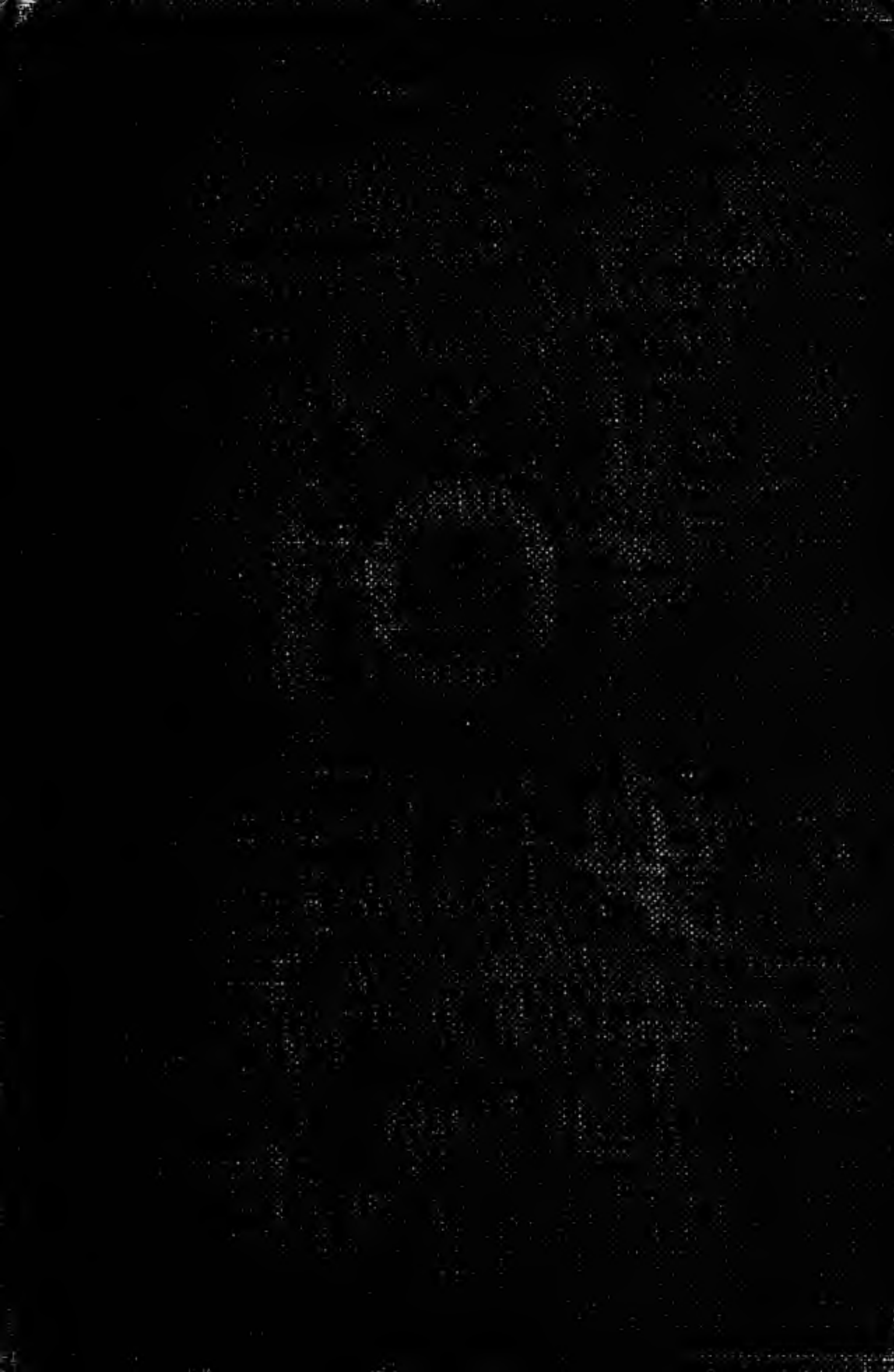

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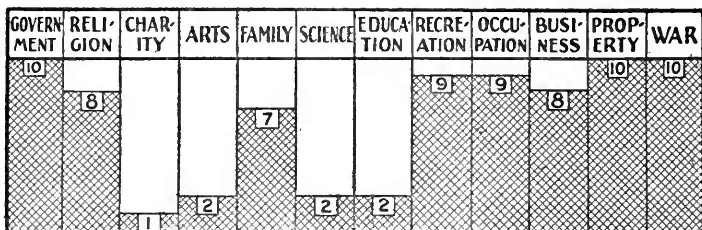

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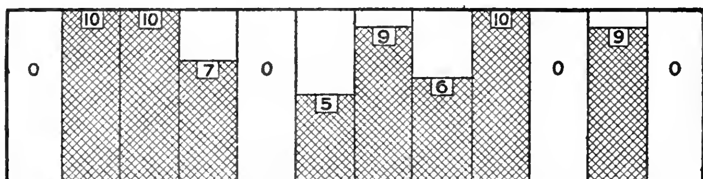

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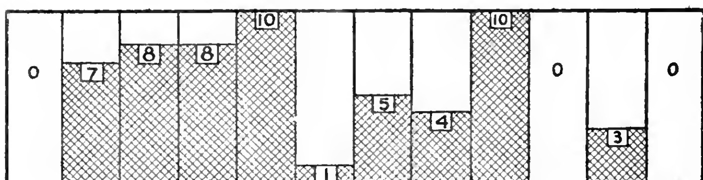


Harriet Beecher Stowe

COMPARATIVE INSTITUTIONAL INTERESTS

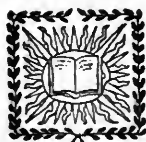
EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

BY

WILLIAM ESTABROOK CHANCELLOR
Head of Department of Political and Social Sciences,
College of Wooster

"The difficulties of democracy are the opportunities of education."

The Meaning of Education, 1898
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER



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TO
THOSE TEACHERS AND STUDENTS
WHO LOVE AMERICA
AND
WHO DESIRE HER PROGRESS IN DEMOCRACY
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED BY
THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

The purpose of this textbook is to make a general introductory survey of the field of sociology with especial reference to education, which prepares youth for society; and thereby to help fit youth for society through the systematic study of the data and the aspirations, the principles and methods, of an evolutionary social philosophy. The fields entered are social movements, social institutions and social measurement.

That there is a need for sociological textbooks from the educational point of view is evident to all educators whether in elementary or secondary schools. The books that have hitherto appeared, however, have regarded rather the organization and betterment of school and college through a study of the applications of sociology to education than the information and training of the students themselves who read the text.

The grade for which the book is intended is any class in advanced education whether beginning or reviewing sociology. These chapters have all been prepared in the light of daily class requirements. Nearly all of them have been read as lectures not less than three different semesters. The course has been given substantially as presented here to fourteen different classes in the College of Wooster, summer and winter sessions, and also in summer sessions at Denison University and at the Cleveland School of Education, combining Western Reserve University and the Cleveland City Training School for Teachers. Judged by this experience in actual use, the work is sufficient for

forty-eight class exercises, that is, one semester of three recitations a week. Of course, with obvious omissions, the book can be covered in less hours and time. For a normal school or high school senior class, it is recommended that four hours a week be allowed for a semester in order that there may be carried on collaterally both field studies as indicated and pedagogical applications.

In typewritten manuscript, the course has been successfully presented to seniors in two rural high schools by graduates of my department as a test of its pedagogical usefulness.

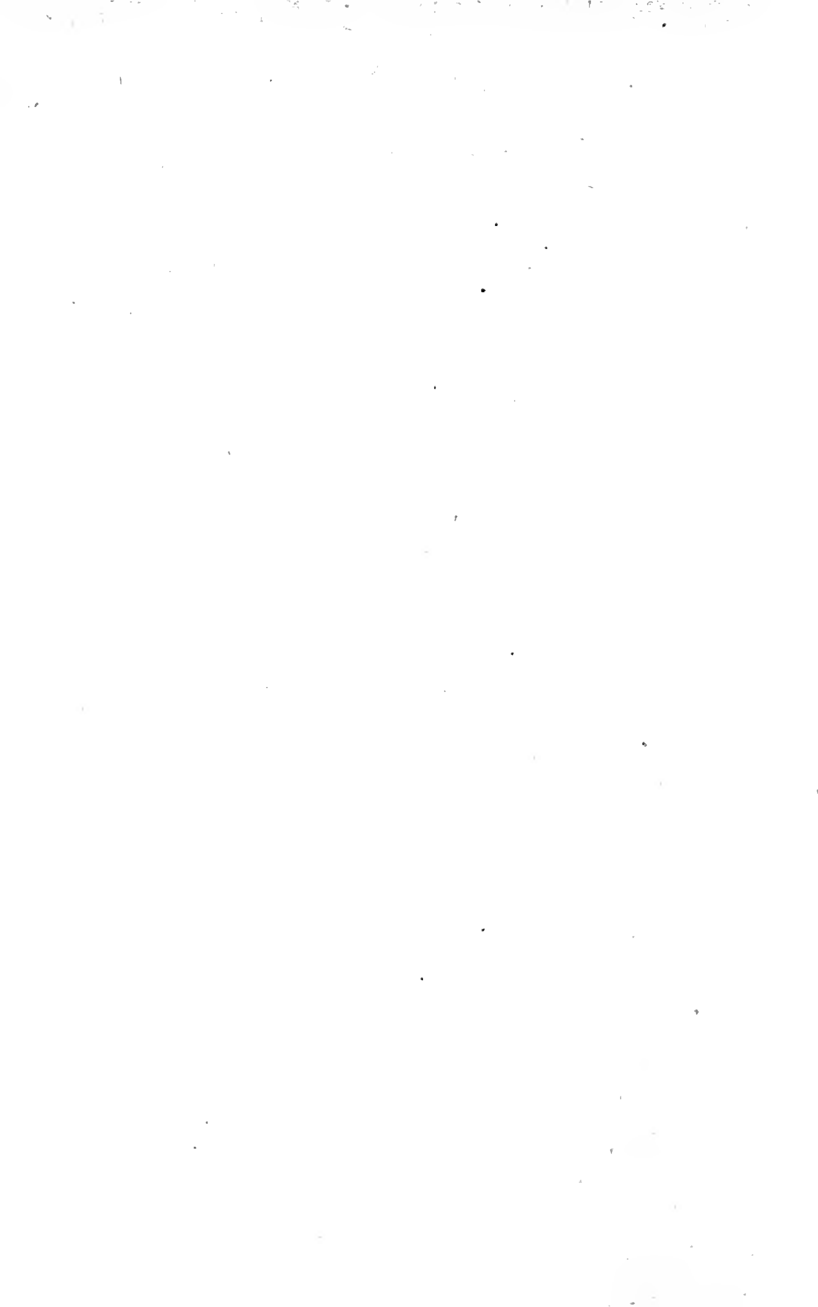
That the social sciences afford the best material for the development of the minds of Americans for life in this conservative democracy is the belief of all of us who have the good fortune to be workers in this field. To be well informed, trained and developed in sociology is to have one's mind centered upon the main principles of the civilization that has brought one into being and to be orientated to modern life. All intelligent men and women and conspicuously all teachers and educators should belong to the party that is trying to save the best in America while the tremendous forces of reconstruction and of new birth in democracy and freedom are playing upon humanity in these critical years when Western civilization has discovered itself. Here in the United States, there has grown up a complex social order with highly differentiated institutions, with many active social movements and with a sense of its own virtues and faults that has brought us to an astonishing degree of self-consciousness. The purpose of this book is to show to youth the track through the maze and to reveal the facts and principles that at once warrant our claims that we are just, free and democratic and also urge onward to more adequate and thorough and sincere realization of our ideals.

We have proposed to ourselves here a highly differentiated society with institutions becoming ever more and more separate and sharply integrated. It is, therefore, important for youth to know that one institution is not easily replaced by another. It is as necessary for the teacher to see that education is not a substitute for religion as it is for the preacher to see that religion is not a substitute for education. The man who wishes to see the church directing business is an anachronism in this civilization. There are no moral equivalents for war despite the dreams of the pacifists.

The husband should be a good provider; to be that, he must have an economic base. The good mother is also active in government. We are entering upon an age when all the intelligent and healthy and good will try to be all-around persons in touch with all social movements and playing their parts in all social institutions, according to need, circumstance and abilities.

W. E. C.

College of Wooster,
October 30, 1919.



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PART ONE

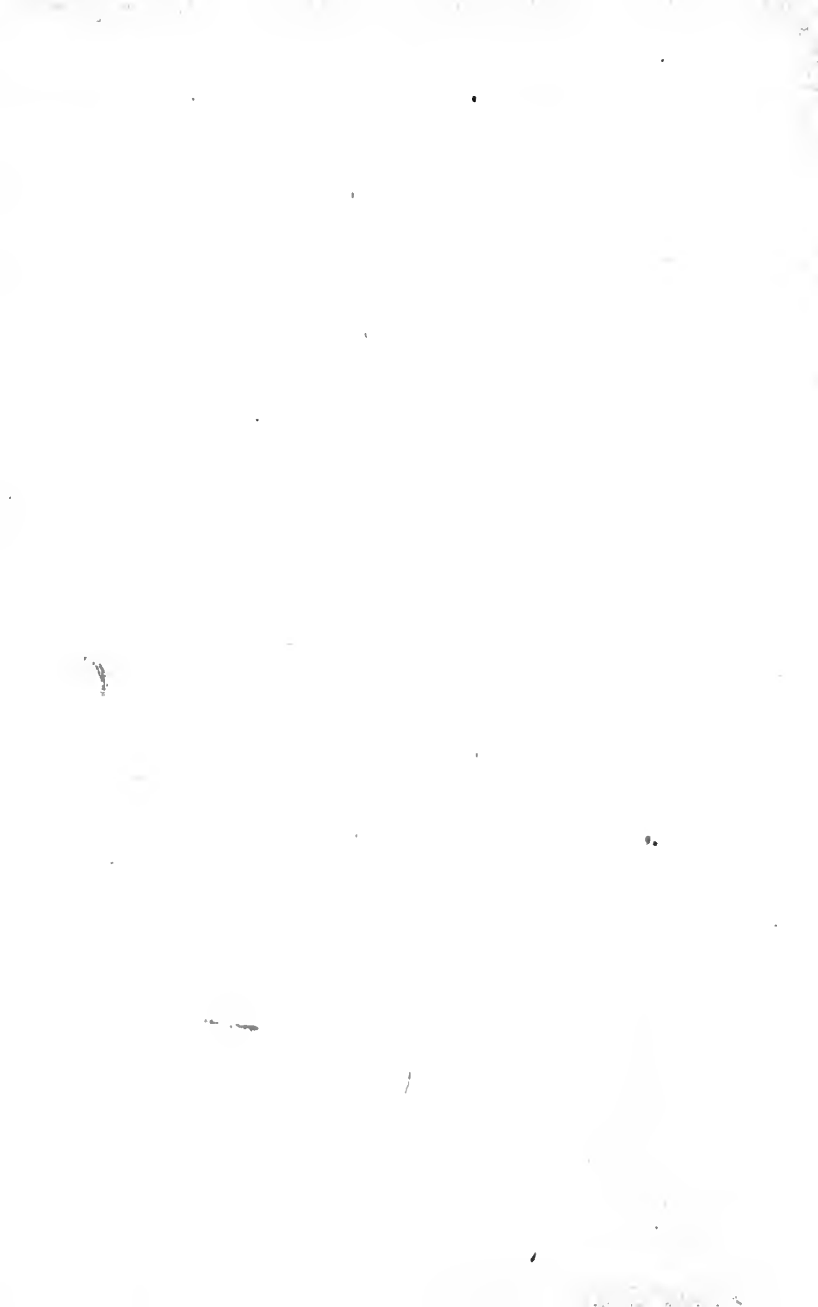
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

"The true scholar grudges every opportunity of action past as a loss of power.

"And whatsoever new verdict Reason from her inviolable throne pronounces on the passing men and events of today—this he shall hear and promulgate."

"Life is our dictionary."

The American Scholar, Phi Beta Kappa Oration, Cambridge, August, 1837, Ralph Waldo Emerson.



EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

PART ONE

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

"Let no one suppose that he will find that all the human institutions are equally well developed and all in their due proportion and order in the state of civilization actually around us."

The Meaning of History, Chap. I. Frederic Harrison.

In human society, we discover various groupings, more or less rigid, more or less mobile, that we may perhaps appropriately classify in several orders according to their natures as follows, viz.—

- I. Social movements
  - 1. Slow, long.
  - 2. Active
    - a. General.
    - b. Special.
- II. Social institutions
  - 1. Great, permanent.
  - 2. Small, variable

When the individual tries to move about among his fellows he feels at once social structures, resistances, and pressures that bar, turn, or at least delay his movement. Perhaps, desiring something that he sees, he finds that it is the property of some one else; or, perhaps, thinking to set a broken bone, he finds that to practise surgery requires a license. Perhaps, observing some custom that to him seems wasteful, wicked, or stupid, he finds that

there are others willing to aid him in destroying it. As the experience of the individual increases, he learns to respect these social phenomena as constituting what in a way seems fate. Some thereafter he avoids, some he enters into as shareholder, and some he seeks more or less successfully to thwart and defeat. The larger and more active his life, the more of these external social structures, movements, and groups that he meets.

In the course of time, the individual finds that he and all other individuals are in the main but parts and parcels of a division of humanity that has definitely characteristic social phenomena; and that other divisions of humanity have other and distinctly different social phenomena in respect to forms and modes. A church or a school is a social form; religion and education are social modes. The universal likeness of all human beings to one another in society consists largely in the fact that all men from time to time get together and from time to time separate from one another within the various divisions of mankind according to interests, to traits, to traditions, and to all those other qualities that we group under the inclusive but scarcely definitive term—race nature.

In consequence, generalized accounts of the social psychology and morphology of one division of mankind never entirely fit the facts of any other division. Epoch differs from epoch. A people differs from all other peoples. The social modes and forms of Elizabethan England were not those of her Victorian Age. The social modes and forms of Russia are by no means those of any other contemporaneous land. The social modes and forms of nearly all civilized peoples have greatly changed since the world shifted center in 1914.

In a sense, in the course of history, human nature itself has changed. We in America have the same motives,

the same ideals, the same instincts even, as the men of long ago upon the other half of the world. The same qualities may be evaluated for then and now. But the motives are in different proportions, the ideals are upon different scales, the instincts are not encouraged and discouraged according to the same standards of moral conduct; the values that we place upon purposes, powers, deficiencies, instincts, are greatly different. One man says that the Germans have been all right in their relations to world history save in *schrecklichkeit,* while another says that because of *schrecklichkeit,* the Germans have been all wrong save in nonessentials.

What is true of men of one age as compared with men of other ages is as true of men of different lands. Home-life is far more important in one land than in another.[1] The rights of the individual that scarcely emerge in one nation are almost paramount to the interests of the state in another. Whether the government supports the people, as in old Germany, or the people the government, as in our country, is a matter of social psychology.[1]

The forms and modes of social life respond according to the conditions of human nature in the individuals of a special age and land. The forms constitute the characteristic social morphology of a people and age; the modes constitute their characteristic social psychology. The church is a characteristic social form; the custom of marriage is a characteristic social mode.

A social institution and a social group differ in more than one respect. The institution is relatively fixed and permanent, while the group is mobile in location and changeable in nature. What is social may concern only a few individuals through their human trait of getting to-

[1] Chapter XXI.
[1] Chapters XIX, XXXII.

gether. A social institution, however, may organize many social groups, and the social group may be one of a sufficient number of such groups to create and operate a general social institution. So the church as such a general social institution organizes many churches, Sunday schools, and lesser groups, many of which may be important enough to be considered as individual social institutions.[1]

Sociology deals with men at work with one another through common sympathies. It is the general science of society, and, as such, it includes or at least concerns several other social sciences, among them education, economics, social psychology, anthropology, ethnology, somatology, ethics, history, and political science. It has an especially close relation with education, whose purpose is to prepare for civilized life, that is, for society in the largest and perfectly true sense of that term.

Educational sociology is that branch of sociology which shows its principles in their application in education. It is one form of applied sociology. A complete study of educational sociology involves acquiring a knowledge of what education itself is. The purpose of this text, therefore, is to present in due correlation sociology and education.

NOTE.—It may be well here to pause and consider a few definitions of terms used frequently in these pages. *Society*—Union of the many. *Societal*—Concerned with the whole society as such rather than with the individuals in it. *Social*—Concerned with the relationships of the individuals in society to one another as well as to society. *Social institution*—Anything established in thought, conduct or reality, that affects human relationships; any feature, practice, custom or system of persistent influence upon the organization of the life of a community or larger social aggregation. *Societal institution*—Any social institution or combination of such institutions that affects for good or ill the entire society. See Chapter XVIII below. *Morphology*—Science of forms and structures (as opposed to physiology, which is the science of life and its processes).

[1] Chapter XXII.

EXERCISES

1. To what social institutions does one find oneself in opposition who wishes (a) to take and use an automobile standing without an occupant by the side walk or roadside; (b) to prevent small boys from playing baseball in the street before one's house; (c) to employ for wages in factory or mine children under fourteen years of age; (d) to persuade one's neighbors that glasses are always injurious to eyesight and cause rather than relieve defects of the eye?

2. In your opinion, in America, what is the relative importance now of organized social recreation as compared with conditions in 1760?

3. In government, what nation has undergone the greatest change since 1914?

4. Among the foreign-born persons resident in America, compare the instincts and motives and other main qualities of any two or three nationalities or stocks with which you are most familiar as, for example, South Italians, South Germans, and the Irish; or Swedes, Swiss and Hungarians. What social institutions does each most favor?

5. Develop reasons why a few months before elections men begin to talk of politics.

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CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF HUMAN SOCIETY

"All men being by nature free, equal and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent. The only way whereby one divests himself of his natural liberty and puts on the bonds of civil society is by agreeing with other men to join and unite into a community for their comfortable, safe and peaceable living, one with another, in a secure enjoyment of their properties and in a greater security against strangers."—*Of Civil Society,* John Locke.

THROUGH an unknown number of generations, mankind has grown into the vast social complex that we may observe upon the six continents and the many islands of earth. We see empires, federations, leagues, nations, tribes, peoples, races, states, cities, towns, villages, assembled in more or less order, working with more or less efficiency and happiness according to their several natures, and knowing more or less of one another in the various parts of the earth. And everywhere, alike in the civilized nations and among barbarians and savages, we discover children and youth in the course of preparation by adults to live as the fathers and mothers live, or better. While we have not counted accurately the populations of each and every land, we know that now there are about 1,700,000,000 human beings, of whom we Americans are about one-sixteenth (U. S. Census Bureau estimate, 1919). Before the world war, we were accustomed to regard as civilized most of the peoples of the earth. Since then, we have a new definition of the term "civilized," to emphasize qualities of the mind as being superior to objective things, such

as palaces, museums, factories, offices, farms, mines, ships, and ten thousand valuable products.

Recent events and the present outlook compel us to recognize that we of America are an inseparable part of this whole vast complex of modern humanity, and that it is important for every one of us to know what truly civilized human society is. The more that an intelligent person moves about among men, the more he realizes how important it is to understand human society and all personal relationships. It is only to the simple that human life seems simple. Not only is success or failure the result of understanding or of misunderstanding social affairs but also right conduct and personal happiness. The man who fails to understand his relationships with other men inevitably fails to win and hold their approval; inevitably, he acts wrongly even though he guesses that he is doing right; and inevitably he becomes unhappy.

Instances may be cited to make this plain. X comes into a new town as a stranger, hoping to succeed with a motion picture theater. But the town is only an agricultural center; the young men are either at work on their farms or away in the cities as mechanics or clerks. The parents have not yet developed the habit of giving their children money to spend. And the young women never go out in the evenings. Evidently, this is no town for a movie. And X fails in the business, all because he did not first investigate the social situation there.

Y goes from the free and independent ways of the rural world into a great city; he takes with him the fresh breeziness of the open, healthful countryside. In the city, he finds employment in a great department store, but in one line and another, on transfer after transfer, he gives offence, now to a customer, next to a department manager—quite unintentionally—because he does not know

the rules of politeness in the world where all are strangers. He is too frank, too sincere; he was not bred to the manners of urban restraint. It is probable that he spends his evenings indoors at home or public amusement place, and does not keep his health. Soon, he is physically ill, financially poor, and discredited as an employee though he has meant well enough. Y did not know the ways of the city and failed to do what the really wise residents of a great city know that one must do in order to survive in it.

Then Z may be cited as an instance of inability to make such social adjustments necessary to success and right conduct as are necessary to personal happiness. Z was a Southern girl reared in a small city in a family circle of moderate circumstances but given to amusement and hospitality and indifferent to money and other material things. She was married to a Northern man of much education and of great wealth, and came into various social relationships entirely unlike those she had known before. She had servants to manage, but made the mistake of treating them one and all as though they were amiable and faithful, though not over-industrious, colored men and women. She had plenty of money to spend but kept no account of it. When her new relatives failed to respond to her glad spirit and gay manners, she felt frozen. Before long, she realized that the family circle into which she had come looked upon her as childish, which, of course, made her unhappy.

Whether one plays checkers or cards, baseball or hockey, whether one dances or goes on a picnic, whether one trains in the army for war or works in a factory, one soon discovers that there is a game going on according to accepted rules. To succeed, to do right, to be happy, one must learn and obey *the rules of the game.*[1] Of course,

[1] See Chapter X.

many of the enterprises in which humanity is concerned are too serious properly to be called "games"; and some of the operations of humanity are too low and too wicked to be so called. But it is true that whatever men do in connection with one another proceeds according to rules. The very saying that "Anything is fair in war" is a proclamation that war is unfair in itself, as every one knows.[1] It is the very nature of human society to live according to rules; and war ruptures human society because it breaks almost all rules even within the ranks of each opposing party.

It is the nature of mankind to build up according to rules the great society itself and all manners of relationships within this society. These relationships may be graded according to the numbers of persons concerned, somewhat as follows, viz.—

1. The group.
2. The community.
3. The nation.
4. The civilization.
5. The mankind.

Each of these grades may be variously subdivided and variously classified. As a group, we have the family and the kindred; as another group, we have the church or congregation; as still another group, we have the trades union local within one shop; as still another group, the class or school under one teacher.

We employ many terms to indicate such associations—including partnerships, firms, corporations; assemblies, audiences, congresses, legislatures; crowds, mobs, riots, insurrections, rebellions, revolutions, societies, aggregations, congregations, leagues, alliances, federations, confederations, unions, commonwealths, states, republics, democracies,

[1] See Chapter XXX.

empires; missions, churches, parishes, dioceses, bishoprics, archbishoprics; schools, colleges, universities, institutions, academies, seminaries; the bar, the bench; professions, trades, occupations; and hundreds of other terms, some of them equally familiar to us all.

These various associations are brought together by a force distinctly characteristic of all the higher animals, but of tremendous strength and vitality in men—a fellow feeling for such other men as are like oneself. The sharp delimitations of all these associations spring from the inevitable opposite quality in human society—a repulsive feeling against such other men as are unlike oneself. Of course, these attractions and repulsions conflict with one another. A may be a Democrat, a Presbyterian and of Scotch descent; B may be a Republican, a Presbyterian and of the same descent; C may be a Democrat, a Baptist and of Scotch descent; D may be a Democrat, and a Presbyterian but of Welsh descent; E may be a Republican, a Baptist and of Welsh descent. (And F, G, H and others may similarly vary.) In such a situation, B and E will go to the same political meetings because they are friendly in politics, while A, C and D will go to different political meetings. But A, B and D worship in the same church; and C and E worship in another church. Because of their common ancestry, the families of A, B and C are likely to be fond of one another's hospitality while those of D and E stay together.

Because of these common associations, men are knit together; because of these common disagreements, to some extent they are sharply separated. When we have discovered persons with four or five points in common, we generally find good friends. A and B may also be partners together in the banking business and graduates of the same college about the same time. If so, their only per-

sonal disagreement is in politics; in which case, they may even run against one another for the same office and yet remain on the whole friends.

Therefore, Texans are generally enthusiastic about Texans; Californians about Californians and California; New Yorkers about their great city. Equal suffragists travel together and support one another solidly. Organized labor stands by its own men and against unorganized laborers and the employers of all labor.

The *basic principle of human society* is that men are aware of their like and friendly to them; and equally aware of those unlike to them. Men are shy of strangers because they do not yet know their affections and hostilities, their likes and dislikes. To play upon words, we are kind to our kind and unkind toward those not our kind. We are not always fully awake to a consciousness of kinship in spirit, but we always have feelings that direct our conduct toward others.

By this basic principle, all social affairs and relationships may be interpreted and understood.

EXERCISES

1. Suggest cases from your own experience of persons who failed to fit into new and strange social situations.
2. What is meant by the expression "the rules of the game"?
3. Show how men in some respects agree with and like one another and otherwise disagree.
4. What evidence is there of a general consciousness of kind in the hearts of men?

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CHAPTER II

FACTIONS AND PARTIES

"The organized workers have spurned violence. They have declined all shortcuts. They are offered reforms and concessions, which they take blandly, but without thanks. They move on and on with the terrible, incessant, irresistible power of some natural, eternal force. They have been fought; yet they have not lost a single great battle. They have been flattered anl cajoled without ever once anywhere being appeased. They have been provoked, calumniated, insulted, imprisoned and repressed. They are indifferent to all this. They move on and on with the patience and meekness of a people with the vision that they are soon to inherit the earth."—*Violence and the Labor Movement*, Robert Hunter.

With those with whom we agree, we associate happily, but only for those purposes respecting which we agree; while as to those with whom we disagree, we avoid them in respect to those matters causing disagreement. The result to us as individuals is that our social relationships are often complicated and puzzling to all other persons than ourselves and those few who happen to know our likes and dislikes and, therefore, are able to understand our dispositions and conduct; and at times, puzzling and worrisome even to ourselves. And the result to all society is to divide it into many groups, associations, communities, etc. Moreover, since we are living, we must be changing so that from year to year, from decade to decade, from generation to generation all these groups, associations, etc., are subject to movements, some small, some great, some revolutionary. There is no permanence in human life or indeed in life of any other kind, either individual or social.

We see this most clearly perhaps as to other times and as to other lands than as to our own land and time; but change is going on now and here. Perhaps in no land or time were ever greater changes affected than in our land in the years of the world war and of after-the-war reconstruction.

Changes always begin with individuals and spring from various causes working from outside upon these individuals or working from within them out to external society. Then the changes stir groups, factions, parties, perhaps whole nations and finally all humanity.

At New Orleans, Abraham Lincoln saw slaves being sold at auction upon the wharves when he arrived there upon a raft down the Mississippi as a young man; and he made a vow to fight the domestic slave trade until he won. Slavery was an external cause that roused his sense of right and wrong and compelled him to give his life to win justice through freedom for colored men. Pursuing this aim through years and years of politics in Illinois, he was followed first by a small group, then by a considerable faction, then by the whole new Republican party of Illinois until at last he won the presidential nomination by all the Republicans of the country and was elected to the presidency because he had more votes—that is, partisans—than any of the opposing candidates. Such is the success of wise leadership through a period of years.

In some cases, however, the original stimulus is not from without but from within. There were many abolitionists before Abraham Lincoln became their political chief. Of these, some had never seen a slave but were believers in human freedom upon principle.

Many years before the American Revolutionary War, Sam Adams, clerk of Boston town meeting, foresaw that inevitably the British bureaucracy from the mother country

across the sea would dominate all colonial affairs and reduce the colonists to mere tools of the Throne and Government. The complete tyranny never in truth was accomplished, but this first of the colonial rebels scented the coming danger upon the tainted breeze. Moreover, he loved the freedom of the individual beyond all other men and desired to develop such freedom here beyond any rights that individuals had ever known before in history. Thereafter, he went about Boston proclaiming the certain danger; and he compelled men to listen to him. One by one he made converts, some of them destined to become more prominent than himself—John Hancock, James Otis, John Adams, Joseph Warren—but none more influential because Sam Adams was ceaselessly at work, the busiest rebel of all, one of the two upon whom King George the Third set a price for his head.

His following grew into a faction; the faction, into a party; the party into the Continental Congress, where Sam Adams named George Washington for Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Independence to which rebel charge he was unanimously elected. Then after the War of Independence had been won, the American party was the nation of the United States, free and independent.

In general, however, proposed changes, whether stirred by external conditions or originated within individuals, do not come to complete success but at some stage or other are defeated. The defeats may be due to some inner weakness in the proposition for change; or they may be due to the solidity of the institutions or customs attacked by the change; or to the inability of general society to understand their merits. Hundreds of propositions fail to one that succeeds. When they come to some popularity but fail, we style them "lost causes"; and many are the broken-hearted social reformers who have loved devotedly these doomed causes.

The most important of all the historical American "lost causes" is that of the Southern Confederacy of 1861–65, which proposed to secede from the United States and to set up another nation within our borders and which fought an heroic war for this object. This was a tremendous movement that carried a third of all our people and a third of all our area—and yet it failed despite early great success.

John Fox, the originator of the Society of Friends (Quakers), lived about three centuries ago. The movement that he began grew steadily for more than a hundred years. At its height, it appeared likely to become yet greater, perhaps even the dominant religious method of the English people; but it was checked then. Now there is no movement, but the Friends are a well-established religious order. The movement had an inner weakness in that the Friends refused to allow any recognized official leader or officer and consequently have never had any minister on salary or fees. They are a true brotherhod of equals; but it so happens that a pure democracy without recognized and paid experts to guide and to serve it—indeed to serve by guiding it—always has narrow limitations in that so many men are inferior and therefore unable to associate with others as equals.

The Church of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), began as a faction about a century ago. As one of their principles, they set up once again the ancient and discarded institution of polygamy. While they won many adherents, their attack upon the modern marriage system of monogamy made far more numerous enemies so that in 1890 they were forced publicly to renounce polygamy as a religious tenet. They still have very great influence in the State of Utah—which they settled as pioneers, but their growth has ceased.

The Mormon Church also proposed to unite religion and government in one social institution like the old State-Church of Russia; but this proposition is absolutely contradictory both to the spirit and to the letter of the Constitution of the United States and has proved to be a fatal handicap to any large success. The Mormons have maintained themselves solely because they practise irrigation in a desert that no other settlers then desired or even now desire in any considerable numbers. They have a substantial economic foundation and are industrious and in the main law-abiding. Therefore, they are tolerated among us.

In some instances, meritorious propositions fail; we label these failures by various terms, such as "born out of due time," "not coming at the psychological moment," "Utopian," "idealistic," "academic," "half-baked." Such propositions have been urged in every line of human activity—religious, political, economic, educational, esthetic, dramatic, whatever is social.

The proposition that every church should be institutional—should have salaried Sunday School teachers and local mission workers, be kept open seven days a week, hold many social gatherings, protect its members with life insurance and in general enlarge its scope and multiply its activities—has much merit; but the institutional churches are few and not very successful because most laymen and many ministers do not see this merit. In truth, such a church requires in the pastor one additional talent beyond even the many talents the ministry now requires—the talent to direct others and to administer many affairs actively. Also, it requires in its members willingness to pay out for religious purposes much more than they generally consider it worth while to spare. The institutional church is costly; the present church with

three services a week and with closed doors six days and five evenings is cheap to maintain.[1]

The coöperative ownership of business enterprises—that is, ownership by the workers in them to share returns, including loss as well as profit—is a highly meritorious one; but it has made only small progress because the workers generally prefer not to be obligated to share losses. They are delighted to share profits in prosperous times, but when affairs turn badly, they prefer to get out and to go away. Therefore, the capitalist, who often for many, many years sits into the game, win or lose, to see it out, controls American industry.[2]

Often, a social movement results in building up a strong party that endures after it has attained its original purpose. In a sense, it lingers on after its usefulness is past. In such cases, the body remains when the soul has departed.

In our early political history, the Federalist party served the highly useful purpose of developing our national unity. This achieved, it had no real cause for being; yet it lasted almost a generation longer, like a melancholy house without tenants.

In every city in America, there are many factions, parties, movements to be discovered. One of the most significant of these movements is that for what is known as "commission government" to replace the "mayor and council plan." Already, over one hundred cities have governments of this new style, which combines in the same officers the legislative powers with the executive.

Closely allied with this movement is that for a well-paid city manager to take definite responsibility for all the business of the city. Scores of cities now have such managers, who are experts trained for this business.

[1] Chapter XXII.
[2] Chapter XXIX.

What in one city may be the main interest of a faction is elsewhere such an interest for a large party; and may be in control at other points.

In America now there are factions, parties, movements for all these objects, viz.—

Equal suffrage for men and women.

Prohibition of all alcoholic liquors both as to manufacture and as to sale.

Government ownership of railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, street railways, mines, forests, etc.

Government subsidies for ships.

Minimum fixed wages for employes.

The 8-hour day for men.

Abolition of all child-labor.

The 48-hour week for women.

Compulsory education of all youth until their teachers release them as being well trained for service to others—safe for themselves and for the world.

Universal public libraries.

Professional licenses for editors and reporters as well as for public school teachers.

Pensions for all employes in old age, whether employed by government or by private enterprises.

Compulsory accident insurance.

Municipal water plants, electric lighting systems, gas systems, theaters, newspapers, etc., etc.

Coöperative laundries, bakeries, groceries, apartment houses, warehouses for farmers, etc., etc.

Ending the smoke nuisance in cities.

Vocational education for all.

Americanization of foreigners.

Tariff reform and a prohibitive tariff.

Prohibition of immigration.

The Bible in the public school.

Dress reform for women.

Women in the professions.

Daylight saving.

Urbanization of the country.

Better domestic animals.

Eugenics.

League of nations.

Direct legislation—initiative, referendum, recall of officers including judges.

Free transportation on railroads for men seeking work.

One cent letter postage.

Government life insurance for all.

Universal education at public expense including all professions and occupations, arts and sciences.

Curfew bell at nine o'clock P. M.

Aeronautics.

Outdoor sports.

The cabaret.

The New Era Movement (religious).

Good roads everywhere.

A phonograph in every home.

Against race-suicide.

Against the cigarette.

Against tobacco, coffee, tea, etc.

Against dancing.

Against all divorce.

Against lax divorce.

Against bridge, whist, poker, etc.

Against "Wall Street" and all gambling in stocks, bonds, foods, meats, etc.

Against trusts, syndicates, pools, secret agreements, gentlemen's understandings, etc.

These are but a few of thousands of factions, parties and movements. Some of these thousands are meritorious;

some are certain to win; some are already victorious. But some of them are trivial; others are absurd; still others are permanent yet unlikely to win for many and many an age, their truth making them permanent.

All that men have won of freedom in the past has been won by factions, parties, movements. The way of the transgressor is hard, and every reformer is a transgressor. The members of factions must stick close together, for all society is doing its best to rend them apart. Therefore, most new ideas fail immediately.

We have seen that men stick together because of consciousness of likeness to one another. Often, it is not the pure idea alone that has kept the men of a faction or of a party together but some other forces have helped.

William Penn secured many colonists for his Quaker colony in Holland and from the Rhinelands. His mother, Margaret Jasper, was from Holland. There was race-sympathy as well as the agreement of ideas in that splendid colony of Pennsylvania.

Sam Adams, John Hancock and John Adams were all for liberty and against the Crown; Sam and John were cousins; and the wife of John Adams was the cousin of John Hancock, both being born of the famous Quincy family.

George Washington liked LaFayette, the Frenchman, for his noble service to America; and Washington by blood was a Montague of France upon his mother's side and proud of it.

Business interests often draw men of the same factions according to ideas yet more closely together. Similarly, conflicting interests tend to split the larger parties into factions and sometimes actually drive factions over into the opposite camp.

In some instances, a party becomes socially dominant so

that opposition to it is too costly for any save the stoutest souls to undertake. It is a very serious matter for any white man to be a Republican in Mississippi, and socially discreditable to be a Democrat in Vermont.

The same truth holds respecting religious affiliations in various localities. One of the great Protestant denominations is the Presbyterian; yet in all New England in 1918, there were but twelve Presbyterian churches, and all of these were in but three localities. New England Protestants are not friendly to the Presbyterian polity.

Not to believe in bimetallism at 16 of silver to 1 ounce of gold disqualified one for polite society in Colorado for thirty years from 1880 forward.

Factions, parties, movements set men into opposing camps, mark them off as for or against, divide men one from another. They tend to social discord; and yet are essential to progress.

EXERCISES

1. What was the story of the rise of Andrew Jackson to leadership?
2. By what process did the Plantagenets establish their dynasty first in Normandy and then in England?
3. Why do some movements prove abortive?
4. By what process did William Penn found his colony?
5. Review some of the present day movements.
6. Why does discord ever help progress?

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CHAPTER III

PUBLIC OPINION

"In brief, the task of public opinion is twofold, social control, and readjustment through criticism; in other words, conservation and innovation."—*Theories of Social Progress*, Arthur J. Todd.

WITH public sentiment upon its side, any measure succeeds. With public sentiment against it, every measure fails—said Abraham Lincoln repeatedly, using various forms of statement, in his famous speeches in the debate with Douglas, 1858.

We have seen that society is organized into large and small groups because of common ideas and feelings of the individuals for one another, and that from the same cause, it is also subdivided into small groups within the large groups; and we have seen that by organizing new groups and destroying old ones and by changing the individuals within groups through the action of factions and parties, new ideas and feelings cause frequent change in social organization.

Many of the forces that cause these associations and these changes into and out of them are noiseless, hidden, obscure properties of the souls of men—instincts, habits, traditions. But other forces are noisy and colorful. These create what in their total result we call "public opinion."

In his authoritative work upon *The American Commonwealth,* Lord Bryce begins an important section with these words—"In no other country is public opinion so powerful as in the United States." Certainly it is true that in America, public opinion is the master of all our institu-

tions and of all individuals, ruling some easily and others harshly, but ruling always. The man who flaunts his opposition to prevalent public opinion upon any serious matters is considered not merely foolish but shameless. The vagary of an individual dishonors him among his neighbors and in his community. Public opinion forces us all to conform to the usual code of conduct in all save trivial matters.

In educational sociology, no point is of greater moment than this—that *a youth should not only be educated in all his powers but also be socially indoctrinated* in the common views and trained according to the common conduct. Social regimentation that aims to make all Americans democratic in conduct and social indoctrination that aims to equip all of us with a common philosophy of life to support and exemplify democracy are the two methods used by public opinion here to organize us all upon one common level of political equality through freedom and justice.[1] The man who expresses the common views need never worry lest he be regarded as merely commonplace and therefore a bore among Americans; to hold and to express the common view is to demonstrate oneself true to the common faith. Therefore, education here aims directly to inculcate in all youth these standard views as approved by current public opinion.

An essential feature of public opinion is that it is public —published abroad, known to many, openly expressed. When at the Peace Conference after the world war, in Paris, President Wilson advocated open diplomacy and opposed all secret treaties, he was no more than setting before all the world the faith and conduct of Americans in substantially all of our social affairs. Openness is the nature of American life.

[1] Chapter XXXVII.

Our public opinion forms in such fashions and processes as these, viz.—

1. A man sees or hears of some affair. His neighbor and he talk it over. Perhaps, something is said of it in the newspapers. His own opinions have swung about perhaps little, perhaps much; but now they begin to clear and to shape themselves. Others talk with him, and are more or less influenced by his views. At length, a considerable group have come to an agreement; and each man upon occasion, whether orally or in writing or in speech or by action, expresses this common agreement.

2. A personal opinion is expressed by some one about a matter to some one else who perhaps has never thought of it before. He makes inquiries as to the facts, deliberates, consults others, comes to his own view. Debate is begun, grows active; many participate in it; at length the right and wrong, the wisdom and the folly appear; and a majority or at least an effective minority come to a conclusion that is aired in public print or upon public platform.

Such is public opinion.

Nothing new is ever observed intelligently by a perfect ignoramus because such a person is by definition unable to think since he knows nothing, and since without facts—that is, knowledge—no one can think. Truth and belief are the subject matter of mind. In consequence, whenever and wherever men begin to think about an affair, necessarily each one of them is more or less biassed, prejudiced, predisposed for or against some opinion about it—even the real facts are challenged.

In 1914–5–6, prior to the forcing of America into the world war—there were in our country not a few really loyal and patriotic fellow citizens of ours who, from one cause or another, refused to believe that the German soldiers

had committed atrocities in Belgium, Northern France and elsewhere. One cause was that some of them were of recent German origin. Another cause was that some of them were so convinced that civilization had entirely outgrown barbarism and savagery and that the Germans were civilized in this sense as to prefer to believe in the lying wickedness of newspaper correspondents and of the soldiers of the Entente Allies rather than to accept their testimony against the "good Germans." Another cause was that in many localities, pro-Germanism prevailed and to be pro-French or pro-British was to go counter to the neighborhood opinion.

From these causes, truth at first could get no hearing. Nevertheless, as the truth kept coming, finally it won over nearly all even of these opponents; and such as were converted became violent partisans of right, their energy being in testimony of their regret for their early errors. Among such zealous proselytes to the cause of humanity against revived Hunnishness were not a few high officials of our own Federal Government.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Charles Darwin wrote one of the most original of all the books of mankind—his *Origin of Species,* which was followed twenty-two years later by his *Descent of Man.* These two books were destined completely to eradicate former views as to the nature of all animals including man and to effect a revolution in human thought as great as was the revolution wrought by Columbus in geography, commerce and world politics.

The scientific propositions of Darwin respecting evolution ran directly counter to public opinion and to common creeds. For half a century, men discussed and debated them in articles, sermons, speeches, essays, books, laboratory exercises; year by year, converts were gained until

now all men of intelligence are evolutionists. The difficulties that Darwin and his followers met were all of them the evident results of fixed forms and modes of thought and speech and conduct. In thousands and thousands of cases, men denounced him in terms of terrible anathema who had never read one line of his books and who proudly proclaimed their unwillingness to look into such unholy and ungodly productions. They loudly invoked against evolution the Bible, and the prophets, the religious creeds and watchwords, private and public morality, social manners, works of past science; and indulged in measureless ridicule and sarcasm and in passionate eloquence for the supposed defence of what they styled "the faith." They declared recklessly that there was war on between science and religion, and that God would insure the victory of religion. In saying this, they totally ignored the very Bible that they invoked, for its essence is delight in the God of truth. *No belief,* not even religious belief, certainly no public opinion, *has any chance against truth* in the long warfare of this world.

Public opinions vary in America geographically according to our loose, flexible and yet real "classes"; and to an extent according to economic interests and general or special enlightenment. The propositions may be sketched only in outline; to illustrate and prove them would require a book of itself.

In New York City, public opinion not only tolerates but actively endorses Tammany Hall, an organization devoted to politics by the methods of the machine, the ring and the boss—politics operated as a business. This opinion is not unanimous, but it is so strong that most mayors of the city have been supported for election by Tammany. Yet this political organization, which has its branches in most parts of our New World metropolis, is opposed by the pub-

lic opinion of every rural part of the United States and has no strong support in any other city; it is a local institution, made possible by local conditions. What keeps Tammany Hall alive is the personal interest of the ward leaders and heelers in the poor families whose members they befriend, finding them jobs and protecting them, when arrested, wrongly or rightly, and brought into court. New York public opinion refuses to condemn Tammany for its sins and crimes because it holds that its merits outweigh its offences.

The whole South has come to a fixed public opinion regarding its own colored people. This opinion is so solid that it is silent, requiring no expression to keep it alive. The substance of this public opinion is that social equality between the races to the extent of intermarriage must remain impossible. From this opinion, the entire course of action by the white race of the South toward the colored race proceeds. This is a finality based upon race-instinct, which of course, is race-prejudice; and is far stronger than any dogmas supposed to be religious, such as the equality of all men.

The Pacific Coast had a public opinion to the effect that gold is the best money; in consequence, gold circulated freely instead of paper money prior to the world-war and our Federal Reserve Banking System. So strong has been this conviction that immediately after the Armistice of 1918 the Pacific Coast public began to demand gold once more for ordinary business retail transactions.

Among wage-earners, it is the current opinion that men and women should marry young—say at twenty-one and nineteen years of age for man and woman. Long courtships are frowned upon. To be a bachelor at thirty years of age and a maid at twenty-five is to invite ridicule and censure.

But among the middle classes (so-called, such as tradespeople, professional men and women, small manufacturers, managers, highly paid mechanics and accountants, etc.) public opinion looks upon early marriage as improvident. It is good style for a couple to marry at thirty or thirty-five for the man and at five years less for the woman.

The rich, the leisured, the famous, the very highly educated such as scientists and artists and great lawyers, physicians, etc., have a common opinion as to marriage like neither of these. As to the age of marriage, they care nothing at all. Among them, there are occasional marriages when even the groom is under twenty years, and bachelor men and maidens postpone marriage even to fifty years of age for their first venture. Divorces, and second and third, fourth and even more marriages are common enough. With them the prime purpose of marriage is to acquire a mate who will be of some external advantage from wealth, family, position, or otherwise.

Where the wage-earner marries to secure a helper in the ordinary affairs of life; a husband or a home-maker; and where the middle classman marries to secure a strong friend and comrade, the man of wealth or station marries, if at all, to increase his social prestige.[1] When the rich or famous or high born man marries from the motive either of the wage-earner or of the tradesman, he violates a canon of his class, offends their public opinion, and breaks their system.

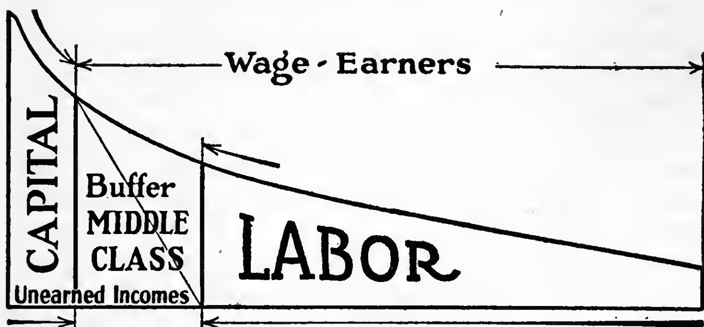
Often this last case is pathetic for the mate. A rich man sometimes can raise his wife to his own social class; and if she happens to enjoy such society, she is happy therein. But a rich woman cannot raise her husband to her own social class but must sink to his level, where indeed

[1] Chapter XXIV.

she may be at heart happier but where none the less she is lost to her set.

In respect to the virtues, the public opinion of the so-called higher classes differs radically from that of the so-called lower class. There is also here in some instances a middle class opinion on ethics.

Take tact. The middle class praise and practise it;



Social Function of the Middle Class, living in part upon capital and in part upon wages, to block, in a democracy with private property as its base, the attempts to produce a life-and-death "class-struggle."

the poor ignore it; the rich and the great scorn it, ruling otherwise.

Honesty; cash payment, no bills; is so powerful a principle of the vast majority of poor people as to seem a substantial part of their relation to life. The poor working girl is worried sick over eight dollars that she cannot save out of her earnings and pay at once. Even a small debt is a monstrous burden.

It is almost as seriously considered by the middle class to whom no recommendation is higher than that, "He pays his bills on the nail and his notes in full on the day of demand."

But honesty of this kind is not a virtue of the rich, who are notoriously "poor, slow pay" and who must often be sued in court in order to compel payment. Among the rich and the great to be in debt is considered funny; they cannot understand why dressmakers and tradespeople are so insistent upon getting their money.

Loyalty is a virtue of the poor. Likewise, kindness.

Honor, explicit or implied, is the one fine strong virtue of every aristocracy, natural or artificial, social or economic. Honor compels at any and all costs the exact and prompt fulfillment of obligations, contracted or circumstantial. It is no monopoly of the rich and great; but when present in the poor and in the middle class individual, it tends of its own force to lift such an individual to the highest class.

Honor leaps to perform duty.

As every one who knows the history of armies, who knows what the British did in the Crimea and in Flanders, their officers are "gentlemen" who live remote from the sergeants and the "Tommies." To a democratic American. at first there is something offensive in the aloofness of the British officer from his men. His air of superiority seems to be supercilious. Yet the candid American soon discovers why the tyrannical sergeant and Thomas Atkins alike admire their officers; because the officers to a man are first in the fight and last out of it. Their death and wound rates are 2½ to 1 to those of the privates. They are men of honor, scorning fear and even prudence; and they keep their word.

To hold life cheap and honor dear is the mark of the high born.

The gentleman by birth and class may forget to pay his laundry bills for weeks and months; and he may pay his gambling debts first. The public opinion of his class

holds him like iron to certain virtues; industry is not one of them, nor quick sympathy, nor love of mankind.

Because virtues are popular according to classes, American democracy is trying to get rid of classes and to establish one class of all equals and one code of morals for all. Public opinion, whose purpose is to level all, dislikes even the mention of classes. But so much of the past survives into the present here in America that truth requires us to see these significant survivals of class morals.[1]

It is an instance that public opinion varies according to economic interests that New England and Pennsylvania go for a high protective tariff while most of the South goes for low tariff even to free trade. All this is logical. Population is a function of laws, not of natural resources. Massachusetts has no coal, no iron, no forests, no prairies, no warm long summer, almost nothing except fisheries and harbors. The protective tariff has given to her four million population to man factories in over a hundred cities within her little area of less than 9,000 square miles.

The same high tariff has raised the prices of manufactures to all Southern consumers and has operated to impoverish the South.

Enlightenment makes public opinion of one kind; ignorance, public opinion opposite thereto. Massachusetts has the best public schools in America and a public opinion accordingly. Alabama is too ignorant as yet to know how valuable good schools are. Not for one moment would public opinion in Alabama maintain schools at the per capita cost of the splendid schools of Massachusetts.

Public opinion has organs and leaders. The most powerful organ of public opinion is the periodical; daily, weekly, monthly, bimonthly and quarterly. To a small extent, books also serve as organs of public opinion.

[1] Chapter X.

Individual opinions differ as to which are the greatest newspapers and as to whether the news or the editorial columns most influence and educate and enlighten public opinion. As to some newspapers, there is, however, no question whatever. Throughout the British Empire, the *London Times* is a newspaper of great influence upon public opinion. The United States has many newspapers well known everywhere for their editorial opinions are frequently quoted, such as the *Boston Transcript,* the *Springfield,* (Mass.) *Republican,* the *New York Sun,* the *Kansas City Star* and the *Atlantic Constitution,* while other newspapers are famous and influential because they are wonderful news gatherers, such as the *New York World,* the *New York Herald,* the *New York Times,* the *Chicago Tribune,* the *Chicago News,* the *Philadelphia Public Ledger,* the *Los Angeles Times,* the *Cincinnati Enquirer,* and the *Washington Post.*

There are several influential weekly periodicals, such as *The Saturday Evening Post, The Outlook, The Independent, The Literary Digest,* and *Collier's Weekly.*

Among the great monthly magazines that affect the public mind are *The Century, Harper's, The American, The World's Work, Scribner's,* and *The Review of Reviews.*

Every important line of industry and of trade, agriculture and shipping and rail service included, had one or more influential periodicals, such as *The Banker's Magazine, The Wall Street Journal, The Iron Age,* and *The Farm Journal.* There are hundreds of these.

The various professions and the arts and the sciences have their own periodicals; there are hundreds of these, also. *The Green Bag* is devoted to law; *The Journal of Education* has a self-explanatory title, as also has *The American Journal of Medicine.* Another is *The International Journal of Ethics.* There are scores of religious

periodicals; each great denomination has several. One religious organization maintains a daily newspaper of many pages, which has a wide circulation by mail throughout the nation.

The purpose of an organ of public opinion is, of course, to lay before the general public personal or class or group opinions in order to bring the public to agree with these opinions; but we have so enlarged the meaning of the term "organ of public opinion" that it now includes any medium that influences many persons. To realize this purpose, generally an organ of public opinion does not hesitate to suppress news that runs counter to its own opinions, to publish as headlines to items of news phrases diametrically opposite to the text itself, and even to fake news.

During the world war, prior to our own entry into it, we saw the various organs of the heavily financed German propaganda trying to swing America to the side of Germany and away from France, our friend of the days of the War of Independence, and from Great Britain, mother of most of our people and of nearly all our social institutions and political ideas. The pro-German owners and editors of newspapers did not hesitate to suppress news unfavorable to their cause; to headline news in terms contradictory of the text itself; and even to invent victories in battles that never took place on sea or land. There were many editorials intended to persuade Americans that the Kaiser was so truly a lover of democratic freedom that at heart he was a socialist dreaming of reforms to benefit the poor and the oppressed.

It is commonly charged that the entire newspaper press of America is capitalistic and constitutes one universal organ of the capitalistic class. In a sense, this is true. In America, capitalism is the essence of the existing economic

régime, and property is the foundation of the social order. Occupations are followed to keep us alive, but the aim of business is the acquirement of property with all its power. Since, however, all the stocks and bonds of our greater corporations, including the newspapers of wide circulation, are constantly upon the markets to be bought and sold, the charge that capitalism owns the American press and controls our news and our editorials amounts to saying that any one who can save enough money to buy any considerable total of stocks and bonds will surely find his interests as an owner of securities faithfully supported by our press and to implying that only a few persons can save such an amount of money, with the inevitable conclusion that the newspapers of America represent the interests of one class.[1]

Such a state of affairs cannot be entirely satisfactory to men who really care for the common welfare. We desire a larger patriotism than that of which the modern press is capable with its various nation-wide, cheap but closely edited news services. It is being seriously urged in many quarters that every writer and editor of any periodical be required to hold a public license of moral and intellectual fitness, revocable for cause by an independent board; that every item be printed with a personal sponsor whose name shall be signed; that the names of all editors and managers and owners appear in every issue; that no one person be allowed to hold directly or indirectly more than a small per cent. of the stocks and bonds of the publication; that coöperative ownership be encouraged by appropriate legislation; and even that all periodicals be owned and operated by government like the public schools. Obviously, these many propositions are mutually exclusive; but taken together they show that we Americans have come to realize

[1] Chapters XX and XXIX.

fully the priceless character, the final worth of timely truth. Nevertheless, until we can secure positive reforms, though even now we have a measure of comfort, cold it is true but real, that since here ninety-nine men in every hundred, more or less unselfishly, feel a desire to own their own homes and some stocks and bonds—that is, to share in the property of our civilization,—even to prove that our newspapers are run in the interests of property still leaves them within the range of being truly patriotic, yet in an unfortunately and a painfully narrow sense.

Another medium of public opinion is the public platform. We have free speech in America. Any one who does not talk anarchy, who believes in any decent social order, can talk all he pleases to all who wish to hear him almost anywhere that he does not block the traffic. He needs nothing more than a soap box or the end of a wagon. Any one with the price to rent a hall may call together an audience, without or with a street band with drums and trumpets, fifes and whatnot; and may talk to them to his heart's content provided he does not talk treason to the Constitution of the United States very broadly and liberally interpreted.

Considered as a phenomenon in world history, this is truly a marvellous thing.

In American history, the public platform has always been a very great power; and we have had many orators of wide influence. In the days before the American Revolution, there was James Otis, who declared that taxation without representation is tyranny, that the Colonies did not desire representation in Parliament, and that, therefore, Parliament had no right to tax them. Other orators have been Alexander Hamilton, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Thomas Hart Benton, John C. Calhoun, Silas Wright, Abraham Lincoln, Henry Ward Beecher, Stephen A. Doug-

las, James A. Garfield, James G. Blaine, William McKinley, William Jennings Bryan. Said Daniel Webster, "A great speech is the product of the occasion, the theme and the man, all three."

Always there are men who have the fluency, the voice, the temperament, the high moral standards of the orator. Often, there is the theme that concerns the general welfare at a time of crisis. Seldom is there just the occasion. The hall with high traditions, fitted to sonorous speech, a large, intelligent, eager audience, the right tension of the public mind to hear the interpreter of the prevailing opinion in that audience—all are required for the great speech. Therefore, great speeches are few.

But in the long run because of the cumulative effect of many speeches, the public platform wins. The minds of men may be reached by the visual tract through print or by the auditory tract through speeches. It happens that on the average in a thousand men 550 are influenced only through their ears, 150 only through their eyes, and 300 alike through ear and eye. A speech well delivered influences a larger proportion of the men who hear it than a page well written influences proportionally among its readers.

Whether we like it or not, as long as men are born as they are, more willing to listen than to read, to win any campaign in a democracy that turns upon public opinion, it will be far better to line up the great orators than the strong writers. This is true notwithstanding the fact that a newspaper is read by perhaps 100,000 while the orator addresses but 10,000; and the cause is that men are far more apt to tell one another what they heard a great orator declare than what any editor wrote. This in part is due to the fact that we assume that others have read the newspaper as well as ourselves.

If it were not for the fact that able editors are more numerous than able orators, the platform would rule universally in America. It is easier to become a fine, strong public speaker than to become an equally competent writer; but one can make a living as a writer under present conditions while it is almost impossible to earn a living as a public speaker. Indeed, oratory is a high and difficult art, unappreciated save in its best stage of development. Writing is a still higher art, but it is more generally appreciated in all stages of its development. Just why this is true is one of the features of human nature that no man has as yet interpreted. Perhaps one of the causes is that great oratory can be displayed only in a great crowd; it is, in a sense, the result of the reaction of the crowd upon the orator; but writing of any kind can be read alone in the stillness of one's own room.

Leaders reach and, to a degree, make public opinion in various ways. Generally, their followers are more or less organized in grades and concentric rings of relationships. It is, therefore, unnecessary for leaders to be in daily close connection with all their followers; it is enough to reach freely and frequently the main supporters. In critical days, the leader must get into touch with all his followers; this is done by oratory, by circularizing in the mails; by local meetings addressed by the ablest lieutenants; and conspicuously by reports in the newspapers favorable to the cause. In such fashion, leadership develops and enforces public opinion.

EXERCISES

1. Why do we believe in the social indoctrination of the young?
2. Describe public opinion as you have experienced it.
3. How is public opinion formed?
4. Tell the history of the rise of strong American nationalism in your own locality in 1917.

5. What was the reception of the theories of Charles Darwin respecting evolution?

6. Why does Tammany Hall prevail in New York City?

7. Give from your own experiences instances of definite propositions in current public opinion.

8. Are the opinions of persons of all classes ever in direct conflict? Cite cases.

9. What are the main features of protective tariff politics?

10. What makes a great newspaper organ of public opinion?

11. Which is more powerful, the press or the pulpit? Why?

12. In Great Britain, investigate the resistance of the House of Lords to public opinion.

13. In our own nation, has the popular election of Senators reduced the opposition of the Senate to public opinion? Consider the struggle over the Peace Treaty of 1919.

14. Why are ecclesiastical hierarchies so generally resistant to democratic forces?

15. What is the present state of public opinion respecting the nationalization (a) of railroads? (b) of coal mines?

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CHAPTER IV

PUBLIC OPINION IN CITY AND IN COUNTRY

"In cities, the human will visibly dominates the physical environment, and men come readily to the cardinal assumption of the mob that nothing can stand against numbers. In the country painful contact with the unyielding laws of Nature inspires reasonableness and caution."—*Social Psychology,* Edward A. Ross.

THE United States is a democratic empire of great cities, a republican commonwealth of many large populations packed into separate municipalities, and surrounded by towns, villages and far-stretching countrysides or by forests and lonely wastes, the whole vast mass bordered for three-fourths of its boundaries by the Oceans, the Gulf and the Great Lakes. Of course, the ordinary map does not adequately picture the real situation. Nor is it easy even by much travel to come to a full realization of what these immense cities stand for in our social organization.

So dense is our population at some points that we have in eastern Massachusetts and in all Rhode Island more than 500 people upon every square mile of land on the average. Within twenty miles of the New York City Hall dwell more than 9,000,000 people. Pennsylvania has 150 cities of more than 5,000 population, including one of more than a million and a half and another of half a million. Ohio has six cities each numbering 100,000 or more persons. Chicago has now reached a population of three million souls.

It is a striking contrast that our National Capital, legally styled "The District of Columbia," popularly known as Washington, has as many people as all the State of Ver-

mont—almost half a million people without the suffrage there. It is an even greater contrast that our first city, New York, has more people within its 327 square miles of land than any one of forty-five of the forty-eight States, being exceeded only by its own State, of course, by Pennsylvania and by Illinois. One-tenth of all Americans live within New York State; and more than one-half of us all live within two hundred miles of a straight line drawn from New York to St. Louis, mostly in cities.

The United States had in 1914 twice as many large cities as Russia, which then had twice as many inhabitants. Now we have the first and the third great cities of the earth—the first four being New York, London, Chicago and Paris.

Yet many of our States have not one large city within their borders. These facts are worth knowing by every one who wishes to understand the force of public opinion upon the trend of events in America, viz.—

STATES WITHOUT LARGE CITIES

	Area in sq. mi.		Largest city Population
1. Vermont	9,565	Burlington	20,468
2. North Carolina	52,250	Charlotte	34,014
3. Mississippi	46,810	Meridian	23,285
4. North Dakota	70,793	Fargo	14,331
5. South Dakota	77,650	Sioux Falls	14,094
6. Wyoming	97,890	Cheyenne	11,320
7. Idaho	84,800	Boise	17,358
8. Nevada	110,700	Reno	10,864
9. New Mexico	122,580	Albuquerque	11,020
10. Arizona	113,020	Tucson	13,193

Not far from the boundary lines of Vermont are the fairly large cities of Troy, Albany and Springfield. Not far from the boundaries of Mississippi are the fairly large cities of Memphis, New Orleans and Mobile. But all the others of these States are without the immediate influences

of great cities. Together, these ten States contain one-fourth of all our area and yet not one city above 35,000 population.

Disregarding State lines, we find other great areas with no cities of any considerable size. These areas include the following, viz.—

	Square Miles
1. Northern New England	40,000
2. The Appalachian Highlands	100,000
3. Western Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas	300,000
4. Eastern Oregon and California	200,000

The total here is 640,000 square miles.

There are also whole counties in many other States, outside each of these areas into which has not yet come either the steam railroad or the electric railway. These counties are upon Atlantic and Gulf Coast tide water; in Kentucky and Tennessee lowlands; in Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Minnesota, Montana, Washington, Missouri and Oklahoma. There are also scores of counties in even the oldest States such as New York and Pennsylvania that have, as it were by luck, a few miles of railroad track across one corner; and are virtually out of contact with civilization.

Where the railroads do not run, strangers do not come; few newspapers are ever seen and read; the schools are poor; there are no churches with settled ministers; and there is no progress. In many cases, these regions without the organs of social change have considerable populations, in some States large enough to turn the elections.

There is a war story that definitely illustrates the ignorance of these backward people. A mountain boy came down with his father to enlist in the volunteer army early in the war. As he was bidding good-by to his son the father said—speaking the English of Shakespeare, for he knew no other—"Boy, when you spy one of those Germans

over at the war, shoot him dead; shoot him like you would a revenue officer!"

It was a colored youth from the South who said to an Army officer—my own son-in-law—after receiving gratis a complete outfit including Army blankets to his vast delight, "And I don't have to pay for any of these things? No? And they are n't taken out of my pay? No? Say, boss, why did n't any one tell me about this hyar Army before?"

The total area of these regions is some sixteen hundred thousand square miles, or more than half of all the United States. They contain in all about fifteen million of our people who know practically nothing of city life or of modern science, art and invention.

There are yet other aspects of the whole matter. In 1918, it was estimated that almost ten million of our people were foreigners by birth; that some seven million above ten years of age could not read and write; and that sixty-three million had no connection direct or indirect with any church. Most of the foreigners are in the larger cities. Most of the illiterates are either foreigners or colored persons in the South or mountain whites. But the churchless are distributed elsewhere, though conditions in some States are far worse than in others.

One million, two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of New York City are Jews. It is the largest Jewish city of the world; in truth, it is the "New Jerusalem." Most of these Jews were formerly Russians; and many of them still have their minds full of Russian notions—they are anti-government, anti-capitalism, distinctly anti-Christianity and in a few instances also anti-Judæanism.

The large German-born populations of some cities, such as Chicago, constituted a real menace to us in our recent resistance to the insolence of the German nation.

In our great cities, such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Buffalo, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis and San Francisco, there are entire wards closely packed with people—perhaps 10,000, even 20,000, or even 50,000 per square mile—that have not one religious center—no Protestant or Catholic church, no Jewish synagogue, no mission, no place whatever where anything religious is so much as discussed in public gatherings week after week, year after year, decade after decade, generation after generation. Not even the Salvation Army reaches them all. Their sole community center devoted seriously to progress and to the social welfare is the public school.

These people are flooded with newspapers. Until 1917, however, very many of them read only the foreign language newspapers, often those in the languages of our national enemies.

They have movies, dances, vaudeville, saloons, skating rinks, in plenty.

They have some political clubs, where in election seasons public questions are discussed actively.

In some cities, they have convenient neighborhood public libraries and branches.

In the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, much was said about the "back-to-the-country" movement. President Theodore Roosevelt appointed a country life commission that rendered signal service to this cause. The world war first drew millions of men into the cities as workers in new munitions factories and then took four million men from city and country alike to training camps and two millions of them overseas. When they returned home, some went to city and some to country; by no means all went back to their own localities. But all this while, indeed for many of the latter years of the nineteenth century also—

there has been going on another process, not counter to the farm-to-city movement, nor counter to the back-to-the-country movement; it is the process of urbanizing the country.

In all history, civilization has been taken as city-building. It has been assumed that the heathen (men of the heath or moor), the pagan (men of the open lands), the ruralites or country people were incapable of the same development as the city people. The basis of this assumption was that society is necessary to complete humanization. "Man," said Aristotle, twenty-two hundred years ago, "is a civic creature."

But various changes that have taken place in the world have greatly changed the position and environment of the countryman. Then brigands roamed the fields and hid themselves in the forests, pirates raided the seaside and the water ways, invading armies despoiled the huts, cottages, barns, orchards and vineyards beyond the city walls. Today country homes are rather safer from marauders than city homes. Telephones, rural mail service, electric traction lines and automobiles have worked wonders in bringing the country people into relation with the thought and art of the cities. Many a country seat represents a considerable group of the landowning family, expert animal caretakers, orchardists, mechanics, dairy workers and farm laborers. Much has been done to take away the old reproach that to be a farmer is to invite the general opinion that one is ignorant, uncouth and inconsequential.

Nevertheless, it is still true that the processes of public judgment upon social affairs are quickest in the city, slower in the urbanized or developed country, and slowest of all in the remote sections that are without cities, railroads, daily newspapers, and regular church services. We may indeed admit that the public judgment of the foreign sec-

tions of our great cities is too generally either worthless or positively pernicious.

This general view shows American social conditions as classifiable in four divisions, viz.—

1. The educated, native-born city people.
2. The urbanized country people.
3. The isolated country people.
4. The foreign peoples of our cities.

1. The most progressive, in general, the most responsive to new ideas, the really active developers of public opinion are in the first class, ably seconded, however, by 2. the people of the second class.

3. The conservatives—some of them so conservative as to be absolutely stationary—are the isolated country people.

4. Those who pull America down—with some exceptions —are the foreigners in our cities.

We cannot understand the operation of public opinion without considering the processes of the social mind in each of these four classes.

In our native-born, educated people of the cities, there are qualities and forces that work both for and against the active propagation of public notions. The typical individual of this group is intelligent and therefore quickly senses any new notion that comes afloat upon the social atmosphere. He has many windows to his mind and is a watcher at them all. Nevertheless, he has ample defences against contagions and standards by which he tests good and evil. At the beginning, he is very much of an individualist in his disposition toward change. Most of these new notions or old notions reappearing under new guises and often even under disguise, he strongly rejects; but such notions as he does receive with favor, he accepts and usually reinforces. In respect to these, he becomes a propagator

of social opinion, an active, forceful agent for change.

In consequence, real living public opinion in America is in the main city opinion. In this sense, city culture rules in our land because the city people can gather quickly and in large numbers to the support of any cause. Also, through their economic institutions, particularly their banks and newspapers that furnish funds and wide publicity, the native-born, educated element in the city populations soon come closely into relations both with one another in these causes and also with the enlightened people of the rural districts.

In the history of American social and political reforms, these native-born, educated men and women have originated the reconstructive idea and given to it the first substantial body of support. The destiny of the United States has indeed been constructed by our city peoples.

American independence was born in the Fanueil Hall town meetings of Boston. It was asserted by city mobs in New York. It was proclaimed in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, 1776. True it is that the Boston leaders turned to a country gentleman and soldier of Virginia for the commander-in-chief in the field. But it was a man of Philadelphia city, Robert Morris, who financed George Washington through the darkest days at Valley Forge.

The abolition of slavery was another idea originating in Boston and spreading thence throughout the North and into the West in the main as an expression of city opinion. It is inevitable that the self-reliant, well-established men of the cities should lead in the creation and propagation of public opinion. One of the not unimportant causes why these city residents surpass the rural people is that the cities have the best schools and on the whole the best teachers.

The second group, that of the urbanized country people,

yields to and develops public opinion almost as promptly as does the first group. Yet it works under several limitations.

First, such persons do not come together so frequently in social groups and their groups are relatively quite small. To propagate opinion rapidly many and large meetings are requisite, such as are possible only in large cities and consisting of persons with considerable leisure time. Even the more intelligent and energetic of country residents, with many of the urban conveniences, such as telephones, rural mail, electric washers and lights, running water, furnaces, milking machines and convenient stables and barns, and other time-saving devices, are still tied down to the procedure of country life beyond the environmental pressures and bindings of city life. The farm day is everywhere a matter of sunrise to sunset; everywhere the animals must be fed three times daily; and other similar forces are at work with unfailing regularity.

Second, in the country, there is no possibility of ever defeating almost absolutely as in the city night and day, summer and winter, disease, and other difficulties. The weather is not very important to the man of the city; but a heavy snowstorm or rain, of itself, virtually cancels rural gatherings except in the villages themselves. It is true that in winter now the modern automobile will get through where horses wear out; but the electric traction is superior for transit in bad weather to the best automobile and the airplane is not yet available to many. Even the airplane makes poor landings and travels wrong courses in fog and rain.

Third, there is a limitation upon the propagation of opinion in the country due to the greater resistance to new notions put up by the rural man himself. He listens; he thinks hard, usually alone; but he does not like to give in.

He has a degree of self-reliance that accomplishes the same result as obtuseness, though it is a different quality. There is a pride of individual opinion in the man of the country that is far from censurable in many of its results but that does block the movement of the social mind.

Nevertheless, on the whole, the more intelligent of rural dwellers are strong movers with the educated people for what we call "social progress."

After them come the people of the third class—the isolated and ignorant men and women of the country. Among them are many varieties. Some of them are foreign-born or descendants of the foreign-born who have never learned English and who in many instances cannot read and write their own languages. They may dwell as it were upon foreign islands in considerable numbers and yet not really know what we Americans are thinking.

In the two specific instances of prohibition and of equal suffrage the men voters of this kind have been as a body generally resistant to change. Their minds are furnished with the facts and notions of the past. They see no scientific truth respecting the effects of alcohol upon human tissues. They are accustomed to treat girls and women as domestic servants. They live in past decades, not in the light of the full risen sun of the twentieth century of America.

The isolation of many millions of others in the rural districts is geographical. They have no railroads, telephones, good highways. They are always weeks, sometimes months, behind the news. They never have large supplies of news on date. Generally, they are poor; but even when they are not poor, they do not know what books to buy and read; even their general information about magazines is slender.

They hold but few meetings, and at them their discus-

sions seldom proceed beyond local affairs. Their daily routine—farming, lumbering, prospecting for metals and minerals, hunting—tends to keep them close to nature but remote from humanity. It is true that mostly they have been upon this soil for several generations; but they live in traditions and according to customs that belong to an elder age and not infrequently to the lands of their origin. Americanization involves socialization as well as modernization; they and their forefathers have experienced too little of these processes. They have no public opinion because they are not a public. They have characteristic opinions, but these are the opinions of small groups.

Last come the foreign peoples of our cities. It is believed that only 15 per cent. of the population of New York City represent families who have lived upon American soil to the fourth generation.

In Cleveland, in 1912, only 22 per cent. of the people represented the third generation upon American soil, 78 per cent. being either foreign-born or their children. In Paterson, in 1906, only 16 per cent. were representatives of families who were in their third generation here—children of the children of the foreign-born—or of families still longer upon this soil. Southern New England is mainly foreign; as is Boston.

Yet these majorities of foreigners are not socially dominant, though in some cities, they are the political masters. The descendants of the recently immigrant Irish rule Boston, yet they are not the social arbiters. In New England, generally, the descendants of colonial stocks own the lands and the banks; they do not, however, own the factories and the stores, though often owning the bonds and the mortgages of business enterprises.

Nevertheless, the foreign elements do not generally con-

trol even politics. The causes are two; first, that they are in severe isolation from one another; second, that they are blind and deaf to the processes of public opinion.

In the city of Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1912, of a population of 26,000, some 4,500 were Hungarians, 3,000 were Italians and 2,000 were Irish. Not quite 5,000 had more or less colonial blood. The remainder came of a score of different nationalities, races, languages, religions, peoples. The Hungarians, the Italians and the Irish were remote from one another in every way. The Irish tied themselves to the colonial-bred Yankees, and constituted in subordination to them the effective minority that in all respects was the master of the city. (The other important peoples represented were Hollanders, Russian Jews, Poles, English, Scotch, Swiss, Welsh, Swedes, Danes, in that order of descending numbers.)

The social solidarity of each foreign group respecting itself and the ignorance characteristic of the individuals of a foreign group that refuses to break up into individualized Americans conspire to make the city foreigners practically immune to public opinion.

EXERCISES

1. Look over the statistics of population of the States and cities and compare the influence of the city populations of the same size with that of the corresponding State, e.g., Nevada and Paterson, N. J.
2. What will be the influences of the new airplane routes upon population?
3. Why do not the churches thrive in great cities?
4. What were the main recommendations of the country life commission appointed by President Roosevelt?
5. Compare city people with country people.
6. Why is the city more independent than the country?
7. What is Americanization?
8. Investigate the foreign elements in your own locality and measure them.
9. Compare the time-rates of social progress in Japan, China, India and Russia.

10. Of all nations, which leads the vanguard of progress? By how many years? By what standards may we judge this?

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CHAPTER V

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE INDIVIDUAL

"The moral nature of man has reached its present standard partly through the advancement of his reasoning powers and consequently of a just public opinion but especially from his sympathies having been rendered more tender and widely diffused through the effects of habit, example, instruction and reflection. Ultimately, man does not accept the praise or blame of his fellows as his sole guide, though few escape this influence; but his habitual convictions, controlled by reason, afford him the safest rule. His conscience then becomes his supreme judge and monitor."—*The Descent of Man,* Charles Darwin.

Nearly all of the ideas of every individual have come to him from others—from his parents and kindred, his friends and companions, chance acquaintances, strangers, even his enemies; from the writers of books, magazines and newspapers; from the preachers, the platform orators, even the soapbox radicals speaking upon street corners; from teachers, physicians, lawyers and all the others who make his work or who perhaps have entered it for but a few moments. When the man speaks or writes, the very phrases as well as the thoughts that issue from him have often even to his own direct knowledge been used many times by others. Indeed, because he knows that they are well approved at least by some others, is one of the reasons why he uses them, why they are ready upon his tongue's end, why he dares and cares to use them.

The mind of the individual is a socialized mind; [1] it has for its furniture facts and views imparted to him from

[1] Chapter XXXVI.

others, who themselves are in the main but transmitting to him what had been imparted to themselves. Virtually all that any individual does is to select from the vast variety of facts and opinions furnished by others those which appeal to his own tastes, moods, instincts, motives, judgment, reason and conscience. The individual is like a man entering an immense museum with treasures quite beyond even the observation, not to say the understanding, of any one person, who is privileged to take away only so much as he can bear in his own hands or upon his own back, no more. Nevertheless, from what a man does so take into his own keeping and use from the incalculable inheritance from others, the judicious may infer his ability and character.

What the individual does express as from himself does not depend wholly upon hereditary instincts and motives. The more experienced, the more socialized he is, the more he reflects in his speech and in his conduct just these facts and opinions of others. In a free democracy, where men think aloud, where but few things of importance can even be thought, not to say done, in the dark under a reliable assurance of a privacy never to be broken, the sum total of all these socialized remarks and interpreted actions of men becomes the substantial public opinion.

Such public opinion need not issue from a numerical majority; it may issue only from a minority. But when that minority is unopposed by an equal number of individuals of equal power or by an inferior number of individuals of superior power or by a superior number of individuals of inferior power, it rides freely toward its goal and becomes therefore an effective minority, that is, to say, one that wins its own purposes.

Of the free democracy of America, it may therefore be said truthfully that it is controlled in all its actions either

by actual majorities or by effective minorities. In political affairs, the effective minorities are styled in elections "pluralities" but at other times they go by various names —such as "ring," "committee," "group," "boss and heelers" and "the gang." All of the social control by majorities is held by us Americans as strictly legitimate. Individuals may challenge the ethics of what some majority does, but none ever challenges the legality of such control. The control by a plurality is also legal by the process of election, but it may not be legal by other processes. In consequence, when a ring or committee undertakes to do something in politics that has not the full warrant of law, their course of action is subject frequently to more or less criticism, at times to severe censure.

In other fields, such as church-polity, school administration, business, labor, recreation, charity, ordinary social life, everywhere, effective minorities are almost always in control of the various units of organization and conduct their operations—subject, of course, at every point to the general laws and to their charters when they have any. The general laws that are paramount in all modern civilized nations proceed in accordance with the several national and other constitutions. In our own country, a written constitution guarantees our States many independent rights and creates the political order and the officers to administer it; and a written constitution guarantees to the citizens within each State many rights and creates the political order of the State and officers to administer it. These various written constitutions are strongholds against new attacking forces of public opinion for the maintenance of the established political order in the Nation and in the States. To this extent, they limit public opinion.

Often in America, we hear the cry—*Let the people rule!* This cry is a redeclaration of the right of the majority to

rule. But in our land, the majority of the living people does not rule. The basic rule in America is that of the fathers who wrote our National Constitution and of the many members of our State Legislatures that ratified it, and of the many members of Congress and of the State Legislatures that have modified and added to it by eighteen amendments since 1788, when the original document was ratified and put into operation. While such is the basic rule, the final rule is by our Federal Supreme Court, which interprets the Constitution and Amendments, according to the philosophy of the instrument as a whole in view of present facts.

By a slow and strictly technical procedure, public opinion can change even the Federal Constitution itself. Every amendment is the fruit of public opinion.

One who views American society in the mass is likely to wonder whether any single individual can accomplish much. At first, the situation seems hopeless, and a fatalistic mood threatens. It appears that whatever is must be let be. But this view is as untrue to the living social reality as a photograph is untrue to a living individual creature. Any one, any group, any organization, any party, however great, that sets out to fixate any procedure in America is contesting the whole tendency of modern social life, which is, through trouble, to develop keener intelligence, stronger will, quicker and more varied sympathies and more and more initiative or spirit to originate ideas and emotions. In America, we have risen above the old social levels where traditions ruled absolutely and where men of tradition-ruled, habit-molded minds represented the highest grades of personal development as yet realized among the people.

Perhaps the hierarchy of personal development may be fairly pictured in these ranks, viz.—

Savagery

1. Impulse, caprice, whim, motivation, instinct.

Barbarism

2. Conduct standardized to conform rigidly to the social environment.

Civilization; Aristocracy

3. Habituation along the lines of least resistance.

Civilization; Democracy

4. Rationalization of individual variation from socialized procedure.

What happened during the world war was a devolution from superior to inferior grades. Even a slight drop appears to be chaos compared with the better social state that has been lost. Everything in this view is relative. It is probably true that the proportions of inhabitants in the superior grades were highest in the lands of the final Allies; but still it is true that so far as the autocratic external social order permitted, there were many true democrats of the heart in the Russia of 1914. The general truth is that the vast majority of Europeans, when the world war began, were just out of the second stage, and that only a few of them were fully in the fourth. Whatever else the war accomplished, it affirmed the values of democratic civilization.

In America, from the necessities of universal manhood suffrage (developed into equal suffrage in many States by 1919) we aim by education and our free life to place all sane persons in the fourth stage in the years of early manhood and womanhood. Democratic procedures require that as many persons as possible shall think and act upon their own responsibility.

Therefore, *we aim in America to direct and control all*

our social institutions as much as possible by free public opinion and as little as possible by the sanctions of law and force through government courts, police and soldiery. Free public opinion means that the adhesion of followers to a proposition shall be secured solely by their rational consent. This assumes a very considerable intellectual and moral development in a majority of our people; and our social history warrants the opinion that we have gained through every decade upon the ignorance and the immorality that are the natural heritage of mankind.

The educational problem in these premises takes on three aspects, viz.—

1. The development of such as by leadership or by authority may exercise beneficent social control.

2. The development of the multitude in appreciation of the best in thought and in conduct in order that public opinion may obey wise authority and leadership promptly and may check vagaries and follies by whomsoever proposed.

3. The recognition and so far as possible the limitation of the influence upon society of all undesirable groups, gatherings, notions and persons.

When this triple problem is fairly before the attention, it becomes one of how to relate effectively one and another individual to the social mass. Here public opinion itself finds its delimitations, and the individual with his free and independent mind is seen to take some relation to his social environment and thereby to create or to mold, to forward or to thwart, to ignore or possibly even to defeat opinion. Such an individual may be artist, scientist, philosopher, statesman, reformer, author, soldier, actor, preacher, teacher—misdemeanant, criminal—or mere echo or tool. He may be a social engineer like George Washington or one like Kaiser Wilhelm Second. Or he may be one of the

unnoted millions doing duty but lost in the vast masses of humanity—whose own record is but one of

"The short and simple annals of the poor!"

EXERCISES

1. Try to inventory (a) the notions borrowed from others; (b) the self-originated notions. What reasons may be suggested for inability to carry out the endeavor to conclusive success?

2. Give historical instances of the final success of effective minorities.

3. Consider (a) ethical and then (b) practical reasons why the people should, or should not, rule. Explain the various principles involved. Which reasons should prevail?

4. Recount in individual cases the genetic development of individuals to discover whether or not in their cases they recapitulated the racial development. Take first a few men such as *Theodore Roosevelt;* and then consider home cases.

5. What can education do to develop free public opinion?

6. What is your own experience with newspapers as the organs of truth? Do they understate as well as overstate occasionally?

7. Give instances where individuals have successfully thwarted and even turned public opinion.

8. Review candidly at the present time, according to your best information, the social conditions in at least the more important foreign nations in respect to the progress of the individual.

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CHAPTER VI

CITIZENSHIP IN OUR DEMOCRACY

"There is room enough for us all to be free."—*Shot over the Line Speech,* September, 1859, Abraham Lincoln.

THE Army and Navy tests by psychologists during the world war showed that of our 4,000,000 men, 24 per cent. could not read well enough to understand the news in ordinary newspapers and write well enough to send out ordinary letters to their parents and friends. These men were from eighteen to thirty years of age. The truly appalling fact was that such illiteracy as this characterized 70 per cent. of all the colored recruits and 20 per cent. of all the white recruits. The tests were confirmed by the experience of the Army officers who found that the men who could not read newspapers when tested nor write letters under the eye of an examiner, in point of fact did not in the barracks and camps or trenches or ships try to read and write. They were not only illiterates but also social isolates, living truly private lives, mainly shut up within themselves.

Probably for the country as a whole, the young women of the same ages would make better records. They certainly would among the colored people. My own experience in dealing with 103,000 different public school youth, with 3,000 different college and university men and women, with 3,000 different teachers, and with 14,000 persons of various ages whom I have individually tested shows to me that as to illiteracy and the resultant personal isolation from society the case of the young men is considerably worse than that of the young women.

There is, of course, a small amount of correction to be

observed here. Many persons isolated as to reading and writing from news and from social relations with their fellowmen by receiving and sending letters are fairly good listeners and talkers. But those who are defective in reading and writing never wholly make up by listening and talking for their poor vocabularies. The visile who can write acquires a much larger and a much more accurate vocabulary than the non-visile ever has, no matter how well he hears and speaks. In respect to language, and to all information dependent upon language, eyesight is ten times more effective than hearing. This is not a mere guess; the psychologists have discovered it by observations and have computed the difference in reliable statistics.

The man who cannot read ordinary news and write an ordinary narrative of events in home letters cannot share largely in civilization nor respond to and play his part in the processes of public opinion. He is more or less the puppet of circumstance, the pawn to be played upon as they will by his neighbors. Unfortunately, many of those who cannot read and write intelligently also cannot listen and talk intelligently. It is a conservative estimate, based upon these Army and Navy records that fully fifteen per cent. of young men have no real part in the cultural features of modern life.

For older men and women, we have no reliable statistics, but there is no good reason to challenge three propositions regarding them, viz.—

1. The ignorant and the foolish succumb more generally at early ages to the ills and hazards of life. They have the higher death-rates. The more intelligent and wise survive. In general, with some exceptions, to live to be seventy or eighty years of age is evidence that one has been able to appropriate the essential facts and principles of modern life.

2. Education was inferior in earlier years to the education actually received by our Army and Navy recruits. This serves as an offset, greater or less, to the sifting process due to the trials of life.

3. To almost every one, experience year by year is worth something. A scientist may set up a dozen different scales for the discrimination of persons of different mental abilities by grades. One scale is this, viz.—

Assume that the normal man gains in knowledge after coming of age at twenty-one years a quantum to be called **x** each year.

Then the superior man will gain a quantum **x** plus **y** each year. A still more superior man will gain **x** plus **2 y** each year.

But the inferior man will gain only a quantum **x** minus **y** each year.

The still more inferior man will gain only a quantum **x** minus **2 y** each year.

Finally, assuming that **x** equals **12 y**, the lowest subnormal will perhaps record in a year the quantum **x** minus **12 y** (equals **0**).

It follows then that of the survivors even among the dull and inferior, there will be some who, though being mentally but ten years of age when physically twenty years of age, will be perhaps sixteen or seventeen years of age in mind when fifty or sixty years of age in body, at which epoch generally senescence sets in and the powers begin to fall away.

Taking these several countervailing facts into consideration, one may venture the opinion that among all white men of voting age in America about one-eighth are incapable of playing any part of real value in this democratic civilization as such. At most, they are but "hewers of wood and drawers of water." At worst, they are heavy

burdens upon our time, our incomes, our hearts. The other seven-eighths are playing more or less important parts in our progress. In a true sense, they are citizens with purposes, plans, means and energies, who are making contributions to our general welfare.

In a democracy like ours, citizenship involves first of all this capacity to play a valuable part by service to the common good. But it involves much else in addition. Among the other features involved are these, viz.—

1. A sense of one's own location in the life of the nation.
2. A sense of one's own social orientation.
3. A body of knowledge respecting the social environment.
4. A definite intention of forward movement to some worthwhile goal both for oneself and for the social whole.
5. A philosophy, more or less conscious, of what this democracy of ours should become.

Such is intelligent citizenship—above the plane of working ten hours a day, drawing one's wages, and spending the proceeds within the limits of the law.

One does not truly know one's own location [1] in the life of the nation until he knows clearly many things that home, school and church should give to every youth with the ability to receive them. There are too many of these things even to catalog them here. An example or two will serve to show what is intended. Every youth should know the meaning and purposes of honorable marriage. And he should know the intent of church organization.

More obscure is the sense of one's own social orientation. One needs to know in what economic class and grade one has arrived—whether it be as the heir of a landlord or as the helpful son of a store clerk, now ready to work as a mechanic or as a lawyer or whatever else is socially useful.

[1] Chapter XXXV.

This involves some statistical information. That city youth has as yet no true social orientation who, receiving free board and lodging at home and all his living expenses, considers himself poor and unjustly treated because his parents allow him only $10 a week spending money. Nor has that youth true social orientation who, living in a rural community, imagines a thousand dollars a year a fine family income for Americans.

The young man who never went inside a church to hear a sermon or to attend Sunday School has a defective social orientation.

This orientation requires knowledge of such elementary matters as geographical distance and points of the compass. That Southern recruit who upon crossing the Ohio imagined that he had at least reached France and would soon come to the war—a veritable incident—could not form a true picture of his own social relations.

I have on file a paper by a student replying to test questions of general information as to the populations of various European countries and our own as follows, viz.—

Germans (sic)	5 or 600,000,000
Belguim (sic)	1,000,000
France	2,000,000
Great Britain	3,000,000
Italy	75,000,000
Russians	100,000,000
Austrians	60,000,000
United States	97,000,000

The man who wrote this was a high school graduate, 22 years of age. As a matter of common sense, these figures could not be true; yet he wrote them seriously, as an oral quiz later showed.

Often, queer family conditions completely bias a young man—as in the case of one whose father had two divorced

wives and a fourth wife then living with him, his own mother having been the first wife but deceased—while this fourth wife herself had a divorced husband. This young man needed to know that the home that he knew was not typically American. He could know this and still have a true filial affection for his father.

Nor had that youth a normal social orientation who as the son of foreign missionaries had not seen either of his parents for eight years and, being obedient to them, had never once seen a movie or gone to a dance or played any card game whatever or read an ordinary novel; but who in the absence of any direct prohibitions upon these matters, had amused himself in idle hours playing ragtime on a piano, visiting criminal trials in the county courthouse, and roaming the roads, the field and the woods at all seasons, at all hours, in all weathers with the chance companions of the wayside.

The citizen requires for his own appropriate conduct a considerable body of knowledge concerning his social environment. He needs to know that his own village is not the whole of the United States—that not even New York is all of America. He should know what preachers do besides preaching in their pulpits, what lawyers do besides pleading in court, what architects represent. He should understand that bad weather increases liability to most diseases and accounts for their prevalence at some seasons. He should be clear in his own mind as to why this country has two great political parties lest he be fooled by the radicals (who know better) when they assert that both parties are one in a common desire to get offices for politicians to exploit the people. He should react appropriately toward those who for any reason are in authority over him and also toward those who are in trouble.

That man cannot be relied upon to continue to be a good

citizen long who has for himself no purpose in life, socially justifiable. It is perhaps enough to wish to earn an honest living for a normal life time. It is still better to wish and intend to enlarge by his own efforts the inheritance of those who come after him beyond his own inheritance. It is still better to be ambitious to make an important personal contribution by inventions or discoveries, by books or paintings, by music or new legislation, by medical art or theological thought to the sum total of culture in the world.

It may be still better to aim to break down established wrongs and to set up a higher righteousness at whatever cost to oneself—as the soldier does upon the battlefields of freedom or the missionary does in our own slums or in degraded foreign lands.

As Lowell said—

> "Not failure but low aim is crime."

And as he said again—

> "They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin."

So the man of highest usefulness lays siege to the castle of wickedness and boldly leads the attack against their walls.

Finally, a truly serviceable citizen has a philosophy that concerns our own Republic and our future. It may be said that this nation of ours has any one of half a dozen different possible futures.

1. We can go forward upon the principles laid down by the fathers a century and a half ago to build a free democracy with private property as its economic basis, with separation of church and state, with a full development of free public education yet permitting any reasonable form of private education. Government would dominate but not

tyrannize over all our institutions and control but not direct in all details our individual citizens.

2. We might set up state socialism upon a national scale, suppressing all our local governments to mere agencies of the national power—making the state the sole master of occupations, education, charity, science, art, recreation, ending private property and business. This scheme would do away with all money and put us absolutely in the control of the powers that be.

3. We may set up decentralized collective socialism, formerly styled "communism" or "communistic anarchy," now generally known as "bolshevism," popularly approved by revolutionaries and violent radicals from its triumph in Russia over the autocracy. There are some who dream that we may become the American "federal soviet republic." Then all our factories, farms, mines, ships and stores would be managed by committees; and capitalists would be no more. Then would end the rule of the feudal lords of business and of property as their rule ended in government centuries ago.

4. We might set up a limited constitutional monarchy with some dynasty selected by popular vote originally but thereafter maintaining itself by primogeniture and by force of arms. Thereby our aristocracy, such as it is, would be preserved from the socialists and the bolshevists and glorified by annual presence at court. Absurd as this seems, there is as much possibility of its coming to pass in response to deep instincts and to ancient customs in human nature—such as the feudal qualities of the Scotch, Welsh, Irish and Gallic French and as the moral abasement of other foreigners, as there is possibility of the success of state socialism.[1]

5. There is a bare possibility that some military hero

[1] Chapter XXXVII.

and master might set up a successful and permanent despotism after our lovers of freedom shall have been slain, or at least despoiled, and laid low in some bloody revolution begun by the basest among us and engineered by shrewd men of European mind.

6. Last, there is a possible social state not yet imagined by any persons whatever—neither philosophers nor poets, statesmen nor prophets.

Beyond even the present free democracy, such a social state might be true to the veritable mental inequalities and wide moral extremes of human nature. At any rate, the Republic already realized is good and beautiful far beyond the dreams of its founders. Our children's children may gloriously surpass even our dreams; yes, will.

In such an age, our land will not see good mothers in partial starvation with children suffering from innutrition due to poverty and avoidable ignorance; the mentally unstable or feeble offenders against law sent to penitentiaries built and operated upon the menagerie plan; artfully disguised and magnificently rewarded law-breaking housed in palaces and bedecked with honors; ecclesiastical hypocrisy and arrogance in power and the humble ministry of humanitarian religion forgotten; children shut into cities never to enjoy parks and fields and the open sea or lake or running river; and incompetence rich by inheritance making a mess of business.

We need truth; social harmony; an understanding of causes; a passion for the beautiful; and the will to pursue justice—all of which ideals constitute the democratic counsels of perfection.

There are now one hundred and ten millions of us. Not even the airplane can make us forget the vast distances between Pensacola and Cape Nome and Manila. In our banks, newspapers, railroads, churches, universities, cor-

porations of many kinds in many fields, we feel the pressures of compelling social forces. At every point of the compass, problems stand—the Philippines, the Monroe Doctrine, city slums, the social evil, money that through the centuries persists in an ever falling power of purchase, the quarrel of capital and labor, illiteracy and inefficiency and immorality when we need knowledge, efficiency, goodness, a careless electorate viewing candidates as an "animal show," lax divorce, unjust distribution of tax burdens, overplaced mediocrity in social control, pandemic diseases, the league of nations, a world to reconstruct! But though the citizen who is intelligent and good knows these things perhaps as well as he needs to know them as a matter of inventory and cataloguing, he quietly and cheerfully goes on with his daily battles for livelihood for himself and his natural dependents and for more truth, justice, beauty, kindness among all men. He is not oppressed but buoyant; he means to be glad of whatever befalls himself and sorry only for others.

An intelligent and strong-willed man of high ideals and warm sympathies faces the dilemmas of the familiar proverbs of contradiction and chooses the right horn. One of the contradictory pair is this,

> "Elections silence debates."
>
> "Nothing is ever settled until it is settled right."

It is true that after every election, no matter how small the majority was, the generality lose all interest and are displeased at those who persist in talking about the matters concerned. But when principles are involved, some few will always persist in plans and work to get the subject as an issue before the people for the next election. And what occurs in politics occurs in all other democratic affairs. This is the spirit that keeps alive all controversies

—that forces churches to get new pastors, new buildings, new creeds, and to push outward into home and foreign missions; that changes courses of study in our schools and colleges, raises the requirements for teaching positions, and secures ever larger and larger revenues to support the policy of educational expansion; that converts the business of a single factory owned by one man into the partnership firm, then into the small corporation, then into the greater one that perhaps some day adds foreign to domestic business and becomes an international enterprise; that has built 265,000 miles of steam railroads in our land; that destroyed slavery; that is now establishing equality of men and women in all rights and opportunities; that proposes to outlaw war as it has already outlawed polygamy despite its alleged ''divine'' sanction; and that tries to practise the principles of the brotherhood of man and of equality in rights before the law.

In seeking to discover watchwords, catchwords and slogans, maxims and mottoes for the needs of democracy in its battles with its enemies, the proverbs of contradiction and of despair persist in our minds; for defence, we should keep the commendable ones alive in memory with them that truth and wisdom may win their proper triumphs. Ideas construct, destroy and reconstruct the world; and some of the powerful ideas are old. Some of these proverbs come to us from ancient times; some are our own and speak the language of American hearts; but some are of alien spirit, and come to us from foreign lands without nearness of soul to ourselves. Some are cynical; and some are gloriously true.

A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.
Nothing venture, nothing have.

Rome was not built in a day.
Faint heart ne'er won fair lady.

The puppy sticks to the root.
If at first you don't succeed, try, try again.

Laugh and the world laughs with you;
Weep and you weep alone.
Every cloud has a silver lining.

Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones.
A kind word keeps warm for three winters.

Virtue is its own reward.
God and one man make a majority.

Heaven helps those who help themselves.
The myriad plans of men are not worth one plan of God.

Birds of a feather flock together.
In union, there is strength.

When in doubt, say "No!"
A friend in need is a friend indeed.

Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.
The most stones are under the best apple trees.

Man proposes, God disposes.
Seest thou a man diligent in business? He shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean men.

Credit is a bribe to extravagance.
Make hay while the sun shines.

Time and tide wait for no man.
Nothing succeeds like success.

Democracy includes the emancipation of the mind alike from habits and from impulses. Many a proverb is foolish; and the school books are not free from some of the worst of them. *If you wish anything done, do it yourself* is a rule that would prevent the success of any employer; and it has served to wreck the health of some not wise enough to get clear of it early in life. On the other hand, there are proverbs of priceless worth, such as *An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure,* which every legislator

should wear as a frontlet before his eyes. The very key to democracy is the saying, *For there is no respect of persons with God.*

What all of us Americans are seeking is progress into democracy; and here some distinctly commonplace truisms are not to be neglected. We aim to multiply men, to lengthen lives, to increase freedom, to protect individuals and minorities from majorities, to keep religion out of politics and to get politics out of religion, to make private homes and public schools literally universal, to get rid of poverty, to provide for all cheap and certain justice between man and man, and to cause the name of America to be held in absolute honor wherever it is known.

That is what in sum we call "progress"; and most of those who deserve to be trusted think that we shall get it by rewriting the Constitution in every crisis, the provisions for amendments and for another federal convention included. Politicians may care day by day to listen with "ear to the ground" for the immediate "voice of the people" because they desire to get into office or to stay in office; but statesmen concern themselves with speaking to "the conscience of the people"; and all stout-hearted Americans are much busier in making things happen from themselves than they are in waiting for things to happen to themselves.

Already we have gotten so far away from the Old World that when we hear, as we sometimes do, the phrases familiar enough there, they strike us as inexplicable and as either foolish or funny.

"An occurrence in a public meeting is in point. The speaker had appealed for a patriotic and generous response to the call to purchase Liberty Bonds. An old lady, herself rich and socially prominent, arose and asked—'The government is rich; why does n't the government pay for this war itself?'

"This old lady had never voted; she had never held public office;

she had long been a widow and had no sons. The audience did not laugh; they felt more like weeping to think that one could be so ignorant at her age. All Americans who have fully entered into our inheritance have realized that we are the government; that this is 'a government of the people, by the people, for the people' because government is the people, government and people being one. It is Old Worldism, atavistic and incompetent, to imagine in America government and people as forces apart.

"But the old lady had not entered into this inheritance of American democracy. After the meeting was over, some men said—'What would come to us if these fool women could vote?' But others said, 'That is what we get for not letting the women vote.'

"Nevertheless, there were in that audience fully one-quarter of all persons who heartily endorsed her question and the implied answer and for days after, the Liberty Loan canvassers were assaulted with arguments that 'This is the government's war; let it pay its own bills.' These persons like the old lady had Central and East European minds, for in the old régimes of Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Russia, the governments were apart from the peoples."

When President Woodrow Wilson declared, as he often did in his sojourns in Europe in 1919, that "governments are the servants of the peoples," and that "the peoples have spoken, and the officers of government must obey," he was but repeating American commonplaces that, however, had strange and startling significance to most of the plain people of Europe.

Because our government is all of us individuals, the stronger-willed individuals in America, whether in politics or not, are accustomed to oppose government by lawful methods and to seek to persuade legislators, judges and executives to change their courses; and are without fear, or rancor, or hate in such lawful and often desirable opposition. Abraham Lincoln defended this repeatedly.

To the good American, the law is everything because it is his own law; he helped make it; and until it is changed, he will loyally obey it. But he never hesitates to promote agitation to change laws that he does not approve. Only

the agitation must be orderly, peaceable, good-natured, without libel or sedition.

His disposition toward social customs—some of them quite as strong as the laws—is the same. Some of them are no longer socially good for us; but they should be respected until we have agreed upon better ways to take their places. Therefore, the right conduct is to obey the custom even while protesting against it—ignoring the charge of inconsistency. Socrates, the pagan, went to death because the laws so ordered. Jesus did the same. All the great since their days have preached their doctrine down to the last, such as Grant and Roosevelt. We are children and bondmen to the laws.

In some few instances, to save others, not themselves, the citizen of right conscience will obey "the higher law" of which in his famous antebellum speech Senator William H. Seward of New York declared himself a defender. The Fugitive Slave Act was wicked whether or not it was constitutional. Therefore, good men operated the "Underground Railroad" from the South to Canada, breaking the law; and when they had slaves in concealment upon their own lands, they lied to the officers of the law, breaking, therefore, the ethics of truthfulness. Good men of sound mind know that there are conflicts between the virtues and do not shut their eyes to such conflicts, deliberately choosing the higher or the greater good according to reasoning upon the facts, the circumstances and the principles involved.

It is a sin for a farmer to let his horses go unfed, but it is a worse sin to let a neighbor's house burn down for want of one's own aid, as Jeremy Taylor said in a famous sermon almost three centuries ago.

It is virtuous to praise marriage as a social custom, but

it is more virtuous by one's own testimony or otherwise to help a cruelly treated wife to get a divorce from a malicious husband.

It is admirable to pay one's bills in cash at sight; but it is higher righteousness to give within reason to the Red Cross in a great war even though this involve delaying the payment of honest debts. The business man and the lawyer may object, but the round of human interests would be incomplete without the mothers who think of sons dying in neglect from wounds upon battlefields and who, being questioned which comes first, war charity or small debts, unanimously say, "The Red Cross!" And most men, not being legalists or mere economists, heartily approve.

In a world like ours of America, with distances so vast, with climates so various, with peoples so various, with so many multitudes absorbed in private affairs in their several cities and upon their several countrysides and seacoasts, public opinion might seem to be incapable of concord throughout.

Moreover, it might seem impossible to find out what upon any particular matter the real opinion is; but our means and methods of intercommunication and our intelligence and energy have kept pace with our growth in numbers and with our extension over the continent so that it is as easy to discover what all America now thinks as it once was to discover what a single shire thought in Old England, five hundred years ago—in some respects easier. And in some respects also, we get the truth more exactly and more thoroughly. We can now photograph the results of an accident; in a few instances, we have had the luck to get a motion picture of it. We can report conversations phonographically by phonogram and by dictagraph record. We can print 100,000 copies of the same newspaper in an hour and send them 1,000 miles by train in a day and 100

miles by airplane in an hour. In the flashes of mere moments, San Diego talks with Bangor.

Long before elections, we know how public opinion in politics has formed; only candidates and partisans, being self-deceived, are ignorant as to the decisions soon to be recorded. Not many elections are really close.

The citizen who desires reforms needs only leisure to advocate them. It is true that the man who works upon wages for ten hours a day unless unionized can do but little to push any proposition for social betterment. But the man with leisure, the man who in some sense controls all or any considerable part of his own time and who is not bound by poverty or by fear, can quickly reach the ears and eyes of his fellow citizens with his proposition. The newspapers run columns of letters from the public. The mail costs but two cents per sealed letter in peace times and but one cent for circulars. The telephone is but a dollar or two for a month's service in small cities and only a dollar or two more in great cities. Public halls may be rented at but a few dollars per night—five to twenty-five in most cities for halls seating 1,000 or so as a maximum. We are free to organize committees and to canvass for members. We have no police espionage unless we become suspects because of displaying some anarchistic tendencies. There are churches, lodges, school-houses, open societies where one who wishes to disseminate his own views and who observes the ordinary rules of politeness can do so not only freely but in general with popular approval, for Americans, like the Athenians of old, are always "eager for some new thing."

Those who say that "while in Europe, there was the tyranny of kings, in America we have a more complete and terrible tyranny of the majority" speak ignorantly, for even our poorest and most laborious have a freedom of

speech and of conduct unknown to such persons in the monarchical Europe of 1913.

Still, it is true that, generally, even the intelligent American does not know all our land as well as such an Englishman knows every county in England. Truth is that he does not need to know all the 3,000,000 square miles of America, part by part, as well as the Englishman needs to know the sixty thousand square miles of England. The various peoples of England, not to say of Scotland, Wales and Ireland, it is true, are not so different in speech and customs from one another as are the peoples of America, but in England the Yorkshireman has a provincial pride of tradition and character and conduct that separates him from the Somersetman far more than our New England Yankee is separated from the Californian. Only a few States or groups of States have populations of enough distinctiveness of character even to be known generally by any special names. The list that starts perhaps with Buckeyes, Hoosiers, Tar-heelers, Texans, Californians thereafter has slow going. Yankees used to be the term for New Englanders; but the Civil War spread it over the North. And in the world-war, Europeans called all Americans, even Southerners, "Yanks."

Truth is that in all essential matters, we Americans are substantially one. We believe and practise the same principles, which may be stated briefly, as follows, viz.—

We are all tolerant of one another, even lenient.

We enjoy free speech, free press, free passage everywhere, free assembly.

We respect women as generally in morals superior to men. In no other land, do men deal so honorably with women. We hold monogamy as our standard but prefer divorce to the slavery and the vices of inseparable unions.

We love children and are proud of them.

We treat real estate like merchandise.

We believe in a written constitution and in the rule of the majority accordingly.

We admire those who work above any who do not work, however rich they may be.

We are enthusiasts for private initiative in business and for private property as the reward of merit and the assurance of a permanent social order.

We have faith in universal free education.

We confine privileges by birth absolutely to the inheritance of property and permit this solely for the general welfare.

We separate Church and State but make the State dominant over all other institutions—the Church being free and independent but legally secure.

We prefer localization of all public functions to any centralizations, which we permit only when essential to our welfare.

We pity the poor, the insane, even the criminal, and we try to ease their lots.

And self-reliance is the keynote to our character, while our delight is in the Republic and its independence.

Such is Americanism, which is the spirit of true citizenship in this democracy.

We happen to believe that our democracy should spread among all peoples and be the only proper system for government and other civil institutions anywhere. This democracy is our religion. Its spread is "manifest destiny," "the will of God." But even as to this, we set up no boycott against our neighboring nations because perhaps they do not agree with us. We are sorry for those who do not see our light; we smile, perhaps sadly, and pass on. The same is true of our personal relations with individuals. The real American has few quarrels that end in lifelong

bitter feuds; he has too much pride to feel much hurt by any one who is his political equal. We are distinctly a good-natured folk.

For practical purposes, among our citizens all are equals. We have no real classes. Of course, there are social cliques, but they form and reform rapidly. Any one can get up higher or go down lower in a few weeks or at most in a single social season. These cliques are perhaps but survivals of the old hereditary clans and tribes of the primitive peoples. For example, in Boston, there is a considerable isolation of the pure-bred colonial-descended citizens from all others—an isolation reinforced by generations on generations of graduates of Harvard University at Cambridge, nearby. These are the New England Brahmins.

A similar condition exists among the Scandinavian descended citizens of St. Paul and Minneapolis. No man is an insider in California unless born of native Californians; not even marrying a second generation Californian lets him into the sacred circle. It is so in New Orleans as well. There is a tendency to develop and to exhibit this pride of descent in several other cities also.

But not even in Boston and in Philadelphia, where birth clannishness is strongest, do many advantages result. It brings no political privileges. The ancient blood is always mixing with strangers, for romantic love often has its will in America; and it never obeys caste or class. A closely controlled Boston bank would decline to prefer as a teller a man of inferior qualities, though he came of the Mayflower stock, as against a superior applicant because he happened to be born and reared in Kansas or Ireland. It is still true that the blue-blood girl is often warned to look upon a poor man or a Westerner or a man without education as "impossible"; but sometimes she marries him, seldom

thereafter suffering any serious social or other consequences.

It would be ideal, perhaps, could America learn to judge each person for himself alone. But like most counsels of perfection this procedure is one for a still distant future. We do not yet know how with any reasonable certainty to judge even our friends, much less strangers. In consequence, we are compelled to consider not only the man but also his ancestry and his associates, who afford at least presumptive evidence. Ideally considered, the standards of judgment would not concern social position, birth or wealth but only character, intelligence, health, manners, conduct, speech, tastes. Yet to an extent, the intrinsic qualities are involved with the extrinsic, and as every teacher knows, they are developed more or less in relation with one another.

The critic who sees our classes as "stonewalls" or as "barbed wire fences" perhaps exaggerates the situation; yet to deny them entirely is not truthful and intelligent. Perhaps a fairer comparison would be to call our class lines hurdles good to develop activity and courage. Here it often happens that nobody becomes somebody; but it is not universally true that "anybody can become somebody." The great preacher was perhaps a coal miner's boy. The millionaire may have grown up in the city slums. The bank president had as his father an ordinary mechanic. A widowed mother reared in poverty her son to be a major general. The President of the Republic was born, it may be, in a log cabin upon a remote hillside.

Every statement may be literally true; yet taken all together without additions or corrections, and they are not a truthful picture of the facts. It is an enormous help to a man to have a father with a fine library, or a mother with influential relatives or friends, or to bear an ancient and

honored family name, or to have no urgent need to provide the daily expenses of living. On the other hand, in some ways we are prejudiced at least in politics against the man with a long pedigree, and with wealth and a fine education, though Theodore Roosevelt used to say that the prejudice was his own because he imagined that people felt so when in truth they did not. The truth is that we are learning gradually and yet surely to take men and women for what they are intrinsically worth. The whole lesson is not yet learned.

EXERCISES

1. Investigate and discuss the kinds of work that can be done by a positive illiterate; and the kinds by an inefficient literate.
2. Abraham Lincoln was primarily audile; the elder J. Pierpont Morgan, visile. What effect did this have upon the kinds of service that they rendered to the American people?
3. Discover other similar contrasts (e.g., Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt).
4. Is illiteracy inevitable in the non-visile?
5. What is the relative proportion of the distinctly inferior in your own locality? Get facts—records of schools and factories and stores; experiences of farmers, traffic managers, bankers, etc.
6. Compare the social orientation of a bank cashier with that of a college professor. Make other similar comparisons.
7. What would you suggest as the test of intelligent citizenship? Educational writers have much to say upon this matter; e.g., Charles W. Eliot in several of his books.
8. Discuss the social orientation of a very rich, non-working young man in comparison with that of an habitual hobo.
9. Give out to youth test questions and note and compare replies in order to discover their respective individual social orientations.
10. Discuss public individuals with unusual social orientations.
11. What is the intellectual furniture that a good citizen most needs?
12. What are some possible imaginary futures for America?
13. What are the effects of factionalism?
14. Discuss some proverbs now current.
15. What was the disposition of Abraham Lincoln toward the Dred Scott decision? See the fourth Lincoln-Douglas debate.
16. Discover illustrations in real life where the virtues conflict.
17. What are some characteristics of Americans?

18. Have we any real castes here in America? Discuss your own neighborhood.

19. What has been the effect of depriving the citizens of the District of Columbia of the right to vote upon their spirit of American citizenship? How did the presence of negroes affect the situation in 1874 when the suffrage was taken away from all men there?

20. Should government employes be allowed to take an active part in politics?

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CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

"European nations war for the possession of thickly settled districts that, when conquered, for centuries remain alien and hostile to the conquerors; we, wiser in our generation, have seized the waste solitudes that lay near us, the limitless forests and never ending plains, and the valleys of the great lonely rivers; and have thrust our own sons in to take possession; and a score of years after each conquest, we have seen such conquered land teeming with a people that is one with ourselves."—*Life of Thomas Hart Benton,* Theodore Roosevelt.

THE man who would press forward upon the path of social change under the conditions hitherto suggested finds as his aids or hindrances various social traits of humanity, arising from our individual natures as their true sources but developing only in relation with others. The individual has conflicting qualities; he may be impulsive, variable, even erratic and peculiar; but he may also be habit-minded, traditional, custom-bound; and again he may be suggestible, sociable, more or less influenced by others. Not that he is all of these at any one time, but that he jumps as it were from one to another corner, as it were, of a triangle. Different individuals are to be found most frequently in different corners; one is mainly impulsive; another is mainly habit-minded; while a third is suggestible. One individual is almost never impulsive; another is not habit-ridden; another is never easily influenced by others.

Moreover, some of us display at various times under various conditions various traits. Some are habit-minded

in all lines; others are strangely held in certain lines by habits but seem free in all other lines.

These traits vary considerably according to nationalities. It is but commonplace to observe that the Chinaman is habit-minded. We have discovered that the German is also. The Italian is famous for impulsiveness. The Frenchman is suggestible. When one comes to close study of these various nationalities to see how the several races, stocks and breeds among them differ from one another and how some individuals are quite unlike the generality of their kind, one learns that these commonplaces are not universal but only general truths. The Irishman is suggestible, as a rule, it is said; but this is true only of those Irish who are mainly Keltic in their race heredity, for there are many persons living in Ireland with generations of descent there who are pure Anglo-Saxons and some who are Anglo-Saxon with a dour Scotch strain—Gaelic, in the historic truth, Keltic, yet by no means suggestible.

In general, man is social, but some individuals are not, preferring solitude in forests, upon the hills, in waste places, perhaps seeking solitude even in cities. By nature, they are lonely hermits. Of the great majority of men who, however, are social, some are social only to the measure of domestic or family life. They object to all relations with large groups and societies. From these come the "conscientious objectors," who will not share the burdens of army life in the wars of patriotism; and also from them come the feudists, who carry on from generation to generation wars with their neighbors in the supposed interest of their own families or perhaps their families and immediate kin.

This quality of family fealty or piety is not necessarily in opposition to the quality of larger affections; but unless so enlarged, it is frequently displayed not merely by indiffer-

ence to the welfare of the larger society but by hostility to the welfare of similar small groups.

There are racial qualities that run with the overstrong family spirit; these are to be seen conspicuously in the mountain whites of our Appalachians, who come generally of so-called "Scotch-Irish" stock. Really, most of them are Anglo-Saxons, from ancestors first transplanted from eastern England to the Scotch border and thence transplanted (many of them by Oliver Cromwell, when Lord Protector of England) to northeastern Ireland. But in the course of the centuries, many of these Anglo-Saxons by race, Scotch-Irish by habitation, have intermarried with Gaul and Kelt and even with Welsh so that in the racial sense they are physically true Scotch-Irish. Some of them, especially the relatively pure Anglo-Saxons, are unable to externalize themselves from their own family-associations and to see how their real interests are so bound up with that of their neighbors as to make true community-spirit essential for the success of each family-unit. The feudists of Kentucky and Tennessee, who pursue their blood-hatreds for generations, accomplish thereby a rebarbarization that is terribly destructive to society.

Physicians and hygienists dispute as to whether or not some physiological conditions are responsible in part for this bitter and narrow, this derisive and hateful spirit. Perhaps, the hate is born of poor tissues and anemia generally with inflammations of some organs due to diseases such as pellagra and hookworm. Perhaps; moonshine whiskey has something to do with it. Perhaps, the pigstye under or beside the shack or log cabin contributes through tainting the air and otherwise.

The gunmen of the cities who slay or commit other crimes frequently display a considerable fondness for their women mates and in a few instances for their own families. These

modern criminals of our cities have come from various stocks—English, Irish, Italian, German Jew.

But everywhere, irrespective of their race-origins, are to be found individuals who are incapable of recognizing any obligations to groups larger than their own families. Indeed, some men are shut up wholly within their own souls, caring for none save themselves—scarcely caring for themselves—such as the tramp who has not even a dog for a friend.

Next to those who care at most only for their families and immediate kin are those whose affections do not go beyond the boundaries of their own various social vicinities—their own church, their own factory, their own store, their own college, their own "east end" or "south side" of the town. In some instances, these persons seem to live upon the peripheries of their acquaintance, for they are neglectful of their own home.

There was a man who was managing editor of a metropolitan newspaper, prominent in several social clubs, widely acquainted among business men of all lines and politicians and journalists. When his wife sent out cards announcing the wedding of their own oldest daughter, she received hundreds of notes expressing great astonishment that her husband was married and had a daughter. But it was no surprise to her, for twenty odd years of married life had shown to her that her husband only lodged at home, all his interests being with his general acquaintance. Indeed her husband had gone from one newspaper to another on higher and higher salaries, cold as an iceberg to the loss of the former near friends in one office and another. Nor had he any interest in the great city or in the nation.

But in general those who delight in these large circles of acquaintance are also true to the home-group.

Beyond these are men of two other general types. There are lawyers who love the law and delight in making friends with members of the bar everywhere; citizens proud of their own home states; business men who follow steel and

the steel trade everywhere; masters of one science in all its range and in all its details. These are persons of wide interests. They do not belong merely to a family or even merely to a local association; but to some great field as well.

From such as these come the men who are captains of industry but not thoughtful fathers and domestic husbands. Also from this class comes the man who makes a fortune in interstate trade but does not care enough for his own town to build a public library for it or to donate handsomely to the needs of his own church.

The last type presents the men who really live in the nation, in humanity. They have visions. Sometimes, they are sound to the core—loyal to their homes, deeply interested in the welfare of their own cities or counties, masters of some line of business or professional activity, and with energy and intelligence to spare for work upon nationwide, perhaps world-wide scale. These are the practical idealists, the efficient visionaries whose dreams come true, the "big men" whom an honest observer likes better and better, the nearer one comes to them. But there are far more men who dream gloriously yet do not take good care of their own wives and children, who perhaps preach world-evangelization but do not go to their own weekly church prayer-meetings or teach Bible classes on Sunday, or who talk about the relief of poverty by profit-sharing or cooperative production or merchandising, yet do not even try to pay their own bills on sight.

Such then are the four classes judged by the range of their social interests, viz.—

1. The family men.
2. The neighborhood men.
3. The men of wide interests.
4. Patriots and humanitarians.

Perhaps this classification may be cleared up from con-

fusion and darkness by a few historic and literary examples.

Bill Sykes, as drawn by Charles Dickens, is the man of shut-in-life—the primitive caveman in modern life at almost his worst.

Benedict Arnold, thinking to enrich his family, sold his country.

Hamlet was wrapped up in his own affairs.

In the Gospel story, there was Martha, a good, hospitable woman, yet "busy about much serving."

These persons of narrow lives are capable of much excellence; within their home-limits, they may be wholly good and distinctly successful. Indeed, it may truthfully be said that most great men have had wives and mothers of this type—home-makers, glad of their domestic lives.

The best poetry of Edgar Allen Poe is the singing of a heart ill at ease with itself and its own immediate friends—such as *Annabel Lee, The Raven,* and *The Bells.* The essence of subjective literature is its egocentric character.

In the next class of the neighborly persons, one might suggest instances in great variety, both from history and from literature.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, physician, poet, essayist and novelist, was the perfect neighbor in mind and conduct. All that he wrote shows this; such also was his life.

Even more closely true is this of the yet greater man, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

In the class of those whose interests are wide-ranging, one is again confronted with too great wealth of instances, both from real life and in fiction, which, when true, is quite as instructive.

The Southern hero, Robert E. Lee, loved Virginia. Later, he became eminent as an educator.

Almost all "local great men" are of this type—the leading State politicians, who just miss national fame, the suc-

cessful author of a particular line of books in science or history, the department store merchant, the clever inventor who becomes also a successful manufacturer.

But it is the man of the fourth group who cheers and delights and strengthens the human soul. Here are the truly great men of established world-fame—Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Henry Ward Beecher, Charles Darwin, Theodore Roosevelt, Lloyd George.

Among all men, these most contribute to the establishment of social solidarity because they help us all to realize consciously our social relations with one another and bring us into mutual harmony. In them, we see perhaps what but for obvious personal deficiencies, and, of course, obvious lack of opportunities we might have become. We see in them the fulfillment, the completion of human nature or at least of American character.

Still, they could never have made their contributions nor have become what they themselves were but for the influences of all lesser persons in all these ranges of association.

It has been said that in a sense the finest social development of England in the nineteenth century was its combination of wealth and culture to the point where a poet solely from sales of his poetry could amass a fortune and live in elegant leisure while still retaining his character as a working artist—Alfred Tennyson.

And I am not sure that we may not set up the parallel case of Theodore Roosevelt in America who from writing essays and books and making friends was enabled to get for politics and travel and authorship and natural history investigations vast annual funds. He spent from his college graduation till death millions of dollars—probably not less than six in all—upon these enterprises, yet died several times richer than his considerable inheritance.

Moreover, nearly all his expenditures were socially worth while; they were valuable to mankind. Most of his income he earned from book royalties and magazine articles that only a high civilization could have demanded and paid.

Much as the great men do contribute to the social solidarity of America—valuable as their heroisms and discoveries and other services to us have been—the most important of all factors in developing a common tradition and a common pride has been manhood suffrage, the secret ballot and an honest count—the majority winning, one man being as good as another. It took us long and long to come to this liberty. Our forefathers had to divest themselves of the ages-old notions that every respectable man possesses property and that only respectable men should vote.

Many forces helped us to get away from property, birth and education prerequisites to the franchise. One force was ridicule. When Thomas Jefferson released his joke, which it is said was discovered by Benjamin Franklin in the revolutionary literature of France, and which is probably many centuries older, he helped mightily. Said he—

"A man and a mule can vote
But a man alone cannot;
Therefore, it must be that the mule votes."

Other forces included the need to get more laborers to open up this vast continent. Giving the vote helped wonderfully to popularize emigration from Europe. With the progress of the scientific spirit and of public free education, men saw straight that intelligence and conscience are not functions of wealth but of opportunity, and that usually the best born are those born of the muscular workers, not of the leisure class or of the high-strung, nerve-racked professional class.

In addition, here in this country ever growing more free, men saw that race-prejudices are in the main maliciously ignorant. The hatred and contempt of the native-born of British ancestry for foreigners from the Continent of Europe died out for want of facts to back them. The French Huguenots were discovered to be a fine people; the Palatinate Germans became the sturdy Pennsylvania Dutch; the Swedes and Dutch became Americanized as rapidly as the Scotch and the Irish and the new immigrating Welsh and English.

We expanded outward in ever wider circles to find sources for streams of immigrants until America now has (1919) of persons of recently foreign descent these numbers, viz.—

Germans 8,300,000
Austrians 2,800,000 including Hungarians
Russians 2,600,000, mostly Jews
Scandinavians 1,800,000

It is improbable that over 30 per cent. of our people have blood of the British stocks to the extent of half their ancestry.

Nevertheless, British social institutions and traditions, customs, habits, ideals, regenerated upon this new soil but truly British in origin rule here. Magna Carta has grown into the American Constitution.

Ours is not the social solidarity of France. We cannot feel "the love of little lands." We cannot feel like Frenchmen or Belgians or Swiss toward their countries.

The case is the contrast between the fearsome joy and pride of the man who sails the seas in a sloop with one or two companions compared with the ample satisfaction of one who rides out the storm in a transatlantic liner afloat at ease with power carrying ten thousand souls.

The Revolutionary War began the work of consolidating

Americans. We then defeated (with the mighty aid of France) 600,000 soldiers of King George the Third—including our own Tories, many Hessian slaves, and some Indians—at a period when the crews of ships were kidnapped and shanghaied aboard. Then we exiled a quarter of a million Loyalists to Halifax and elsewhere.

The War of 1812 helped somewhat to develop more social solidarity; but the Mexican and Civil Wars were somewhat divisive. As a harmonizing force, the railroads and the telegraph lines came in to knit all States closely together.

The Spanish American War saw South and North united in army and navy. In the meantime, we had built up a wonderfully complete system of public schools that knit as one the peoples of small localities—rural school districts, city wards—by bringing their children together for many years.

This school system taught substantially the same studies by substantially the same methods under similar rules from Coast to Coast. The greatest differences between the sections of the country are rather in the length of the school year and in the relative quality of the teachers than in either the school course or the discipline. What the school and the college can now do best for the development of a true, though quiet, national spirit is socialize and Americanize the course of study, and incidentally modernize it.

These two high school courses have been proposed in *The New England Journal of Education* and also in *The Ohio Teacher*, viz.—

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

First Year.—Life, times and writings of *George Washington*, with some accounts of his leading contemporaries, Benjamin Franklin, the greatest genius America ever produced, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson.

Second Year.—Life, times and writings of *Abraham Lincoln*.

Third Year.—Life, times and writings of *Theodore Roosevelt*, the best man who has yet lived in America for boys and girls to think about.

Fourth Year, First Term.—*Daniel Webster.*

Second Term.—*Henry Ward Beecher.*

Third Term.—Biographical review of *American Social History* from Franklin to the President in office.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

First Year.—*Commercial Geography* of the world,—maps, products, trade routes, economic habits, statistics.

Second Year.—*Social Studies* of the various nations, cultures, religions, race traits, morals.

Third Year.—*Governments* of the leading nations; composition of the peoples; national psychologies.

Fourth Year.—*Social Economics.*

Teachers should avoid defending with incoherent ecstasy or with stupid reiterativeness the courses upon which we ourselves have been brought up.

When the world war came, the pro-Germans were silenced; in some instances, they were converted either by new orientations of really good minds or by substantial regenerations with new minds. The radicals who hate the American system were forced to submit. Tides of horror against the German barbarism swept our souls. One and all, white, red and black, rich and poor, we became Americans. The danger now is of a relapse.

We hear much of race riots against the colored people and of a still more bitter struggle than ever between capital and labor. These, of course, are our severest social problems, and they are closely knit. But the riots in Washington, where we have long been accustomed to them, and those in Springfield, East St. Louis and Chicago, where the phenomena are new, present different values for the same unknown quantities of race prejudices and of economic hostilities between capital and labor.

It is time that the American business man, wherever he is, in his commendable hunt for profits, should awaken to

the fact that social forces overmaster purely economic forces. The positive importation of colored people from the South, where they understand and are understood, into the North where they both misunderstand and are misunderstood, in order to break the labor market is an error in judgment upon the part of the class that rules in the business world. "Coming white," the dream of the colored man, is not accomplished by crossing the Ohio river northward. "Being colored" is not merely a matter of chocolate or saffron; it also is concerned with being accepted socially as white.

The other problem is before us now with intense urgency because of the readjustments due to the inflations of the currencies of America and of the world by which prices have been jumped while wages have lagged; thereby greatly increasing profits. What the business man, who has a veritable genius for economics, needs to remember is that the "Dismal Science of Political Economy" happens to have one theorem that is very cheerful but is apparently unfriendly to himself. *The larger the share of the total income of a people that the wage-earners receive, as compared with money-lenders, landlords, government officers, insurers of property, and profit-takers, the greater the national prosperity.* The reasons for this are that the prosperity of the wage-earners fills the markets with quick buyers (all others are slow buyers, who circulate money like the proverbial "January molasses"); that it improves their health and increases their productivity; that it lessens the expenditures for charities; and that it brings low rates of interest for new capital investments, one of the greatest of social blessings, for when *business is good,* the money-lenders reduce their rates. It is folly, therefore, for business men as a class to resist the movement for increase of wages, the very thing that in the long run by in-

creasing the volume of purchases will bring to them the greatest incomes and the best security of their continuance.

Low rates of interest, low rates of profits and high wages make prosperity, which helps toward social harmony, the path into social solidarity.

EXERCISES

1. In your own experiences with persons, from what races have come (a) the excessively habit-minded and (b) the excessively variable?

2. Discuss some public persons known to be (a) very sociable and some (b) very aloof.

3. What race-traits, if any, have you ever observed?

4. Consider public individuals from the point of view of social and anti-social habits with particular respects to their family interests, to the church, and to the national government. Take striking contrasts into consideration.

5. List a dozen great men of history and consider their social horizons and limitations.

6. Of what other prejudices that remain, should we try to relieve ourselves?

7. Discuss in historical cases "the love of little lands."

8. What is social solidarity? What forces work against it here in America? What events have tended to promote it?

9. What is the mission of the school in respect to social solidarity?

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CHAPTER VIII

CUSTOMS AND CONVENTIONS

"Lady Catherine speaks—'Mrs. Collins, you must send a servant with them. I cannot bear the idea of two young ladies travelling by themselves. It is highly improper. You must contrive to send some one. When my niece Georgiana went to Ramsgate last summer, I made a point of having two men-servants go with her. It would really be discreditable to you to let them go alone.'"—*Pride and Prejudice,* Jane Austen.

WHATEVER be the procedures of men in social affairs, broadly conceived, customs and conventions are concerned in them. Not that customs and conventions rule completely here in free America, but that even our flexible democracy cannot escape from them. Nor that customs and conventions are always in harmony, for many times they come into conflict as when the custom of one group conflicts with the conventions developing in a neighboring group.

It is unnecessary to draw a sharp line of distinction between customs and conventions because they have like effects upon the conduct of men, because some conventions develop into customs, and because they arise from the same psychological trait of mankind—following the line of least resistance. Yet no little interest does attach to the characteristic differences of pure custom from pure convention.

This matter is distinctly interesting to youth undergoing education, for it is a trait of youth to resent custom and to delight in convention. The cause will appear in the discussion.

Custom compels conformity to old established social procedure.

In our own American democracy, we have many customs, some of which concern the most serious matters of life.

Characteristic Customs

1. The proposal to marry is voiced by the man.
2. The father carries the baby for baptism.
3. Gentlemen raise their hats to ladies.
4. We do not talk of our aches and pains in general society; of our sorrows and anxieties; or of any other troubles requiring consideration and sympathy.
5. In ordinary social relations, we do not ask questions regarding the property affairs of any other persons—confining all these to business hours and places exclusively.
6. There is no public display of marital felicity or infelicity.
7. In meeting and passing, we go to the right—but in passing from the rear, we go to the left.
8. Age speaks first.
9. At table, ladies are served first according to seniority; then gentlemen likewise, then girls, then boys.
10. Americans eat three meals a day by custom.
11. Soup, meat, vegetables and dessert make the customary order for dinner menu.
12. Sitting on chairs is a custom of Western civilization.
13. Standing to sing the national anthems is a custom.
14. Married women wear a wedding ring on the third finger of the left hand.
15. In stores we shop standing upon our feet.
16. High schools teach Latin, mathematics, history,

physics, chemistry, choral music and English by custom.

17. Brushing the teeth and the hair are customs.
18. A weekly hot bath is a custom among many.
19. Religious services one of every seven days make a general custom.
20. Four rooms downstairs—parlor, sitting room, dining room and kitchen—make the customary plan for small separate city houses.
21. Churches have one collection taken at each service.
22. The poor run no bills and have no charge accounts at stores.
23. Long hair for women and short hair for men is the rule in America.
24. Wages are paid generally by the week and salaries by the month.

These are meant as examples of the thousands of customs that prevail in American life. Some of them are from time immemorial. A custom may be stronger than law and need no law for enforcement. For example:—The chastity of wife or daughter is inviolate; and a man may slay an offender with substantial impunity, for no jury will convict him of crime because of so doing.

Again, there can be no adequate laws to prevent lying and to compel truthfulness; but in the long run the man who lies cannot maintain himself in American business, because our custom is to tell the truth.

Some customs are not more than half a century old; perhaps, in general it may be said that it takes more than a generation to establish a custom. In other terms, when most living persons can remember the time when some social procedure was begun, it is not old enough fairly to be entitled to a custom.

It follows that customs follow race lines rather than any others and descend from father to son. Yet customs may spread. Indeed, most of our American customs came with British immigrants from the British, and have spread to the descendants of immigrants from other countries by contagion as it were.

He is a bold man who attacks a custom; and must be persuasive and persistent as well as bold to win.

The ancient custom of drinking enough to get or to be taken to bed drunk, which prevailed in England and America down into the nineteenth century, was so well established among gentlemen of leisure that breaking it down seemed hopeless; yet it has been destroyed now.

A thousand former customs might be cited and the story of their disappearance or destruction told. Duelling was long an American custom. Gambling at cards is nearly gone. Betting on horse-racing is also nearly gone.

The customs that almost forced every woman whether maid or widow to marry; that made public ridicule of bachelors and spinsters good form; that held the man who had buried perhaps even two, three, four wives and was seeking another respectable, even laudable; and that tolerated the infidelity of husbands, are all nearly or quite dead now.

Some good customs as well as bad have died out. It was a good custom for children to get to bed soon after sunset. It was a good custom to keep open house for strangers of good manners. It was a good custom for parents to read the Bible to their children every day at a regular hour. It was a good custom to go visiting for a few days every year among one's relatives. It was a good custom for skilful carpenters and masons and mechanics to teach good youth their trades.

By way of contrast from customs, we find conventions widespread but of short histories. They are by no means so numerous as our customs. Any fashion that lasts several years may be considered a convention. Let a convention last half a century; and it may be taken as a custom, though it is not necessarily such.

The true custom becomes rooted in the social life of generations of persons of at least one general kind, as New England Yankees, or Russian Jews, jewellers or brick-masons; college students or Free and Accepted Masons.

The true convention spreads over several kinds of persons.

In the year, 1919, one of the social procedures that might perhaps appropriately be styled a convention-in-the-making was the ownership of Liberty Bonds. This had begun in early 1918 with the issuance and sale of the First Liberty Loan, when it became evidence of financial respectability to own Government Bonds. By the end of the year, no less than 20,000,000 different persons owned these bonds. Before another year had passed, every person with any savings at all held such bonds, as a patriotic duty. Not to have them in the family was universally regarded by the patriotic as evidence of one of three things, viz.—

1. Owning instead War Savings Stamps.
2. Poverty.
3. A disloyal heart.

This convention was so well started that it is likely to die out only by the payment of the National Debt and the retirement of all these loans.

An older convention is that of wearing by a lady a solitaire diamond engagement ring upon her wedding ring finger.

Another convention is reading newspapers instead of magazines, and magazines instead of books.

Going to the movies is conventional.

Calls by telephone are conventional.

An interesting case of conflict between custom and convention developed about 1913 and 1914 when the old custom of respectable, well-to-do families to keep a horse and carriage was attacked by the new notion to keep an automobile touring car. The car won; and now keeping such a car is conventional. The family without one, yet with the evident means to own one, must be prepared frequently to explain.

For many years and many decades, the struggle has gone on between the custom of educating men only in college and the new notion of educating women also until now there is in the country west of the Appalachians a convention of coeducation of the sexes. The custom of colleges only for men still persists, however, in the East, side by side with colleges only for women.

Whether democracy is only a convention among men in China, Switzerland, France, and the United States or may be considered a custom now in Switzerland, and the United States is worth discussing.[1] In Switzerland, its roots are centuries deep in the past; in our own country, it is a century and a half old as to origin. It is not yet complete in its details in any land.

In a sense, England is democratic—despite its titled aristocracy and King-Emperor.

Fashion grows into convention, or dies out. Some fashions become almost old enough and widespread enough to be true conventions. But conventions seldom change into customs because conventions are widespread, and

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the intensity of the several customs with which any one of the conventions conflicts almost always defeat it.

Divorce is only conventional; in its very nature, it cannot become a social custom. It concerns only the relatively few who are unfortunate in marriage; and marriage is one of the oldest customs among men. Monogamy is certainly not less than three thousand years old. Slowing, steadily, it has fought and conquered every other marriage system. The philosophy and ethics of monogamy really provide no place for divorce, the true cure of which is of twofold nature; first, scientific discrimination of those fit for marriage from the unfit; and, second, social morality that forbids divorce thereafter. Some are physically unfit to marry; others are deficient in mind; and some are temperamentally unfit to marry particular persons. Within a few generations to save monogamy, we shall have adopted scientific safeguards, because the principle of the permanent marriage of two is biologically correct. Otherwise, of course, Jesus Christ would never have preached it as the exclusively correct sex-system.

It is now the custom of all persons with poor eyesight to wear spectacles; few still stick to eye-glasses; none refuse to wear any lenses at all. But the whole procedure was popularized by none other than that ablest of all Americans, Benjamin Franklin, who originated the present style of spectacles and made himself popular by wearing them all the time. Thereby that sagacious man multiplied many times his own efficiency and lengthened his years of efficiency.

The American Army did much to popularize the wearing of ample spectacles. Half of our older officers wear them all day long. The term "four-eyes," once a common insult, is now dead as even the reproach against a woman for "working for wages in an office."

Here also we are watching a convention in contest with a set of customs, for office and store work for women is very modern, and offends several old procedures.

1. For not less than three thousand years in civilization, women were regarded by almost all men as little better than domestic animals.

2. Also, the only womanly career was to marry and to care for husband, children and home.

3. Also, woman was supposed to have no mind of her own.

4. Also, she belonged to her family. To take wages outside of a family was to get free from kindred without acquiring a husband's kindred.

5. A daughter, a wife, a sister, a mother could not decently take orders from a man not her father or husband, brother or son.

Many forces conspired to break down these customs—such as the industrial revolution with its many specialized industries and its cheap factory products, modern machinery, the migrations of families, the education of women, their power in the democratic modern church, and the discovery that a woman normally has a mind of her own—the cavemen knew it, but for some centuries and millenniums, many civilized men, perhaps because of wars and tyrannies, had ignored it.

Nevertheless, the bachelor woman in business, the married woman in the factory, and the professonal woman, married or not, in medicine, law, journalism, designing, acting, music, teaching, do not include a majority of the women above the home-making age; perhaps they never will. We have heard some hypotheses advanced of late to the effect that some women are women's women and others are men's women; but we have no clear ideas as

to the distinguishing qualities of each. Yet we need no hypothesis as to children's women, the women with the maternal instinct, the home-makers, who are perhaps ninety per cent. of all women.

We might, if we chose, grade the culture and civilization of a people by the activity with which it makes social changes and by the degree of self-control that it exercises in the process. Everywhere even in China, customs, conventions, fashions, pass. With us, they pass rapidly. Everywhere, the passing of the former ways tests the self-control. Our own self-control has not been very firm. Really, we have had two violent revolutions—the Revolutionary and the Civil Wars. To be progressive without violence is indeed difficult especially for a great composite people like ours.

We are now witnessing from afar tremendous and violent revolutions in other great peoples, conspicuously the Russians and the Germans, about neither of which do we Americans really know very much. We have seen disappear in each of those foreign lands strong monarchy, which in a sense is the private ownership of government. We are watching with tense anxiety in one land the replacement of the private ownership of commerce and industry by group ownership under limited government control, and in the other land the reconstruction of private ownership under the positive direction of the government itself. Each of these great peoples thinks that now it has entered upon an upward path into new prosperity and into a fairer distribution of rights and opportunities. In each of these lands, there is violence, but unless report errs, the self-control in one is far superior to that in the other. In case either revolution, either new departure in government and in economics succeeds, all America will be pro-

foundly interested. If each succeeds, the rivalry between many great nations with unlike social organizations will enlighten mankind.

The human heart delights in change, and often styles mere change progress.

The custom of Czarism is dead.

The custom of state-church—a governmental religion that is also a religious government—is dead.

Obeisance to the great, rich, powerful, high-born privileged is dead; most of the great, the rich, the powerful, the high born, the privileged of the former central empires and of Russia are dead.

The second decade of the twentieth century of the Christian Era witnessed the birth of a new modern history when the peace treaty that ended the greatest of all wars was signed. In these new modern times, we shall soon forget even the burials of many a dead custom. Yet others, not all of them good, will sweep along with humanity for centuries to come.

EXERCISES

1. Make a list of customs in addition to those in the text.

2. Draw distinctions between personal habits and social customs. Is a custom ever personal?

3. Is there any important distinction between an old custom that has spread into a contemporary convention and a new social convention?

4. What are the social resistances set up to any and all efforts to break down customs?

5. Name some conventions of remote times that narrowed into customs and survive today. E.g., Ostracism in Athens and blackballing applicants for club membership in some secret societies.

6. Make a list of (a) modern (new) social conventions, (b) going fashions.

7. What is the probable future of social public opinion regarding divorce?

8. In what respects have we been undergoing very rapid social change since the new modern history began August 1, 1914?

9. Discuss Russia, as things are now, in respect to social changes.

10. Make a list of novels whose main interest lies in the intricate mesh of customs, conventionalities, persons and drama, e.g., *Pride and Prejudice, Vanity Fair.*

11. A century ago, Chief Justice John Marshall said, "We contend for a well-regulated democracy." Are we nearest such a democracy (a) in politics; (b) in education; (c) in business and industry; or (d) in general society?

12. Similarly analyze the case of democracy in England.

13. Is unlimited private property detrimental to true democracy? What should we think, as a matter both of personal and of social justice, respecting confiscatory inheritance and income taxes?

14. Do you favor the proposition of trying to abolish the right of the Supreme Court to declare Acts of Congress null and void for want of constitutionality?

15. Why does abolishing one evil custom always raise the question of how to abolish other evil customs hitherto ignored?

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CHAPTER IX

TRADITIONS AND HABITS

"Men cannot benefit those who are with them as they can benefit those who come after them; and of all the pulpits from which the human voice is ever sent forth, there is none from which it reaches so far as from the grave."—*The Lamp of Memory, The Seven Lamps of Architecture,* John Ruskin.

Between customs that are ancient and socially hereditary in kindreds, stocks, races, breeds and conventions that spread generally all through society upon some special planes of thought or action—such as politics or business or amusements as one body of forces that more or less stabilize communities and nations and traditions and habits—there is one vital distinction in that the former control men in masses or in streams, while the latter concern individuals primarily as such. By definition, a social tradition is a custom, and a social habit is a convention; but a pure and simple tradition or habit develops in one man after another sometimes by suggestion, sometimes by imitation, and sometimes otherwise, it may be inexplicably.

Properly considered, personal habit and tradition belong in psychology; and yet social psychology—the science of the mind of groups and nations, of mass conduct, of *esprit de corps*—must be regarded to an extent by any who desire to understand the conditions within which sociology finds its own special field.

Both social movements and social institutions impinge upon individuals even as such, quite irrespective of their mass relations.

Tradition means literally "giving across." Any tradition is given from one to another. How many traditions are now in human minds, is beyond counting. Most serious among all traditions are the superstitions, yet by no means even a majority of traditions may now be seriously taken as superstitions.

A superstition, literally translated, means "overstanding." It is the opposite from understanding in that one does not know whether it is true or untrue. Popularly, we assume that a superstition is untrue; indeed, when we consider a belief untrue relating to what we do not understand, we call it a "superstition"; but when we consider it true, we use another term, "faith."

There are faiths that are not traditions; and there may be superstitions that are not traditions; but of each, nearly all are now traditions, however they may have originated.

One of the most interesting of all inquiries in the realm of history is into the superstitions that have come and gone—many of them enduring for centuries, even millenniums of time, and spreading among millions of people distributed over millions of square miles of land. Some of these ancient superstitions have been enforced by the edge of the sword. Nearly all of them have acquired social sanctity that has made other force unnecessary. There are superstitions current today even in America.

An example of a superstition was that the king is divine and that his touch cures scrofula and other diseases. We know now that kings are human beings just like all other men and that the touch of no man cures scrofula; and never did cure.

Another superstition was that priests own God and hold the keys to Heaven. Democracy has swept these two beliefs away forever. In their place, it has set up two

standards, that our rulers shall be able, just, merciful, laborious agents of the common good and that our priests shall exemplify in their own conduct the ethical ideals of the best—both rulers and priests working in the fear of God and in love for their fellowmen.

Another superstition was that of witchcraft and sorcery. Witchcraft is the notion that a person, usually old, may have the power of the evil eye and that affliction may be wished upon an enemy or a victim.

Sorcery is a more systematic form of the same superstition worked usually for commercial ends and by commercial methods. The sorcerer pretends to read and to control the future especially in bringing evil upon enemies.

Since the truth is that no man ever has read the future or ever will be able to read it; that to read it would be to make impossible controlling it; and that, therefore, it is also wholly undesirable to foresee the future; it follows that witchcraft is now known to be only a delusion of ignorance and blind instinct.

A peculiarly terrible form of superstition is the "voodoo" of the African negro who imagines that the god Chango brings good to one individual as the exact reward of the injury done to another. Therefore, to bring severe pain to one person is the price of great pleasure for some one else.

The traditions of all kinds are beyond counting; they number thousands on thousands and merge confusedly into one another. All the while some of them are dying for want of usefulness or for want of continued human interest in them or are being destroyed by new truth; yet all the while other new traditions are beginning and developing. Some traditions are true and vital to human nature; such should continue forever.

Between customs, traditions, social habits, the lines are

indistinct and shadowy; and yet considered in their several masses, they are easily distinguished.

Customs and traditions are old; social habits like conventions need not be old. The former run in narrow channels and according to social groups; the latter may be widespread. The former always have sanctity of a kind; it is unethical, in a sense sacrilegious to challenge their truthfulness and valid binding force. The latter are by no means so well established as to have any religious color.

These differences will appear in the light of a few cases.

Before America was compelled to take part in the world war, in the Southern States silver was the almost universal currency; very little paper was seen. In the same period, in the Pacific Coast States, gold was used for all transactions save the small ones, and silver for them. But in the North, paper currency was universally preferred, gold was almost never seen in trade, and silver dollars in change were resented. These various procedures were social habits, scarcely dignified enough to be considered customs.

Habits are concrete affairs, seldom involving any rational principles.

Traditions are abstractions, seldom coming to definite concrete details.

Customs are concrete, but they have at least the air, if not the substance, of reasonableness.

Sometimes, these social phenomena are linked together. Those who upon hearing of possible trouble rap wood three times with their knuckles in order to avert it are indulging in a superstitious habit. The tradition that enforces this, of course, is thousands of years old, dating from the pagan days when men rapped on trees to re-

lease the spirits confined beneath the bark; which is superstition pure and simple. But the irrational habit makes the continued life of the superstition easy. All the evidence of millions of instances goes to show that rapping on wood does not avert disaster; and the whole rational nature of man denies vigorously the presence of spirits in dry wood or in green trees.

To walk upon a street sidewalk, it is good manners for the man to be nearer the curb and roadway and for the woman to be inside in order to be protected against horses upon the street. This is a social habit. But in a dense throng, where many are jostling by, in these times when only motor cars are upon the highway, it is often better for the woman to be next to the curb and for the man to take the jostling of the passers-by. Here is an illustration of how reason overcomes habit, and establishes a new habit.

Traditions and habits are violently overthrown in two general ways.

Of these ways, the first is where and when the traditions and habits of alien groups meet and conflict with one another. We have seen much of this in our own America, indeed in our own schools. Our country is a melting-pot, not only because the new immigrants are surrounded by natives of several generations upon this soil but also because they fall foul of one another fresh from various foreign soils.

The Italian woman is very much the property of her husband and dares not purchase anything or undertake anything without his full knowledge and approval. She is dumbfounded at the audacity and freedom of American women in dealing with men, even their own fathers, husbands, sons and brothers. The equality of the sexes here is a social habit that bumps hard against the social habit in

Italy of superiority for men and of inferiority for women.

The Hungarian women are in much the same case but with one extraordinary difference. Italian men are frightfully jealous of their wives, furious when strangers look upon their daughters and keep even their mothers well housed up. But the Hungarians are distinctly less individualistic in all these matters, allowing to women a freedom even greater than do we in America. In consequence, a neighborhood with three groups in it—Americans full of our traditions and habits, Italians and Hungarians—becomes the arena of vigorous debate and sometimes violent action. The American mother attacks the Italian father who is beating a daughter with or without cause; and she chides the Hungarian father who neglects his daughter and allows her to wander loosely about.

The Italian family eats macaroni and garlic and, when convenient, drinks light red wine. Bologna sausage is a popular food. The Hungarian family eats bread and cheese and drinks beer. Roast meats are popular. But the American family takes to eggs, toast, ham, coffee, tea and milk. They may live in the same tenement. Inevitably, if they all remain together a generation or so, they develop a general body of habits as to diet.

In respect to prohibition, by persuading some, middle class Americans defeated all other elements.

The German is thrifty and domestic. The Hebrew is shrewd and domestic. The Dutchman is laborious, foresighted and domestic. But the Irishman is generous and sociable. Let several families of these stocks get together in the same tenement in a city or upon the same road as neighbors upon farms (whether as owners, tenants or farmhands) and immediately the contest of traditions and habits sets in.

In the field of economics, there is a well-known natural law that "bad money drives out good money"—which means that when silver is cheap and plenty in a country, gold flees elsewhere or is hoarded secretly by the discerning. Who now ever sees in common circulation gold coin or gold certificates? Even silver and silver certificates are now being hoarded. Banknotes are the medium of exchange though not the standard of value.

In the field of social ethics, however, fortunately for human welfare, the natural law is that "a good procedure ends a bad habit." Place well-conducted persons in any social field; and the notable tendency is for all their neighbors slowly and gradually to adopt their manners and their morals and to think out their principles of conduct.

There is nothing especially objectionable in itself in the several habits above indicated; yet any of those qualities is disagreeable when present in excess. A man may be too thrifty; or too shrewd; or too laborious; or too foresighted. He may be too domestic or too sociable. Americanizing most foreigners is in the main an affair of moderating their habits.

In respect to the traditions, the collisions are more severe than in the case of habits. Prior to 1918, it was a carefully fostered tradition in Germany that the Germans were the supreme people, destined to be the masters of the world, with their iron heels upon the necks of all the rest of us. This tradition smashed up against certain British, French, Belgian, Italian and American traditions. Frightful results came upon battle fields and in areas of devastation. And some humorous incidents took place in prison camps.

It was a German tradition that the soldier is higher than the civilian, who indeed has no rights against the

military man. Belgian children were frightfully maimed for insulting German officers. After the Americans learned the nature of German warfare, the cry went through our armies—"Treat 'em rough." Why? Because justice is an American tradition.[1]

When in prison camps Germans officers were required to share in menial tasks and German soldiers generally required to salute the American flag, their conduct was often ludicrous. "Funny, dot man," said a German colonel, taken prisoner, "he make me carry his tings; he don't know I am colonel!" To an American, all men are equal.

It is needless to multiply illustrations to show the conflicts between traditions and habits. The principle is clear.

The second way in which traditions and habits are overthrown is by new truth. Though much progress comes from the conflicts of alien systems and modes, more comes from discoveries of new truths resulting in new procedures that displace the old.

Customs, conventions, superstitions, traditions, habits innumerable have been swept away by the floods and freshets of the rivers of truth as they run from the hills of light down the valleys of the world. Nor can we ever restore in the imagination the former social situations—their fears, instincts, habits, desires, emotions, hates, affections. Even the greatest novelists fail to bring back Memphis, Babylon, Tyre, Athens, Rome, Florence, Constantinople, Petrograd, as they were in their climactic years. It is with alien eyes that we look upon all pictures of the glorious, sorrowful, so different past.

The truth first appreciated in America that all men are created equal took silver buckles and gray wigs off of lawyers, preachers, gentlemen and merchants and put laun-

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dered shirts upon every one on Sunday. Then privilege died and with it fear of the powerful, which always was the efficient cause of their being powerful. Electricity has made tremendous changes in industry and commerce and home life; and it has made as great changes in social habits. It has converted night into day, considerably modified our sleep habits, and made the hours from sunset to midnight the period of social amusement in all cities and even upon many countrysides. It is converting the interior of our houses and affecting our modes of cooking. All of this is important; but the effects of electricity upon government, diplomacy and politics are far more important. Because newspapers and press service are everywhere, government cannot conceal its intentions or procedures (save in war when patriotism maintains secrecy); and electricity has almost abolished the old traditional delay and deceit and cat-stepping hitherto characteristic of governmental methods.

Tradition and social habit caused the young to defer to the old; the poor to the rich; the servant to the master; the wife to the husband; the private citizen to the office-holder; but with the spread of scientific method for discovering truth, of the principles of democracy and of the spirit of human brotherhood, the value of tradition as a means of social discipline has ceased; and now we pay deference only to personal merit. This is social revolution. Though the young should not be rude to the old, nevertheless even children are taught to obey only the old who are wise. As between the poor and the rich, there is no relation whatever of inferiority and superiority. Servants do not "obey" their masters; they simply perform the obligations of their contracts. The very terms "servants" and "masters" are obsolescent. The private citizen respects only the office held by the public officer and meas-

ures the man himself according to the intelligence and conscientiousness that he displays in the performance of duty. No American wife "defers" to her husband. All Americanized homes are organized upon the theory that the husband is the captain and the wife the pilot of the common ship.

Slowly, steadily, democracy is subduing all the traditions and habits that conflict with its fundamental principles. Schools are run by their faculties rather than by their principals. Even to the students is accorded a large share in school government in order that by experience they may be thoroughly prepared for self-government in adult life. Employes have representation upon the governing boards of corporations. In churches, the people vote their pastors in and out.

These and a thousand other changes show how new truth destroys old traditions and habits.

In 1644, Klaes Maertensen van Rosevelt arrived from Holland in New Amsterdam; he came in the "steerage" of that elder time, poor but a "gentleman" and proud of the "van" affixed to his name. His grandson dropped the "van" as undesirable in the free colonies of the New World. His famous descendant Theodore Roosevelt remarked that if the "van" had stuck to his family until he came to manhood, he would have dropped it then and there lest it interfere with his success in American public affairs.

We do not even speak of a man as a "gentleman," for we assume that in our country all men are gentlemen. This is but an illustration of the new order of society developed here. We have learned that to get rid of an old false tradition or of an old unfair social habit and to replace them by better notions and procedures is freedom. And freedom is the keynote of Americanism.

"Who cometh over the hills,
Her garments with morning sweet,
The dance of a thousand rills
Making music before her feet?
Her presence freshens the air,
Sunshine steals light from her face;
The leaden footstep of Care
Leaps to the tune of her pace.

. . . .

"Freedom, O, fairest of all
The daughters of Time and Thought!

. . . .

"Our sweetness, our strength and our star,
Our hope, our joy and our trust,
Who lifted us out of the dust
And made us whatever we are!"

Concord Ode, Lowell.

Of course, most of us know and appreciate the fact that by no means all of those who dwell in America really care for freedom. Some are bound to the customs and habits of the past, whether good or bad, but the soul of true manhood speaks in these lines of another poet-philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson,

"For He that worketh high and wise,
Nor pauses in His plan,
Will take the sun out of the skies,
Ere freedom out of man."

Those who do not care for freedom are deficient in the normal intellectual and moral qualities required for Americanism. They run to others for suggestions, advice, orders. Even their employers at heart do not greatly admire them, because they consume the time of foremen, superintendents, managers. Thought and freedom of thought are synonymous.

EXERCISES

1. Which constitute the greater force in conduct, hereditary social traits or socially inculcated habits? Give illustrations.

2. Make a list of current traditions. Which are socially good?

3. Think over the current dangerous superstitions. Discuss such as may properly be brought up for discussion in public gatherings.

4. Some city newspapers have been notorious for publishing the advertisements of clairvoyants, astrologers, palmists, graphologists, mind-readers, psychics, gypsies, and other fortune-tellers. Are there any such in your locality?

5. What are the social forces tending to destroy the influence of the above persons? What traits in human nature support them?

6. Look up the political history of the 16-to-1 free coinage to silver movement in the United States culminating in the Bryan-McKinley campaign of 1896. What are its sociological lessons?

7. In the Cleveland Red riot May 1, 1919, women and children were trodden under foot. Of 116 arrested rioters, 108 were foreign-born. What does this show respecting foreign manners?

8. If there are foreign-born persons in your locality, what customs and manners do they display?

9. What are some direct differences in the manners of Americans and of foreigners that you have observed?

10. In the light of customs and traditions, go over one by one the first twelve amendments to the Constitutions of the United States.

11. In the days of mediæval feudalism, no persons had money incomes. Wherein do modern novels fail to reflect our modern democratic pay-as-you-go economic régime? Why?

12. Give illustrations to show how new truths have overthrown old social orders.

13. Why do some women store clerks like to be called "sales-ladies"? Is this socially commendable?

14. "We in the ages lying in the buried past of the earth
Built Nineveh with our crying
And Babylon itself in our mirth
And overthrew them with prophesying
To the old of the new world's worth,
For each age is a dream that is dying
Or one that is coming to birth."

The Music-Makers, O'Shaughnessy.

Relate this to traditions and habits.

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CHAPTER X

THE RULES OF THE GAME

"The domain of mores is one of fixed forms and inert customs. Mores are answers to the problem of life, not questions. . . . The majority of men want their conduct and thought guided by established rules and customs. . . . The perpetuation of this social heritage of folkways and mores, custom and tradition, is by suggestion and imitation as well as by conscious inculcation."—*Social Evolution,* F. Stuart Chapin.

MANY social procedures have developed from time to time more or less at such variance and such conflict with one another as from the point of view of social welfare to make bringing them into harmony with one another desirable. To secure harmony and agreement, men have resorted to written law, regulation, ordinance and rule by various authorities. It might be supposed that in the course of time a point would be reached when the work of reconciliation and of definition would be entirely completed; but the experience of mankind shows that, on the contrary, the variations and conflicts increase even faster than populations multiply and civilizations improve. In consequence, legislatures to make new laws meet in almost every State every year, and in all States frequently; and what is thus done in government corresponds with what is also done in the church, in the school and in all other social institutions. As long as man lasts upon the earth, adjustments and readjustments must forever be made.

Men use the word "law" to mean three several things. There is *law* that is absolute and governs infallibly.

Such law has "no variation, neither shadow of turning." It is "the same yesterday, today and forever." The truly "Natural laws" are of this character. They are laws with no exceptions; universal, certain, changeless. No man upon going to bed worries as to whether or not the universe will keep on turning or at what rate Mother Earth will turn while her child sleeps. Mathematics and other sciences study out such laws.

Again, *law* is used to mean the rules that a division of mankind organized as government will enforce under the sanction of a penalty exacted in the case of its violation by courts, police and soldiery. Such laws, which are governmental rules, can, of course, be violated; and those who violate them may escape the penalties by successful flight or by want of legal proof of their offences or by shrewd use of legal technicalities resorted to by their attorneys.

Other social institutions also use the term "laws," as, for example, the churches, the lodges of secret societies, the trade unions of workingmen and athletic organizations. These laws also have penalties attached, but they are not enforceable by the courts and police. Private actions at law may arise for violations of these laws but only under "contracts" and "torts," not as matters of public crime.

In a sense, whatever men do together is a game. We constantly exhort one another to "play the game straight" or "on the square." We constantly plead the "rules of the game."

These rules are not mere customary, conventional, traditional or habitual procedures, but they have universally been considered, discussed and formulated somewhat definitely.

One great body of such "rules of the game" is known as "parliamentary law"—a system by means of which men in assemblies discuss, argue, approve, amend, reject,

postpone measures without becoming so entangled as to produce a perfect *impasse* to progress. One of these rules of the game of open debate is that after a debate has proceeded for a reasonable time and every person has spoken at least once in a small assembly (or representative persons have so spoken in a large assembly) the members may one by one demand a vote by calling "Question!" which must itself be voted upon at once. When those who demand the vote are in a majority, the vote upon the main subject of the debate must be taken at once without further discussion upon any pretence and without any delay whatever. Ending debate by calling for the question is one of the rules of the game of parliamentary government. The presiding officer who does not enforce the rule and the member who does not submit cheerfully are unfair in their conduct.

Baseball, football and indeed all games have their rules.

In an audience at church, it is one of the rules of the game that no one shall interrupt the procedure of the service at any point. Even should the preacher make some statement that an auditor believes seriously at fault, even dangerous, it is not "good form" to rise and correct him. The rules of the game require that in a church service only those upon the program—pastor, choir, etc.—shall speak or even move about.

During the world war, because of this rule of the game, even patriotic parishioners allowed pacifist and pro-German pastors to talk treason without rebuke from the pews.

No such rule obtains in court, where attorneys may interrupt and file objections at any and every stage of the proceedings—even when the judge himself is making a ruling or giving instructions or delivering the sentence. Here, however, the attorneys are looked upon as brother members of the bar on a par with the judge himself.

Church members, however, are not so regarded by the preachers. This distinction is vital.

The public schools have their rules; often, these are numerous.

One rule of the game at school is that no pupil shall speak without raising his hand and gaining from the teacher permission to speak. There is reason in this rule because speaking disturbs the silence of a school-room or else interrupts the speaking of some one else. Ten or fifty may raise their hands at one time without producing bedlam; but only one person may speak at a time without creating confusion.

The rule of boys that "one must not tell upon another" is a rule of the game of boy life. Boys try to keep adults out of their affairs; this rule helps boys to live alone as boys. But it is only a general rule—good for most affairs. It is not a universal rule, for any sensible boy knows that some misdeeds he must not conceal. It is, for example, wicked for a boy to refuse to tell when he knows who set fire to a school building.

It is a rule of the game of courtship that the man shall send flowers and make presents to the woman; and not to expect her to make any presents of value to him.

Every game has its own rules. In a sense, business is a game. Here is an old rule—*Caveat emptor;* let the buyer beware. But this rule is being gradually modified and superseded. The present rule is this:—Do not mislead the buyer. Make no false representations.

Once in awhile, for some infraction of a rule of the game, a case is brought into a law court. Suppose that there is a rule requiring, for the removal of a college professor from his position, that he shall have a hearing before the college trustees and that he is removed without such a hearing. Though the college be a private one and not

directly under the control of government and courts, nevertheless a professor so removed can bring his case into court and force the trustees to grant him a hearing, and the court will enforce a claim for salary until such a hearing has been granted. Here the rule of the game of college administration was no part of the law of the land; and yet in order to promote social harmony and to prevent personal feuds because of disagreements, the courts will enforce such rules upon the institutions wherein they obtain standing.

To an extent, therefore, all the rules of all games are within the cognizance of the law courts of the nation and states.

There are, however, rules that courts will not enforce upon the grounds that they are contrary to public policy. This is especially true of games of chance. When a man plays for money a game of poker and loses all his cash and then issues slips of paper like this, viz.—

$100.00 I O U signed by initials (say) X Y Z,

or even a regular promissory note with "value received" upon it and properly signed, a court will not enforce payment as between the original parties because there has been no adequate consideration for the promise to pay. When, however, a regular promissory note gets into the hands of innocent purchasers for value who do not know its origin, in some States courts will enforce payment. This shows how technical are the distinctions between rules of the games and the true laws of the land.

Some contracts no court will enforce in America. It is a rule of the game in some foreign lands to transfer wives and to sell daughters for wives in consideration of cash. But no American court will enforce any such transaction. On the contrary, almost every American court both jails

and fines any man who undertakes to traffic in buying or selling women, which, of course, is a crime in our eyes.

Wherever a game prevails, fairness requires absolute conformity to its rules. It is, therefore, highly important to learn what the rules are for every game.

For football, Theodore Roosevelt summarized the rules in three phrases—"Don't flinch; don't foul; hit the line hard." Only one of these rules is of ethical importance in the social aspects of this greatest of all games, "Don't foul; don't break the rules; don't strike down an opponent or damage him beyond the necessities of the straight and open game."

There is a rule of all sport—to take one's losses cheerfully. "To be a sport" means in the serious sense to play any and every game hard; to play it to win; but to smile over losses, however great and bitter. Only those who have lived long and in great affairs know how great the losses may be and how fierce the contest.

The Italian "Black Hand" and "Vendetta," our own "feuds" of the "mountain whites," the implacable, unforgiving hate of the Indians, and all other revenges arise simply from inability to understand that life is a game, to be played as a true sportsman plays it. Life is neither a comedy nor a tragedy; those who see it only in either comic or tragic guise do not see it whole. Nor is life melodrama, passing to and fro between sublime and ridiculous. But life is a game—as Job saw; and man plays it against God as his Adversary. Moreover, life as a game has rules. One should take his cards and play them without exultation and without complaint for all that they are worth.

One man draws a poor hand; he has perhaps no inheritance of wealth, no friends of social importance, no great natural abilities, and poor health with an unattractive physique. Another draws a fine hand; everything is in

his favor. Others draw moderate hands. What comes to us as our lot is ours to play out; we have small concern with the lot. No man can change his skin, be it white or black; nor add a foot to his stature—as Jesus said. Our business is with what we have—without envy or fear or repining.

Of course, in our youth, as education shows us, in some respects we can do well for ourselves; as by going to bed early and by eating regular meals and by taking regular exercise, we can build up strong bodies. Again, in early manhood by thrift and industry, in some cases, without failing in our duties to parents and other relatives, we can save up money and acquire property and so get a start in life. But in general, we have little power to change ourselves or our lots in life. What we can do is learn each separate little game in the total game of life.

We can learn these rules, viz.—

> Tell the truth.
> Keep every promise.
> Fear evil.
> Go to bed early.
> Play outdoors every day.
> Spend money carefully.
> Keep one's clothes clean.
> Be respectful to the old and to all women.
> Be kind to children.

There are scores, even hundreds of these rules to be learned and observed.

Manners are but the rules of the social game. Ignorant men and women get into trouble because they do not know good manners, and they are, therefore, classed out from the grade of those who do know and display such manners.

All about us are the unsuccessful who have failed because they did not know and observe these rules. Of such as do observe them, we say that they are "well-bred," which means that in their rearing, they learned the importance of the rules.

Here city persons and country persons, Southerners and Northerners and Westerners, foreigners of various nationalities and our native-born, differ greatly from one another. In this vast mixed society of America, there are many various conceptions of these rules; and the rules themselves differ in some cases upon important points.

It is bad form in Virginia to mention in social affairs the money costs of anything whatever—a horse, a suit of clothes, food, a farm, a book. The true Virginian has the traditions of the English Cavaliers of the reigns of the Stuart kings.

But it is a mark of intelligence to talk pleasantly of all such matters among the New England Yankees and the Pennsylvania Quakers, who have the traditions of the Puritan Commonwealth and the English Revolution of 1688.

In Virginia, in Pennsylvania and in Massachusetts alike, direct inquiries, however, are resented. Yet in many of the new parts of America and among some foreigners, anything goes! One may without offence ask an Italian peasant the cost of his own clothing and shoes. It is indeed true of the Venetians at home that nine-tenths of their talk is of money.

One who goes about freely among many people in various sections of our great land soon learns to walk warily and to speak carefully lest he give offence unwittingly. Like the three monkeys of Japan, he learns—

"Hear nothing! See nothing! Say nothing!"

It is a cynical series of proverbs; nor is it wise strictly

to follow them, for perhaps nothing gives more offence than sheer blind, deaf silence. But the general rule holds, which is this, viz.—

Learn the rules of every game as speedily as may be. In Rome, so far as honor permits, do as the Romans do. If possible, give offence to none.

When the proverb arose, Rome was the finest city of the world, and the Romans were considered the best of all men and women.

Many of these rules of the game have good sense, well worth pondering.

Washington and Lincoln were past masters of these rules of good sense in common affairs.

EXERCISES

1. State with some fulness a few of the natural laws such as those of gravitation, conservation of energy, atomic valence, biologic heredity (Mendelism) and association of kind.

2. State some of the familiar rules of parliamentary laws such as "personal privilege," "no amendment to an amendment to an amendment," and priority of the motion to adjourn when seconded.

3. How do the rules of the game of a Sunday morning church service conflict with those of a trial by jury in a court of common pleas? Which is more "sacred,"—a sermon or the life of a man accused of murder? Why then do we enjoin interruptions to the sermon of a preacher but permit interruptions of counsel in a court?

4. Is "school boy honor" a survival of the period of ten thousand years ago when human beings became parents at ten years of age? How can it be accounted for historically?

5. Talk with lawyers in order to discover what kinds of agreements courts will never enforce.

6. Make a list of the main general rules of sport and discuss their underlying principles.

7. What is the most important cause of our hatred of secret assassination?

8. "The business of a man is to play his cards like a man, not scolding because perhaps he has poor hands but making the most of what fall to him." Discuss this as one "rule of the game of life."

9. Give instances of "bad manners" as violating "the rules of the game of life."

10. What are some ethical notions that cause the expression "the game of life" to be objectionable to some persons? Discuss the notions.

11. Is "honor" the substance of the rules of the game? Or "justice"? Or "righteousness"? Or "kindness"? Do they differ essentially or only in minor aspects?

12. What rules of the game of life did Hamlet violate in the play of Shakespeare?

13. In this aspect discuss Benedict Arnold.

14. Was the primacy of George Washington for several decades due in any sense to his knowledge and observance of the rules of the game? Explain.

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CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL GATHERINGS

"Custom, insensibly, yet with the full compliance of all, passes gradually into the character of men, having acquired force through the lapse of time. Chrysostom likens law to a tyrant but custom to a king."—*Six Books Concerning the State*, Jean Bodin.

UNDER the conjoined influences of all their natural instincts and acquired traits working as inner stimuli within their own minds and of all the social forces of customs, conventions, traditions and habits working as external stimuli upon their minds, men come together in various numbers and in various moods. It is said that man is a gregarious, a social, a political animal; each of these terms suggests a special mode of the one trait of man that he has an emotionalized consciousness of likeness with other men that brings him into comradeship with his kind. But each of these terms has a shade of difference from the others. "Gregarious" implies that man is a herd animal, that men flock together, that this large-grouping is blindly instinctive, brutish, unintelligent, automatic. "Social" implies that man likes a mate, a comrade, a fellow; it does not necessarily include large-grouping. "Political" implies that man is a city-builder, an institution-maker. The *polis* (city) is an example of a large grouping of persons that is unified, integrated, harmonious, sufficiently concordant to bring them to one mind and heart.

The gatherings of men are of many kinds, grades, sorts, as the large variety of words used to indicate them clearly show. These are a few examples, viz.—

1—assembly, audience, crowd, mob, riot.
2—insurrection, rebellion, revolution.
3—hamlet, village, borough, town, city, metropolis, state, nation, empire.
4—group, society, organization, association, federation, alliance, league, union.
5—congregation, church, synagogue, mission.
6—lodge, club, union, guild.
7—committee, board, conference, convention, meeting.
8—partnership, firm, corporation, syndicate, pool, trust.
9—session, synod, conventicle.
10—game, contest, meet.
11—faction, clique, party.
12—picnic, dance, tea, reception, banquet, ball.
13—class, school, college, institute, university.
14—squad, platoon, company, battalion, regiment, division, corps, army, squadron, navy.

The list may easily be extended and just as easily rearranged.

But whatever may be the terms employed, so much as this is obvious, viz.—

The social gatherings of men may be distinguished in these ways, viz.—

1st—By the number of persons involved, as two, ten, a thousand, millions.
2nd—By the extent and degree of self-control involved in the conduct of each individual present.
3rd—By their frequency, regularity, duration and recurrence.
4th—By the nature, extent and definiteness of their obedience to the superior organic law under which, if any, they are held.

5th—By the extent and manner of their being influenced by leaders.

6th—By the contribution they make to the general public welfare.

The value and the incidence of these criteria of judgment will appear upon their application to several terms.

An *assembly* (for example, of a legislative or ecclesiastical character)

1. Has from a score to a thousand persons present as members, with perhaps some visitors, auditors, clerks, witnesses and lobbyists.
2. Requires good self-control of each person present.
3. Is in session frequently, regularly, at stated times, and for many years, even centuries.
4. Obeys governmental laws and parliamentary rules as well as its own by-laws, etc.
5. Usually is guided by a few leaders in opposing parties but is not necessarily subservient to them.
6. Exists in order to render public social service to many.

An *audience*

1. Involves from a score or so to fifteen or even twenty thousand persons.
2. Requires fair self-control of each person present.
3. Meets once.
4. Obeys governmental laws and the social customs and conventions that concern it.
5. Has one leader, the speaker upon the platform and perhaps a chairman.
6. Is permitted to gather under the constitution that guarantees "free assembly" to all orderly citizens on the hypothesis that free speech is good for the general welfare.

A *crowd*

1. Involves a few score up to a multitude of persons.
2. Requires each person in it to be law-abiding.
3. Meets once.
4. Is simply permitted to exist so long as it does not interfere with the traffic of the streets or the peace of the community.
5. Centers around a leader.
6. Has no special relation to the general welfare.

A *mob*

1. Involves hundreds, even thousands.
2. Is temporarily out of the hands of the law.
3. Meets once.
4. Is threatened by police, dispersion, imprisonment of leaders, and various penalties.
5. Centers around a leader.
6. Is contrary to the social welfare.

A *riot* is a big, bad, dangerous mob in violent action against property and life.

We may take any others of these terms and subject them to similar analysis. Or we may take the criteria of judgment themselves and apply them to these terms.

In number of persons involved, a hamlet is but a very, very small fraction of an empire; a partnership is very small compared with a syndicate; a game may involve but two persons (as e.g., tennis) while an athletic meet may have as representatives thousands of contestants from a hundred different nations.

In respect to individual self-control, how great is the difference between a congregation in church and a riotous mob at a lynching bee! And yet church members and rioters are alike human; nor does any man understand his kind until he fully comprehends and realizes these extremes of human nature, for (amazing contradiction,

though it be!) more than once the leader of a riot has been in his quiet hours the pillar of a church.

Of these groupings of men, some have hundreds of years of regular periodic sessions and from their antiquity derive incalculable honor, while others occur once, exploding, blowing up. Of these last, most are but hated memories of social shame, and personal degradation. Some universities in Italy and France are seven and eight hundred years old. The British Parliament is almost as old. The Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church have each more than a millennium and a half of history. Dynasties may have representatives continuously upon thrones for many centuries. Because of their long family histories, the people see any particular representative upon the throne as the embodiment of all that for which the dynasty stands as a power among men. Therefore, in order to destroy a dynasty, it is necessary to kill or exile every scion relentlessly, even the remote cousins who may never have exercised power of any kind lest the people gather about them out of immemorial habit. For this cause, the Russian revolutionists killed the Czar and every one of his family with many of the grand dukes; and the German revolutionists threatened the Hohenzollerns.

Other groupings are ephemeral, occurring but once, never to be repeated. A modern auction stands in complete contrast with some of the Old World fairs, such as that at Nijninovgorod, which has been held annually—for some months at a time—for several centuries upon the banks of the Volga river and has survived even the bolshevist revolution, so strong are the habits of semicivilized peoples.

The riot gets out of hand and wildly disobeys any and all laws, but the college operates with the most punctilious obedience to laws, ordinances, ceremonials, rules and bylaws. It may indeed be said correctly that the extent and

degree of the culture of any social group may be measured by the number and variety of the laws that it obeys. A college, considered broadly as a social institution, consists of its trustees, faculty, students, alumni, and active friends and supporters; and it must observe scrupulously a vast variety of social rules in order to prosper by rendering valuable and acceptable service to individuals, to its constituency and to the nation and world. The tremendous influence of a college is in part due just to the fact that by obeying so many rules, it penetrates so many human interests deeply.

The people of the open countryside and of the hamlet obey but few laws and sustain according to custom and habit but few social relations while the men of the great city are knit together by a thousand ties and must obey ten thousand rules. The conduct of even an ordinary rural resident, were he to display it in a great city, would, of course, classify him at once as a lawbreaker, while the rural districts tolerate not a few men of loose and wild behavior who would be anarchists according to city opinion. Nor is this mere rhetoric, as a few facts will at once show.

I. The rural dweller may keep as many fire-arms about his place as he chooses, and carry them likewise as he chooses.

2. He may dispose of his kitchen waste upon the open ground or in a cesspool, both methods being unlawful in cities.

3. Of course, he keeps any animals whatever upon his place—from crowing roosters and bellowing bulls to swine and, if he so chooses, even caged bears and foxes. The law of public nuisance does not concern him; nor need he secure a license to peddle his garden truck in the neighboring village. Upon many a countryside, the man of the

farm, were he to raise his hat upon meeting a woman, would be considered queer; such social manners are outside his world.

On the other side, such few rules as do concern the rural man are generally inviolate. No convention of politeness requires him to conceal or even disguise the truth, though it make trouble. So strong is the requirement to keep his promises that often in case of a promissory note he anticipates the date by paying in advance for interest and principal due. He must be faithful to his wife at the peril otherwise of being considered a moral outcast and social pariah. The decent American countryside is universally monogamous; any deviation from this procedure is stamped at once as evidence of degeneracy and inferiority.

The last criterion for testing social groupings concerns their contribution to the general welfare. Here again the contrasts are very great. Some gatherings are socially pernicious, while others definitely contribute to social permanence and progress; and still others may be considered innocuous. It is obvious how riot, mob; church, university; dance, guild should be classified upon general considerations. Special conditions might warrant even a riot—as in the case of a crowd freeing a fugitive slave—and other special conditions might make a church undesirable—as in the case of Mormonism when supporting polygamy.

Education organizes very many gatherings and establishes many groups. In a sense, a large part of education is social regimentation—developing in each person social consciousness and training each to join, work in and aid such social groups as promote the general welfare. It is said that "order is Heaven's first law." In human affairs, social order is perhaps the basic principle, for without or-

der, classifying and, as in the terms stated in this chapter, ranking all, individuals cannot be brought and kept within endurable relations to one another. In this sense, order comes before even liberty, freedom, personal independence. Except as one does associate with others, for practical purposes, pure freedom is simple outlawry. Its end can be only individual isolation. Carried to the extreme, freedom from social gatherings and groupings is possible only to one who goes to an island alone beyond the range of his fellowmen.

In society, freedom comes from intelligent conformity to its code of rules and manners.

EXERCISES

1. Look up synonyms for "social," "sociable," "popular," and similar words to discover differences between large- and small-grouping.

2. Make a list showing for your community the frequency of its meetings of various bodies.

3. Consult the census reports to show in some of the States how many large and small cities they have. (E.g., Ohio has 6 cities above 100,000 population each and 78 more above 5,000 each, while Vermont has only one city of even 20,000 population.)

4. Note in educational history the appearance of universities successively in land after land:—in Europe, first Italy; then France, etc., etc.

5. Make a list of recent riots.

6. Discuss local countryside habits as compared with those of the neighboring city within your own observation or experience.

7. Discuss the reasons why grouping is not necessarily good in itself.

8. What is meant in this aspect by the phrase "the masterless man"?

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CHAPTER XII

REVIVALS, PANICS, CRAZES

"Every few years Commerce has its earthquakes, and the tall and toppling warehouses that haste ran up are first to be shaken down. The hearts of men fail them for fear; and the suddenly rich, made suddenly poor, fill the land with their loud laments. But when the whole story of commercial disasters is told, it is only found out that they who amassed slowly the gains of useful Industry built upon a rock; and that they who flung together the imaginary millions of commercial speculations built upon the sands. When times grew dark, and the winds came, and the floods descended and beat upon them both—the rock sustained the one, and the shifting sands let down the other."—*Lectures to Young Men,* Henry Ward Beecher.

Among social gatherings, there are some of such intensity and of such other peculiarities as to compel consideration in themselves apart from all the more formal and frequent gatherings hitherto discussed. Their causation rests in special traits of human nature—suggestibility, excitability, imitation, self-preservation, vanity, fear.

In the early part of the eighteenth century in our own country, there began a religious movement known at first as "The Great Awakening." It originated in Northampton, Massachusetts, with the preaching of Reverend Solomon Stoddard but did not reach high intensity or wide extent until the eloquence of Reverend Jonathan Edwards shook all New England with a moral earthquake that vibrated to the confines of Georgia and of Canada. It continued in force for a full century and produced many important social effects, among them the separation of the State from the Church, with the resultant economic independence of ministers from salaries derived from taxation and a coincidental religious independence from the authority of government, and also a very considerable im-

provement in the general morals of the American people in honesty, in industry and in the relation of the sexes.

Our own interest in the Great Awakening is definitely in the methods used by the preachers to arouse the people in the audiences and such as came to see them personally. They made their appeals to the fears of men respecting the life after death, lest it be everlasting and lest its character be terribly painful punishment, such as burning in a lake of fire and brimstone. Doctor Edwards himself pictured men as sinners held in the hand of an avenging God over this fiery lake into which He would drop them unless they repented and God as being willing to withhold this everlasting punishment only because of mercy through the grace of His Son Jesus Christ.

This literally blazing appeal to the consciences of men guilty of sin—that is, aware that they had done less well than they really understood that they should do—brought the auditors to their feet with eyes whence tears streamed and with hands trembling with fear. The masses moaned, sobbed, writhed with the horror of their imagined doom. When one considers what in all reasonable probability many men had done—stolen, lied, secretly murdered, run away from duty, broken promises—in those early days before society had settled order and had developed publicity and regular legal processes, it becomes plain why the appeal to a conviction of sin so often went home to the mark; and when one also remembers how few persons two hundred years ago could read and write and had been trained to logical thinking, one perceives how it befell that all colonial society went through revolution by violence to the spirit of man. The primitive instincts are very strong and energetic; once stirred, they tear at conduct and pull and push men out of ordinary courses. They overcome all the inhibitions to moderation and to silence.

One can picture those preachers in the long black gowns, with white collars about their necks and with gray wigs upon their heads, standing upon pulpit platforms ten, twelve, even fifteen feet above their audiences thundering as it were with the wrath of Heaven against the crimes, sins, weaknesses, foibles of men to make them realize how short is life and how long is eternity and therefore how infinitely important it is so to live now as to win an eternity of bliss. And one can picture here and there in an audience the giving away of the resistance first of one man and then of another to the driving force of the inspired preacher. First, the excitables yield; then the suggestibles; then the imitatives until the whole audience seethes in a common emotion. They fear the heat of Hell; they desire to live in Heaven where the harps sound happily; they know, each one of them, that they are capable of enjoying an eternal life of bliss; they hate to be condemned to pain forever. This life on earth is sweet; eternal life is only dearer; but it must be an eternal life in Paradise, a life free from pain and anxiety and from every fear and sorrow, a life with kin and friends.

The revivals during the years of the Great Awakening were but instances of what has characterized humanity for at least several thousand years—the emotional outbreak, following long epochs of dull monotony and severe struggle against the routine of the ordinary processes of Nature and of human society. Man is not meant to live without great occasional outbreaks of pent-up emotions. The child must play or grow up stupid. The woman must have great loves or fears or become insane. Ecstasy denied means hysteria soon.

The lonely pioneer especially is the one who feels the need of human companionship and appreciation with abundant opportunities for self-expression. The people of the

remote villages with their monotonous, unbeautiful, delimited lives feel the inner pressures of their own shut-up souls. Among such and not among the men and women of the slums come the frantic revivals with their shrieking, dancing women, and their howling, swaying men. In some revivals, the convicted sinners roll upon the ground literally in physical agony. They swing and whirl about trees, making wide circular swaths in the woods and underbrush. They tear out their hair; they throw off their clothes; they grind their teeth and rub their eyes with their fists.

Within all these tears and groans, writhings, howlings, dancings, there are working the influences of disturbed glands in the human body whose function it is to develop fears and shudderings, ecstasy and hysteria and thereby to correlate and harmonize the organs and systems and functionings of body and soul.

The total procedure is closely parallel with that of the man who wearying of the deadening monotony of a routine life was accustomed, in the days when alcoholic stimulants were freely dispensed, to go on sprees periodically whereby generally unused areas of the nervous system were called into play and specifically overused areas were dulled and silenced.

It is a painful and notorious fact that religious revivals have caused in their exponents all the familiar outbreaks of the adrenal, thyroid, pituitary, pineal and sex-glands resultant from drink and debauchery. They constitute direct harm alike to individual health and to social morals. Worked as they are systematically by some denominations to secure converts otherwise beyond reach, revivals by wholesale belong to the same group of calamities as floods, fires, panics, fads, crazes. Unquestionably, however, in some instances, the individual conversions are sincere, complete and permanent. The character that was has been utterly de-

stroyed, and a new character has begun, developed and been established. It is always therefore a social character, for socialization is an invariable, because necessary, factor in conversion whether by revival or otherwise.

In America we now have the singular social phenomenon of semi-commercialized revivals, systematic, prepared-to-order. The revivalists who provide such revivals to order are numerous and in some instances famous. In the first twenty years of the twentieth century the best known of such revival organizations was that of Reverend Doctor William A. Sunday, in his early life a baseball player of distinction.

The methods of a semi-commercial revivalist organization included generally these items, viz.—

1. Five staffs
    A. The preachers, etc.
    B. The workers, ushers, etc.
    C. The choir, the band, etc.
    D. The financial agents, etc.
    E. The local stimulators.
2. Music—solo, choral, congregational, orchestral.
3. Publicity; social pressures from all quarters.
4. Personal pressure and conference with the workers.
5. Cumulative efforts; mass attacks. Three to five weeks of daily hammering.
6. Piling up fears, hatreds of evils, familiar opinions, ambitions, social relationships until the individual has no mind of his own; but gives his heart to God in the hope of personal betterment.
7. Finally, solicitation of funds for carrying on the good work elsewhere. The contributions both of the workers and of the converted seem like religious gifts, hallowing the period and squaring oneself with others for the blessings received. The funds

> in part constitute the income of the revival organization. At the end, one learns that in the minds of true believers "Salvation is free," "Whosoever will let him drink of the water of life freely," and similar exhortations and benedictions should give way to the sentiment that "The laborer is worthy of his hire."

The whole purpose of such a revival system is to break down both the instinctive and the psychical defences of the individual and to compel him to join the crowd. According to what instincts in him are strong and to what habits and notions he has formed, he gradually or catastrophically breaks down and surrenders to the general mood. It is an exceedingly successful method to achieve the purpose. As the meetings proceed from day to day, the pressures gain in force and persistence and weight until the converts become an overwhelming number. Then suddenly all the pressures relax; the meetings pass the climax; and the social experience becomes mere memory.

How far a revival can radiate depends upon many conditions; but however powerful and extensive it becomes, it always reaches limits, and it always dies down quickly like a burnt out fire. The limits are determinable and ascertainable. Most of these limits are drawn by social cleavages either horizontal or vertical. Among the horizontal cleavages developing superior, middle and inferior social prisms are these, viz.—

1. Wealth.
2. Birth.
3. Education.
4. Social position.

In some communities, there are fairly definite lines of social distinction as between the rich, the moderately well off, and the poor. In other communities, no considerable

groups appear of the very rich or of the very poor but substantially all are in fairly comfortable circumstances. When a revival appears in communities split into definite economic classes, it does not get beyond the class in which it starts, which almost always is that of the moderately well off since they have some leisure to think, some surplus nervous energy needing release and not enough personal pride to prevent surrender to the great emotional tide of a crowd. The mere fact that the well-to-do are publicly stirred holds back the rich from demeaning themselves to the lower level and stiffens the resistance of each rich man and woman against the mass movement. And the same fact leads the poor to stay away from the revival meetings and out of the revival crowds as a matter of stubborn class pride lest they be taken as subservient to their social superiors.

Grades of birth also tend to discourage the up and down radiations of crowd emotions. The natives of old stock constitute a class; the descendants of recent arrivals make a second class; while the foreign-born make still another and lowest class. Each of these classes is further subdivided into the groups of those who have had honorable and successful ancestors with a demonstrable lineage and those without such ancestry. Where such gradations are sharply made and strongly held, as indeed they are in many cities —e.g., the colonial Yankees, the Irish and the more recent aliens in Boston, and similar classes and groups in Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Paul, New Orleans, and San Francisco and often in country towns as well—revivals make slow progress, being suffocated by these class prejudices.

In our land, social superiority runs according to the priority of time of arrival in this country and in a particular locality. Old colonial stock has high prestige especially, of course, in the oldest settled sections—Virginia,

Massachusetts, New York, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania and Georgia in that order. But the old stocks do not altogether lose priority by transmigration within our borders. The scions of old New England are highly regarded in Ohio, in Iowa, and in the States upon the Pacific Coast. The "Pennsylvania Dutch" are highly regarded in the Middle West where millions of them live. Southerners of old stock count heavily in the trans-Missouri country and upon the Pacific Coast; and find social favor in New York City and elsewhere. New Englanders, however, were discounted in the South until after the Spanish-American and World Wars, which indeed have done much to destroy all thought regarding these distinctions. "Now we are all Americans."

Social movements propagate downward much more freely than upward so far as birth is concerned. A revival among the old settlers may reach new settlers anywhere and draw them in; but a revival among new settlers is ignored among the older population.

At the present time, horizontal social cleavage according to education is as strong as it was even before the Civil War. The grades are well known, viz.—

1. Professionally trained citizens and families of high culture in science, art, etc.
2. College graduates.
3. High school and academy graduates.
4. Grammar school graduates.
5. Those who can read and write with facility and those who are skilful at the trades and industrial arts.
6. Those who are intelligent, honest and industrious though not well-schooled.
7. The ignorant, illiterate and inefficient, yet morally sound.
8. The worthless.

Merely to be a trained physician, lawyer, preacher, civil or other learned engineer, or a successful artist, musician, actor, or architect or to belong to such a family is to have the social entree anywhere and socially to be at the top.

In general, such revivals as start in the strata below the high school graduate plane are never propagated upward. Therefore, frequently, we have the phenomenon of high religious excitement and social tension in the congregation of a pastor without liberal college and theological seminary diplomas, which therefore does not spread to the congregations presided over by pastors of superior professional training. Whether rightly or wrongly from the ethical point of view, modern society seeks to protect itself from moral revolutions stirred by such as do not "see life steadily and see it whole." We make an assumption, perhaps often false, that religious emotion without compensating and steadying knowledge is in truth dangerous to society.

Vice versa, however, does not hold here. Men of slight knowledge are suggestible by and distinctly imitative of men of superior knowledge. To be trained esthetically or scholarly means to carry with one the presumption of being superior to those without training; and it invites following and imitation. Therefore, considerable social responsibility attaches to the learned, to the artistic, and to the efficient as leaders and movers of others.

Social position is felt; it may perhaps be described; it cannot be scientifically defined nor philosophically explained and interpreted. A few cases may serve to illustrate social position.

A and his family live in a big, new, beautiful house with large grounds; they keep a motor car, saddle horses and servants. Presumptively, *prima facie,* they move in the

best and highest circles. In point of truth, however, they are discredited because of personal character, manners, and history; and they associate with but few persons and those only of inferior circumstances. Nevertheless, because in their town, the transients, who do not know the past of their fellow townsmen, are always in considerable number, *A* and his family always have some social advantage accruing to them solely from their superior home.

B and his family for generations past were among the first settlers and citizens of a Middle West city. Business reverses led him to move a thousand miles away where he lived quietly for twenty years until his death. His body was brought to the city by his widow for burial. Much to her surprise more than a thousand different cars and carriages met the funeral party at the train and attended the hearse to the ancestral burying-plot in the old cemetery. Why? Because simply to register oneself as a family friend of the *B's* in that city by attending the solemn service of a burial was a mark of social distinction. Yet *B* himself had never even held public office in that city. His family had social standing of the highest grade. In such an instance, social position is merely potential or latent; but given an opportunity, it stands out positively.

The case of *C* is special. He is a wanderer from coast to coast; without a fixed habitat; but famous as an author, lecturer, traveller and general spectator of the social scene and public interpreter of world conditions. Wherever he goes, he becomes a social lion for the time being. But all such men learn that for them to settle down in any city is to lose forthwith their social prestige, which is a function of their national prominence. Their children, however, always have a certain social standing. The itinerant profession of the ministry gives social prestige somewhat

on these lines. As long as a preacher is in demand to give sermons and addresses outside of his own church, he has social standing in his church and city.

A family famous for any particular quality of ability or character always has esteem somewhat according to that attaching to the quality. It may be the wit of the men or the beauty of the women; or any one of a dozen other admired qualities. The Beecher family gave to its members social standing due to total achievements of all its various members—Lyman for his social reform work, Henry Ward for his marvellous oratory, Harriet for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and other novels, Charles as a musician, Thomas K. for his preaching, and Edward for his extraordinary scholarship.

Merely to be a descendant of Jonathan Edwards is a social asset so great that even the dark presence of Aaron Burr in the long list does not dim its lustre.

There are several other such families; e. g., the Adams and Quincy families of Massachusetts, the Astors of New York, and the Harrisons of Virginia.

The principle here involved is that a revival finds difficulty in establishing itself universally in a community where there are families of high social prestige, where some persons are recognized as social leaders. It goes best where there is a general social equality.

The vertical cleavages make revivalist propaganda even harder. Chief among such cleavages are those of color, race, language, religion, politics and occupation, though there are many others.

There are three colors of humanity in our own country—the white, the red and the black; and there are mestizos or hybrids of these races. Wherever the whites outnumber the reds (Indians), the half-breeds (white-reds), the blacks (Negroes), the mulattoes (white-blacks) or the full mestizos

(white-red-blacks), there the whites have social domination. Everywhere irrespective of numbers, the whites outclass the blacks and mulattoes; but where the reds or half-breeds outnumber the whites, there they also outclass the last named.

But nowhere in our country do whites, reds and blacks or any hybrids of them live in the same parts of cities, towns or villages. Always they are segregated. There is even a tendency to segregate the blacks from the lighter mulattoes (quadroons, octoroons, hexdecaroons) to be observed especially in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York cities. In Syria and elsewhere in the Orient, from time immemorial, there have been such segregations—in Syria, styled "Khans." For two thousand years, there was a Hittite Khan in Jerusalem. For a thousand years, there was a Jewish ghetto (Khan or ward) in Venice. In San Francisco now, there is a Chinese (yellow) district.

Revivals never cross color lines, for color race prejudice is stronger than any religion. Once in ten thousand cases some individual may surrender to a revival originating among people of another color, just as occasionally a white woman will take a mate from the yellow, black or red race. But religious movements never obliterate the mass prejudice. The whites generally look upon any white person who "falls for" a religious awakening among colored persons as "weak-minded." Since the evidence for such weak-mindedness is the revival spirit or conversion propagated by the other race, no inquiry of a psychological nature is permitted into the obvious weakmindedness. Of course, what is intended is the plain and simple and universally accepted principle of race-creed that any one with a normal race-instinct has no personal dealings (other than in business or politics) with persons of a different color.

Business is excepted because of obvious necessity; and politics because it is frequently advantageous to ignore race lines in this field wherever democracy prevails.

It does not greatly matter whether the revival begins among the whites or the blacks or the reds, there it ends. Humankind seem to recognize that each color requires a distinctly different interpretation of God. To say this may at first seem blasphemous or sacrilegious; but due consideration shows that it is perfectly appropriate because the instincts, the passions, the habits, the ideals and the corresponding sins and needs of the races according to color differ essentially and radically. True indeed that all humanity, all the universe, has one God; but we cannot see Him alike. The "Hell" of the black man is cold, not hot. To picture to a normal white man the place of punishment as a place of regular industry would be to him absurd; he likes to work. Not so with the black man. "Happy hunting grounds" delight the Indian, who would be horrified at the thought of a city with streets of gold and full of magnificent buildings of cut glass radiant with eternal light. The worst sin to a white man is treachery; to a red man, inhospitality; to a black man, tyranny. The commonest of all sins among white men, as they see it, is lying; among red men, cowardice; among black men, adultery. To call a white man "a lazy loafer" is an insulting condemnation; to call a red man such is unimportant; to call a black man "a lazy loafer" is funny because he views lazy loafing as meritorious and superior.

These are mere instances among thousands that might be cited. It follows, therefore, that the revival themes appropriate to the whites do not concern the blacks; and generally they do not concern the reds. This is not to say that humanity has no common body of ideal ethics.

To fear no man; to tell the truth; to keep one's prom-

ises; to be kind to the poor; to get one's daily bread by legal methods; to respect the rights of other men to their wives and property—all these principles of ethics are known wherever there is any civilization at all. But no black man needs to have kindness to the poor emphasized in any revival that he attends. No red man needs to be exhorted to be courageous. No white man ever attempts philosophical justification of promise-breaking.

However, it may seem at first thought, the substantive need that causes revivals to flourish is that men sin and soon or late, according to their intelligence, suffer remorse. The very virtues of the different races lead to their characteristic sense of sin. The white man is now characteristically monogamous; to his conscience, violations of family ethics are serious. He is prudent; and therefore he is not so generous as his red brothers or his black.

The colored man who goes to a revival among the whites up North is apt to report to his colored friends that he "could n't just make out what they were all talking about."

A white evangelist, after spending a week trying to work a revival among Southern rural darkies, reported that it was "perfectly useless to talk about some of their commonest sins—crap-shooting, laziness, gluttony, chicken-stealing—because what all of them do, not one of them can possibly be made to believe and feel wrong."

It takes the white man's law and force to make his brown brother good according to the white man's light; and were red man, yellow or black to conquer the white man anywhere in a social mass, it would take the red man's law and force (or the yellow or black man's) to make the white man good.

What is true of races according to color is true in less degree of the races within the color races; that is, of stocks and breeds, clans, tribes, nations, peoples. The tendency

here in America is strongly to lower and to smooth down the lesser race distinctions as between Americans, French, Canadian, of English, Irish, Welsh, Scotch, Dutch, German, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Russian, Jewish, Swiss, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Italian, Spanish, Armenian, Greek, Syrian and Persian descents. Anthropologists and ethnologists and demographers who can show that there are fourteen basic stocks in Great Britain, four in Ireland, eight in France, four in Belgium, forty-two in Russia, five in Italy, three in Sweden, nine in Germany, etc. (as indeed we can) awaken no curiosity and no emotion among Americans generally for the sufficient reason that because we have more than fifty basic stocks here, we perceive in this variety our own national safety. Nevertheless, as concerns revivals, in such communities as have preserved race-stocks in comparative isolation and purity, the grouping serves to block the progress of the mass-feelings.

In consequence, no revival can possibly spread all the way through any of our Northern cities. For example, nearly one-fifth of all the people of Buffalo are of Polish descent, while one-sixth are of German descent. The remaining nineteen-thirtieths are divided into a score of stocks and breeds. No revival could by any possibility involve one-half of the adults and older youth of Buffalo. Yet while the heterogeneous community cannot be brought into one general process of emotional agitation, a racially homogeneous community can be stirred from top to bottom and all the way across.

Truth is that when any revival in any city reaches its term,

1. This term is not so much the measure of the ability of the revival organization as

2. It is the measure of the race heterogeneity or homogeneity of the population.

(This principle is to be considered, of course, in the light of all the other parts of this chapter.)

A revival philosophy that pleases a large Scotch element (say, the mesocephalic east coast and lowland Scotch) in any city is not likely to please a blond Saxon German element and will be incomprehensible to Neapolitan Italians. The emotionalism of the Scotch is slow to develop, tremendous, violent, profound when it breaks. The Neapolitan is touch-and-go-and-forget all within perhaps an hour.

The sins of the Jews recently arrived in our country are many and serious. Yet because they have rationalized their religious thoughts into a system, memorized the system and habituated themselves to it, they have no revivals. Many peoples do worse deeds from worse motives than the Jews do; yet they have no sins, for without a consciousness of wrong-doing, there is, of course, no sin, since by definition ever since Paul wrote his Epistles the sense of doing wrong is what causes the wrong-doing to be sin. Revivals spring from memories of wrong deeds changing into judgments upon them as being wrong and into desires to repent and to do right. Rational men know that they are doing wrong when they are so doing; they sin. Yet they do not become subjects of conversions by wholesale.

Therefore, the Jews of America, mostly in a few of our greater cities, such as New York, Paterson and Rochester, constitute a bulwark against the tidal drives of revivals.

The Welsh as an ecstatic and musical people everywhere contribute to the spread of revivals; and the English (Angles) also but not so freely. The Norman French are easily moved. All three of these stocks are closely compatible; and at their sides are the Saxons, the Danes, the

Jutes, the Frisians, and some of the Latin stocks, none, however, so easily moved as the Welsh and the pure English.

All the principles involved in the propagation of revivals have been presented. It remains merely to suggest some of their applications to language, religion, politics and occupations.

In our own country, the languages employed by extensive numbers (besides our standard Americanized English) are these, viz.—

German, Hebrew, Russian, Magyar, Czech, Italian, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, French, Spanish, Greek, Syrian, Armenian.

No revival ever spreads freely across these vertical language lines. Few spread at all.

Some of these languages do not even contain a word for "sin."

Revivals spread from one orthodox Trinitarian denomination freely to others but are blocked when approaching even liberal Trinitarian denominations. They scarcely include in their sweep Unitarian Christianity, Christian Science and other similar "free" bodies. Not to seek to speak accurately, in a general way, Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists work with but slight barriers between them in the matter of revivals; and Congregationalists and Episcopalians.

When revivals seek to spread, there is not much resistance as between Republicans and Democrats; but there is a high wall between these two parties on the one side and any and all others. The conservatives in politics do not welcome the radicals as leaders and counsellors in religion. A Bolshevist or Socialist could not make headway in America as a religious revivalist; he must first convert Republicans and Democrats to his political faith and con-

vince them of his sanity and their wickedness in political and economic affairs.

Even the vertical cleavages according to occupations make hurdles and ditches for religious revivals to cross. Though psychologists and pedagogues, educators and teachers have not generally come to a decision as whether there is any one formal discipline that develops and trains all the powers of the mind harmoniously, the plain people believe that "farmers don't know much about business" and that "city folks are poor hands on farms"; and plumbers do not go to carpenters nor factory workers to store clerks for political or religious or economic advice. The democratic multitude will never believe that those whose talk is of their own trades are fit to manage great social affairs; they believe in special disciplines. Just as the farmer resents advice as to farming from persons not farmers, so he resents advice on religious matters from persons not of adequate religious training. Revivals do not spread across the occupational lines without resistance at every such line; they do get across, of course; but not freely. All the farmers of a Southern rural section may fall into the great current; but it has to get over the bank at the bounds of the town or city nearby.

The processes of a panic or of a craze and those of a revival are much alike. Panic and craze encounter the same difficulties and move out from the same sources as does the revival. Both panic and craze, however, are easily and quickly capable of propagating themselves in spots seemingly remote from the places of origin. A revival is characteristically local—a craze is widespread. We speak of panic in two senses—the crowd panic due generally to an accident, to a fire or to an explosion arousing fear, and the business panic due to a few bankruptcies and the spreading fear of more.

The process of the crowd panic is this, viz.—

1. Something happens in the crowd.
2. A few notice it and spread an alarm.
3. Some movement in any direction takes place, and a big rush or a big scattering follows. When several movements conflict, some persons are hurt.
4. The place where the crowd was becomes deserted and empty.

The process of the business panic may perhaps best be realized by the story of the so-called "Roosevelt Panic of 1907." There had recently been organized in New York City a Trust Company for a general banking business on the usual lines of such companies. It happened that several multimillionaires as depositors acquired large influence in its management and secured great loans from it for which they hypothecated as collateral the stocks of the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Company. This was the next to the largest of the iron and steel producing companies in America—the largest being the United States Steel Corporation. Great as the T.C.I. was, it was but one-tenth as great as the U.S.S. Upon the statute books of the United States Government, there is the Anti-Trust Act, that forbids the consolidation of all the important companies in any one line of business lest a monopoly result with all its attendant evils.

It also happened that some of the multimillionaire owners of United States Steel stocks desired to own the Tennessee Coal, Iron & R. R. Company. Learning that the T.C.I. men had borrowed heavily upon their great holdings, the U.S.S. men began to drive down the price of T.C.I. shares in the Wall Street market, by offering to sell T.C.I. short; that is, agreed to sell what they did not yet own. This alarmed the directors and managers of the Trust Company who feared lest the T.C.I. shares, held by them as collateral,

should prove insufficient backing for the loans. The T.C.I. multimillionaires retaliated by offering U.S.S. shares short. After this war had gone on for a week, the public became frightened lest the Trust Company should fail and carry down with it several other concerns. Within two days after the panic began, it had spread to Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago and had made havoc in Birmingham, Alabama, where were the home offices of the T.C.I.&R.R. Company.

Then Sunday came, when no legal business can be done. On that morning, a leading magnate of the U.S.S. Corporation group visited President Theodore Roosevelt at eleven o'clock, and asked him to end the war between the two sets of Wall Street operators and the panic by agreeing to permit the U.S.S. Corporation to buy the T.C.I. Company and thereby restore the prices of the shares of the two companies and save the Trust Company from bankruptcy.

Such a consolidation was to a degree a violation of the Anti-Trust Act; but being urged also by the greatest banker of the United States, the first J. Pierpont Morgan, to permit the consolidation and save the country from a terrible panic, President Roosevelt agreed to instruct the United States Attorney General not to prosecute the U.S.S. Company for purchasing the T.C.I. Company. In consequence, this became known as the "Roosevelt Panic" because Roosevelt ended it.

The greatness of this affair may be realized when one knows that in 1907 one-hundredth of all the wealth of the people of the United States was invested in the United States Steel Corporation and that the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Company was worth as much as the total taxable property of all the people of such a city as Cincinnati, Ohio.

The "Panic of 1907" was crushed in its beginnings; it

was a panic of fear like every other. It was fed by false reports of the impending bankruptcies of a dozen different men of vast wealth and of half a dozen different banks and of the probable closing of the New York Stock Exchange.

In our nation's history, we have had several widespread, severe panics that have seemed to come in intervals of years of more or less regular periodicity—1837, 1857, 1879, 1893, not to mention the lesser ones. Business men, economists and publicists generally seem to think that these panics come from economic and therefore natural, even rational causes. Such, however, has not always been the whole truth. The panic and hard times of 1879 and the following few years were largely due to psychological and in a narrow sense sociological causes—psychological, meaning thereby causes arising in the pure nature of the mind of man irrespective of external surroundings and sociological, meaning thereby causes arising solely from the pressures and relations of man to man. In 1879, the United States resumed specie payments of its debts and obligations in gold and thereby ended the currency inflation due to fiat paper money. Prices fell; and the deflation process caused bankruptcies. But it was a healing process, and normally it should have inspired not fear but confidence. Business should have grown better, not worse. But fear set in and swept the land; and though the hard times of 1879–80–81–82 were not so serious as the situations in 1837, 1857 and 1893, still millions did suffer unnecessarily.

Our own American people are not often victimized by crazes. They start among us and sometimes spread to an extent; but our prophylactics against crazes are many, as the earlier pages of this chapter have shown.

In New York City, in 1914, a craze started upon the East Side among the Italian and Hungarian mothers. At that time, the school medical inspectors were active in try-

ing to isolate children with bad tonsils and adenoids that caused mental inferiority through anemia and poor health. Also, the school physicians were very active in vaccinations against small pox. In some few instances, children were vaccinated without the consent or even knowledge of the parents; and some children were taken to public hospitals for operations upon throat and nose, though none was taken without the knowledge of at least one parent or in the absence of parents some other person believed to be responsible.

At one of the great schoolhouses that care for thousands of children, a few mothers started a rumor that the doctors were killing the children. "The doctors" were "eager for blood." These "American doctors" (many of whom themselves were Jews) hated the "foreigners."

Tens of thousands of women and some men stormed the schoolhouses of the East Side. Public meetings to denounce these "murders" were held in halls and upon street corners. For several days, some schools had no children present to be taught. Fortunately, however, despite the many vaccinations and surgical operations, in point of truth not one child did die; and all of the tonsil and adenoid cases upon recovery soon showed even to the excited mothers the unmistakable evidences of improved health and intelligence. The craze died out for want of facts to support it.

In 1849–50, our country was swept by the gold craze due to the discovery of gold in California. At a thousand points in the land, men singly and in groups rose up to go to El Dorado and make fortunes overnight. They crossed prairie, plain, mountain; they endured hunger, cold, heat, fatigue, Indian attack, highway robbery, to get to the gold country. Their relatives, neighbors, friends staked them to a few hundred dollars, hoping to get small shares in

vast fortunes from gold washing, or gold mining, town booms, trading, hotel-keeping in the world of miraculous fortune-finding. Truth is that many fortunes were made; California was greatly and permanently increased in population. The craze lasted for years, ruined many more men than it ever benefited; men unfitted for the toils, the dangers, the severe rivalries of that wild epoch.

We have had the "Greenback Craze," the "Populist Craze," the "Temperance Craze." Nevertheless, on the whole, the variety of our people and the resultant heterogeneity of our whole population, together with the notable independence of the individual colonists of New England and of Virginia, who gave the original character to Americans, have worked together to save us from being afflicted by many crazes.

A craze is a social movement of great swiftness; narrow in theme; irrational; temporarily compelling wide belief; finally ending in collapse for want of true merit. The wise discover its fallacies; the many discover that it is either useless or pernicious. In the end, it is sometimes crushed by the force of government or by the anathema of religion; but more frequently, it dies for want of support, is starved out, burns itself out.

Three centuries ago, in Holland and England, there was a "tulip craze"—famous in history—when men organized companies to raise and sell tulips, and when tulip bulbs and tulip shares went to fabulous prices.

A recurrent religious craze, in evidence occasionally in America, concerns the hoped for "second coming of the Lord." This takes many different names and is associated, more or less directly, with several different religious organizations. The craze has never yet spread at any one time into any large number of States; but often it becomes very active in a few neighborhoods. The date of the

"coming" is fixed, and perhaps hundreds of persons gather at the appointed season upon some hilltop to await the Lord in His glory. The obvious truth that to know the future would spoil the present utterly does not suffice to prevent the recurrence of this hope of a catastrophic deliverance of humanity from trouble by the establishment here suddenly of the reign of the Lord.

EXERCISES

1. Look up the history of the temperance movement in America, especially the "Murphy total abstinence" phase, 1876 and after.
2. Have the fashions changed much in respect to religious revival appeals and exhortations within the past century? To what extent? In what particulars?
3. Read the narratives and biographies of the pioneers, such as Daniel Boone.
4. Why are lonely persons especially responsive to revival appeals?
5. What forces have you observed at work for or against revivals?
6. Observe the social strata in your own neighborhood.
7. What are the socially influential families known to yourself?
8. What social grades, if any, according to race and color, are there in Brazil, in Cuba, elsewhere, to your knowledge?
9. What seem virtues in some that seem vices or sins in others?
10. Did you ever observe a run upon a bank? If so, describe it.
11. With what crazes are we now threatened in America?

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CHAPTER XIII

PRESENT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

"The roads diverge at the point where we stand."—*The New Freedom,* Woodrow Wilson.

Throughout modern society, there are running currents of profound and extensive social importance. Of some of these, we are now sharply conscious, but of others we have only vague appreciations. Among those of sharp definiteness and of great power is the present world-movement known generally as "feminism." Of this movement in America, the woman suffrage campaign is only one phase, perhaps not the most vital at that, though it is undoubtedly the most prominent. With the merits or demerits of feminism, substantively considered, sociology has but little concern; the question belongs in the field of ethics. But the nature and progress of the movement do concern sociology.

Feminism aims at these goals, viz.—

1. To establish in every field the equality of man and woman.
2. To secure freedom for divorce as between husband and wife whenever the interests of the woman as a mother are involved.
3. To establish a free field in industry, commerce and finance, in all the professions, sciences and arts, for woman.
4. To extirpate from woman a characteristic sense of inferiority to man and consequent submission to his will.
5. To reorganize all the social institutions in order that in every respect woman shall have exactly the same rights and relations as man.

6. To develop in woman all her powers as completely as in man.

Obviously, therefore, feminism supports many specific propositions, e.g.—

a. A husband should pay weekly wages in cash to his wife in consideration of her time and services.

b. Every occupation should be open to woman.

c. All women should have the right to vote and to hold any office whatever.

d. In marriage, women should do as they please about retaining their maiden names.

e. Women should be allowed, of course, to wear any apparel that they choose.

f. Women should have open to them any and all courses in school and college; and complete coeducation should prevail.

These are examples of the specific aims of feminism; and it is evident to all historical observers that feminism is steadily gaining ground against what feminists style our "anthropocentric world," meaning thereby this social order of male domination. The movement for woman's equality with man is as old as human history in all nations save Thibet, where from time immemorial woman has been superior to man, and under the system of polyandry has kept man her slave. In all other lands, polygyny has been slowly giving way to monogamy with free divorce, which, of course, opens up into "tandem polygamy" both for man and for woman.

The processes by which in one nation and another feminism steadily gains ground differ greatly. Many forces, many individuals, many conditions and circumstances contribute. In our several States, the relative positions of man and woman differ greatly. Even as late as 1919, no divorce upon any grounds whatever was permitted in South

Carolina. In half of the States, women did not yet possess the ballot for all offices. In some States, they were not the sole and free owners of all their property, income and earnings. In some States, upon divorce, they did not receive the custody of their children. Even in a State as generally advanced as Ohio, women were not employed as reporters or editors upon newspapers; nor did women secure admission to the bar save in very few instances.

By freeing them from indoor domestic toil, many inventions have greatly promoted the political cause of woman. The public school has relieved her from the heavy burden of teaching the children at home to read, to write and to figure. The modern church has given her many opportunities to express her own character and desires.

In a thousand ways, feminism is propagated. By magazines devoted especially to what are conceived to be the interests of women; by women's clubs and societies; by politicians who see in "votes for women" chances to maintain strong positions or to win them or to recover positions once lost; by the very nature of democracy itself—feminism advances. The principle of the cross-heredity of sex because of which, after puberty especially, most girls tend psychically to display striking likenesses to their own fathers or grandfathers and most boys to display likenesses to their female progenitors works to give rational and empirical support to the proposition that Nature makes men and women equal, on the whole, though different in particulars.

Another of the great social movements is democracy itself, which means the direction and control of society by the will of the majority as expressed in constitutions and statutes. The modern church is essentially democratic now, even more democratic than the modern state or school.

Business and occupation are still less democratic, but even these are slowly giving way. Democracy asserts the freedom of the individual, the equality of all who keep the laws, and the rightness of brotherhood—that is, democracy raises the cry of *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.* In America, however, democracy is tempered by justice, which insists upon the rightness of vested interests. We bind the present and future generations measurably by the promises and reasonable expectations of the past. America has not cast loose from the past; America is not bolshevist. Ours is not the "bedlam philosophy" of Russia. Nor is ours the doctrinaire philosophy of the French Revolution. In details, there are still many things to be improved and some to be rectified in our own nation; nevertheless, America is essentially sound, just, rational, righteous, fair and kind.

The highly specialized institutional development of America, as shown in this book itself, is nothing else than evidence that in facts, in truth, democracy is established here. But ours is a democracy that cherishes the best of the past and does not fret at being guided and counselled by experts in their several lines. The man who rejects the lamp of experience and the man who, being himself blind prefers an equally blind guide, are both out of place in American democracy.

Another great social movement here is free universal public education, day and evening, all the year around.

Free.—At no cost to the recipients. Paid for out of general taxation.

Universal.—For men, women and children; education of either sex at any age at any season of the year; the universal diffusion of knowledge; the universal opportunity to be trained thoroughly in anything worth while.

Public.—Open to all, controlled by government; taught by experts under government license and certification of competence.

Day and evening.—In order that those employed in the daytime may progress by evening help, these schools, colleges, universities, institutes, extension courses are to be open twelve hours a day. Teachers will be employed and classes organized accordingly.

All the year around.—In the North and West, there is now no tenable argument for having school only nine months a year. Of course, the same teachers cannot teach twelve months in the year; nor should the same students be in school that length of time year in and year out. But the schools will be open all the year, with courses appropriate to the seasons. Some children and some teachers at their own options but partly according to the convenience of the school administration will take their vacations in the winter rather than in summer. This can easily be arranged as follows, viz.—

THE SCHOOL YEAR

First major term	First minor term	2d. maj. tm.	2d. min. tem.
8 weeks	4 weeks	8 weeks	4 weeks
3d. maj. tm.	3d. min.. tm.	4th maj. tm.	4th min. tm.
8 weeks	4 weeks	8 weeks	4 weeks

Undistributed—4 weeks for closing the schools for general holidays and for thorough disinfection and cleaning and repairs.

Several of the large and progressive cities have already established the 48-week school year on substantially the above plan.

In the major terms, more important and difficult subjects are pursued than in the minor; some subjects, however, are pursued continuously through several terms.

The new working notion of education is that it aims to develop all the worthwhile powers of a person according to his pattern and according to the social needs of his environment in due correlation.

The old notion that it was the business of the child and parents to find the means of education is dead. Now we compel parents, if need be, to send the child to school, and we aim to help make every life successful by placing educational opportunities in sufficient variety before every child in order that all may have their needs well supplied. The movement for universal and complete education is almost world-wide. It is strong in China; it has begun to spread in India; it is at least being talked about in Russia; and it stirs among even the backward and isolated tribes and peoples. In these times, the proposition—*Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free*—has grown into new, strange, large meanings. We understand now that truth makes men free and wise and good and strong; that truth is the veritable "bread of life."

Just what the social revolution means in Russia, we do not altogether understand; "bolshevism" means "majority rule." It seems at present to be carrying with it collective socialism under committee direction and control. The state socialism of Germany means ultimate ownership and operation of all industrial enterprises by government. Bolshevism and socialism are movements of tremendous range and of intense force. Education must regard them because it means to understand the living world as it really is.

The prohibition of the manufacture, transportation and sale of alcoholic stimulants is part of another modern social movement growing out of the temperance movement that began early in the nineteenth century. The whole movement is a return of that sumptuary legislation which so greatly interested the Romans in their struggle against the corruption and vices of the rich. It also interested the mediaeval statesmen and churchmen as a mode of religious discipline. Our own interest in regulation to end or at

least limit the consumption of luxuries, drugs, etc., is primarily humanitarian.

The conservation of all natural resources—of timber, of water-power, of soils, of ores, of coal, and of human beings—is another vast movement that includes forest reserves and child-labor abolition. We have reached the stage of bookkeeping all our assets and all our debits in order to make life better for our children's children.

The new interest in personal and public health is systematic and is becoming scientific. Closely allied with it is the new interest in crime and criminals—the new psychology has important contributions here. Man has become dearer to man. We are trying to find the connections between ignorance, poverty, ill-health, the inheritances of body and of mind, and crime, vice and sin. It is already demonstrable that there are such relations close enough to be cause and effect. What these are definitely, we do not yet know but are seeking to find out by a dozen new sciences and by another dozen new arts from somatology to penology and from psychiatry to dentistry.

Into whatever arc of the horizon we may look, we shall find evidences of one or more social movements. Art is again undergoing popularization. Music is being speeded up. Home architecture is being subjected to the principles of esthetics. The country home is being urbanized.

Chautauquas have captured the Middle West.

These and a thousand other movements pass over the individual with various results. Many a man becomes transformed by their influences. Direct legislation in politics has revolutionized our most conservative legislatures partly by changing the men but quite as much by changing the ideas of the same men. Times change, so we say, and we change with them.

Once in a while a social movement is so swift and glori-

ous that an old system fades as in a dawn the stars die out. To our amazement, we find full daylight where was darkness lit by only the pale stars. So abolition of slavery suddenly blazed up in the Emancipation Proclamation, and as in a day men knew that there was at last universal freedom, a masterless world, here under Old Glory. We had fought for the Union; we gained individual liberty for all as a result.

But generally the procedure is slow and painful; and the direct result aimed at is long to reach.

EXERCISES

1. Do you observe any other great social movements than those mentioned in the text?

2. What evidences are there in your neighborhood that feminism is making progress?

3. How would you discriminate democracy from bolshevism? In principle or in method?

4. Is the success of American democracy due to the Americanism in democracy or to the democracy in Americanism?

5. Compare the liberty of the "tribeless, lawless, hearthless man," of the "masterless man" of the open sea, of the wild wood, of the plains or of the desert with the lawful liberty of a truly civilized man.

6. What other characteristics, if any, have you observed in public education in our country than those mentioned here?

7. In your opinion what is the most pressing general need of the American people now? Is there any general recognition of this need? Is there any movement to meet and fill the need?

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For information respecting social movements, one should consult day by day the latest publications,—books, magazines, newspapers. Never was there a time in world-history when society has been moving so fast as now with this unique distinguishing characteristic,—never before were nations making progress upon so many divergent lines. One turns in astonishment from one field of experiment to another and another,—from continent to continent all round the world. Especially should those who are reading seriously in social science take pains to keep up to date regarding these rival experiments.

CHAPTER XIV

STRIKES, LOCKOUTS, BOYCOTTS

"The sympathetic strike represents the solidarity of labor. Its maxim is that the interest of one is the interest of all. Its ideal would be reached if when one body of laborers is striking for its rights, all other laborers should cease working until the object has been attained. But such a strike ends the financial aid of one union to another, and estranges public opinion. Conciliation and arbitration are the true methods of settling disputes."—*Statistics and Economics,* Richmond Mayo-Smith.

In the ordinary affairs of life, there are the regular gatherings of people and their common movements—such as the crowding of customers into stores, the coming and going of night shifts in factories, the massing of people into fairs and expositions—and in connection with such affairs, there are at times irregular gatherings and movements due to uneven pressures of the social forces. Attention may profitably be paid to a few of these unusual phenomena due to interruptions of the ordinary course of events in the economic world as examples of the kind.

From various causes and conditions, men work in factories for wages, salaries, profits, bonuses, as their economic return. Most of them have insufficient capital to employ themselves, and therefore in order to live must choose between begging, stealing and work for others for wages. Some of the others have funds enough to employ themselves, but prefer to work for others, especially when this makes possible the doing of what they like to do. A few have funds enough to live without rendering any economic service to makind, but prefer work to leisure. But to

most wage-earners, the fear of hunger and cold is the impelling motive to work.

Knowing the situation of the finances of their employes perhaps far better than the employes themselves imagine, the employers generally like to get as much work from their men as they can and to pay as low wages as the labor market permits, as well as incidentally to furnish as few conveniences in the mills or factories as the laws permit. The higher the wages and the greater the other expenses of a business, the lower the profits for the employers. In consequence, the industrial world is set off in two camps—that of the employers and that of the employes. In some establishments, this setting-off is not really a serious matter, for the men and the masters may be friendly enough, the men may feel well paid, and they may see that the masters do not make great gains. But often the setting-off is a very active affair; there is a steady struggle between the owners on the one side and the wage-workers on the other. The struggle may be quiescent through the periods covered by agreements between the owners and the unions of the men or in the absence of trade unions by contracts between the owners and the individual employes. At times, the struggle becomes violent, and strikes and lockouts occur and perhaps long and extensive boycotts result.

In sociology, the interest in this struggle comes in the play of the personal and social forces that bring about strike, lockout and boycott. Which side wins and what are the immediate results are matters belonging rather to economics than to sociology.

In the case of the strike, the men refuse to go on with their work, quit, and leave the plant idle. When the owners try to secure other workmen, the strikers send out pickets, publicly denounce the new workmen—the strike-

breakers as "scabs"—and may resort even to violence against property and persons. Arson, even murder, follows some strikes. Riots, assassinations, planting of dynamite bombs to blow up buildings, sending poison in the mails and other crimes may be perpetrated.

In 1911, there was a strike of considerable importance in a large hatting establishment in Norwalk, Connecticut, whose history may serve to illuminate this discussion. The strike had for its ostensible cause the burning of some factory waste in a barrel in one of the yards of the plant, which was contrary to the agreement between employers and men. Their purpose in maintaining this item was to provide work for the expressman in taking away the waste and correspondingly to lessen the work of the factory yard caretakers. In the course of one week prior to the actual quitting, the four hundred hatters of this shop held six "shop calls" during work hours, with a total of thirteen hours away from work, for which they demanded standard pay from their employers. This included special allowances to the piece-workers. The employers yielded upon every point, whereupon the employes, gaining confidence, repudiated the wage and piece-work schedules and demanded increases. When these were denied, the strike followed. However, some twenty of the best paid workers kept at work after a fashion and a few outsiders ("scabs") came in. The shop was picketed. Each "disloyal" workman was escorted to and from his home morning and night by appointed pickets. Some of the "scabs" were cuffed, knocked about and stoned by the strikers. The police, who tried to keep order, were ringed about and jostled. The grounds of the employers' homes were kept under the watch of the strikers. In one case a bomb was planted; but the police got to it just before the fuse had burned to the danger point. A daily newspaper that gave support

to the employers ceased to sell upon the streets because the newsboys were terrified; in some cases, the advertisers who continued to advertise in the paper, were visited and threatened by the strike leaders.

The strike lasted in all nine months. Neither side really won. The shop was never entirely closed. The wage-schedules were slightly changed. Most of the strikers gradually drifted back to work. The company conceded the point respecting the factory waste.

An industrial strike is a long-drawn-out battle between forces often almost exactly equal. The capitalists have heavy charges constantly to meet; much anxiety; fears for themselves, their families, their properties, their business futures; they must endure their own anger against their employes. The men who strike must find from some sources or other their daily bread, and other inevitable expenses. In a sense, however, physically they are "on vacation," being no longer exactly obedient to clock and calendar. Their families must suffer more or less deprivation.

The instincts and habits at work to cause and to maintain strikes are obvious. One group of these traits consists of crowd enthusiasms and sympathies, mass energies, and the spirit of class consciousness. Other traits are envy, hatred, greed, laziness. A habit that involves many a striker in his quitting is that of letting some leader do his thinking and deciding for him. The picketing, the cry of "scab," the positive crimes are all outgrowths of familiar enough human instincts such as anger, combat, the blood-lust, love of excitement, hatred of routine, stealthiness, hatred of strangers.

The lockout is the strike turned end about; the employer turns upon the employe and closes the gates against him, shuts up shop, and waits for his enemy to beg for quar-

ter. It springs from many of the same qualities as does the strike. In a sense, the lockout is an angry admission by the employer that because his leadership has been rejected, he will fall back upon his legal rights. In the employe, the lockout breeds resistance and thereby stirs the same resort to crime as does the strike.

Strike and lockout lead to blacklist and boycott, both of them modes of warfare, nominally not contrary to law or to the public peace.

The blacklist is a system whereby employers notify one another whom not to employ. It can be beaten only by determined general action such as strike and boycott. Occasionally, a blacklisted man cheats the blacklist by assuming a new name and a disguise sufficient to prevent identification by superficial signs. Once blacklisted, all that in ordinary circumstances a workman can do is to change to another trade lower down in the wage-scale, hoping to work up. The blacklist is a merciless weapon of industrial warfare.

The boycott is a scheme for cutting off the supplies of raw materials, and of other wage-earners to an offending plant and also the sales of its products to wholesale or retail customers.

Occasionally, it takes extravagant and offensive forms. In the strike referred to above, men passed up and down the streets of the city taking off the hats of passers-by to see what labels were in them. Discovery of the label of the shop where the strike was caused offensive remarks directed to the wearer and in some cases the actual destruction of the hat. From end to end of the country, trades unionists were advised to wear no hats with the offensive label.

Various decisions of the United States Supreme Court have made the universal boycott illegal; so that in some in-

stances suits for damages can be maintained against the offending unions and individual workmen. Such was the general effect of the Danbury Hatters' Case, finally settled in 1916.

Were the boycott allowed its full course uncontrolled and unremedied by law, it would put any producer under the domination of the trades unionists and their sympathizers. Boycotts have kept milkmen from supplying milk to the homes of employers. The boycott is a tremendous weapon.

There are social coercions, not the less powerful because intangible. Men hate and fear social ostracism. It is easier and pleasanter to do what the others do. Strike-breakers do not enjoy being called "scabs" or "thugs." Employers dislike being called "tyrants" or "czars." The fear of a strike, or of a boycott if he should win the strike, has led many an employer to surrender at once to the demands of labor.

Even school boys have tried the effect of strikes, though seldom with success. We read of them even in the ancient days of Rome. Doubtless, employers and employes struggled against one another in vast Babylon three thousand years ago. The contest between capital and labor is not solely as to the division of the receipts from products and not solely over hours of service and facilities and conveniences in mines, factories, mills, shops, stores, railroads. In part, it is a straight contest for power in default of an economic régime in which equality is possible. Perhaps, not even equality would end the struggle.

The candid and judicious observer knows that most of these industrial battles are without merit. The game is not worth the candle. Both sides generally lose. At any rate, education can serve to open the eyes alike of employer and of employe to the truth of the proposition that

industrial warfare means ruin and poverty and of this other proposition—that the only hope of prosperity lies in conciliation, compromise, coöperation.

The year 1919 will be known in American history as "the year of the great strikes," and in world history as "the year of labor internationalism."

EXERCISES

1. What is your own understanding as to what the expression "the struggle between capital and labor" means?

2. Is this coterminous with and for all practical purposes the same as "the struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' "?

3. Did you ever watch a strike in your neighborhood? If so, narrate its incidents and describe its features.

4. Is a "scab" morally righteous?

5. Is a strike-breaker morally righteous?

6. The philosophers usually say that "in war force and fraud are virtues." If so, in labor-conflicts, are murder and arson virtues?

7. "The people are constantly gaining upon the kings" is a familiar saying of the revolutionaries. If so, in the end, shall we all be equal? Is the saying true of capitalists as the "kings of industry"?

8. Is a blacklist morally righteous?

9. What is true coöperation? Describe an economic system of society based upon such coöperation.

10. What did statesmen and publicists, ministers and educators, undertake to do in 1919 in respect to strikes, riots, and "the world labor movement"?

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CHAPTER XV

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

"Wherefore let no man doubt that, in the sight of God, civil authority is not only sacred and lawful but the most sacred and the most honorable of all stations in mortal life."—*Institutes*, John Calvin.

In our political campaigns, foreign observers find much of interest here by way of contrast with procedures elsewhere. We have quadriennial presidential campaigns of tremendous sweep and sometimes of sharp intensity; biennial congressional campaigns; gubernatorial and legislative state campaigns; county and city, township, village and borough campaigns for elections; and campaigns for nominations at primaries or in conventions. Surely, here is enough opportunity for excitement to stir even the most phlegmatic; and here is an immense amount of material for the study and reflection of social scientists.

Some of the phenomena are characteristic. Most voters take their stand at once and never budge; these may be relied upon by the party politicians not to flinch at the ballot box. They are tied up to one side, by family custom and tradition, or by personal habit, or in some instances by principles and a philosophy of life. Other voters are doubtful. Even they themselves may not know what they will do until they reach the polls and actually cast their ballots. Of these doubtful voters, some are vocal and frankly say so; others are silent and, therefore, pass for being wise.

In the course of any campaign, the doubtful voters are

constantly diminishing in number. In consequence, experienced and impartial spectators can usually tell before the election which way the result will go because the trend of the doubtful voters usually settles the matter.

The second phenomenon characteristic of American political campaigns is that the interest floods in waves and tides and is usually at its highest a few days before the election. Then everything is set, and few changes are made unless by some campaign roorback. Usually our elections take place upon Tuesdays; and the campaigns pass their crest upon the preceding Friday.

In the famous presidential campaign of 1884 when Cleveland ran against Blaine, on the Saturday preceding the election at a midnight banquet, when Blaine was fast asleep from fatigue, a preacher speaking to a toast declared that the Democratic party represented "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." This was immediately telegraphed all over the country. The Democrats carried New York State by a few hundred votes and won the national election. This roorback caused such Republicans as opposed prohibition, or Protestantism, or the Force Act (aimed to keep the South in political submission) to vote for Cleveland, the Democrat. Also, it aroused the Roman Catholic Church against the Republicans, notwithstanding that the wife of James G. Blaine was herself a loyal Catholic; and that Cleveland was himself a Presbyterian—the son of a Presbyterian minister. Blaine never heard the remark; but it served to effect his political ruin. In this campaign, the height of the interest rose steadily until the ballots were counted.

In the campaign of 1916, when former Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes ran against President Woodrow Wilson, the tide was clearly in favor of Hughes until the fourth week before the election. Thereafter, because

of campaign mismanagement of the Western tour of Hughes, it steadily turned toward Wilson.

In the Sixteenth Ohio Congressional District in the election of 1918, a college professor of economics was clearly in the lead for the primary nomination of his party until his own party opponent arranged with the leading candidate of the opposite party to telephone on the Saturday prior to the election generally throughout one county in the District the statement that the professor taught Latin, not economics. This caused his defeat by half a dozen votes. The two men who made this deal had common business interests. One then defeated the other by prearrangement, the votes being 34,000 to 17,000.

Because the voters often have things like this put over on them, intense suspicion prevails in American elections. Credulity and suspicion are perhaps the two most striking characteristics of American voters. Each trait lends itself too freely to mass conduct. Credulity especially afflicts the regular party voters; suspicion, the great silent doubtful vote. Usually, the independents see nothing ahead of them save a choice between two evils.

Utter apathy at the beginning characterizes most campaigns as though the voters were resting their nervous systems to establish vital reserves against the high tension of the closing election days.

One may arrange a social thermometer chart with a moving graph to plot the process of the election interest in any case.

In the campaign of Bryan against McKinley in 1896, Bryan was the winner until the middle of September. Had the election taken place then, American history would have been different. The conservatives fought with newspaper articles and big brass bands and many speakers and with a political campaign fund of some $5,000,000 and

turned back the armies of radicalism and experimentation.

By no means always does the right side with the better man win in these political campaigns.

A third social characteristic of these campaigns is the resultant loss of interest in ordinary affairs. Business is always poor in presidential years and always very poor in the weeks just before the election. Even local campaigns distract attention from ordinary matters. It is notorious that presidential years are years of business depression. A review of even the crops for fifty years past shows that farmers talk politics so much as to neglect their harvests and markets. From fear, distraction and anxiety, manufacturing, merchandising, transportation and finance all feel the effects of these campaigns. Democracy is costly at this point; dynasty, however, is costly at many other points.

It is a fair question whether or not the presidential campaign is so important as we seem to regard it, and whether or not, therefore, we are justified in spending so much time and money and anxiety upon it. Directly, the political parties spend quadrennially from five to ten million dollars together contesting for the Presidency. Indirectly the campaign costs us hundreds of millions in expense and loss.

Nevertheless, the political campaign of 1860, when Lincoln defeated Douglas and Breckinridge and Bell, saved the Union and was an essential link in the chain of causation that released the slave from bondage. On the whole, the right has triumphed, and quadrennial elections force us frequently to reconsider our opinions, laws and conduct.

Another characteristic of political campaigns is that the doubtful vote, which usually decides, turns upon contests in the minds of such voters. An illustration may serve. Assume that the issues are these, viz.—

Tariff.
Banking.
Equal suffrage
Government ownership of railroads.
Two leading candidates.

Assume that Party X favors

High tariff,
Centralized banking,
Woman suffrage,
Government ownership,

and has as candidate a veteran politician.
Assume that Party Y favors

Low tariff,
Decentralized banking,
Manhood suffrage only,
Private ownership,

and has as a candidate an inexperienced man of promise of statesmanship.
Assume that A, B, C, D, E, and F think regarding these issues and personalities as indicated here, viz.—

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Tariff	Y	Y	X	Y	X	X
Banking	X	Y	Y	Y	X	X
Suffrage	Y	X	X	Y	Y	X
Railroad	Y	Y	Y	X	X	X
Candidate	Y	X	X	X	Y	Y

It would then be likely that

A would vote Y; and
F would vote X.

But how would B, C, D, and E vote? Perhaps, B and C like the maxim—"Measures, not men," while D and E are

apt to say, "To change the measures, change the men." If so, B would vote Y; while until one knows what store they set by the four issues relatively, no one can predict the voting of C, D, and E. Let us now look into this, assuming that the relative values of these items in the minds of the three men are according to the points indicated, viz.—

	C	D	E
Tariff	X 1	Y 3	X 3
Banking	Y 4	Y 1	Y 1
Suffrage	X 3	Y 1	Y 1
Railroad	Y 2	X 2	X 0
Candidate	X 0	X 3	X 5
	4 X	5 X	8 X
	6 Y	5 Y	2 Y

On this showing,

C will vote Y;
E will vote X; and

D will vote according to the whim of the moment when his ballot goes into the box; or he may even stay away from the polls.

In this case, D is very strong for low tariff, desires in a mild way a decentralized banking system and favors woman suffrage; but he backs government ownership and greatly prefers to trust the government to a safe and sane political veteran, who knows the game and can play his own hand in it with the rest.

There are some millions of voters like D in a total of a possible fifteen or more million of men and women voters. They are undecided as between the several parties because they have opinions on each issue. The thick-and-thin partisans have no such opinions; they are for the party's side

of each issue. These doubtful D's also have opinions as to the candidates. The partisans do not judge the candidates at all. Extreme partisans say that they will "support even a rascal" because their party can "control" him—which indeed is usually true.

Another characteristic of these campaigns turns upon this very matter of winning the doubtful vote. Toward the end of each campaign, the political managers redouble and intensify their efforts. To win a campaign, the first "cracks" and the last "blows" are the most effective. It pays to get one's "hat into the ring" early; this starts talk, publicity, partisan support. It is said that Abraham Lincoln lost his first campaign for election to the State Legislature solely because he did not announce his candidacy until ten days before the election. His own neighbors voted for him 272 to 3; but many voters elsewhere did not know that he was a candidate until they went to the polls. Supporters pledged early make good proselytizers. Nearly all campaigns are settled from the start.

Nevertheless, the election is not definitely won until the last ballot is in and counted. The tide sometimes turns. A long campaign usually ends with the right side and better man the winner. Reason needs time to get in its work; but emotion also counts.

Therefore, at the end of a campaign, the bands play; if possible, large meetings are held; and extravagant claims are made by the managers on each side. Humanity has one fairly general trait; we like to side with the winners; we delight in riding upon the victorious bandwagon and are eager to blow horns and shout and let off steam. It is unpleasant to lose. The doubtful are drawn into the louder camp. The only limits to the claims of either party or of any candidate are the fear of ridicule and the knowledge that obvious lying defeats itself. An illustration serves.

W—— is a small city, with 2,000 voters about equally divided between Democrats and Republicans. For the three prior campaigns, it went as follows, viz.—

	D	R	Majority
1.	1,072	948	124 D
2.	1,119	1,006	113 D
3.	1,002	1,141	139 R

In the face of such returns, the Republican manager would not risk predicting over 300 majority; nor the Democratic over 200. For either to predict a "landslide," "an avalanche," a "revolution," and claim 500 majority in sight would be to invite disaster from ridicule. Obviously, W—— is a city that does not have landslides or revolutions. It has only a small doubtful vote.

The whirlwind campaign at the end usually succeeds partly because in itself it is evidence of being confident of victory.

In the Chicago mayoralty campaign ending April, 1919, there were four candidates, viz.—

Thompson	Republican
Sweitzer	Democrat
Hoyne	Independent
Fitzpatrick	Labor

Between the next to the last Saturday and the last Saturday of this very exciting struggle, obvious changes took place in public sentiment from two causes—1. It was discovered that the true name of Sweitzer, which sounded German, was LaRoche, French. (His mother was a widow who remarried.) 2. It was discovered that voters were going to stick close to party lines because there was not enough merit in the Hoyne Independent campaign. Ten

days before election, the race looked like a neck-and-neck finish, between Thompson and Hoyne, chances favoring Thompson, with Sweitzer third and Fitzpatrick a strong, close-up fourth. A week later, it was evident from the window cards, the street meetings, and the common talk, that Sweitzer was gaining fast and would be at least second. The election results gave a 17,000 plurality to Thompson over Sweitzer, with a big lead over Hoyne, and Fitzpatrick completely outdistanced. Another week might have put Sweitzer (LaRoche) first.

Even the political struggles in villages have their social and psychical phenomena. They begin often with banal discussions over the looks, the wealth, the manners, the families of the candidates; but in a week or two this epoch passes. There can be no real interest in such items. Soon men begin to ask for what the candidates stand and what, if elected, each and any would do in the office that he desires. Too often, the discussion grows thin for want of materials. Some campaigns literally die out; and scarcely half of the voters go to the polls.

In a school district election in 1910 in Colorado Springs (population 30,000, both men and women voting) only six ballots were cast. Had the vote been taken two weeks earlier, several thousand votes would have been cast. But in the interim every one in that school district had come to an agreement on what threatened to be an issue. The six votes were unanimous, as thousands might have been.

There are political campaigns that collapse. It was virtually a collapse that the Parker campaign suffered in the presidential year of 1904. All the doubtful voters swung to Theodore Roosevelt. In most cases, the collapse of a campaign is due to the overwhelming superiority of the argument upon one side, but in some few cases the collapse comes from the marked inequality of the candidates. Once

in a while, the whole country turns one way and sweeps the small fields with it irrespective of the merits of the local issues and candidates involved. Public opinion thereby enforces the tyranny of the majority.

Another type of campaign worked in a style not unlike that of the political campaign is that for funds for large philanthropic or patriotic purposes.

During the world war, after America was forced into the struggle, nation-wide campaigns were begun successively to sell five national loans each running to several billions of dollars. The process was substantially the same in each case.

1. There was a large amount of discussion in the public prints as to how high the interest rate would be and how large the total of bonds to be sold. This was to arouse interest and to get up a discussion among the people.

2. Plans for making the sales were presented, and various committees were designated.

3. Articles, advertisements, circulars, posters, and while the war lasted an organization known as "The 4-Minute Men," were all used to stir up patriotism and to inculcate the thrift habit.

4. Meetings were held. Sermons were preached. Shop calls were made.

5. Solicitors to take subscriptions went to every farm, to every residence, to every place of business and industry.

6. Many devices were resorted to for rousing the spirit of emulation between committees, stores, teams, etc. For each locality, a "quota," theoretically devised, was assigned as the minimum to be attained. Daily reports were made.

Of course, in each loan, the American people oversubscribed, as it was intended that we should.

There are many plans for social action upon a large

scale that are doomed from the start; other plans that fail in process of development; a few that fail toward the end.

Chain benefactions on the letters-by-mail plan often fail. Each person who gets the letter is to write three or five or nine letters to others and to remit his own gift.

1. One important requirement for the success of mass action along all these lines is that the objective shall have some apparent social merit.

2. Another requirement is that there shall be a firm organization working all the time to bring the procedure to its goal.

3. A third requirement is the elimination of inessentials and sticking to the main objective.

At the present time, 1919, a Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association is working upon plans accordingly. This has social merit, for Roosevelt was a great man in four fields—1—politics and statesmanship; 2—travel, natural history, hunting; 3—historical and general writing; and 4—naval expert and soldier. He was also a very good husband and father and business manager for his family. And he had an extraordinarily interesting personality.

A large and strong organization has been developed.

There is no indication that anything else will be attempted other than to perpetuate the memory and the influence of a national hero.

These campaigns of all kinds—political, religious, patriotic, charitable, memorial—steam roller flat small personal differences. They make many men forget race lines, economic conditions, social stratification, and thereby contribute mightily to the social solidarity.

EXERCISES

1. Do you favor the long or the short ballot? Why?

2. Do you favor equally the three main propositions of direct legislation—the initiative, the referendum and the recall? Discuss them all.

3. Which group is ethically most commendable—I—the party voters, II—the split ticket voters, III—those who vote straight tickets but change from party to party? Why?

4. Do you favor frequent or infrequent elections? Why?

5. Narrate the history of the trend of public opinion in any political campaign that you have closely observed.

6—Tell about any roorback of which you have heard and what its effects were.

7. Discuss the political value of mud-slinging.

8. Do you believe in "the independent in politics" or in "the scholar in politics"?

9. What lines of business suffer most from the tremendous interest, public and personal, in political campaigns?

10. What social forces frequently lend aid to the victory of the obviously inferior candidate?

11. In your own experience have you ever observed men balancing *pros* and *cons* as to which ticket they should vote?

12. How large is the doubtful vote in your own locality? What per cent. of the total vote is this?

13. Examine the recent vote of some nearby municipality.

14. If convenient, look up in some newspaper file the history of each of the five Liberty Bond campaigns; and account for the final oversubscriptions in each case.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE GREATER SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:—
CITIES; WARS; MIGRATIONS, TEMPORARY AND PERMANENT

"A more noble, useful and delightful Project never engaged the human mind than that of establishing a perpetual peace among the nations."—*A Project for Perpetual Peace,* 1756, Jean Jacques Rousseau.

THE average length of residence in Washington for white families is four years; for colored families, five years. Of graduates of the Washington high schools each year, only one-seventh have ever studied in Washington grammar schools. Of the entire population, only one per cent. lived in the city twenty years before. This is probably the highest per cent. of change of all American cities.

Seattle doubles its population every eight years.

New York City gains more than 100,000 in population every year on the average.

Only one-sixth of the population of Washington own the houses in which they live, and only one-eleventh of the population of New York.

The city of Wooster, Ohio, founded in 1806, with 8,000 population in 1919, out of 120 men engaged in business as owners in whole or in part of factories or stores, had just one who had been in business as owner in 1880, when the population was 5,500. Only six places of business were owned in 1919 by the descendants of the owners of 1880.

There is a tremendous movement into and out of cities. And within the cities, there is a veritable whirligig every "moving day," usually May 1st and October 1st; with many

changes being made constantly. We Americans are an unresting people.

One man of fifty-one, a teacher, reported having furnished, in twenty-six years of married life, no less than thirteen different houses. He had lived long enough in six different states to vote successively in each of them; and prior to his marriage, he had lived for not less than a year in each of five others. A travelling salesman had an even greater record of changes in homes.

By way of contrast, one college professor served in his college an even forty-five years and his father forty-seven years in the same college; twenty-one of these years overlapped. One man served on a board of education thirty-seven years; and his father forty-two years, their terms being separated by four years.

One college had six different deans of women in twelve months. One city high school fitted teachers into the same mechanical drawing position five times within the scholastic year of ten months, in a peace period.

The labor turnover in not a few factories and mills exceeds 100 per cent. a year.

In one Ohio county, all the farms occupied by tenants (more than one hundred in number) averaged a change of tenants every two years. The average farm tenant begins to be a tenant at twenty-two years of age and remains a tenant for six years. At twenty-six years of age, an average farmer buys his first farm. It is very unusual in America for a farm to be worked by the third generation of an owner; even the ownership of a farm by the same man averages little more than fifteen years for the whole country.

Village populations are more stable than small city populations, and small city populations than large on the average.

A small city in Ohio with an average divorce rate of one divorce to four marriages showed an average change of home once every five years, this including both ownership and tenancy. Transiency in America goes to the very heart of life—the home itself.

We are an empire of great cities. With only sixty per cent. of the population of the Russian Empire in 1914, we had two and a half times as many cities above 50,000 population each, and our largest city was twice as large as the largest city in Russia. Our cities are filled mostly by the foreign-born or by their children of the first generation. Four of our Presidents had at least one parent born abroad. Andrew Jackson had two parents born abroad; Washington, Arthur and Wilson, each one alien as parent. So little does man-made history care for mothers that we have no accurate information as to where several mothers of Presidents were born.

In Paterson, N. J., in 1904, 82 per cent. of all the children were foreign-born; or born of foreign parents. In Norwalk, Conn., in 1908, 84 per cent. In Cleveland, O., 1915, 78 per cent. A majority of us are the children of recent immigrants.

Northern Ohio was peopled by Connecticut Yankees; Iowa, by Ohio Western Reservers; Washington State, by Iowans. Texas was peopled by Mississippians; South Dakota, by Texans. Virginia settled Kentucky, and Kentucky settled Southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. We migrate westward, southward, northward; few migrate eastward. We are uneasy transmigrants. Los Angeles has grown with amazing rapidity; and has enlarged her city limits accordingly. But her people are always new, always experimenters; they arrive, stay awhile and radiate outward. Only a few, however, who get to California as inhabitants, ever go back east from "the Coast" to stay.

The vacation movement is great. The city of Washington has 60,000 more residents in winter than in summer. Florida gains ten per cent. between July–August and January–February.

In this connection, the labor movement is of significance. Colored men are constantly streaming northward to find work; and colored women are constantly streaming cityward out of the country to find work. The labor turnover is largely an interurban movement; only in the metropolitan cities is it an intraurban movement.

The mobilization of over 4,000,000 men for the Army and Navy in 1917–18 and of 10,000,000 men and women directly for war work was in itself a vast social movement at the time, and demobilization has shown that many of its primary and secondary results will be permanent. Primarily, it drew young men of strong physique out of their ordinary routines of life, work and social relations and massed them together for a training wholly extraordinary in America. Secondarily, it developed them out of provincialism into nationalism and patriotism; and then it shipped them back into ordinary economic and other social relations but so changed that many of them did not desire "the old job back again." They had outgrown their former notions, habits, desires. Most of them had improved; some were scarcely changed; a few had deteriorated. Practically, all had a new spirit and a new philosophy, if not of life, at least of conduct.

For millions to go abroad was essentially to share in a vast migration. In all, a few more than 21,000 soldiers—these mostly foreign-born themselves—brought home wives from France or Great Britain. Since the choice of a wife is altogether the most important of the actions of a man, and since hundreds of thousands upon coming back, went to work at new jobs in new places and chose wives whom

but for the war, they would never have seen, the total effect of this foreign war upon the nature and distribution of population is very great.

War disturbs populations to their roots. It changes the health of millions, bringing anxiety to wives, mothers, sisters, oftentimes beyond recovery. It redistributes the males; and in their train, many females. It kills or maims a very large proportion of the healthiest, most enduring and morally and physically most courageous. Nature brings to birth 105 males to 100 females. At twenty-one years of age, there is still some inequality in favor of the males, which industrially considered is desirable. A long war ends this by establishing a numerical superiority of females, which leads to many social evils.

The total effect of wars upon the condition of humanity is obvious. A war always rebarbarizes mankind. It brings many evils in its train. It is a frantic play, a rage, a mad ecstasy of the human spirit. How a war is stirred up was seen luridly in the case of our own Civil War, when the "fire-eaters" of the South roused even the non-slaveholding, really "low caste," "poor whites" against the Northerners, picturing them as advocates of negro equality with whites and enemies of the Southern social system. The famous and in some ways poetically beautiful patriotic song, *Maryland, My Maryland,* is a mighty war-inflamer.

> "Thou wilt not yield the Vandal toll,
> Maryland!
> Thou wilt not crook to his control,
> Maryland!
> Better the fire upon thee roll;
> Better the shot, the blade, the bowl
> Than crucifixion of the soul,
> Maryland, my Maryland!"

The answers to these inflammatory appeals were not less

fiery. Julia Ward Howe certainly at least equalled James R. Randall, when she sang *The Battle Hymn of the Republic,* with these verses, viz.—

> "He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat.
> He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat.
> Oh! Be swift, my soul, to answer Him; be jubilant, my feet.
> Our God is marching on!"

The *Marseillaise* is perhaps the most ecstatic of all war songs, viz.—

> "Ye sons of France, awake to glory!
> Hark, what myriads bid you rise!
> Your children, wives and grandsires hoary,
> Behold their tears and hear their cries!"

Of the original French, our English versions are but shadows or echoes. We cannot translate "la gloire," which involves both duty and splendor.

Wars raise as many problems as they solve and ask as many questions as they answer. Moreover, because wars are the results of failure to think, being the outcome of passions and prejudices and arrogance, they develop in the souls of men not consideration but more emotion. The defeated nurse revenge; the victors cherish power. The rationalization of war is substantially a contradiction in terms, for to rationalize war is to end it.

The world is now in the midst of the business of ratifying and putting into operation *The League of Nations;* the movement for it and the resistance to it give evidence in every important particular of the old, old procedures in all such affairs. We had here in America the same struggle over the adoption and ratification of the Constitution of the United States in 1787–8–9. The present struggle is upon a far vaster scale and is even more intense; but no new and different principle or method is involved.

Speeches, letters, articles, books; rumors, denials, sta-

tistics; arguments, instincts, passions; groups, associations, leaders; feeling out the public mind; gestures; secret moves —all these and many more features are in evidence while the new idea is working the mind of the race into a new political form.

In peace, the migrations seem less ominous, but thoroughly considered, they are at times just as important. A migration can repeople a land, crush down or crowd out the old inhabitants, and introduce new ideas and customs and new social institutions.

In the first six months after America was drawn into the world war, as to some sections and special communities, it was doubtful whether or not the original notions of the founders of the Republic would prevail over the traditions of alien immigrants and their immediate descendants. It was a contest at many points between Americanism and Germanism; and but for the truth that most of our people from Germany had left that former homeland because they were heartsick over German conditions and methods, in some of these localities, Americanism would have gone down in a flood of disloyalty, for the German-descended greatly outnumbered the rest of the population.

In 1910, no less than 35 per cent. of all our people were foreign-born or their children. Fully 50 per cent. had at least one grandparent born abroad. Nevertheless, as a whole, during the world war, America stood firm upon the bedrock of her fundamental principles of constitutional liberty, national honor, separation of church and state, and democracy.

A view of the race-stock-and-breed map of the United States shows some highly luminous facts. Of the peoples here in the pre-national period (before 1787) at many points their descendants are outnumbered and even overwhelmed by aliens. The colonial stock is almost lost in

Boston among the Irish, the French Canadians, the Italians, and the Jews. The various colonial stocks have spread into the West, the Far West and the Pacific Coast; but in only a few States are they now numerically predominant. New York is the greatest city of the Jews in the World—with a million and a half of them. Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Milwaukee, are rendezvous for people of German descent. Such facts as these have considerable importance in sociology because every stock tends to transmit its characteristic instincts, habits, notions, physical conditions.

Definite and ascertainable motives and purposes cause the building of cities, the undertaking of wars, the migrations of peoples and the to-and-fro transmigrations of families. Often, it is the mere instinct of survival—the economic motive to find means of support. Sometimes, it is the pure migratory spirit, "the curse of the wandering foot," the weariness with familiar scenes, linked with curiosity ever seeking the new. And sometimes it is the reverse—homesickness, the desire to get back to what once was home. Many, perhaps most, of those who migrate do so in company with others from the gregarious spirit. Relatively few, and these mostly young men from sixteen to thirty years of age, travel far alone to new and strange habitats.

Leadership is essentially individualistic, even egotistic; but migration is social in nature and in reality. Within this social conduct is seldom to be found any substantive idea; usually, there is only a blind impulse, a motive in action, a mood of discontent seeking relief.

Wars arise from these same primitive instincts. Essentially, they spring from desires either of a dynasty or of a people to better themselves irrespective of the costs to others or else to get relief from social pressures. Land

hunger—so often alleged as the moving cause of war—is but one mode to express the instinct of self-protection, self-perpetuation, self-aggrandizement. The furious world war, just ended, may have had various political causes; but the fundamental instincts were in evidence from the first. The German dynasty desired greater security, authority and dominion for itself; the German people desired more lands, "a place in the sun"; and they were all patriotic—gregarious—full of the spirit of social solidarity. To many of their young men, going to war meant relief from routine drudgery and monotony, going on their travels, seeing the world.

Undoubtedly, the resistance of the nations attacked had in it a noble and moral element, an appreciation of freedom, justice, righteousness, and decency. Even so, however, to many soldiers in every land, including our own—Russians, Serbs, Rumanians, Japs, Italians, Montenegrians, Belgians, French, Brazilians, Hindoos, Chinese, Cubans, all varieties of the British, and the French as well as ourselves—the war came as a welcome opportunity to gratify instincts ordinarily repressed and starved—including the instincts of curiosity, wandering, hatred, social solidarity, excitement, bloodshed, self-sacrifice even to death, for war (like peace) appeals to human traits of contradictory kinds.

The most important of the temporary migrations of modern peoples are the vacation travels and sojourns at home and in foreign lands. Such travels are usually made in small groups—pairs, trios and families predominating. The modes of travel are relatively unimportant—by railway train, by steamship or riverboat, and by motor car, and still here and there with horses or afoot. The distances covered in such travels are not often great—generally not over a few hundred miles. We have many na-

tional playgrounds—the Maine lakes, the New England coast, the White Mountains, the Adirondacks and the Catskills, the Jersey coast, the West Virginia mountain parks, Florida, the North Carolina Mountains, the Gulf Coast, the Ozarks, the Great Lakes, the Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota lakes, the Black Hills, all the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast, including the Yellowstone and Yosemite and other National Parks. Every summer, thousands of persons go on tours, in some instances crossing the Continent. Yet the per cent. of those who go more than a few hundred miles—just far enough to feel released from the constraint of the familiar—is very small in the total of all our vacationists. Most of the inhabitants of our inland country have never seen either ocean; and most of our dwellers upon the sea and gulf coasts have never visited the Great Lakes or either the Appalachian or Rocky Mountains. Those who do travel widely have some social influence upon those who keep near home.

Vacation trips of a few weeks have a considerable effect upon the total of our national character, bringing the various populations into some knowledge of one another. Doubtless, the air traffic of the future will greatly influence our social solidarity tending to strengthen and to enliven it and render a service not less great than the services of the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone and the newspaper in the nineteenth century.

It seems probable that before the twentieth century ends, the people of the Pacific Coast will be better acquainted with the peoples of the Mississippi Valley and of the Gulf and Atlantic Coasts than the people of New England were with the people of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania when the nation was first established. It seems probable that, far more than now, our schools

will utilize all the agencies and instruments for bringing the ends of the country together in a common thought and life.

Travel is a prophylactic against war. The traveller sees the advantages and disadvantages, the good and the evils of home and of foreign parts by comparison and contrast. He is less likely to hate and far more likely to sympathize; less likely to covet and far more likely to donate; the good in him grows, and the bad dies.

By its teaching in books and pictures and drama, the school shortcircuits the experiences of travel. Especially in cities with large bodies of aliens and small bodies of natives, by its democratic common life, the public school harmonizes all the youth into tolerant, friendly Americans.

As was aptly said by a Texas professor, born in France, "America is the land where hate expires."

EXERCISES

1. Study the population progress of your own city and State since statistics have been collected.

2. In your own experience consider families that have moved much compared with those which have occupied the same homes for several generations.

3. A woman emigrated from the Rhine Valley to America in 1910, leaving a house of stone built by her own forefathers in 1112 A. D. and continuously occupied by her ancestors since then, and became the wife of an American oil and gas well-rigger. What would inevitably be her characteristic reactions to her new life?

4. New York City is inhabited by families of which 92 per cent. are tenants, but in Philadelphia nearly as high a percentage are home-owners. What contrasts should be expected in their respective social characteristics?

5. Investigate the per cents. of foreigners in our cities.

6. Investigate the percents. of foreigners in our several States.

7. In the demobilization of the Army and Navy in 1919, what social phenomenon did you observe?

8. Bring into class examples of war poetry and of war songs.

9. With the passage from Lowell in the text from *Villa Franca* compare this line from *The Biglow Papers*—"Civilization does git

forrard on a powder cart!" In which, is he sarcastic? Are the two propositions contradictory or only contrary?

10. A "gesture" is the move of a statesman or a diplomat to "feel out" opinion and movement. Cite "gestures" that you observed during the world war. (N.B. Some "gestures" are bluffs; others are experiments; and others have still other characters.)

11. New York had 37 different races, nationalities, peoples, stocks and breeds, represented in its population in 1664. In the light of this fact, what is the true meaning and value of the comment upon a man that he is "of old colonial stock"? Does it refer to his blood or to his notions?

12. Even foreign-born school children often say things like this—"When our forefathers landed upon Plymouth Rock." Of what social value is this?

13. Discuss some of the great dynasties, such as the Bourbons and the Romanoffs, the Cæsars and the Ptolemies as to their social values and typical characteristics.

14. Has your locality a generally permanent or transient labor supply?

15. Where do your people go for their vacations?

16. Of what advantage is it to the pupils of our elementary schools to collect picture postal cards from elsewhere, to exchange correspondence with classes in distant places, and to make their own textbooks of geography and civil government?

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CHAPTER XVII

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE INDIVIDUAL GREAT MAN

"How beautiful to see
Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed
Who loved his charge but never loved to lead;
One whose meek flock the people joyed to be,
Not lured by any cheat of birth,
But by his clear-grained human worth
And brave old wisdom of sincerity!"
Harvard Commemoration Ode, James Russell Lowell.

ALL social movements and groupings seem to require one or more leaders. In many instances, some man is falling out from leadership, and others are coming forward. A young movement requires different qualities in its leader from those required in later stages. In business, the two elements are ever present; they are visible especially in corporations. Consider a small enterprise with great hopes and far-reaching plans. There are several men in it, each more or less prominent, less or more obscure; and there are workers on wages who have not and desire not anything more than work and wages. A few years pass, and the relative positions of these men have greatly changed. Perhaps, A has disappeared; B is at the front; C is visible; D is obscure, hidden, not yet discovered. Other years pass. B has gone down; C has been crowded back; D rules; and E, a new man, is at the right hand of D. The small enterprise has developed a complex, energetic organization, confidence, motion, prestige, service. Many more years pass. And now the corporation is in ruins; only E remains struggling in the wreckage, discredited, beaten. After the bankruptcy, E, the sole survivor of the manage-

ment, finds himself without a following, alone, helpless. "He cannot dig; to beg, he is ashamed."

One generation of the history of this corporation saw the fall of A and of B; and the rise and fall of C, of D, and of E.

The narrow observer reports that while B and C lived and ruled the corporation grew and throve; but that under D and E, it went down into ruin. Perhaps, however, this observer has not judged righteously. It may be that other elements were present in the history of this corporation.

Let us assume that they made bicycles. The bicycle fashion in America began about 1885 and came to its climax about 1905; by 1915, the bicycle was only a business conveyance for men and a sport for boys.

Obviously, since this corporation began business when the fashion began, it sold its product at a high profit; prospered in the flood tide; and went down in the ebb of low competitive prices.

The price of a good bicycle, American-made, in 1887 was $135; in 1900, $60; in 1910, $40; and now about the same. Great improvements took place in the machinery of production and in the materials used. Yet the bicycle of 1910 was a far better machine than that of 1895. More bicycles were sold in the years 1900 to 1905 than either before or since; and the market was steadier. Since 1905, there has always been a large supply of second-hand machines to keep down prices on new machines.

Three forces brought to an end the general bicycling fashion for men, women and all youth:—1st, the motor car and motor cycle. 2nd, the electric traction service. 3rd, the discovery from experience that bicycling is not good for the health of most adults.

In the light of these facts, evidently A disappeared

because he was not ready to lead the corporation in production to serve the rising fashion; B and C rode on the waves of prosperity; D and E went out with the tide.

The economic history of the manufacture and distribution of bicycles shows that very few corporations and relatively few individuals have made and kept either large fortunes or even large trade in this line. Most bicycle makers have gone bankrupt or sold out profitlessly.

Bicycling was an apparently universal fashion. Grandfathers and grandmothers, and little boys and girls, and persons of all ages in between had "bikes." Every one rode. "Century runs" were common. It was rather disgraceful not to know how to ride. Today bicycling has its place. The young, the strong, those too poor to own motor cars, ride bicycles. Tens of millions of bicycles have been made; perhaps two or three millions are actually in use especially in level country and about the smaller cities and the towns and villages. The bicycle is a dangerous conveyance in large city traffic; it has an ugly trick of side-slipping upon wet streets.

In itself, this history of bicycling is of only slight importance. But it illustrates the social principle of the relation of leadership to social movements.

Turn from this to the story of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War over secession and slavery.

About 1840, it was suddenly discovered by the intelligent, North and South and West, that the service of colored persons as slaves was not to die out but to become vastly more important than the fathers of the Republic ever dreamed. Bondmen were useful and cheap in raising cotton; and cheap cotton was useful in clothing factory operatives in the North and in Europe, especially in Great Britain. In consequence, slave-owning became a source

of a large amount of easy income. Also, in consequence, the United States became a country with millions of slaves and a few hundred thousand white persons living directly upon the fruits of their labor. Theoretically, it is wicked to own and work slaves since God has made of one blood all peoples of the earth. Therefore, as slavery grew in extent, abolitionism grew apace with it.

About 1840, one man, Abraham Lincoln, was about thirty years of age—born in slave territory, transferred to free soil just north of slave territory and trading on the great river down to slave markets. He had been born a poor white—owning no slaves. He saw unpaid slave labor ruining the wages of free labor; he saw the cruelty of the lot of the bondman; he had read little, but that in good books, which gave him time to think much; as slavery grew arrogant and abolitionism fierce, he kept on thinking how to prevent slavery from owning all the Union or splitting it into two parts. He became a lawyer, which gave him knowledge of government. Because he was poor and homely, the people held him as one of their own, just one of themselves; because he was tall and very strong and extraordinarily clever and witty, they admired him; because he kept on thinking about this one frightful problem, he became the one man who in the minds of many thousands in the Middle West knew most about slavery and how to deal with it. Abraham Lincoln was a specialist. He did not so much lead as formulate the thought of very many.

When the storm was threatening in 1860, he was fifty-one years old, exactly the average age of men elected to the Presidency. Had he been ten years younger or fifteen years older, mere age would have disqualified him for the transcendent service that he actually rendered to the American people and to all humanity. It is worth noting that his chief rival in the solution of this problem was

disqualified for success by three causes: 1—He was too rich to hold the hearts of the plain people tight to himself. 2—He did not know the South, which abandoned him in the elections of 1860. He was a Vermonter by birth, a New Yorker by education, an Illinoisian only by residence. 3—He was intellectually dishonest by habit. Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant," was only five feet, one inch in height; and he was more than four years younger than Abraham Lincoln.

The rise and the primacy of Lincoln are accountable, so far as they ever are in the case of genius, in the light of the social environment and forces at work. But an Abraham Lincoln from any other section of our country or at any other epoch than 1858–1865 is inconceivable; he would not have fitted in. Such a man could never have become a leader in any other cause than one that concerns the profoundest interests of humanity, nor in any other section of the country than one glad to put forward a man so slightly learned in the things of the school and church and general society, as persons of culture conceive these affairs. Lincoln fitted his age and land as the tenon fits the mortise of its joint. Nor is there the slightest evidence for assuming that, had he lived a dozen years longer, he would have died a continuously successful man. In dealing with reconstruction, he might have been too lenient with the South.

We have but to consider the case of Theodore Roosevelt to discover how large a part the audience plays in developing the leader. Sweeping the country with a vast majority in 1904 for the Presidency against a man whose name is now almost forgotten, Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, nevertheless he was defeated by a million votes by Woodrow Wilson in 1912 when he tried for a second elective term. With two-thirds of the nation for him in

1904, he had barely a third in 1912. Had he lived, because of his own war record and that of his own sons, as a third term candidate (so to say) against any one else, he might again have rallied two-thirds of the people to his support.

"Down and out" never properly applies to a leader while his life and health last. He may be, like Cincinnatus, at his plow upon the farm; the popular call comes, and he obeys. A leader is a symbol of the social will; his heart is the altar of the public conscience; his mind, the instrument for accomplishing the general desires. Because of this, there are but few essentials to the man who becomes the expression of the public mind. In 1918, and in 1919, Ignace Paderewski, the world-famous pianist, was president of the new republic of Poland. Why? Because in him, the Poles, seeking recognition of their nation, saw the standard-bearer fitted for this dignity.

Analyzed, a political leader may be of any physique—small and frail like the early Napoleon; short and stout, almost dwarfish, like Douglas, or a glorious example of manhood, like Washington or Wellington. He may even have poor health like William the Third of England or Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Southern Confederacy. The Theodore Roosevelt of "The Rough Riders," the hero who caught the public eye and heart, was still by no means a large and heavy man—five feet nine inches, a hundred and seventy-five pounds in weight. General Frederic Funston, one of our national heroes, weighed but little over a hundred pounds through all his active military life.

As for education, culture, college degrees, social rank, we care almost nothing in choosing our leaders, of which truth Franklin, Jackson, Lincoln and Edison are obvious examples. Henry Ward Beecher understood this so well

that he refused to accept any academic degree after the first that ranked him as a college graduate; and he never referred even to that. The public never dreamed of saying "Doctor" Roosevelt or "Doctor" Wilson, setting no store by any such distinctions.

Long-established lineage, "high" birth, counts for nothing; it is harmless. When a Prussian army officer serving in the Union forces confided to President Lincoln that he came of a noble family, Lincoln assured him that he would not let this stand against him. Social prestige counts in the affairs of "high society" but not at all in politics. Of men who never became President, none stood higher as a leader than Daniel Webster, who came of the plain farmer folk. Surely as Tennyson said—"Simple faith counts for more than Norman blood." Lineage counts for nothing. Roosevelt had the best in both parental lines. The people never cared whence "Teddy" arose. To them "Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation."

Contrary to the notions of many, the public cares almost nothing about the religious beliefs of a man whom they will set up as their leader in any line other than religion itself. Thomas Jefferson was supposed to be "a French infidel imbued with the doctrines of Voltaire." In point of truth, he was a communicant member of the Episcopal Church (Protestant Christian). Abraham Lincoln was supposed to be a devout Christian; but he never joined any church, and seldom went to church, though he spent much time reading the Bible, which, however, he did not altogether believe.

In America, members of the same denomination, even of the same church, do not hang together at all in politics, in business or in anything else save the interests of that church and denomination. Woodrow Wilson was a Pres-

byterian elder, a Democrat; but many Presbyterians were always against him.

Certainly, in leadership, private property does not count; and it has never counted in establishing leadership or retaining it. While William Jennings Bryan, successively leader of four movements—"free silver at 16 to 1," "anti-imperialism," "anti-trusts," and "prohibitionist"—was poor, his following was largest; as he gained in private wealth, he lost in influence.

We might consider other points, relatively unimportant; but nothing counts other than the representative character of the man himself. A leader does not need even to be a good speaker or writer or soldier or of vigorous character; but he must stand for something. In nominating Theodore Roosevelt for Governor of New York at the Republican State Convention in 1898, Senator C. M. Depew said this—

"Representative men move the masses to enthusiasm, and are more easily understood than masses. Lincoln with his immortal declaration that 'a house divided against itself cannot stand' embodied the anti-slavery doctrine. Grant with Appomattox behind him stood for the perpetuity of union and liberty. For this year, for this crisis, for the upward and onward trend of the United States, the candidate of candidates is the hero of Santiago, the idol of the Rough Riders—Theodore Roosevelt."

Any reputation for a man constitutes a coercion of thought towards him. A famous man, therefore, becomes either a national (or community) asset or debit; his representative character enlarges him beyond other men. Thereby, he becomes a mighty power for good or evil.

Because Whittier understood this, he wrote of Daniel Webster after the Seventh of March Speech, wherein he tried to conciliate the South, these scathing lines—

"So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
Forevermore!

"Oh, dumb be passion's stormy rage,
When he who might
Have lighted up and led his age,
Falls back in night."

That is a perfect description of the leader who has lost his power to represent his people. The pity of the case is that Daniel Webster as a statesman was correct for the time in this speech; but as a politician, he erred. In trying to win the South, he lost Massachusetts. The war over slavery was delayed a decade by this statesmanship during which period the North increased in population, in wealth and in abolition spirit; whereby it defeated the South and saved this land to freedom. History has restored to Daniel Webster all the great glory that he richly merits as the wisest of all Americans of his time. It was after the Seventh of March speech that Webster said eloquently: *We are all united in the brotherhood of American democracy.* The statement was an ideal, not a truth; but it helped the North in the Civil War.

The same criterions apply to all leaders, who shine in the reflected light of the social approval of the ideas and course of action forwarded by them. This is true of preachers, artists, authors, musicians, reformers, of all whom are concerned with social control.

A great man is great because he knows a great idea when it comes by him; seizes it; represents it. "Truth shall defend thee," has often been said by wise philosophers. A great idea is one that concerns many; a great man is made by the idea. The success is not in the man; but the man embodies the cause of the success. At most, the best

that can be said of him is that he was intelligent enough to seize the idea and make it his own.

And such a man ceases to be great as soon as the people reject the idea. Indeed, if and when they get the idea realized, they begin to forget the man. Nevertheless, in this case, the halo of the success of his idea always clings to him; gives him prestige. He is not a rejected but only a former leader. He has a pedestal in a niche of the wall of memory—a pedestal transferred from the center of the public square of present interest. The worst that can be said of him is that he has survived his day of usefulness; the good, however, remember him gratefully.

So Thomas Jefferson survived the glorious days of the Declaration of Independence and of the purchase of Louisiana Territory. So at Antioch College, Ohio, Horace Mann survived the splendid days of his service to the Massachusetts State Board of Education. So Grant long survived the tremendous campaigns of the Civil War.

The fallen leader, the man whose great idea flashed out, the rejected statesman, the bankrupt business man, the discarded author, the preacher without a pulpit, each is in a sorry case. In some instances, such failures cannot understand what the matter really is, clutching at straws of public favor with the usually vain notion that they are planks of rescue and recovery. Once in a while, the fallen leader is picked up by some new idea that really is valid and holds accordingly. The down-and-out stages a comeback and a stay-there at the front. Lincoln was defeated for the Senate from Illinois in 1858 but won the Presidency in 1860.

In one of his brilliant *Biglow Poems,* Lowell observes that a candidate who is defeated the first time runs worse on the second trial. This is but a general, and not a universal, truth. In New Jersey, a man ran for the United

States Senate seven times, every two years; defeated six times, he was elected upon the seventh trial and duly served with credit for one six-years term.

Seldom does a movement succeed until symbolized in one person, who focusses public attention upon the idea. His enemies complained of Lincoln that he never talked of anything save the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and slavery. So men complain of Thomas A. Edison that he thinks of nothing but modern scientific invention. Nine-tenths of the great men of the world have represented one great movement; these men were symbols.

Socrates represented the discovery of truth through conversation. Alexander represented the demand for social order through world-empire. Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, represented good tidings to the poor. Consider this list—Marcus Aurelius, Dante, Shakespeare, Bach, Napoleon, Bismarck, Hindenburg, Lenine. Each stands for some social movement, good or bad.

For the leader on his pedestal of social favor, it is a shocking circumstance when his world of supporters falls away and he is left in naked loneliness. And for the people, it is a shocking event when the leader falls off his pedestal, as Kerensky fell in Russia in the revolution of 1917. The interplay of relationship here is very active and serious.

These same principles apply to small societies like the American States as well as to the great nations and empires. They apply as well to the very small societies of a single town or church or secret lodge; to a business enterprise; to a college; to a school system; to a factory or farm or ship. Democracy may and does mean equality of rights; but democracy will never do away with the need for leadership, which is inherent in human individuality

and society. Social movements trail upon persons; and social institutions are built around persons. Sam Adams pushed the American Revolution; Tom Jefferson crystallized Independence; George Washington concentrated the Army. So for two thousand years, Christianity has been focussed upon Jesus Christ.

We in America cherish certain men in memory until we make mythical personages of them. Washington is already a vast unreal myth, a man of an impossible stately grandeur; Jackson and Lincoln are myths; Roosevelt is fast becoming a myth. So Benedict Arnold is incredibly wicked—so abysmally evil that the poorest fool would not name even a cur for him. Men of even Southern traditions and sympathies bury pitiable Jeff Davis, the failure, under a monstrous load of errors and sins.

Many of our mental pictures of past events, many of our portraits of past men are like poor chromos, false and lifeless.

These are all social phenomena that help explain the environing world in the midst of which every intelligent man, woman and youth daily discovers and rediscovers himself or herself.

EXERCISES

1. What psychological peculiarities have you observed in leaders?

2. Rank in order of importance these virtues in the make-up of a political leader in a city, viz.—truthfulness, honesty in business, promise-keeping, courage, patience, industry, sympathy, patriotism, tact.

3. Similarly rank in order of general importance these physical or intellectual qualities, viz.—memory, imagination, eloquence, enthusiasm, keen senses, energy, scholarship, estheticism, judgment, force, idealism, common sense.

4. Of all the qualities in 3 and 4, which do you regard as of greatest value for long success? For great immediate success? In what lines? As a good human being?

5. In a corporation business leader, what qualities are most successful?

6. In your judgment, what will be the future of (a) the automobile industry; (b) of airplanes; (c) of dirigible balloons; (d) of sky-riding (or air-swimming) generally; (e) of the fashions of clothes for men and for women?

7. Is "wage-slavery" a correct term to represent the position of labor in the modern economic régime?

8. Upon lines similar to those traced for Douglas and Lincoln, discuss Burr and Hamilton; Clay, Calhoun, Benton and Webster; and various other opposing statesmen in various periods.

9. Is it literally and universally true that a great man succeeds only in a particular time—e.g., Is it conceivable that any age, land and people would have failed to recognize the greatness of Benjamin Franklin and of George Washington? Or would men of either type (body and mind together) have failed to develop greatness in any conceivable civilized people?

10. On the other hand, could a Tennyson or a Beecher, an Edison or a Lloyd George, have risen in any earlier period or in any other land, their general race and stock being granted?

11. How shall we classify (as in 9 or 10) Theodore Roosevelt?

12. Make a list of fifty great historic men.

13. In New England, there is much bickering due to the individualistic and particularistic spirit. Can such a people ever raise up another Daniel Webster?

14. Compare these very great leaders carefully, viz.—Moses, Pericles, Paul, Cæsar, Peter the Great, Washington. Is there any other man worthy to stand in this same list as a *leader?*

15. Wherein does a leader differ from a statesman? Under which term would you classify these historic persons, viz.—Jefferson, Bismarck, Gambetta, Charles Sumner, Disraeli, Gladstone, Mazzini?

16. Discuss Lenine and Trotsky alias Oulianoff and Braunstein, and Eugene Debs, Wilhelm II, Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson, Orlando, Venizelos, Albert of Belgium.

17. Discuss many military and naval heroes, e. g.—Lord Nelson, John Paul Jones, Napoleon, in the light of these considerations of leadership.

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Rose, I. H., *Napoleon* (1904).
Lord, John, *Beacon Lights of History* (1880).
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Heroes of the Nations Series.
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PART TWO

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

"Individuals may form communities; but it is institutions alone that can create a nation."—Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield), *Manchester Speech*, 1866.

PART TWO

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

CHAPTER XVIII

GENERAL VIEW

"It is impossible to overrate the importance to a nation of having a distinct object at which to aim in the pursuit of improvement. Jeremy Bentham made the good of the community take precedence of every other object, and thus gave escape to a current that had long been trying to find a way outward."—*Ancient Law,* Chapter II, Maine.

In the first part of this text, social movements were under consideration. In a general way, these occur around, within and by way of social institutions that sometimes block and sometimes route them forward. In this second part, the social institutions themselves are to be considered. Here the mission of the school becomes very prominent.

A *societal institution* is a social structure resultant from habits strong enough to control the conduct of so many of the division of mankind within the society as to affect the good or ill of the whole. The distinction, however, between social and societal is not highly important, social referring rather to the persons than to the mechanism of the grouping. An institution is *societal* when the entire body of persons within the division is concerned in its organization and in its operation. It is an *institution* when it stands solid and permanent in the character of the people involved, uninfluenced as to its existence by the desires of individuals and too strong to be overthrown

even by the will of very many. It is a *structure* in that it has a plan and component parts to realize the plan. It is established by habit because just as a habit possesses a man, and not the man the habit, so not choice but social compulsion makes the general habits that found and bulwark societal institutions.

The State is a social institution that has withstood assaults from without by enemies and outlaws and has triumphed over anarchists and criminals within. Patriotism enrolls nearly all individuals against the assaults of foreigners, and the love of home enrolls nearly all individuals against the disloyal or dangerous within the society. Of course, patriotism and love of home are both complexuses of social habits as well as emotions of the individual heart.

Behavior is action from instinct and from unintelligent obedience to tradition. Conduct is action from willing and intelligent obedience to custom or to convention or to the commands of superiors or to personal reason and conscience. Conduct is intelligent action. For this reason, a societal institution arises rather from conduct than from behavior in that individuals may, when they choose, defy its principles and even openly attack it. In consequence, a societal institution exists only so long as it commends itself to the many as appropriate to their needs. Nevertheless, while it exists, it is powerful because it impresses the imagination and seems to be a part of the very consciences of most men. It exists either until a foreign group arises strong enough to destroy it or until from its own inherent weaknesses, it decays and dies. So monarchy has died in France and in Russia within recent time.

A societal institution controls the conduct of the many in that it literally draws them together and compels them to think, to feel and to act substantially as one. Its sphere

of influence is a division of mankind, geographically considered. A societal institution may extend throughout an entire nation, or even empire; or it may be limited to a smaller but definite geographical division of that empire. And it may be conceived to extend beyond the limits of an empire into the world around it, or into many nations and empires. Among societal institutions, several indeed are practically universal, as we shall see later. But by definition the societal institution concerns the division of mankind as a society, which means that they have interests in common. A society consists of men who care for one another at least to the extent of some common concerns. The world of international commerce is one society; Christendom is a society greater than any one empire; the United States is a society; and the fashionable set of a city or of a county is a society for the purposes of social acquaintance and amusement.

The ultimate outcome of the presence and power of the societal institution is to help or to harm the whole society. The division of mankind concerned cannot be indifferent to its societal institutions. It is often said that "a great people can endure great evils and injuries," but it cannot endure the lack of sufficient right societal institutions to give it social cohesion and consistency and to enable it to operate the social functions sufficiently well. This was luridly shown in the revolution that began in Russia in 1917. A great people may even have wicked societal institutions, but even a wicked institution usually does it less harm than none at all in that field. Advanced mankind have come to agree that polygamy is wicked. But a society without marriage at all would be far worse off than one that practised polygamy.

A completely institutionalized society is stronger as such than one imperfectly institutionalized. Of course, it may

be defeated by the latter in war because of the physical inferiority of its individuals or by their numerical inferiority.

We may bring to our minds the variety of societal institutions by either of two devices. Let us consider what would happen were a great airplane to descend at one thousand points within the United States; at each point, take one human being; and then transport all the thousand to an uninhabited but fertile island within the Pacific. Assume that for a generation no ship should visit and no news reach that island with its people. At the end of thirty years, what would a visitor find there?

Many of the original thousand settlers would have died, but its population would number many children born during the thirty years. There would be many families, and all of them would be monogamous, for in the minds of the original settlers the marriage of two would have been a fixed habit of thinking, a compulsory social mode.

The inhabitants would own property, and the forms of property would not be greatly different from those taken away with them thirty years before. Lands would be owned in fee simple, and some houses and plots would be rented as now. Tools would be personal property and household goods likewise.

There would be government, with courts and councils and executive officers and police much as at the time of their removal. Doubtless, all men, and perhaps all women, would be voters. The social democracy would use as its chief instrument political democracy.

Men would have occupations of various kinds. There would be farmers, mechanics, manual laborers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, writers, fishermen, clerks, carpenters, and workers of whatever other kinds the natural resources permitted to a small population.

There would be business men whose sole interest was in exchanging the goods and rights of other men.

A church or two would be found upon the island with ministers and other workers.

At least one schoolhouse would stand to welcome the youth to the care of teachers.

A theater and a ball field would provide amusement.

Somewhere upon the island would be found a house where the poor were ministered to in old age or in sickness. Charity would be somewhat systematized; not all the help given by one to another in trouble would be private and unreliable.

There would be evidences that the people were interested in the arts that some of them knew when they were lifted away from our country. Books, pictures, well-planned homes, musical instruments, rugs and tools would attest proficiency in the fine and industrial arts. Also, there would be some evidences that both the pure and the applied sciences had at least been preserved. A drug store would attest the desire to keep the knowledge of chemistry and pharmacy alive in the island.

Lastly, one would be sure to find some police and some soldiers, for war and force would be required to keep the peace among a thousand typical Americans and their descendants.

Thus have been suggested the evidences of ten or a dozen societal institutions more or less completely differentiated and integrated. The exact number would depend upon how we counted them. Arts and sciences may be considered as one or two institutions; similarly, we may think of property, occupation and business as one, two or three institutions. These technical details do not affect the principle involved, which is that wherever Americans go there they are found with special habits that compel them

to organize their lives within and according to characteristic societal institutions.

The same result may be reached by imagining that an intelligent man visits any part of the United States and there proceeds to discover what its inhabitants are doing. Of course, he would not find conditions just the same in every part. Nevertheless, he would find any part enough alike the part that he left as to recognize it immediately as a true part of this country of ours. Americanism is a reality, and this reality expresses itself typically in these ten or a dozen societal institutions.

Being an intelligent man, it is likely enough he would inquire first into the physical apparatus of the district—the kinds of factories, farms, houses, fences, machinery, tools, clothing, and foods that the people had and used. The first interest of most American men is in property. It is not always or even often the greatest interest, yet all other interests depend in notable measure upon property. Upon lands and goods, civilization rests, and upon them culture subsists.

Perhaps, the commonest of all questions asked by men regarding a stranger or even regarding neighbors is—What is he worth? They mean not in scholarship or in social influence or in general helpfulness but in salable property.

Next, the visitor would perhaps investigate the home and family life.

Then in one order or another, this visitor would get information respecting religion and the churches, government and all its agencies, education in the various grades from kindergarten through university, the trades and professions by means of which men earned their livings, and the businesses by means of which they exchange their products and services with one another, the almshouses and

hospitals, asylums and dispensaries whereby charity relieves the poor and unfortunate, the playing fields and the playhouses where men seek health and recreation, the picture galleries, the art studios, the music halls and conservatories, the chemical laboratories, the libraries, and the museums where the arts and sciences are cultivated, and the armories and arsenals where the preparation for war goes on.

If, however, our intelligent visitor had come not from one part of the United States to another, but from Germany or Russia or perhaps China, he would be somewhat surprised at the differences between the relative importances of the various institutions as they exist here and as he had previously known them. The German would have discovered that in America the school is by no means so closely connected with and dependent upon the political government as it is in his native land. He would have found our business, our recreation, our charity far more free than at home.

If he had come prior to February, 1917, he would have found no soldiers in evidence. And according to the measure and character of his intelligence, he would have been more or less astonished at these differences. Similarly, the Russian and the Chinaman would have been astonished at the far greater differentiation and the far more complete integration of these many institutions than either had known them at home.

The striking characteristic of American institutionalism is that our democracy has permitted, perhaps even caused, government, church, school, business, charity and all the rest to set up each for itself to stand or fall upon its own merits. In consequence, here Church is one thing, and State is another. Each is free from the other. Each is differentiated, each is unified. To a lesser degree, this same dif-

ferentiation of nature and of function characterizes all the other societal institutions. In Great Britain, the church is largely dependent upon the state. In Russia for generations, Church and State were almost one institution. In Germany, the three great coördinate societal institutions, according to the Kaiser, in 1908 were the Monarchy, the Church and the Army. How different was the case with us!

Without seeking to establish too sharply the demarcations of one societal institution from another in every instance, we may diagram them like this, viz.—

1. Property	5. Occupation	9. Arts
2. Family	6. School	10. Sciences
3. Church	7. Charity	11. Business
4. State	8. Amusement	12. War.

These societal institutions do not equally concern every citizen all the time.

Most children, many women, and some men have virtually no direct relationship to property in the sense that what they use is their own. Propertylessness is a social fact here.

But very few persons are nameless orphans, so that the family concerns nearly every person all the time. Nearly every person is born in a family and reared there. Painful as is the familyless status of the very few, and much as this affects the imagination considered societally, the illegitimate and the doubly orphaned without kin are statistically almost negligible.

This is not true of all peoples, for among many of them the illegitimates range as high as 20 and even 30 in the 100.

We have practically no outlaws from government.

We have, however, many infidels, both unbelievers and

disbelievers. In consequence, the Church has by no means the universality of the State in our land. One-half of all our adults are churchless. This does not mean that the churchless inhabitants are without religion but, as we shall see, that they are not members of the ecclesiastical institution. Because they are not in churches, they are said to be "out of the Church" and in this sense "infidels."

Of illiterates, we have only seven per cent., but of persons who at any one time have no definite connection with school or college either as students or as teachers, the percent. is eighty. They are "out of school" and beyond its present influence.

In respect to occupation, about as many millions live without work of economic value to others and in return to themselves as earn livelihoods. Occupation is, then, not a universal societal institution. All consume, but all do not produce economic goods or services. The non-producers and very small producers number two-thirds of our people.[1]

As to all the other societal institutions, not one even purports to touch all men. The immense activity of business and the high prestige of successful business men create an impression of universality that is far from the truth. Charity concerns directly only the participants, those who give and those who receive alms or help. Charitable workers and beneficiaries are but few relatively to the vast total of Americans.

Our artists and scientists have been so few that they have not yet created an "art world" or a definite body of scientists here. As societal institutions, both art and science are yet in the making.

We have scarcely undertaken to differentiate and to integrate our amusements and pleasures. Play as a societal

[1] See Chapter XXIV.

institution grows, but it is rather an aspiration than a reality fully developed now.

War is a societal institution and realizes the bloodlust that is the heritage of men. To it, all men resort when they are tired of talk. Yet in peaceful periods, war dies down, and for decades only the Army and the Navy think of it seriously. Not, however, even in the blackest days of the War of 1861–65 did war touch every American in the same sense that Government touches and rules him.

As to each of these societal twelve institutions, there arise several other questions beside this of their universality.

One question is—What is the personal motive that works in the members of each because of which he is in the institution?

Another is—What is the societal end that is served by each?

A third question is—What are the tides of its life?

Another question is—Wherein and how does it affect the characters and the conduct of its members?

Each of these questions may be stated in various ways, more or less appropriate to the special institution under review.

A societal institution is a form of thought for the control of conduct—a proposition not so difficult to understand when an introductory illustration is first considered and understood. In order to think, one must have forms of thought in which to think. Take the two terms "soldiers" and "war." First, we may think of them in the form of thought known as "time"—and we notice that soldiers come before, with and after war. Then, we may think of them in the form of thought known as "space"; and we notice that soldiers occupy space, take room, stand

or move at distances from one another, and that war moves things in space. Yet war itself we never see, hear or touch; but only its results, for war is a phase of the human spirit. Next, we may think of war in the form of thought known as "cause-and-effect"; and we notice that soldiers make war and are made by war. Each is cause and effect of the other. Moreover, without soldiers, wars would be few and short; and without wars, soldiers would be few and might even cease to exist. Again, we may think of soldiers and war in the form of thought known as "quantity"—as, for example, a big army of soldiers, a little war. Yet again, we may think of them in the form known as "quality"—as a fine soldier or a poor soldier, a wicked war or a righteous war. Once more, we may think of them in the form of thought known as "number"—ten million soldiers, seven wars.

Or we may use the terms books and money. Here in time, money comes before books—to manufacture them; it comes with them—to purchase them. To the author and publisher, money comes after books from the payments made. Both books and money occupy space. In causation, money makes all books; without money, no book is made. And some books gain money. Then, we may speak of a large book or of a small coin. Once more, we may think of the quality of books as useful or pernicious and of the quality of money as paper or gold, sound or worthless. Lastly, we may count the books and the money in the terms of number.

These six forms of thought—time, space, cause, quantity, quality and number—are by no means all the forms that we use in trying to think, but they are perhaps the most important forms. In philosophy, they are known as categories, which means literally "meetings" and refers to the gatherings of persons where they discuss and agree; and

now the term "categories" has come to mean the notions upon which the persons at the meeting were universally agreed.

The societal institutions are forms of thought required for the right conduct of individuals in human society. It is generally said that there are six societal institutions of importance. This means that a person cannot act wisely without acting in proper relation to his fellows as one and all bound together in institutionalized human society. The six major institutions are Government, Religion, Property, Family, Occupation and Education. These are the main modes of thought[1] where social relations are concerned. When we think of a man, we think of him in respect to these six aspects of his social activities and relationships.

Among the less important societal institutions are Recreation, Business, Art, Science, Charity and War. These are by no means all of them; but the others perhaps are not important enough for consideration in an introductory text. Among them, war is at times of tragic importance; but war is often quiescent. Otherwise, all the human race would perish.

These are twelve of the societal institutions, twelve forms of thought regarding social life and conduct, twelve categories or "meetings" upon which all persons are agreed. To think clearly about them is to get started in the social sciences such as economics, politics, ethics, social psychology and sociology. The purpose of the rest of this book is to survey all these societal institutions, though briefly, yet sympathetically and systematically. Some of them are helpful to one another, as property and family and occupation; others are in severe antagonism, as charity and war; while between all of them, there may always be traced

[1] For the distinction between "form" and "mode," see Chapter I.

some connection or relation of help or of hindrance. Government encourages science. Art glorifies charity. Business finances religion. Education prepares for all the others. And war, carried to its relentless conclusion, would make even government its abject tool and destroy alike all property, all amusement, all charity. But this cannot be, for no institution is powerful enough to overcome all others and to enslave or destroy them at its will. There are fields into which war cannot go as absolute master; for its very support, war must bow to government, and government must consult occupation. The reasons for the reciprocal interdependence of these societal institutions as actual structures resultant from our ways of thinking about human relationships will appear in the course of the later pages.

All these societal institutions include many social institutions, concrete, real, specific that contribute to them, and represent them in reality. The list of these definite social institutions is too great for inclusion in this book, but some examples may be given.

Government includes as its contributing social institutions: 1. legislatures, 2. courts, 3. cabinets, 4. councils, 5. commissions, 6. governorships, 7. presidencies, 8. departments, 9. bureaus, 10. jails. Every state legislature, every county jail is in itself a social institution.

Religion includes as its contributing social institutions, cathedrals, churches, missions, parsonages.

Property includes so many social institutions as to baffle selection. A few may be cited in illustration; viz.—houses, factories, mines, farms, legal documents.

The Family includes every separate family, marriage itself, divorce.

Education includes universities, colleges, scientific and technical schools, legal, medical and theological schools,

high schools, seminaries, grammar schools, academies, kindergartens—of a hundred different kinds and grades and tens of thousands in number.

Occupation includes trades, trade unions, independent livelihoods, wage services of literally ten thousand kinds.

Charity as a societal institution includes hospitals, asylums, dispensaries, homes for the aged and many other social institutions.

Amusement or recreation has as contributing social institutions, theaters, country clubs, gymnasiums, summer camps, hotels, athletic games.

Art includes architecture, sculpture, painting, music in all its forms, and literature of all varieties of prose and poetry, fine jewelry and oratory.

Business includes all enterprises in which men manage others for economic production or gain, such as factories, farms, mines, banks, grain elevators, ship wharves, wholesale and retail stores and shops. In the terminology of social science Business means distinctly and only the work performed by the directing owner.

Science includes all the pure and applied sciences which are now hundreds in number such as botany, biology, zoology, entomology, physiology, geology, physics, chemistry, hystology, economics, sociology, psychology, mathematics of various kinds and the many forms of technology, and engineering.

Finally War as a societal institution includes such contributing social institutions as the army and navy, arsenals, forts, aviation corps, signal bureau, Red Cross service and pensions.

Often in America we speak of one thing or another as a social institution without thought of using the term accurately. In this popular sense, the system of wage service is a social institution, as also is the noon day dinner in the

rural districts and the seven o'clock dinner in the large cities. It is, however, reserved for humorists to speak of alarm clocks and telephone calls as "social institutions."

We have also the unfortunate habit of mixing in our own minds the places and functions of the different institutions; and it is not the least of the reasons for studying educational sociology that to know it helps one to avoid many unwise actions. It is wholly an error to apply business principles and methods to running a church; a church is a democracy and should never be "run"; if run at all, it

Personal Motives of Individuals in the Twelve Social Institutions
Note.—"Egoistic" and "altruistic" are by no means synonymous with "evil" and "good."

should not be run at any rate by "business principles." It is a society of friends with nothing to buy or sell; economy is not the watchword but generosity. No more may we properly apply the principles of charity in business, or those of democracy in a family, which is an hierarchy under laws of its own. Art follows the emotions, and science obeys truth; the teacher who is all artist or all scientist will make a sorry mess of his relations with his pupils and with his institution. The man who is a born researcher for truth or who cares more for beauty than for anything else must neglect his ordinary duties and relations. Some objected when General Washington ordered André to be hung as a spy, but that serene and wise man answered conclusively that his being a gentle-

man and an artist did not exempt André from the rules of war. The very nature of democracy is the recognition that our affairs are highly specialized, differentiated, integrated and that we best secure social harmony by proceeding accordingly. The school board member or the university trustee who sets out to rule his system or institution by the politics familiar in government or by the hire-and-fire, take-it-or-leave-it methods of crude business or to play with it as though it were an amusement or to attack it as though he had entered upon a war has no insight into what education is.

In seeking to understand these social institutions, we should preserve something of the mood in which we study social movements. Let us have no tyranny of pictures placed like permanent oil paintings upon the walls of imagination; the world is a moving scene. Our own memories of the facts of our own experiences even now victimise us too much; it is worse to form fanciful visions of the future that we have not experienced, and never will experience. The results of the world war are far different from what any man imagined that they would be; the facts of the social revolutions in Europe, when we get them, will surely prove to be different from the reports to date. What awaits us here in America is beyond even our fancy as the conquest of the air has been too sudden, too complete for us as yet to gauge its values. We shall preserve democracy, but it will be a better democracy than we have dreamed.

EXERCISES

1. Why do old persons even upon vacations in the mountains or by the seashore (a) plan to go to church every Sunday? (b) feel such deep interest in the mails? (c) discuss politics, finance, charities? Why is the old person more institutionalized than one much younger?

2. Account for the disappearance of such social institutions as (a) slavery; (b) polygamy; (c) imprisonment for debt; (d) bri-

gandage; (e) fetichism, druidism, idol-worship; (f) public lotteries. Mention other historic institutions no longer in existence in English-speaking nations.

3. Compare the institutional development of Russian society with that of Great Britain. In a general way, what do we mean when we say that one nation is a century behind another nation in social progress?

4. When our forefathers adventured as pioneers beyond the Appalachians what social institutions did they bring with them and at once establish in the new lands? Why?

5. Think of some one prominent public man and tell the social institutions whose interests he is most likely to discuss upon the platform or in written papers. (The bishop discusses religion, the family and charity; the politician, government, business and war.)

6. What was Abraham Lincoln "worth" in property? What family did he have? What was his own education? And what interest did he have in education? Of all things, what did he care most about?

7. What in the social life of America generally seems most strange (a) to a Chinaman? (b) to an Armenian? (c) to a Brazilian? Why?

8. Compare the institutional views of two young men, each eighteen years old, one of whom was born and reared upon a remote farm perhaps in Kansas, the other of whom grew up in the heart of New York City. Imagine that each is quickly transported to the habitat of the other.

9. Take anything whatever—a baseball, a clock, a horse, or an asylum. Can one think of it without thinking of it in time, in space, and in the other forms of thought cited in the text?

10. Take any person and does one not immediately begin to think of him in the terms of education, family, recreation, etc.? Does one really ever know any one else until one knows about his relation to the social institutions?

11. Where you live what is the most prominent social institution?—the high school? the public library? the court house?

12. At this point in our study, to what societal institution would you assign the press? To what, health?

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CHAPTER XIX

THE STATE

Its Purpose—*Government*

"Political society exists for the sake of noble actions and not for mere companionship."—*Politics*, Book I, Aristotle.

As a social institution in our American democracy, the State has two typical and distinguishing characteristics—universality and supremacy. The familiar compulsory education laws operated by the officers of government bring these two characteristics home to all school youth; and the selective service acts by which we raised four million soldiers for the recent war made them clear to all. Every child, every man and woman, even persons who are ill, even strangers who are but travelling among us, all without exception are under the law.

Yet there was a time when the patriarchs of the various families made the laws, each for his own group. Then what government there was arose merely from the confederacy of the patriarchs, whose rules outside of their own groups were but agreements without the force of sanction behind them. Later came the time when the priests of the church made the laws, and such government as existed was but permitted as a concession from the religious managers of society. Then government dealt only with minor concerns and was subject to review and correction by the priests. In this period, the lawyers were only scribes for the rabbis or clerks for the priests.

Now is the time when the State has put all other social institutions under its control; and we have the universal, dominant republic or "commonwealth."

From the viewpoint of general history, this is a strange state of affairs. Today in America, the State guarantees property, whereas in past time property maintained and controlled the State. Now, directly or indirectly, all pay taxes. There was a time far back in the primitive period of Teutonic forest life when some men held property upon allodial tenure, which meant that they paid no taxes to any, but were perfectly independent of all; to these masters of allodial lands, overlordship and tax payments were unknown. Now the tax-free lands are limited to the uses only of religious or charitable organizations, and as a concession, not as a right. Every one who owns property pays taxes; and even the propertyless pay indirect taxes upon the goods that they secure by purchase. In some divisions of our government, propertyless persons pay poll taxes, that is, head taxes for the protection of the laws and as evidence of sharing as voters in law-making.

The personal motive that leads men to work in this universal, dominant governmental institution is to make and to keep room for oneself. The motive is self-expression in freedom from interference by others, at the price, however, of one's own complete surrender to the State itself. *Society organized as government is the State.* The surrender is, therefore, to the institution that in our times typifies society. There is now no man above the law, out of the law, or too low to feel the law.

In a monarchy, all are "subjects" of the king. In our republic, no man is the subject of any one else. Even a convicted prisoner is not the subject of his jailer. In the monarchy, the king is above all his subjects; and only in so far as he makes or recognizes a constitution of fundamental laws is he upon an equality with his subjects. As king, he has certain unchallengeable prerogatives—rights taken for granted, perforce of which he is king. One of

these rights is to receive sufficient annual funds to live according to his kingly station. Another prerogative is to name the nobles and to hold court with them in attendance above the commoners. Democracy knows nothing of this superiority of any individual to ordinary law for any reason whatsoever—whether dynasty or lineage or even by parliamentary grant. In the monarchy, the king himself is never prosecuted in any court of law, but is free from the laws; only his officers may be prosecuted.

In the world war, Europe was freed from many emperors, kings, princes and reigning sovereigns; and now democracy, though not universal yet, is the prevailing fashion. The terms "republic" and "democracy" are not exact synonyms, but it is generally maintained by the philosophers of the world that the republic is the best form of government by which to try to secure democracy.

The philosopher-poet, Ralph Waldo Emerson, expressed the true spirit of our American democratic differentiated and highly integrated institutionalism when he wrote these stanzas:

> "My angel, his name is Freedom;
> Choose him to be your king.
> He shall build you pathways east and west
> And fend you with his wing.
>
> "I will have never a noble,
> No lineage counted great;
> Fishers and choppers and ploughmen
> Shall constitute a state.
>
> "And here in a pine statehouse,
> Ye shall choose men to rule
> In every needful faculty,
> In church and state and school."

So America speaks to all her children who can understand Freedom.

We say that ours is one of the "free peoples" of the

earth. What are some of the evidences of our being free? One of the most important is that here an accused person is considered in the courts innocent until he is proven guilty before a jury according to due process of law. Another is the *Habeas Corpus Writ* by which any man in jail can force his being called into court before a judge in order to hear the charges against him and to secure counsel for his defence. Another is the bankruptcy legislation by which a man heavily in debt can be cleared legally and in this way start in business again. Another is the *Statute of Limitations* by which debts more than six years old cannot be collected through legal procedure unless they have been acknowledged more recently; even promissory notes are generally noncollectible after fifteen, or in some states twenty, years. Other instances of freedom for the individual may be found in the *Constitution of the United States* with its *Amendments*. Even some of the free peoples of Western Europe place restrictions upon marriage that would be intolerable to us, such as securing the written consent of all the living parents and grandparents. One of our "freedoms" is from espionage by the police, who in some lands keep records of the movements of all citizens and strangers. In almost every other land than ours, even those with compulsory public education, the parents are obliged to make small payments for the education of the children; here education is "free" in the sense that costs are paid wholly by the taxes; it is gratis, that is, free of charge.

The facts that any person who has never committed a felony may hold public office and that in elections the majority wins help to give freedom to all men here. The immense power of such a people consists in the disposition of almost every citizen to put himself in any crisis or emergency at the disposition of the public authorities, as was

pointed out long ago by Thomas Jefferson and others, and was most conspicuously demonstrated in the world war when many men literally served our government "for a dollar a year." While there are very many political, economic and social features of American life that should be improved radically, the main principle of freedom is already realized because most of us believe that this government is ours, that each one of us is responsible for it, and that each one counts at least something in its management. In America, no man inherits public office of any kind; no political privileges are openly sold to any. We have a very real desire and a substantial habit of political equality with fair play. Nevertheless we are under authority and compulsion, and the war showed to us that the authority of this republic over its citizens is overwhelming and complete, taking our boys to war, limiting the foods upon our tables, and taxing us for our incomes.

In times of peace, the main coercions of government relate to crimes and their punishment. Here the purpose of the State is to prevent infractions of the public morals and the invasion of private rights; the former are crimes, the latter are torts; and the courts are occupied with cases involving one or the other, or such matters as wills, contracts, deeds, injunctions, etc. Erroneous as were many of the views of the Germans regarding the State with their doctrine that *Might makes right,* they were right in their assertion that *Government is force.* Our American principle should be to use force only for the right.

The personal motive that leads us all to accept the supremacy of the State is to get elbow room in all other relations. The State equalizes the rights of all by equally limiting all rights, or at least appears upon the face of affairs to do so.

The end served by the State is government, the reduction of all to the common rule toward common purposes. What an individual perhaps wishes most of all is security of his person—the enjoyment of life unharmed and unconfined by others. The State offers this security. Next, perhaps, he wishes continuance of whatever is good in his life as it has been and is. He wishes to realize what from experience he has a right to expect. In other terms, he wishes to protect his vested interests, his property, his livelihood, and what family he has by his submission to, and in our land by his participation in, government. These interests we are wont to call "peace and order," and they are very dear to human hearts. In addition to all these—and indeed in some hearts before all these—the individual desires freedom—opportunity and right to do about as he pleases, to go where he pleases, to think and to speak and to write as he pleases. Even in our land of the free, the State cannot guarantee this unqualified freedom, but it does grant it in larger measure than does any other State.

Here we have what is called "the rule of the majority," but it is not truthfully called so without reservations that, when not stated, permit the individual to be misled seriously in his thinking and in his conduct. The constitutions and the laws are of times past, the work of men dead in the flesh, but whose plans we follow. The living people do not rule uncontrolled in America. They modify, they interpret, but they obey in spirit and often to the very letter, the written words of the dead. We do not believe in "letting the people rule." Instead, we try to find the inner wish of the continuing nation through its generations. We try to make laws that conform to the true and permanent in the character of the people; and we try not to shift and veer with every passing whim.

This established principle of constitutional, that is, openly institutionalized, democracy vitally affects the characters of individual citizens. There are acts that we know we can properly do and acts that we know we cannot properly do; and wisdom leads us to proceed accordingly without friction. Government stabilizes the public conduct of individuals just as religion and education stabilize character. Government makes railroad tracks upon which one may run.

In truth, freedom is a wilderness, very inviting, very dangerous. Freedom in civilization is rather freedom to go by a choice among permitted and smoothed-out routes than freedom to wander where one will. The institutions of society do not encourage experimentation or experimenters; and government fears for the welfare alike of the individual who experiments and of the social order that his experiments inevitably to a degree affect.

In our land, the forms of government are many. Its ranks or grades are many. Nor are the various spirits of the various forms and grades the same. We have three "branches" so it is said, of government—the legislative, the judicial and the executive—but these terms are somewhat useful because they distribute specific persons and functions in classes. In addition, we now have "commissions" and "boards" of many kinds; all of which ignore this tripartite classification of government.

The three terms, legislative, judicial, and executive, arose from an old faculty psychology, which assumed that the mind has three departments, feeling, willing, and thinking. Legislation is supposed to be emotional, capricious, responsive to the varying public moods. Judgment is slow, determined, moral. Execution is adjustive, intelligent—the instrument through and by which the feelings and will of the nation express themselves. The commission and board tend to reunite these three functions of government. The explanation is of historical interest only, for the faculty psychology is no longer

believed by scientists. In the same line, many political thinkers and workers no longer consider the tripartite division of government wise. The tremendous popular movements for direct legislation—the initiative, the referendum and the recall—and the frequency of recent amendments to the Federal and State Constitutions show how the legislatures are declining in importance, and the people are assuming directly the law-making function. The method of nomination by primary elections rather than by conventions is reducing the officers of government to delegates rather than free agents.

Government also may be divided into ranks or grades, in this manner, viz.—

1. Nation,
2. States,
3. Counties,
4. Cities and Towns and Townships, Villages, Boroughs, etc.

In some States, the chartered cities are not under but equal with the counties; and one instance, New York, the city contains five counties, while in several other cases, county and city are virtually one.

In our country, the Nation is our department of foreign affairs; our agency for war; our authority for money; our servant for mails, etc. Here the function of the central government is less extensive than in any other land; but this does not mean that the central government, as the Germans imagined, is weak. It is all the stronger for being specialized.

There are many respects in which our several States are superior to the Nation, as for example in matters of education and the general health. It is a curiosity of government with us that in Connecticut, from historical causes, the State is conceived as a *League of the 168 Towns,* and the towns are invariably superior to the cities. Louisiana has parishes, not counties, and many peculiari-

ties of administration. Everywhere the American is subject to several more or less independent governmental jurisdictions, all of which derive their powers over him from the fact that they have at their disposal the effective sanction of force—the court, the police, the militia, the army. He must obey the democracy as surely as the subject of a European king must obey the monarchy. The fact that he is a part of that democracy, with one vote as against the votes of so many thousands in his county, of so many hundreds of thousands in his State, of so many millions in the nation, does not exempt him from the necessity of facing the alternative of obedience or punishment.

It would seem that in America the State as a societal institution is almost all-powerful. It guarantees freedom of worship in the Church and exempts churches from paying taxes upon their ecclesiastical property, though it might establish a State-Church and might tax even church buildings themselves. In a sense, it is above even the Church, which lives by its sufferance, though not by its bounty.

The State guarantees all forms of property. The private watchman is but seldom seen. The paper-document to lands or goods, drawn according to law, is backed by law for its realization in value. The State enforces contracts, that is, it controls men in their future action to see that they do what they have agreed. It is behind business, therefore, as well as property. It compels promise-keeping in important matters.

Even occupation is to a degree protected by the State. The workmen's compensation laws are commutations for the values of lost or damaged livelihoods.

The State maintains its own schools, or at least supplies the school with funds from taxes.

Government maintains hospitals; in some localities, runs municipal theaters; keeps public baths; builds and operates universities of research as well as of teaching; is the beneficent patron of the fine arts; makes science useful to agriculture and to commerce; cares for the insane and the pauper and the sick; and is the sole agency for war.

Seen from one angle, the State appears to be nearly the sum of all that is institutionalized in modern life. It is universal, dominant, and growing in power and in its own sense of responsibility. There is apparently no limit to what the democratic State in our land may yet undertake.

Controlling marriage by controlling marriage licenses and by being the sole authority in divorce, the State seems to be the mother of men, the essence of fate, the cause of our being, the guarantor of posterity.

And all this is so recent in history! But a few centuries ago, the thrones were held at the pleasure of the Church!

The subdivisions of the American nation into States, counties and townships will not successfully bear morphological analysis and justify themselves as true to their own inner natures. There are many States that are each several States in spirit. In some cases, the boundaries are arbitrary surveyors' straight lines without reason in geography or in history or in social psychology. Those who look upon rivers as natural boundaries do well to observe the unity of spirit in Missouri with its Missouri river running through it, in Arkansas with the Arkansas river, and in Louisiana with the Red river. By way of contrast, one observes that the Ohio serves as a boundary to six different States. The differences in populations and areas are unreasonable. New England is one province, though six States, for it has one social mind, and its

divisions are accidental. Thereby, it has secured twelve Senators and immense power in Congress by no means wholly to the national welfare.

In Tennessee, there are two counties that are almost exact circles. In the case of one county, its circumference passes through valleys and over mountain tops and across hillsides simply because some map-making surveyor in an office fancied that this would be interesting to look at on a map. These two circular counties have made political troubles for a score of other counties that share their boundaries. These are merely extreme instances of what is common enough. There are towns and townships in a score of States where surveyors' fancies, politicians' gerrymanders and mere accident have made messes of their boundary lines. One county in Ohio has sixteen angles and as many sides. It is entirely unreasonable that one State should have counties averaging twice the size of those in the next State—evidently, the county is supposed by many to have no relation at all to the social mind. This is interesting to the observer who seeks the morphological facts not because he hopes for change, but because it shows him that the political divisions reveal but little of the true societal interests. What is true of counties, is almost as generally true of States. Whether, for example, Pennsylvania is properly three states, east, central and west, or but two states, may be disputed; but that geographically observed and understood, it has at least two social minds, every informed person knows. The case of New York is similar. That of California is even clearer. There are as certainly several Californias in spirit as there are two Virginias.[1] Nevertheless, most observers believe that the pow-

[1] While it is not desirable to emphasize unduly the cases of the States cited in the text, yet in the interest of clearness it should be noted that eastern Pennsylvania is agricultural, industrial and commercial, central Pennsylvania is upon a plateau with forests, and

ers of the Federal Government are being increased so fast that the States will find it scarcely worthwhile to ask for boundary readjustments. The tendency seems to be rather to group States into regions than to break any of them up into several States. Of this, the Federal Reserve Banking system is an illustration.

Such movements as that for a Southern California or that for any new States in the "Inland Empire" to be carved out of Montana, Idaho and Washington are of but slight importance compared with the inner social revolutions that propose to overthrow democracy and to substitute bolshevism or state socialism, which are both political and economic philosophies as well as social transformations. It is not possible so to state either of these revolutionary movements as to secure the approval of their proponents without offending all democrats; and it can serve no useful purpose to explain any social reform in such a manner that its defenders consider it a travesty. This much, however, all of us Americans should understand—that bolshevism is not state socialism or anarchy but a form of society with order and much personal freedom. Both revolutions would destroy our present system of private property and individual initiative and responsibility; they would end profit-taking by individuals. Thereafter government would have no interest in corporations or franchises. Many of us believe that progress would end, once that either system won over the political control of America. Nevertheless, every student of social history knows that

western Pennsylvania is mountainous and industrial, and that the public mind of Philadelphia is of a different cast and mood from that of Pittsburgh. Similarly, metropolitan New York differs greatly from upstate New York. Tidewater Virginia is very unlike the piedmont country in climate, resources and population; but on the other hand, all the States of southern New England are on the whole notably alike in social customs and in principles of thought and action.

no one can foresee what any great people will do when all the world is in ferment. With Russia in the control of the Bolshevists and Germany in that of the State Socialists, with Great Britain debating the revolutionary program of the Labor Party, and with every other important nation of the earth thinking seriously of its social organization, democracy in America cannot avoid the challenge of comparison. Nevertheless, all revolutionaries do well to remember that victorious nations see in their victories evidences for the continuance of their social systems. Nor is it enough to urge that all revolutionaries are in favor of even more education than democracy has ever granted to Americans, for even educators know that education itself is not the primary need of mankind and will themselves demand of the overturners what they propose as the new and better education.

EXERCISES

1. Show how the making of the laws for the schools by the State constitutions and legislatures is evidence of the supremacy of government over education as a social institution. Is it conceivable that universities, colleges and schools should be supreme over courts and legislatures and executives? Why not?

2. Discover some of the ancient law-making processes as in the Teutonic Witan and the Hellenic Boulé. With these, compare the council of the Iroquois Indians and the town meeting of New England.

3. What are some of the prerogatives of a king other than those named in the text? What are the consequences of denying his prerogatives to a king? What relation did the question of the prerogatives of the British Crown have with the American War of Independence?

4. Does the result of the world war have any bearing upon the question whether monarchy is or is not a dying institution?

5. In colonial times, in New England, the town meeting chose the minister, the teacher, the miller, the firewarden, the constable and the selectmen. What does this show as to the limits of the authority of government then compared with its authority in cities now generally?

6. In the Russian mir, the vote of one man may veto the votes of all other men. In an American village, a majority of but one vote has as much power as is secured by perfect unanimity. What are the advantages and the disadvantages of each system?

7. Name some matters of moral indifference regarding which government nevertheless has positive rules. (One instance is driving to the right upon the road.)

8. Consider the differences between (a) natural laws; (b) governmental laws; (c) rules of social conduct. To which group belong the prescriptions of trade unions as to the conduct of their members?

9. What are some things that Americans are not free to do?

10. Think of several prominent public men and contrast their temperamental qualities for service in the three different branches of government. Why do legislators so often fail as executives?

11. Enumerate some points of contact between individuals and the State.

12. Compare the advantages and the disadvantages of the small States and the large. For example—Delaware and Pennsylvania; New Jersey and New York; Virginia and California; Maine and Illinois; Rhode Island and Texas.

13. In your own community, what progress, if any, have the social revolutionists made? Is your State one with laws that favor creditors or debtors?

14. How far do you advise carrying the effort in school to make the democratic system of government seem real and workable to the pupils? How large a measure of self-government do you favor?

15. What is the cost of government buildings such as the State Capitols? Why do we spend so much money upon them as compared with churches and schoolhouses?

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CHAPTER XX

PROPERTY

Its Purpose—*Economy of Lands and of Goods*

"No person shall be deprived of property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."—*Constitution U. S.*, Amendment V.

It has often been said that civilization began with the first club that the first man thought his own. The man attached to himself something that he regarded as proper to himself, his own self realized in something outside of himself. This sense of property, however, man shares with the animals, many of whom have several kinds of property that they protect at all hazards, and that others of their own species and even of different species recognize as not to be taken. The bird defends its own nest and excludes others of its own species save its mate from it. A dog knows his own bone, and to what dog another bone belongs. Takers of things hitherto appropriated become thieves in the obvious retaliatory conduct of animals as well as in the opinions and conduct of human beings. Moreover, animal thieves sneak and skulk and love darkness just as do human thieves.

The one important difference between property as man makes and maintains it and as the animals make and maintain it is that man has many forms of property and does not require physical possession and use as a condition precedent to title. *Property is the right to exclude others.* Man passes title by pieces of paper with written signs

thereon according to laws and customs. His property is complicated, often obscure and subtle.

This difference in quality runs along with a vast difference in the variety and quantity of human property as compared with all the kinds that all the animals together have. Man is a property-making and keeping animal. A very large part of the life of every man is concerned with property.

The motive of property is self-realization through self-enlargement. Whatever I own becomes a field for imagination and sentiment, for plan and for will. The owner of bank stock, though he be a farmer, thinks of himself also as a banker. The man who lives in New York but owns real estate in California intellectually lives in two States, though he may never have seen one of them.

Property is selfishness accomplished. In this societal institution, the self is expressed far more strongly and clearly than in government.

Within the range of human society, no human being lives through whose hands there does not pass every day some item of property, though it be only a piece of bread or a plate of rice. Unless the man has something at least of food, he does not live.

It is a wholly artificial view to assume that only surplus property is property. One man with but a little current income of property saves some of it, while another with a great current income saves no property. In the artificial view, the man who saves is the man of property. Yet this artificial view is so general and so firmly established as to be itself a social phenomenon of unescapeable importance. We have, therefore, in a civilized society the propertied and the propertyless; where shall the line be drawn? No man has yet risen wise enough to answer to the satisfaction of enough persons to establish any

demarcation generally recognized. We hear again and again of the divisions of the "rich" and the "poor," but no man knows where to divide them. In sheer avoidance of the difficulty, men have proposed the three classes of the rich, the well-to-do and the poor; but here again no one has drawn lines that will hold in the common judgment.

Poverty, it has been said, is not having enough of the necessaries of life for oneself and one's natural dependents. But no man has yet defined "enough" or the "necessaries" of life, or even proven to the satisfaction of the many who the "natural dependents" are. The best that we can say is that poverty is the lack of property. In many cases, this condition is the result of lack of desire to express oneself in characteristic belongings. The poor live from hand to mouth; and things do not belong to them in that they do not keep the things by them. It may indeed be that with some persons, though "hard come, it is easy go."

Property, however, does not serve only personal ends. It serves societal ends also. Though the end of the making of all economic goods is useful consumption, it is not to the interest of society that the consumption should be immediate. The man of property is a reservoir of wealth. According to the extent of his property, he is a small or great reservoir. He saves because he foresees, acquires and retains. It is true that he saves in order that he may exceed others, and through his property make gains impossible to labor without capital. His property itself to a large extent in a sense works for him and thereby releases him from the necessity to work himself. Nevertheless, this is on the whole a gain to society, which needs men with the leisure to think. In themselves, great aggregations of capital under single control help all the other economic interests. A great society cannot exist save with

correspondingly great aggregations of capital. The world-civilization was built by world-capitalism.

The civilized world today is one vast city in sections, and the citizen of London is nearer the citizen of San Francisco in thought and in interests than the citizen of East Babylon was to the citizens of West Babylon three thousand years ago in the days of Sargon. A city wall three hundred feet high bound men together less effectively then than telegraphy binds them now across the seven seas. Oceans that once sundered now unite all mankind. Earth's electric circuit has knit all men in one. There are many barriers of prejudice and of habits and of ideals yet to break down, but geography no longer avails as finality.

In consequence, vast fortunes even of a billion dollars, in single pairs of hands, are relatively less to the needs of the international trade of a nation than a few thousand dollars was a few hundred years ago to the needs of a little city. Great fortunes do harm only when they are maliciously or ignorantly used. The luxuries of the rich are usually more reasonable than the relatively trivial wastes of the poor.

Moreover, almost every modern comfort was once the reprobated luxury of the rich, who are the path-breakers in the material world. To be rich is as much a profession as to be a lawyer, as much an art as to be a poet.

We need here in our lands great corporations for manufacture, for transportation, for trade, for mining, for banking, and perhaps for agriculture. The corporation with large capital brings not only economy, which is a desideratum, but also the utilization of resources otherwise not available. Only a great corporation can afford to reduce low grade metallic ores. Only a great corporation can afford to carry goods across the alkali deserts of Nevada

and California. Only the great corporation can afford to build ships that will carry loads of ten thousand railroad cars over the seas at a few dollars a ton for ten thousand miles. Only a great corporation can support chemists who are making discoveries or engineers who are making inventions that will be profitable after ten years hence. Only great corporations can feed great populations with milk and meat. And only solid and vast property-holdings can maintain the business of such corporations. Private property, however vast, is, therefore, to the interest of the societal public.

Such property affects character vitally. It rises out of good fortune, foresight, self-denial at the time, intelligence and sympathy with social needs. It develops many good qualities—prudence, thrift, foresight, imagination, sympathy—and it enables some to gratify their taste and the world's need for beauty, for charity, and for progress through the conversion of luxuries into comforts, and of comforts into necessaries.

It is doubtful whether property makes for selfishness, and whether in point of truth the course of development is not the other way—that selfishness leads to property-accumulation, which being gratified gives place to generosity. Wealth is rather the effect than the cause of character.

Property affects conduct in yet other ways. It tends to develop stability and conservatism, the desire and ability to please without giving way to the demands of others, and social tact and charm. The man of property is at his ease partly because he is above others, and free from their anxieties. This may irritate some, but it calms others by the social example afforded of inner peace. True it is that "a great property is a great servitude," but patience has always been the typical virtue of the servant.

Morphological analysis reveals in America property-ac-

cumulations of such various characters as to baffle classification of sufficient detail to be of much value. A crude classification is this, viz.—

1. Real estate distributed through many States.
2. Block-holdings of real estate in the same locality.
3. Industrial bond-holdings in widely distributed corporations.
4. Block industrial bond-holdings in single corporations.
5. Stock-holdings of both above kinds.
6. Commercial undertakings in chain enterprises in many States.
7. Single great commercial establishments.
8. Personal ownership of mines, of factories, of stores, etc.
9. Various compositions of all the above.

One needs but to consider the properties of well-known millionaires to understand how various are their economic interests and methods. One man affects bank directorates; another holds railroad bonds; another accumulates cash, which he loans on short time notes; another goes in for mines; another seeks to own first mortgages on real estate anywhere; still another goes wherever he sees a chance to better his investments, and has no specialty.

In this going economic régime, there is an hierarchy of property. It is not—

6. Multimillionaire,
5. Millionaire,
4. Wealthy man,
3. Well-to-do man,
2. Home-owner,
1. Man with a savings account.

Economic rank concerns mainly the security of the property forms involved. He ranks highest whose property is least in danger of loss or reduction; the government bond-

holder. He ranks very high who has cash on hand in great sums; the banker. It is impracticable to pursue this analysis into details; but a contrast will serve. The mechant who makes ten thousand a year, who knows all the leading citizens of a town, who has an established trade through social favor, stands higher than the manufacturer of the city who makes on an average of twenty thousand dollars a year but who must deal with employes of lower social standing than the merchant's customers and with salesmen and buyers transient in character. The manufacturer is in far greater peril of final disaster than is the merchant. Social respect is a function of the security of the individual in his superior economic position, rather than of the amount of his annual income.

So far as independence and respectability and dignity go, the farmer who owns good lands and buildings valued at twenty-five thousand dollars, who has ample machinery and stock, and who knows how to operate this plant without worry and with financial success has no social superior on earth. But he owes his peace of mind in part to the societal institutions that gird him about with laws and traditions;—to the government that insures his deeds and bills of sale; to the church that teaches to the less fortunate the religious duty of reconciliation to one's lot and the virtues of honesty and promise-keeping; to the school that teaches industry and cultivates health of body and efficiency of mind; to the family that wins him from covetousness by displaying the pleasures of one's home-circle; and in various ways and degrees to the other institutions.

The produced wealth of mankind is distributed in these channels, viz.—

1. Interest on capital.
2. Rent of land.
3. Wages of labor.

4. Premiums of insurance.
5. Taxes to rulers.
6. Profits to managers.

Property arises in the main from the thrift of those who receive their shares as money-owners or as land-owners.

The money-owners—bankers and other capitalists—have the destiny of American economic life almost in their own hands, for they can lend or withhold as they see fit, give life or deny it to new enterprises, save or let die old enterprises. Landlords have almost equal power, for they may accept or reject this concern or that as tenants, sell or hold their lands as they please. Hence, the social prestige of the capitalist and of the landlord, who know the circumstances and the characters of nearly all their fellowmen, and preside over their fates.

The social order with its grades follows closely the economic régime. The social hierarchy is this, perhaps, viz.—

10. Bankers.
9. Landlords.
8. Merchants.
7. Manufacturers.
6. Professional men.
5. Salaried men.
4. Wage-earners in unions.
3. Wage-earners out of unions.
2. Day-laborers.
1. Public dependents.

There is, to be sure, nothing rigid in this in our land. Birth and social connections, transiency, personal appearance and manners, superior talents properly educated, defects, all these go to raise or lower a man away from the normal scale. In the rank of a family, ten years may make great changes. Nevertheless at a given time, in a given community, this social hierarchy is approximately realized.

It is obvious that this social hierarchy is not greatly different from the conditions of the underlying economic régime Ours is a property civilization. It is a democracy of economic values.[1] The secured man of riches stands highest, and the speculative business man goes fastest. But he does not attain the heights until he rises to where the secured man stands on bonds and interest, on lands and rents.

In this view, it seems that property is more important even than the universal and dominant institution of the State. Truth is that their planes cross-section at a line where men ask what kinds of goods and rights are rightly to be matters of property, and what kinds of laws and taxes shall we have.

Time was when men could own other men as slaves, serfs, villains and unfree. Time was when men could imprison debtors until their families or friends ransomed them as though taken in war, for then business was war, and established fortunes were fighting men's castles. Time now is when in some States men's homes cannot be taken for debt, and in other States their incomes are exempt up to the excess beyond a thousand dollars a year. Time was when men owned the roads past their lands, and took tolls of wayfaring men. Now not only do they not own the roads, but they must keep them in good style and in a degree in some rural districts at their own expense. Property-forms change as men's notions of the right and of the fit change, but property itself will endure so long as men themselves endure upon the earth. It is entirely conceivable that as now men may not own the highways privately, so before long they may not own the railroads; as they may not own

[1] It is said by some historians that the assertion of this indubitable fact by Daniel Webster in the First Plymouth Oration of 1820 was the true cause of his never attaining the Presidency. If so, his merit as truth-speaker is all the greater.

the common schools, so they may lose the right to own the newspapers; as they may not now own the bodies of other men, so they may not in the future own the houses in which men make their homes, or the factories and mines or farms from which they derive their livelihoods. These seem to most of us pernicious ideas, but they cannot seem any more pernicious than the abolition of imprisonment for debt and of negro slavery seemed to such of our own recent forefathers as happened to have those styles and fashions of property. In the light of past history in America, it is distinctly improbable that as the present forms of property become obsolete and offensive to the consciences of most men, the ablest minds working together will not invent new forms to meet the standards of the improving social conscience and to supply the new needs of the better age.

BASIC STATISTICS

It is highly important to know the fundamental facts regarding the extent and distribution of property in the United States. These are the estimates of responsible government agencies and economists:

Total wealth of all our people	$250,000,000,000
Average total annual income (to date)	$ 70,000,000,000
Number of men with incomes exceeding $5,000,000	20
Number of men with incomes exceeding $50,000	38,000
Average property of families of five persons	$12,000
Average incomes of families of five persons	$3,300
Average incomes of men wage-earners from wages	$720
Total wealth of New York City	$18,000,000,000

New York State, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and Texas contain one-third of all our people and own over one-half of all our wealth. New York City has one-fifteenth of all our people; that is, of all Americans, one in fifteen lives in our metropolis.

Our greatest corporation, United States Steel, has as its assets about $2,000,000,000; and is three times as rich as either of the two railroad systems, the New York Central and the Pennsylvania. American railroads are valued now at $18,000,000,000, and employ 2,000,000 men.

Our farms are worth $50,000,000,000 and support 31 per cent. of all our people.

As an example of the wealth of a State, the latest official compu-

tation gives Ohio $12,000,000,000 of wealth; an annual income of $4,000,000,000; a public debt total of $450,000,000; a population of 5,500,000, of whom almost 2,000,000 live in cities of above 100,000 population each; and an average salary to public school teachers of all grades of less than $700.

It is important to note densities of population; and numbers of cities in each State. The three States of southern New England have a density of over 400 inhabitants per square mile. Ohio now has 135 and Texas 20 per square mile. Pennsylvania leads all States with 160 cities above 5,000 inhabitants. New York has but 75 such cities. Little Massachusetts has 120. (Estimates for 1919.)

EXERCISES

1. What forms of property have you observed among animals? Is the horse the equal of the dog in intelligence? Has a horse any sense of property? In this respect compare the various superior animals.

2. In your community in the terms of money, how much property is generally considered necessary for a man to be considered a. well-to-do, b. wealth, c. rich, d. very rich?

3. In respect to all the foregoing financial qualifications, according to your general information, compare the standards of New York City with those of Denver, the standards of the ordinary city of from 100,000 to 250,000 population with those of the neighboring countryside; the standards of the North with those respectively of the South, of the West, and of the Pacific Coast.

4. How may one discriminate, in the scientific sense, between the poor, the destitute, the wretched and the pauper?

5. From the market reports and financial news of the daily papers and from books of reference, almanacs, encyclopædias, etc., find the total property owned by half a dozen great industrial corporations.

6. Discuss a. the economic qualities of some well-known man of great wealth; and b. also his property holdings.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE FAMILY

Its Purpose—*Home Life for Offspring*

"The end of the household is to fit the members to live well."
"By rest and quiet, the individual man becomes perfect in wisdom."
Of Monarchy, Book I, Dante Alighieri.

As a social institution, the Family arose after Property but before Church and State. Its purpose is in the main to keep human offspring in the care of their lineal ancestors until mature in mind and body; incidentally, it proposes to give to the parents ease of mind respecting the marriage relations and kinship. To accomplish its purpose, the Family instituted Marriage and Home, and incidentally, again, contributed to giving to the race the fixed habitats and the permanent sex-relations of civilization.

In America now, the Family is universally established. Though always there are millions of persons boarding in hotels or lodging houses and not in homes, who live in rooms without consorts or kindred, still all but relatively a few of them have somewhere some known and recognized home-ties. Family relationships and connections by marriage constitute a vast complicated network, publicly understood, by which the American people on the whole are woven into a united nation. Through State and State, the meshes of the network run. So free are men and women to marry as they will that no one ventures to prophesy who will not be the other grandparents of his own grandchildren. Publicity of parentage from birth

forward into life distinguishes civilized man from all others and from all animals, for in a sense while father and mother and grandparents live, the man is always a child to them.

Never will the race return to promiscuity or to early casting off of children by mothers. Genealogy is of increasing interest in this age of inquiry into heredity, psychology and social situations. It is altogether unlikely that any part of the civilized world will return even to polygamy, which was indeed legalized in Germany immediately after the Thirty Years' War but did not proceed far or last long. Still, the polygamous family is a family. The prevailing system is monogamy, tempered by what is substantially free divorce. This becomes in a sense tandem polygamy for the man and occasionally also for the woman. Nevertheless, we give to the divorce even more publicity than we give to marriage, and do not take it as matter of course. We also associate the act of remarriage by newspaper and conversational revival of all the circumstances attendant upon the divorce. We set out to make it plain that in common opinion every separation of man and wife means that one or both are blamable. The trouble may have been due to quarrelsomeness or to sin or to mere feebleness of mind; to whatever it was due, the trouble advertises incompetence to found a family upon this trial.

Like the State, then, the Family is practically universal. Only one person in thirty in our population is born illegitimate, and many an unmarried mother makes a home for her child.

Like the Church, the Family stands for self-surrender. No family ever yet endured as a fellowship without daily compromise of the interests of one and another to the good of the whole. A successful family is an evidence of social sympathy, of the ideal of the unity of the many victorious above the identity of the one. In the family, the strong

bear the burdens of the weak, which is the evidence of love. Harsh self-assertion in a family breaks it up, or reacts upon the offender by eliminating him from the household.

Even though the house occupied by a family is rented, nevertheless the atmosphere of home is there for the family that is truly of one social mind. The very "wolf at the door" that is the terror by day and night of the poor is a wolf mainly because he threatens to break up the family, the worst of all human ills to true hearts.

The family centers upon a home; and home is the place where one feels safe though offguard. Here the instincts of self-protection sleep. To be at home is to be at ease.

Here enters Property, selfish as it is, to help the Family as a social institution. The protective habits that build Property aim to secure the family in its domicile. The ownership of land is one of the best securities to home-keeping.

It may be that the Family as an institution is declining in our land, and that with increasing tenancy and increasing divorce, homes are decreasing in number and in affection. Of course, the patriarchal family of long ago was a far more important social institution than is the modern family. Function after function has departed from parent and from domicile. Ministers conduct worship that once was a hidden and mysterious family function. The patriarch is no longer absolute ruler with police and judicial powers. Mothers and other kin are no longer teachers to read, to sing, to sew, to learn the trades. The family seldom engages in any business for profit. Save agriculture, few occupations are practised at home or nearby. As for the fine arts and sciences, they have all grown up outside the homes; and their products are seen only in public places or in the mansions of the very rich.

At every point, this highly specialized civilization all

about us speaks of the decay of the family. Cookery has generally declined, and that even in rural communities whose bakers go about upon the highroads daily or frequently. Canned provisions are scarcely less common in many and many a farmhouse than in the city flat. The high prices for cereals furnished after the war so much cash to farmers as to produce a marked decline in gardens and poultry.

Has there been any corresponding gain? So much at least as this, that in our times home is that, and nothing else. Though beyond dependence upon parents, grown youth cherish their home because they love one another and their parents, not as a means of maintaining existence. At this stage, parents who might take to hotel or boarding-house life usually still keep the home, it may be out of habit, it may be for the sake of the grandchildren. Whatever be the purpose, the motive is clear; it is love of the "familiar"—of the family itself as a social form.

Home itself is specialized as well as all its historical outgrowths—church, school, government, business, and so on. It has a definite character. It endures for two things—the care of little ones, and the love of very near kin. Of course, the change from economic functions to a living-place only is for the best, but only for the best when the home fully realizes its peculiar mission of bringing peace to all. In a true home, one forgets the cost of things in money, forgets the world, forgets differences in small matters of all kinds; the fret of life ceases, and one can think and feel as one will within the limits of the mutual affection of all the household.

The foundation of the home is in the absolute continuing sacrifice of the mother for the small children, and in the relative self-denials of each for one another. There is no home where one and another worry about rights and duties.

In a true home, each within the limits of intelligence and strength pays into the common treasury of service and according to needs draws out supplies.

Marriage only begins a home. And it is with marriage in modern life that the youth leaves the home to make another. In ancient society and in the social circles where ancient customs prevail, a patriarchal household contains one or more families. With us, each family makes a home by itself.

The social end that is served by the home is the longer training of children and youth, which means the enforcement of the peculiar heredity and traditions. Homes specialize and differentiate the individuals of a people.

To the youth, the outer world is chaos. Beyond the home, lies doubt. Homesickness is very real; to it may be traced many a disease and insanity and suicide. Far away from home, means despair. Nevertheless, the day comes when he must venture. He may overstay his time in the home. But far more frequently, he breaks the home-ties and adventures too soon. Health and full growth, consistency of character and thoroughness of training are all promoted by the home as such.

It is possible so to see life as to form an opinion that the home is the most important of social institutions, but even with respect to the home, society cannot tolerate absolute domination, for even mothers, when past child-bearing, are more useful to humanity if they are not too devoted to their own nearest circle. Parents should carry out into the world, far and wide, many of their virtues and notions, for its cure and peace.

It is incompetence to forget that the prevailing religion of America turns upon a Son and His Mother, and that in its early records much is told to us of the brothers and sisters and of the family as a whole.

A versifying American mother wrote these fugitive lines that serve to tell the roots of the relation between mother and child and thereby much of the nature of a true home.

> "I am the joy of little hearts;
> And who more proud should be?
> They love to rest upon my breast
> And climb upon my knee.
> Like cherubs of the Master old,
> They turn their eyes to me."

There is, of course, a point beyond which even maternal love has no rights. "I did not raise my boy to be a soldier" tells the heart of a mother whose mind is too narrow to permit realization that our country is the mother of us all—better never to have been born than not to love God and country even unto death. Far finer because entirely true is that motherhood which speaks proudly—"I am glad that I had a son to give, who played the man in the day of battle for our country."

Nor is it altogether true that in the home may be found adequate training in every virtue. What is true is that within the normal family of parents and several children with grandparents, if possible, may be found the opportunity to develop the essential virtues of courage, patience, duty, honesty, self-sacrifice, purity, faith, justice and love.

To this height have we come after centuries and millenniums of experimentation regarding the form of marriage and the personnel of the household. Despite such great biological differences as in a sense make men and women seem like different species, woman has domesticated man and has succeeded in developing often in her mate what appears to be and works out much like a paternal instinct. With a sex-life extending not usually over thirty-two years in duration, compared with that of man usually ten or fifteen years longer, woman has developed an earlier ma-

turity so that marrying a man chronologically several years older than herself, she generally succeeds in being a fitting mate to him down to old age despite her heavy handicap.

The meaning of this becomes more apparent when one looks into the true social cause of the success of the mission of Mohammed. The old Arab custom had been to take a wife older than oneself by many years; then later a wife of one's own age, and at last at forty or fifty years of age a young girl. Mohammed changed that. Often the first wife had been the last wife of the father himself, an intolerable plan. Often, she had been an aunt by marriage if not by blood. The prophet insisted upon a similarity in age and upon taking as a mate no one ever in the family before. And while he did not altogether succeed in his plan, he did succeed in getting his principle of non-sanguineous marriage recognized. Without knowing that the famous Cleopatra was the child of six generations of brothers and sisters as consorts, and herself the wife at first of her own brother, we shall not see the pit out of which modern marriage has been digged and saved.

It is expedient in marriage that the husband shall be intellectually and morally older than his wife, which means generally older by several chronological years. It is now the common opinion of physiopsychologists that women of the same ages as men think many more thoughts per minute. The ratio of average at twenty years of age is stated as 135 thoughts per minute for the man and 155 for the woman with wide limits of variation for individuals of the various races, stocks and breeds, and with some variations for health conditions. Fortunately for the equality of the sexes women average an hour less of waking day than men. The result is that the average twenty year old man is believed to think some 120,000 thoughts a day while the woman thinks 130,000. She grows old eight per cent.

faster than the man. In point of truth, the theoretical "average" girl of eighteen is intellectually and morally older than the young man of twenty because of this difference in time rate persisted in for years.

In respect to number of children, it appears that the woman who marries at eighteen years of age on the average has six children; at twenty-two years of age, five; at twenty-five years, four; at twenty-eight, three; at thirty-two, two; at thirty-five, one. The average American family is steadily declining in the average number of its children, which is now barely four. The age of marriage is steadily rising.

On the other hand, there are many cheerful facts. The frequency of deaths in child-birth has greatly declined. The likelihood of death in child-birth diminishes with every birth generally until the high number of seven children is reached. Few mothers live to bear more than ten children. The death rate of children under two years of age is statistically almost a direct function of two factors, viz. —the intelligence of the mother, and the amount per capita of the family income. Intelligent mothers with sufficient money to spend to care for their little ones do not lose them. Still-birth is a direct function of parental disease.

It is plain, therefore, that the public school should teach women how to care for children and men how to "make good money." While it seems scarcely feasible to teach very much of importance in the school respecting the moral aspects of marriage, we shall no longer be content to leave youth utterly ignorant of the simplest physiological facts. The attack upon diseases due to immoral living will not cease until both the diseases and the vice are conquered as the great plagues of the past and slavery have been conquered. The world war has taught all intelligent and devout persons in every civilized land what

we should do to protect the family and the race of the future. The strength and the numbers of posterity depend upon the union in monogamy of good men and women, which is precisely the most important feature of modern society.

It is a very great mistake to suppose, as do many, that polygamy contributes to rapid increase of population. Brigham Young, the Mormon leader, is said to have had forty-seven wives and fifty-two children. This is but little more than one child to a wife. The monogamous family does far better. The history alike of polygyny and of polyandry, the two forms of polygamy, shows that such populations with difficulty maintain even their numbers and almost never increase them. Even in polygamous lands, most of the people live in monogamy, and the monogamous have more children per capita. Some things have been proposed since the world war because of the large reductions of population and the many deaths of men; but quite apart from the immorality of polygamy, according to modern standards, it is certain to make a bad matter worse, for the death rates increase and the birth rates decrease wherever polygamy prevails.

In the delightful, whimsical *Midsummer's Night's Dream*, Shakespeare immortalized the foolishness of love-sick devotion to an ass, but on the path of rationalizing the man in love lies the future good of the race. Marriage should proceed from love, and from nothing else; but it should be the love of two persons not fools. We might perhaps without cynicism classify present marriages as

1. successful 2. humdrum 3. undesirable.

With this as the criterion, looking out upon marriages as at present in America, we might say of the five styles of causation and result this, viz.—

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Of propinquity	Many	Most	A few
Of convenience	Many	Many	Many
Of long association........	Most	Many	Very few
Of romantic love	Most	Very few	Very few
Of social pressure	A few	Some	Most

The marriages of propinquity are such as arise out of being together as in industrial life.

Those of convenience arise from a sense of advantage to each accruing through marriages as when each party has a comfortable estate.

Those of long association are such as childhood and youth and neighborhood bring to pass. The consorts are lifelong friends.

Those of romantic love are usually sudden, even precipitate and are due to immediate sex-response and conviction of fitness.

Those of social pressure are of various causes such as parental match making; drear surroundings and need of relief; and awkward or improper situations, perhaps only unfortunate and really innocent, for which legal wedlock is the one solution at the time.

To some of our foreign-born peoples, it is hard indeed for the parents and other elders to give up the age-old tradition of choosing the mates for their offspring and incidentally getting a little something for oneself out of the process. The American belief that marriage concerns only two elements, the man and the woman and society in general—the conviction that it never concerns any other individuals, scarcely even children by other marriages or divorced former consorts, is part of that freedom which some peoples find alien and disagreeable. Some peoples cannot get our point of view that the wife is the equal of the husband and must not be beaten or lied to or denied a share in the family purse without a question. Likewise some of these peoples do not appreciate our view as to the rights of children, our longing to do all that we can for them, our acceptance cheerfully of all the results of the frankly accepted truth that they came here by our invitations and not of their own volitions.

There is a steady gain in the personal phases of all home-relations, and the one true way to proceed into still better family situations is to develop the marriages of romantic origin or of long personal association together with some applications of modern physiology and psychology under common sense administration and public control.

EXERCISES

1. Cite some of the burdens of the weak in the family that should be borne by the strong.

2. What is the influence upon family life in America exerted by hotels, apartments and tenements?

3. In general do children in the twentieth century respect and obey their parents as did the children of a hundred years ago? Discuss the evidence upon this point.

4. In your community, what is the number of home-owners compared with that of tenants?

5. What are some virtues to which even a fine home-life can make no direct contribution?

6. What peoples find it most difficult to accept American marriage customs? In what respects?

7. Have you been interested to trace family traits through the generations? If so, what have you observed?

8. Account for these two facts, (1) Most widowers and few widows remarry. (2) The childless couples frequently separate.

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Some of the modern novels are richly worth reading to understand the views of various groups and peoples respecting marriage.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CHURCH

Its Purpose—*Religion*

"Pure religion and undefiled before the God and Father is this, to visit the widow and fatherless in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world."—*Epistle of James*, Chap. I, 26.

THROUGHOUT history as the State has waxed, the Church has waned. Whatever be the civilization, there are always functions necessarily to be performed. As to some of these, it is, in a sense, a matter of indifference by what social institution they are performed. Their assignment, now to the Home, now to the Church, now to the State, and then perhaps to some minor social institution is a matter of indifference not as concerns the motives or efficiency of their performance but as concerns the question as to what institution performs them. An illustration is marriage; the main requirement of society is that the marriage shall be public, known of men. A marriage is public if only one priest does in truth of his own knowledge stand for the public. In addition, it is highly desirable that every marriage shall be duly recorded in some permanent public way, as in a book in a court house or in a church. It is also desirable that for a time prior to the marriage the public be put upon notice that the union is intended; this is the reason for the license, and for the prejudice that the public has against hasty, runaway and clandestine marriages. Sex-relations and births and the care of children are of far too vital concern to society to permit sheer caprice in total privacy to initiate the family.

Because government is force universally available, in almost all States we compel marriages to begin with licenses, to be followed with records and to be celebrated only by persons duly authorized; but we duly authorize many to celebrate marriages such as ministers, mayors, judges, and similar public persons. As to the place of performance whether home or church or court of the wildwood, the celebrant and the bride and groom are free to choose according to their pleasure. Accepting voice and ear as not less valid means of identification than sight and eye, some States permit marriage by telephone.

Time was when all marriages were ecclesiastical functions, and only priests could marry man and woman. The Church has now been shorn of this exclusive right and universal duty. Her right is now permissive; her duty is of her own assumption.

Time now long past was when the temple recorded all deeds, and when priests rendered all judgments. Time was when the temple held all moneys of deposit, and were banks of exchange, and priests were cashiers and trustees.

It is not a long time ago when bishops were soldiers and captains of soldiers. Then it was no reproach but an honor to be known as a militant and military man of God. Not only did the priest before battle offer prayers and receive confessions but drew the sword and led the battle-line.

We have but to go back to the England before Shakespeare to discover priests as actors and churches as the scenes of dramatic performances according to custom immemorial. The *Miracle Plays* were all of ecclesiastical origin and in regular use for centuries.

The Church was long the sole societal agency of charity. Then for relief the poor turned first to priest or minister.

This period of time has shadowy survivals in the church poor funds of today; but the great charities are governmental or else independently corporate, or maintained by the free social forces through voluntary committees and organizations.

Time was when all youth studied in ecclesiastical schools. This tradition survives now in but a few denominations with their parochial schools; and the public school, supported by government, is almost universal.

Time was when every child was born into the Church and baptized by the eighth day. Time now is when every child is born into the State and registered duly within a few hours in some government office. Today, we are all "citizens of *the Free State*" as once we were all "children of *Holy Church.*" Educational sociology is not interested especially in the question as to which was the better social philosophy, but is interested in the trend of history.

The purpose of the Church is to maintain religion. What is the business of religion? It professes to inculcate the duties of obedience to God and of service to men even to the point of dying for them. The first profession seems to require the institution of public worship at regular times in appropriate fashion. The second requires the teaching and exemplication upon need of all manner of kindnesses and even of extreme self-sacrifice. The man who will not, if necessary to his honor, die for his religion has none. Without any reference to a definition or any proposition as to the nature of God, the man who is bold toward God as he supposes Him to be because of some fear of man or because of any personal immediate human interest really has no God that any one else can understand. The man who fears God at once can have no fear of men. It is a mere commonplace of religion that God "can save to the uttermost." Many profess to believe that both history

and science are warrant for this faith that God has a personal interest in man.

Some of the propositions of the prevailing religion in America are taken from the New Testament; among them this—*Whoso loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?* The Founder of Christianity is reported as saying to His disciples—*Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul and with all thy mind and with all thy strength, and thy neighbor as thyself.*

It is plain that the motives of men in government and in property are distinctly different from those of men who accept in sincerity such religious doctrines. Government and property express self-will; religion expresses self-denial. In this respect it is much like the home, which cannot endure when its members think overmuch of their own individual and separate interests. So different are these motives that extremists have said that property and religion are irreconcilable and that all things should be in common.

We have but to turn to the pages of history to discover what men the race has agreed to call religious, and what acts the race has admired as examples of religious heroism. They are all men who have cared as little for themselves as was consistent with keeping alive in ordinary circumstances, and their acts of heroism were all acts of self-surrender or readiness so to act even unto death. When they escaped with their lives, it was as in the cases of Luther and of Knox "by the skin of their teeth." They have aimed not at acquisition as do men buried deep in the love of property as a mode of self-realization nor at self-expression and self-enforcement upon others as do men glorying in the zeal of governing. Between Government and Property on the one side and Religion on the other as societal institu-

tions, there is a great gulf fixed; and yet perhaps there is a bridge for passing over.

The motives of men in religious act and deportment are ordered to the vision of several goals ahead, not to the sight of a goal just ahead. The ultimate goal of the race is not in sight, as has been perhaps too humorously urged by some philosophers. "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the mind of man to conceive what things God hath prepared" in this world or in some other "for them that love Him" and for all the rest. The religious man does look to a time after the time that is now and beyond even the near future to a time remote obscure, ideal, but according to his mood greatly to be desired. He has the millennial mind. Often, this leads him to fond hopes of "evangelizing the world in this generation," an aspiration unlikely to be realized unless the second coming of Christ intervenes. And all religious men, even those who have less inner assurance than the evangelists of realizing the hope, nevertheless agree heartily that in itself the millennial dream is beautiful and helpful. To many of these truly religious men, the race draws a lengthening chain of uncounted links from the past; and can escape from its slavery to the past only by some catastrophic events that will make religion paramount and unlimited in its direction and control of human lives.

To the student of society, such as every teacher practically is, the fact that these institutions do not run upon parallel lines to the same goals nor issue from the same primary motives raises this question, viz.—Are they complementary to one another? Or contrary? Or contradictory? Obviously, they go to make up the total of this varied and wonderful democracy of ours; but are some of them destined to destroy utterly some of the others?

To the "rich young man" Jesus said, *Go, sell all that*

thou hast and give to the poor, and come, follow Me. Often and often, it has been assumed since then by religious persons that the rich cannot be good. Jesus also said, *It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.* This amounts to denying to the rich men of His times a place in the Church that grew out of His life and teachings. Is then property in a considerable total a bar to the progress of the religious man in righteousness? A favorite mode of sidestepping the question is to say that a rich man should consider himself a "steward" of wealth and invest and spend and give accordingly. But the slightest knowledge of the social conditions of the time of Jesus shows that His concern was not in the way that the rich man used his property, that is, his income, but that he had property in volume. The rich man of that period owned villages entire, the farming lands outside, blocks of tenements in Jerusalem, the warehouses and often the taxes. Banking was a function of the priesthood and was carried on in the temples. Some priests grew very rich and owned vast estates. (To quote the Greek, literally, Matthew and Mark say that the "filled" young man had "great rights," while Luke says that he was "overfilled." He may have belonged to the priestly class.)

It is defiant of historic evolution to classify the "rich" of the period when the Christian Era began with the "rich" of the present time, for even our "plutocrats" have no such power, no such complete domination as the rich had then. To the translators of the King James Version, "rich" meant "powerful" in government, religion, property and business,—that is, more than even an economic monopolist of today. Democracy has reduced the opportunities of the rich to control church and state and home and the social scene in general and in detail. Nevertheless the question

persists whether property is consistent with the professions of religion. And men still talk much of "putting God into the Constitution," though upon what rational view of the nature of the Infinite and Eternal and Perfect is not clear to some logical thinkers. Such persons call government "secular" because it is separate from the ecclesiastical institution of religion, and then hope that an inference will be drawn that the secular is irreligious whereas the religious is partly concerned with the worship of God and partly with philanthropy, so whatever is secular may also be humanitarian, in which case by definition it is religious.

The movement for the establishment of the so-called "institutional church" is in part due to an effort by the ecclesiastical institution to recover its old generally inclusive nature of being church, state, school, theater, all in one. The resort to Bible texts in the endeavor to secure more power and to exert more influence is illustrated by the use of the remark of Jesus forbidding a man to put away his wife by a bill of divorce. Some churchmen argue that this forbids all divorce whereas the prohibition was only against the power of the husband over the wife privately. The prohibition does not even contemplate a court-granted divorce of the husband from the wife at her instance. Here again we should go back in the constructive imagination to an age when woman had no other economic relations than three—viz.—as a wife, as a family chattel, whether daughter or servant, and, as Jesus said in the same passage, as a victim of the lust of men. The ecclesiastical repetend, *Whom God hath joined together let not man put asunder*—misleads some persons into the assumption that a marriage by a minister is the joining of two by God through human agency, divinely ordained, whereas it would be a closer approximation to the truth to believe that they twain become one flesh when their children arrive and only then

when they do in truth continue to desire greatly the welfare of each other. Love is that mystic joining. The ecclesiastical attempt to recover sole jurisdiction over marriage and divorce offers much less prospect of promoting the true home, the very first of human blessings, than several other measures such as health examinations prior to marriage and psychological tests of mental competence to support wife and children and to manage a home.

That matchless saying of Jesus, which cuts to the roots of things social—*Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's*—assumes the separation of Church and State—incidentally denying a divine character to Nero on his golden throne and his apotheosis at death, as many, especially Syrians, were beginning to imagine for him. Government is a sheer social necessity. But there are functions that governors cannot perform. The jurisdiction even of Imperial Cæsar is limited, and his power is confined. The might of democracy itself in government has its limitations also.

"My kingdom is not of this world," said Jesus, and thereby stated the position of all truly religious men respecting any governmental character with the authority of force behind it upon behalf of religion.

Without universality of religious relations, America has a multiplicity of religions and of denominations within religions. It is far from true that all persons without church relations are irreligious or that all church-going church members are religious—these latter may neither worship God nor love their fellowmen in deed and in truth—but it is true that every non-ecclesiastical man is out of the pale of the Church, which is a serious matter to the Church. With only one-third of all the inhabitants of our land in any church, the social institution carries a load that in the terms of ancient and of universal history appears to

be abnormal. Ecclesiastically considered, the non-church-supporter is an infidel, for he does not believe in the social institution that bears the economic costs and the personal toils of coöperative religion. He seems to anticipate often that the fire will be perpetually burning upon the altar but to see no duty of his own to supply either fuel or attendance. Moreover, he does not help to bear up against the party that in every modern great society regards religion and the Church as wholly outworn, perhaps even burdensome and undesirable. Finally, by declining to take part in the factionalism of the denominations within the main ecclesiastical institution of our people, he makes no personal contribution of thought or will to the solution of the problem of what is to be the religion and the Church of future Americans.

The one-third of us who do in one way or another support religion are divided into more than a hundred different associations of churches, by no means all of them even nominally Christian. Several of these associations, maintain a *pro forma* allegiance to the superior in ecclesiastical hierarchies who live abroad, and not in our own land. A good sailing ship sails faster against the wind than with it, and it is by no means sure that if all winds blew from behind, democratic Christianity would be more useful than it is now. Not since the colonial period has religion experienced any hurricane weather, but it has withstood many storms and squalls and has often been becalmed in windless airs. It is doubtful whether a union of all Christian churches, or of all so-called "Trinitarian orthodox" churches would actually increase the number of efficient church members. The demerits of denominationalism are often recited, but they appear to be outweighed for the present in the general opinion by its one great merit of affording freedom to individuals.

To all churches whatever, with but very few exceptions, government grants exemptions from taxes, which is common in many lands, and guarantees security of free worship according to the individual conscience, which is one of the strange but successful ideas of modern times. Since the notion that a man may have of God is the most important of all his criteria of judgment, for government to renounce all interest in his notion is an achievement of supreme moment in the development of humanity.

Ecclesiasticism powerfully sustains in the religious man his moral attitude and habits, conspicuously his disposition to do what men in high places approve. In no light mood, did the Apostle to the Gentiles say that *the powers that be are ordained of God.* In general, the procedures of the church waken in the religious man sympathy, self-surrender, and ideals of personal purity and of heroism. Though perhaps the ecclesiastical discipline causes a man to feel a measurable superiority to other men who are without the fold, it shames him in crises and emergencies to act accordingly. He must be the good Samaritan to the man fallen among thieves. *Noblesse oblige.*

In this way, to those within the church religion is a tremendous power.

From the religious persons have come such movements as antislavery and antisaloonism; by them have been given vast donations for the benefit of the poor, the sick, the defective, the criminal, the otherwise needy. The Sunday School and all similar organizations, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Knights of Columbus, the Hebrew charities, the Red Cross with its glorious and beautiful service in the worst of all wars, the Salvation Army, foreign and home missions, tens of thousands of social workers whose own economic return has been but the bare living—all have come from within the

churches, or from religious sources perhaps not formally ecclesiastical.

In America, as in every land and every age, nearly every martyr whose blood has been a fountain of liberty, whose spirit has been a light in the world, has been a religious man with an ecclesiastical relation. From George Washington praying in the snow in Valley Forge to God to save the New World for freedom to Lincoln reading the Bible through long nights of anxiety that his generation might not be lit down the ages in dishonor, backward to the Pilgrims and forward to this day, Americans are a religious people. Those who see us otherwise do not understand us. But we have not yet become an ecclesiastical people. We have but a billion dollars' worth of church property, and we spend but a hundred million dollars a year definitely upon religious interests, sums that are very small when compared with those expended upon the iron and steel trade or the railroads or upon government. But the explanation is simple; most of the religious work is done with a free hand, wholly outside of financial costs.

We cannot and should not try to teach ecclesiasticism in our public schools, but we are teaching and exemplifying daily in half a million classrooms the true religion that means truth and kindness and demands something from every one and gives much to all.

As for the religions much under criticism, it is to be remembered that we owe to the Mormons the successful introduction into America of the irrigation of arid lands for agricultural purposes. We allow the disciples of any religion to talk as they please, even treason to government, but we do not allow them to act as they please. According to our notion, frequently expressed by statesmen and plain citizens, the worst possible thing to do to a boiling pot is to fasten the lid down. Let the foolish man show him-

self up; the public of America is intelligent and sensible enough to measure all men and to set down their numbers in its record. Undoubtedly, rationalism has triumphed in America, and in the general view each man is his own priest unto God.

Is it not the fairest opinion that we have perhaps less formal religiousness here because religion itself has so expanded that its own creations encompass and to an extent overshadow it?

EXERCISES

1. Compare the institutional activities of some church that you may know with those of the ancient temple.

2. Cite instances of conflict between the motives and interests of religion and those (a) of government and (b) of property.

3. Has the expansion of religious activities in America been accompanied generally by intensification of personal religious interest?

4. What is the approximate number of church members in your community? What is the per cent. of such persons to the total population?

5. In connection with the world war, how did it come about that members of certain sects were unwilling to become active soldiers? Did mental abilities have anything to do with this?

6. Discuss the relation of denominationalism to religion.

7. Do you know of any persons who living in America profess Buddhism or Mohammedanism?

8. In general, what was the American criticism of the German view as to the nature and influence of God upon human affairs?

9. In the modern age, in view of the reduced activities of religion as such, does the principle of giving a tithe to the church hold valid? Consider this in the light of the national debt of $26,000,000,000 in proportion to the national wealth of perhaps $250,000,000,000.

10. Is there any sufficient reason why the churches should not organize classes and courses in church history, literature, music, art and drama?

11. How do you account for the small place in modern worship and ceremonial granted to music, painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry and drama?

12. Discover the causes that led the Russian Bolshevists to abolish State-supported public worship.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE SCHOOL

Its Purposes—*Education and Culture*

"Education and freedom are the only sources of true greatness and of true happiness for any people."—*The American Government*, Speech 1863, John Bright.

WHAT the civilized adult knows and what skills he may possess have come to him from others. No man lives by his own discoveries. The mind is a composite of the ideas of others; and the speech is a composite of their words. Unconsciously, one repeats entire sentences as one has heard them spoken by others or has read them in papers and in books. One may follow trains of thought for hours, for days, for weeks, for years, organized for him by others. He has been trained in his trade or art or profession by others. Of scarcely anything, may any one say truthfully—"I alone made this," or "I alone did this." The more that a man knows and the more skills he possesses, the greater is his indebtedness to others.

Of course, it is obvious what takes place in school and college where one is definitely giving or receiving information or training or both. But even in the simplest of savage societies, men turn to others, for themselves and for their children to secure knowledge or skill during greater or lesser periods of time. In patriarchal societies, parents and grandparents do not assume much of the instruction of their own offspring, but the head of the family assigns definite persons to this duty. Never and nowhere have parents been willing to undertake exclusively or even

mainly the education of their children. No lineal family (save under the compulsion of circumstances) has ever been self-contained or self-sufficient; and one of the first assistants to such a family from outside the direct line has always and everywhere been the teacher. Coöperation and specialization antedate all history of the written record because they have produced all civilized societies.

What we call schooling consists of two procedures, education and culture, the development of the individual and his social indoctrination, discipline and knowledge, freedom and regimentation. Education means *driving forth,* and culture means *implantation.* In modern life, complete schooling is a long and complicated system of procedures; and but few sustain themselves to its limits. The arrest of the individual before he reaches all the knowledge and skill of which a normal person may be assumed capable usually comes either from economic or social causes, but sometimes from failure of health or of mental powers. But few reach the summits of knowledge or develop the perfection of skill that their environments would in truth provide, were they willing, competent and permitted by circumstances to go as far as the wisest adults could take them.

We hear much about the persons who "worked their way through college" or were "self-supporting through all their education." But the truth is that most of such persons have stayed out from school often for years at a time to "save money" and with such savings have been able through partial self-support while studying to secure a complete training in some line or other. Few girls pay from their own toil for all or even for half of the cost of going to college. In some institutions of college grade, it is much easier to earn one's own way than in others; in general, boys find it much easier than girls. Very few men ever earn any considerable part of the cost of a medical training because there is no provision for "free time" in which to do work for wages or fees.

There is a direct conflict between thinking and practical work in that thinking relaxes the muscles and makes heavy drains upon the nervous life. In consequence, students who must earn their daily

bread as they go along and who display positive ability as thinkers generally are so poor at doing "practical" things that they are unable to make large earnings per hour.

That it has become more difficult to earn one's way through college and professional school since the world war is generally agreed; the cause is the doubled cost of living. But that there will be a rapid adjustment in the next few years is probable especially because of increased demands for workers and decreased supply of emigrants from Europe in the labor market. Another factor, however, is the ever rising standards of work demanded by high schools, colleges and professional schools; and still another factor is the increase of the number of the vocational and technical schools and of such courses in general schools and colleges. In this matter as a whole, therefore, conditions differ so much in the different parts of the country and in the different lines of study that one needs to inquire carefully into the facts of each particular situation.

The long process of a complete education is fairly divisible into three stages, viz.—

1. Education. 2. Education-and-culture. 3. Culture.

The discrimination is based upon the question *whether what the youth is taught and should learn is taught for the sake of his own development or that this knowledge or skill may continue in the world.* We teach a boy to read primarily for his sake, not that reading may persist in the world; but we teach Sanskrit to young men in order that the knowledge of Sanskrit may endure. A physician is taught the medical art not primarily in order that he may make a living but primarily in order that his living knowledge and skill may contribute to the healing of humanity.

In a general way, the first eight or ten years of schooling are devoted to education, the next six, more or less, to an arrangement of subjects partly educational and partly cultural, and the remaining years to the final cultural training. It is not that information is not provided in the years of elementary schooling but that relatively considered one cannot learn many facts and principles or acquire much training in the early years. Then the best that we can do

is to develop powers, to awaken interests, to train in a few essential habits.

The college is the transition period from mere schooling and education for the sake of the learners to culture for the sake of the persons later to be served by them. Culture often requires one to study diligently something that is highly distasteful to him. Inherent interest has nothing whatever to do with the matter. Natural inclination even is not consulted. Culture even goes to war, which it hates and loathes, and suffers all its hardships and even its horrors for the sake of the gains to righteousness.

Not even education, though distinctly a lower matter than culture, allows the youth to follow the easy lines of least resistance but often insists that tunnels be dug under mountains and that arid deserts be crossed. In education, instincts may be defied. Through will, weakness may be compelled to grow strong. The limitations of the purpose of education to travel "up Hill Difficulty" are, first, total inability to travel at all; second, relative unimportance of the special difficulty that lies ahead; and third, relative importance of some easier road. This may be illustrated in the case of the youth who is blind; society does not require him to be trained to be a painter, for painting is by no means an all-important art; and he may learn instead an art that does not necessitate sight but that may be even more important than painting, such as singing. Or he may learn the useful trade of shoe-cobbling. Weakness can be made strong, but special incapacity such as this blindness, when incurable, is therefore educationally irremediable. Whether or not total incapacity exists, practically education can find no remedies for idiocy or low grade imbecility.

Education has no perverse desire to make youth proficient in precisely all those things most disagreeable to na-

ture. In all innocent matters, tastes, aptitudes and ideals are consulted. By careful investigation, modern physio-psychology seeks to learn what the powers and weaknesses of each youth are from eye-sight and eye-mindedness to pull of back and speed of limbs.

The stages of modern institutionalized schooling throughout are these, viz.—

Maximum 6 years—Postgraduate and professional
Maximum 4 years—College
Maximum 5 years—High school and academy
Maximum 4 years—Elementary school or continuation school
Maximum 5 years—Primary school
Maximum 2 years—Kindergarten
Total from 20 to 24 years.

The motive of the individual in submitting to the long process indicated is self-improvement. This is one mode of working the characteristic human and indeed animal principle of selfishness, but it adds the intellectual feature of foresight. The human being foresees or thinks that he foresees, from undergoing the process of schooling, ultimately a larger self—a being more efficient in securing its own purposes and more highly and more generally regarded by others. He sees about him persons who do easily what he does with difficulty or not at all, and he desires to do these things himself equally well or better. He sees these other persons being listened to and in some instances obeyed where he is ordered about or ignored or knocked from the path, and he desires to be treated with equal or higher consideration. He sees himself without a task that brings to him any reward, while others have tasks and rewards or perhaps incomes without tasks, and he desires equality with the best of them. Hence, he submits.

In some instances, the individual submits to discipline simply because he is outweighed and forced to obedience. In some few instances, his selfishness in being schooled is

of a special kind, a kind that in its outcome is not selfishness at all, and this kind is the selfishness that sees in personal training the hope of being able to do more for others and in winning thereby a reward in a life hereafter, even if one is not praised and paid here. Even so, however, for the present, he spends much time in thinking about his own qualities, his own knowledge, his own skill, and in trying to make himself better.

The self-improvement takes place in respect to health and to strength and to skill of body and of its members. Whether or not by taking thought one can add a cubit to his stature as designed by nature through heredity, it surely is true that a proper physical training does make one far more skillful, far stronger, far more enduring than one would be if left to grow up in the midst of considerable populations without such training. What the case would be in the woods and fields with but a few similar savages about one, we know because there is an abundance of anthropological facts for us to study. Even there, the similar savages would undertake much physical training of eye and ear, of hand and limb, of back and of the fundamental instincts.

Society encourages a long schooling, with complete dependence upon adults, for many of its youth because it needs men and women who understand the system of life, the mutual dependencies of each upon one another and of one upon all. For this reason, society not merely tolerates but also enforces the great and complicated legal system of property by means of which promises made in one generation are sacredly kept through many generations. In the same way, society maintains a complicated system of ceremonials, hundreds in number, from inaugurations to funerals, from military reviews to the church sacraments in order that the young and all others with them shall under-

stand that man is one race in which the unit plays a valuable part only when it plays the game of life according to the rules.

It is this playing the game according to the rules that dignifies music and dancing, football and golf, politics and ethics, banking and authorship from the least detail to the main purpose of each. In the midst of a society easily disturbed and wherein each disturbance may cost life, there is no room for the theoretical savage, the man who means to go it alone, the woman whose pleasure is to herself. In consequence, fundamentally, schooling is a police measure. It saves from sin, which is violation of what we have the right and the duty in the light of the past to expect from others and to and in ourselves.

Without sufficient thought, it has been said that the entire educational program should consist of what youth ought to know. The mistake is in imagining that there is nothing that the school cannot teach, whereas the truth is that there are very many things that cannot be taught at all—whether by church, by home, or by school. The truth about education is that most of its courses and much of its program are ordered because these items are within the comprehension of youth. No school ever can or ever will teach parentage; or any mode of social control; or religious reverence. Were it possible, by resorting to the constructive imagination, to teach everything before experiencing it in reality, the human race would be reduced to the absurdity of anticipating at school everything that life has to offer later—which would make it not only unnecessary but really foolish to go on living! Yet some educational enthusiasts seem to imagine that the school may be both propædeutic to and also completely representative of every form and phase of human life, both personal and social.

In economic relations, every society has two parasitic classes that do not toil for pay. So sensitive is mankind about them that even scientific terms seem to convey innuendo, which, of course, is not intended here. One is the leisure class of property owners, the non-competitive rich who live upon others through rents, interests and dividends. They are the social uppermost. The other parasitic class is the lowermost, the non-competitive poor who live upon others through public relief and private alms. These two are the "cream" (or "scum") and the dregs. The question as to whether either or both contribute to social progress is being debated constantly. Both force the rest of society to effort. The former cultivates luxuries, which may so increase and cheapen as later to become the comforts, even the necessaries of the common life of all men. At present, they live in a style years, decades, centuries, ahead of the rest of us. The latter call upon us for assistance lest they decline and perhaps die of cold, hunger, disease and vice. Without the wretched, all the pity of the world would be for children only. The very pity that is genuinely felt for them should cause earnest endeavor to remove at least the environmental causes of wretchedness. Without the leisure rich, there would be little of what is called "the easy grace of life." The claim, however, that to them we owe the general tone of our present social morals is of doubtful validity. Both the wretched and the leisured are borne along upon the backs of the working people.

In such a civilization as ours, in a large sense, we are all more or less living upon one another—all anthropophagi, eaters of one another's time and substance. One of our greatest railroads had in 1919 ninety thousand stockholders and forty thousand employes; and every person who rode in its trains or who had freight transported upon

it or who received merchandise conveyed by it was in some respect, however slight, indebted to the contributions of these owners and workers. That their motive in making their contribution was personal gain does not lessen the fact that but for capital and labor in this economic régime the railroad would not exist. Object as we may that the mill which the rich man owns was built not even with his savings but with money borrowed upon credit; or that the mine which he operates came to him by inheritance, it still remains true that the flour from the mill and the coal from the mine are useful to the poor man who buys them; and that also out of this system of capitalism and wage service has come the modern age of improved general comfort. To say this is by no means to declare that we never shall have anything better than this system. While it lasts, the contribution of the rich man is as demonstrable as that of the poor man to the total of wealth. Our society is a vortex in which we are all whirling. In a sense, all of us are human orchids save those who work daily with their hands to produce the necessaries of life. The poor man who works with his hands to build a mansion for a rich man of leisure, or a pleasure car for him or a gold watch is, however, just as truly an orchid and just as unnecessary to society as is the rich man himself. Of course, in an economic sense, all teachers, preachers, and lawyers and even surgeons as such are human orchids.

The leaders of society see also in education and in culture the hope of further progress. If schooling aims mainly to preserve the society that now is, and if culture aims mainly to keep alive in the world the knowledge and skill already achieved, still in addition we expect from schooling now and then a superior person who shall do what never before has been done. The race has come to believe that only in very unusual cases is anything remark-

able achieved by any person not trained deliberately in the line involved. The race believes that one learned in everything that has already been done in a special line is far more likely to make a new contribution than is any other person. And the race-intelligence, the inner conscience of humanity knows that what is forever most needed is the new idea, the railroad track into the future. No matter how much the new idea and the "new man" may be reviled when first observed and perhaps throughout a generation or a century thereafter, nevertheless the race fairly worships at least in memory the heroic new idea and the heroic man who proposed and supported it.

Schooling makes it possible for the new idea to be really in advance of all other ideas. It saves us from persistently conceiving as progress the forgotten ideas and the abandoned ways of the outgrown past. There is no progress upon the back track. There is nothing in interrogating the past in order to find the trail into the future; the most that the past can do for us is to show what not to do. There is no "forgotten trail" into the future. Atavism, recidivism, revivals of things dead, whether biological or social, are always to be suspected and challenged. Show that the race once did something in an ascertainable way and abandoned it; and the presumption, virtually to a certainty, is that the way leads into the cemetery of the past. As Lowell said,

> "Time makes ancient good uncouth;
> We must upward still and onward
> Who would keep abreast of Truth.
>
> "Lo, before us gleam her campfires!
> We ourselves must Pilgrims be,
> Nor attempt the Future's portals
> With the Past's blood-rusted key."

Perhaps, this is not universally true; there may be an

exception, here and there; nevertheless, it is a sound warning against the retrogressive.

In his *American Commonwealth,* Lord Bryce reminds us that "we cannot uproot the past." This, however, is a very different saying from the caution not to seek to revive the dead past. Very much of the past still lives in the present and to our great advantage. Indeed, it may be assumed that anything very ancient surviving until now is good; the burden of proof is upon the challengers. Though it is certain that not all the truth is coming out of Russia in these days, at least not in such forms as to be recognizable as "the whole truth and nothing but the truth," still the reported slogan of the Bolshevists there—*Away with the past!*—is prejudicial to their case among historically minded men. Possibly, the report is meant to create just this prejudice against them.

Competent education, like true ethics, teaches us to "prove all things and to hold fast that which is good." Eagerness for the new is entirely admissible under this rule.

From too much thought for one's own development, there is danger of the introverted view. We encourage youth to spend much time in apparently selfish concerns that are supposed to bring personal improvement. As a race, we worship heroes and martyrs; yet we urge in youth self-regard. This seems illogical as well as objectionable; yet it is correct and commendable. The self-sacrifice of the ignorant and of the weak does not help the race much. What the race needs is the self-sacrifice of the intelligent and strong in crises and emergencies with great matters involved. Often, we get false perspectives; David who had slain the lion and the bear was already fit to meet Goliath. To call him as we do in church and Sunday School the "shepherd lad" is to use a phrase without the *correlate in*

reality required by truth. The point was that the Philistines did not understand the merit of the manly young hero.

The effect upon character and intelligence of the schooling actually received is impossible to estimate accurately because we never can determine what would have been the natural growth without the schooling or what a different schooling might have accomplished, worse or better. What a person would have been without schooling through mere course of nature is not less difficult to describe than what he might have been in the absurd case of his having been born of one or two different parents. And yet some guesses at least may be considered. Schooling introduces one to numbers and letters, and thereby to the ways of the rest of mankind in many fields shut against the illiterate. Schooling drills and thereby fastens in habits. It makes for persistence and steadiness. At the same time, it checks the generation of ideas and quiets the disposition to vary. It is distinctly socializing, and to that extent, as by excision and by repression, it de-individualizes. It may start the development of loyalty, honesty, honor, duty, justice, industry, faithfulness, and all similar virtues. Its influence, however, upon truthfulness and courage, upon self-reliance and freedom is not wholly favorable. There is here an irreconcilable conflict between the virtues of society and the virtues of sheer individualism. The gang-spirit, school boy honor and class spirit are all mediate and temporary in their nature.

So interested is mankind in the mass in affording to every youth the kind of education that he or his parents think he needs that individual institutions are permitted in great variety. The mainstay of schooling as a societal institution is the free common public school-and-university program maintained by government taxes and operated by

persons directly or indirectly chosen by governmental processes.

Other forms of educational institutions are the parochial school with its superior, the denominational college and university; the endowed school with its superior consecutive form the endowed college or university; and the private or proprietary school with its successor, the proprietary college and university. Between these various kinds of schools and colleges, there is legally permitted the freest kind of interchange of pupils and of teachers. They are graded much alike, and transfers are easy as compared with the conditions in any other land.

Taken all together, these four general kinds of institutions create the one societal institution of the school. Three of them belong in what may be termed "the sphere of freedom," while the fourth and by far the greatest in extent belongs in "the sphere of authority."

The State dominates the public school, and yet in some governments save in respect to taxation, the School is practically freed from control by government and politics. Even in respect to taxation, in a few States of the Union, the public school has independent powers. It may indeed be said that there is now presented to the American people for the future a choice of policies, whether to make the School an integral, independent, universal institution (like the State) or to reduce it to complete dependence upon the State. To accomplish the former purpose, it would be necessary to have a State Commissioner of Education, a State Board of Education, a State Board of Teachers' Examiners all chosen at a separate election from that when Governor and other officers are elected, and to give to the State Board of Education separate taxing powers just as the State Legislature has such powers. To accomplish

the latter purpose, it would be necessary to have all university and school officers appointed by and answerable to the other State officers with no taxing powers.

Taken generally, the School is a less independent, a less integrated social institution than the Church but far more nearly universal in its reach because the compulsion of law makes all youth up to a variety of ages in the several States go to school, while everywhere church attendance is voluntary. The world war has tremendously emphasized the need of universal and extensive education. We are warned by the statisticians and the psychologists of the military forces that of the accepted men 26 per cent. could not read enough to read letters from home and write well enough to send letters home. The record of the rejected men, of course, would have been far worse.

That there are now over 600,000 teachers in America and that the expenditures for education amount in all to more than $600,000,000 a year, when considered in comparison with the numbers of preachers and with the expenditures for religion—respectively 110,000 and $100,000,000—in the light of the dogma—"Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also," shows the feeling of Americans that schooling is our main ethical reliance. Let there be no anxiety here in the minds and hearts of religious persons, for education is itself, as conducted here, based upon another religious dogma—Thou shalt love thy neighbor's children as thine own, and educate them accordingly.

The social institution of the School is generally run upon the unique plan of placing the authority over it in the hands of persons who do not profess to know anything about its inner character. Both boards of trustees in colleges and boards of education in cities and other jurisdictions are composed of men who, educationally considered, are laymen. We do not so maintain hospitals. Even in our

very democratic churches, the authority of laymen is far less than in our schools.

It certainly commends itself to the judgment of many that so far as possible no bishop shall rule in the State; nor mayor in the Church; nor either bishop or mayor in the School. We have separated Church and State; and in the separation, we have promoted the health of each. In the course of time, we may all agree that the educator, like the minister and the statesman, renders his best service without the control of even his professional brethren and certainly freed from the positive authority of incompletely trained, unprofessional men.

Questions of internal organization and administration do not come within the range of educational sociology, which deals only with the institutional character of the School. They are the concerns of the larger pedagogy, that is, of the science of education.

The special institutions into which the School as a great societal institution is divided often, indeed usually, cherish toward one another of the same grade and aims and extend toward other institutions of declared and recognized inferior or superior grade and aims feelings and opinions that are so characteristic and yet so censurable as to deserve attention and consideration by students of social science. High school teachers are wont to assert that the grammar school graduates come to them "poorly prepared." The air of superiority in the college of "liberal arts," when challenged by the normal college, is an invariable social phenomenon, promptly met by the dogma that without courses in technical pedagogy, no one ever acquires teaching skill. The colleges of some parts of the country assume that those in other parts are not more than high schools or academies in comparison with themselves. Endowed universities and state universities are rivals for

educational prestige and quick to find faults in one another. Unquestionably some city high schools do teach more in some lines than some colleges, and their graduates are better scholars than the college graduates who came from the inferior high schools and attended the inferior colleges. The professional and higher technical schools are severe critics of one another. And one who gives much attention to these rivalries and criticisms might suppose that they are really disruptive, but the truth is that in general there is in America a very considerable comity between all educational enterprises. They recognize one another's diplomas, use one another's textbooks, and send delegates to one another's public ceremonies democratically. Even the religious institutions do not construct around themselves impassable defences. The situation might well be better; but this phase of the matter is not so serious as the inability as yet of democracy to develop a system for choosing competent chiefs and then maintaining them in their authority during competence. The trouble here is largely the weakness of human nature; the social machinery, however, is still defective. Worst of all is the absence of a sound public opinion respecting the professional administration of city school systems and of higher institutions. One State limits the terms of all college trustees to but three years; another State forbids county superintendents to serve second terms; a third State grants permanent tenure to teachers but forbids it to superintendents. The whole situation, however, is alive and astonishingly progressive.

EXERCISES

1. Look up the latest statistics relating to education, especially such matters as number of pupils and of teachers, annual costs, number of colleges and universities, growth of normal colleges, salaries.

2. Have you observed that many men and women seem to be of about the mental development of the last year of their schooling? How may this be accounted for?

3. Have you observed later in their lives any differences in the character and intelligence of those persons who were self-supporting in school and in college as compared with those who had to make no effort for their own support?

4. In the process of your own education were there any studies that seemed to you useless? If so, (a) what; and (b) why?

5. Set down the stages of the education of some very successful man whom you know and consider to what extent his success has been due to his education.

6. For what social institutions is a thorough preparation by education especially necessary? Give proof of the correctness of your answer.

7. To what extent in your opinion are the inferior persons of your community in their present condition for want of adequate early schooling?

8. Have you observed any persons who in your opinion would have done better with less schooling?

9. In your own community and State is education well thought of and as generously supported as anywhere else that you know? Have you had a school survey?

10. How far do changes in courses of study affect the School as a social institution?

11. Do such changes ever force internal reconstruction? Why? How?

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CHAPTER XXIV

OCCUPATION

Its Purpose—*Livelihood*

"Were he never so benighted, forgetful of his high calling, there is always hope in a man that actually and earnestly works; in idleness alone is there perpetual despair."—*Work,* Carlyle.

THE personal motive of the worker in an occupation is the preservation of himself and of his natural dependents, to whom he may be obligated for all or perhaps only part of their economic support. Occupation is that more or less regular activity by means of which a man is set in and perhaps against the world of men at once in self-sufficiency and yet with rights of social validity. It differs from property in that the occupation requires somewhat systematic and continuing personal endeavor. *Magna Carta,* 1215, England, recognized an absolute right to livelihood by means of occupation when it forbade fines even for great offences that should take away from even the convicted criminal his "wainage," that is, his implements of husbandry. Until a man forfeited by his offences his life itself, he was to have the right to his trade and tools. So the same wonderful document of our historic liberties assured to the merchant, no matter what his offence, his "merchandise." In each case, even when life was forfeit, the property passed to the heirs. Only when one's superiors may take and keep the means of livelihood is one fully enslaved. The English poet-philosopher wrote—

"And these all, laboring for a lord,
Eat not the fruit of their own lands,

> Which is the heaviest of all plagues
> To that man's mind who understands."[1]

Work without wages or profit is indeed a very heavy plague, but there is a heavier plague yet than being robbed of the product of one's toil. The heaviest of all plagues to torture a man with anxiety and with the fret of injustice is not to own the tools or merchandise of one's trade. Then indeed is one under lordship. It is this plague that is the cause of modern socialism, for though, in an economic sense, wage-earners do eat "the fruit of their own hands" —or at least some of the fruit—still they do not own either the "instruments of production" or the products. Therefore, the wage-earners of today are journeymen—forever on journeys, having no abiding places. Legally, they are beggars at the tables of the rich—that is, of the owners of tools and goods. Practically, however, in many respects, through trade unions, mechanics' liens, wage payment laws, and workmen's compensation acts, the wage-earners of America are far more free than are such of their business employers as are heavy borrowers of money.

Through thousands of years, gilds and trade unions, in one form or another, charters of princes, and statutes of popular government have undertaken to establish workers in the right to work. Mechanics' liens and other rights have sought to confirm to them the fruits of their toil in wages and payments. Much legislation has had as at least one of its important purposes the maintenance of steady work for pay for all men and women willing to work. The civilization in which we move and live is more successful in keeping men in occupations than any other has ever been. Nevertheless, always some willing workers are out of employment and at times more than half are workless and

[1] *Sick Man of Bokhara*, Matthew Arnold.

wageless. The vast schemes of savings and other banks, the modern fluidity of real property, which passes from owner to owner almost as freely as cattle and horses, the comparative security of titles to realty, the free hospitals and other charitable agencies, and the industrial features of modern public education all conspire to help the man in the job and to keep him alive when out of the job.

But other forces work against the laborer. Chief among these is the profit system of business, which keeps factories, mines and farms operating only when the manager sees a profit or is trying to hold an organization together in "hard times." Other forces are the seasons, the changing fashions, the increases of labor-saving inventions in machinery and of discoveries in science, and that law of human nature which causes human ability to deteriorate in societies when they seek to follow the lines of least resistance.

The natural dependents of the workman are such as his wife, his aged parents, his children, invalid brother or sister, and other enfeebled kin. Through human affection and also through social pressure, all these come upon him to share his rewards of toil. To an extent, they help him work, as when the wife or sister cooks, sews, washes and otherwise cares for him.

Occupation contemplates only a living return. But few men or women save from wages even the beginnings of fortune. Scarcely more often are great properties founded upon the returns of petty retail trade or of farm harvests. Occupation aims simply to see the man and his natural dependents through the year. The notion that the trade, the store, or the farm should show a profit in any considerable amount is one borrowed by error from business.

The social end that is served by occupation is that each individual unit is kept alive, and the succession of units is duly provided for. Without occupation, there

would be no posterity. In a profound sense, the muscular, the muscle-users are the parents of the race. Birth is a function of muscular life.

In consequence, society in church and in state is obliged to step in from time to time and to compel workers and employers alike to consider the hours and the conditions of toil. It is against the interests alike of religion and of government to permit men and women to work too long hours, in bad conditions, irrespective of the amount of the wealth-reward. Here what is apparently good for the individual at the time is bad for the race in the long run.

Because society so greatly needs that each unit shall be self-supporting, but little attention is paid to how that support is secured provided that it be within certain definite uniform universal limits of legality. Society does but little directing of its members. It does, however, maintain control; that is, it corrects the erring. Between modes of securing livings that are forbidden entirely and modes to which society is indifferent, there is a special zone of occupations permitted when licenses have been secured. The licenses give publicity to the enterprise, and secure a measure of responsibility. There are many occupations forbidden without a license but permitted with a license.

The Ten Commandments declare "Thou shalt not"; the ethical code of modern occupations declares "Proceed at thy peril."

More than ten thousand gainful occupations are followed here in America. These include railroading, farming, mining, clerking, sewing, housekeeping, and all the familiar wonderful variety of economic activities made possible by the peace and order of modern life. The six learned professions use one million persons.

Occupations were never so varied as now. Some of them are specialized to a marvelous degree as where the otologist

refuses to engage in operations upon the throat, or where a chemist spends a decade investigating how to make a special kind of steel for a special use. Others are the simple, ancient occupations of very general nature such as 1. ordinary manual labor available for highroads or railroads, or for brick-carrying in kiln yard or upon buildings; 2. plain sewing; or 3. farm labor. Society not only tolerates the man who knows a little of many things, and only a little, but actually encourages him by making it easier for him to find employment than for any other man year in and year out. No other man is quite so sure of getting work in the very hardest of times as the man who can do the drudgery of almost anything. It is the prosperous epoch that fills the office of the specialist with calls for his service. It would be difficult to prove whether the specialist with his skill is more the cause or more the result of the prosperity.

The higher the civilization, the larger is the relative number of those who do not require regular employment to secure a living but who have incomes from property. The leisure class is the usual product of years of improving civilization. Its members are above occupational necessity because their grip through law upon the annual production of the society is deep and strong. They own lands and draw rents; they own bonds and draw interests; they own stocks, and draw dividends. They are the owners of bonds, to whom governments resort when funds are needed to short circuit peoples into the future faster than they can travel, paying as they go from ordinary tax receipts. The leisure class is an important factor in economic affairs because, as the owners of lands and of funds, they can decide what enterprises shall be developed or at least sustained and what shall be checked.

In our land, the leisure class consists of many women who

have inherited properties; of retired business men and farmers; of young and middle-aged men whom their forefathers have relieved of economic pressure; and of some who live upon their relatives and friends, from year's end to year's end, by loans, gifts and acquiescence. In a thousand ways, the members of this class set the standards of performance; they are the guardians of ethics because it is to their interest to protect customs, especially that of keeping the promises of earlier generations. *A promise,* said Gilbert K. Chesterton, *is a cable drawn from the hilltops of yesterday across the valleys of today to the high hilltops of tomorrow.* A people that cannot keep the promises of its forefathers is no nation and will soon be a horde driving into chaos, as the world war showed luridly.

Occupation has many direct and many indirect effects upon workers for money rewards. It establishes habits. It prevents much outlook upon the lives of others, and does not tend to make what little outlook there is sympathetic and generous. It isolates one group from other groups. It divides and ranks men hierarchically, mechanically. It tames the wildness in human nature. It develops responsibility and dignity. The hard occupational worker has a serenity beyond the possible achievement of any person of leisure; he is justified before God and man. Established occupation induces those permanent pictures in the imagination that kill free thinking and honest inquiry. No other man is so at peace with himself as one who goes daily to his accustomed toil. This is as true of the occupational worker who commands his own plant, as the farmer, as it is of him who draws wages from another. Often in dealing with social groups, a workless man is put upon the defence by the challenge for a reason for his being. In such case, the man of leisure finds it disconcerting not to have daily tasks with regular reward. In Amer-

ica, there is a distinct prejudice against the idle, however rich. Men believe that occupation leads to honesty, to loyalty and to honor. It is the mother-culture of patriotism. In its early stages, occupation is usually educational, but when too long pursued, it may become pitifully narrowing. Normal adolescent morinoia or habit-mindedness may be prolonged by some occupational influences into adult hypermorinoia, which is such a possession of the mind by habits as prevents thoughtfulness, open-mindedness and rational conduct. The adult hypermoron is in respect to ordinary matters without common sense; though he may be a rapid worker at his trade, he is a first class fool. Whether hypermorinoia is generally the cause or generally the result of overabsorption in the routine of a trade is much disputed.

Every man needs a vocation from early manhood until age sets in, but he needs also an avocation; and he is fortunate when he has a third opportunity, that of an interesting recreation.

The reason why a man needs to follow these three lines of activities is largely psychophysical and its consideration lies outside of the province of this book; but it is, however, of sociological concern that the members of society shall be in normal moods and that some true interest of society shall be served by every mood. Since a variety of personal interests tends to mental activity and to physical health, especially neural health, it is a social concern that while men shall be economically useful, they shall be also highly intelligent, distinctly cheerful and of sound morals. Therefore men need not only livelihoods but also hobbies and amusements.

The wage-earnings of workers have but little to do with their productive values. Here as everywhere custom and demand control. High wages mean that either the work

is unpleasant and men must be bribed to do it; or else that only a few persons relative to the demand are competent to perform it. Low wages show a large supply of labor of the kind; or that the psychic income from its performance is so large that the workers neglect the financial aspect; or else that perhaps in but recent times, the work has been done gratis, or by slaves. The variations of wage-returns in different lines seem immense, even unreasonable; but they are as nothing compared with the variations in the incomes of business men.

All established societal institutions pay but low wages compared with those of the free industries; this accounts for the small salaries of government employes, of teachers, and of preachers.

The influences of occupations upon those who follow them long are very great, physically, mentally and morally. There is also a selective influence in that generally men get out of, or are put out of, the lines for which they are contra-indicated. It would be well if we should take more seriously the lines of Longfellow—

> "The smith, a mighty man was he
> With large and sinewy hands,
> And the muscles of his brawny arms
> Were strong as iron bands."

There will undoubtedly be in the immediate future far more attention paid than there ever has been in the past not only to surrounding the workers, so far as they will allow society to do so, with hygienic, decent, moral and esthetic conditions; not only to providing him with appropriate training; but also to selecting according to their needs, powers and interests the workers for the various lines.

As to the internal control of the occupations, from business men's associations to trades unions and even radical

societies, the inquiry is highly inviting to all who have time for it. The school can do much for all these lines from teaching self-control and parliamentary law to specific trade and technical training.

EXERCISES

1. In your occupational experience, if any, how soon did you begin to take your experience as like that of all others? Or did you resent the regimen of your daily life?

2. In your community, what are the leading occupations? What are the relative numbers of persons in these occupations?

3. Observe typical families and note their memberships and means of economic support.

4. Compare any two communities with which you happen to be acquainted in respect to the relative numbers of persons of leisure.

5. Of the twenty leading cities of the United States, which have relatively few families of leisure? Which, many? Compare Pittsburgh and Los Angeles.

6. Consider your friends as to their vocations, avocations and recreations.

7. According to the latest census, what occupations have the largest numbers of workers? What are their relative incomes?

8. Have you observed any effects upon health, character or intelligence from occupations of different kinds?

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CHAPTER XXV

THE MINOR SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS [1]

CHARITY

Its Purpose—*Relief of the Needy*

"Not what we give but what we share—
For the gift without the giver is bare."
The Vision of Sir Launfal, Lowell.

CHARITY may be private or public. Private charity is the giving of help to the needy, whatever their need, by

[1] The minor social institutions are those which are less universal, less integrated, less easily recognized as established social forms than the six major institutions. These minor social institutions are perhaps to be considered upon the defensive. They are in the making, and it is hazardous to assert just what the processes and the results are to be. Yet we do recognize that society is broken into these shapeless and disputable forms. They are stumbling blocks to many projects of change. Youth find that they cannot move freely because each of these institutions is alive and powerful enough to have an ethics of its own. Of them all, War is by far the most powerful, but its influence is intermittent. Charity is the least powerful, but its influence is constant.

For convenience, they may be treated in this order—Charity, Amusement, Art, Science, Business, War. They constitute pairs because of their inner motives. Charity and Amusement tend to lighten the burdens of life. Art and Science promote the mastery of Nature by men. Business and War are fields of contest. Probably there is also being differentiated out of the social customs a social institution of Health.

It has been remarked regarding Business and War that each of these institutions in a profound sense is anti-social. In each, one finds an internal bond of social relationship and an external disposition of social antagonism. Possibly Business is more anti-social than War, for it is quarrelsome internally as well as externally. This means that the entire social institution of Business confronts humanity trying to get out of each unit as much product and service as possible even while within itself it is quarreling over the distribution of the spoils.

individuals directly. With it, society as such has nothing to do. But in great populations, the relief of the needy far outruns the possibilities of the service of even the kindest rich man, however great his wealth. Not only would the fortune of even a very rich man be immediately used up, were he to meet at once all the requests for relief, but his time would be utterly unavailing against the sea of demands. It takes time as well as money to help the poor, the sick, the afflicted, the oppressed, the defective, the vagrant, the criminal.

Ours is said to be "the civilization of the surplus," the first human society where enough of the necessaries is produced to feed and clothe and house and warm and educate and in illness care for every man, woman and child and still to leave a surplus above all demands, were the necessaries equally distributed. We produce more wheat than men can eat here, more wool than they need to wear, more lumber than they need for houses and buildings, more steel, more cotton, more bricks, more of everything essential to human life. True it is that it is not all so distributed that none suffer for food or for any other necessary. But there is enough for all and much to spare to the world outside. Of this, the vast excess of our exports beyond our imports in the past few years is eloquent in testimony. We raise sixty bushels of cereals per capita per annum, while eight or nine are all that we need.

The failure to distribute enough of the necessaries to supply each and every one here in our land is due to certain prescriptions of our politico-economic system—that is of our laws, courts and customs. Here no man gets unless he stands ready to pay or unless some one else stands ready to give to him. And in time of peace he gets no more than the market equivalent of that which he stands ready to give. Even in time of war, he gets only what a combination of his

own means and of calculating government design permits. In consequence, some millions of persons never have enough of the necessaries of life for happiness and proper development. In consequence, also from time to time, some thousands or hundreds of thousands each lack so much that they are barely able to keep alive. In consequence, also, here and there, one perishes directly of hunger or of cold or of unrelieved disease. And also in consequence, charity, private and public, annually and constantly relieves hundreds of thousands sufficiently to keep them alive, and in many instances to restore them to economic self-support.

The total of persons kept going by the gifts of others and by the help of the public is never known. It is indeed hard to draw the line and to say justly that this expenditure is an act of charity and that is really nothing but honesty. Obviously, the wageless, propertyless mother and wife is supported by her husband, yet this is not charity but a combination of plain duty with self-interest upon the part of the husband. Almost as obviously, the care of any near blood kin is an affair of duty rather than of charity. The relief of a stricken employe is scarcely pure charity, for it is in part duty. Such considerations raise at once the question whether it is charity or plain public self-interest to care for the workless in the winter of hard times.

The purpose of charity is to save the needy out of their distresses. Its motive is good will to men. Charity costs time, energy and interest as well as money. It is a drain upon the intellectual and moral resources of the charitable as well as upon their purses. It forces a differentiation of a considerable group of workers out from the general mass to become almoners of public relief and as advisers of the unintelligent. In this respect, charity becomes a societal institution.

The human objects of charity are these, viz.—

1. The moneyless sick and disabled.
2. The insane.
3. The defective.
4. The orphan.
5. The foundling.
6. The moneyless aged.
7. The moneyless out-of-work.
8. The moneyless widowed.
9. The misdemeanant and the criminal.

The inclusion of the lawbreakers of all kinds in this list may arouse questioning, as indeed it should. Shall a penal institution be considered primarily a charitable agency? Are most misdemeanants either the victims of heredity or the victims of environment? Or are most of them intelligent and deliberate sinners? This again raises two questions—1. What is sin? and 2. Should punishment aim at revenge upon the sinner, or at his reformation? The answers measurably affect the question as to the proper field of charity. Virtually, all punishments are now administered by government; but are they administered by government in the belief that the criminal and misdemeanant are fully responsible, or by it as an agency of charity in the belief that the sinners are only in part responsible? In the latter view, Charity as a separate societal institution takes to itself the problem of punishment, and becomes a much larger and more serious enterprise than when it is conceived as ministering only to the ethically decent who are fortunate.

By philosophy, by statistics and by scientific demonstration, it is easy to show that many sins and many misfortunes are due to heredity and to environment. Intelligent persons cannot hold now the old view that the man or woman who breaks laws or established customs and conventions is

always "guilty." Does the man out of work who deliberately steals milk from a doorstep in a city to feed a starving mother and baby deserve condemnation? Seldom. Who then is to blame? No individual. The play that dramatizes this may be mere melodrama; but it reveals an unconsidered weakness of civilized life. Not of Jesus only is it true that "the Lord hath laid upon Him the iniquity of us all."

Possibly some persons have failed to notice that Jesus never spoke of "sin" or of "sinners" but only of "wandering" and "wanderers." The Greek words in our New Testament are translated in overwrought terms. What He said on the Cross, He said often at other times in effect,—"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Socrates also refused to impute anything more than ignorance to those not virtuous.

In a civilization very, very imperfect, perhaps properly styled "a veneered barbarism," many, many men and women break the laws not in order to save themselves but according to their lights to save others. More than one law dishonors us who tolerate it. In more than one State, the very saw that a carpenter needs in his work and the clock that tells him when to rise and the loaf of bread upon his table may be taken for debt however contracted, honestly or not. Until civilization finds some way to relieve a mother from paying some lord of land for the privilege of staying out of the sky while she brings up her children on earth, it is shameless to brag to a decent person of "our Christian civilization." (The widow's pension granted in some States is a help.) These and many other similar situations are evidence that men have not learned to think clearly regarding the social remedies to prevent misery and sin. There is a too easy acceptance by society and by individuals of the modes and forms already existent. Fact may be present fate, which does not warrant it in being allowed to become future fate forever.

Charity rejects the proposition that *laissez faire* is enough because "Heaven helps those who help themselves" and substitutes for it the proposition that *I am my brother's keeper*. This is the essence, so it says, of civilization, which it defines somewhat as follows—*Civilization is the complicated outcome of a warfare waged by man in society against Nature to prevent her from putting into complete operation in his case her law of the survival of the fittest; and the measure of civilization attained is the measure of his success in this warfare.*[1]

As a societal institution, charity though old enough, is but slightly differentiated from religion, from family, from government and from education. It begins at the margins where property has ended and occupation has failed of relief. It has no part in the other societal institutions, such as the arts and sciences, business and war. The man who gives and the man who receives freely are both working in a field where the motives of property, of occupation, of arts and sciences, of business and of war, one and all, are incompetent to help or even to enlighten.

This is often ludicrously revealed in the advice of the rich or of the well-to-do to those seeking charity with or without desert. It is, however, a fair question to ask whether or not the rich are unsympathetic because they are rich, or rich because they are unsympathetic; and also a fair question whether the well are well because they also are unsympathetic or unsympathetic because they are well. Similar questions may be asked of the natural business man, of the absorbed scientist or artist, of the "born soldier," all of whom rather incline to censure the activities of religious, the charitable, the political and the educational publics with their eagerness to relieve the needy.

The man of religion knows the truth of the query, *Whoso seeing his brother have need and shutteth up his bowels of compassion, how dwelleth the love of God in him?*

[1] Somewhat modified from Dr. Arthur Mitchell's *The Past in the Present; What is Civilization?*

But the question does not interest the irreligious, who even in their own secret thought do not assume that the love of God dwells in them.

The man of family feels charitable because his own heart through associations with children has been drilled in tenderness to the weak.

The man of politics sees in the famine of any portion of the body politic a danger to government itself. To him, the prosperity of the whole rests in part upon the prosperity of each unit.

And the educational man, who deals always with the relatively ignorant, must perforce look upon "the needy" as essentially needing knowledge and skill. They make his function in society apparent.

The defence of charity is, however, deeper than this. There is a plain human instinct at work which says, "But for the mercy of God, there go I, lame or blind, insane or bad." Jesus asserted this in His picture of the Great Assize—"Even as ye did it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye did it unto Me." Terence said—"Nothing human is alien to me." Our own Walt Whitman made this conscious putting of oneself in the place of another perhaps the central thought of all his output whether prose or verse. This is the strong fellow-feeling that warranted his apparent egotism. "I am the lover," he sang. Again, he wrote—"I am the man, I suffered, I was there."

The social end served by charity is the creation and preservation of a sense of a common humanity, a sense of the oneness of the race, what is often called "the brotherhood of man." This, of course, is founded upon the simplest of arithmetical computations as to parentage and upon the simplest of guesses as to the future. When we think back one thousand years, theoretically every man requires more hundred millions of ancestors than constituted the entire

population of the earth at that time. Go back to the time of Jesus, and we require billions of different ancestors in a world of but a small fraction of that number. Look forward into the future, and what one of us is there who can predict that one's next door neighbor will not prove to be the greatgrandfather of one's own greatgrandchildren? Even the veriest pauper at the poorhouse may be the ancestor who will mark our later progeny for many a generation. Whether mankind are all descended from a single ancestor, an "Adam," or many "original ancestors" is an affair of almost no scientific concern at all. God has made of one blood all the nations of men, and the mixing and compounding into one blood is forever proceeding. Not only so, but often there comes of a wretched and perhaps even apparently defective stock at last just that man of genius for whom the world has been looking for centuries. And we find that the one quality that made him so great came from just this train. It pays to save all men. We never can tell from whence the needed man will come.

There are other cogent reasons also for charity. In a complicated social structure in which fairness often fails, and even justice itself falters—a structure of souls that suffer and sometimes rebel—it is expedient not to draw the line of a sufficient support for existence against any man whatsoever. Even a vagrant shall not be denied bread. We should desire no man to be an enemy of society on the ground that land being owned by a few and machinery likewise, he could find no work with wages and consequently for want of wages was compelled to steal. There must be a way out, even if that way be by the bread lines and the public lodging houses, to the woodpile and to the stoneyard. Life itself must be secured, and charity is the means devised. Of course, the better way is that of work for wages affording adequate support. Also, of course, a still

better way is an independent livelihood. But when neither is found, public almsgiving is better than starving into crime.

Another reason for charity is that in truth we are rich and can spare and, therefore, should share. It may be that the rich individual can withhold his hands from giving and still maintain self-respect and public favor, but no rich society can withhold the dole of food and shelter and covering of the body, and keep a quiet conscience.

These same reasons are even stronger in the cases of the infant orphan, of the insane and of the mentally defective.

Among the charitable agencies are the state, county and local governments; churches and church associations; voluntary philanthropic organizations and committees; and many secret societies; to an extent, life, fire, accident and marine insurance companies; and numerous eleemosynary corporations. They maintain asylums, hospitals, jails, prisons, dispensaries, old ladies' and old men's homes, poorhouses and poor farms; outdoor relief; loan funds; and all their managers, agents and other workers.

In this nation of one hundred million people, it is likely that in some form or another, taking good years with bad, we should discover from three to five million persons in receipt of a measure of charity every year, on the average. It is inconceivable that this charity would not be extended in such a civilization as ours, but assuming the inconceivable, we have the right to say that charity saves every year several million people from despair and death.

Never before in any land or in any age, in truth, was so much charity in evidence, were so many kind deeds being done as here in this land and age of our own. This is due in part to our wealth, in part to our high measure of civilization, but in largest part to our democracy itself, to our ideas of the rights and wrongs of men. It is all

very well to say of the child that society never ordered his arrival, but surely he did not order his own; hence, in his orphan condition, he must be saved. And the same argument holds for nearly every other case of charitable relief. The willing worker out of work did not put himself out. No man ever invites sickness from mere delight in pain of body and distress of mind.

Charity is a growing institution in part because pity is deepening in human hearts, because intelligence is increasing and with it social sympathy grows. But charity also grows because the actual need of it grows. As populations thicken, the individual is more and more ignored and forgotten so that in consequence many a one is submerged. The very fact that advertising pays means that the advertiser gets into the limelight and the rest fall into shadow and darkness. The fame of the few is the blighting of all the rest. Of course, not all the rest suffer enough to be brought to poverty, but many suffer even to that degree. The older and greater the city, the worse the slum. There is no evidence that the children born in the slum are born generally with less native ability to serve their day and generation well than are the children born in the aristocracy of avenue, of park, or of suburb.

The eyes and the ears of charity are required to go about in the dark places to find the neglected and the lost.

In the world of charity, there are two classes, those who give and those who receive. To be charitable is to have the intellect brightened and widened, to have the sympathies and the finer appreciations of life quickened, and to have the will strengthened to keep oneself out of trouble and to help those in trouble. The charitable are not weak but strong; they are not dull but clever; they are not cold but warm and human. They live better, larger, happier

lives than do the uncharitable. The hard heart is a symptom of the small mind.[1]

As for those who receive charity, they fall into two groups, the truly redeemed, and the ungrateful. The former become established, where that is possible, once more as normal human beings bearing their own burdens. Even those who can never recover their former position, even the defective by birth, for whom there can be no great hope, are made by charity kindlier and less of a burden to the rest of mankind. It is very doubtful whether, in the total, wise charity really does cost more than complete callousness would cost, were that even possible. Charity is certainly a bulwark against the greater crimes of arson, murder and burglary—all of which are in a way treasons against mankind, and proceed from perverted and neglected souls.

The perversion comes from some instinct that has been forced awry by some social pressure against a mind not really weak. Imbeciles seldom commit the great crimes. The neglect comes from society as a whole which has failed to image itself as composed of all its parts.

Let no man who has inherited or who has been given property ever declaim against "the pauperization" of the wretched by their receiving charity. They get doles where perhaps he got millions. The worst of all paupers are such of the rich by inheritance as begrudge the miserable

[1] These phrases "hard heart" and "small mind" are so badly worn by much use that perhaps it is desirable to observe how modern physiology and modern psychology explain the causes. They name conditions of poorly coördinated brain areas and of blood deficient in nerve-foods, sometimes also conditions of accompanying defective heart-action; and they name also conditions of small supplies of facts and of inadequate mental power to consider facts. The unsympathetic and narrow-minded usually also have but slight somesthesia. The uncharitable are so unintelligent as not to understand even themselves.

poor their small grants from the vast total of American wealth. Fortunately for the rich themselves, most of them take no such attitude toward the less fortunate.

EXERCISES

1. What are some of the charitable institutions near your home?

2. In your opinion are there in your community a sufficient number of charitable institutions? If not, what additional institutions would be desirable?

3. What is the number of persons who apply for one or another form of poor relief; and what are the forms of poor relief in your community?

4. Have you ever visited a police court? If so, what are some of the things that you observed?

5. Discuss and prove the definition of civilization cited in the text.

6. In your opinion are the American people charitable or not? Upon this point what evidence have you to submit?

7. One may (a) keep money, (b) spend it, (c) invest it, or (d) give it away. What are the advantages of each course? What are the disadvantages?

8. If you have in your community two men of great wealth, one of whom is a philanthropist and the other of whom is not, compare and contrast their intellectual abilities and their personal traits.

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CHAPTER XXVI

AMUSEMENT

Its Purpose—*The Free Play of the Human Spirit*

"All the lighter moods and the more primitive and instinctive needs of the community need socially provided, socially accepted, and socially controlled opportunities for expression, for exercise, for enjoyment, and for direction."—*Educational Resources of Village and Rural Communities*, Hart, page 137.

Every one who is normal in his psychophysical organization has played, and nearly all such continue to play until old age. Yet perhaps of all social institutions, amusement is the least organized, and the least self-conscious of its mission. Amusements are wonderfully varied. There are, it would seem, as many kinds of amusements as of gainful occupations. A very brief list, relative to the possible total, runs into many items, such as the opera and the theater, the various games—golf, football, etc., whist, chess, etc.—outdoor sports from bird-hunting to sea-fishing, swimming, movies, playing upon musical instruments of many kinds, dancing, billiards and pool, bowling, amateur photography and wireless telegraphy, automobile driving, reading, conversation.

The notion that amusements are, however, not merely individual affairs according to taste and circumstance but distinctly social, traditional, conventional, customary, or fashionable, and that in them society is very deeply and altogether vitally concerned is ancient and true. It makes a deal of difference whether a boy grows up expert in football or in tennis, for one gives him training of one

kind while the other gives him training of another kind. And it makes still more difference whether his chief amusement has been swimming or card-playing. It even makes a difference whether he has played cards simply as an amusement or also for possible gain. Plato argued with much skill and success that it made a great difference what songs a nation sang, and objected to what we would probably call "ragtime" as certain to develop immorality by encouraging erratic impulsiveness.

With respect to amusements, society has three main concerns: 1. That every one shall have some amusement. 2. That the amusement shall be socially innocent and in a measure advantageous. 3. And that the amusement shall be beneficial to the individual as such.

Society is exceedingly interested in establishing and in maintaining social harmony. It needs to have all its units comfortable with regard to one another. Friction is highly objectionable.

There are but two ways to avoid social friction. One is to relieve its causes, such as injustice in the distribution of wealth, or misfortune through unhappy marriage, which is usually the result of haste. The other way to avoid friction is to oil and even to pack the bearings. Though men have hearts rankling with the sense of social injustice or of maladjustment to others, still they may be relieved by having their attention called vigorously elsewhere. Amusement does this very thing—it makes one forget trouble, and thereby it eases the frictions of life.

There is a positive physical value to amusement. Work wears upon definite brain areas. Too much speech, as in the case of the teacher or salesman, wears out the left frontal area of the brain. Too much looking, especially in too strong a light, tires the optical lobes in the back of the brain. These overwrought areas need flushing and rest.

They get both by laughter and by joy. Physiologically, it is the function of the adrenal glands to stir the entire circulation by stimulating the heart. And these glands are themselves awakened by vigorous, self-forgetful exercise, as in swimming, or in singing, or in laughter.

Social harmony is but the living together of several persons in indifference as to the conflicts of their personal interests. It is mutual toleration. Men who are bitterly opposed to one another go to a lodge meeting or to a club "smoker." They sing and laugh together at the same thing. And soon they have for the time at least forgotten their disagreements. The same harmonizing situation happens with women in the church and sewing circle.

The personal motive of the individual who is seeking amusement is to gratify the instincts to rest and to play.

The higher the civilization, the more amusements are organized and standardized. Places of amusement become serious business enterprises. In this land of ours, amusements are considerably developed. The recent years have seen great extensions and far more general interest in amusements than ever before. And yet we have less interest in amusements and less variety of them than European countries had prior to the World War.

Too much play tends to what is styled "frivolity" of character, which means dissipation of interest and inclination to overvalue the trivial and the physical. But a sufficiency of play is entirely healthful to mind and body for child and adult alike. Proper amusement adds to the grace of life.

Some kinds of amusements tend strongly to develop the social spirit, loyalty, honor, duty. This is conspicuously true of the games of young men. Other amusements develop personal courage or fortitude. And still others tend to levity and even to bitter personal rivalry, to envy and to

jealousy. In consequence, society is deeply concerned as to the progress of each and every kind of amusement.

For the corresponding social functions, we have boards of health, and boards of education, legislatures, courts, councils, church sessions, social service committees. Nowhere yet have we boards or committees charged with the entire question of the public recreations and pleasures. The beginning is seen, however, in playground committees. And it is quite possible, for it seems desirable, that the day will come when the amusements of communities and of peoples shall be organized in a definite societal institution.

EXERCISES

1. What are the games that the children of your community play? What games do the youth play? What are the games of the adults?
2. Of economic enterprises for amusement or recreation, what is the number in your community?
3. Compare the physical and mental results of the various kinds of recreation that you practise.
4. In your community are church sociables, dinner parties, dances, lodge entertainments and other social gatherings frequent or not?
5. What is your opinion of the Chautauqua movement?
6. Commercialized baseball is a contest between funds and incomes managed by rival business men employing ball-players with more or less skill. It is a contest of money and employing abilities. The ball-players come from anywhere. Only the "fans" are local. Were professional baseball really a "sport," all players would be taken from within territorial limits, and every club would have the same funds for salaries. What other features would you suggest?
7. Are movies amusements?
8. How can we improve vacations and holidays?

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CHAPTER XXVII

ART

Its Purpose—*To Interpret Life Emotionally; To Educate and Discipline the Feelings*

"The very taproot of civilization and progress is the instinct of men to admire what is better and more beautiful than themselves."—*Democracy*, J. R. Lowell.

SAID Henri Taine in the *History of English Literature*, "The soul of a great author by its ceaseless metamorphosis, being infinitely complex, becomes in a way an abstract of the universe; men, animals, flowers, plants, landscapes, whatever the objects are, living or not, he feels by direct insight." The remark is equally true of the great musical composer and of the great artist in color or form. But such a man, by his very nature, is set apart from others and cannot share as one of the multitude their daily tasks lest thereby he himself be exhausted and deprived of the opportunity to render to the others his own peculiar and more valuable service. In consequence, it is necessary to find some way by which, living among others, the artist may yet be set directly, at least some of the time, to his own special function; this means that the degree of culture attained and of economic prosperity within his own community must be sufficient both to allow him to live somewhat at leisure by the consent of others and to keep him supplied with the necessaries of life and with such of its materials and tools as his art requires.

Where social regimentation prevails, the artist is not

permitted to work; and where poverty is deep, he cannot survive. But the high civilization has developed at least some measure of freedom and some surplus at least for a few above the ordinary wants of life; and such a civilization sets apart some men through whose efforts the arts come into being.

Art has been variously described and defined. Its purpose has been explained as that of creating beauty, or things of beauty. But what is beauty? Ruskin and Tolstoi come nearer to the heart of the matter when they say that the artist aims to create in the listener or observer his own mood—to stir in the soul of another the same emotions as those which he felt when he wrote the book, painted the picture, built the cathedral or sang the song. Indeed, an artist may aim to create not the beautiful, whatever beauty may be, but the ugly; not the cheerful but the sad and bitter; not pleasure but pain. The ultimate object is not the thing but the feeling. The aesthetic is not ethical or intellectual but emotional; not moral but affective. Joy, sorrow, ecstasy, action, abandonment to mood, such as these are the results of awakening to an art product. To interpret life at its most sincere moments, to have delight in the keenest experience even though it be of horror and tragedy, such is the mission of art, which changes conduct by disturbing its motives.

Most artists suffer much privation, almost always in youth, frequently also even after they have become famous. Some have died in poverty. The artist has no economic motive, and seldom has he any direct economic justification for his existence and costs of support. He is an economic orchid. Like the lily, he toils not, neither does he spin. He is working to make others perceive what he perceives, appreciate what he appreciates, will to do what he wills to do. He has no immediate self-interest. His motive is al-

truistic, social, aimed at others. It is only in appearance that he is an egoist. The artist may have a family; but for his art, he neglects his home and throws the support of wife, children, mother upon neighbors or upon public charity. So Dante spent his life "eating bread at other men's tables and walking up and down other men's stairs" because he had a dream of righteousness and freedom in beauty, and his fellow townsmen of Florence had the reality of food and splendor in unrighteousness and tyranny and quarrel. So Balzac lived in garrets writing the *Comedie Humaine.*

Though intending to disturb the world by his product, the artist in the course of his toil is dead to the world. What cares he for present pleasures and even duties compared with the great good that he is to render, and perhaps, he sometimes thinks, with the fame he is yet to win? Well meaning persons may look upon the notions of the artist in his solitariness while at work as criminal or insane. His case, as a matter of psychology, is one of marked mental obsession by persistent ideas motivated so strongly as to control all conduct. Fortunately, there are relief periods when with a piece of work done, the artist turns to amusement, to recreation, to forgetfulness it may be, even of his art. In these periods, the artist while recovering health of body recovers sanity of mind, and in them he accumulates ideas for his next effort.

Present selfishness may be final unselfishness.

Present egotism may be but a form of heightened race-consciousness. Disagreeable as it may be to admit the case, genius and high and peculiar talents are a law unto themselves. And nothing is more fatuous than to consider the morality of these superior persons in ordinary terms, for genius and great talent render their service upon their own terms. In elder days, genius and high talent were socially tabooed, and many an artist was promptly sent to death for

his peculiarities and variations from the accepted types and manners. Then variation was itself a crime. At least to let the artists alone even when we do not hearten them, is a mark of high civilization. We must tolerate even apparent sinners for the hope of their final service. There are cases where but for their sins, they could not have displayed their talents. But we do not need to approve of their sins even as manifested in themselves, nor need we go to the absurd length of setting up their sins as essential to their success and certainly not to the outrageous point of considering their lives as imitable by the rest of us. To imitate is to confess inferiority in talent.

Society tolerates the artist while he is productive, and if he wins to his goal, it canonizes him. The world needs frequent awakenings. Artists have taught us to love sunsets and the great sea. Artists have taught us the harmonies in the winds, and delight in singing birds. Artists have taught us how to express reverence. They have given to us "the vision of the human form divine." They have composed for us glorious oratorios, convincing dramas, and stirring lyrics. In novels, they have interpreted ourselves beyond the opportunities of real life. We can know and understand the creatures of fiction from Portia and Rebecca Sharpe to Oliver Twist and Tom Sawyer better than we shall ever understand our own neighbors. The creators of art are the ministers of pity, of love and of heroism and the teachers of wisdom.

Art is essential to religion and very useful to patriotism. Who shall say that the artists who have pictured Madonnas have not enriched even mother-love?

The arts have tides. The Victorian Age in England was the age of the finest and strongest of novels. The thirteenth century saw the great cathedrals of Europe built. In the century following the birth of Jesus, Rome was made glo-

rious. Athens for beauty is synonymous with the age of Pericles.

The arts have lands. We go to Northern Italy for the finest paintings and to England for the finest novels. We do not look for great opera in Spain or in Russia. Here in our own land, art is still but in the earliest flooding. In a sense, we have as yet no art, and no arts; but we have the beginnings of several arts. With us, art has found help from government in the construction of public buildings. Privately endowed corporations have established museums of art. The musician and the painter, the architect and the dress-designer, the worker in fine handicrafts, however, all still depend almost entirely upon individual patrons and upon occasional sales for support. And the mood of our population is not yet toward art strongly enough to set many youth upon that lonely and perilous course.

In our land, the church has done but little for art because it has seen but little in art. Yet there are a few beautiful church-buildings and stained glass windows with religious scenes.

Everywhere we Americans are still asking, What is the use of art? Why should things be charged with that quality which makes us feel? We look rather at the stuff in the rug than at the design and colors. In this, we are quite vulgar and altogether prosaic. Even barbarians loved beauty and emotion more than we. But we are changing; in truth, we are beginning to see that a great novel like *Les Miserables* is a national asset, that a glorious cathedral like that at Milan is a vital power, that Westminster Abbey is worth far more than it cost. It is not that we Americans have been totally indifferent to these matters, but that our youth have not been encouraged to dream dreams and our old men to see visions. *Hiawatha* is almost our only national poem, and that deals with the race

before ourselves. We hope that it is but premonitory of real poetry to come. Our own Library of Congress set us forward in the course toward a literature. Arts will come here as they have to all lands to make for social understanding, for societal permanence, for national idealism. The world-war has awakened us. Unquestionably, the anger and sorrow over the destruction of cathedrals and libraries have helped us to see and to love true art.

In its very nature, Art is always a dependent societal institution, periodic in its development, temperamental, incalculable, unpredictable. Art is the sublimation of human nature. To feel its motives, to appreciate its purposes, to surrender to its self-denying life is given to but few, who make all later men their debtors.

EXERCISES

1. List the artists of all kinds including musicians in your acquaintance.
2. How do you account for the fact that America has more amateur musicians than amateur artists or amateur poets?
3. Read some biographical sketch of a great artist or of a musician and discuss the main features of his career.
4. What are some (a) of the great novels that you have read, (b) of the great dramas that you have seen, and (c) of the great operas that you have heard?
5. Have the churches in your city beautiful stained glass windows? Is your public library beautiful inside and out? Has your city or village beautiful homes? If you are not content with what you have observed in this respect, by what method may conditions be improved in the future?

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CHAPTER XXVIII

SCIENCE

Its Purpose—*The Discovery of Truth*

"The best work in the admirable magazines of America is aimed at making emotional solidarity possible by describing twenty races to one another. This aim is reached only when the interpreters forget it in the purpose to tell the austere truth. The minimum of Love necessary to hold together the cities and the nations of the Great Society requires that what school children learn of the unseen millions of their fellows shall be the truth."—*The Great Society,* Chapter X, Graham Wallas.

THE nature of science is revealed in its methods. Science qualitatively *analyzes,* quantitatively *measures,* mathematically *computes* and statistically *records* whatever it works upon. Qualitative analysis means finding the separate parts or features of anything; as, for example, the colors of the rainbow; or the chemical constituents of milk. Quantitative measurement means finding the weights or numbers of the parts or the relative force of the qualities; as, for example, the seven primary colors; or the amount of butter-fat, casein, sugar of milk, minerals and water in milk. Mathematical computation gets these facts accurately, as, for example, milk with 13.7 per cent. butter-fat. Statistical record completes the scientific process. Doing all this in any given investigation takes time, strength, intelligence, patience, love of truth, courage, according to opportunity, to circumstances and to the subject under investigation.

Art is scorned by the dull, but science is feared. Science even analyzes art, which is not so analyzable nor in

truth understandable. It measures art products, computes their values, records its opinions, and passes on—mistaken. Art and science cannot be reconciled save in philosophy, which at most makes them tolerate one another. Science, conspicuously applied science, is almost as self-destroying as art, and by the same contradiction quite as selfish. The scientist cares for nothing but the truth. He knows that there is no arguing about a fact, that the way to stop discussion is to find the fact. Therefore, the disputants upon each side hate the scientist who does not care at all how the fact that he discovers hits and cuts, or who wins. The scientist has no reverence save for the fact, which is so perfectly sacrosanct with him as, in a sense, to make his religion. Therefore, the scientist hunts facts more zealously than even a business man hunts dollars.

America is not a land of art, but it has gone far upon the road of science, especially of science in its economic and social bearings.

Every science contains the possibility of yet another revolution. Telegraphy made it as easy to govern upon the periphery as at the center of a nation. Hence, it decentralized government, gave to democracy a permanent hope, and made many local fames promptly national, and thereby widened the field of candidates for higher office.

Of all the societal institutions, perhaps for no other than science can so good an argument be set up that it is the foundation and the superstructure of that which is modern in modern society. What does science not touch?

The polite indeed no longer argue; they ask for the statistics.

Is the automobile a menace? How many are killed each year by it? What do automobiles cost each year? Is religion declining? How much money is given a year to missions? How many church members are there? How

many church members are in jail or penitentiary? Is government a failure? How many murders are there a year, and how many convictions are there? What amount of tax is collected at the customs houses, and what amount is paid there for salaries of the collectors? Are the poor growing richer? What are present wages, and how much will money buy as compared with former times? Has the man a bone necrosis? Put the X-ray upon him, and study the photograph. Are Americans a book-reading people? How many books do they buy a year per capita? It costs a hundred thousand dollars to kill a man in war; let us examine the alleged facts once more. "Get the facts," again, over and over again—such seems to be the slogan of science, which seems to assume that one who knows the facts cannot go astray.

Science will try to go anywhere, will invade anything. Is marriage a failure? How many divorces are there a year? And are marriages being postponed? How many men and women are associated annually in the sex-relation out of marriage? Shall this baby born defective live or die? Test it, and see. Science shrinks from nothing. "The English New Testament says so and so," does it? What does the Greek text say? Did Jesus know Greek?

The question is no longer—Shall we forbid science to enter here? For it serves nothing to attempt the prohibition. Science measures in calories and in foot-pounds even the output of physical energy generated by the individual human being and predicts whether or not he would succeed or fail in a given line. What is the meaning of the saying that one radiates health and joy? Science tests ears and eyes, recalls, reactions, judgments and time-rates and assigns the man accordingly. Moreover, in general, modern science makes but few errors even in this apparently forbidden field.

So far has scientific specialization gone that one scientist diagnoses a medical case, finds the trouble, and an applied scientist takes the chart and scarcely looking at the man as a human being, cuts into him and relieves the hidden trouble. Differential diagnosis rules the world. There are men who, hearing a motor car a block away, will tell at once where the engine- (or other) trouble is.

And the scientist pays the price. He who undertakes to know all about one thing must be content to know but little of all other things. Science is exceedingly narrowing. The man who masters even a part of one field is a stranger to all its other parts, and is apt to resent criticism for being so narrow a specialist. A well-founded anecdote recites that a patient visited a famous otologist, who discovered that the trouble was in the Eustachian tube. Right there, he balked, saying, "Go to Doctor So-and-So," said he. "Only one man in this country knows more about the Eustachian tube than I do, and he's that man." Such is the spirit of specialization in modern medicine, which is characteristic of that of all modern science.

The one enemy of the scientist is the faker, the pseudo-scientist. Hence, the laws sought from the legislatures against quacks. Here half-knowledge is worse than no knowledge, for it begets confidence and leads to experiment where life is at stake.

The motive of the scientist is curiosity; his passion is to get into dark places with a lantern. He hates humbug, but he loves ignorance, which is the seat of his opportunity. Show what is apparently a vacuum to a scientist; and if his time permits, there he will set out to discover a plenum. Truth is his God. Surely, there is much to admire in this worship of his.

Truth-seeking, however, is immediately very selfish.

Even a human being becomes only a "case," a "thing." Wireless telegraphy set back at once the values of all telegraphy corporation stocks one-third, and there has been no recovery. But science goes carelessly on its way, caring only for progress.

The new invention puts men out of work. It may displace nine in ten, ninety-nine in a hundred. Science cares nothing, but goes forward to the next conquest of nature. The new scientific system makes it necessary for a human worker to perform the same motion two hundred times a minute. Naught cares the scientific inventor for the man that insanity results. All that he does is try to invent a mechanism that will make the two hundred motions instead of the man.

Not long since a scientist discovered all the laws of poetics and then himself wrote a long epic accordingly. Some persons have read it, and the probability is that in the future all would-be artists in verse will read both the scientific book, which is illuminating, and the poetry, which is mechanically excellent.

With its pulmotor, science has called back to life those apparently dead for hours. Science has recently asserted that nearly every death is due to a small error in a small part of the body that has temporarily "gone crazy," and that often all the rest of the body is perfectly well.

Other bones have been grafted into human bodies.

As death itself has been challenged by science, so also birth has been marvellously assisted. Baptism has become less important than attending to the eyes of the infant properly at birth. Anæsthetics have almost conquered the race-long "pains of the woman in travail," and "race-suicide" has lost at least one valid excuse. What effect this will have upon sex-morals is obvious, but the scientist does

not care. The same is true of the discovery of the cure for the worst venereal disease. Hereafter, sex-decency will be the result of goodness, not of fear.

Science is the darling of modern society. Great business corporations maintain staffs of scientists. State governments that would sneer at the idea of paying a salary by the year to one artist or to one musician will employ hundreds of scientists. Half of the courses of modern high schools and colleges are science courses. A young man with a college degree will tell much about chemistry and mathematics, though he may not know A♭ from D♯, nor violet from lavender.

It is quite generally recognized that while art is the handmaid of religion, science is its critic. Which raises the question—Will Science ever discover what makes grass grow? Who by any measure of thought can generate at will a new thought? And whence is man, and whither journeying? The answer of science is—"I walk by sight."

Some virtues science does develop. It makes for patience, for truthfulness, for modesty, for silence, for self-effacement, for honesty and honor, for industry, for hardihood, for openness of mind. It may seem that science cultivates a blatant, braggart spirit; but this seeming is due only to the fact that a nation of that spirit has not been cured of it by science, though it has a great reputation for its own scientific achievements. We have but to think of French, British, Italian and American scientists to realize that the German is what he is despite science, not because of it. Still, science is indifferent to some virtues of much importance, such as faith itself, and perhaps hostile to others that are at least desirable, such as sympathy. For faith is "the shadow of a mighty rock within a weary land." The rock itself is Truth, but Truth is hard. The shadow of Truth is Belief, and there, when weary, one may rest. We cannot

be toiling always. Any one of real intelligence knows that at present we cannot know all truth. In such a situation, belief, which, when persistent, is faith, has a very great mission in the world.

It is not Science but Faith that draws men together. What science does is to make a man strong in himself, so far as his facts go. This is what men of faith mean when they speak of the "bankruptcy of science," that it has no answer at all to many questions, while faith or religion has several answers that serve at least temporarily.

EXERCISES

1. From your experience and general information, cite instances where a proven fact or a demonstrated truth ended argument.
2. What are some facts for which scientists have hunted diligently?
3. What has been the effect of the aeroplane, the submarine, wireless telegraphy, the motor truck, and of other new scientific productions upon the world war?
4. Answer the questions upon pages 332–3.
5. What has been the immediate effect of new scientific discoveries and of new technical inventions upon the interests of laborers? What has been the ultimate effect?
6. Upon what great investigations is science now engaged?
7. What sciences seem to you most important (a) in times of peace? (b) in times of war?
8. The currency circulation per capita in 1910 was $32; in 1919, $54. How did knowledge of these facts affect politics in dealing with the High Cost of Living and with the Federal Reserve notes?
9. What sciences are most worth beginning (a) in school? (b) in college?

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CHAPTER XXIX

BUSINESS

Its Purpose—*Wealth-Getting from Profits*

"Commerce and manufacture have each in turn been brought under the dominion of business; in agriculture, production for home use continues with production for profit."—*Outlines of Economics*, Richard T. Ely.

The three societal institutions, Property, Occupation and Business, are often classed as the Economic Institution. This is a mistake from failure to discriminate; and it is fatal to understanding mankind in our relation to material things. So great are the differences in motive and in method between them, so great are the differences of the disposition of society to them, so great are the differences in their history and in their establishment in law and custom that the failure to separate them by the proper differentiation and integration has filled economic and political literature and textbooks full of misconceptions of man's economic life.

Property is a matter of statutes, a governmental affair. It is now essentially "vested right." Occupation is a matter of sheer personal and social necessity. Its purpose is to keep men, women and children alive. It is a matter of the essential nature of living things. Business is designed to avoid earning a livelihood by daily toil and to acquire property rapidly. The business man works others. He is always an employer, by definition. Business is exchange of goods, with or without added labor. Business is merchandising things, or men and things. Of these three institu-

tions, business is far the least in importance, being scarcely more than a social convenience. Business has five well-recognized branches, viz.—

1. Hiring and producing—the function of farmer and miner.
2. Hiring and making—the function of the manufacturer.
3. Hiring and moving—the function of the shipper.
4. Buying and selling—the function of the merchant.
5. Lending money—the function of the banker.

Always, the business man gets something and gives less, or gives something and takes more; else, he perishes, for he must make at least enough gross profits to pay his own costs of living. Always, the business man is a social disciplinarian.

The business man is always in one or the other, or in both, of two kinds of competition. He may be competing with other men to sell to the general public special lines of goods; or he may be offering one kind of goods to the public while other business men are offering other kinds of goods at a time when the public cannot buy all kinds of goods in sufficient quantity to let every one "make money." Indeed, it is only in a period of great and rapid expansion when every one in business is making money. At nearly all times, many business men are losing money. In hard times, only a very few, who may have special advantages, make money. In very hard times, when almost no money is in circulation, no one is making money. Times of adversity are times of buyers' markets in which sellers are competing almost or quite desperately. The business man is always in danger of great, perhaps total, loss, and often in the hope of great profits.

Business as such is the human world left to Nature with its unrelenting law of the survival of the fittest. Here the weakest are driven to the wall and crushed thoughtlessly,

pitilessly. It is like the wolf pack, this run of the business men; and he who falls is at once devoured by the survivors. In Occupation, when any one falls, all others lose, but in Business the fall of one benefits nearly all others.

There is, however, another and a beneficent side to business. It is almost true that the speculative business man—that is, the adventurer in business—the man who has dared, the man who has backed new inventions, who has financed new technical discoveries, the man who has gone into remote or dangerous parts of the world to make money, to trade for profit has made civilization. There was much of the speculative business man in Columbus and Magellan.

Julius Cæsar was financed in his political campaigns and also in the military campaign into Gaul by Roman business bent upon making great profits.

The inside history of more than one of our own great American statesmen is that either he or his friends were speculative business men. This was conspicuously true of Daniel Webster. Some of the vast territorial gains of the United States were originally planned for by speculative business men seeking profits.

The motive of the business man in hiring others for wages and in contriving through politics to get greater profits is, of course, selfish, and this is a sense far beyond the selfishness of the wage-earner, who often asks but little more than his living. We talk of "the prostitution of government to the special interests," being childishly unaware that the business man seldom refrains from making profit wherever the law allows. But the soldier of the national army, pursuing the ends of patriotism, will do things still more selfish from an ethical point of view than the business man dares, and we praise him. The selfishness of the man who merely holds property and enjoys leisure is a mild mood compared with the heightened desire of the profit-seeker.

But there are two reasons why mankind tolerates the business man, and will continue to tolerate him for a long, long time to come; one is *economy,* the other is *progress.* The world needs economical management; and greatly desires progress in industrial, commercial, traffic, agricultural and financial affairs. The business man secures both to his countrymen by seeking resolutely first his own advantage. We should remember that the vast majority of us are only tolerated. Almost the only ones of us who are cordially welcomed are the very successful and joy-making artists and musicians. Of course, we resent the gains of the business man; but let no plumber or lawyer imagine that we do not also resent the frequent costly services of himself to us. We should be glad to be spared the expenses also to which we are subjected by farmers and by miners and by preachers.

The business man secures economy by obeying the laws of economics and by pursuing the arts of political economy Most other persons either do not know what these laws and arts are or else try to flout them. The business man may never have studied economics, or he may be a master in that field. But the laws are real and natural and present; the business man has the genius to follow them, either instinctively or consciously. Two of these laws are of very great importance to society as a whole. One of them is that price is a ratio between supply and demand. The business man goes right up to this law and uses it for all that it is worth until perhaps government stops him. To raise the price of anything that is in low supply is no doubt "mean," but it conserves the supply. Nations need to have their supplies conserved. The other law is that of diminishing returns, which is to say that it does not pay to put too much capital into and to apply too much labor to any enterprise. It is always possible to overdo the backing of a factory or

farm or mine. The business man knows when not to buy for his plant. To paraphrase the remark of Goethe respecting competent authorship—*In business, the master is known by his omissions.* The business man is prompt with *Yes!* or *No!* At the same time, he is prudent. He knows, however, when to be bold. Upon occasion, he crowds a debtor or a market, but he knows when to be lenient, or apparently timid. He is a sum but not a bundle of contradictions. In consequence, a good business man is rare. There are only a few hundred thousand men in all America independently in charge of economic enterprises, farmers omitted.

By his economies, the business man is able to clear money in one enterprise and to put it into another, perhaps a new one; thereby the world makes progress. By his strong will and good judgment, he holds men in discipline and organizes them to systematic endeavor. Letting the stronger man control the weaker in wage-service promotes the increase of economic goods; and as every one who knows human nature knows well, it is generally a kindness to the weaker to provide him with a director. Of course, hunger and cold and fear subdue some strong men to the wills of business masters; and until the world develops a process for the discovery and release of all able and good and strong men to their proper functions, the situation will not be satisfactory to the social conscience. Yet most men were not born to think and to decide even for themselves in that they cannot manage themselves and rearrange their environments; and they prosper best when executing the plans and orders of others. This is said, of course, solely with reference to the complicated matters of business; all sane persons are entitled to vote in politics and to have absolute equality with one another in the courts. Only the most extreme of radicals propose to try to run industry without managers possessing authority.

Were it not for the speculative business man, "the merchant adventurer," there would be nothing in the economic field of America superior to what Europe knew five thousand years ago when business was unknown. In our day, it has been the business man who has promoted the use of the telephone, of the automobile and of the phonograph, and is now pushing the airplane into commercial use. It was an American business man who manufactured and sold to Lord Kitchener the war munitions which saved the British Army in the early days. If the Germans had won the war, the men whom they would have sought most fiercely would have been two of our great speculative business men, a manufacturer and a banker—Schwab and Morgan, not Wilson, Daniels, Sims, Baker and Pershing.

It will be clear-minded, strong-willed business men who will save America from the socialist delusions that labor creates all values and that costs and prices should be, or could be, the same. Because of these notions, some fancy that the whole economic world can be reconstituted with a labor-hour certificate as the medium of exchange and the standard of values. Whereas in truth, *demand creates all values,* and things and services are worth what men will pay for them as over against what their sellers are willing to surrender them for. Labor helps in part to make things of value; but we should be in a sorry world, were these things to be worth in money what their makers imagine.

And it will also be our business men who will set about compelling governments to stabilize money and to prevent the steady depreciation of currencies that for centuries has been expropriating the wealth of the thrifty and inflating the equities of the gamblers in futurities, while robbing the families on small fixed incomes from various sources, evils that scourge a nation like famine.

It is, however, not the business man who has backed the

child labor restrictive laws, or other legislation to ease the workers. The business man is not typically sympathetic with weakness. But whether the weak and incompetent would be any more kindly treated by communist committees in charge of industrial enterprises than they now are by the managers of corporations one may look to Russia and ask doubtfully.

The business man has had a tremendous influence upon politics. It is not an exaggeration to say that here in America politics is the governmental phase of business. Seldom is ever a President or a Governor elected without his having had upon his side in the campaign the speculative business men. The tariff *vs.* free trade, national banks, currency, taxes, unrestricted immigration, river and harbor appropriations, the post office, transportation; the national debt, these are a few examples of matters of politics that are essentially matters of business. Even our recent wars, international and domestic, have been generally the outcome of business situations. Capitalism has built the world-market, and in that market America is now playing a very great part.

If the dream of the State Socialists ever comes true, and all business is taken over by the State, there will be in the sphere of freedom but little left for government to attend to as an affair of politics. There would be left but few live issues for universal public debate. The Church and religion could attend to nearly everything else.

In our land and age, Business has come to its high mark of development. No other land or age ever saw so large a number of business men and so great freedom of business enterprises. The entry of America upon the world-war revealed to us all by price-regulation and general economic control how free American business had hitherto been.

The main instrument of modern business is the corpora-

tion, which is an invisible, law-made reality, that theoretically considered never dies and may work ceaselessly. There is something almost superhuman about the business corporation, which perhaps employs as many persons as would people a considerable city, uses machinery too heavy for operation by human hands, and trades to the ends of the earth. The prospect is that this societal institution of Business will grow yet greater, be yet more perfectly differentiated from all other institutions, and be integrated into far greater independence of operation than now. Of course, to say this is to prophesy that the world is not proceeding into socialism as a permanent state.

Many political devices indicate this increasing freedom of business, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Reserve Banking Board, the Tariff Board, and the Executive Departments of Commerce and of Labor. These are coming up separately out of the societal institution of government. In the sphere of liberty, we have the various chambers of commerce and boards of trade self-consciously seeking business extension.

Business pursued for its own sake makes a man keen, eager, confident, firm, open-minded, bold, enduring, valiant in struggle, self-seeking, relentlessly driving toward his goal, which is power, which in turn is wealth. The business man as such is both hunter and hunted; he is like a wild carnivore in the woods. He does not care whether he creates new wealth, or gets it from others. As a business man, he neither asks nor gives quarter; he is intelligent, but in its pure form, his intelligence is that of the savage.

It is the business man who sends the unpaid note to protest at the bank; who forecloses the mortgage and takes the whole property, when he can, or at least the full value of the mortgage with interest from its sale; who rackrents his real estate; who, when he can, underpays and overworks;

who is law-honest and no more. He seeks justice for himself; that is, he means to have contracts kept and promises redeemed, though the heavens fall. His religion is contract rights. His whole effort is to accumulate such rights as against the rest of mankind, and to get them paid in full.

Business presents what is partly an unlovely picture. But though business often works harm to the individual, it usually works good in the total to the community and nation and race.

To return to the conception of a societal institution that embraces property, occupation and business—Property is the bony skeleton; occupation, the muscles and blood; business, the nerves and brain.

One of the very greatest of all the improvements that could be made in American life would be such an improvement as through education and social indoctrination would make our business men still more intelligent, forthstepping and honest in thought and in action. Society needs in the business man the spirit of professionalism at its best; for getting rich through the management of practical affairs is as much a profession as anything else. The man born rich or who has acquired riches should not look upon himself as in any sense superior to other men save as an expert in business, nor should he willingly submit to being the victim either of the adulation or of the envy and hate of other men. On this basis, we can save business as a social institution from the assaults of victorious radicals who would delight in reducing all to the common level of nonentity with themselves and ending the progress into prosperity of America before the war, which, unless our eyes are clouded, we are now seeking to revive.

EXERCISES

1. What are the main business enterprises of your community? If in a large city, in your neighborhood?

2. Are storekeepers usually richer or poorer than (a) farmers? (b) manufacturers? (c) shipowners? Has the world war made any difference in your locality in the relative financial situations of farmers and business men?

3. Both John Hancock and George Washington were speculative business men in 1775. Did this justify them in assailing the mother country when they believed that their interests were suffering?

4. It is alleged that 97 per cent. of all business men fail at least once in their lives. If this be true, is it desirable to prevent it? What would be the effect upon prices and upon endeavor, were all business men guaranteed livings?

5. Would state socialism end all business? Would it necessarily end all industrial and commercial progress? Discuss both sides of the question.

6. Assuming that bolshevism includes the economic program of soviet committee control of industry and agriculture with ownership vested in the coöperative groups severally, would this necessarily end prosperity? Discuss this theoretically; and try to get definite facts from Russia.

7. Has your community a board of trade, or chamber of commerce? If so, what are its activities?

8. Discuss the typical qualities of very successful business men. Do the manufacturer, the merchant, and the banker require just the same qualities?

9. What is an "independent livelihood"? Is it always a "business"?

10. Is "commercial education" preparation for business or for occupation?

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CHAPTER XXX

WAR

Purpose—*Settling Issues by Force*

"Manliness of spirit has not suffered in America because so few have embraced the profession of arms; nor has patriotism suffered, as Europeans sometimes fancy it must have suffered, from long continued peace."—*The American Commonwealth,* Chapter XCVI, James Bryce.

Like the property instinct, the spirit of war is older than human nature. In modern society, the stages appear to be in this order—when men tire of thinking, they talk; when they tire of talk, they fight. Battles begin where parliaments end.

War then is very ancient. Peace is modern and temporary in its periods. Still, it interrupts war, and because of its obvious advantages to population-growth by native reproduction, it puts war on the defensive to explain why it so often returns. Time was when war alone had honor, and peace was considered disgraceful to strong men.

War has two sides, offence and defence; but this analysis does not solve the very great difficulty to determine its qualities of righteousness and wickedness. War aims to balk, break, maim, starve, kill. Men are disposed to grant eagerly, as they gaze upon the horrors of war, that it is wrong to begin killing. Offensive war seems an affront to the intelligence of mankind, which in manners is less excusable than an affront to morals. But most men shrink from admitting that defensive war is wrong, *semper prima facie per se,* always on its face of itself. Often there seem

to be valid reasons for defensive war. But no sooner are these reasons accepted than one discovers that in some instances an offensive war is really defensive of something very dear to a nation; and the mere objective test, "Who began it?" sinks into invalidity. It becomes necessary to think why war is ever tolerated, ever resorted to; why all war is not outlawed. War may be waged aggressively to prevent social wickedness elsewhere or to forestall a proposed wrong by some enemy.

The motive of war is always self-establishment, self-enforcement. Soldiers set out to have their own way.

War is at once the ugliest and the most glorious of all human manifestations. The glory of a great victory in battle casts into shadow every other glory.

After the battle is won, after the campaign is done, the victors parade, the drums beat, the echoes of the cannon reverberate in memory; and as far as possible the awful dead and the wretched debts are forgotten. The people have entered upon a new era. "Let the dead past bury its dead!"

But the victims, the defeated, what of them? Is there the slightest evidence that God has wrought substantial righteousness through most wars? Who can read correctly the alternative courses of history? Was it best that Napoleon went down at Waterloo, best for human kind? Was it best, for all the world that the United States went free from Great Britain in 1783?

A review of American wars leaves us all with the delicious feeling that every war with one exception did us all good. But who knows? In the very nature of the case, who can know? Shall we properly call our own Revolutionary War, our War of Independence, our war to be rid of kings, and bureaucracy offensive or defensive, right or wrong? It is a very nearly unanimous opinion of Americans that it was defensive and right. Of the Civil War, we are now gener-

ally of the opinion that on the part of the North it was defensive and right; but some Southerners still feel that slavery would have died of its own faults. Of the Mexican War, however, we say often that it was offensive and wrong; of the Spanish War, we are certain that it was offensive and right; of our own entry into the world-war, that it was defensive and right.

Is it possible that any war is ever right? Is it ever right to kill in battle, which is wholesale vivisection legally sanctioned, but without guaranteed immediate surgical relief? Above all, why should they perish who often have had nothing whatever to do with determining the issue of going to war or not? Why should not only kings and rulers fight? These are not idle questions, but they must be taken seriously by all the intelligent.

King and ruler are not private individuals but bear in themselves the interests of the many. They live by social favor. They have almost no private life. We set them up, and we tear them down. It is only a figure of speech to say that "Kings make war." Peoples make kings. They take men and make them kings, and they, not the kings, are responsible for the resultant situations. They take men and make them presidents. Thereafter, king and president stand for their peoples, and the peoples must stand by the kings. "Not I but Germany speaks," a Kaiser may truthfully say. "Not I, but France!" would be the appropriate answer of the President of France.

When then may a people seek to slay another people? This is the one most dread question of history as it proceeds.

Every nation has distinctive characteristics. It stands for particular ideas and habits, ideals and purposes, customs and manners, physical stocks and traits. Of its own

nature, it seeks to maintain and to develop these qualities. Other nations get into its way especially when their strange ways cause them to multiply, to lengthen their lives, to grow rich and proud. They fall to thinking of their peculiarities and of their differences; they come to dispute upon these points; at last, they fall out with one another. Then battles come.

War is the social institution for cutting Gordian knots. For a hundred years her people have sung—"Rule, Britannia! Britannia rules the waves!"

Great Britain seeks to be the mistress of the seas. Germany also seeks ultimately that primacy. Neutrals desire neither to win. Neutrals desire the freedom of the seas. Shall the seas be owned by any? If so, by whom? Or shall there be freedom of the seas?

An invincible battleship may be worth an entire city, and even an entire colony; it may protect the sovereignty of a mighty empire. In our own history, the true crises were such battles as the *Monitor* with the *Merrimac,* and Gettysburg. Losing the first, slavery could scarce win the second. If slavery had won the first, she might not have needed to win the second. Losing both, slavery was torn out of the heart of the nation. Gettysburg gave meaning to what were otherwise the mere words of the Emancipation Proclamation. History seems to prove that "Without the shedding of blood, there is no remission of sins." Every dead soldier for a cause is in a sense a vicarious sacrifice for all the beneficiaries of his heroism. It is a cheap and a shallow view of war (as it is of life generally) to give all the glory to peacemakers. Sometimes, the war-makers are righteous. Offensive warfare may be preventive of very great evils, domestic and foreign.

There are indeed evils too great to be endured, evils af-

fecting others than oneself, evils that will afflict all posterity. But for war, wickedness often would have become absolute master of the world.

But for resistance, there would be no wars. It takes two peoples to make a war. Shall we then have no resistance? If so, evil will rule the earth. The Christ of *Revelations* is a Prince of Battle in order to become the Prince of Peace.

Nevertheless, to us now most wars of the past seem utterly wicked. It is often true that "Cannon parliaments settle naught."[1] Still, cannon talk did settle slavery as nothing else could.

It may indeed be that some of these questions are too big for the single mind, and that the true way to deal with them is to call for the verdict of history, the decision of events in which so many were engaged that the total is of the form and color of fate, in which single wills apparently count for nothing at all. War may be so august a matter as to make even the comment of the individual upon it too audacious, too egotistic to be tolerated. Society, the voice of the people, drowns the will of "ones." We obey the law of the herd.

The personal motive of the soldier as an associate with his comrades in arms is a beautiful one—it is the sympathy that works into deeds, it is loyalty to the common interest, it is duty to one's country. And we are a long way from the time when patriotism is to be lamented even though it means deaths in battle, widows, cripples and orphans.

The virtues of the soldier are not those of the man of religion, or those of the man of business, nor those of the man of occupation. The soldier needs a high enthusiasm that carries him through the crisis and even through the de-

[1] *Villa Franca,* J. R. Lowell.

feat. He must be brave, he must be strong, he must have fortitude, he must be true to his friends, he must be obedient to his officers.

Another way of viewing the good soldier is to see how faults in others are not faults in him. Who reprehends the pride, even the vanity of the soldier? Yet this kind of quality is absurd in a business man, and reprehensible in the churchman. Debt is scandalous to most persons, but often not to soldiers, who cannot give time and thought and endeavor to personal finances. For the soldier, there is always a moratorium as to debts. The man of war may lie to the enemy; indeed, to be a brave and successful spy is glorious. But the soldier must be perfectly truthful to his compatriots.

It is a fact so notorious that it cannot be omitted that soldiers are not condemned for a habitual dereliction of sex-morals that would ostracise any other man from common society. It is not universally true of soldiers that they are offenders against such ethics, but it is true that the offenders, being numerous, are not held to account in law or in common opinion. Until 1917, and then only in the case of our own country, did any army ever set out to enforce the single standard of sex-morals.

Honor, then, keeping one's word, faithfulness to duty, is the prime virtue of the soldier. It is a very high virtue. Many regard it as the highest of all virtues. When we say of a man that he is manly, we mean that he is soldierly, and treats life as a noble adventure. To hold life cheap and honor dear, to value greatly the lives of others, to protect one's own from the hostile, has been and for a long time to come will be the hallmark of the real man.

In his last poem, our own war hero, Joyce Kilmer, said this: viz.—

"What matters Death, if Freedom be not dead?
No flags are fair if Freedom's flag be furled.
Who fights for Freedom goes with joyful tread
To meet the fires of Hell against him hurled,
And has for Captain Him whose thorn-wreathed head
Smiles from the Cross upon a conquered world."

It is this close association of the war spirit with religion itself that adds the final overwhelming force to the most terrible of all social movements.

Are the tides of war running down? Scarcely may we of this generation say so. Nevertheless, wars are less frequent, though vaster. When Thomas Hobbes said in *The Leviathan* that "in war, force and fraud are virtues," he meant only as turned against the enemy.

Once men slew with clubs and with stones. Next, they slew with swords and with lances. Later, they slew with cannon and with muskets. Now they slay with hand grenades that burst into fire, and with gases that suffocate, and with submarines that strike secretly from long distances. War has become the field of mechanicians and of scientists. Nevertheless, men must still take their lives into their hands, and they must give their lives for others.

War seems to have certain periodicities. The longer and the deeper the peace, the greater the war that follows. A little warfare breeds irascibility, but a great war leaves a sense of its horrors; and for a long period thereafter men endure great wrongs rather than incarnadine the seas with blood and sow the fields with dead bodies.

"Green and gold are the fields of peace,
Red are the fields of war,
Black are the fields when the cannon cease,
And white forevermore."[1]

Now governments alone make wars. We have ended all

[1] McCutcheon, J. T.

private feuds in civilized lands. Some day, it may be that there shall come an end to public wars. Telegraphs may help. Democracy may help. Christianity means to help. But today it is still sadly true that the euphemy for coward is "advocate of peace at any price." For many a generation, mothers will raise boys to be soldiers when country calls.

There is reason in this. My country is my mother and my father. My country made the laws that led them to marry. My country has fed, clothed, educated me; and I belong to America. So every man who understands knows and accordingly every right-hearted man acts.

Because their countries owned them, Socrates, noblest of pagans, drank the hemlock in Athens, and Jesus died upon the tree near Jerusalem. No other names stand higher, no other lessons have sunk deeper into the lives of men than these.

EXERCISES

1. How many years of war has America fought? How many years of war have there been compared with the years of peace?

2. Of American Presidents, how many were war heroes?

3. (a) Compare the personal qualities of Napoleon Bonaparte, who was a soldier, with those of Abraham Lincoln, who though a war President, was not at heart a soldier. (b) Compare the Duke of Wellington with Gladstone. (c) Compare other famous soldiers with great (I) statesmen, (II) artists, (III) poets, (IV) novelists, (V) musicians, (VI) scientists.

4. Compare (1) Alexander, (2) Cæsar, (3) Charlemagne, (4) Washington, (5) Napoleon, (6) Grant, and (7) Wilhelm II of Germany (a) as soldiers; (b) as agents of righteousness or of wickedness.

5. What does a year of army life do for the character and conduct of the typical American young soldier who remains a private?

6. Is the saying of Franklin true—"There never was a just war or an unjust peace"? In your opinion, what may have led him to say this?

7. Was the French Revolution as seriously reprobated in other lands as the Russian Revolution has been in recent years? What valid distinctions may be drawn between the two cases?

8. In general have civil or domestic internal wars been more or less reprehensible than foreign external wars?

9. Is education for war true education? Is a military education desirable for all American youth? Draw up arguments, pro and con.

10. Consider the processes of demobilization of the American troops in France and at home and the problems brought about in their redistribution. Look into this from the social, the ethical and the economic points of view.

11. In your opinion, what will be the ultimate effects of the war upon the characters of the soldiers? Has race or foreign origin affected this aspect of the human problem of how to endure the after war results?

NOTE.—Some of the statistics that all educators need to know for the discussion of the social phases of the war in the following years of peace are these, viz.—

4,800,000 men served in the Army and Navy of the United States.

Of these, New York alone furnished almost 10 per cent.; and New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and Texas together furnished almost exactly 35 per cent.

In 1918, this nation was worth $250,000,000,000, and borrowed over one-tenth—$26,000,000,000—to fight the war, raising by taxation $8,000,000,000 more. Of the total, we loaned to our Allies $10,000,000,000. In 1919, our federal taxes of $5,000,000,000 amounted to 7 per cent. of the total annual income of our people. In other words, on the average, for every $100 of personal income the federal taxes are $7, a fact that in part accounted for the rise in the cost of living.

We fought battles for 200 days and lost in battle deaths 48,909 men. Of the wounded and the sick, we lost because of the war enough more to make a total death roll of 122,500.

2,084,000 reached France, and 1,390,000 saw active service at the front. In the battle of St. Mihiel, we had 550,000 men engaged. The battle of the Meuse-Argonne lasted 47 days.

236,000 were wounded but recovered.

When the armistice was signed, we were holding 101 miles of the battle front, or 23 per cent. of the whole.

In all, the nations suffered 7,450,200 battle deaths. Russia lost 1,700,000 men in battle, Germany 1,600,000, France 1,385,000, British Empire 900,000, Austria-Hungary 800,000, Italy 462,000, Turkey 250,000, Serbia 125,000, Belgium 102,000, Roumania and Bulgaria each 100,000, Greece 7,000, and Portugal 2,000. It is believed that 27,000,000 deaths occurred due directly to the war.

The total war debt of the six great powers engaged amounted to $152,000,000,000.

None has yet ventured any official estimate as to the total destruc-

tion of property. Great Britain had one-third of all her vast tonnage of ships destroyed, a total loss of 7,757,000 tons. The destruction wrought in Belgium, France, Poland, Russia, Italy, Armenia and elsewhere has set the world back a generation.

The increase of the currency in the United States from 1913 to 1919 was from $3,500,000,000 to $5,900,000,000, of which $2,600,000,000 was Federal Reserve banknotes, mainly based upon Treasury certificates of indebtedness. These diluted the currency and greatly raised prices.

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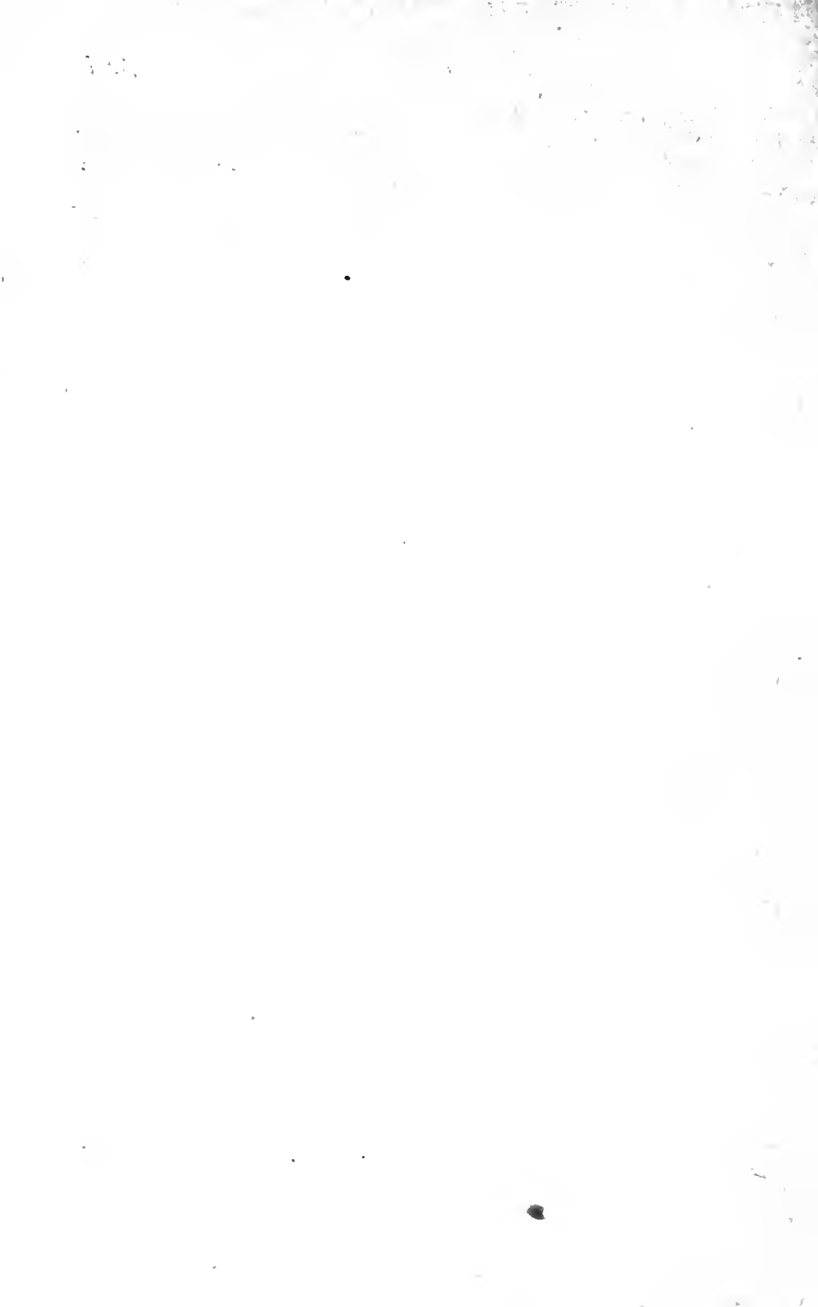

PART THREE

SOCIAL MEASUREMENT

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. As the case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

"Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth."—*Annual Message to Congress*, December, 1862, Abraham Lincoln.

PART THREE

SOCIAL MEASUREMENT

CHAPTER XXXI

SOCIETIES AND GROUPS

"The popular mass is a volatile thing, and in proportion to its size, it expends but little useful energy. The fixed group, the social institution does the work of the world and carries society forward from lower to higher levels of civilization. Social efficiency belongs to the organized type."—*Society: Its Organization and Development*, H. K. Rowe.

The groupings into which any great society is arranged from time to time and from occasion to occasion may for convenience be classified as (1) natural, (2) psychical and (3) social according to the efficient element in the arrangement. In the first grouping, biological instincts dominate; in the second, ideas; and in the third, habits.

Of the natural groups, families are the most numerous and conspicuous. In the historical books of anthropology and ethnology, and in not a few books of sociology that follow their lead, the family is made the keystone to the arch of human society, not without some highly intelligent reasons. Were we to trace blood relationships in maternal and paternal lines alike, we should find even in some distinctly complex and elevated planes the evidences of kinship as a great force in society. Here we need to discriminate sharply. It is not evidence of kinship as a social force that siblings and cousins are doing the same work successfully because of the common possession of traits that the work

requires; this is an affair of the hereditary germ plasm. But it is evidence of kinship as a social force that they are found in familiar association doing different things happily together.

In Prince Edward Island, statistics show that a very large majority of the people in some neighborhoods come from a few original ancestors; they farm, trade, fish, sail the seas in family groupings. A similar investigation of an old town in Connecticut showed that of the seven families coming to the neighborhood in 1641, two had moved away or died out, leaving no discoverable posterity; and five had succeeded. These five have marked individual traits, both physical and mental. One set are small, very active physically, successful in business, especially banking, inclined to marry but having small families of children. (Red blond, light blue eyes, undoubtedly a blend of several stocks, Dane predominant.) Another set are large, tall, strong, hearty, successful in farming and manufacturing; many representatives disinclined to marry but when married, having large families. (Anglo-Saxon, the latter predominating.) A third set are men and women unquestionably pure Angle in ancestry, very nervous, alert, with a high record of insanity; marrying but having many domestic infelicities; working at anything that the city and country roundabout afford, mostly failures but with some able representatives in commercial lines. The other two original families are plain people, not numerous and not very distinctive in traits; both Anglo-Saxon. There is still some clannishness among these old colonial families; not only do they stick together as it were tribally, but they divide into their several five clans in some social matters. The first set generally belong to one of the Protestant denominations; the second to another; the third do not go to church; and each of the two others attend two different churches. But they are one in

politics, all belonging to one party, as against especially the recent immigrants from abroad. All together this "tribe" represents just two per cent. of the entire population of a city of more than 25,000 inhabitants. In 1776, the city (town) numbered 5,000 people, which happens to be almost the exact number of all descendants of colonials still in the city.

But were one to attempt to show that in America generally today we are divided into clans, tribes, federations, and that in any way whatever our countrysides, villages, towns, cities and great cities, states and nation corresponded with the families, clans, tribes and federations of primitive society, one would immediately be swamped in the mire of false analogies. Not kinship but common ideas and purposes, needs and social habits bring and keep together not only our communities but also the various institutions and associations within the communities. We care a deal more to know what is the machinery of the mind of another, and what is the furniture of the mind, than what particular blood happens to flow in his veins and arteries. Seldom are there to be found communities proud of the fact that the inhabitants are all descended from Germans or Swedes or Irish or Italians or Russian Jews or any other foreigners. Indeed, such a state of the population is looked upon as a reproach, as though the community has no power to attract on the superior grounds of culture and prosperity. We are a cosmopolitan people, and we are proud of the fact; our Americanism, our nationalism consists in our common ideas and habits, not in a common facial complexion or cephalic index. We have no objection whatever to the aspiration of the colored man to be considered "a good American."

In fine, we have swept away the old race hatreds and have created a new civilization. We are, as the forefathers as-

serted, "a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." We cannot sweep away the biological facts that some of us come from Keltic, others from Germanic, others from Latin, others from Slavic and still others from far more ancient stocks, and that under the Mendelian law now and then there arises an individual, sometimes, of great powers, obviously primitive. But we can sweep away and we shall never establish again all superiorities and separations due solely to race, stock, breed and family. Climate will develop, as the ages go by, some differences between Easterner and Westerner and Southerner and Pacific Coaster; but the speed of transportation, the abundance of vacations, and the circulation of ideas will all be so powerful as factors in developing social harmony that the old forces making for tribalism will be powerless here in the New World.

In addition to the twelve social institutions that have been considered in Part Two of this text, there are some social groupings that seem to be more or less fixed; they may be styled "social molds." They have appeared in many lands and ages. Almost every individual becomes a member of one or more of them. It seems to be their function to assist in developing social personality.

Many of these institutions and groups are secret in their nature and rituals. Indeed, secrecy seems to be condition precedent and continuing for their vitality. Many of them are widespread in their membership and very tolerant as to the quality of members with two provisos—secrecy and loyalty to the oath whatever it may be. So far as these associations operate in America, there is no evidence that any large number of them are in any sense inimical to the best interests of our nation; and the doubtful ones are all suspects under notice both of law and of public opinion.

Of the greater of these secret associations, every one

knows the names. Of them all, it is interesting and significant that they are numerous and have relatively many members where the populations (1) are very new and (2) where they are very old. The Pacific Coast of America and China have many of them. The transient man uses the secret society as a means of getting acquainted and as a means of protection against the designing who prey upon the ignorance of strangers. These brotherhoods and fraternities, lodges and orders are prompt to help their fellows with advice and otherwise. In the old civilizations, which are usually corrupt, the secret society is the guardian of personal liberty and rights against tyranny.

Life is a pilgrimage, even "a warfare, the sojourn of a stranger," as Marcus Aurelius said, the adventure of knight or squire errant. In such a plight, the individual feels the need and the help of those who make it a business to extend and intensify friendships, which is indeed the business of secret societies. The lodge night is a time of renewal of those ties which are stronger than the ties of mere livelihood, and (it may be) even stronger than those of religion. Such companionships help to alleviate business rivalries and the misunderstandings of separate occupations.

It is profitable as well as interesting to notice that but few women feel need of these secret societies, but that they share their difficulties with one another in conversations in their homes and churches, social institutions apparently created for other purposes than companionship. The very nature of the relations of wives to husbands and of daughters to fathers are such as to make secrecy upon the woman's side much harder to maintain than upon the man's side. Women openly gossip in small groups of the matters men discuss but little and then only in their really secret gatherings.

This is but part of the general sex-situation due to the

facts (1) that most women have more intimates and fewer acquaintances than men, (2) that they are deeply interested in some topics for which men care but little, and (3) that almost every woman loves at least one man more than she does any other woman. Woman is more deeply secretive than man, but in respect to a much smaller number of matters. Otherwise, she is much more open than man. This is one of the many respects in which woman is far more like the child than like the man, which is good for the race.

For a social observer, it is well worth while to discover in any city or village such institutional facts as these, viz.—

1. The total population and the per cent. of home-owners in it.

2. The average attendance in church on Sundays and prayer meeting evenings.

3. The per cent. of such attendance registered by each denomination.

4. The actual number of children attending school regularly.

5. The taxable wealth as reported.

6. The style of local government, and the interest in it.

7. The nature of the economic life—manufacturing, commercial, railroad, mining, agricultural, financial, residential or general.

8. The value of the buildings devoted to business as compared with other buildings. (Investigation in one small city showed that all its church property together was worth less than the premises occupied by its national banks alone.)

9. The date of its founding and the rate of its growth, if any, and the main historical events.

10. The character of the popular social amusements.

11. Its art interests, if any—architecture, music, motion pictures, paintings, libraries public and private.

12. The number of soldiers and sailors from its inhabitants and their army and navy ranks.

13. The lodges, clubs and other small social groups.

14. The numbers of the foreign-born, of the mixed marriages, of the children of foreigners, and the nations and races represented. In discovering and tabulating these facts, many others will come to light, such as the wealth of the richest families, the number of the destitute, the college graduates, the local artists, and the spirit of the community.

15. The characters of its newspapers.

EXERCISES

1. In your community what are the leading secret societies for men?

2. Are there any men commonly called "joiners" in your community because of their accepting membership in so many different secret societies?

3. In these secret societies what are the comparative numbers (a) of young men; (b) middle-aged men; (c) old men? Do the secret societies differ in respect to their attractiveness to men of various ages?

4. Are these secret societies powerful in the politics of your community?

5. In your opinion do the various church committees connected with a religious institution serve somewhat the same function among the women that the secret societies serve among the men?

6. Look up the items specified at the end of this Chapter, for the place that you consider home.

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF THE COMMUNITY

"To make a complete community survey would be to discover and record all the essential facts which bear in any way upon the welfare of the community."—*Constructive Rural Sociology,* J. M. Gillette, p. 384.

In making what is popularly styled a "social survey" of a city or county, the first thing to determine is what shall be considered. No better point of view can be found than that of the social institutions and associations. It is helpful to notice cities of about the same size comparatively.

N— is a city in Connecticut with 26,000 population and 11 churches. W— is a city in Pennsylvania with 28,000 population and 37 churches. N— has no church building costing over $75,000. W— has one church that cost almost $1,000,000. Such are the first items of a comparative social survey. To make the survey social and complete in this religious field, one should proceed to discover the total memberships, average attendance upon services, contributions per member and per citizen, etc. But the facts already stated show that either N— has too few churches or W— has too many, unless one assumes that churches should be few, in which case even now N— has even or possibly too many.

At one period in its history, N— had 772 officeholders, which meant that there were offices for one male citizen in every ten or so. This showed that politics played a very great place in the life of the city. W— then had less than 100 officeholders.

Government was prominent in N—, while religion was prominent in W—.

A census showed that one city of 135,000 population had 19,000 children as its total, while a city of 82,000, only a hundred miles away, had but 9,000 children. The two facts compared showed that family life was far more time-consuming in the first city than in the second because the adults had relatively more children to care for. To complete this study, it would be necessary to consider the number of marriages and of divorces in each of these cities, and some other facts.

In respect to occupations, cities of much the same size and in the same general section of the country may differ so greatly as scarcely to understand one another industrially. This is especially true of two manufacturing cities, one of which may be in the textile line and another in iron and steel; or of two cities one of which has a great variety of small factories and the other of which is a railroad and commercial center.

It serves to illustrate to note that one city of ten thousand population may have but two commercial banks while another may have five; and all five banks of one city may have less capital and deposits than have the two of the other city.

The total assessed valuation of one city of 135,000 was $72,000,000 in 1914, while that of a town of 22,000 in another State was $84,000,000, which shows a great disparity in per capita wealth and in resources for public improvements.

There are many other points in respect to property into which inquiry may be made. One city is afflicted by absentee capitalism and by absentee landlordism, while another city is afflicted by aged resident capitalists and by similar landlords.

One city has a splendid art museum while another city has nothing of the kind, and no private works of art in any homes. One city may have a fine public oratorio society

while another of the same size has none. One city may have a Y. W. C. A. building and no Y. M. C. A. at all. Another city may have neither. A third may have both. A fourth may have the Young Men's Christian Association but not the Young Women's Christian Association.

One city may have golf links and a country club, while the next city has nothing of the kind. In one, horse-racing may thrive, while another city may be a rendezvous for hunters and fishermen.

Science perhaps flourishes in one city but is practically unknown in another. The technical arts may have many workers in one city and yet be ignored in the next.

In a State in the Middle West are two nearby cities of about the same size. One has a fine philanthropic organization of outdoor private charitable relief. The other has no poor relief save of the most perfunctory private kind.

One never knows what the social facts are until one sets about finding them, and some of the discoveries are likely to be astonishing, even surprising. In a small city of the Middle West, a preliminary survey disclosed the fact that all the churches were within a few rods of one another, and out of the way of the generality of the people. In a city of New England, it was found that of the immigrants of one nationality, not so many as one per cent. attended any church. In that same city, in a single room were found a family of husband, wife, two well-grown daughters and one son, and six men boarders; and only two beds were in the room. All the adults were well-paid workers, and neither general ignorance nor poverty had anything to do with their close housing. All could read the newspapers, and their weekly incomes totalled over one hundred and fifty dollars a week.

One city may have a fine armory and many youth in the troop, while another city may care nothing at all for military drill.

As for schools, one city may have fine new buildings and courses of study while the next city is fifty years behind it educationally.

Such are the various items by which the civilization, the culture, the ethics, the *mores* of a village or city or state may be quickly indicated through a mere survey of the social conditions. Deeper and longer investigation may then proceed upon the lines that promise the largest returns of important facts.

One city may have many secret societies—hundreds indeed—while in another city such societies are few.

One who has made many investigations finds some things usually true—1. No city is apt to excel in many lines. Interest in a few lines draws off energy from most other lines. The social institutions are in competition with one another. The city of art lovers is not likely to be the city of scientists. Politics and religion are not apt to thrive in the same jurisdiction. 2. It is interesting that once a small city begins to draw many retired capitalists and conservative bondholders, its active business begins to decline in growth and perhaps even in actual amount. 3. Some institutions are in apparently direct conflict. Where the domestic life is strong, the recreational interests are not likely to be prominent. Relatively, many movies do not indicate a city of home-lovers.

4. Another fact frequently observed is that the interest of a population in the social institutions depends largely upon race. Homes, schools, amusements, occupations furnish the topics of conversation where citizens of German descent are numerous. Stores and banks, synagogues, schools and homes thrive where the Jews are many. The National Capital has a smaller proportion of foreigners than has any other city of considerable size, and its local interests do not reflect the trend of the American mind as characteristically developed. This mind is extensive and superficial, touching many matters and almost none deeply and seriously, catholic rather than intense or profound. A lit-

tle of everything and not much of anything seems to be the American rule.

EXERCISES

1. How many churches are there in your neighborhood; and what did the respective buildings cost?

2. Discover some of the facts relative to the salaries of officeholders in government.

3. What are the salaries paid to (a) preachers, (b) choir singers and church organists; (c) supervisors and teachers in your neighborhood?

4. Compare your community with the two cited upon page 369.

5. Compare and contrast your community or county with the conditions cited upon page 370.

6. In your experience which of the following nationalities most generally continue regular attendance upon religious worship after coming to America—(a) Hungarian; (b) Italian; (c) Russian Jews; (d) Germans?

7. What is the value of such buildings as these in your community—(a) the armory; (b) the high school; (c) the public library?

8. Discuss your city in the light of the proposition upon page 371.

9. University cities usually have poor public schools and few fine churches. Why?

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Of city surveys, the most extensive is that of Pittsburgh, copies of which may be secured in many public libraries. It is not worth while to cite the school surveys, of which there have now been some two hundred. That of Cleveland—in a score of small volumes—is as competent as any. Anderson's *The Country Town* is the best book in its line. See also Hart's *Educational Resources of Village and Rural Communities.*

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CHAPTER XXXIII

COMPARATIVE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF NATIONS

"In any society, the normal conditions are those consistent with the general social organization and tending toward smoothness and accomplishment, not toward friction and retardation. What is normal in one society may be abnormal in another."—*Applied Sociology*, Chapter I, Fairchild.

The relative importance of the societal institutions differs with the various nations. In our land, they may be ranked perhaps like this, viz.—

1—*Government*, for there are no outlaws.
2—*Family*, for nearly all children are born in wedlock.
3—*School*, for education is universal and compulsory.
4—*Occupation*, which includes nearly all adults.
5—*Religion*, which touches at least half of the people.
6—*Property*, which in some form is possessed by many persons.
7—*Science*, which touches a considerable fraction of the people.
8—*Recreation*, open to quite a number.
9—*Business*, eagerly pursued by some.
10—*Charity*, practised by a considerable number.
11—*War*, in peace interesting some three hundred thousand persons or so, but in war interesting all.
12—*Arts*, the least of our interests.

No doubt, there might be discussion as to just the rank to be accorded individual items in the list, but, as a whole, probably it will be acceptable to most intelligent observers.

We have but to consider France by way of comparison to discover how differently nations view these societal

institutions. A list true to France would have placed the institutions in some such order as this at almost any time of peace in the past two hundred years, viz.—

1. Government
2. War
3. Occupation
4. Property
5. Recreation
6. School
7. Family
8. Art
9. Science
10. Religion
11. Charity
12. Business

England for almost as long a time has displayed a relative ranking of the societal institutions by no means the same, but something like this, viz.—

1. Government
2. Family
3. Occupation
4. Religion
5. Property
6. Recreation
7. Business
8. War
9. School
10. Science
11. Charity
12. Art

A comparison of these three lists with one another reveals in a diagrammatic form the true differences. France loves art, while it is neglected both in our land and in England. The French are by no means eager business men like the English and the Americans. Both France and England generally rate war as a far more important societal function than do Americans.

The table for Germany would have looked something like this for a century past, viz.—

1. Government
2. War
3. Occupation
4. Religion
5. Family
6. School
7. Science
8. Property

9. Business
10. Charity
11. Recreation
12. Art

When we care to look into these matters still more exactly, we discover that not only rank but also relative per cent. of total special interest should be considered. In all these four nations, government is the dominant societal institution, but its total weight as against all other institutions is very different in these various countries. It may be expressed in these terms, viz.—

Our Country (1913)	
Government	15 per cent.
Family	12 per cent.
School	8 per cent.
Occupation	8 per cent.

France (1913)	
Government	20 per cent.
War	15 per cent.
Occupation	12 per cent.
Property	10 per cent.

England (1913)	
Government	15 per cent.
Family	12 per cent.
Occupation	9 per cent.
Religion	7 per cent.

Germany (1913)	
Government	25 per cent.
War	20 per cent.
Occupation	10 per cent.
Religion	9 per cent.

Our Country (1918)	
Government	20 per cent.
War	20 per cent.
Religion	10 per cent.
Property	5 per cent.
Family	8 per cent.
Occupation	12 per cent.
Education	5 per cent.
Amusement	1 per cent.
Charity	3 per cent.
Art	1 per cent.
Science	5 per cent.
Business	10 per cent.

Our Country (1919)	
Government	18 per cent.
Occupation	15 per cent.
Property	5 per cent.
Business	10 per cent.
Amusement	5 per cent.
Religion	7 per cent.
Education	8 per cent.
Science	6 per cent.
War	5 per cent.

In times of peace.—To make a truly fair appraisal of the institutional life of a people, one should consider it for several generations, for a people like an individual has not only a more or less permanent character but also moods that change and perhaps recur. That the German character is now what it was sixty years ago or even thirty years ago is obviously false. The American character also has considerably changed in the past two generations. Because of the world-war, the characters of all civilized nations and peoples have changed in several respects, some of which may prove permanent; but anticipating revolution or regeneration of racial character from any cause whatever finds no warrant in history. What does happen is that new peoples are formed by composition from other peoples, and these new peoples by intermarriage and amalgamation become more or less homogeneous nations. The fourth generation of German-speaking Poles become loyal German patriots. The same generation of English-speaking foreigners—representing various mixtures and compounds of European and perhaps other stocks—know themselves only as Americans. The greatgreatgrandson of Welsh, English, Blond Kelt, Dutch, Swedish, Slovak, Great Russian and Austrian greatgrandparents never heard so much as even the name of one of them; and is all American. Consequently, a heterogeneous people becomes in a few generations homogeneous and national, or at least imperial in its character; and it develops its institutional life with new relative valuations upon church, state, school, occupation and all other societal interests, small and great. By intermarriage, there are new combinations of physical traits, and with these combinations suppressions or emphases of old instincts. Most of all, the new generations have new mental furniture, new notions. The change is least where the desire to maintain the old stock in purity is greatest.

There are three typical social situations of a great society—1. toward the end of a long peace; 2. in the midst of a great war; 3. immediately after a war. A long peace both divides and stratifies a people. According to the various climates and other natural conditions, in peace, the residents of the several sections grow unlike in physique and to an extent also in ideas and customs. Offensive war of invasion brings together soldiers from all sections and harmonizes minds generally. Peace, therefore, develops heterogeneity while offensive war develops homogeneity. But defensive war, especially defeat in such war, also develops heterogeneity by introducing foreigners and aliens into the population. In peace, family life, government, property, occupation, amusement, education, the arts, the sciences, business, religion and charity all develop, and the thought of and preparation for war decline; in war, all other institutions shrivel especially family, life, property, amusement, the fine arts and the pure sciences. Government, occupation, the industrial arts and science, business, religion, and charity all take peculiar twists and forms and are warped to the needs and exigencies of war. Class lines are destroyed. Immediately after a war, all the economic institutions jump in importance to the relative loss of all others. The war hierarchy of commissioned and non-commissioned officers and of privates soon loses influence; and the man who was a private in the army becomes the employer or the landlord of the colonel.

Because of these conditions, warlike nations are quite different from those of peaceful inclinations and habits. The quarrelsome and warlike nations that provoke war contrast strikingly with the peaceful nations that do nothing but resist the offenders.

Within the past hundred years, there have been pairs of neighbors that afford striking contrasts, e.g.—

Peaceful		*Warlike*
Holland	and	Germany.
Switzerland	and	France.
Spain	and	Italy.

Nevertheless, Holland, Switzerland and Spain were once conspicuously warlike nations. In their social transformation through the centuries, their institutions have greatly changed in relative importance. From 1776 to 1916, the United States grew far less warlike in temper, far more peaceful. In 1917–18, we were carried back far into the mood of 1776. Our recent valuations of the social institutions have been indicated above. During a very terrible war, property, family, and several other institutions became means to the maintenance of government, which is the protector of our national society.

Moreover, nations themselves during this same greatest of wars became means for the defence of that society of nations known as "the Allies" against the society known as "the Central Empires," for civilization itself, or "the great society" that had grown up with international trade and enlightenment and peace, had burst asunder into two angry parties, each bent upon the ruin of the other, autocracy and democracy.

The whole struggle within what was once and may yet again become "the great society of all nations" may be interpreted as the persistent conflict between the methods of progress called "the social revolution," which are violent and at times catastrophic, and the methods called "social revolution,"[1] which are quiet and usually hidden beneath the surface of affairs. Both methods have operated within our own country as they have indeed in all countries. The social revolution follows the principles of

[1] See final Chapter.

Nature and proceeds according to the law of the survival of the fittest and the perishing of the unfit, while social evolution confronts that law with its insistence that human nature requires all to survive so far as may be in order that pity and love, delight in beauty and confidence in truth may reign everywhere.

EXERCISES

1. Talk with foreign-born persons regarding their social institutions. Record their observations and compare and contrast their opinions. Get such persons to discuss our own social institutions.

2. The following observations have been made, viz.—
   a. Hungarian men think that we give women and children altogether too much freedom.
   b. Germans think that as a people we care nothing about music.
   c. The French think that we work too hard in business.
   d. The English think that Americans are without sufficient respect for property.

What observations have you made yourself or heard made by others respecting foreign nations or by foreigners respecting ourselves?

3. Among these nations, viz.—
   China, Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain and the United States—

which would you rate first and last in these institutions, viz.—

1. Government	5. Art
2. Religion	6. Science
3. Property	7. Amusement
4. Charity	8. Education

4. To the inferior development conspicuously of what institutions has the historical failure of Poland to maintain itself as a separate nation been largely due?

5. These institutions may be arranged in two lists, viz.—
   A. Those more necessary for the establishment and maintenance of national greatness.
   B. Those more necessary to the development of the intelligence and righteousness of the individual citizen. Prepare two lists, ranking in each of the lists six institutions according to their value for the purpose stated.

6. In your State, what progress has been made toward separating and building Health as a social institution? Cite the laws and the other facts in evidence. Have you county boards of health?

7. Find by investigation what is the relative amount of the total annual income of the American people distributed to each of the six items enumerated upon page 253.

8. In your own community, what is the relative prestige of the various social classes as determined by their sources of economic support?

9. Of the persons who have been successful as occupational workers, what proportion were naturally apt in their lines? Is natural aptitude an important factor in success or failure? What is natural aptitude?

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(The world, especially Europe, should now have its character rewritten in the light of the results of the world war. This rewriting has begun. We have already a new conception of heroic France. The novels will help much, e.g., Ibanez V. Blasco, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.* Several publishing houses issue entire series of volumes upon the various nations.)

CHAPTER XXXIV

INSTITUTIONAL WORKERS

"Little by little, there have been developed in relation to all the liberal arts and occupations certain approved and tested technical methods. The individual who proposes to occupy himself with any one of these arts must first master the foundation of knowledge, of formal traditions and of manual practice upon which the superstructure is based."—*The Promise of American Life*, Herbert Croly.

THE social institutions differ greatly from one another in respect to the specialization of those who carry them out. The operation of a social institution may be either by a trained profession of specialists, or by those working only from little more than instinct or by those who work at it occasionally or incidentally. It is illuminating to observe the differences.

By instinct, men desire property, and because of instinct, they acquire it; but in civilization, despite appearances, property-lovers do not direct or control the property of a nation, or even of its individuals. Property has a profession that does control it, the lawyers. The nature of modern property, which for real estate requires deeds, for agreements and promises a variety of documents, and for purchases, bills of sales and receipts, forces the development of a set of men who devote themselves to drawing up deeds, wills, contracts, and to fighting in courts over their meanings.

A man destined to succeed in business soon hires a bookkeeper, and at about the same time forms an acquaintance with a lawyer to care for all his difficulties. Every man with any considerable amount of property expects to pay

annually a proportionate amount of its income to his attorney to keep matters legally straight, that is, as favorable to himself as possible. Of course, not even lawyers know what the law of a contested case is until the highest court has spoken. But very good lawyers may often anticipate and do frequently predict correctly what the law will prove to be. A man in business who really believes lawyers unnecessary to himself will soon have no property about which to worry lawyers or himself.

The profession then that cares for *property* is the *law*.

The societal institution of the family is in quite another case from that of property. Parents, especially mothers, make families, but no single profession devotes itself to their care. Physicians look out for birth and health, ministers care for the religious interests, teachers care for the youth, lawyers look out for the homes, authors contribute to emotional life, artists paint for house adornment, scientists study the problems of hygiene. The family is too vast a social interest to be entrusted to one profession alone.

Still, among all professions, the one that does in point of fact most concern itself with the *family* is *medicine*.

The church as a societal institution has a definite body of institutional operatives and operators, the ministers. They attend to its sacraments, to its rituals, to its memberships, to a considerable extent to its funds and expenses. It is true that as not all property belongs to lawyers, and never will, because they are consumers of it and not producers of its substance, so the church does not belong to ministers. Nevertheless, as there would be no law but for lawyers, so there would be no church but for ministers. There is wealth but not property in wealth without lawyers, so there is religion but no church without ministers. Occasionally, denominations of enthusiastic worshippers have arisen who intended to do without ministers, but their his-

tory has invariably been slight. Everywhere, the laborer is worthy of his hire, and that which is every one's business soon becomes no one's business and no business at all. That interest or enterprise which the race would save, we must set apart men to watch and to work, to protect and to operate.

The profession of the *church* is *theology.*

As a societal institution, the state has no one profession to carry on its operation, but considered in its three familiar democratic branches, judicial, legislative and executive, it displays in its operation nearly all lawyers in the courts, a great majority of lawyers in its legislatures, and many lawyers in the superior offices of the executive departments.

Government must use business men, scientists, physicians, soldiers, sailors, architects, writers, mechanics, railroad men, clerks, bookkeepers, here, there, almost anywhere; but its mainstay is the profession of lawyers.

The profession that more than any other cares for *government* is the *law.*

It might appear that occupations are so diverse that occupation, thought of as a societal institution, would have no profession especially devoted to it. In a sense, this is true, for though a special group of workers is devoted to occupation, they are not yet organized into nor educated sufficiently to be called a profession.

Yet the beginnings of such a profession are already apparent in the ancient occupation of employment agent and in the new profession of vocational guide. The former at his best is a man with wide information and a keen observer of men, who looks for openings for those out of employment, getting his return by commissions from the employed or from the employer, or from both. The latter is a man who combines close familiarity with economic conditions and

scientific knowledge of personal traits—he means to be a working sociologist who also knows differential psychophysics. Schools and colleges are employing men qualified in these lines to advise youth as to their future occupations and to help them secure suitable positions at graduation. It is not enough to desire to enter upon such-and-such work, but it is requisite also to be fitted both by education and by aptitude to succeed in it.

It would, however, be far-fetched to say that the employment agent and the vocational counsellor were already sufficiently combined in function, trained and publicly recognized to be styled a profession. Here is but a profession in the making.

In the course of time, and that not long, the social institution of *occupation* will have as its profession sociologists and psychophysiologists or psychiatrists (with some more suitable name) to indicate a single and a very definite purpose to fit men and jobs, to consider not merely income but also quality of service.

As a social institution, the school with its higher department the college and university has a definite profession to care for it, the teacher who does two things, imparts knowledge, and trains. Several different names are applied to the teacher, according to the point of view and to the aspect resulted. Teacher means *revealer*. The teacher reveals otherwise unknown truth to the student. The teacher uncovers in the learner abilities and deficiencies otherwise hidden. The teacher is an interpreter of the world, of life, of knowledge, of art to those who know less than he knows.

The teacher is also styled *educator, professor, master.* To educate means to compel to come forth, and refers to the effort of the teacher to force the learner to develop all that is in him. But it is a gentle force that the teacher uses,

the force of leadership, the force of example, perhaps the force, we may say, of persuasion, a moral coercion.

Professor means plain talker, the one who tells so that others may understand. Most persons who tell do not care whether the listener truly understands or not, but the professor makes it his business to talk out so clearly that the learner may understand.

Master means one great in knowledge, in leadership or in rule. The master is the adult, the full-grown person, who has gone as far in knowledge as one may and who wishes to help others forward in the same knowledge. The term in the forms of headmaster and of schoolmaster is fairly common in the older parts of our country, and the plain form of master is still used officially in eastern Massachusetts.

Teacher is the all-inclusive term. Educator is used to indicate the teacher as the worker in the soul of the learner. Professor is used of the teacher in the higher fields of the college and the graduate school. Master when used designates one in the schools that precede the college.

The profession that operates the *school* as a societal institution is *teaching*.

In times past, many persons did one thing or another to promote the progress of youth in knowledge—the parents and other blood-kin masters of trades who took boys as apprentices, lords who brought up lads to be knights, and ladies who took girls to be maids-in-waiting, etc. But all this is a thing of the past. Today teachers control the field.

Occupations are controlled by business men with some limitations fixed by trade unions and by government. Here is the scene of the conflict between capital and labor. Therefore, both resort to state legislatures, to Congress and to municipal councils.

In schools and colleges, teachers control methods but business men and politicians control nearly all kinds of governing boards save those of parochial and denominational institutions. Whether a denominational college is primarily a church affair or an educational institution turns largely upon the personnel of its board of direction; but only in proprietary institutions are teachers ever in full control.

Social workers have but little control of Charity.

Amusement makers do about as they please and survive or perish according to how they succeed in pleasing the public.

Artists nearly control their arts. They are the freest of all men. Therefore, they have critics not of their work in process but of the results.

Scientists are dependent for funds upon other men, but they control their methods.

The business man must obey the laws. Otherwise, he is free.

The soldier is dependent for livelihood upon government, but in battle and in strategy he controls in the main his course.

The comparative situations are reflected in the economic returns. The conspectus is improving to the mind.

Lawyers may make enormous fees as when they are counsel for great corporations. A thousand dollars a day when in court is a standard fee. Yet the average lawyer in our land does well to clear two or three thousand dollars a year.

Doctors, especially surgeons, make sometimes considerable fees, but never anything like as much as do the most successful lawyers. Here and there a doctor makes ten thousand, even twenty thousand dollars a year. The average doctor does better than the average lawyer, and gets three to five thousand a year.

The ministry at its best does not fare as well as does medicine at its best. At its worst, it fares worse even than the law. The average income for a minister is eight hundred dollars a year. In all save very large cities, an average city minister gets two thousand dollars a year.

This means in terms of dollars that the public regards the best lawyer more highly than the minister or doctor; and the average minister lower than either doctor or lawyer; and the average doctor higher than either lawyer or minister. There is no arguing about such facts as these. It is significant, however, that the average doctor works more hours in a year than does either the average minister or the average lawyer. At their highest strain of toil, however, there is nothing to choose between these professions.

Politicians get from the treasuries of government anywhere from a few dollars a year to the salaries of governors, cabinet secretaries and the president. The average return of government office-holders is about the same as the average return of ministers. Anything above five thousand dollars a year is unusual. A good corporation lawyer will make twice the income even of the President of the United States, and some such lawyers make five times as much year in and year out.

Employment agents and vocational guides do well to make three thousand dollars a year.

Teachers make from a few hundred dollars a year to the salaries of city superintendents and of college presidents. Men teachers fare about as well as the ministers average; but at the worst, women teachers fare even worse. The prizes of the teaching profession are very few, and by no means great. A city that from the public taxes pays one city school superintendent eight or ten thousand dollars a year will probably have several churches that pay several ministers as much or more.

Charity workers are never in the economic sense well paid; they receive from five or six hundred dollars a year to three or four times as much after many years of successful experience. They are very near poverty, and share its privations. To be well-paid, one must be near wealth, and share its luxuries.

Amusement makers generally have either very small or else fantastically great returns according to public favor and to luck. Three hundred dollars a week may be the rule for one season, and a few years later but a hundred dollars a month even for steady workers. Playwrights and managers, being to an extent business men, may make fortunes, and may go bankrupt. Some film stars receive fabulous incomes.

Most true artists are poor throughout life. Yet success in the arts may bring toward middle age great returns, even hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. A picture, a song, a statue, a poem, a novel is worth what it will bring, no more, no less.

The returns of the business man may be incalculable. Very rich men have no way to discover, within many millions of dollars, what their properties are worth. Their profits and other incomes run according to the times, and to opportunities, and to abilities. When all run together, many millions are made. When all run contrary, the man returns to day's labor, and is fortunate to get even weekly wages of a few dollars at the foot of the ladder. A thoroughly discredited business man is far worse off than a lifelong store clerk, immensely worse off than a mechanic who belongs to a good trade and to its union. Like Icarus of the Greek myth, he dared to fly, but his wings were wax.

Soldiers get wages from a few dollars a month to half a thousand a month according to grade. Not even to major generals and to admirals is war profitable in money.

Though charity is but a new social institution in the terms of its differentiation from religion and from the family, yet it has already developed a considerable profession for its operation, that of the social worker. These include some persons borrowed from other professions, such as the visiting nurse borrowed from medicine. Indeed, in a sense it is hard to say whether we should classify such a special institution as the public dispensary a medical or a charitable one, for it is both. Fortunately, save for purposes of scientific classification, it is a matter of indifference where many special institutions are credited, provided that the work be done.

Charity, however, is too new to have secured the right to exclusive use of any term for the profession of social worker as distinctive as teacher for the school and doctor for medicine, as minister or preacher for the church or lawyer for the government. We have, however, a term for the man who, out of private means and with a generous heart, gives himself and his money to the uses of the public. Him we call a *philanthropist*. Yet the philanthropist gives of his time and his fortune to other institutions as well as to charity. Nor does he look to charity for his livelihood.

The institution of *charity* is operated by men and women who belong to the rising profession of *social workers*.

The societal institution of Amusement is far older than that of Charity. It numbers actors and actresses, musicians, readers, singers, entertainers, athletes, specialists in all styles of sports and games, indoor and out. But it has not become integrated sufficiently to have an operating profession.

The arts similarly are too numerous and too varied to have any profession to care for them as a whole. There is, however, an interesting by-product of the arts—the professional critic, who works not upon the arts themselves but upon the artists to chasten their souls and to compel them to

improve. This is a very strange state of affairs. The servitude of the arts is the heaviest of all servitudes, and yet they have attached to them this strange personage, the approved, habitual, public critic. There is no such personage attached to medicine or to theology, to education or to law, to charity or to the school or to amusements as such, but art is enthralled by him. Why? Perhaps, art is the highest objective test of a people. A nation with a debased or a weak art is never sound at heart.

The social institution of the Arts has a following known as *critics* whose function it is to approve the best and to denounce the worst in order that truth may be realized appropriately, for the upbuilding of national and individual character. For this reason, a dishonest or incompetent critic is a traitor and enemy to the nation and race. Art as persuasion to truth and to action must be pure and clean and true itself. And the critic who is himself approvable continually reminds the artist of this social necessity.

Sciences like arts are too numerous and varied to have a differentiated profession. Nevertheless, when we speak of a man as a scientist, we have a much closer definition of him than when we speak of a man as an artist, for the methods of the arts are many, but the methods of all the sciences are but one method in substance.

A man may not go freely from one art to another because the techniques vary so greatly. The pianist cannot easily become the painter. But passing from one science to another is far from impossible, or even infrequent.

It is necessary here to discriminate carefully between some sciences and some arts, for there are applied sciences that because of their techniques are really arts. Various kinds of engineering are both sciences and arts.

In a limited sense, it is proper to say that the societal

institution of the *sciences* is maintained and operated by a loosely aggregated body of workers known generically as *scientists.*

Business as a social institution has developed in recent times men of a class, a kind and a type now well-recognized. We call them *business men.* They do not care what the business that they work in is, for their purpose is not the development of the business for its own sake but for that of the profits. According to circumstances, they are textile manufacturers or wholesale merchants or automobile makers or bonanze farmers. And they turn from one thing to another as the hope of profits leads them.

Business men as a class are the masters of other men.

They are of the kind of men foresighted, patient, seeking gains through the labors of others, usually truth-telling and always promise-keeping from self-interest, if not also upon moral principle, who take life as they find it. They deal with men and things as they are.

They are of type accordingly, strong, willful, confidence-creating, forth-stepping.

None familiar with the type is likely to be misled in any particular instance as to whether the individual in question is or is not a business man by nature. The type is as marked as that of minister or doctor.

The ancient and most honorable societal institution of war has been operated by one profession known in various lands and ages by various names. The profession has many dignities as befits its glory and its age.

Business has men known as magnates, multimillionaires, captains of industry, merchant princes and by many other long, sonorous terms. Democratic as the age is we must still discriminate our soldiers as admirals and generals, commodores and colonels, ensigns and lieutenants, soldiers,

sailors, marines. Once they were all known as warriors. At the same time, we might have enumerated them as knights, squires, yeomen, lords.

In our land, the societal institution of *war* is operated by the profession of *soldiers*.

With respect to all of these professions, it is highly important to know and to understand that they have very different degrees of control of their institutions.

Because lawyers control government, they virtually control the societal institution of property. Any one who does not perceive the truth of this may experiment by trying in court some case in which his own interests are involved.

Physicians through boards of health have some influence in and some control of family life, but not much.

Ministers control churches even though in most denominations they cannot control their own tenures of the ministerial offices that they from time to time occupy.

Lawyers are helpless to rule the modern State, though they do control forms of property, the creations of the State. The people rule both by their votes and by public opinion.

The various financial returns of these workers in the more or less fixed social modes known as institutions may be shown as in this schedule, viz.—

ANNUAL INCOMES OF CONSTANT WORKERS

	Low	*Median*		*Superior*	*High*
		Rural	*Urban*		
Lawyers	$400	$ 800	$3,000	$ 6,000	$250,000
Physicians	600	1,200	5,000	12,000	50,000
Ministers	300	800	1,500	5,000	20,000
Office-holders	200	400	2,000	7,500	17,000 [1]
Employment Agents, etc.	300	800	3,000	4,000	6,000
Teachers	200	500	1,200	3,600	15,000 [2]

[1] New York State Supreme Court Judges; also United States Ambassadors.

[2] Several University Presidents.

	Low	*Medium*		*Superior*	*High*
		Rural	*Urban*		
Soldiers, etc.	156 and keep	$1,200		5,000	10,000[1]
Journalists, etc.	500	800	2,400	6,000	12,000
Mechanics, etc.	600	750	900	2,400	6,000
Business men........	Bankruptcy	$2,500		12,000	Millions

[1] Generals and Admirals.

The above statistics are intended to represent conditions on the average throughout the country in the Summer of the demobilization of the military and naval forces after the Peace Treaty of 1919. Neither the low nor the high figures are meant to represent the extremes.

Artists, authors, amusements-makers and scientists as such have financial rewards too individual and irregular to be scheduled. One song paid in royalties in one year $80,000, being twenty-five per cent. of the sales. The incomes of the motion-picture stars are in hundreds of thousands a year. A steel man in authority reports that in his trade more than one hundred persons receive salaries of more than $20,000 each yearly.

Every occupation has its customary wages or salaries, greatly changed, it is true, by the inflation processes of the world war, but still with a notable tendency to try to persist and even to come back despite the increase of commodity prices. The wages paid in various lines differ greatly from one another, from many causes, some of them obscure, and without reason. A workman who makes less than $12 a week grades low. $18 to $24 a week is fair. $40 is superior. When any worker, by the piece in a factory, or by sales commissions on the road comes to point of earning over $50 a week, there is a marked tendency of the mind of the employer to put him upon an annual salary to guarantee but also to lessen and to commute the former earnings; to accomplish this without irritating the worker is a function of the business man.

NOTE.—It is difficult to get authentic statistics relating to salaries, fees, profits, in some lines. Even the duties of many institutional workers are unknown to the public.

EXERCISES

1. What did the actors' strike in New York in the Summer of 1919 show as to the relations of amusements to business?

2. Were we able to build up as an independent societal institution Truth to control the press, from what relationships would it release writers? How might this affect their incomes? Do you believe that writers are free to serve conscience only?

3. Has the movement to establish the societal institution of Health (which has gone far in England and in such American States as Ohio and Washington) tended to raise or lower the incomes of physicians?

4. Would Cabinet Departments of Education, of Health and of Truth forward or retard our social progress? Consider politics and economics.

5. In your opinion, can business men ever develop a true profession?

6. (a) Compare the duties of the city school superintendent of Boston with those of the same officer in St. Louis. (b) Similarly, compare the duties of the president of some endowed college or university with those of the president of a state university.

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE LOCI OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

"Where tradition holds, as it does in the usually quiet and orderly rural communities, the institutions of control are effective. But some of the members object to the canned life. These social rebels break for the city, where, missing the wholesome restraints, some sink into vice and crime; but others, escaping from the cave of ancestral custom, burst into intellectual bloom and help to make city life a hotbed of progress."—*Social Psychology,* Chap. X, Ross.

A *locus* is the point occupied in a system. We might use a ladder as the system, and determine thereon the locus of a hod-carrier, when he is upon the fifth of twenty-four rungs. Or we might use the per cent. scale as the system and determine thereon the locus of a student who has done four-fifths of the required work as 80 per cent. Or we might use tenths as the scale, and say of a man that, all things considered, he deserves credit as seven-tenths proficient and successful as men ever are in the field under view.

To work such a scheme practically, however, we must make limits of not too unusual success for the persons under consideration. It is not unusual for a man to make a million dollars from a life-time of business. Yet, some men have made a hundred or even more millions. In his time, George Washington was probably the fourth man in wealth in our country, possibly third, possibly fifth. Hence, since there were some hundreds of thousands of men, he merits rank as 10 on a scale of 10, for his wealth of $800,000 at his death was as great as any one might reasonably expect to acquire and hold at that time.

The total institutional proficiency of a man may be computed by adding up all his credits for each of the twelve societal institutions. This would not be the same as his total social proficiency but would be a large part of it, and indicative of that total.

We may take George Washington in the years of his latest life, as an example for study. He had gone as high in government as any man can, for he had been President of the Federal Constitutional Convention and President of the United States. Grade 10 in government.

In the church, he was vestryman of an Episcopal Church at Alexandria. Grade 8 in religion.

He had followed several occupations—farmer, merchant, miller, land surveyor, real estate dealer, office-holder, soldier. He could scarcely have gone higher. Perhaps, he was open to criticism for trying so many different lines. Grade in occupation at least 9.

He had used every opportunity of his times for acquiring amateur knowledge of the arts. He loved fine clothes and good horses, and he had a beautiful home. Of course, he had no skill in the arts save as a little of the connoisseur. Grade at least 2 in the arts.

He had married a widow, and had taken as good care of her two children as he knew how. Grade 7 in family life. Some persons may feel that he merits much higher grading.

His schooling had been slight, mainly that of receiving some instruction from a clerical tutor. Grade 2 in education.

He knew as much about science as the times and his other duties permitted, which was not much. Grade 2 in the sciences.

Despite many other fine qualities, George Washington was not a charitable man in the alms-giving sense. He was a patriot hero, ready to die for his own convictions and for

his country, but he had almost no sympathy with the poor. He treated his slaves justly, but not benevolently. To one family of poor white neighbors, the Poseys, he was the prince magnificent, helping them in many ways. One of these Posey boys became first governor of Indiana, after the death of the family benefactor.

He loved all sports and games, indoors and out. He hunted, rode horseback, danced, played cards through even the dark days of the Revolution. Grade at least 9 in recreation.

This may be charted as in the *frontispiece*.

A brief statement will suffice for two other persons who may then be compared with Washington.

Phillips Brooks was a famous preacher and bishop, reputed to be rich, a bachelor, highly educated, a lover of the arts and fairly versed in modern science, so charitable that during his life his fortune diminished rather than increased, fond of amusement and recreation, advocate of peace, with no interest whatever in business as such.

Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and other novels. She had a family of children, was fairly well educated, fond of the arts and of travel and of amusements of the simpler kinds, disliked science, and had no part in business or war. From her large literary earnings, she gave generously to charity. Lincoln called her "the little lady who made the great war."

A comparison of the charts of these three persons, all of high distinction, shows how various may be the activities that make men useful to others, or dangerous.

One may take any one, even himself, and draw a chart for the person at the time and thereby learn something unsuspected of that person.

The following scale might fairly represent a college professor who writes books, viz.—

Property	1	Family	10
Business	1	Sciences	1
Government	3	Education	9
Charity	1	Recreation	0
Religion	2	Arts	7
Occupation	6	War	0

Nearby is an aged neighbor, whose chart perhaps is this, viz.—

Property	1	Family	10
Business	0	Sciences	0
Government	0	Education	8
Charity	0	Recreation	1
Religion	10	Arts	0
Occupation (now)	1	War	0

The chart of a college senior might be this, viz.—

Property	0	Family	0
Business	0	Sciences	2
Government	0	Education	5
Charity	0	Recreation	10
Religion	3	Arts	3
Occupation	0	War	3

That is, this youth might have no property or business, might be a Y. M. C. A. leader, not yet of voting age, with no money to give in alms, would be unmarried, well advanced in his studies, exceedingly fond of athletics, able to play the piano and a singer in the glee club and church choir, and a member of the State National Guard.

This differential analysis shows where a man finds himself in the social milieu. It helps much in determining the total value of a prominent contemporary or of some historical character. Incidentally when applied to some famous persons, it stimulates research into their lives to find out who they really were, their weakness and their strength.

EXERCISES

1. The social facts of the life of Abraham Lincoln seem to be that he was President, directed the Union Armies and Navy, had a family and was good to his children, left a few thousand dollars worth of property, was an excellent lawyer, went to school but little yet

hired tutors after he grew up to teach him history and literature, never learned any science, wrote beautiful English, loved his fellow-men greatly, had almost no amusements, and understood business only as a lawyer and statesman, not as an executive. Draw a chart and compare him with the charts in the text.

2. Make a chart for some near relative in middle life or old age.

3. Make two charts of distinctly contrasted public men or women.

4. Compare carefully in detail the loci in the social institutions of some famous author with some other man of great distinction, for example, (a) Charles Dickens and Benjamin Franklin; or (b) two such men as Theodore Roosevelt and Thomas A. Edison; or (c) some very prominent actor or actress and an equally prominent preacher or man of affairs.

5. Which is more valuable, a sociological chart of a man, or a physiopsychical chart? See Index of this book.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

THE SOCIALIZED MIND

"There are no final solutions of human ills. Whether we like it or not, the rest of the world must be taken into account when we shape our policies."—*The Physical Basis of Society,* pp. 395–7, Kelsey.

THE main value of the study of any science of society to the individual consists in the resultant effect upon the mind of the student in its partial reconstruction out of its former measure of individualism into a larger measure of societalism. We have many phrases that indicate the capability to think in social terms, such as public opinion, socialized mind, broad-mindedness, liberalism. It is perhaps true that one may study social situations so extensively and so intensively as to lose the sense of one's own individuality, but such a danger confronts only a few persons. What humanity most needs is a larger supply of men and women who can see outside of themselves into the public welfare, who desire that "the commonwealth take no harm," who are so disinterested as not to be seeking all the time their own advantage, and who then conduct themselves unselfishly.

The socialized man is a grade higher than one who is self-centered, and from the superior height he obtains a wider view to a farther horizon. Such a man is altruistic. He sees the group and the community. The societalized man is still a grade higher than the socialized man. He is national and patriotic in the true sense of the terms.

No man can possibly think of each of a million persons as a distinct individual, but it is quite possible to think of the many, of the later, of the multitude and of posterity, of

the mass and of the generations to come. To think of these is to think in the terms of society, that, to have the societal mind. Thereby one becomes both human and humanitarian.

In order to secure the societal mind as a permanent and a functioning power, in order to have the larger altruistic will in control of one's life, it is helpful to practise the societal vision. The purpose of the foregoing pages has been to familiarize the readers with the names and natures of the various societal institutions, to demonstrate what the individual does when working in their respective fields, and to discover the trend of the present times in their development or diminishment.

An easy practice in this line is to take a newspaper and note column by column the field in which each article lies. One paragraph may deal with business, the next entire column may deal with war, and a third heading may touch upon charity. Newspapers differ greatly from one another in the interest that one and another take in the various societal institutions. One runs to sports, another to arts, another to mere personalities. The same paper may vary slighly from day to day and more from week to week, but every paper while under the same management inevitably has a character of its own. This character may be quantitatively measured by a computation of the number of columns devoted daily to each of the various societal institutions. Thereby, one discovers the social mind of the paper.

Similarly, one may discover the social mind of his friends by noting what they talk or write to him. In reaction, it is worth while to write down from time to time one's own impression of the form and tone of one's own conversation and correspondence. Considerable changes are likely to take place for the better when this is done, for it enables one to look objectively at oneself as others see one.

EXERCISES

1. From the point of view suggested in the text, consider the mental development of (a) the typical multimillionaire, (b) the typical philanthropist, (c) the typical statesman, (d) the typical novelist, (e) the typical musical composer as compared with the mental development of most persons.

2. Did the world-war make men more or less—

1—governmental and patriotic in thought and conduct,
2—religious or ecclesiastical,
3—thrifty,
4—fond of their families and of family life,
5—anxious for education,
6—industrious,
7—charitable,
8—devoted to amusements, sports and recreation,
9—scientific,
10—artistic, musical and esthetic,
11—eager and skilful in business,
12—warlike?

3. Discuss the forces that recently made provincials into patriots.

4. Is cosmopolitanism the enemy of patriotism? Is the League of Nations essentially cosmopolitan, or humanitarian, or patriotic?

5. What are the characteristics of your favorite magazine?

6. In what various social institutional activities do you spend any of your leisure hours?

7. It is sometimes said of a very good man that he "belongs to the exalted order of human being." Wherein does the consideration of social interests and concerns contribute to elevation to this order? How can school and college promote the development of large humanity in youth?

8. Consider Andrew Carnegie.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

REVOLUTION, EVOLUTION OR EDUCATION

"The economic civil war is at the very bottom of a system of property that gives power to some and inflicts servitude upon others. In the transformed society, when the private capital of production and of exploitation shall have been made social, when the social community shall have placed the means of production at the disposition of associated laborers, the indemnity values which shall have been given to the capitalists of yesterday will permit them no longer to buy the means of production, of rent and of profits; they shall permit them to buy only the products of the transformed social activity. . . . Mirabeau, Vergniaud, Robespierre, Condorcet knew that the old world was ended, decomposed, that it was necessary to clear away its ruins and to institute a new society. And it was by the largeness and the boldness of well-reflected affirmation that they abolished the old world and created the new. There can be no liberty for man save in the social appropriation of private capital. We address ourselves to the workers. Now it is necessary for you who belong to the parties of democracy and of progress after we socialists have stated our doctrine and our method, to tell us how you conceive the social reform, the social evolution." Jean Jaurès.

"If your eye wishes to follow this smoke into the heavens, there you behold a new prodigy; for in sumptuous clouds, enchanted palaces rear themselves, whence is banished all human misery. There remains only to fix them in the air and to seat their foundations among us in order that the work of Genesis be reformed forever. . . . Could discourses teach the world, the Sermon on the Mount would have been realized long ago. . . . You underestimate your task. . . . You should not confound the bankruptcy of the human mind with the bankruptcy of the mind of M. Jaurès. . . . In the first instance, all turns upon the primordial reform of the individual. . . . Unless you are a divinity yourself, you cannot foresee the result of human evolution. . . . The man whom you need for the realization of your future society does not yet exist. If he ever should exist, he will employ his own intelligence in his own way without troubling himself with the path you have taken

upon yourself to trace out for him. You pretend directly to construct the future while we construct the man who will construct the future. . . . We enlighten the man, and we enlarge him, we mitigate the evil of him and fortify him in the good, we liberate him, and we rationalize him. And every day marks a little more of disinterestedness, a little more of nobility, of goodness, of beauty, and of a new power over himself and over the external world about him." Georges Clemenceau. *Debate in the French Assembly*, 1906, between the respective Socialist and Republican leaders. (Excerpts from speeches, each lasting two days.)

In the foregoing thirty-six chapters, there have been presented in series various features of the existing economic régime and of the prevailing social order for which the school and the family are rearing the youth of our nation. Yet as we all well understand, when these youth are full-grown and as citizens are in control of affairs, neither the economic régime nor the social order will be quite what they are today. Some anticipated changes will be realized; but many other changes, now undreamed of, will come to pass. Six thousand years ago, in the oldest book of the world, the reflections of Ptah Hotep, steward of the household of some lord called "Assa," otherwise unknown, mankind was advised in these words—"Always obey the advice of the wise; always follow the counsels of the old. Beware of that which ariseth in thee lest it bring thee to ruin." Then was shaped the principle of social regimentation that ruled Egypt and the Orient for thousands of years. Socrates protested against it with the doctrine of resistance borrowed from Pythagoras—"Know thyself." Jesus preached his doctrine of resistance to the world for the sake of the Kingdom of God. And Rousseau asserted that the individual man should be free as against all society. James Otis in his immortal speech that started the American Revolution asserted the perfect liberty of every man in his own house. Such have been the two conflicting theories of education, social regimentation *vs.* individual freedom—society

vs. the man. Our present need is of an intelligent reconciliation that will protect humanity against disorder and the individual against injustice, and yet save to each individual his God-given rights to property, to happiness, and to development according to the best in his nature. The problems of the parent and of the teacher are, therefore, two—1. To fashion in the constructive imagination free and various pictures of what the world of tomorrow—of 1950, of 1975, of the next century—may be, and 2. To develop in youth the interests, powers, traits needed accordingly.

In painting these free pictures of the future, we work under many influences—of our ideals learned from the Bible, from great literature, from the fine arts, from our minor desires and fears, from our experiences. Ignorance, which is the domain of superstitions and false beliefs, warps all our views not only of men and conditions and things about us but also of the things to come. Take such a single item of truth as that the "grey matter" of the nervous systems of all conscious creatures—dogs, horses, seals, cattle, birds—is essentially the same as man's; and how shall we escape the conclusion that we ought to sympathize with every beast of the field as with a brother? The only way to avoid this conclusion is to deny the truth. Take a related item of truth—that there is no scintilla of evidence of a thinking, feeling or willing procedure in any animal save with collateral operation in grey matter; and how shall an honest man escape the conclusion that thought is of the same character in beast and human?

The Greek, with his passion for the definite and for the method, is of the same mind as the soundly developed American who cares more to discover the facts of today and the solution of the problem of today than to dream of a glorious millennial age far ahead. For this reason, entirely valid and competent, sensible persons prefer to move

a step at a time in "reform of education." That there can be no finally right education, no *ultima thule* of knowledge, skill and character, is self-evident. Education should move *pari passu* with the progress of the world.

There has been no more important gain by mankind than that made by the new interpretations of mind and body of the recent human nature sciences—psychology, physiopsychology, somatology, biochemistry, histology, demography, anthropology, ethnology, and sociology, with their several divisions. We may cite a few of the new items of knowledge—just a few among thousands—to show why there can be nothing statically permanent in education without grave detriment to individual youth and to humanity in general.

1. Now we know that every person has a characteristic number of thoughts per minute and a characteristic total number of thoughts per waking day. The range in normal persons seems to be from 90 to 175 thoughts per minute. Girls think faster than boys; and women than men; and middle-aged persons than the old.

2. Now we know that judgment is a function of adequate knowledge and discipline in special fields. To know much and to have thought much of geography do not insure good judgment in history or in business or in music.

3. We know that some persons have keen eye-sight; others, good ear-hearing; still others, fine nose-smelling; etc. Some have generally active sensoriums; others fair sensoriums; still others poor sensoriums.

4. Listing these congenital instincts as important, viz.—

hunger	lust	vanity	love
curiosity	play	fear	combat

we know that in one person the dominant instinct, defeating every other, is some one of these instincts; in another, a

different instinct. To know a person, discover his directing instinct, the key to his character; or the trait developed out of the main instinct. (There are thousands of instincts, but the dominant one is usually from the above short list.) How familiar is the homely saying as to a valiant man that "he would rather fight than eat"! Instinct is the key to understanding sin.

5. Every person represents some relation between somesthesia (sense of bodily well-being) and kinesthesia (delight in activity). The formula for A is $S^9 K^1$; of B, $S^7 K^3$; of C, $S^4 K^6$; and of D, $S^1 K^9$. A is lazy and fat; D is active and spare. We know also that the condition of the suprarenal glands has much to do with this.

6. We know that some persons have short memories; others, moderate memories; still others long memories. Some remember ideas, others words; some, sounds; others, sights. Some persons remember only the faces of others; others, only their voices.

There are many, many other items of new knowledge, the significance of which for the school is that the economic and social demands for generalized education to serve all youth are confronted by the facts that the proposed generalized education hurts one youth, helps another, and never touches a third. In despair at the numerous failures and misfits, we say that every person needs a special education and confess that we have neither time nor knowledge to discover what the special education should be. At once, educators form into two schools or parties; one of which says that the youth should follow his bent, study the things that he likes, gratify his interests, and in a general way, do what he pleases; while the other says that education is to straighten the mind, broaden the sympathies, multiply the interests and in a general way make the youth different. Ralph Waldo Emerson declared of himself that whatever

success he had was due to his resolute pursuit of his own tastes and rejection of his dislikes. Thomas A. Edison has made the same argument. But Benjamin Franklin directly traversed this philosophy and argued in favor of doing what one does not like until one does come to like it. And the Duke of Wellington, who overcame Napoleon, asserted that "habit is ten times nature."

What modern psychology shows is that almost any one can learn almost anything—the sole differences being in the amounts of effort of the will and in the lengths of time requisite. But modern physiology shows that amount of effort of will can be directly measured in terms of physical energy and output with results upon health, vigor and strength.

A child born with absolute pitch is a very rare phenomenon. One who has had three persons of this quality under long observation, viz.—a grandfather, an aunt and the grandson of the one (nephew of the other)—may be allowed to give the evidence that to have absolute pitch means that one can learn at one or two sittings all the music under question. The grandfather could play upon the piano any hymn whatever; yet he did not know A from B, playing solely "by ear" from memory. He could transpose into any key infallibly. His daughter (the aunt) has far greater powers, playing any musical instrument correctly. Her ability to read new music at sight and to play it upon a piano or to sing it is incredible to persons witnessing its exhibition for the first time. The grandson (nephew) is on the same path. The mother of the boy (sister of his aunt and daughter of his grandfather) had almost absolute pitch and with it the incredible gift of remembering *verbatim* all poetry once heard.

But *per contra* any one who is sane—even a congenital monotone—can learn to play on the piano a little in the

course of years and to sing something with fair correctness by much practice through a period perhaps of years.

A girl who got no mark at all in her first year of algebra and 56 per cent. for it the second year, 45 per cent. in geometry the first year, and 65 per cent. the second—who as a total had spent just two and a half times as much effort upon her college preparatory mathematics as the average girl—nevertheless received 99 per cent. and 97 per cent. in these subjects for her entrance examinations. In other words, her progress rate was 40 per cent. of that of average high school girls; her final achievement, far higher.

But the reform of education in its organization and operation according to the new knowledge of which these are only a few items is no part of the program of social science. The purpose in introducing these considerations is not pedagogical or didactic but by them to illustrate a major truth that the solution of the social problem of today can come only from closely similar scientific considerations in the field of society.

Again, we may approach education from the point of view of modern sociology, as we have tried to do in these pages, and interrogate school and college categorically.

1. Let us ask whether or not education teaches and exemplifies social movement. Is not the school the microcosm of the macrocosm? Does not the complete curriculum review public opinion, custom, convention, habit, tradition, the rules of the game, panics, crazes, heroes, migrations, wars, city-building, nation-making, revolutions, political campaigns, race-amalgamations, religious processes, changing ideals? Is it not truthful to say that so far as social movements are concerned, the teaching of the principles is established and that all our concern for the future is with the reconsideration of relative values and with the correction and the addition of details?

It may indeed be that we try to teach arithmetic (count-

ing and measuring the world and things) too soon and literature, music, art too late. It may indeed be that we try to teach some topics by wrong methods. It may indeed be that we try to teach too many things in the same general periods of time. It may indeed be that our schools should be less bureaucratic and more democratic. It may indeed be that it is profitless to try to teach some subjects and some exercises to some pupils because it takes too much time and energy (we say that "they are too dull and too slow"); and it may be that the cost exceeds the value of the product. Again it may be that much of what we teach is actually already now known not to be true, while some important newly discovered truths are ignored. Nevertheless, the man who proposes to discard all the past of education, to destroy all its treasures, to begin new all over again, to revolutionize education because the sum total of all its faults and deficiencies and mistakes offends his notions of the ideal right is nothing less nor else than an enemy of youth.

2. Let us ask whether or not education gives instruction respecting the social institutions. Here we are in the presence of greater difficulties, some of them unresolvable. Youth is not yet adult; but these social institutions are essentially the concerns of adults, the products of the matured instincts of mankind. To the child and youth, property cannot mean what it does to the fifty-year-old man—the saved harvest of almost a lifetime. Perhaps to teach youth very much about property would be to rob it of its birthright of freedom from anxiety. The case of religion is somewhat different. Many a child has great sorrows. But whether it is more sad to lose a parent in childhood or to lose a child in mature years, who shall say? One school child in every eleven has lost at least one parent. The need of a sense of the personal care of an Almighty, Everpresent,

Everlasting Father is very great to a child. Is it any greater to an old man or woman? Who shall say? Perhaps, the school of the future can do more than the present school in revealing the truths of humanitarian religion to youth. When we come to government, to occupation, to business, to amusement, to science, to art, to charity, undoubtedly the school can do more, and desires to do more. Here the limitations are from without, chiefly from the needs of more money to repay greater costs, rather than from within because teachers do not see the needs of more instruction. Two institutions remain—family and war. It is not clear how the school can teach much more about the family than it does until we have more parents among the teachers themselves and until the parents of the children and youth undertake to visit the schools and colleges more than they do. But the very relationships of husband and wife, parents and children are so much closer and at their best finer and deeper than those even of teachers and students that they are essentially, above, below and beyond the range of the school.

Unhappily, the world war and the peace conference have taught us that, whether we like it or not, the schools must teach our youth the arts of defensive war. Immediately after this world war when millions on millions of men were in a mighty rage at one another is not the time to declare that man loves peace and will never fight again. The man who urges America to prepare for eternal peace from now on is the friend of those who hate her and a traitor in this household.

It is in only the highest ranges of education that it is fair to ask what we teach youth respecting social measurement—the survey of cities and of nations, the right placing of persons in their social environment and the fair estimating of their social values. Many high schools still offer

no courses in economics; and some colleges still offer no courses in sociology. That we could do more and should do more in these high ranges of the philosophy of conduct—that we should study modern times more and bygone times proportionately less—that we should prize more sacredly the artist and support more cheerfully the scientist—that we should both rationalize and universalize play, amusement, recreation, sport—each and all of these propositions commend themselves favorably to those interested in social education.

The whole force of these stimulating and weighty considerations upon which all forthlooking men agree, whatever the social institutions they serve, seems to bear directly upon the social problem itself. The world should be better. There should be in it more happiness, more justice, less poverty and ignorance and sin; more freedom, less hate; more truth, less superstition—more abundant life. How then shall we gain all these desirable things? By overturning the social order, by new constitutions, by redistributing property, by raising the low and pulling down the high? That is social revolution. The world has often seen it. Shall we see it again here in America? Does it seriously matter whether social revolution bring the tyranny of state socialism or the chaos of anarchy? "Justice"—as Sophocles says in *The Antigone*—"is not the child of yesterday but hath been no man knoweth how long since." Justice decrees that we shall go forward prudently, wronging no man, helping where we can, destroying as little of the old, building as much of the new from epoch to epoch as our conscience supports. We shall not kill, we shall not rob, we shall not hate any, if for no other reason than that to kill, to rob, to hate these now in disfavor is but to set the precedent to injure likewise in the future the very ones whom we seemingly propose by such wrongs to benefit now.

The spirit of hostility to existing society is strong even in our highest circles of thought. Said Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch, professor in a theological seminary of high repute—"The fundamental sin of all dominant classes has been the taking of unearned incomes. Political oppression has always been a corollary of economic parasitism, a means to an end. Together, they constitute the largest and most continuous form of organized evil in human history. . . . The existence of great permanent groups, feeding but not producing, dominating and directing the life of whole nations according to their own needs, may well seem a supreme proof of the power of evil in humanity." (*Social Principles of Jesus,* p. 163, A. D. 1918.) Here the leisure and the laboring rich are together attacked. And it is assumed that the directing of the life of whole nations is an evil, not a good. All the hatred of society in the breasts of socialists, anarchists, bolshevists and other self-styled "radicals" burns in these words. The full truth is not in them, but rather perversity and danger, disguised as "ethics."

To the program of violence, mere patient evolution, mere waiting upon time to see how things happen is not the only alternative. Much of the change, much indeed of the progress of humanity in the ages of the past has come about from the blind operation of natural and social forces. Men did not plan to die out in Babylon. Men did not plan by fratricidal wars to waste Rome till all her splendor was despoiled and a bare one-hundredth of her population continued. Men did not deliberately set out to reduce to poverty and famine the city of "Peter's window out upon Europe" there just below the Arctic Circle.

Obviously, the rulers of Germany never intended to reduce her to barely the tenth or twelfth nation of the earth, a whining victim of her own audacious sins.

Nor did men plan to make the Chinese the most numerous

people of earth, and of all considerable areas India the most densely inhabited. Greece held back Persia for centuries without early direct preparation to do this splendid service to humanity: Greece aimed only to develop the free human spirit in beauty and in reason for her best citizens. Certainly, not one of the statesmen of Belgium in 1913 foresaw that a year later she would win the eternal gratitude of humanity for staying the German hordes.

Among thousands, these are but a few instances of the results of irrational social evolution—irrational, that is, in the sense of unintentional with respect to the particular historic result cited.

There is another alternative of myriad aspects. We can set out toward conscious social evolution—which is substantially the nature of education. We can say that the good of our own nation suggests the complete education of each individual of our people, his education to the extent of his native abilities reasonably viewed. This means that he is to leave school not when his own poverty compels but when the school can do nothing more of importance for him; and that funds, public or private, governmental or charitable, should be provided accordingly to keep him at school as long as it seems reasonably probable that society will ultimately benefit by his continued attendance. We can say that the general welfare suggests the constant provision everywhere in the land for place and opportunity for regularly recurrent public worship and religious instruction. The twelve-hour day, seven days in the week, which prevails in some trades, should be legislated out of existence, and the eight-hour day, five and a half days in the week, be enforced. The churchless sixty millions of us should be supplied with church homes soon. In similar fashion, we could set down all that American society now needs according to the recognized standards of those who are intelligent, energetic and

good. Conscious evolution, of which in a large sense social education is an important part, is the machinery for realizing the "religion of sweetness and of light."

But the process is by no means fast. Neither trees nor human bodies, neither sound nations nor fine civilizations grow fast. Nature proceeds step by step silently in due order, true to her own norm, as good Bishop Komensky, who called himself "Comenius," pointed out three centuries ago in an immortal book, *The Great Didactic.*

The school which violates physiology and hygiene in its daily programs for students or ignores sanitation in its buildings to this extent retards the progress of the race. The school which teaches pride or hate or vanity by its own spirit lengthens the years of duress for our portion of the human race. The school that lingers too long in the outworn past retards our progress.

> "They shall call to the water below the bridges to return and replenish the land;
> They shall harness horses, Death's own pale horses, and scholarly plow the sands."
>
> *The Old Men.*—Kipling.

True education, however, establishes itself upon the mountain top of vision where the light comes earliest at dawn, and surveys the horizon and the valleys below. Slowly, gradually, steadily, "the irreversible feet of light" touch the top, the sides, the brightening valley. No man looks long upon the face of the sun lest his own eyes fail forever; but the reflected glory illuminates all his world and upon the enlightened world he may look with happiness. Such is education as it diffuses truth, beauty, kindness, energy among men.

SELECTED READINGS

Terman, L. M., *The Measurement of Intelligence* (1916).
Butler, N. M., *The Meaning of Education* (1898).

Yocum, A. D., *Culture, Discipline and Democracy* (1911).
Brown, E. E., *The Making of Our Middle Schools* (1906).
Hall, G. S., *The Psychology of Adolescence* (1904).
Harrison, Frederic, *The Meaning of History* (1890).
Todd, A. J., *Theories of Social Progress* (1918).
Horne, H. H., *Philosophy of Education* (1904).
Hunter, Robert, *Violence and the Labor Movement* (1917).
Monroe, W. S., *Measuring the Results of Education.*
Todd, A. J., and others, *Sociology and Education.* Papers and Proceedings, Amer. Soc. Asso. (1919).

NOTE ON BOOKS FOR TEACHERS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

In some high schools and in a few colleges, from time to time, teachers are directed to offer courses in the social sciences who themselves have not had specific training in such sciences. And in a few instances, teachers who have long been out of college have not recently reviewed their courses. To such as these, this note is directed. These twelve books are named not as the best books in the field but as the best books to read under the circumstances indicated, viz.—

1—Chapin, F. S., *Introduction to Social Evolution* (1913).
2—Tufts, J. H., *The Business of Living* (1918).
3—Ward, L. F., *Psychic Factors of Civilization* (1902).
4—Ross, E. A., *Social Psychology* (1908).
5—Vedder, H. C., *The Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Problems of Democracy* (1916).
6—Gillette, J. M., *Constructive Rural Sociology* (1914).
7—Wallas, Graham, *The Great Society* (1916).
8—Tyler, J. M., *Man in the Light of Evolution* (1914).
9—Fetter, F. A., *Modern Economic Problems* (1916).
10—Addams, Jane, *The Spirit of Youth and City Streets* (1912).
11—Kenngott, G. F., *The Record of a City* (Lowell) (1914).
12—Todd, A. J., *Theories of Social Progress* (918).

With these twelve books at hand and thoroughly read, one is fairly equipped with the various materials and the main principles of sociology. Their notes and bibliographies contain references to practically all the good and important publications in this wonderfully developing field. With the *American Journal of Sociology* added and arriving regularly, one becomes reasonably familiar with the data and the philosophy of a science whose great days ahead call to lovers of human welfare.

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