the law, equal opportunity—economic, industrial, educational; equal courtesies, equal conveniences and comforts in street cars, railway coaches. And this he has never had. When he pays the same fare he wants the same service. He ought to have it. He likes a separate coach among his own people just as we do, but he does not want an inferior coach. What he loathes and detests is the constant reminder that he is inferior, that anything is good enough for a "nigger," that sanitation and sewerage and police protection and paved streets and parks and playgrounds are not necessary for him, that moral leprosy and segregated vice may preempt territory in his community and be immune from civic interest and disturbance—nobody cares, that he is discriminated against not on account of merit but on account of color, that his wife or daughter, if she is attractive or beautiful, is not safe from improper suggestions and attentions on account of lack of racial respect and honor.

4. INTERRACIAL RESPECT NECESSARY

Respect! Here is the solution—interracial respect. For lack of it both races are in peril. Between the social worlds of these two races a great gulf is fixed so that there is no restraining modesty. Who is in danger? Not the Negro woman alone. Sons of white men walk the danger zone where respect is lacking and noble natures fall under the paralysis of passion. Moral safety demands a deep and abiding respect for personality interracial and among all intergraded social levels, if we are to escape the moral backwash between races and classes of society. Here we need a wider and deeper democracy. We may be separate as races or classes or crafts, but one as human beings and citizens. But in all cases mutual respect is the center and citadel of our safety and life. This conscious democracy of the rights of mankind, *as human beings*, is fundamental and final. Jesus is right.

5. BETTER TIMES COMING

A large number of the Negroes are accumulating property, are living in good homes, clean, sanitary, with the comforts and some of the luxuries of life. They love music, they appreciate art, they are educating their children, they want a clean, moral, and wholesome community in which to rear their children, and enjoy the safety and comforts of home life. They expect this and as citizens they have a right to expect it. It is coming. Every drop of the best blood of the South stands pledged to it. As they prove themselves capable of laying hold of and improving opportunities there is a company of white men and women, daily growing larger, who are demanding these opportunities for them. More than that, they are helping them to become capable and to take advantage of these opportunities for the benefit of the whole community and of the whole nation. These are the men and women who have social sympathies and social interests. They face toward Christ. It is true that we have not yet gone far in coöperative social work. The juvenile Negro criminal and delinquent girl are not sufficiently provided for by either private or public institutions; nor is there sufficient provision for the juvenile

offender of the white race. But the old way of making confirmed criminals out of this raw material is to yield to educational and preventive measures. It is true also that sanitariums, fresh-air funds, day nurseries, sanitary prison reforms, settlement work, and public welfare enterprises generally have too largely left the Negro out of count. Coöperative agencies have made hopeful beginnings, however, in Louisville, Ky.; Nashville, Tenn; Atlanta, Ga; Richmond, Va.; Columbia, S. C., and a few other places. We are beginning to wake up. We are moving toward a better day. We are beginning to see that the Negro is our asset or peril as we help him to rise or let him alone; that he is to be an intelligent and efficient citizen or the nemesis of our neglect. We'll help him or he'll hurt us. Black morals stamp themselves on white life, low intellectual standards insinuate themselves into the corporate character of the whole community, and disease knows no color line—this we are beginning to see. Not even do venereal diseases know any color line. They get across. It isn't the black man—as much as we've said about the lecherous brute. It's the white man's adventure into the black man's territory. In Mississippi, a week ago to-day, a Negro man and a Negro woman were lynched, because, as was reported, "the Negro man hired the Negro woman to make an improper proposal to a white woman." It was bad enough, but I wonder how many improper proposals pass in the other direction. Is a black man's crime a white man's privilege? We need a single standard for the races as well as the sexes. Better times are coming just as we dare to face reality and be fair, just as we see straight and do right, just as we become conscious that every life is sacred and that we are trustees to make it safe.

In this new hour a new breath stirs. We are facing reality. I seem to hear a woodthrush's song, and the whippoorwill's dying away.

6. THE NEGRO AND LABOR

The Negro has been discriminated against in industry, but the clouds are lifting. Labor unions have refused him admittance and mobbed him as a scab. But times are changing.

As he becomes skilled and efficient and feels the new breath and apostolate of freedom, he can not be industrially neglected, discredited, or disregarded. This I have tested out in every community in the South. White men say that the educated Negro, the efficient Negro, the property-owning Negro, the home-building Negro is an asset, a desirable citizen; he keeps the laws and has the respect of the people. Men who build homes, live right, and are industrially independent will be respected.

This new industrial factor, just coming into view, is to be reckoned with. It is not to be opposed but encouraged, educated, and directed. If the South is to make the most of its industrial opportunity and democracy, it must conserve its working force, white and black. Intelligence and self-interest require it and humanity requires it. Even here in this competitive strife where life calls for coöperative friendliness the human way makes its divine appeal. As Principal Moton has splendidly said, "No laborer can give skillful, efficient, conscientious service when he is surrounded day and night by all that tends to lower his health, to distort his mind, to weaken his morals, to embitter his spirit, to shake his faith in his fellow-man." The human way of helping him to his best is the way out.

We must see to it that he has a man's chance, all that he asks. We brought him here. We enslaved him here. We must give him a chance here. He is no alien. He is here to stay. Until merit shall rule in politics, in industry, in life, we shall bear our grist to autocracy and grind in her mills. This is a challenge of democracy. The Negro race and the white race must pull together or we can not pull a big enough load to build here a great community as a part of a great nation.

7. DISCRIMINATION BEFORE THE LAW AND MOB VIOLENCE

We must acknowledge that there has been discrimination against the Negro in legislation; but the law has not been as crooked as the execution of the law. Even in politics he has been cheated out of his vote more shamefully than prevented from voting by crooked legislation. We've been guilty of crooked politics. Everybody knows it. We've got to quit it.

This crooked politics has reacted on the integrity of the ballot against the very people who forgot to do right. While justifying shady practices on the ground of the necessity of securing a white man's government, we are bringing in a blacker régime by our own duplicity than black ballots could have ever delivered. We forget that the moral law never sleeps, and never forgets. This phase of our politics is passing.

But the most outstanding crime is lynching. There have been from 1885 to 1916, thirty-two years, about 4,000 lynchings in the United States, three-fourths of them in the South. In the first sixteen years of this time there were never less than a 100 a year, and twice the number rose above 200, the average being 150. In the second sixteen years the number reached 100 only twice, the average being 70, less than half. This looks hopeful. 'Tis true, we hear more about it in recent years. The tragedies seem to thicken. The fact is we are simply waking up. Our consciences are quickened. It is the hour before sunrise.

Still the fight is not over. There is a respectable number of people who do not belong to the underworld, and who, if they do not openly advocate lynch law, excuse it. They will not bring an offender to justice. They are not moved with moral passion and indignation against it. If they do not start the mob, they follow it, and enjoy as high sport this American diversion. Such men are not peculiar to the South, though the South has suffered most from their atrocities. Nor is the Negro the only victim, though he has been the chief sufferer.

In condemning mob violence the criminal is not excused from the villainy of his crime. But law must be made supreme, justice more than a word on our tongues, and life made sacred and safe under all circumstances of excitement and of emotional stress and storm.

We will never develop in another race respect for the laws we make by violating them ourselves. We will never cure brutality by the brutality of mobs of brutes. We will never teach self-restraint under passion by ourselves breaking out in uncontrolled and explosive violence. Every white man, every man who has any respect for his race, must heed the challenge from this good hour to stand four-square against all forms of mob violence and revenge.

8. THE NEGRO AS SOLDIER AND PATRIOT

The Negro as a soldier in the recent war will be more than an episode in relation to his future history. He is by nature gregarious. He loves a crowd. He fits into mass movements. He is the synonym of loyalty. He is a typical patriot. He makes a good soldier. He furnished his quota of the American army. What effect will this war experience have on his future? Already the atmosphere is changing. In some places it is tense. I dare not guess what breath will blow upon us. But this I know, the man who gives all a man can give, for his country—his life—can not be forgotten by the people; the race that fits into the world program of democracy and liberty will find a place and an appreciation whatever his color or previous condition.

As a Southern man whose forebears were Southern before him, as one who has always counted Lee and Jackson first citizens of the nation, I dare to believe that the South will be among the first to do right, to give the Negro a man's chance, to find for him his place in the highest he is capable of for himself, for his race, for the nation.

INTERRACIAL CO-OPERATION AND THE SOUTH'S NEW ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

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THE South to-day is in the midst of new economic conditions. The immediate cause is the recently waged world-war. The demands upon the South because of these new economic conditions are: For greater productiveness in agriculture; a greater output in industry; an increase of the efficiency and skill of the individual; and a large increase in the industrial population to the end that the resources of the South may be fully developed. Because of the large proportion of both races in the South, it is only through the coöperation of whites and Negroes that these demands can be met. The problem of interracial coöperation in its economic aspects is, therefore, very important.

There are four important lines along which there should be interracial coöperation. These are the improving of educational facilities, the bettering of health conditions, the improvement of farming, and the establishment, under the law and in general dealings with each other, of more just relations between whites and blacks.

It is well to recognize that economic efficiency depends to a large extent upon education. Whether the colored people will receive their just due of the educational facilities depends upon the white people. It is too much, as the late Dr. Booker T. Washington often said, to expect a colored child to get as much education for two dollars as a white child gets for ten dollars.

The largest amount of interracial coöperation is at present in the improvement of educational facilities. This has come about through the work of the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, the Rosenwald Rural Schoolhouse Building Campaign, the placing by the General Education Board of state supervisors of Negro rural schools in the several states of the South, and the more general recognition by the South of the importance of educating the Negro. Through these agencies the whites and Negroes have learned to coöperate, and where this coöperation has taken place, the tendency has been to cause a better understanding and to promote more friendly relationships between the races. As an example of this coöperation, Mr. Julius Rosenwald had given up to June 30, 1919, for the promotion of rural schoolhouse buildings, \$311,995.37. To meet Mr. Rosenwald's contributions, the Negroes in the communities where these schoolhouses were erected, have contributed \$443,381.35; from the public funds of states, \$354,032.00; and from the white people of the communities where the school buildings were erected, \$88,552.27. Making a total of \$1,197,960.99 that was thus contributed for schoolhouse buildings.

In the matter of health conditions there is already considerable interracial coöperation. There should be a great deal more. Bad health conditions among colored people are causing enormous financial losses. There are in the South about half a million Negroes who are seriously sick all the time;

that is, so ill that some one has to take care of them. If this sickness was distributed among the entire Negro population of the South, it would mean that, on an average, each man, woman, and child would be sick eighteen days in the year. The average annual loss in earnings to the Negroes of the South, because of sickness, is more than fifty million dollars. They are paying annually one hundred million dollars for doctor bills and funeral expenses.

For a long time, the attitude toward bad health conditions among Negroes was "if Negroes die, who cares." It was not realized that any part of the enormous financial loss caused by bad health conditions among them fell upon the white people or upon the state. When, however, there began to be talk of conserving the natural resources of the state, it was pointed out that the most important part of these resources are the people, white and black. They are more important, more valuable than the soil, the forests, the minerals, or the waterways. It is probable that the South is losing each year, because of bad health conditions among its Negro population, more than three hundred million dollars. It is also probable that by improving health conditions among its Negro population that one-half of this great sum could be saved. To endeavor to save this vast sum to the South, and at the same time try to make the Negro more efficient, affords a great opportunity for interracial cooperation.

Let us examine more closely the matter of health improvement and efficiency. If the South is to take her place economically as the banner section of the nation, the efficiency of her Negro population will have to be greatly increased. On account of bad health conditions and the lack of training, the Negro population is about one-half as efficient as it is capable of being. On the other hand, because of premature deaths, the number of years that the average Negro works is about one-half of what it should be. The average life of Negroes is now about thirty-five years. If the average length of life for them were increased to fifty years (and this can be done by sanitary improvement) the length of time the average Negro could work would be increased to thirty years; that is, the increase would be fifteen years.

Let us grasp the significance of this as a means of meeting the new economic conditions. The South, through migration, has lost thousands of her Negro population. By improving the health conditions of those who remain, the loss in migration, can, to a considerable degree, be offset. There are, in the South, about five million Negroes who are engaged in gainful occupations; that is, are helping to do the South's work and develop its resources. Now, if by education and health improvement, the efficiency of these Negro men and women can be doubled, it will be equal to adding five million additional workers to the population of the South. Likewise, if the period of productive work of the average Negro can be doubled, it will be equal to adding another five million to the population of the South. The South, in order to develop her vast resources, will need millions of additional workers. It has been pointed out that "an analysis of the population of the Southern States makes it certain that the hope of the South for an improved labor supply is not immigration, but the effective education of her white and colored youth." After all the years of tremendous immigration to America, the South had in 1910 only 726,171 persons of foreign birth. The proportion of the immigration stream going to the South has long been less than 5 per cent of the total number of immigrants. The inevitable conclusion is, therefore, that the two great sources of labor in the South are the more than 20,000,000 native white persons and the 9,000,000 Negroes.

The improving of farming conditions likewise affords an opportunity for interracial cooperation. The increase of the efficiency of Negro farmers will be one of the most effective methods of meeting the new economic conditions. In spite of the migration to the North, there are still in the South some two million Negroes engaged in agricultural pursuits as farm laborers, as croppers, as renters, and as independent owners. This is a tremendous amount of labor and in it are tremendous possibilities. Put it another way, 40 per cent of the tillable land of the South is in the hands of Negroes in one form or another. The late Dr. Booker T. Washington said: "That, in his opinion, this mass of Negro labor is an undiscovered gold

mine. How to improve the efficiency of these two million black laborers," he said, "is one of the problems that now confronts the South."

The South is awakened to the importance of increasing, through education, the efficiency of Negro farmers. This is being done chiefly through agricultural demonstration work, and vocational education, as carried on under the Smith-Lever and the Smith-Hughes Act for agricultural and vocational education. In spite, however, of the increased interest in the education of Negro farmers, but a small proportion of the money which is being spent by the states of the South for agriculture and vocational education goes to the Negro. The report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1916 appears to indicate that of \$2,806,910, expended by the Southern States for these forms of education, \$2,487,358, or 87.2, went for the education of white and \$319,552, or 12.8, for increasing the working efficiency of Negroes.

There were in the South, according to the 1910 census, 354,452,860 acres of farming lands. Of this vast area, two hundred million acres were yet to be brought under cultivation. On the land that was being cultivated, the average yield per acre was: For cotton, one-half a bale; corn, 17 bushels; sweet potatoes, 88 bushels.

In order to farm successfully the land that is being cultivated, and to help bring the vast area of unimproved land under cultivation, it will pay the South to increase the intelligence of her Negro farmers. If this is done they will become more efficient; they will be able to use better methods of farming; they will be able to raise on the land which is being cultivated two bales of cotton where one is now being grown; 50 bushels of corn where 17 are now being grown; and 150 bushels of sweet potatoes where 88 are now being raised. By increasing the intelligence of the Negro farmers they will be able to use improved farming machinery to a much greater extent. As a result, they will be able to cultivate two acres where they are now only cultivating one. Thus, through increased efficiency, the yield per acre and the acreage cultivated would be doubled, and the South's waste places would be made "to blossom as the rose."

The most difficult phase of interracial coöperation is that which has to do with the treatment of a weaker race by a stronger. Unlike coöperation for the improvement of farming, of health conditions, and of educational facilities, which can be carried on in any community by a part of the whites and Negroes, those relationships which relate to treatment depend very largely upon the attitude of all of the whites toward all of the Negroes. This fact is one of the reasons which makes interracial coöperation, as to treatment, so difficult.

Not only is coöperation as to treatment the most difficult phase of interracial coöperation, but it is also the most vital and the most important phase. It is the matter of treatment that is causing among Negroes the greatest dissatisfaction and complaint. It is treatment that is, perhaps, the greatest factor in their migration to the North. The following statement has been made so often that it has become almost a truism: "If I could get just treatment in the South I would be willing to remain there at a great deal less wages than I receive in the North." This dissatisfaction and complaint is of the treatment received in the dealings of many landlords in their settlements with their tenants, of the treatment that is accorded Negroes on trains, of the suffrage restrictions, of the justice that is meted out to Negroes in the courts, of the persecution which they suffer at the hands of officers of the law, and of the failure of the law to protect against mob violence.

With the coming of peace and the return of the demobilized Negro soldiers to the South, it appears that there has been an increase of distrust and antagonism between the races. It is perhaps more accurate to say that while there is an increase in the number of whites in the South who are disposed to coöperate with the Negro, and there is a growing disposition to actively engage in coöperation, there is, on the other hand, a greater display of antagonism than ever before by those unfriendly to the Negro.

This antagonism is expressed in an increased number of lynchings. The result is that for the time being, at least, much of the spirit and of the disposition to coöperate, which had come as a result of the working together of the two races to

help win the war, appears to be lost. Among Negroes there appears to be an increasing belief that it will not be possible to get the protection of life and liberty in the South that it is possible to get in the North. For this reason there is a continuance of the migration to the North, with a resulting decrease in the South's labor supply. The general tendencies of the times, however, and of the growing spirit of democracy is not reactionary, but progressive toward a better understanding, a larger and more effective coöperation between the races. This, however, will take time.

It is very important in connection with the present efforts for interracial coöperation that the new South have a better understanding of the new Negro. It has been well said that the Old South, the old order of whites, understood the antebellum Negro; the New South, however, the new order of whites, because of a lack of contact with the new order of black men, has not fully understood nor appreciated them. Hence, there is distrust of the new Negro.

In slavery days there was in the South a class of Negroes whose skill as workmen and whose personal devotion to their masters' interests excited general praise. They were the house servants, chief of whom was "Mammy," the foreman in the fields, and the mechanics, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, cooper, etc. It was into the hands of this class of the slaves that the masters, when the Civil War came on, committed the care of their plantations and their women and children. So faithful were these blacks that during the entire period of the war there was not a single instance of a betrayal of the trust committed to their hands.

After emancipation what became of this house servant-mechanic class, the most intelligent element of the slave population? To a large extent its members established homes for themselves, acquired property, and became the leaders in getting the race started on the road to that remarkable progress which, after fifty years, is the wonder and admiration of the world. Thus it came to pass that the best element in the Negro race got more or less out of touch with the best element in the white race. The descendants of this house servant-mechanic class are to-day the preachers, teachers, doctors,

mechanics, farm owners, and business men, who, as leaders of their race, live in their own world apart from the whites. They are the new order of black men, whom, through the medium of the Southern Sociological Congress, and in other ways, the New South is coming to know, and, to some extent, understand. They are a part of the South. They are disposed to be as devoted to her interests as their fathers were to the interests of their masters. It is through this new order of black men that interracial coöperation can be made effective.

THE CALL OF THE SOUTH TO PREVENT LYNCHING*

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BUT one fundamental thing can be said with regard to lynching: it is unjustifiable under all circumstances and conditions, and is wrong in the sight of man and of God. If you modify or amend this statement in any degree, you give away the whole principle. There may be differences of opinion in regard to the definition of mercy and justice and democracy, but this is a question that goes to the very root of our civilization. Lynching is a blot upon our national escutcheon, and is a menace to the greatness of our nation and to the progress of the South.

And yet, what have we done or what are we going to do to make these words a living reality? I suppose any one in the audience is ready to give his intellectual assent to what I have said. These words have rung out from all the newspapers. They have rung out from the lips of our great leaders. We have resolved and resolved, and yet lynching still continues. Any morning we may expect to wake up and see in the papers an account of another lynching. While we sit in this holy place this evening there may be a lynching or riot in any community from which we come. Before twenty-four hours have passed, we may be reading of another horrible scene that will make us wonder if we live in a land of civilization and Christianity.

*Printed from stenographic notes.

According to a very wise Frenchman, "Words are often the art of concealing thought." If they are not a means of concealing thought, they are often a substitute for action. Words, I sometimes think, are the most futile of all things. But I wish that I might so speak to you this evening upon this subject that there would be words upon the lips of all of you that would take hold of you and grip you until every individual here would go from this house resolved that, by the help of God and in the light of patriotic demands of the times, he will go to the limit in putting a stop to this awful menace to our civilization.

I might argue the question from many standpoints, but it is scarcely necessary to argue to-night. I might show you that it is an economic peril to our Southland, that it is inexpedient, that it is unwise, a political mistake. But I would have you feel to-night most of all that it is a national sin and a community sin for which God Almighty will hold us responsible.

Yet, while I have said that, I do not propose to argue this question. There are certain things one hears upon the streets that tend to deaden somewhat our strong intellectual convictions upon this subject. There are those in this audience to-night who might be swept off their feet for a moment by the sophistries that one hears oftentimes. One of those is that for a certain crime lynching is justifiable. This has been repeated to us time and time again, though only about one-fourth of the lynchings of which we read are for this one crime. Yet we continue whenever we think upon this subject, or rather when we feel about it—for most people do not think through it—we continue to use this old, old argument. We know if we have read the papers that lynchings have occurred in this country for every conceivable reason from the most outrageous crime to the slightest offense. Negro men and Negro women have been lynched, and white men and white women have been lynched. The trouble is that, whenever one person tries to set up a crime that justifies lynching, somebody else wants to do the same thing on account of another crime. A mob in action knows no reason, has no

discretion and no fear of law when the people are under the influence of strong passion and bent upon accomplishing an awful mission.

Another thing we frequently hear, and often read, is that the North has gotten into the habit of lynching as well as the South. Many a Southern man has lost his once-keen sensibilities upon this question by taking this fact as a defense of the same attitude in the South. We have let our eyes become partially blinded to our own situation and our own problems. I read in the paper on Sunday, as you all did, that the editor of the *New York Nation* had made the statement in Philadelphia recently that a Negro soldier had been lynched in the state of Tennessee. A Tennessean challenged the statement and wrote for facts. Of course, the answer was that the lynching had occurred in another state. Whether it occurred in any other state or not, I do not know. But the trouble is that other newspapers that had seen the article in the *Nation* commented upon it, and drew the attention away from what should have been said about the evils of lynching to the fact that we had been misrepresented in the North. Many a Southern man will allow this misinformation or prejudice of the Northern man in making such a statement to divert his attention from facing his solemn duty of meeting the problem in his own section and his own community. If a lynching occurred in every state of the Union that would not make lynching in the state of Tennessee any less damnable. We must banish from our minds so much attention to what other people think and what other people say, and learn to face our duty squarely as honest patriots.

Another great mistake we are apt to make is that we listen to some ridiculous utterance of a radical Negro leader, or something that we read, and are at once put upon the defensive. But I submit that we must not allow any such utterances in regard to, or by, another race come between us and our solemn duty. What many of the Southern people have been doing when the Negro problem was brought up is to picture the very worst type of Negro that they can think of and argue from that standpoint. But we must think about the better class of Negroes. We should see them as a great body of

people who are becoming better educated, who are highly respectable members of society, many of whom are property owners and very worthy citizens in every way. We ought to think about them. I saw a large audience in Nashville swept by a great wave of applause as Mr. Irvin Cobb paid a tribute to the Negro soldiers until they shook the walls of the auditorium in which they were seated. A prominent Southerner, when he saw the Negro troops in Camp Jackson, said, "By the help of God, I will never let injustice be done to the men who are fighting for me and for my country." This is the side of it we have got to see. I saw another great audience held in breathless suspense by the Fisk Jubilee singers. You have heard them here to-night. We must see this old problem and solve it in the light of the present day, looking at it from the angle of the best people of the other race.

Another thing we hear in justification of lynching is that the law has its delays and it is hard for those that have been wronged to get justice in the courts. This argument has been much used. A prominent lawyer said in Nashville last year, "You can't do anything in that line so long as the courts fail to bring justice to so many people." My answer to this is that any Negro who has committed a heinous crime would be brought to swift justice in the courts. We know that whatever may be said about justice to many people in the courts—people of all colors—they have always held the Negro to the highest standards of civilization. So in spite of all of these sophistries that we are fond of passing around and that cause us to fail to see this problem in its true light, the fact that lynching is unjustifiable under any and all circumstances, and that it is wrong in the sight of man and God still stands.

If we feel rightly upon this subject, and think rightly, we see that one reason lynching has not been put down is that we who believe that it is wrong have not been aggressive enough—we have not been powerful enough and positive enough in making our views known. It is this lack of action on our part that is going to mean the defeat of the city, of the state, of the college, of the church, and of everything that holds up our civilization. It does not mean the victory of the degenerate and the hobo, but the surrender of the ideals of the

scholars and of the professional men and the thinking people of all classes. But if we once get properly aroused on this question, we will push aside all these sophistries and rise like men to do the task that is ahead of us.

“What can we do?” I believe that first of all we have got to become passionately convinced that these things are wrong and must be stopped by us as individual men. We must get it upon our conscience—get to the point where we can not sleep because these things occur, and then we have got to go to work solidly and organize public sentiment and crystallize our efforts so that lawlessness may be met by organized law, and injustice by aggressive justice, so that we shall see to it that the children of light are more powerful than the children of darkness, to meet face to face the difficulties, and stand forth in the shining armor of righteousness as we battle with the empire of darkness.

May I tell you briefly of something that was done in Nashville, Tenn., a year ago? It indicates a beginning. Just after the last of three lynchings had taken place I wrote an article of protest in the Nashville *Banner*, for I could not be silent any longer. I said, “What good does talking do?” I invited seven men to my study the following night and said, “We want to get twenty-five men in Nashville to meet next Sunday and see what we can do about this lawlessness.” The tragedy at Estill Springs had just taken place and following that an awful crime had been committed at Memphis. We got together those twenty-five men, and the next Sunday one hundred—there were only two men who did not respond. The next morning we had upon the front pages of the Nashville papers a statement worded in no uncertain terms and signed by representatives of every business organization and every profession in the city of Nashville. We organized a Law and Order League. Out of that grew the State Law and Order League. Although it was not an easy thing to work up a state meeting on that subject, we had representative leaders to meet at the capital, and the results were beyond all expectations.

Out of that state meeting came great public interest in the movement. I think I may claim that as a part of the result of our activities Governor Roberts, of Tennessee, during his cam-

paign incorporated a paragraph into his speeches on the subject, and spoke of it in his inaugural address. A bill was passed by the last Legislature giving the Governor of Tennessee police power by which he can immediately put down any mob that may form. I am glad to say that he has the courage and determination to do it. If lynching in this state can not be stopped with such laws in force it is because we have not given our governor enough power. Organization means everything, but we are now at the point where we fail to do what we might, because we do not have a man who can devote all of his time to the work of organizing Law and Order Leagues over the state of Tennessee. We lack money. What we need in the South is organizations that have money so they will be able to put the best men whose services are to be commanded in a position to work out this problem. We need to have great meetings in the South to raise a protest against this terrible evil.

One thing we can do, which is perhaps even more fundamentally necessary than this. We must educate the people in this matter. It is easy to say to the people in the North, and elsewhere, that the people of the South do not believe in lynching, but there are many expressions of public opinion to the contrary. This audience may not have to be educated, but a great many people must yet be educated in the fundamentals of order and justice, and in the necessity of abiding by the laws of the country. We must begin to impress the reverence for law more forcibly than ever before upon the children of this coming generation. It ought to be taught in every school that lynching is unjustifiable under all circumstances. We must appeal to the churches, too. At our meeting in Nashville we advocated vigorous work along this line in every college and in every business organization in the state.

To stop mob violence is largely a matter of educating public sentiment, and it is going to be a long, long process before we shall completely eradicate this evil from our midst. But if we do not do it somebody else is going to do it. If the community can not stop it then the state has got to stop it. If the state can not stop it, then the nation has got to stop it, and we had as well face the situation. It is no small

matter when the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* and the editor of the *Houston Daily Post*, as well as others, have already given up hope in the state, and have said very frankly that the federal authorities will have to take hold of the situation. There are lawyers who speak on both sides of the question, but—hear me!—the thing has got to be stopped.

Did you read that great message from President Wilson last summer? Perhaps you saw it in the papers. Perhaps you paid little attention to it. It was one of his greatest utterances. In it he said that every resource of the country, every particle of our strength must be used to help crush the Germans. But what can we say about crushing a foreign enemy when such terrible things are occurring all over our own country? President Wilson plead with the people as a father pleads with his children to remove this national disgrace from our country. For, he said, every lie that the Germans may tell about us will have more weight while this terrible truth stands out against us as a fact. Do we ever think how this great man must feel at the Peace Conference and refers to the atrocious crimes of the people of other countries, when he has the consciousness that back here in his own country just as great lawlessness is going on and members of our own race are committing such great injustices against each other. Europeans can not understand this thing. I have been in Paris when the only news item I saw in the papers there about America was an account of one of our horrible lynchings. European papers feature a lynching whenever it occurs, because they have no conception of such a thing and can not understand the reason for such a crime. They know, of course, that such means were taken to make quick work of justice in primitive days, but what are you going to say when you read of the unspeakable mutilation of human bodies in this enlightened day? What can you say? I have heard our soldiers speak of their shame when the allies asked them abroad about these things. I know they could only hang their heads in shame when they know that it is advertised to the world that we Americans can so far forget the principles that we are supposed to stand for as to allow these things to happen in this twentieth century in the land that we love. Do you realize the great place that

our country has come to occupy in the life of the world? Do you realize how the nations that are looking to us for leadership must think of us when they know that these things occur in our midst? I tell you it is a blot on our national escutcheon, it is a black spot upon our flag, and causes our chivalry to appear but tinsel in the eyes of the world.

Now, no matter what your motives may have been in coming to this place this evening, ladies and gentlemen, may I not hope that here in this city the white men and women will solemnly dedicate themselves by word, by action, by organization to see to it that these things shall not occur in our America—shall not be allowed to besmirch our American civilization?

VI. INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The American's Creed

The Material Progress of the Laborer

Industrial Democracy

The Search for Social Justice

THE AMERICAN'S CREED

"I BELIEVE in the United States of America as a Government of the people, by the people, for the people, whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable, established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I, therefore, believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies."

THE MATERIAL PROGRESS OF THE LABORER

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IN this period of social unrest it is important to take careful measure of the material progress of the wage earner, to analyze the causes of his present economic condition, and to discuss the possible methods of improving that condition.

As regards the material progress of the wage earner there has undoubtedly been marked improvement. The laborer has shared with other groups in society some of the comforts furnished by machinery and invention. It is interesting to contrast his condition in 1919, at the close of the world-war, with that at the close of the American Revolution, as described by J. B. McMaster in his "History of the People of the United States." In 1784 the unskilled laborer received a pittance of fifty cents a day. "In the low dingy rooms which he called home were wanting many of the articles of adornment and use now found in the dwellings of the poorest of his class. Sand sprinkled on the floor did duty as a carpet. There was no glass on his table, there was no china in his cupboard, there were no prints on his wall. What a stove was he did not know, coal he had never seen, matches he had never heard of. He rarely tasted fresh meat as often as once a week and paid for it at a much higher price than his posterity. Everything, indeed, which ranked as a staple of life was very costly. Many commodities now to be seen on the table of the poor were either quite unknown or beyond the reach of his scanty means. If the food of an artisan would now be thought coarse, his clothes would be thought abominable." A pair of yellow buckskin or leather breeches—smeared with grease to keep them soft and flexible—a checked shirt, a red flannel jacket, a rusty felt hat cocked at the corners, and a leather apron comprised his scanty wardrobe. If he became sick the sheriff probably seized him when he recovered and imprisoned him for the debts that had accumulated during his illness.

Statistics over a long period of time show that wages have tended to increase. But are they increasing as fast as the cost

of living? Wide fluctuations in prices have produced corresponding fluctuations in the purchasing power of wages. Thus for more than a decade after the Civil War prices fell much faster than wages, causing a considerable improvement in the economic condition of the working classes. On the other hand, as prices rose from 1905 to 1912 wages did not correspondingly increase, with the result that the purchasing power of a week's wages was less in 1912 than it had been for twenty to thirty years. The data in the Aldrich Report of 1891, on "Wholesale Prices, Wages, and Transportation," and subsequent bulletins of the United States Department of Labor, show, however, that real wages—that is, wages measured not in money, but in the commodities which the laborers buy—increased about fifty per cent between 1870 and 1903. Bowley in his "National Progress in Wealth and Trade" estimates that in Great Britain for about the same period, namely 1870 to 1900, real wages increased sixty-seven per cent; and for a longer period, from 1840 to 1900, they rose one hundred per cent.

But for wages to increase is not sufficient. The worker may justly demand that his wages increase at least as fast as the resources of the nation. A comparison of the increase of wages and of per capita wealth in Great Britain and the United States shows that this has not been the case. Between 1875 and 1905 the per capita wealth in Great Britain increased fifty per cent. For about the same period, namely 1878 to 1907, W. H. Beveridge, in his book entitled "Unemployment," shows that in five leading British industries wages increased only eighteen per cent. The figures are practically the same for the United States. Thus, in this country, between 1870 and 1900, per capita wealth increased forty-eight per cent, and the average wages only eighteen per cent. In other words, per capita wealth is increasing about three times as fast as wages in both countries.

Moreover, there are still very many workers who are living in poverty, that is, who do not receive sufficient wages for physical and economic efficiency. The familiar studies of social conditions in London by Charles Booth showed that nearly one-third of the whole population were living in

poverty, and B. S. Rowntree, in his study of York, England, found that twenty-eight per cent of the population below the servant-keeping class had insufficient income for physical efficiency. Robert Hunter has estimated that one-fourth of the people in the cities of the United States and one-tenth of the population of the entire country are in poverty. These earlier estimates have been confirmed by numerous recent studies. A necessary living wage for women has been estimated to be, on the average, eight dollars a week. Yet from sixty to seventy-five per cent of working women in New York, Massachusetts, and other states are receiving less than this amount. A necessary living wage for a family of father, mother, and three children has been estimated to average at least fifteen dollars a week for the United States. Yet the same studies show that from fifty to sixty per cent of all male wage earners receive less than this amount.

Before the present great rise in prices I collected, with the help of my students at the University of Tennessee, data concerning the families of wage earners in Knoxville. Accepting \$4.70 a week as a living wage for a man; \$3.70 for a woman; \$2.80 for a child between eleven and fourteen years; and \$1.90 for children under ten years, or \$15 for a family of five, the information collected from 1,415 of these families showed that sixty-six per cent of the whites and fifty-eight per cent of the Negroes did not receive sufficient wages for decent living.

Nor do these figures tell the whole story, as they do not take into consideration the loss of wages through unemployment. They represent the maximum possible wage, rather than the real wages received. The inadequate figures for the United States reveal a large amount of chronic unemployment. The data collected by the New York Bureau of Labor shows that for the ten years from 1901 to 1911, eighteen per cent of the workers were on the average unemployed some time during each month. The more adequate English figures compiled from the records of the trade unions show that for the skilled trades the per centage of chronic unemployment has at no time since 1870 fallen below two per cent, and in times of business depression has risen to ten and eleven per cent.

Moreover, while unemployment in England has never subsequently reached the high point of 1887, yet the figures indicate that the general tendency of chronic unemployment is to increase.

Is the total income of society sufficient to guarantee to each worker a living wage? This is an important question which must be answered by the reformer who seeks to improve conditions. A rough test is to divide the estimate of the total annual income of a nation by its total population and thus derive its annual income per capita. Accepting Dr. Hellfferich's estimate of the annual income of Germany in 1911 as ten billion dollars, the per capita income of Germany for that year was \$150. The per capita income of France, using Dr. Hellfferich's estimate for 1911, was about the same as for Germany, namely, \$152. It was higher for England, \$262 in 1912. W. I. King, in his "Wealth and Income of the People of the United States," estimated, a few years ago, that the per capita income of the United States was \$332, or about \$1,500 for a family of five persons. The above estimates show what would be available if the total annual income were divided equally. But not even the socialists want equal division. To reward initiative and to stimulate production the energetic and the able must receive higher rewards than others. The problem of securing sufficient income to eliminate poverty, and yet provide for these higher incomes, is, therefore, a very serious one in Germany and France. But the resources of the United States and Great Britain are probably large enough to guarantee to all a living wage.

There are many causes of low wages, but a fundamental cause both of low wages and unemployment is the maladjustment of the supply of labor to the demand for it. There is no general surplus of labor because there is no limit to the wants of man. We can use all the workers we have and more. But they are badly distributed between different employments, and the demand for them in each employment varies at different times.

Thus, unskilled laborers do not receive low wages because they perform a less important service than other groups of workers, but because the supply is so large relative to the

demand. Inertia and lack of opportunity for special training keep an undue proportion of workers in this lowest group. Their numbers are further increased by the inefficient workers who have failed to make good in the higher grades of labor, and by the men, displaced by machinery and other labor-saving devices, who are too old or too unadaptable to learn new trades. Their chances to improve their condition are destroyed by the influx, of immigrants ready to come to America, of children ready to leave school, of women ready to emerge from the home whenever the opportunities for employment at unskilled or semi-skilled labor are exceptionally good.

If unskilled laborers should suddenly become scarce, their wages might rise until equal to or greater than those of the skilled. For example, between 1801 and 1810 the frontier and the merchant marine drew many workers away from industrial work. But the skilled artisans did not abandon the trades for which they had sacrificed years of preparatory training. It was the unskilled laborer who disappeared, with the result that his wages rose until they were only slightly less than those of the skilled.

In many of the skilled trades there is likewise a surplus. This surplus may result from a change in the demand for the article produced, from a displacement of hand workers by machines, and from other causes. The man who has devoted years to acquiring proficiency at a trade is naturally loath to abandon it. He does not want to sacrifice additional months or years to training. He may be ignorant of new opportunities. As has already been pointed out he may—if unadaptable, lacking in initiative, or past middle life—sink to the ranks of the unskilled. He clings, therefore, desperately to his trade as long as he is able to secure enough employment to earn a bare living. After a time, moreover, one gets accustomed to intermittent work, develops a fondness for these frequent compulsory vacations, and becomes incapable of steady toil.

Even though the demand for workers is not decreasing, the existence of a surplus is perpetuated in a trade by the shifting of men from one job to another. If no one left his job until he had another position awaiting him, then the sur-

plus of laborers would largely disappear. Unable to get any employment at their trade they would be drawn off to do other work that society needs. But very few men retain permanently the same positions. Restless, dissatisfied workers are constantly quitting with no other jobs in prospect. The incompetents and the misfits are always being summarily discharged by employers. This shifting from job to job with periods of unemployment between is, of course, greatly increased when there is much variation in the demand for labor from week to week, season to season, period of good times to period of bad times. The short time that boys tend to hold their jobs was brought out strikingly in a recent survey of boys employed in the commercial district of Knoxville, Tenn., made by the writer with the aid of university students. Forty-two per cent of working boys between the ages of ten and twenty had held their jobs three months or less. Only eight per cent had been employed in their present positions over one year. This changing of jobs, while undoubtedly less prevalent among adults, nevertheless exists to a great extent among them. The final result is that even in the busiest times there are in many industries more workers than jobs, and the competition of this surplus of labor ready to work for low wages forces down the scale of the others.

Better adjustment of the supply of labor to meet the demand might be secured through trade unions or through state action. The trade unions have not, however, been very successful in regulating the supply of labor. One of their methods has been to limit the number of apprentices. But with the division of labor and the introduction of machinery, apprenticeship is breaking down, and even skilled artisans are secured by promotion from the less skilled workers in the same establishment.

A second method of the trade union is to fix the daily stint of work and thus make more work to go around. Unions rarely enact definite rules of such a character, but there is sometimes an unwritten agreement as to what shall constitute a fair day's work. Such attempts to make more work to go around fail, however, to relieve unemployment and to rid the trade of surplus workers. In the first place, a man is apt to

limit his output in prosperous times when such restriction is little needed, and, for fear of losing his job, to work with maximum efficiency in bad times when such restriction might be helpful. In the second place, while limiting a man's output may divide the work among a larger number of men, a surplus of intermittently employed workers is still attracted to or retained in the trade so long as there is shifting from one job to another.

Moreover, limitation of output is demoralizing to the worker, because it destroys the ideal of good workmanship, one of the big factors in the development of character. It is injurious to industrial welfare, because it increases the cost of production in industries where it prevails, because it prevents the release of the surplus of workers to develop the new industries which society requires. Ruskin, in his "Munera Pulveris," told us over half a century ago that the workman serves his country with his spade as a soldier with his sword. This has been the great lesson which the world-war of 1914-1918 has taught us, and it should be the central plank of our industrial platform during the period of reconstruction and peace.

Effective control of the labor market can probably be secured only through action on the part of the Federal Government. We are discussing, to-day, the desirability of unifying the railroads to eliminate the wastes of competition. We are proposing to allow manufacturers to pool their output so as to adjust the supply of commodities to the demands of domestic and foreign trade. Why should we not also pool the labor market?

The machinery for such regulation of the labor market exists in the Federal Employment Bureaus. The first essential is practically universal use of the bureau by employers and employees. At present, it is used primarily to secure jobs only for certain limited groups of unskilled laborers. Universal use of the employment bureaus should be secured as far as possible by propaganda, by voluntary coöperation on the part of both employers and workmen. But in industries where there is much unemployment due to fluctuations in the demand for labor by employers, the use of the bureaus might possibly be made compulsory.

The functions of such employment bureaus should be much more than trying to find jobs for men. Connected with them should be a staff of investigators to collect data and to formulate policies for the better distribution of labor. Their power over the labor market will enable them to decrease the surplus in some industries and to direct additional labor into newly developing ones. It will enable them to discourage reasonless quitting of work on the part of employees and arbitrary discharge of workers by employers. Such bureaus may influence employers to distribute work more evenly over the year, and not to vary dull seasons and much unemployment with seasons of rush and overtime work.

Such federal regulation of the labor market will not destroy the trade unions. Rather it will make collective bargaining by the unions more successful. It will not remove the necessity of other government regulation of labor conditions, but may make such regulation more effective. Thus, the establishment of a minimum living wage by law may still be needed. But the bureau will help to solve the problem of the incompetent thrown out of a job because unable to earn the legal minimum. Industrial education is expected to raise the wages of the unskilled by drawing off the surplus of workers in this group into other occupations. But unless the number receiving the various kinds of industrial education be regulated by some agency having knowledge of the labor market, this gain in the wages of the unskilled may be wholly or partly offset by the overcrowding of certain skilled trades, and hence the decline in the wages of these groups of workers. Compulsory or voluntary labor colonies for those who will not work or those who can not work may restore physical efficiency and habits of industry to those who have lost them. But unless referred to some adequate employment agency, these men will probably return to the odd jobs or casual work which originally demoralized them, and then nothing will be accomplished. There are many who favor out-of-work insurance, but unemployment insurance is impracticable without some agency, like a federal employment bureau, able to determine whether a man is out of a job because he can not get work or because he wants to loaf. Everywhere we find the

need of alleviating the harshness of unrestrained labor competition. Everywhere we find the need of some powerful directive agency working in accordance with a fixed policy based on adequate knowledge of the labor market.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

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Now that the world-war for democracy is consummated, and autocracy forever banished—at least from Europe—the most amazing fact which emerges for our reflection is that this achievement had to be brought about at a cost of life and property beyond that of any other achievement in the history of mankind. Indeed, it is inexpressibly amazing that the object sought for and gained at such a price could not have been reached through the exercise of human reason, through the application to the situation of those fundamental principles which have been observed to be characteristic of the progress of civilization. If there is one fact of social evolution standing out more clearly than another it is that the trend of progress in the Western World has been away from autocracy and paternalism, and towards freedom and democracy. This trend has been conspicuous in industry, in the family, in religion, and in government. The world-war had to be fought out simply because some of the nations of the earth were blind to this universal trend. It will always stand out as one of the most remarkable discordances of history that a people as learned as the German should have remained totally blind to the most obvious facts of human history, and should have perpetuated in their social organization those paternal aspects of industry—the family, religion, and government—which have been against the whole trend of civilization. How much better it would have been for the world, and especially for Emperor William and his military aristocracy, if they had perceived the trend of civilization, and had sought to guide it towards its destination? But such seems to be the aberration

of a privileged class everywhere that, owl-like, the more light they have the darker their vision, and they everywhere encumber the path of progress, and have to be ejected by violence.

Let us hope that the last great battle has been fought for political freedom, that the world is now safe for all democratic nations, and that the few remaining monarchies will soon undergo a peaceful evolution into self-governing states.

However, before the smoke of battle of the world-war has quite cleared away, we see the horizon in every direction ablaze with another revolution of far greater extent and importance than the one we are rejoicing to have brought to an end. The new revolution now flaming up in every country is merely a continuation and logical sequence of the one just ended. This is a revolution for democracy in industry, and it will go on, like the political evolution of the past, in spite of all opposition, until it is everywhere an accomplished fact.

The great problem for the world now is, What shall be the attitude of the capitalists and of all enlightened citizens towards this new revolution? Will they have the vision to perceive the inevitable trend of industrial evolution, and seek to guide it to its destination, or will they, like the German aristocracy in the political revolution, remain blind, and set themselves as encumbrances in the path of progress? Their attitude towards this revolution will determine whether it shall move on peacefully or become a red flame as in Russia. When this revolution has run its triumphant course will the historian look back with amazement at the same blindness and imbecility of the capitalist class that characterized the Germans in their attitude towards the political revolution?

In the industrial world we see labor and capital divided into hostile camps, wasting their strength and resources in warfare, and inflicting terrible suffering upon the non-combatant population. Will these contending forces ever sign an armistice and form a league to enforce future peace, or will the war go on until the social structure collapses and crushes both of them? I believe that it is entirely feasible to bring about a permanent peace between labor and capital through the application of democratic principles to industry. And, in

the interest of that peace, I will venture to indicate the fundamental wrong in the present relationship of labor and capital, and the kind of reconstruction needed to adjust industry to a democratic basis.

The laborer under present conditions has no permanent connection with any industry, he has no share in the management, and no share in the profits of a business in which he may spend the greater part of his life. Above all, he has no initiative, no feeling of responsibility, and no opportunity for self-assertion. He lacks self-respect and feels that he is less than a man. The problem of reconstruction is simply to give to the laborer the liberty of self-direction. As every man should have a vote in the political group to which he belongs, so every laborer should have a voice in the conduct of the industry in which he works. As autocracy and paternalism have been banished from the political world, so should they be banished from the industrial world. All incorporated industries should constitute a real or approximate partnership.

Industrial democracy as here outlined has no kinship with Bolshevism, which aims at the destruction of all capitalists. It has no kinship with state socialism, which aims to set up a form of paternalism worse than that ever exercised by capitalists. It has kinship only with political democracy, which ensures to every individual that freedom, initiative, and self-determination to which all progress in the past has been due, and without which there can be no progress in the future.

THE SEARCH FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

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THE prevailing emphasis on social service, the adoption of social creeds by various denominations and by the Federal Council of Churches, the writing of books on the relation of Christianity to social problems, the multiplication of agencies for the relief of human needs, and the increasing demand for legislation to the same end—all manifest a growing conviction that it is the mission of Christianity to transform not only the individual, but through the individual to transform society as well. It is not enough that a man shall be brought into right

relationship with God; he must be brought into right relationship with his fellow-men also. This social content is peculiar to the Christian religion. Some one has said that man and God are sufficient for the perfect expression of all other religions, but that full-rounded Christianity demands the relations of man and God and the other man.

Just as nothing that affected human welfare was a matter of indifference to Christ, so it can not be to Christianity and to Christ-like men. When the Christian fully recognizes that fact, he becomes profoundly concerned not only for the salvation of men from death in the world to come, but also from the living death of injustice, of oppression, of ignorance and hunger and cold and despair, from which so many suffer in the world that now is. Any interest short of that in his fellow-men is a travesty on the Christianity of Christ.

The Christian's first effort to relieve conditions is quite naturally in the direction of charity, social service, welfare work, and the like—an effort to save one here and there from the general wreckage, and to ameliorate in some degree the unhappy state of others. United charities are organized, social settlements established, free clinics opened, nurse deaconesses employed, night schools and clubs conducted, all on the basis of philanthropy. All this is fine, as far as it goes, and vitally necessary. Not one whit of such activities should be abated so long as there is need.

But the social worker soon finds that he is treating symptoms, not the disease itself. He finds that men can not live decently on starvation wages; they can not keep well in unsanitary tenements; they can not be expected to educate their children when every penny of the parents' possible earnings is needed to keep the wolf from the door; they can not improve their minds without leisure and physical strength; they can make little or no provision for illness and old age. Something better and more just than charity is needed.

So the awakened Christian citizen demands minimum wage legislation, limitation of hours, housing reform, regulation of working conditions, anti-child-labor laws, compulsory education, old-age insurance, and the like. All this is good. We desperately need a great deal more of it.

However, it becomes increasingly evident that we have not yet got to the root of the trouble. Our whole economic order is built on the two fundamental principles of competition and exploitation. Both these principles, time honored though they be, are distinctly anti-social and un-Christian. Was it not the purpose of Jesus to raise men to the level of brotherhood and coöperation? What chance is there for the realization of that ideal under a system in which each is engaged in a competitive struggle for existence?

For the vast mass of people the rule of competition must necessarily be each for himself and each, whether he will or not, against the rest. Beneath the surface of the most prosperous and peaceable times run the conflicting currents of human interest, not infrequently in times of stress breaking out into open warfare. Even combinations of capital and labor are but means employed by limited groups to carry on the competitive struggle more effectively. Business can never be thoroughly Christian so long as competition and conflict of interest, rather than coöperation and mutual helpfulness, lie at its base.

Exploitation, or profits, is essentially of the same nature, but is even less defensible. It means not the even balance of justice, of value for value, but the payment to labor of less than it earns, and the selling of commodities for more than they are worth. No concern long employs men unless they earn more than they receive, else there would be no profit to the employer. A shoe manufacturer produces shoes not primarily because people need them, but only because people need them so badly that they are willing to pay more than they cost. Eliminate profits, and every factory will shut down promptly, and mankind will go barefoot forever unless some other way be devised. The merchant distributes goods for the same sole purpose—that he may get for them more than they cost. The measure of this excess, this unearned value, determines the success of his business.

Give to others as little as possible; get from others as much—this is the motto of business all along the line. No

room here for Jesus's ideals of service and self-forgetfulness. The business world can never be Christian so long as it remains a world in which each is taught, if not compelled, to seek a position of vantage from which he may exploit his fellows, and thrive on the unearned appropriation of their labor or their wealth.

Is there a better way? Is it possible for society to be organized on a more Christian basis? There is a large and growing company of Christian students of the economic order who confidently think so, and that the world is rapidly tending in that direction. The prophetic Rauschenbusch long stood out as a conspicuous apostle of a new and Christian order of coöperation. The social creed adopted by the Federal Council and affirmed by many denominations points clearly in that direction. That adopted in 1916 by the Methodist Episcopal Church goes yet farther, declaring for "industrial democracy," for the "most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised," and for the "fullest possible coöperative control and ownership of industry and of the natural resources upon which industry depends."

Now comes the most striking pronouncement of all—the social program adopted last fall by the General Conference of Canadian Methodism. Studying the war's deeper meanings to society, and looking forward to the new world order of which we have heard so much, this great religious body said:

"The triumph of democracy, the demand of the educated workers for human conditions of life, the deep condemnation this war has passed on the competitive struggle, the revelation of the superior efficiency of national organization and coöperation combine with the unfulfilled, though often forgotten, but undying ethics of Jesus to demand nothing less than a transference of the whole economic life from a basis of competition and profits to one of coöperation and service.

"The present economic system stands revealed as one of the roots of the war. The insane pride of Germany, her

passion for world domination, found an occasion in the demand of colonies as markets and sources of raw material—the imperative need of competing groups of industries carried on for profits.

“The war has made more clearly manifest the moral perils inherent in the system of production for profits. Condemnation of special individuals seems often unjust and always futile. The system rather than the individual calls for change. . . . The last century democratized politics; the twentieth century has found that political democracy means little without economic democracy.”

There is no doubt that the Canadian Methodists are right in condemning the chief foundations of the present social order—competition and profits—as distinctly anti-social and un-Christian and at the bottom of a large part of the ills that afflict society to-day. All reforms of the social order which leave these inethical foundations intact will prove futile in large degree. When the enlightened religious leaders of our land recognize that fact and boldly demand the substitution of an order that is brotherly and Christian—an order of coöperation and service—they may expect from the vast hosts of depressed and exploited humanity such gratitude and loyalty as no religious leader ever received, save Christ himself. Indeed, such a position is imperatively demanded in these days when there are few advanced thinkers who do not recognize that such a reform must be accomplished if society expects to progress very much further. It is the logical next step in social evolution.

If given a fair chance this reform will inevitably come about by orderly and well-considered steps. Revolution is to be feared only as a result of hopeless apathy or indifference on the part of those who by every right should lead in the crusade for social justice, or as a result of the unreasoning opposition of blind conservatism and sordid self-interest. The irresistible forces of social evolution may be so long repressed that they break through at last with explosive violence, as was the case in Russia; but it need not be so in enlightened and free America. Only let the religious leadership of our

country take into its hands this great fight for elemental justice and human rights, and it will be won speedily, bloodlessly, and to the glory of the nation.

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By every right the leadership of this movement belongs to the church. Born of the principles of Jesus, the first great democrat, rooted in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, it is primarily a great religious movement. The church robs itself when it gives it over into hands less sacred and altruistic than its own. And the time to act is now, if the haunting terror of Bolshevism is to be banished from the world. For if one may read with any certainty the signs of the times, either brotherhood or Bolshevism lie just ahead. And it rests with the church to determine which it shall be.

VII. THE CHURCH CONSERVING LIFE

The Program of Jesus

The Coming Church and Its Social Program

What the Church Can Do to Conserve Human Life

THE PROGRAM OF JESUS

“JESUS WENT ABOUT—

TEACHING . . .

. . . . PREACHING

. . . . HEALING”

—Matt. 9:35.

THE COMING CHURCH AND ITS SOCIAL PROGRAM

REV. CHARLES T. ALEXANDER, D. D.

WE speak of the church that is to incorporate in its life the ideals of social service that are now in process of formation. We have only a local congregation in view, one that has discovered itself in the light of its larger obligations and possibilities as an organ in the common community life.

The last century, ecclesiastically speaking, was preëminently doctrinal, controversial, belligerent; and, in new sections of country, where there were rival efforts to occupy the field, it was intensely sectarian. Many of the churches were so "other-worldly" as to be unearthly. The message and the life was extremely individualistic; and there was but little positive, aggressive purpose toward temporal betterment of the community life except in indirect and secondary ways. There was no distinct social message. The old message developed the individual conscience, and did give a powerful conviction with reference to individual responsibilities and needs. And all this was and is a very necessary foundation for the community message and the community life, if we would keep spiritual Christianity in its proper balance. The old message was aggressively evangelistic in preparation for death and the next world: not so much concerned about the welfare of this world. In fact this world was like a burning house, and the Christian's main business was to get people out of it.

The present century finds a remarkable change of view regarding Christian duties toward this present world. The present message is more constructive and coöperative. There is at present an imperative conviction with regard to church duties to the community life as a whole, as well as an abiding conviction with regard to the great fundamental doctrines of the Christian system and the Christian faith. The church is finding its calling to an *institutional* as well as to a *testimonial* life. Truth is always twofold in its mission, though we may have seen but one side. Its message is first of all testimonial; and then, as a vital fact in the lives of those who yield to it, it becomes institutional. How else could Truth become rooted

in the earth and be made a living power amidst a people welded together into a common fellowship with common purposes and common obligations?

SOME ESSENTIAL FACTORS IN THE COMING CHURCH

1. *A re-statement of doctrines in terms of modern thought and modern life.* People must be addressed in the realm where they are living. The time has come when the whole system of Christian doctrines that are to vitalize faith in the common life of a church and community shall be expressed in terms that are intelligible to the present-day thinking of the masses. The dawning of the day of democracy in religion as well as in politics demands such re-statement, not primarily for the men of the ministry but for the masses. And we may venture to say that this re-statement will be made in terms of *personal relationship*; that is, personal relationship to Christ and personal relationships to each other and to the world. In other words, the church must express itself sociologically as well as theologically, and these two channels of expression shall flow into the one stream of faith and obedience to the will of God in all things temporal and spiritual.

2. *The bridge between the Clergy and the Laity* shall be made broad enough for the procession of the ever-growing democracy of the age to pass over as a common fellowship. The man who would lead the masses must get in line and become one of them. The larger enlistment of the ministry in the common fellowship and its social movements is becoming more and more a prime necessity; and the minister who will not heed and obey the call will soon be left to ponder in the silence of his own self-imposed emptiness and desolation. He will indeed become but a voice "crying in the wilderness."

3. *The sociological call of the age must be heard and obeyed by the ruling powers of the various denominations.* The movement must become crystallized into definite convictions and into definite lines of denominational endeavor. Then its call can come to all the local forces, the local congregations, with general denominational sanction and command.

It will thus become more of a distinct department in each local church program, and its needs as a department can be provided for. *Here is the next forward step to be taken by this Congress, the step of such enlistment of the various religious bodies in ways that shall make the work a definite religious obligation along with Missions, Benevolence, and Education.* All this will mean a more comprehensive local program. It will certainly mean a definite social service for the community life as a whole.

DEPARTMENTS OF SERVICE IN THE COMING CHURCH

The fully enlisted church of the future will have a definite program that will cover not less than five lines of special endeavor. These lines shall include: (1) Evangelism, (2) Missions, (3) Education, (4) Community Welfare, (5) Human Betterment at Large. The coming church will thus stand, not for less, but for more than it has in the past. We are already familiar with the present established departments of church service. A special word, however, should be spoken regarding the last two mentioned.

Community Welfare. Such service is sure to become a distinct department of regular church work. In this department the otherwise unenlisted members can become awakened and enlisted for a form of service that comes right to our doors. It is here that the church can coördinate all local forces for community welfare: The medical organizations, the civic leagues, the commercial clubs, the women's clubs, the literary societies, and every form of worthy endeavor in the community, and turn all into one mighty coöperative channel for the general uplift of the community life as a whole.

Human Betterment. There is a work of enlistment and coöperative activity for the country at large that ought to find its place in the highest thinking and the largest patriotic service of the churches. The problems here are many. The temperance cause, the problem of Sabbath desecration, the growing divorce evil, child welfare, and a multitude of others that could be mentioned. Surely the churches should bring to bear

all their powers upon such matters, and help erect standards for all the country that are in harmony with the ideals and teaching of Christ.

A SUGGESTED LOCAL SOCIOLOGICAL PROGRAM

A department of social service might include such program as follows: Committees of enlisted men and women might be appointed and their work cover such items of common social interest as will meet the general needs of the whole community.

1. *Sanitation and Health.* Surely here is a most worthy and a most sadly neglected service. Under skillful patriotic medical leadership such committee ought to render great service to all the community.

2. *Child Welfare and Home Coöperation.* The fact that thirty babies die in this country every hour is sufficient evidence that some mothers needed help from others who are able to render the help. Neglected children need attention, multitudes of homes can be helped by tactful, helpful workers who know what they are doing.

3. *Law Enforcement and Moral Delinquency.* City, town, and village officials need the help of the forces of righteousness; and the morally down-and-outs need the gentle touch of forces that stand for redemption.

4. *Race Problems and Race Coöperation.* In the Southland we naturally think first of the Negro race, and we ought to think more of our obligation to that race. Through an efficient department of social service the coöperation and the help so seriously and so justly needed can be given.

5. *Intellectual, Moral, and Social Welfare.* The reading of the public, the building up of private and public libraries, the matters of entertainment and amusement, the stimulation of social contact of all the people in most helpful ways—all these and many other things can be cared for under the work of this committee.

6. And other committees, such as *Industry and Labor; Civic Improvements; Public Institutions and Enterprises*—

Educational, Penal, Charitable; and others as local needs may require, may be appointed and used to great advantage to the community life.

CHURCHES SOCIOLOGICALLY CLASSIFIED

From the standpoint of social service, churches may be classified into at least four distinct groups, each one of which has its own peculiar community problems. They are: (1) The city church, (2) the large-town church, (3) the village church, and (4) the rural church. In many things the obligations of these groups overlap, and become one in common. But in other things each stands out in a somewhat different sphere of community service. The social program of each of these groups will differ essentially according to its needs. No general program can possibly be made to fit all of these groups; any general scheme that succeeds will comprehend the complex needs of each group and classify the work under each head to make it all tangible and practical. We have reached the stage of the sociological movement now when we shall begin to translate theory into practical reality. The churches are waiting now for the HOW and the WHAT. The next step before us is the step of local enlistment, organization, equipment, and a trained leadership. This brings us to the practical question before us.

MATTERS OF NECESSARY PREPARATION BEFORE US

Like all other departments of church service to-day, the department of social service is one of gradual discovery and enlargement. For a long period of time, the departments of Sunday school, of missions, and of Christian education were each one considered as a kind of side issue. Through processes of growth, each one has entered now into the one general program of the churches as the main things for which the church exists. The department of social service is now in its first stage of evolution in many of the churches: multitudes have not yet discovered it at all. But it is destined to take its place in the near future by the side of the other departments mentioned. The call will become more and more insistent for

special training and equipment for the world. It will in many instances change the ideal of architecture for church purposes. The immediate needs for this service lie along several lines. We will venture to suggest a few of these needs.

1. *The creation of a practical literature specially adapted to the needs of church workers.* We need a literature specially prepared for the churches according to their peculiar spheres, whether city, town, village, or country. The denominations will come to a uniform literature just as they have for the Sunday school, the young people, and for missions. We need a workers' manual, especially for those who would lead in such work. When social service becomes a definite, organized movement in the denominations, then we may expect the evolution of literature and all other equipment necessary.

2. *The enlistment and special training of pastors for the work.* Intelligent pastoral leadership is an absolute necessity. While no pastor can do everything that is called for in general church service, he can yet inspire and call out others who can assume the leadership and direct the work. The glory of this department of service is that it can find men and women who can think out the problems and lead the forces. The large numbers of unenlisted church members who seem to have nothing to do in any other sphere of service, can be enlisted in this service that comes so near the doors of every home in the community.

3. *More definite and practical instruction is needed in our schools.* Our theological seminaries especially have been giving strong emphasis along lines of sociological study. But the work needs to find a larger place in all of our schools, even in the high schools themselves. We have heard much about "Industrial Arts," "Household Economics," "Manual Training," and all such suggestive terms. Why not expect to see the full-rounded development of all these important subjects into a complete system of social service to a community life as a whole?

The coming church, realizing that it is called to minister to all the needs of the individual—spiritual, moral, social, intellectual, and physical—will discover that in that call it is neces-

sarily called to serve the whole community life in which the individual forms a constituent part. The pulpit of the coming church can preach intelligently and consistently the program of the Master: "And Jesus went about all Galilee, *teaching* in their synagogues (educational service), *preaching* the gospel of the kingdom (the testimonial service), and *healing* all manner of sickness and all manner of diseases among the people (social service)."

It is said that Jesus grew in "wisdom" (i. e., intellectually), and in "stature" (i. e., physically), and in favor with God (i. e., morally and spiritually), and "with man" (i. e., socially). So should His churches grow full-rounded and symmetrical, that they may reflect the full-orbed Christ-life to all the world.

WHAT THE CHURCH CAN DO TO CONSERVE HUMAN LIFE

RABBI RUDOLPH I. COFFEE, PH. D.

I WAS glad that the last speaker concluded by saying that cleanliness is godliness, because the church and the school will absolutely agree upon that point.

So far as this fine singing is concerned, about "Walking in Jerusalem," boys, you can do it now. The allies are there, and they are going to keep Jerusalem; and, hereafter, there will be no more "scraps of paper," because democracy will be written large, in the Holy City, which, for so long, has been the unholy city; and let us only hope that it will be something more than a song, but a real, actual fact for those folks who are interested in the upward march.

I am thinking, this April, of a fool thing I did ten years ago, April the 1st. On that day I was called upon to officiate at the wedding of a very fine young lady—estimable family, good reputation, poor people. But the intended husband was a lucky fellow who is always able to make a good living, the first fellow to come around with a glad hand, to offer his services for all philanthropic purposes, good provider; and I felt certain, when I went home that night, that I had officiated

at a wedding which meant happiness and joy for both people. By a very strange coincident, on April 1st, nine years ago, I was in the hospital, the Mercy Hospital of Pittsburgh, and one of the distinguished surgeons came out of the operating room and said to me, "It is all right, Rabbi. Mrs. X will be all right. She will get over the operation. Of course, she will never know the joys of motherhood, but she will be all right." I didn't quite understand what he meant. In going to a physician, who was very friendly towards me, I asked him to explain; and he says, "Don't you know that two-thirds of the fellows who marry are unclean and unfit to marry?" I started the study and investigation; and, from that day to this, may it please God, as long as I live, I have resolved never again to officiate in unholy wedlock.

In 1913, the state legislature of Pennsylvania passed a law compelling every prospective bride and groom, under oath, to affirm that he and she are, to the best of their knowledge, in good health; and I was the only clergyman in the state of Pennsylvania who fought for that law. That is my first explanation of what the church can do to conserve human life in this great and terrible crisis.

The church must stand for cleanliness on the day of marriage; and when a fellow goes to a judge, or a justice of the peace, or some civil official, let him explain to his friends that he was clean enough to be married under the sanction of the church. In other words, instead of trying to cure and remedy, we shall prevent and remove the horrible curses, which the government statistics tell us to-day are costing fifteen hundred dollars for every man that goes into the army infected with venereal disease. I tell you that it is a startling travesty, a tragic travesty on the impotence of the church in the past that our hands have been tied. We have been upholding the double standard of morality. "We shall have segregation, to keep our women safe," they tell us. Lo and behold! however, great, fine, American men—Raymond Fosdick, chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, Secretary Baker, Secretary Daniels, President Wilson, as foremost of all these—by one sweep of the pen decided that the segregated district must end where there is a Union soldier.

Now, it is for the church to step in and say that the segregated idea is dead, buried forever, and that if our soldiers are kept clean in the cantonments, clean in France, they are coming home to a country as clean as we can make this country for them to live in. Therefore, I say to you, on the day of marriage, the church must stand for the single standard, only the single standard of morality. And the pity of it all is that this Bible, on which we place our basis, has been standing, has been emphasizing the single standard, and we seem to have recognized it not.

I would have the church take on what social agencies are doing in the nonsectarian world. Only this week, I am reading, in New York and Boston, the fine work they are doing in prenatal care. They are doing all within their power to study women, so that, before the baby comes into the world, the mother will have the correct atmosphere and the proper instruction in how to care for the child prior to its entrance into this world. To-day, prior to giving birth to a child, the mother hides herself, the expectant mother. It should be a badge of honor to go forth, that "God is about to give me the holiest privilege a woman may enjoy, and that is giving birth to a child." And if any one function belongs to the church it is to emphasize the sacredness and the sanctity of life, by telling this woman, "We pray God's blessing upon you, that your child to be may be an American citizen, richly blessing this country." That seems to be the idea, unfortunately, too little understood. Yet statistics in Detroit, taken last year, show that two-thirds of the women bearing children have absolutely no medical attention, much less correct guidance and instruction. Only one in three seeks the doctor for instruction. And here is the work where the church can emphasize the sanctity of human life, encouraging the right spirit among people, the right outlook on this problem.

Next month throughout the country, in Jewish synagogues, there will be confirmation. In most instances, what obtains with me will obtain with other congregations, that every boy who is to be confirmed, say, of fifteen years of age, will be told by a physician just what physical changes take place in the period of puberty. Every Jewish girl will be

told, by a competent woman physician, just what changes take place in her physique. We say it is the duty of the synagogue and the church, and not the duty of companions on the street; not stuff thrown off in the umbrages of the country; not smutty words spoken by old companions, but, in the sanction of the church, by competent instructors, show our boys and girls in what is the human body beautiful; and the minister of God who interprets his function seriously will do all within his power so to prepare his girls and boys that the girl will expect her intended to be just as pure on his wedding day as the man demands of the woman in America to-day.

The church realizes, as never before, the tremendous power and strain and drain placed upon it; and I am not here this morning to speak to men, because there are medical men who know a great deal more about it than I do, about the terrible ravages of venereal diseases. But when the cantonments were filled with men who, some way, were put aside for special treatment, surely something is wrong with our work in the past. But, thank God, we are living in the most glorious epoch in the history of the world. Never was an army gathered, cared for, and protected in the way the American soldier boy was gathered from all corners of the country and protected, and by the motherly arm of our blessed government. Before, they used to say: "You are in the army; nothing counts." Now, we say: "You are in the American army; everything counts." Before, during the Crusades, they rallied an army from beloved France, and the soldiers would not go; would not go towards Jerusalem to take the Holy City out of the hands of the infidel, until they gathered another army of sixteen hundred lewd women, and then the soldiers marched forth in the name of God. To-day, we have come to the right basis, and we say, "Continence, purity in the home life, is the *sine qua non*, is the first consideration of the American soldier"; and that we, after demanding purity on behalf of the soldiers, can we do less in the cities and on the farms of America in this great lesson, which the church will have to drive home?

Sickness is a crime. You have heard, this morning, typhoid fever spells dirt, which it does. Ten years ago,

Pittsburgh had more cases of typhoid fever than any city in America. Were we proud of it? Every hour of every day a new case reported. Did we boast of our country? No. We installed a filtration plant in Pittsburgh, and now it is as clean as any other city in America. We did not blame God for the typhoid fever. We placed the blame right squarely on man; and that is the duty of the church.

A hundred years ago, in Philadelphia, four persons out of five had the marks of smallpox. To-day, you can live your whole life, in certain parts of America, and never see the signs of smallpox. One hundred and twenty-five years ago, four little babies out of five died before the first birthday. To-day, conditions are absolutely reversed, and four out of five live to the end of the first birthday. It is not cleanliness alone. It is godliness, because the one is coexistent with the other. And now, when you are talking about conserving your cotton, and about the different forms of fruit trees, and all your agricultural products in the South, it is the natural transition to go from agriculture to the school, and from the school to the church. It is all right to save your cotton and your pigs, but more important to save human life, which is the crowning apex of God's work.

Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale University, said, eight years ago, that there were 600,000 preventable deaths in this country; and, in the year 1917, he raised the terrible figures to show that 630,000 persons died from preventable causes. Now, think of that. If the church could only bring forth with clarion call the sanctity of human life, what a different atmosphere there would be.

Three million people of America needlessly ill last year. Three million people whose illness could have been prevented. Think of the terrible sum in dollars and cents for each man, woman, and child, sick, out of work. Can you conceive of that great sum? In New York state alone, a total of \$14,000,000. So, now, we have taken two steps, the first of which is workmens' compensation. It is sweeping the country. All progressive states are falling into line, because we understand now that when a man is compensated for his injuries,

the boss and the corporation provide the proper safety appliances on every side. I remember in Pittsburgh, in 1909, there were 531 deaths in the steel mills. And as soon as it was arranged that compensation be paid, and the safety appliances were actually put in effect, very soon thereafter the total fell down to a minimum, a very small proportion of the original.

My point is that this is a function of the church, to preach fearlessly and clearly, upon the need for prolonging human life. And the second step for workmens' compensation, as practically covering the country, is health insurance. It means a great deal for the church to stand up and preach to-day on behalf of health insurance. When a man is sick, he will receive two-thirds of his salary. Every other civilized country, and at least one uncivilized country in Europe, has already installed health insurance. We are the only civilized country in the world yet to follow in the same beaten track. We need health insurance, and we need it in the name of the church.

There is a great field for the church at this moment, much greater than ever before. You have heard so much about the decline of the church. It is not true, except that the church has not accepted the challenge thrown out to it through modern times. Will the church preach about the "other" world of which we know nothing; or will the church preach about the world in which we live? Will the church make clear that we are now prolonging life? Fifty years ago, thirty-three and a third years was the average span of life; to-day, it is forty. Why should it not be, as the Psalmist says, seventy, even one-half one hundred forty?

Personally, I believe absolutely in voluntary motherhood. I was speaking with a minister coming down on the car. He says to me, "Rabbi, how can you say that? Doesn't the Bible, the very first thing, in Genesis, say, 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth'?" I said, "Yes, sir, it does; but nowhere do I read in the Bible where it says, 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth with degenerates, imbeciles, and blind babies'." My idea of religion is

a God of love, and not a God of injustice. I can not conceive of a God that brings a blind child into the world. I can not conceive of a God punishing the innocent child.

Let me tell just a little story, to illustrate the point, and then I am done. Last Decoration Day, May 30th, up North, I was in Johnstown, Pa. You may remember the day following May 31, 1889, there was a terrible storm. The river overflowed, the walls of the dam burst, and 3,200 human lives were swept out of existence within an hour's time. After speaking there before a Jewish congregation, I was taken to see the most beautiful spot in the town, a wonderful cemetery, high up above the hills. A dear old grandmother asked me to first come with her and see the thousand unnamed graves. They are buried, by these friendly people, whose remains were not recognized. And then she took me over to a little mound, and beneath that lay her husband, a victim of that terrible catastrophe. And this dear old grandmother almost savagely turned on me, and said, "If God is love, why did He make my three little babies orphans, when they needed a father's care and affection?" We entered her machine. I could not answer, but I asked to be taken up to the dam, the reservoir from which the water of the town comes. When we came there, by the merest good fortune, I met the engineer who had been on the works the day of the terrible tragedy, and I asked him to explain it to us. He said a week before the tragedy they had the annual meeting of the board of directors, and there was a new man on the board; and he said, "Mr. President, I want to make a motion that we spend ten thousand dollars to strengthen the dam." The president said, "Sit down. You are out of order. This meeting was called to pass the annual dividend." The young man insisted, "Mr. President, but the dam is unsafe." The president said, "You will take your seat or leave this room." You see, they had money for dividends, but no money for improvements. A week later there was a heavy rainstorm, and the dam, in its weakened condition, burst, killing 3,200 human souls. And then I turned to this dear grandmother, and I said, "Grandmother, God did not kill your husband. Men did." So I tell

you that when there is disease, and filth, and starvation in this country, it is not God's fault. The sooner we place the responsibility where it belongs, on our own shoulders, the sooner will we win this war and become a nation of healthy people, a nation of happy, kindly people.

VIII. ORGANIZATION

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The Southwestern Sociological Congress

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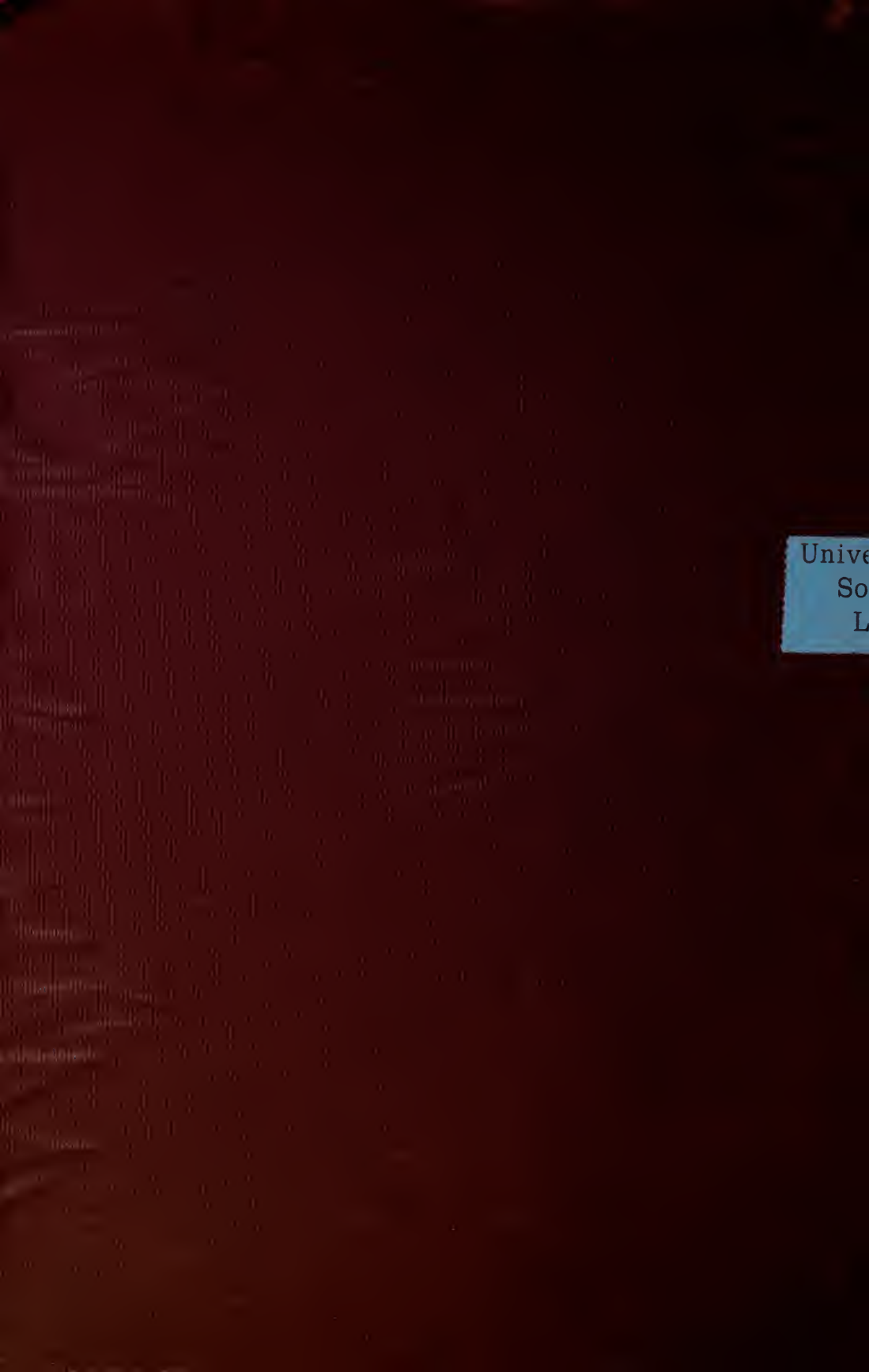
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